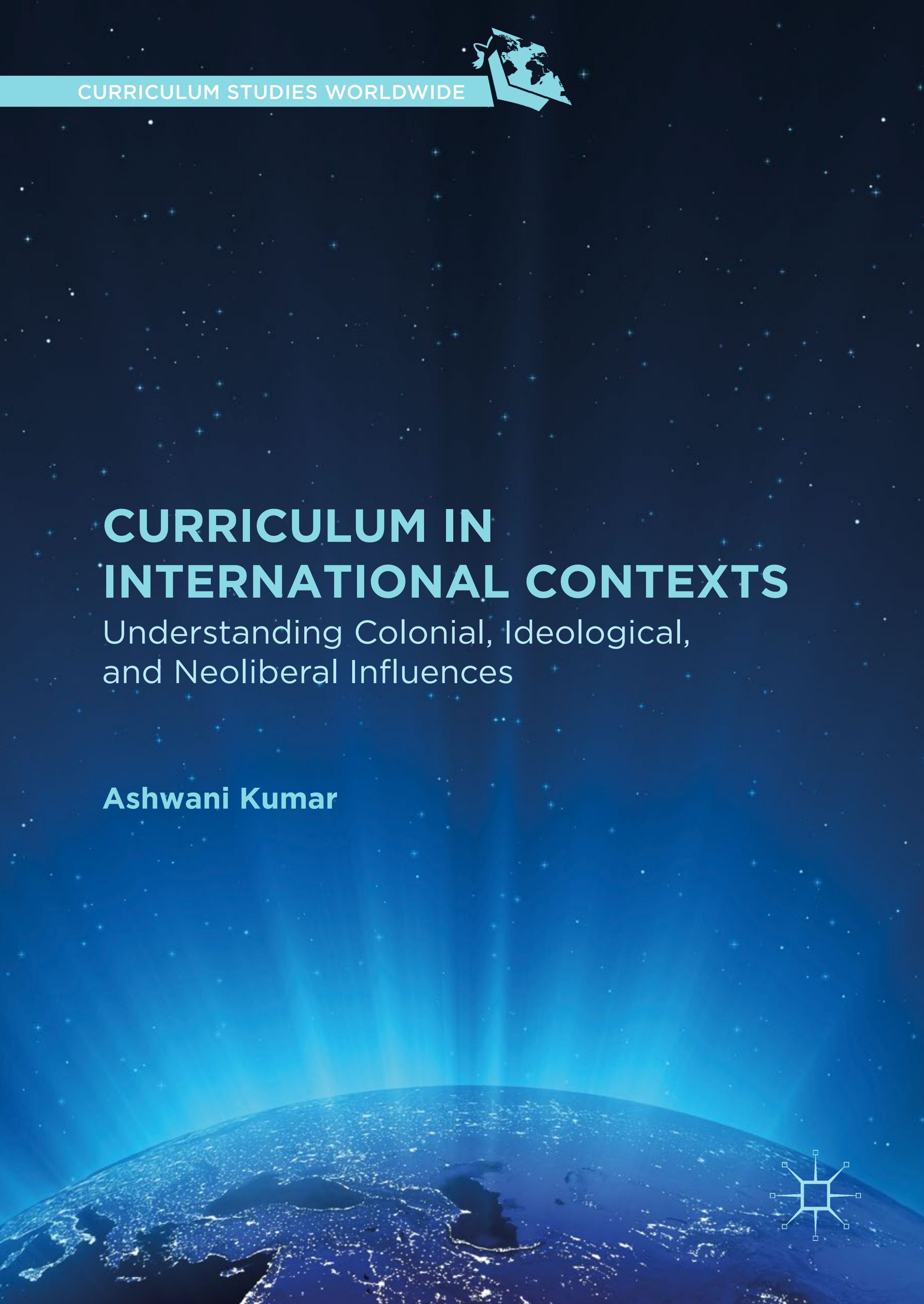

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CURRICULUM IN INTERNATIONAL CONTEXTS

Understanding Colonial, Ideological, and Neoliberal Influences

Ashwani Kumar

Curriculum Studies Worldwide

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Ashwani Kumar

Curriculum in International Contexts

Understanding Colonial, Ideological, and Neoliberal Influences

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For
Late Professor K. K. Mojumdar
and
Professor William F. Pinar

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

The Journey of Becoming an International Educator

Curriculum in International Contexts: Understanding Colonial, Ideological, and Neoliberal Influences has emerged from two decades of my engagement with various aspects of international themes and issues. My introduction to the notion of the "international" formally happened when I joined Kirori Mal College of the University of Delhi as an honours student of the discipline of geography in 1996. Given the expansive and global character of geography, I learned to appreciate how physical, political, economic, and cultural processes operate locally, regionally, and globally, and how these are intimately connected. I also learned how the diverse, yet indivisible, world of nature has been divided among various nation states, how Earth's harmonious and delicate balance has been disturbed by the ideas of growth-driven economic models, and how colonialism and neocolonialism have undermined thousands of years old cultural groups and their sacred and spiritual relationship to their geographical environment. Throughout those years, I often questioned why there were economic disparities among countries and whether it was possible to have a world full of diversities but free of antagonisms and divisions.

I completed three degrees in geography[1] and studied the discipline for about eight years. Within these degrees, three subjects that deeply informed my understanding of the world and later contributed to my work on international curriculum studies, were *Geography of Development*, *Political Geography, and Geographical Thought*. I studied *political*

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geography and *geographical thought* with late Professor K. K. Mojumdar who was a great teacher and mentor to me for about ten years until I left to attend the doctoral programme at the University of British Columbia (UBC). His spontaneity, creativity, and playfulness in teaching, and his knowledge of geographical thought, politics, religion, philosophy, education, and psychology always amazed me. *Geographical thought*, which covers the history and philosophy of geography, was my first introduction to a philosophical subject matter. This subject was my favourite; it opened my mind to the world of concepts, insights, and perceptions which allowed me to study and understand how human beings across the globe have come to relate with and connect with nature, and how this interaction has brought about a diverse, unique, and rich cultural heritage around the globe. This relationship between human beings and their environment has been studied and interpreted using a variety of world views and philosophical discourses, including positivism, behaviourism, Marxism, phenomenology, existentialism, environmentalism, possibilism, and postmodernism these discourses influenced geographers as they did curriculum scholars around the world, as we will see in the chapters to follow.[2] *Political geography* allowed me to see how the world has been divided into power blocks and how geopolitics has been used as a way to create conflicting power centres regionally and globally. Professor Mojumdar's deep interest in international boundaries and conflicts ignited my own interests in understanding how history, politics, religion, culture, as well as psychology underpin the conflicts between nation states—a theme that I explore in Chapter 5 of this book.[3] *Geography of Development*, which I studied with Professor Kaushal Kumar Sharma, introduced me to how hundreds of years of (neo) colonialism and imperialism have brought about a world where the so-called "north" or "the core" has come to establish an exploitative relationship with "the south" or "the periphery" and how the Indigenous and native cultures around the world have been displaced and uprooted and their views of knowledge, education, work, and living have been suppressed by colonial and imperial world views (see Butlin, 2009; Godlewska & Smith, 1994).[4] Chapters 2, 3, and 4 of this volume illustrate how colonial and imperial—and now neoliberal—influences have left their mark on the notions of curriculum, teaching, and learning in South Africa, Brazil, and Mexico.

During my graduate studies, I wrote a thesis under the supervision of Professor B. Khan that combined political and development geographies. It was titled "A Geographical Interpretation of the Evolutionary Nature of the Contemporary World Order" (A. Kumar, 2003). I argued that the contemporary world order has evolved through a cyclic change from multipolar through bipolar and unipolar, to a multipolar world. During the late 19th century, political and economic power started diffusing from Europe to other parts of the world, especially USA and Japan, allowing the global power structures to shift from being *Eurocentric* to multipolar. This multipolarity continued up to 1945, when, after the Second World War European supremacy was replaced by the emergence of USA and USSR as world powers, leading to the formation of antagonistic ideological, political, and economic systems. The disintegration of USSR in 1991 ended bipolar power structures leaving behind politico-military supremacy of the USA and multiple new economic powers centres including the European Union, China, Japan, and India. Towards the end of writing this thesis, my mind began to shift from *geopolitics* to *geopacifics*, from the geography of politics to geography of peace.[5] In the light of my growing interest in spirituality and meditation, I began to question the notions of nationalism, war, nuclear armament, and the growth-based model of economic development from spiritual perspectives. Based on my studies of Indian spiritual philosophers like Kabir, Krishnamurti, and Osho,[6] I became more interested in understanding the crisis of human consciousness and the ways in which it has created chaos in every sphere of human life, locally as well globally.

After completing three degrees in geography, I moved to the discipline of education, where based on my study of Krishnamurti and the famous Brazilian educator, Paulo Freire, I developed an interest in conceptualizing a notion of global citizenship which would integrate self-reflection and critical thinking (A. Kumar, 2007). I argued:

> It is significant to point out that the ideas of Krishnamurti and those of Freire and Giroux are different but not contradictory; rather, they are complimentary. For Freire and Giroux, what is significant is the development of critical consciousness to understand and change oppressive social reality, while for Krishnamurti what is more significant is the understanding of how we, as individuals, play a role in bringing about and furthering the conflicts and problems of society. Both perspectives are essential and need to be combined for a true education that aims at a just, peaceful, and democratic society. (A. Kumar, 2007, p. 10)[7]

As my study deepened, I realized that Freire's (1973) concept of critical consciousness was primarily concerned with bringing about changes in the structures of the society, but his work did not give profound attention to the significance of self-understanding. Krishnamurti's work (1953, 1954) attributes global educational, economic, and political crises to the conflicted nature of human consciousness. In his view, the crisis that is reflected globally in economic and political spheres is a crisis of the human mind and needs to be approached meditatively and holistically rather than merely structurally and in a fragmented piecemeal fashion. I developed these ideas more fully later while writing my doctoral thesis at the University of British Columbia (UBC).

I also taught social studies and geography at Apeejay School Pitampura in New Delhi for three years. While completely disappointed by the instrumental and examination-oriented ethos of schooling, I tried to communicate to my students, through a dialogical pedagogy (which encouraged them to find their own voices and allowed them the freedom to dissent), the significance of: perceiving nature as a living and creative being, to be related to and learned from, rather than as a collection of things and resources to be exploited; realizing the intrinsic unity and wholeness of life that expresses itself in diverse landscapes and cultures; and considering the role of self-understanding as the basis of understanding and connecting with the world.

After finishing my bachelor's and master's degrees in education at the Central Institute of Education (University of Delhi) and having worked as a teacher for three years, I joined doctoral studies in the Department of Curriculum and Pedagogy at UBC in Vancouver (Canada) in 2007. Here, I met Professors William Pinar and E. Wayne Ross whose research further deepened my interest in international educational themes.

When I joined UBC, Professor Pinar, a world-renowned curriculum theorist, was the Director of the Centre for the Study of the Internationalization of Curriculum Studies.[8] He kindly accepted me as his graduate research assistant to work on his internationalization of curriculum studies projects.[9] In these projects, the main goal was to study how curriculum studies scholars in five nations—Brazil, China, India, Mexico, and South Africa—understand and conceptualize local and global educational issues and their interconnectedness, and how their scholarship and participation contribute to the intellectual advancement of these nationally unique fields. These research projects also aimed at supporting scholars internationally to study, and thereby participate in, the emergence of a worldwide curriculum studies field which considers significant curriculum issues and questions at national as well as international levels (Pinar, 2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2014a, 2015a).

As Professor Pinar's research assistant, I worked on the first project that focused on the historical evolution and present circumstances of curriculum studies in Brazil, Mexico, and South Africa. The project on each country comprised the following aspects: invitation to six to eight participant curriculum scholars to give an online interview to Dr. Pinar and compose chapters on their and their fields' intellectual histories and present circumstances; intellectual exchanges between the authors of the chapters and a panel of international scholars; and Professor Pinar's summary of and reflections on these intellectual exchanges. My work was to read all of this material and write synoptic essays on the nature and character of the field of curriculum studies in Brazil, Mexico, and South Africa. These essays (A. Kumar, 2010, 2011a, 2011b) are foundations of the three chapters of this book, with significant updates and revisions. Working on this project with Professor Pinar provided me with a strong educational foundation for my interest in international issues and themes. Through this project, I had the opportunity to read original, first-hand research from diverse international contexts, meet internationally renowned scholars who would visit the Centre for the Study of the Internationalization of Curriculum Studies, and write about the evolution of curriculum studies in different countries under the superb mentorship of Professor Pinar.[10]

Professor Pinar also supervised my doctoral thesis which was later published as a scholarly book called *Curriculum As Meditative Inquiry* (A. Kumar, 2013). Among other things, this book explored how the crisis of human consciousness manifests itself in economic and political divisions, racial and religious conflicts, wars and nuclear crisis, and ecological degradation. Drawing upon the insights of J. Krishnamurti and James Macdonald (1995), I conceptualized a meditative inquiry approach to teaching, learning, and living. Meditative inquiry has the potential to allow us, individually and collectively, to understand the crisis of human consciousness at a profound existential level so that the seeds of transformation are sown in our consciousness. It is an existential alternative to the predominant structural approaches that merely look for and depend on superficial, knee-jerk, and instrumental solutions to deep and complicated human problems including education.

At UBC, I also had the opportunity to work with Professor E. Wayne Ross who is a widely acclaimed social studies education scholar and critical pedagogue.[11] With Professor Ross, I learned a great deal about the nature and purpose of social studies education. With his encouragement and under his guidance, I also published my work on social studies education and neoliberalism. He advised me to publish my research on social studies curriculum reform in India (A. Kumar, 2012). He suggested that I write critical essays (A. Kumar, 2008a, 2009) on scholarly volumes that focused on various aspects of social studies education (e.g. Grossman & Lo, 2008; Segall, Heilman, & Cherryholmes, 2006). He invited me to be a discussant on a panel on neoliberalism and education reforms and encouraged me to write a critical essay (A. Kumar, 2008b) on a scholarly volume on the same topic which he edited with his colleague Rich Gibson (Ross & Gibson, 2007). Chapters 5, 6, 7, and 8 of this book are fully developed, updated, and revised versions of my work that Professor Ross encouraged me to undertake.

Now, as an international educator at a Canadian institute of higher education, I draw upon my research on international educational themes and issues to inform my teaching. In my classroom, I create a meditative and dialogical ethos where my students and I question how colonialism, ideological control of curriculum and teaching, and neoliberal obsession with measurement, comparison, and competition have undermined the possibilities of a rich, holistic, and transformative educational experience for teacher and their students. We probe how various kinds of fear-driven conditioning influences have brought about religious, political, and economic divisions in the world. And we explore how a deeper meditative understanding of our social and psychological structures may help develop a free, creative, critical, and self-aware mind that is capable of transforming conflicted and fragmented human consciousness (see A. Kumar, 2013, 2014; A. Kumar & Downey, in press).

Through *Curriculum in International Contexts*, I present my engagement with and reflections on curricular and pedagogical issues, perspectives, and debates from distinctive and diverse international contexts. More specifically, in *Curriculum in International Contexts*, I:

- discuss how political, cultural, historical, and economic structures and processes shape the nature and character of the curriculum in diverse international contexts;
- underscore the connections between and among diverse cultural and political conceptualizations of curriculum and thereby contribute to the internationalization of curriculum studies discourses;

- explore how colonialism and imperialism, state-led ideological control, and the wave of neoliberalism and capitalism insidiously impact the process of curriculum development and teaching in different parts of the world;
- develop theoretical and contextual connections between these themes, drawing out their complex interactions, and their often entangled influences on curriculum policies;
- emphasize how intellectual movements such as Marxism and postmodernism have shaped curriculum theory in varied political and economic settings;
- offer responses from four perspectives—Indigenous, critical, autobiographical, and meditative—to challenge the ideological, colonial, and neoliberal influences on curriculum.

In a nutshell, *Curriculum in International Contexts* provides a detailed and critical account of the multifaceted political, economic, and cultural forces, and their underpinning ideologies, that have exerted control over curriculum landscapes globally.

Ideological, Colonial, and Neoliberal Influences on Curriculum

Curriculum—whether signifying a concept, a document, or a lived experience—is vulnerable and impressionable to a myriad of influences. It is controlled, shaped, and influenced by: the culture in which it is situated, political and religious ideologies that have sway over it, the market to which it intends to or is expected to cater, and the teachers and the students who interpret and engage with it and create it in their everyday lived contexts. Far from being a neutral disciplinary guideline, as it is usually considered, a curriculum is actually a historical, political, cultural, autobiographical, and economic construct, as the readers will see in the chapters to follow. Based on my study of the history and contemporary character of curriculum studies in a variety of political, economic, geographical, and cultural contexts, I consider three influences on curriculum to be the most profound: ideological, colonial, and neoliberal.

That state uses education as one of its ideological apparatuses (Althusser, 1971) to maintain control over its citizens has become common knowledge, thanks to the work of educators[12] who view curriculum as a political text (Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery, & Taubman, 1995). The problem with politicization and ideological control over education is powerfully expressed by J. Krishnamurti in his widely read book, *Education and the Significance of Life*, as follows:

> Government control of education is a calamity … This conditioning of the child's mind to fit a particular ideology, whether political or religious, breeds enmity between [human beings]. (1953, p. 77)

The ideological influence on curriculum manifests itself in a variety of ways including neoliberal, nationalist, fundamentalist, and ethnocentric control of education (see Chapter 5). At times, this ideological control takes on the form of the so-called progressive curriculum reforms as in the case of recent school reforms in South Africa and India (see Chapters 2 and 6), as well as in instances of No Child Left Behind Act and Race to the Top policy initiatives in the USA (see Chapter 8).

Colonialism and imperialism can perhaps be considered as the darkest tendencies in human history where one group of people oppresses another group, takes away their sovereignty and selfhood, exploits their natural and human resources, enslaves them, destroys their cultural heritage, divides up cultural groups by artificial boundaries, forcefully imposes colonial views of education and religion, and in the end leaves them impoverished, unstable, and divided racially, economically, and politically. Highlighting the pervasive legacies of colonialism and imperialism and their impact on education, Willinsky, in his classic, *Learning to Divide the World: Education at Empire's End*, writes:

> It is hard to know what to do about a world beset by struggles of ethnic nationalism, hardening of racial lines, and staggering divides between wealth and poverty… How do we help … [our students] … understand why differences of color and culture, gender and nationality continue to have such profound consequences? (1998, p. 1)

Colonialism and imperialism have insidiously and deeply shaped the notion of curriculum around the world, as several chapters in this book testify (see Battiste, 2013; Willinsky, 1998). For example, in the case of South Africa, British colonial policies, along with religious influences from Christian missionaries, undermined native cultures and practices and have created deep-seated educational, political, and economic inequalities (see Chapter 2). On the other side of the Atlantic, in Mexico and Brazil, we notice how US imperialism has not only influenced these countries politically and economically but has also shaped their educational policies first due to the export of Tylerian rationality[13] in the 1970s, and then through its more recent reinstatement because of the neoliberal educational notions of "efficiency" and "innovation" (see Chapters 3 and 4).

Neoliberalism has emerged as a dominant economic and political ideology over the past 35 years. It is rooted in capitalist thinking. It undermines welfare functions of the state including education. It believes in free market, competitive, and individual-driven economic policies. In his widely acclaimed book, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, David Harvey (2005) argues:

> The process of neoliberalization has … entailed much 'creative destruction' … It [neoliberalism] holds that the social good will be maximized by maximizing the reach and frequency of market transactions, and [therefore] it seeks to bring all human action into the domain of the market…. (p. 3)

In the field of education, as several chapters in this book argue, neoliberalism has been responsible for increasing corporatization and standardization. It promotes comparative, competitive, and measurement focused education, and is antieducational to its very core. It supports scripted curricula and standardized testing, and thereby, instrumentalizes education and alienates teachers and students from deep and authentic learning and from each other. Due to its focus on standardized tests and public display of performance on these tests, it creates anxiety, fear, and mistrust in teachers, students, and parents. It encourages behaviouristic and positivistic notions of education and combines them with the profit-driven and market-based ethos of the capitalist society. In essence, neoliberalism deepens instrumental tendencies in education and undermines the possibilities of rich and meaningful teaching and learning experiences.

How might we educators respond to these three deep-seated and devious influences on the curriculum? I propose four responses that will enable us to understand, reflect upon, and challenge these influences individually as well as collectively.

Indigenous, Critical, Autobiographical, and Meditative Responses

An *Indigenous response* to colonial, ideological, and neoliberal influences on education implies an intention to "decolonize education" (Battiste, 2013; see also McCoy, Tuck, & McKenzie, 2016; Patel, 2015) on the part of Indigenous as well as non-Indigenous educators around the world. In my view, decolonization is a political, cultural, and spiritual process of challenging the colonial oppression, violence, impacts of residential schooling, and intergenerational trauma. It is a process of deconditioning centuries of *Eurocentric* ideas regarding education, work, progress, and life which has resulted in the loss of Indigenous cultures and languages. In my understanding, an Indigenous response is a deep invocation and calling to connect to one's roots, histories, and ancestors in order to reclaim one's cultural heritage. The Indigenous response is a spiritual action that calls for living with and learning from nature.[14] It is a healing process of reconnecting human beings' severed relationship with each other and nature. It is a holistic approach to end conflicts between people by working towards restorative justice, and between people and nature by working towards restoring ecological balance. An Indigenous response is not a uniform, homogenous, and ethnocentric movement. On the contrary, it is a multifaceted, diverse, and spiritual movement that prioritizes peace, harmony, and holism in living, learning, and teaching.[15]

A critical response primarily comprises a wide range of academic perspectives, including Marxism, critical theory, critical race theory, feminism, multicultural, hybridity, and postcolonial theories, queer theory, postmodernism, poststructuralism, cultural studies, and literary theory, which question and critique the ideologies that underpin curriculum. While these perspectives approach curriculum from diverse vantage points, they collectively disregard the neutrality of the curriculum and consider it an ideological, political, and socially constructed concept and experience, which needs to be engaged with critically rather than accepted on its face value. Through adopting various kinds of critical, anti-oppressive, feminist, racial, and discursive theories and methodologies, a *critical response* fights against prejudices, injustices, and discriminations in classrooms and wider social and political spheres.[16]

An *autobiographical response* constitutes an existential, phenomenological, and psychoanalytic engagement with curriculum, teaching, and learning. It places self, subjectivity, and subjective experiences at the core of the educational experience. It promotes subjective inquiries into and reflections upon ideological, colonial, and neoliberal influences on teachers' and their students' lives. An *autobiographical response* emphasizes the need for deeper self-understanding of one's individual life history and its relationship to the social history. From an autobiographical perspective, it is an individual's interest and intention in self-understanding that allow one to see, through reflexive introspection, how one is constituted of psychological, political, cultural, religious, and intellectual influences. It is this introspective and reflexive awareness that helps one to become capable of responding—subjectively, in the classroom, and beyond—to the deleterious influences of ideological, colonial, and neoliberal control on teaching and learning.[17]

A *meditative response* emerges out of a deeper understanding of the nature of human consciousness. The *meditative response* is rooted in the meditative inquiry (A. Kumar, 2013, 2014; A. Kumar & Downey, in press), which is a profound, intense, yet non-judgmental, engagement with the conflicted nature of human consciousness. Human consciousness here implies a common reservoir which connects us all. It connotes a shared human existence and condition characterized by conflicts and antagonisms at every level of humanity, which include the colonial, neoliberal, and ideological influences that shape and control education internationally. The notion of meditative inquiry promotes a vision of teaching, learning, and living where self-awareness is central. It highlights the significance of understanding one's consciousness as it actually is without distorting it and shaping it according to one's preferences or social and religious expectations. Meditative inquiry allows one to see clearly and deeply how colonial, ideological, and neoliberal influences—characterized by, but not limited to, racial prejudices, political control of education, and economistic and superficial view of education—operate within oneself as one relates with others in day-to day-living. Such seeing makes it possible for one to understand that what appears to be merely outer problems—colonialism and neoliberalism, for example—are in actuality tied intimately to the way the inner consciousness flows, to how one thinks, feels, and acts on a daily basis. With such deep seeing comes an awareness which challenges the structural problems at the level of consciousness and thereby eliminates discrimination, ideological control, and the tendency to measure at the very root of one's being. A *meditative response* is thus an existential and holistic way of understanding and transforming the negative and destructive influences on education.[18]

These four responses—*Indigenous, critical, autobiographical, and meditative*—to the colonial, ideological, and neoliberal influences on curriculum need not be seen as mutually exclusive. In my view, while each of these perspectives may have a particularly broad focus within themselves, they are diverse and rich and have much to offer to other perspectives to reflect on and deepen one another's insights. Each of these responses can together help us challenge ideological control, colonialism, and neoliberalism and create a world where learning and living are informed by Indigenous sensibilities, criticality, self-reflection, and a meditative understanding of human consciousness.

Overview of the Chapters

In Chapter 2, "Curriculum Studies in South Africa: Colonialism, Constructivism, and Outcomes-Based Education," I provide a synoptic view of curriculum studies in South Africa. I begin with a discussion of the colonial roots of the South African curriculum and trace its development from the founding of the first slave school in the 17th century up to the apartheid era. Further, I discuss different pedagogical movements and curricular reforms that marked that period highlighting their discriminatory and exclusionist approaches towards Indigenous peoples. Next, I cover the post-apartheid curricula mainly *Curriculum 2005*, *National Curriculum Statement*, and *Curriculum Policy and Assessment Statement* and argue against their inadequacy as educational reforms due to their instrumentalist, managerial, and outcomes-based focus. I conclude with a number of considerations to be addressed in order to allow curriculum in South Africa to be relevant to the country's contemporary conditions.

Chapter 3, "Curriculum Studies in Brazil: Marxism, Postmodernism, and Multiculturalism," provides an overview of the field of curriculum studies in Brazil. I chronicle the development of Brazilian curriculum over three main periods: pre-Marxist (1950s–1970s), Marxist (1980s–mid-1990s), and post-Marxist (mid-1990s–present). The pre-Marxist era was largely dominated by the Tylerian instrumentalism and Bruner and Ausubel's cognitivism. In the Marxist era, curriculum studies was particularly concerned with the relationship between education and social development. Scholarship from critical theory and sociology of education theoretically informed much of the debates during this period, bringing under the limelight concepts of power, ideology, and hegemony, as well as how these concepts are implicated in the dissemination and organization of school knowledge. The third period, the post-Marxist, witnessed the rise of the post-discourses (i.e. postmodern, poststructural, and postcolonial discourses) which emphasize a different set of curricular concepts, including subjectivity, hybridization, everyday school life, race, gender, and identity.

In Chapter 4, “Curriculum Studies in Mexico: Technical Rationality, Curriculum Communities, and Neoliberal Globalization,” I outline the evolutionary trajectory of curriculum studies in Mexico. I have attempted to organize this evolution into three phases. The first phase (the 1970s) was marked by the importation of the American technicist-behaviourist models of curriculum. In this phase, several works of American curriculum scholars were translated into Spanish and were drawn on to guide Mexican curricular policies and programmes. With the start of the second phase (the 1980s), this American model came under critique from Mexican curriculum scholars who viewed it as being reductionist, rigid, and decontextualized. In subsequent years, these critical scholars converged into various communities (e.g., critical theorists, interpretivists, constructivists, and professional developmentalists) and pioneered research on Mexican curricular scholarship. The third (current) phase is characterized by a general orientation towards economistic visions of education with the introduction of globalized educational reforms marked by neoliberal notions of “innovation” and “accreditation” turning education into a vocational project evaluated through quantitative measures.

Chapter 5, “Curriculum as a Process of Conditioning in Asia: Ideology, Politics, and Religion,” discusses the concept of curriculum as a process of conditioning in the Asian educational context drawing on a number of case studies. Based on the analysis of these studies, three pertinent themes emerge that illustrate how cultural, ideological, political, and religious factors influence educational policies and curriculum reforms in these countries. The first theme is about the ideological control of teaching and curriculum as illustrated in case studies from Japanese, South Korean, Afghan, Malaysian, and Hong Kongese educational systems. The second theme is about nationalism, globalization, and moral values as manifested in case studies related to the political influence on moral education in China, the incorporation of Kokoro education in Japan, ideological debates on the inclusion of moral and nationalistic values in Singaporean educational policy, the prioritization of docility and harmony values in Macau’s education, and the discussion of Filipino and Vietnamese curriculum designs in developing unique national identities. The third theme is about religious influence on education with a focus on Indian, Pakistani, and Malaysian contexts.

In Chapter 6, “Indian Social Studies Curriculum in Transition: Effects of a Paradigm Shift in Curriculum Discourse,” I narrate the effects of the recent curriculum reforms on the curricular discourse related to social studies teaching in India. More specifically, I conduct a comparative content analysis of two major curriculum reform documents, namely, *National Curriculum Framework 2000* and *National Curriculum Framework* 2005, arguing that the latter constitutes a paradigm shift in social studies education in India—a shift from “traditional social studies instruction” to “critical social studies.” The chapter also reports the results of interviews and a focus-group discussion with social studies schoolteachers to examine the impact of these curricular reforms on the lived experiences in the classroom. My findings indicate that although the *National Curriculum Framework* 2005 and the new textbooks are student-centred, interactive, and critically oriented, many concerns remain yet to be addressed. Among these concerns are teachers’ lack of adequate training and time, the dearth of resources, and the predominance of a behaviouristic-positivistic and exam-focused system that still views curriculum and teaching as atheoretical, apolitical, and ahistorical processes.

Chapter 7, “Postmodern Turn in North American Social Studies Education: Considering Identities, Contexts, and Discourses,” provides a discussion of how postmodern and poststructural thought have influenced research and teaching within social studies education in the USA and Canada. I begin with an introduction to the notion of postmodernism. Then, I briefly trace the history of how and why postmodernism emerged as an important influence and allowed engagement with critical, reflexive, democratic, and inclusive perspectives in social studies research and teaching. I also discuss various case studies to illustrate what it looks like to do research and teach social studies from post-perspectives, and conclude by providing critiques and raising questions regarding the nature of postmodernist thinking and its usefulness for educational research.

In Chapter 8, “The Menace of Neoliberal Education Reforms: Where Capitalism, Behaviourism, and Positivism Meet,” I analyse the ramifications of neoliberalism on various sectors with a particular focus on education. At the economic level, neoliberalism with its emphasis on privatization, free market, and a decreased state funding of public services has resulted in economic and social inequalities among individuals and nations. At the political level, neoliberal policies neutralized the active role of citizens in building participatory democracies and turned them into mere spectators devoid of any agency. At the educational level, neoliberalism introduced the capitalist corporate rationality into education resulting in neoliberal reforms that emphasized standardized testing, corporatization of public education, and scripted curricula. Viewing these reforms as antieducational practices that undermine teachers and students' freedom and creativity, I conclude this chapter with a discussion of three main theoretical concepts to challenge the neoliberal agenda in education, namely critical pedagogy, autobiography, and meditative inquiry.

NOTES

1. Bachelor of Arts (Honors), Master of Arts, and Master of Philosophy.
2. For an introduction to geographical thought, see Agnew, Livingstone, and Rogers (1996) and Martin (2005).
3. For an introduction to political geography, see Jones, R. Jones, Dixon, Whitehead, Woods, and Hannah (2015) and Short (2016).
4. For an introduction to the geography of development, see Potter et al. (2012) and Smith (2008).
5. See Taylor (1946).
6. Kabir was a fifteenth-century poet and spiritual philosopher from India. His ideas criticized dogmas of Hindu and Muslim religions. He advocated a path to spirituality free of organized religion and traditions (see Tagore, 1916). Jiddu Krishnamurti and Osho were twentieth-century philosophers. Krishnamurti was also deeply interested in education and founded several schools in India, the UK, and the USA to advocate an education focused on questioning social conditioning and finding a new path to teaching and learning free of rigid structures and controls (see Krishnamurti, 1953; A. Kumar, 2013). Osho is known for his voluminous writings on meditation and commentaries on various religious traditions and texts from around the world. He emphasized the centrality of meditation and creativity in living and learning (see Osho, 1996, 1998).
7. This excerpt is taken from my Master of Education thesis that I wrote under the supervision of Professor Shyam B. Menon.
8. The Centre was closed down in 2010.
9. These projects were funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.
10. Consider reviewing widely acclaimed edited collection by Professor Pinar titled *International Handbook of Curriculum Research* (2014b). This exceptional volume provides synoptic views of curriculum research from 34 countries. For an introduction to Professor Pinar's work, see *Educational Experience As Lived: Lived Knowledge, History, Alterity* (2015b). Also see *The Reconceptualization of Curriculum Studies: A Festschrift in Honor of William Pinar* (Doll, 2017); this volume is an edited collection of commentaries on Professor Pinar's work by renowned curriculum scholars from around the world.

11. For an introduction to Professor Ross's work, see *Rethinking Social Studies: Critical Pedagogy and the Pursuit of Dangerous Citizenship* (2017). Also see Ross (2014).
12. See Darder, Baltodano, and Torres (2009) and Darder, Mayo, and Paraskeva (2016).
13. Tylerian Rationale connotes four basic questions of curriculum development proposed by Ralph Tyler, a professor at University of Chicago, in his syllabus which later became his book, *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction* (1949). These four questions were: What educational purposes should school seek to attain? What kinds of the educational experiences can be provided that are likely to attain these purposes? How can these educational experiences be effectively organized? How can we determine whether these purposes are being attained (Tyler, 1949, p. 1)? These questions and their various iterations became the basis of "curriculum development" paradigm in North America (Pinar et al., 1995) and in many other parts of the world as the current and other chapters in this volume depict. Tylerian Rationale underpins those educational approaches which support prescriptive curricula, outcomes-based education, behaviourist psychology and measurement, and bureacratization of schools, and which show faith in data-driven and standardized testing-oriented means to educational reforms. For understanding the key criticisms of Tylerian Rationale, see Eisner (1967), Pinar (2013), and Pinar et al. (1995).
14. See Coulthard (2014), Coulthard and Simpson (2016).
15. See also Cajete (1994), Stonechild (2016).
16. See Darder et al. (2009, 2016).
17. See Pinar (2011c, 2012, 2015b), Pinar & Grumet (2014).
18. See also Krishnamurti (1953, 1954).

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CHAPTER 2

Curriculum Studies in South Africa: Colonialism, Constructivism, and Outcomes-Based Education

Introduction

In this chapter, I provide a synoptic view of the field of curriculum studies in South Africa.[1] As I had studied and taught in Indian institutions, I felt I could relate to the intellectual histories and the present circumstances of curriculum studies in South Africa, given that both South Africa and India were British colonies and, therefore, faced severe social, political, and economic discriminations. In the more recent past, both countries have also been going through similar educational reforms. For example, post-apartheid curriculum reforms in South Africa (epitomized by *Curriculum 2005*) and the recent paradigm shift in the Indian curriculum policies (due to *National Curriculum Framework 2005*), showed their deep faith in constructivism—a faith that drew strong criticism.[2] The primary criticism was directed at the uncritical import of constructivist educational philosophy from the Western world without paying due consideration to the particular sociological, historical, economic, and political contexts characterized by poverty, illiteracy, malnutrition, underdeveloped school infrastructure, and poorly trained teachers, all of which proved constructivist principles of learning antithetical in both nations (Hugo, 2010; Soudien, 2010; A. Kumar, 2012).[3] The analysis of the current policies makes one realize that the political decolonization in India and South Africa has not brought with it *psychological decolonization*. The colonial legacy of discrimination and inequality continue to shape curriculum in both the countries. Even worse is the invasion of neoliberal and

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neocolonial policies of the West (R. Kumar, 2012, 2015; Ross & Gibson, 2007; Velaskar, 2010) that are reducing education to a commodity instead of a rich experience that can help the present and future generations to transform the deeply discriminatory social landscape.

I have divided this chapter into three major parts: historical legacies, contemporary circumstances, and future orientations. The first part traces and analyses the colonial roots of the contemporary field of curriculum studies in South Africa, the second part discusses the post-apartheid nature of the field dominated by the progressivist-constructivist-outcomes-based education nexus, and the final part deals with future directions for the field of curriculum studies as suggested by the South African curriculum theorists.

Part I: The Historical Legacies

Curriculum as a Colonial Process

Colonialism and racism have been the key factors in shaping curriculum discourses in South Africa since colonial times. As a colonial process, curriculum involved the degradation, displacement, and destruction of local knowledge and identities of the Indigenous people. The main curriculum-related questions in the colonial era were: How is the curriculum to maintain the ideology that some people are superior to others? How is the nation to be conceived, and who is sufficiently human to be included as citizen-subjects? What national identity is to be cultivated for the people? (Soudien, 2010, p. 24). The answers to these questions came from various sources: the Enlightenment philosophy of Locke and Holmes, the Christian missionaries' focus on conversion, Darwin's notion of the "survival of the fittest," and the then newly emerged Inelligence Quotient (IQ) tests (Soudien, 2010, p. 23). All these questions were, and even now are, central to the politics of curriculum in South Africa.

The Dutch Curriculum: Colonialism and Religious Order

The introduction of formal education was the crucial first period that led to the emergence of the notion of curriculum in South Africa. The beginning of formal education signified the first contact between three characters of South Africa's cultural landscape: settler, slave, and the Indigenous people (Soudien, 2010, p. 25).

In April 1658, the first school—a slave school—was founded in South Africa after a large number of children were acquired from the arrest of a slave dealer. Jon van Riebeeck, the so-called father of South Africa, saw these children as "identity-*less* subjects into whom everything that was necessary for their embodiment as slaves could be poured: a Christian God, *VOC* (*Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie* or Dutch East India Company) brandy and tobacco, and ultimately, new Dutch Christian names" (Soudien, 2010, p. 26).

The curriculum that was used for this slave school emphasized religiosity which became the pattern for future schools in the country. Schools served chiefly as an instrument for the perpetuation of the religious power and hierarchy (Malherbe, 1925/1937, p. 46). Literacy enabled children to read the Bible. The key curriculum questions—"what should be taught?" and "who should teach?"—were answered by the church.

Throughout the colonial rule of the *VOC* and the British (which started in 1795), slaves and Indigenous people almost disappeared from South Africa's history. "The narrative of South Africa," according to Soudien (2010), "building on an archive that almost deliberately effaces the 'native,' has been constructed as a European allegory of resilience and virtue in the face of savagery and abomination" (p. 26). That, indeed, has been the fate of the cultures and countries which experienced, and continue to experience, colonial and neocolonial forces powered by the oppressive tendencies of economic exploitation, cultural erosion, and political subjugation. An Indigenous response, as I discussed in Chapter 1, has been growing worldwide to grasp and uproot the deep impact of colonial policies and legacies in the contemporary world.

The Colonial Curriculum: Economy, State, and Religion

The British took over the Cape by 1806. During the British reign, education became tied with the economic development of the region brought about by the discovery of diamonds in 1862 and gold in 1866. Economic development was characterized by rapid industrialization and state formation—the latter was marked by the emergence of the new republics. These developments led to an increase in the rate of development of the "classic social groupings" of a modern capitalist economy: workers, middle class, and capitalists.[4] The period was also marked by the contradictions between modernity, which was represented by colonial authorities and religious conservatism of missionaries, and the local people, who attempted to maintain their own customs and traditions (Soudien, 2010, p. 22).

By the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, it became explicitly clear that education of white children and black children was the responsibility of the state and the church, respectively. The colonizers, however, wanted useful labour for the expanding economy on the one hand, and, on the other, they were not convinced that the "savage" in the "native" has been crushed. Consequently, the question arose: What should the natives be taught? (Soudien, 2010, p. 31).

Amidst these developments, and with the growth of industrialization, South Africa experienced the emergence of the "academic curriculum" (Soudien, 2010, p. 31). This development also received considerable attention from the mission schools. As a result, the curriculum and teaching geared towards African children incorporated a good level of reading and writing. Such curriculum initiatives to teach native people to read and write were not met with much support from colonial authorities. In the colonizers' view, Africans were not to learn reading and writing skills but "to give up their barbarous ways and adopt the manners of the civilized Britain" (Soudien, 2010, p. 31). What the Africans needed, colonizers believed, was "practical learning or industrial training" (p. 31). Unsurprisingly, neither the colonial government nor the missionaries considered African culture and its customs, histories, traditions, and values of any significance.

Notably, during the British rule, the experts were imported to advise the South Africans as well as the colonial authorities of the region. Among others, representatives from the Phelps-Stokes Fund (which served the African American, Native American, and urban and rural poor in the USA) visited South Africa in 1921. At the same time, several key white South Africans, such as Charles T. Loram, addressed the question of the education of the natives. Africans should be educated to meet the needs of the colonial system, Loram answered. He came to be a major figure in the international Phelps-Stokes Fund. In one of his letters to Booker T. Washington Loram wrote,

> I [Charles Loram] am taking advantage of my stay in this country (The USA) to attempt to convince my fellow whites in South Africa that the example of the United States proves that with proper training and education the negro can be made a valuable asset to any country. (Brooker T. Washington Papers, Loram to Washington, 27 December 1914: Box 5, quoted by R. Hunt Davis, 1984, as cited in Crain Soudien [2010, p. 32])

In the 1930s, a "modernist-minded group" called the New Education Fellowship (NEF) emerged with the intentions of making a break with the racialized past. NEF convened a major international conference in 1934. A key debate in the conference was about the "educability" of African people, and presentations were made based on the barely ten years old concept of IQ tests. R.F Alfred Hoernlé, a major liberal, countered the racial stereotypes and argued for the absence of any differences between white and black children. Dr. M.L. Fick, a conservative Afrikaner psychologist, acknowledged the vastly inferior test scores of African children to those of their white counterparts but denied "whether this inability was due to low mentality or environmental influences" (Malherbe, 1925/1937 as cited in Soudien, 2010, pp. 33–34). Also important in this debate were J. Dewey and B. Malinowski, pre-eminent scholars in philosophy and anthropology. The use of the terms such as "savage" and "primitive" in Malinowski's talk in relation to black people was revealing of his, and the then prevalent, racist and prejudiced thinking (Soudien, 2010, pp. 33–34).

Natives were very critical of several aspects of the new (colonial) education, particularly the ways in which it denigrated Indigenous customs. "The significance of these 'native' responses, which the proto-historiography of conservatism and liberalism misses," Soudien suggests, "was the alertness of the local people to what was going around them. They used this new ideology in complex ways, sometimes in pro-colonial ways and sometimes in anti-colonial ways" (2010, p. 35).

During the colonial period, then, the curriculum was used as a tool to enforce the political advantage of Europeans and the presumed innate superiority of European civilization over the Indigenous inhabitants of South Africa. One of the main functions of the colonial powers, therefore, was to "manage" the "savages," and to make them "civilized" through biblical injunctions and Enlightenment ideas to maximize the exploitation of their own territories and people.

Curriculum as a Racial Text During Apartheid

From the 1950s to the end of the twentieth century, the concept of race occupied apartheid government in South Africa. The notion of race became predominant and was reflected in laws such as the Race Classification Act that categorized people based on their physical appearance (Soudien, 2010, p. 36). Key features that marked this period were: racial segregation of universities and educational work;

Commission on Native Education (1949–1951); and the National Education Policy Initiative (NEPI).

Racial Segregation of Universities Under Apartheid and Its Impact on Educational Work[5]

The university system during apartheid was highly segregated and that continues to exert its influence even in the present day (Hoadley, 2010; Le Grange, 2014). Apartheid universities were segregated according to white, black, coloured, and Indian "population groups" (Hoadley, 2010, p. 133). Notably, the different universities had very particular social and intellectual cultures. The white English-speaking universities (University of Cape Town, Rhodes University, University of Witwatersrand, and the former University of Natal) were "liberal." They adopted Anglo values, were connected to big business, and viewed themselves as members of an international academic community (Hoadley, 2010, p. 133). The so-called liberal values which aimed at promoting "individual autonomy" (Enslin, 1984, p. 186) arrived in South Africa in the nineteenth century when the British took over Cape Colony (Le Grange, 2014, p. 468).[6] While accepting state subsidies and acknowledging that they were public institutions, these universities attempted to maintain academic and intellectual autonomy (Hoadley, 2010, p. 133). The Afrikaans university, on the contrary, accepted their role as "creatures of the state" (Bunting, 2004, p. 40, as cited in Hoadley, 2010, p. 133); their primary function was to train teachers and civil servants for the apartheid state. Rote learning characterized the pedagogy of these universities. The black universities were explicitly authoritarian and instrumental (Bunting, 2004, p. 45, as cited in Hoadley, 2010, p. 133). The curriculum was a much-diluted version of what was happening at the Afrikaans-language universities. Black universities existed largely as undergraduate teaching institutions catering for underprepared, mostly black, matriculants (Hoadley, 2010, p. 134). The one coloured and one Indian university initially took a similar form to the black universities. During the 1980s, however, they had allowed their student population profile to change drastically, and, by the 1990s, were under less government control than were the black universities.

According to Muller (1996, p. 181), the white English universities went through a conflict between the liberals (who complied with apartheid and capitalism) and radicals in the field of education in the 1980s. The radicals led a project of an "Althusserian-inspired structuralist neo-Marxism" (p. 182). Guided by the notions of "ideology" and the ideal of "organic intellectual," radicals challenged the liberals' alleged "lack of historical, social, and ideological self-awareness" (Hoaldley, 2010, p. 134). The major platform where these debates occurred was the annual Kenton Conference of the Kenton Education Association, which became the sphere of the radicals, where they schooled themselves in the "rigors of the new sociology of education critique"[7] (Muller, 1996, p. 182, as cited in Hoadley, 2010, p. 134; see also Hoadley, 2015).

The CNEP[8] dominated the Afrikaans universities. CNEP was a key feature of the apartheid ideology of the National Party that had come to power in 1948. While considered itself to be the policy for white Afrikaans-speaking children, the CNEP had major implications for the education of all children in South Africa (Le Grange, 2014, p. 467; see also Le Grange, 2010). According to CNEP, education for blacks should exhibit the following attributes: "be in the mother tongue; not be funded at the expense of white education; by implication, not prepare Blacks for equal participation in economic and social life; preserve the 'cultural identity' of the Black community (although it will nonetheless consist in leading 'the native' to acceptance of Christian and National principles); must of necessity be organized and administered by Whites" (Le Grange, 2014, p. 467; see also Le Grange, 2010). In a nutshell, the CNEP proposed an education whose chief principle was to keep the native African people under control of the white people and the Christian ideology at all cost, and this domination was justified by the so-called supremacy of the white race and Christianity.

The pedagogical framework for CNEP came from an autocratic teaching approach called "fundamental pedagogics." It derived its rationale from the principles of a Dutch Reformed Church and its orthodox Christian principles that considered children "ignorant and undisciplined" and "in need of guidance from the teacher" (Hoadley, 2010, p. 135). The "scientific method," fundamental pedagogicians believed strongly, was the sole reliable and true method of researching educational processes (Le Grange, 2014, p. 467). They viewed educational theory as an "independent human science with its own terminology, its own points of departure, its own methods of investigation and verification based on … the essential characteristics of the teaching-learning phenomenon" (Le Grange, 2010, p. 183). In the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, fundamental pedagogics was influential at Afrikaans-medium universities as well as at black colleges of education and in education faculties of historically black universities (dominated by Afrikaner lecturers) (Le Grange, 2014, p. 467).

Fundamental pedagogics, naturally, came under strong criticism because it did not provide any encouragement for the critical examination of the biases and prejudices inherent in CNEP (Le Grange, 2014, p. 467). "Instead of being 'universally valid' knowledge about education, free from 'metaphysics,' 'dogmatics,' and 'ideology,' as argued by its proponents, fundamental pedagogics (along with *Didaktiek*/Didactics[9])," Le Grange (2014) contends, "played a key role in reproducing the ruling ideology by legitimating CNEP" (p. 467).

Resistance to CNEP: People's Education for People's Power

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the People's Education for People's Power (PEPP) emerged as a strong critique of the authoritarian and didactic nature of CNEP and its attendant fundamental pedagogics. PEPP represented those who struggled for social transformation through education in South Africa. It was a grass-roots-based social, cultural, and educational force that was developed by the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC). Being inspired by liberal and socialist ideas, organizations, and movements like Freedom Charter of the African National Congress (ANC), the Black Consciousness movement, Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), the United Democratic Front (UDF), and the National Forum (NF), the South African Students Organization (SASO) as well as the critical pedagogy[10] literature by Paulo Freire (1973), Bowles and Gintis (1976), Illich (1970), Giroux (1981), and Apple (1979/2004) among others (Le Grange, 2014, p. 468), PEPP advocated a community-oriented model of governing education by including parents, teachers, students, and other community members. This involvement expected parents' participation with matters of governance as well as with curriculum matters such as the introduction of "People's mathematics" and "People's history" as alternatives to apartheid curricular material (Le Grange, 2014, p. 469; see also Le Grange, 2010). The social-reconstructionist aim of People's Education was embedded in a number of progressive ideals, including a "learner-centred pedagogy," "content consonant with learners' experiences of life," and "collaborative learning." The movement conducted workshops for teachers and produced "alternative worksheets" characterized by contexts and discussion questions that related to the political, social, and economic realities of the apartheid state. Social awareness and political "conscientization," based on the work of Paulo Freire (1973), were foregrounded (Hoadley, 2010, p. 135), in order to "help children to better understand their past, their present, and provide hope for the future" (Le Grange, 2014, p. 469). While a radical and progressive movement, People's Education fell apart in the late 1980s due to state control and an existential crisis about its own meaning and purpose (Le Grange, 2014, p. 469).

Commission on Native Education/Eiselen Commission (1949–1951)

Another key relevant feature of apartheid was the Commission on Native Education (1949–1951) led by W.W. Eiselen. The main purpose of the Eiselen commission was "the formulation of the principles and aims of education for natives as an independent race, in which their past and present, their inherent racial qualities, their distinctive characteristics and aptitude, and their needs under the ever-changing social conditions are taken into consideration" (U.G. No 53/51:7, as cited in Soudien, 2010, p. 36).

The Commission "hedged" when it came down to deciding whether the African mind was innately inferior. However, the Commission emphasized that African culture, and the mind that it has created, "limited the capacity for African children to perform on a level with white children. It was out of this "concern" that *Bantu Education*[11] was born which effectively condemned African people to the status of 'hewers of wood and drawers of water'" (Soudien, 2010, p. 36; also see Soudien, 2005).

The Commission employed "racial science" to identify, label, and categorize the "original Bantu" like animal or plant species so that scientific studies could be conducted on them. On the surface, it seemed as if the Commission did not endorse racial science, but deep down its policies were informed by racial biases and prejudices. This was a "curriculum of subordination," and the rote learning served as the "script of inferiority" (Soudien, 2010, p. 36). Nevertheless, in the 1940s and the 1950s, African and coloured intellectuals' groups, namely, the Teachers' League of South Africa, Spartacus and Leninist Club in the 1930s and the Non-European Unity Movement and the Cape African Teachers' Association heavily challenged the notion of race propagated by the Eiselen Commission. These groups tried to develop socialist and reformist principles and practices at the level of the individual as well as the community to counter the ever-growing racism in South Africa. Moreover, as teachers, these people introduced into their classrooms a curriculum and teaching that intended to challenge and question the "racist curriculum of the Apartheid" (Soudien, 2010, pp. 36–37). These radical intellectuals wanted their children to study works of Plato, Shakespeare, Mozart, Freud, Marx, and Picasso so that they could fully participate in questioning and resisting the racial ways of living (Soudien, 2010, p. 37).

Such oppositions, however, while being very meaningful and receiving a lot of attention and thought, however, did not bring a complete break from the racial ways of thinking. While the idea of "non-racialism" was endorsed and incorporated by important political organizations such as the ANC, the true understanding of non-racialism and its implications were not fully comprehended (Soudien, 2010, p. 38). For ANC non-racialism meant a multicultural approach to the concept of race. While ideologically it emphasized "racial unity," it did not show commitment to a total elimination of the very concept of "race." It is revealing that The Freedom Charter of the ANC maintained that South Africa's cultural landscape comprises four racial groups—African, whites, coloureds, and Indians—without examining and exploring these "racial divisions" as socially produced constructs and outcomes of centuries of conditioning influences (A. Kumar, 2013). As a consequence, the political and intellectual discourses continued to exhibit the language of conservatism and liberalism (Soudien, 2010, p. 38).

National Education Policy Initiative (NEPI)

The lifting of bans over political organizations such as the ANC and the release of political prisoners such as Nelson Mandela led to the development of a new democratic movement in South Africa. It motivated projects aimed at transforming political, social, and economic aspects of South African society. One example of these transformative projects was the NEPI, a project of the National Education Coordinating Committee (NECC), which was conducted to conceptualize aspects of the People's Education between December 1990 and August 1992. The project produced twelve reports including a report on curriculum. Underpinning the curriculum report was the commitment to build a unitary education system with a curriculum unbiased with respect to race and gender. This was followed by the introduction of "interim syllabuses" a year after South Africa's first democratic elections of 1995 (Le Grange, 2010, p. 188). Largely, curriculum revision updated the subject matter and removed explicit racial content. These revisions "had little to do with changing the school curriculum and much more do with the politics of transition since South Africa's first non-racial, democratic elections in 1994," argued Jansen (1999, p. 57). "[S]ocial difference [including racial difference], as opposed to, say, pedagogical reforms," Soudien (2010) therefore contends "is the central question that derives curriculum development in South and southern Africa" (p. 20).

The curricular changes to eliminate racial content reflected the new government's primary concern of seeking legitimacy following the national elections. Notably, the post-apartheid government brought about what is called the first White Paper on Education and Training (Republic of South Africa, 1995). The White Paper introduced a popular educational idea, namely, "outcomes-based education (OBE)," which became the subject of much curricular debate and criticism in the following years (Le Grange, 2010, p. 189).

Part II: Contemporary Circumstances

Curriculum in the Post-Apartheid South Africa: Progressivism, Constructivism, and Outcomes-Based Education

African National Congress (ANC) entered the era of democracy in 1994 with a number of key policy announcements. The most significant document was the Constitution of South Africa that was passed and ratified in 1996. This Constitution is considered to be one of the most progressive of its kind; however, the seemingly flawless provisions of equality and inclusiveness as enshrined in the Constitution are subject to diverse interpretations depending on one's ideological inclinations (Soudien, 2010, p. 40).

For instance, guided by the progressive and the democratic ideals of the West, the Constitution of South Africa views human beings as logical, thoughtful, and independent decision-makers who develop themselves and their culture by engaging the world in a meaningful way (Soudien, 2010, p. 41). "While this projection is important as an ideal, and therefore, has important pedagogic implications for teaching South Africans about the citizens they could be, it underplays," contends Soudien, "the extent to which subjectivity in South Africa is raced, cultured, gendered, and classed…" (p. 41). In Soudien's opinion,

> While it is true that the intention of the Constitution [in post-Apartheid South Africa] is to be inclusive, the way in which it is constructed continues to make it possible for exclusion to take place. It and the derivative legislation based on it, it is contended here, often misrecognizes the South African child sociologically. (2010, p. 40)

Naturally, such idealistic reform ideas that are not rooted in the social, economic, and political reality of the natives failed to be actualized on the ground. *Curriculum 2005* (*C2005*) and its successor the *National Curriculum Statements* (NCS) are the examples of this contradiction between the ideal and the reality (Soudien, 2010, p. 41).

C2005[12] was launched in 1997 by Professor Bengu, the then South African Minister of Education (Le Grange, 2010, p. 190). *C2005* was strongly informed by the developments within the field of education, both locally (People's Education; the integration of education and training) and globally (OBE[13]; competency-based curriculum[14]) (Hoadley, 2010, p. 136). *C2005* placed emphasis on "learner-centeredness" and the development of "critical thought" in contrast to the apartheid government's rote learning approach. The major purpose of *C2005* was to confront the hierarchal and racial objectives of the apartheid era's curriculum. Additionally, it aimed to restructure school education by emphasizing skills-oriented learning, which would prepare a competitive workforce to participate in the global economy (Mason, 1999, p. 137). In practice, however, *C2005* favoured older forms of privilege and continued to discriminate against black and poor children (Soudien, 2010, p. 41).

Criticisms of Curriculum 2005

Although the criticisms were silenced at first, the first post-apartheid curriculum, as reflected in *C2005* and the OBE proposals, invited serious critique (Hoadley, 2010). The first significant critique of OBE[15] was a paper by Jonathan Jansen (1997) entitled, "Why OBE will fail?" An elaboration of this paper was later published as a chapter in *Changing Curriculum Studies on Outcomes-based Education in South Africa* (Jansen & Christie, 1999). Jansen outlines what he refers to as the "principal criticisms of OBE," namely, its links to behavioural psychology and "mastery learning" and its focus on "instrumentalism" (Le Grange, 2010, p. 191). Below I provide a brief account of the criticisms raised against *C2005* in particular and, more generally, of what Hugo (2010) calls Post-Apartheid Education Reform (PAER) and Post-Apartheid Curriculum Studies (PACS).

C2005 represents an imported curriculum; it has been brought from New Zealand, the UK, and the USA with a view to induce "best-practice" in South Africa's school education without giving any attention to latter's historical and present circumstances. The apartheid government employed William Spady, a curriculum expert from the USA, to develop an outcomes-based curriculum for South Africa's schools. Spady's OBE encountered severe criticisms, both in USA and South Africa, for emphasizing "competencies" rather than academic knowledge (Soudien, 2010, p. 41–42). Importation of an OBE model seemed especially problematic for a country like South Africa where apartheid had ensured a "despecialization" of non-white teachers and learners. The antidote to such despecialization should be the increased focus on specialized knowledge, Hugo (2010, p. 64) suggests, by ensuring that the school subjects bear resemblance to the parent academic disciplines.

Moreover, *C2005* and the principles of outcomes-based learning that informed it—the so-called learner-centred education and curriculum integration—made explicit what the outcomes of learning should be but left implicit precisely what content should be selected and how it should be sequenced. It assumed that different teachers and students would use different methods suitable for their own contexts to achieve the outcomes (Hugo, 2010, p. 60). While this conception of curriculum may appear sensible, in the face of the immense diversity of South African students and teachers, it has proved a disaster. Why?

First of all, it is important to consider that many historically undereducated groups within South Africa rely on schools to teach basic skills. Eighty per cent of schools in South Africa are said to be "dysfunctional," which means that the already disadvantaged never get a chance to systematically acquire foundational skills. This situation is made worse by the use of "progressive" approaches in the primary phase that do not specify what basic skills must be mastered, especially in the case of mathematics and science. Second, when the means of achieving outcomes are left implicit, teachers, students, and the school must have the intellectual and material resources required to determine which methods and paths would most likely achieve the desired outcomes. Apartheid had ensured that schooling for non-whites was inadequate, not only in terms of the material resources of the school but also in the education of its teachers and the quality of the curriculum. To expect teachers with inadequate subject and pedagogic knowledge to negotiate the complexity of education in such circumstances amounted to educational injustice. To provide teachers with textbooks that suggested "resource-rich" and "activity-based lessons" without specifying what content and instructional sequences might be employed deprived them of the basic tools necessary to achieve the required outcomes (Hugo, 2010, pp. 60–61).

Additionally, PACS promotes models of teaching and learning that emphasize "individualized pedagogy" over collective or group-oriented "curriculum delivery." The individualized model of teaching and learning based on small classes, with all other educational approaches considered insignificant, is often unworkable in South Africa due to a large number of students per classroom. The post-apartheid national educational goal to increase access to higher education, it was feared, would result in larger classes and compromised quality of education (Hugo, 2010, p. 72). Such a contradiction between the fact (larger number of students per classroom) and the ideal (individualized pedagogy) denied the possibilities of developing pedagogic practices suitable for South African classrooms. This situation is very similar to the recent curriculum reforms and the educational challenges they pose in India where the constructivist principles of teaching and learning are failing on the ground due to poor infrastructure, lack of educational resources, untrained and unmotivated teachers, and various kinds of competitive examinations which emphasize rote learning (see Chapter 6 of this volume).

Furthermore, the high status of English in PACS has resulted in losses in academic learning as well as in learning about one's own cultural heritage. Educational research on language and literacy point out that in the beginning years mother tongue is the best language for teaching and learning. While this perspective was adopted in South Africa's Language in Education Policy, which recommended that "school language policies should promote 'additive bilingualism,' defined as maintaining home languages while providing access to and the effective acquisition of additional languages, … the trend in African townships and rural schools has been towards introducing English as LoLT[16] even earlier than before, either in Grade 4 (the beginning of the Intermediate Phase in the new curriculum) or straight from Grade 1" (Probyn, 2006, p. 392). The conditions of learning are further negatively affected by "irregularities in English" due to its spelling structures and "the difficulties of teaching many of the words by breaking them down into sounds (phonics)" (Abadzi, 2006, p. 45).

Because of the nature of the English language, students take about 2.5 years to fully comprehend the meaning of the words they learn. On the other hand, if students study in a language with regular spelling structures and the possibility of breaking down the words into sounds, they take about a year (Abadzi, 2006, p. 41). Given that South Africa's African languages have simpler phonetic structure, there is a better chance of success for the South African students if they use natives languages (Hugo, 2010). "The rule is that," Hugo (2010) argues, "the instruction in mother tongue is especially vital if the second language to be learned has complex and irregular spelling rules, doubly so, if the mother tongue happens to be simply structured" (p. 77). Not realizing the significance of mother tongue and overstressing English in teaching and learning is one of the most disappointing features of educational reforms in the post-apartheid South Africa. Because the government allowed schools to choose their own language of instruction, many South African students could neither fully master their home language nor English (Hugo, 2010, p. 77).

In 1994, Nelson Mandela launched Primary School Feeding Scheme with an initial budget of R472.8 million that doubled to 800 million in 2004. While this is excellent as the scheme feeds around 5 million primary school children per year, it had also encountered major challenges because of the corruption that occurred while implementing the scheme (Hugo, 2010, p. 79).[17] According to Hugo (2010, p. 80), the central question facing education reform in post-apartheid South Africa is: "What forms of teaching and learning best suit those who have been and are malnourished?" Lack of proper nutrition for children's growing bodies and brains negatively influences their capacities to learn and cause behavioural problems (Abadzi, 2006). In fact, well-nourished students are reported to have an efficient working memory as compared to the malnourished students (Abadzi, 2006, p. 24). While "recuperative learning" is possible after proper nutrition is supplied to the malnourished children, there is very little educational literature available to guide curriculum development for deprived and disadvantaged children (Hugo, 2010, p. 80). The key in this kind of an educational situation is to stress on the role of "automaticity," proposes Hugo (2010, p. 80). "The more a learner can do things automatically the freer space within working memory allows for concentration on the actual task at hand, rather than its preconditions. Automaticity results in creativity," maintains Hugo (2010, p. 80).

Finally, OBE is part and parcel of a neoliberal agenda, and it attracts those nation states who have adopted neoliberalism as the basis of their social, economic, and educational policies (Ross & Gibson, 2007). The South African government is increasingly connecting teaching and learning to the growth of the economy. This intention to instrumentalize education to meet economic goals has made OBE approaches more attractive, because the latter claim "to provide world-class standards against which students must perform in order to gain employment, experience economic improvement, and survive international competitiveness" (Allias, 2007, p. 67, as cited in Le Grange, 2014, p. 471). As is clear from my discussion on neoliberalism in Chapter 8 of this volume, neoliberalism is an economic and political menace of the contemporary world whose primary objective is neither critical thinking nor intellectual development nor the creation of global-minded democratic citizens; its chief aim is to produce skill-based labour to feed into the ever-growing capitalist empire of exploitation and profit-making.

In addition to the above scholarly critique, the *Getting Learning Right* (Taylor & Vinjevold, 1999) report also added to the critical assessment of *C2005*. The report emerged from 35 small-scale studies (as part of the President's Educational Initiative, 1998) conducted to examine various aspects related to schooling including curricular material and teaching practices. Significantly, the studies found that South African school teachers displayed poor conceptual and disciplinary knowledge, and they lacked the theoretical and practical knowledge to interpret and implement the curricular and pedagogical expectations of *C2005*. Notably, while the teachers were trying to implement "learner-centred" and "co-operative learning" strategies, in actuality very little learning was taking place (Hoadley, 2010, p. 138).

In summary, the proponents of *C2005* considered South Africa to be an ideal society where they could implement their lofty goals, and, thereby, misrecognized the historical legacies and present circumstances of South Africa as well as the educational challenges such circumstances created. Hugo (2010) succinctly summarizes the fundamental problem with South Africa's educational reforms thusly:

> In South Africa, we attempted to implement the most ambitious, overly sophisticated, progressivist curriculum [*C2005*] without foregrounding in an explicit way what the foundational needs were or focusing most of our resources on primary education and care, ensuring basic reading, writing and numeracy for all. We went for the grandiose vision when we should have focused on the foundational. (p. 59)

Certainly, *C2005* failed to recognize South African students and teachers as "the victims of a prior process of deep discrimination" (Soudien, 2010, p. 43).

The National Curriculum Statement (NCS)

In the wake of these criticisms, *C2005* was revised in 2002. The process of revision, which was guided by the aforementioned scholarly critiques and ground level inspection of schools, produced what is known as the *National Curriculum Statement*. Significantly, while administrators prepared the original *C2005*, academics took charge of conceptualizing and writing the statement. The review committee realized that the schools that have remained disadvantaged for a long time lack the basic resources and materials that a learner-centred pedagogy needs in order to fulfil its goals of student-centred teaching (Le Grange, 2014, p. 471). The authors of the review took a "realist" view of knowledge and school knowledge. The lack of specified sequence was seen as the major design flaw of *C2005*. Bernstein's distinction between "vertical and horizontal knowledge"[18] formed the key conceptual stance of the review (Hoadley, 2010, p. 140).

The review committee's recommendations emphasized creating simple curriculum structures with clear guidelines regarding the topics and their sequence. However, the committee decided to retain "outcomes." It was argued that although OBE emphasizes the dominance of outputs over inputs, it also contains the progressive features of global curriculum reforms, namely, "active learning," "ideas of uniqueness and difference," and "activities and skills" as the basis for knowing and knowledge. Thus, while the committee, on the one hand, criticized *C2005* for its lack of curricular structure and sequence, on the other hand, it argued in favour of progressive and constructivist pedagogies, and thereby, contradicted its own views (Hoadley, 2010, pp. 140–141; see also Hoadley, 2017). "Over time," Hoadley (2010) contends, "outcomes, constructivism, and progressivism became entwined, and because of their conceptual conflation it became difficult to disentangle them" (p. 142).

C2005, as is clear from the discussion above, invoked fierce political and educational debates. Ultimately, a "moderate constructivist approach" (Muller & Taylor, 2000) was adopted which, on the one hand, emphasize sequential and well-laid out curriculum, and, on the other hand, realize the need for incorporating constructivist principles like active learning and individual differences. In the year 2010, the Ministry of Basic Education issued a new curriculum document called *Curriculum Policy and Assessment Statement* (CAPS) which does not endorse OBE. It seems from the new document "as if … it was… outcomes-based education … that was … the problem and not the underlying model" (Le Grange, 2014, p. 472). That is, while the problems of the outcomes-education were realized due to academic critique and resistance from politically aware people in the wider society, the instrumentalist mentality, which governs the way we look at education as a means-to-an-end activity, has not changed. So while the term "outcomes" of *C2005* became "aims" in CAPS, the key reliance on prescriptive and objective-based curricula has not changed (p. 472). In a nutshell, the entire gamut of curriculum frameworks in South Africa has been underpinned by the positivistic, behaviouristic, and managerial tendencies as exemplified in Tylerian rationale[19] (1949) and "principles of scientific management" (Taylor, 1911). According to Le Grange (2014),

> Whether the national curriculum frameworks in South Africa referred to aims, objectives, or outcomes, the principles of the underlying curriculum approach have [sic] remained the same despite several criticisms against its mechanism and instrumentalism by, among others, deliberative curriculum scholars, reconceptualist theorists, and complexity theorists, internationally. (p. 472)

Drawing upon Morrow's analyses (2007) of the curriculum reform history of South Africa, Le Grange (2014) recommends that rather than focusing upon which approach to teaching is better and have political battles over it, it is gravely important that we focus our attention on teaching the school disciplines (e.g. history, geography, and mathematics) well (p. 472).

In my opinion, government educational policies are a response to the ideology of the party that is in power and its willingness to pay attention to the critical research from academia and the inputs and efforts of politically aware citizens. As the demand for holistic education grows and people become aware of the instrumentalist nature of OBE, the policy documents will continue to change, not only in South Africa but also in other parts of the world.[20] However, such changes are generally very superficial as they remain confined to the policy documents. Real change is only possible when it not only happens at the level of the curriculum documents but also when the thinking of schoolteachers, parents, teacher educators, and the wider public changes regarding education. Such deeper and wider change demands self-reflection and critical engagement with the world (Kumar, 2013, 2014; A. Kumar & Downey, in press). Unless there is an interest in inner inquiry, critical analysis of social and educational problems, and collective dialogue regarding the meaning of education and life, an instrumentalist, economy-driven, and uncreative model of education will remain dominant.

Part III: Future Orientations

The analysis of the inheritances of apartheid and of the uncritical and decontextualized policies in the post-apartheid era creates a gloomy picture of the state of education in South Africa. Despite the difficulty of present circumstances, curriculum studies scholars do suggest significant strategies and perspectives which could be immensely helpful in making curriculum more suited to the unique situation in contemporary South Africa.

First of all, recall that *C2005* was imported from New Zealand and the UK, amounting to an imposition onto the "post-apartheid imagination" as another instance of colonization. As such, it functioned as a "racial project." The South African curriculum was conceived in the legacy of the Enlightenment and Eurocentric ideals. In this situation, which reinforces colonial ideologies, Soudien (2010; see also Soudien, 2012) argues for the development of

> those curricular strategies … that uncouple whiteness from the ideal of equality. This is a first step in a complex process of invoking a range of new ways of resituating the subject in all its hierarchical locations—super- and subordinate in new spaces of vulnerability and even 'inarticulateness' and releasing, through this, the search for new ways of seeing self and other. (p. 45)

It is important that Indigenous perspectives, knowledge, and world views be valued so that the Eurocentric and colonial views may be challenged. There is a need to underscore the significance of the Indigenous response, which values holistic, spiritual, and cultural knowledge if we want to counter-hegemonic colonial views that dominate educational and other social institutions.

Hugo (2010) suggests the development of and experimentation with "mixed-mode pedagogy" for poor children, which may combine the pedagogic variables (e.g. the inter-discursive relation between everyday knowledge and school knowledge as well as the interdisciplinary relations of the subjects and evaluation, among others) in non-simplistic and flexible ways (pp. 91–92). There is no fundamental reason to consider strong classification and framing to be necessarily dysfunctional, and weak classification and framing to be necessarily educational, as I will explain below.[21] What is important is not to develop artificial categories but emphasize "hybridity" whereby conceptual, contextual, and practical knowledge can be combined to create conducive educational environments (Hugo, 2010, p. 92).

Drawing upon Muller and Gamble (2007), Hugo (2010) believes that the working-class pupils' "semantic orientation" tends to be "context specific, localized, and communalized" (p. 92). And when this "semantic orientation" meets with the "decontextualized, abstract, specializing semantic orientation of school discourses," the effective learning on the part of working-class children becomes difficult. In this case, Hugo suggests that "strong framing" (where teachers keep control of the direction of the lesson herself or himself) with a localized semantic orientation is extremely important to ascertain what needs to be assessed and how a connection can be developed between learner's cultural context and the curricular expectations at the school.

Further, Hugo points out that strong framing combines successfully with "strong classification" (where various subjects are demarcated from each other) between everyday knowledge and school knowledge. This helps in comprehending what needs to be learnt and how. Strong framing and classification combine well with "weak framing" and "weak classification" in this particular instance of working-class pupils. Under weak framing rules, teacher structures the lesson in a way that allows learners to own the learning process. In other words, the teacher allows his or her students to negotiate new curricular questions and expectations and at the same, he or she exhibits pliability about the sequence and time of learning by individualizing their instruction. Weak framing combines effectively with weak classification within the subject (i.e. various components of one subject are partially integrated), as it allows for developing connections and discovering meaning within a highly structured curriculum.

Hugo's suggestion underscores two things about teaching and learning. First, learning is contextual and variable depending upon students, teachers, curriculum, resources, and culture. So, as teachers what is significant is to treat curriculum not just as a plan but also as an experience, as Canadian curriculum scholar, Aoki (Aoki et al., 2005), has wisely suggested. Second, there should be a realization that a true study of the curriculum is, and should be, deeply connected to "extrinsic issues of social class, gender, race, cultural identity, language, interior development, physical health, and well-being in a way that takes seriously into account issues of social justice as well as the specificity of a case" (Hugo, 2010, p. 93).

Furthering Hugo's ideas, Hoadley's (2010) study of Muller and Gamble (2007) identifies the factors that can contribute to creating productive learning opportunities for low socio-economic status students. The study recommends that assessment procedures are fully well-laid out, and that the teachers should have the freedom to determine their curriculum, pace their teaching so that they have time to assess student learning and establish a relationship of regard and equality with their students. However, for the teachers who do not have mastery over their subject matter, it is recommended that their curriculum is relatively more structured and sequential to guide their teaching practice (Hoadley, 2010, p. 154).

Le Grange (2010) suggests that we do not consider OBE as a formidable entity that cannot be challenged and changed. On the contrary, he argues for a more

> rhizomatic view of outcomes, knowledge, and outcomes-based education … [which] could begin to include that which is excluded (the null curriculum) and bring it into the conversations, and make it part of the activities in South African classrooms … [by incorporating such issues as] … race, gender, sexual orientation, cultural inclusivity, and Africanisation of knowledge etc. (p. 196)

Drawing upon Deleuze and Guattari (1987), Le Grange proposes to use rhizo-analysis to do critical studies of curriculum policy analysis and teachers' work (Pinar, 2010, p. 229). Traditional policy analysis remains dominant in South Africa. It focuses on studying the extent to which policy is implemented in practice. The key finding of the traditional analysis is that there is a "policy-practice gap." A rhizo-textual analysis, on the other hand, shifts the angle of analysis and focuses on how teachers read and interpret policy text; that is, how they tactically appropriate policy, and comply or subvert policy prescriptions (Pinar, 2010, p. 229).[22]

Finally, Waghid (2010; see also Waghid, 2013, 2015) contends that if one central concern of the South African curriculum is to educate people to be democratic citizens who demonstrate the capacity to deliberate as free and equal citizens, then several dispositions must animate any reform, among them: open-mindedness towards and positive consideration and regard of the "other"; a desire to listen to others and have a dialogue with them over important issues; and, most importantly, a commitment "that injustices should not be done to others under the guise of equal and free expression" (2010, p. 212).

Animated by these dispositions of openness, recognition, and integrity, schools should teach students, argues Waghid (2010, p. 212), about their responsibilities as citizens to advance social justice and bring about better societies and a better world. Guided by the principles of critical pedagogy and democratic and global education, students should be taught to see their region, country, and the whole world as spheres for critical and democratic participation (Callan, 1999; Hursh & Ross, 2000; Waghid, 2010). They should be encouraged to discuss issues related to democratic citizenship, diversity, and multiculturalism so that they may move beyond a divisive and fragmentary view of life which breeds a sense of "otherness" and develop consideration for human beings and humanity as a whole (A. Kumar, 2013).

Conclusion

The historical legacies and the present circumstances of South African curriculum studies present a great challenge for curriculum scholars, planners, school administrators, and teachers to provide an education that takes into account the history and present circumstances of South Africa. In the post-apartheid Era, policymakers have eliminated the flagrant racial misrepresentations associated with the apartheid past. However, through *C2005*, outcomes-based and constructivist approaches have been directly imported from the West in apparent defiance of the specificity of South Africa's history and present circumstances. As is clear from the discussion above, South African curriculum studies scholars are well aware of the danger represented by *C2005*, and they have been raising their voices against the historical and current curriculum deliberations. Development of a meaningful curriculum that speaks to the reality of children in South African society at this historical junction is an extraordinarily complicated and painstaking process. However, South African curriculum theorists have been making commendable efforts towards creating the ground for a relevant and purposeful education for South African children by critiquing the instrumentalist, colonial, and discriminatory nature of the curriculum reforms and by emphasizing the significance of Indigenous cultures, egalitarian ethos, democratic education, and contextual pedagogy.

NOTES

1. This chapter draws on William F. Pinar's *Curriculum Studies in South Africa: Intellectual Histories, Present Circumstances* (2010) and more recent research on South African curriculum studies. Pinar's *Curriculum Studies in South Africa* is the first and the most comprehensive book that brings together diverse views on the history and contemporary character of curriculum studies in South Africa (Le Grange, 2014, p. 466).
2. In Chapter 6 of this book, I discuss recent curriculum reforms in India with special reference to the social studies curriculum.
3. For critical evaluations of India's *National Curriculum Framework* 2005 see Habib (2005), Thapar (2005), Setalvad (2005), and Chapter 6 of this volume.
4. Soudien (2010) argues this based on his study of Denoon and Nyeko's important work titled *Southern Africa since 1800* (1987).
5. This section draws material primarily from the work of Hoadley (2010) who in turn depended on the work of Bunting (2004).
6. In order to create a liberal identity, Transvaal Teacher's Association (white English-speaking teachers' association) and many elite public schools (which experienced "racial integration" in 1970s) promoted liberal values in order to create a liberal identity for themselves opposed to the orthodox position of Christian National Education Policy (CNEP) (Le Grange, 2014, p. 468).
7. The new sociology of education was a 1960–1970 British movement in the sociology of education towards the inclusion of interpretive theories (Marxism, phenomenology, symbolic interactionism, etc.). It reacted to the failure of empirical and positivist research to yield productive education reform (Saha, 1978). See the next two chapters for how new sociology of education impacted the field of curriculum studies in Brazil and Mexico, respectively.
8. See Enslin (1984) for a detailed analysis of CNEP and its fundamental pedagogics.

9. See Autio (2006, 2014) for an introduction to German-Scandinavian *Didaktik-Bildung* education tradition that views curriculum, teaching, and learning in a reflective and holistic way. In case of South Africa, however, *Didaktik* tradition "was a narrow (conservative) one, a diluted form that never realised the richness of cultivating humanity evident in the European Didaktik's association with Bildung" (Le Grange, 2014, p. 468).
10. See "Theoretical Framework" section of Chapter 6 for a discussion of critical pedagogy in general and Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* in particular.
11. The Bantu Education Act of 1953 codified the ideological assumptions of 'native' capacity, effectively bringing apartheid into the education system (Christie & Collins, 1982).
12. 2005 indicates the final year of implementation of the new curriculum in all school grades (Le Grange, 2010, p. 190).
13. Outcomes-based education is an approach to curriculum and instruction rooted in the Tylerian rationale. It emphasizes the assessment of learning through measurable curricular objectives and outcomes.
14. Emerging from the same Tylerian paradigm of curriculum as outcomes-based education, competency-based curriculum aims instruction towards the mastery and development of particular skills (competencies). The learners' role is to demonstrate mastery of these competencies.
15. According to Le Grange (2014, p. 470), outcomes-based educational principles drew a tremendous educational debate and scholarly research in the history of South Africa. Some of the key scholarly works that deal with the outcomes-based education in a substantial way include Soudien and Baxen (1997), Le Grange and Reddy (2000), Waghid (2003), Harley and Wedekind (2004), Allais (2007), and Morrow (2007).
16. LoLT stands for a language of learning and teaching.
17. India faces similar corruption issues with reference to its midday meal scheme launched to provide nutritional support to school-age children (see Yadav, 2017).
18. Horizontal knowledge is localized, specific, common, everyday understanding, while vertical knowledge is explicitly structured, hierarchical, systematic understanding (Bernstein, 1999).
19. See Note 13 of Chapter 1 for a discussion of the Tylerian Rationale.
20. The state of education in other parts of the world, as discussed in the chapters of this volume, testify to this perspective.
21. Classification and framing are central to Bernstein's analysis of the structure of educational knowledge. Classification is a representation of power in the structure of knowledge, while framing is a representation of control (Morais & Neves, 2018).

22. Brazilian curriculum scholar Elizabeth Macedo's concept of "curriculum as cultural enunciation" (see Chapter 3 of this volume) is very similar to the rhizomatic view of studying curriculum and teaching as endorsed by Le Grange.

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CHAPTER 3

Curriculum Studies in Brazil: Marxism, Postmodernism, and Multiculturalism

Introduction

In this chapter, I provide an overview of the nature of curriculum studies in Brazil.[1] The Brazilian curriculum field can be roughly divided into three phases: Pre-Marxist (1950s–1970s), Marxist (1980s–mid-1990s), and post-Marxist (mid-1990s–present). The pre-Marxist phase of curriculum studies in Brazil was dominated by a Tylerian rationality[2] (Macedo, 2011; see also Tyler, 1949) and the cognitivism[3] of Jerome Bruner (1964, 1966) and David Ausubel (1963) imported from the USA due to Brazil's alignment with America during the Cold War period (Lopes & Macedo, 2014, p. 88). In the Marxist phase, which came into existence with the end of dictatorship and collapse of positivist, behaviourist, and cognitivist tendencies, the curriculum history in Brazil was characterized by the emergence of Marxism and critical theory. The educators inspired by Marxism and critical theory focused on studying the school-society relationship by employing concepts like power, ideology, hegemony, and reproduction. Marxism dominated the Brazilian field until the middle of the 1990s when postmodern, poststructural, and postcolonial discourses—which emphasized subjectivity, everyday life, hybridity, and multiculturalism—replaced Marxist curriculum thinking.

Below, I discuss in detail the nature of curriculum discourses in Brazil during the Marxist and the post-Marxist periods. I must point it out here that by no means are these sharp divisions; indeed, there is co-existence of various discourses (positivist, Marxist, and post-Marxist).

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"[T]he plurality of theoretical approaches and objects of study," Lopes and Macedo (2014) remind us, "remains characteristic of the field [of curriculum studies in Brazil]… [D]ifferent theoretical discourses about curriculum … intersect each other … [,] … dialogue with each other, … [and] … the frontiers fade between them" (pp. 86–87). My attempts at the periodization, however, are reflective of general trends. Moreover, as an outsider to Brazilian curriculum theory and guided by Elba Siqueira de Sá Barretto's (2011) remark pointing out "the lack of research on the historical perspective of the curriculum [in Brazil]" (p. 88), organizing the piece in distinct periods enabled me to conceptualize and coherently present the intellectual history of the field.

Marxism (1980s–Mid-1990s)

During the 1960s and 1970s, Brazil was in great political and economic turmoil characterized by underdevelopment, imperialism, and the widely felt need for structural reforms. There was also an intense hope that socialist revolution would create a more just and equal society in the country (Barretto, 2011, p. 71). Significant debates emerged during this period on the relations between education and social development. Notably, the links between education and social development had already been the subject of attention of sociologists, among them Florestan Fernandes (1961), Otávio Ianni (1968), Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1958), and Luiz Pereira (1967), who focused especially on urbanization and industrialization. The importation of sociological perspectives represented a new focus in the educational field, which had previously been marked by "psycho-pedagogical studies" (Weber, 2004 as cited in Barretto, 2011, p. 73).

During the late 1970s and early 1980s, scholarly production in curriculum studies was not extensive. An article by José Luis Domingues (1986), based on the ideas of Habermas (1968), was one of the first works that articulated the main curriculum categories of "technical-linear, circular-consensual, and dynamic-dialogical" (Barretto, 2011, p. 85). At that time, only the texts by Michael Apple and Henry Giroux had been published in Brazil. Abraham Magendzo's (1986) *Curriculum e Cultura na América Latina* (*Curriculum and Culture in Latin America*) was also an important reference for the first courses on curriculum studies that were introduced in Brazil. Antonio Flávio Barbosa Moreira's (1990) *Currículos e programas no Brasil* (*Curricula and Programs in Brazil*) became a key, indeed, canonical text (Barretto, 2011, p. 85).

In the first half of the 1990s, scholarly publications drawing inspiration from Marxism and the new sociology of education,[4] then a subject not much known to Brazilian educators, began to circulate in Brazil. This approach to studying curriculum emerged via Brazilian scholars, for example, Antônio Flávio and Lucíola Licínio dos Santos, who had completed their doctoral degrees in the UK (Barretto, 2011, p. 85). Such critical scholarship focused on understanding "the connection between legitimate knowledge, hegemony, and processes of economic exclusion" (Lopes & Macedo, 2014, p. 90) as well as studying the underlying ideologies and processes behind the selection and distribution of school knowledge. It was an attempt "to understand relationships between the processes of selection, distribution and organization and teaching of school contents and the strategies of power inside the inclusive social context" (Moreira & Barretto, 1994, p. 20, as cited in Macedo, 2011, p. 136). In their *Currículo, Cultura e Sociedade*, Moreira and Silva (1994 as cited in Macedo, 2011, p. 136) defined curriculum as school content, and they identified ideology, power, and culture as the main themes of the curriculum theory (Macedo, 2011, p. 136). "The New Sociology of Education and the critical theories on curriculum," Barretto (2011, p. 85) argues, "shifted the discussions … from psychopedagogy fields to issues of power, ideology and culture" (p. 85).

Moreira and Silva, among others, have played important roles as disseminators of studies conducted by scholars working primarily in the United States and United Kingdom, such as, Michael Young (1971), Basil Bernstein (1973), Michael Apple (2004), Philip Wexler (1983), Henry Giroux (1989), Stephen Ball (1994), Peter McLaren (1994), John Willinsky (1998), and Stuart Hall (1997). The key theorists whose ideas provided conceptual frameworks for many scholars during this period included:

- Paulo Freire's (1973) radical ideas regarding critical consciousness; sociological concepts like "*habitus*[5]" of Pierre Bourdieu and "invisible pedagogy[6]" of Basil Bernstein; historical-critical pedagogy[7] of Dermival Saviani (1991); studies by Rist (1970), Howard Becker (1974), Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968); as well as the work of Antonio Gramsci (1971) and Henri Lefebvre (1991) (Barretto, 2011, p. 74; Lopes & Macedo, 2014, p. 88).

Politically, this phase was supported by the emergence of radical political parties and movements in Brazil. Scholars inspired by critical theory and Marxism questioned instrumentalist conceptualizations of curriculum development. Instrumental curriculum theorists drew inspiration from the discipline of development psychology, particularly development theories[8] and cognitivism, to organize curricular knowledge by linking it to students' "stages" of biological and psychological development without taking into account the cultural context and political and economic reality of the educational system where they study (Lopes, 2011, p. 115).

Notably, the contribution of Marxism and the new sociology of education did not remain confined to theoretical academic debates. As Lopes and Macedo (2014) point out, "many state and/or municipal curricular proposals were constructed in dialogue with critical theory, … the historical-critical pedagogy and the Freirean approach" (p. 88). Additionally, Marxist and critical theorists and leaders opposed the global neoliberal and capitalist ethos that dominated most of the world, including Brazil, in the 1990s, characterized by its emphasis on privatization, marketization, and reduction of funding for welfare activities including education and health on the one hand, and centralized control of curriculum and its skills-based, technical, and market-driven orientation, on the other hand[9] (pp. 95).

Post-Marxist Phase (the Mid-1990s to the Present)

By the mid-1990s, Marxism came under serious criticism due to its devaluation of the everyday life of the school and because of the emergence of race, gender, and identity as key curricular concepts. Such criticisms, rooted in the so-called post-discourses, allowed a fundamental and epistemologically remarkable step leading to the "deterritorialization"[10]—a passage of flux, change or transition in the existing models, theories, and paradigms—of the curriculum. This has resulted in the realization of the limitation of macro-analyses, metanarratives, and territorializing tendencies typical of Marxist scholarship. While the critical theory tradition is still present to some extent, Brazilian curriculum studies is now preoccupied with everyday school life, hybridization of curricular policies, cultural studies, and the emphasis on differences as marked by the identity politics of postmodernism (Amorim, 2011, p. 67; Lopes & Macedo, 2014, p. 88). In this theoretical engagement, postmodern and poststructural scholars adopt the work of philosophers and theoreticians including Michel Foucault (1977), Jacques Derrida (1976), Boaventura de Souza Santos (1995), Michel de Certeau (1984), Edgard Morin (1995), Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari (1987), Homi Bhabha (1994), Stuart Hall (1997), and Ernesto Laclau (1996), among others (Lopes & Macedo, 2014, p. 89). I turn first to studies of everyday life in schools.

Curriculum as Everyday Life

"Research into/on/with everyday life" (Alves, 2011, p. 46) conceives the curriculum as a social practice (Macedo, 2011, p. 138), and it is often focused on the network of relationships between practitioners (de Certeau, 1984) and the "routines" of public schools (Ferraço, 2011, p. 93). Historically speaking, the "everyday life" research orientation came into existence in Brazil during the 1980s, at the end of the dictatorship. It emerged as part of the dialogues that focused on conceptualizing the trajectory of the Brazilian education in general and teacher education in particular (Lopes & Macedo, 2014, p. 94). The growth of the everyday life research focus has been tremendous since the 1990s. The major everyday life researchers in Brazil include Nilda Alves (2000, 2011), Regina Leite Garcia (Alves & Garcia, 2002), and Inês Barbosa Oliveira (2003, 2005), whose work questions the linear, sequential, and hierarchical organizations of knowledge. These researchers view knowledge as the situated consequence of networks of subjectivities in everyday life (Lopes, 2011, p. 116; Lopes & Macedo, 2014, p. 94) and problematize the idea that the official curricular prescriptions could be directly translated into practice. Everyday life researchers think that it is artificial to assume that there is a dissociation between school and other contexts and situations in which teachers, students, and administrators participate. According to Nilda Alves (2011),

> Research that is concerned with educative everyday lives and with different practices, knowledge and significations … originate … from the idea that it is in multiple and complex processes that we learn and teach. (p. 47)

From the everyday life research perspective, the curriculum is a complicated representation of the complexity of the lived experience which includes, but is not limited to, teaching practices, research production and government policies on education, as well as the impact of media. Instead of isolating curriculum and teaching from its contexts, everyday life researchers emphasize "networks of knowledge and practices" and "networks of subjectivities" (Lopes & Macedo, 2014, p. 94; see also Carvalho, da Silva, & Delboni, 2016).

In the everyday life research focus, curriculum as an official document becomes curriculum as a living experience influenced by the action and power networks of the school's daily life. The "threads" of these power networks, with their Deleuzian “knots” and “lines of flight” (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987), are not only discernible in daily life, but extend beyond it and reach the diverse settings where participants live (Ferraço, 2011, p. 97). What matters for developing an understanding of the curriculum is, therefore, not only formal curriculum and policy documents but what is practised in schools and related contexts (Macedo, 2011, p. 138). Drawing upon the works of theorists like Bhabha (1994) and de Certeau (1984), everyday life researchers ask: what narratives and images are produced and shared in a school’s daily routines while its participants engage in processes of “negotiation,” “translation,” “mimicry,” and “uses”? “How do these processes empower practices of “resistance” and “invention” in relation to the homogenizing mechanisms of the official prescriptions?” (Ferraço, 2011, p. 93).

Everyday life research emerged in Brazil in response to the criticisms of “technocratic” conceptions of school life, conceptions imported from the USA (Macedo as cited in Pinar, 2011, p. 15). The technocratic viewpoint disregards the subjectivity of teachers and students, and instead perceives them as abstract “variables.” As a result, the need for understanding what goes on inside the everyday reality of the school as its participants interact with each other and negotiate their identities is de-emphasized. Indeed, the studies conducted in schools, underpinned by the technocratic view, seemed to assume that what happens inside schools is not only not important but often wrong.

Everyday life research also responded critically to the Marxist overemphasis upon reproduction and hegemony. In the view of everyday life researchers, students and teachers not only reproduce what is, they also create “new forms of being, making, … [and]… knowing” in their daily interactions (Alves, 2011, p. 47). That is, macro-changes in history are woven into people’s day-to-day lives, if in ways not often noticeable at the moment when such changes occur, but in events and occurrences that we may not predict and control (Alves, 2011, p. 47).

In everyday life contexts, subjects practise different ways of “experimenting” with and “problematizing” the official curriculum by “transgressing” it in “powerful” and “inventive” ways (Ferraço, 2011, p. 95). Such experimenting-problematizing constitutes networks of “antidiscipline” (de Certeau, 1984, p. xv, as cited in Ferraço, 2011, p. 95) whereby participants “create, reproduce, negotiate, and thus weave knowledge” (Ferraço, 2011, p. 95). Everyday life researchers have also discovered that when participating in the daily curricular experience, even if following pre-established curricular materials, teachers and students weave "practical alternatives" with the threads provided by the networks of social relations they are part of in and outside the school. Thus, it can be said that there are multiple curricula in action in schools despite "homogenizing mechanisms" of the instrumental and technocratic views of education (Ferraço, 2011, p. 97).

Everyday knowledge has been dismissed as mere "common sense," to be replaced by the so-called scientific knowledge assumed to be superior to that discovered in the quotidian (Alves, 2011, p. 46; Oliveira, 2011, p. 160). Such "social science" pays no attention to the manifold "meanings and uses" the "common senses" have for practitioners and participants as they engage with their practices and activities (Alves, 2011, p. 46). Given the complexity of the daily life in schools structured by various "action-knowledge" networks of relationships and interactions among students, teachers, and administrators, everyday life researchers recognize and realize that the curriculum is a "complicated conversation" (Pinar, 2012) among people, history, politics, and culture, and therefore, it is impossible to control the diversity of the curricular world by means of categories that purport to measure them (Ferraço, 2011, p. 107). In addition, such social science assumes that it is possible to study an object by itself, without understanding the multiple processes, contexts, and interrelationships in which it is situated (Alves, 2011, p. 46).

Everyday life researchers attempt to understand events invisible to the quantitative-scientific methods of research models that are intent on generalizing the singular and the unique. For everyday life researchers, the curriculum is constituted in networks of relationships and "significations" and thus, is performed by people who exist in specific social, historical, cultural, political, and economic settings that are interconnected and that influence each other mutually (Ferraço, 2011; Oliveira, 2011). In opposition to the control and the "censorship" that science imposes on "narrative knowledge" (Guimarães, 2006), everyday life research is dedicated to listening to what is common, and paying attention to the daily practices of the subjects in schools. Such an aspiration requires a research methodology that is sufficiently open and flexible to enable a description of daily communicative interactions by situating the subjects in their own world (Ferraço, 2011, p. 96). Such studies could acknowledge the experiences that the contemporary schools "have neglected in the name of 'scientific' knowledge and Western white bourgeois culture" (Oliveira, 2011, p. 163). Realizing the importance of "fluidity, horizontality, creativity, and collectivization" (Lopes & Macedo, 2014, p. 94) in research and teaching, everyday scholars consider everyday knowledge invaluable and indispensable in understanding and responding to educational problems.

Everyday researchers question the "idealist and utopian" visions of state curriculum proposals. They argue that although people may have idealist and utopian visions and believe in a promising future for education, there is no possibility of an "instituted" consensus of "a common ideal prescribed to be reached with the same intensity and willingness by everybody" (Ferraço, 2011, p. 108), as is often implied in the official curriculum policies. The complexity of daily life diffuses any utopian intentions. That realization construes education as something lived in the present, not something to be achieved in the future. That is, the curriculum is what actually happens in schools, in the concrete conditions and contexts where the students and teachers act and interact.

Finally, everyday life research rejects the increasing dominance of the common, universal, and standardized curricula and evaluations. These are considered impositions on teachers in terms of what to teach, how to teach, and when to teach, thereby reducing their freedom to adapt and respond to subjective, contextual, and cultural realities. Given such neoliberal and market-driven homogenizing educational policies, everyday life researchers like Oliveira (2011, p. 164) advocate struggling against the economistic thinking responsible for the standardization of education, and they promote "social emancipation" in the quotidian contexts of the school lives (p. 164). In each quotidian reality, Oliveira argues, this struggle is undertaken in different forms, and the more fully subjects (researchers and the researched) understand their reality, the better the chances of a critical, intelligent, and creative struggle for emancipation (p. 164). Present conditions, Oliveira suggests, provide the reason for "plunging into the quotidian" (p. 159).

Given its recognition of the complexity of the daily life of individuals, and its emphasis on their creative agency to criticize hegemonic curriculum and knowledge structures and create spaces for emancipatory practices, everyday life research is also considered "a pedagogy of emancipation," not only in classrooms but also in the wider social and political context (Oliveira, 2005). Everyday life research's emphasis on emancipation is, however, somewhat different from the emancipatory or liberatory project of Marxism and critical theory. While everyday life theorists would focus on understanding and transforming the every day and experiential, Marxist and critical theorists would emphasize changing the macro-level political and economic structures. For everyday life researchers, emancipation cannot be a pre-decided goal which can be attained by following a pre-decided method. Indeed, their perspective of emancipation is marked by a plurality of goals and methods and the unpredictability of outcomes. Thus, social change, from the everyday perspective, "is no longer tied to a power structure [that is] far from everyday lives" (Lopes & Macedo, 2014, p. 95).[11]

What have been the major theoretical influences behind the development of everyday life research in Brazil? The first major theoretical influences came from Gramsci (1971) and his ideas of "ideology," "hegemony," and "organic intellectuals"[12] and the Frankfurt school of critical theory,[13] particularly the work of Habermas (1968), which together greatly impacted the works of Ana Maria Saul and José Luiz Domingues. These two scholars exercised a decisive influence on research into everyday life (Alves, 2011, p. 51). For these researchers, introducing the concept of the quotidian in curriculum studies was necessary in order to understand school life and its relationships with the broader social reality.

Methodologically, everyday life researchers felt that the subjects' active participation was indispensable, and they developed a process called "participant research" (similar to action research in North America). Notably, it was due to their methodological approach that such studies developed strong relationships with social movements based on the thinking of Paulo Freire[14] (Alves, 2011, p. 44).

Another major effect on everyday life research emerged from the work of Robert Stake (1995), who emphasized the need to observe what happens daily in the school and underscored the impossibility of generalizing conclusions. Stake emphasized the "multiplicity" and "complexity" of everyday school life. The representatives of this tendency in Brazil are Menga Lüdke and Marli André whose works are a necessary reference in everyday life studies.

Also influential in Brazil was the research conducted in Mexico by Justa Ezpeleta and Elsie Rockwell (1986). These scholars underscored the importance of studying schools "as they are," seeking to understand what is created by teachers and students in their everyday interactions. Also influential was the important English curriculum specialist Stenhouse (1975) and his idea of the "teacher-researcher," and his followers, like Elliot (1991), who stressed the teachers' role in reconstructing official proposals, especially as they participate in research regarding the daily practices of reconstruction (Alves, 2011, pp. 44–45). Finally, the research on everyday life drew upon cultural studies, including the work of Lefebvre[15] (1991), de Certeau[16] (1984), Boaventura de Souza Santos (1995),[17] Humberto Maturana, Bhabha (1994) (Ferraço, 2011, pp. 115–116),[18] Pierre Bourdieu, and Edgard Morin (Lopes & Macedo, 2014, p. 94) in order to understand the roles of "cultural artifacts with which the practitioners weave networks of relationships" (Alves, 2011, p. 45). Moreover, the dialogue with postmodern and poststructural discourses in the 1990s, especially with Deleuze and Gauttari's (1987) metaphorical ideas of "tree," "rhizome," and "rhizomatic"[19] knowledge, which helped conceptualize ideas like "networked curriculum," further contributed to the work of everyday life researchers in Brazil (Macedo, 2011, p. 139).

Curriculum as Postmodern and Poststructural Text

During the 1990s, poststructuralist and postmodern perspectives began to be more widely disseminated in Brazil, but it is primarily the curriculum scholars who have contributed to the debates regarding the significance of postmodernism for educational theory (Barretto, 2011, p. 86). In their landmark article, which appears in their "synoptic text," Moreira and Silva (1994) went beyond the new sociology of education to acknowledge the so-called linguistic turn and centrality of culture in philosophy and highlighted the significance of postmodern and poststructural thought for educational research (Macedo, 2011, p. 139). In this period, themes like globalization and growing interactions between and among cultures, divisions and conflicts within and between societies, a recognition of the rights of marginalized groups, and the significance of multicultural outlook also became significant for postmodern curriculum theory (Lopes & Macedo, 2014, p. 92).

Tomaz Tadeu da Silva (1993) published a collection of essays, *Teoria Educacional Crítica em Tempos Pós-modernos* (*Critical Educational Theory in Postmodern Times*), which critically reviewed the work of Foucault (1977), Deleuze and Guattari (1987), Derrida (1976), and Rorty (1982), among others. This book was a landmark publication that addressed the central concepts and theories of postmodernism and established continuities and ruptures with the existing curriculum discourses, including critical theory, Marxism, and the new sociology of education

(Barretto, 2011, p. 86; Lopes & Macedo, 2014, p. 88). "Critical theory and postmodernism—and even post-structuralism—have coincided more or less consciously in the curriculum field [in Brazil]," remarks Lopes and Macedo (2014, p. 88).

Silva's thought trajectory—like that of Henry Giroux (2004) and Shapiro (1995) in North America—is indicative of such a co-existence of critical theory and postmodernism. Silva emphasized the importance of understanding issues of race, gender, and sexuality in understanding the nature of school knowledge rather than considering it to be primarily determined by the macro economic and political structures. Drawing upon Young's (1971) view on the nature of knowledge, he believed that knowledge was socially constructed and emphasized the similarity of this view to poststructural theories of knowledge (Lopes & Macedo, 2014, p. 89). While Silva saw the significance of considering education to be a political matter as critical theorists would, he abandoned the idea of a singular, unified, metanarrative of liberation or emancipation given the postmodern emphasis on diversity, heterogeneity, and complexity of human subjectivity and the institutions it has created, and the partial nature of theoretical positions. More recently, drawing upon the work of philosophers like Derrida, Nietzsche, and Deleuze and Guatarri, Silva (1993, 2001, 2005) continues to deepen his connections to poststructural theories (Lopes & Macedo, 2014, p. 89). As a professor, Silva supervised many researchers in the field. A study of the dissertations defended between 1996 and 2002 showed that Tomaz Tadeu da Silva (specifically his work incorporating critical perspective), A. F. Moreira, and N. Alves were the principal Brazilian references (Macedo, 2011, p. 150).[20]

Research adopting postmodern perspectives in Brazil occurred mainly in the University of Rio Grande do Sul and was influenced by the writings of Tomaz Tadeu da Silva (1993), Alfredo Veiga-Neto (1995, 1996), Rosa Maria Fischer (2002), Guacira Lopes Louro (1997), Sandra Corazza (2002), and Marisa Vorraber (1998). According to the survey conducted by Paraíso (2004) on the postmodern research literature, the studies emanating from the University of Rio Grande do Sul primarily focused upon:

- relations of power and subjected identities (drawing upon the literature from cultural, feminist, postcolonial, ethnic, and queer studies);
- subjectivation,[21] challenging the assumptions about the "subject" based on critical and traditional theories;

- and the problematization of the "educational truths," of curriculum knowledge considered as "legitimate," evidencing the constructed and contested nature of knowledge production in education (Barreto, 2011, p. 86).

According to Lopes and Macedo (2014, p. 92), the concept of culture and the perspectives drawn from cultural studies also became central to the poststructural studies conducted at this time in Brazil's curriculum history. Some of the central themes of research at this time included the homogenizing implications of globalization and studies of the audio-visual material from Disney and Hollywood for local cultures.

These postmodern and poststructural studies in Brazil attempted to "seek a methodological way out of totalizations and metanarratives, looking for possibilities of analyzing the singular, the local and the partial." (Barreto, 2011, p. 86). Key in this development was the work of Antonio Flávio Moreira (1990, 2001), Alice Casimiro Lopes (Lopes & Macedo, 2014), Elizabeth Macedo (2004), and Lucíola Licínio Santos (2004) (Barretto, 2011, p. 86), who sought to understand both the "theoretical assumptions that have influenced the Brazilian curricular thinking" and "the hybridizations" of the current "curricular and social discourses" and proposed "perspectives for action" (Lopes & Macedo, 2002 as cited in in Barretto, 2011, p. 87).

Influenced by the poststructural critique of "disciplinarity," Alfredo Veiga-Neto (1994, 1995, 1996) developed a Foucault-based research programme to argue in favour of interdisciplinary studies centred on a "humanist-essentialist" perspective. In view of a "humanist-essentialist" perspective, the "pathology of the knowledge" (Fazenda, 1995; Japiassu, 1976) resulting from the separation of knowledge from the complex environment within which it is situated, leads to an instrumental approach that is subservient to the interests of capitalist development. Veiga-Neto questions the instrumental approach to knowledge because it disregards how power relations control and shape the nature of knowledge. For Veiga-Nato, contemporary schools are dominated by the instrumentalist approach to knowledge called "disciplinarization of the knowledge" whereby prevailing ideologies control curriculum and teaching, which is a concept connected to Foucault's notion of "governmentality"[22] (Lopes, 2011, p. 116).

The curriculum, Veiga-Neto (2008) believes, is a central aspect of schooling. The curriculum is a structured, sequential, and prescriptive entity and represents a view of knowledge that is linear, apolitical, and ahistorical. As a consequence of such an atheoretical view of knowledge, school subjects exhibit specificities similar to "scientific" knowledge. In such a scenario, the knowledge–power relations, which underpin disciplinary knowledge and research, are not considered to be part of the school curriculum. Thus, such a "scientific" orientation to school curriculum does not consider how culture, economy, and ideology influence knowledge production.

Recognizing the apolitical and ahistorical nature of school knowledge, the Brazilian field has undertaken research into the history of school subjects in Brazil. Such research has been conducted under the coordination of Antonio Flavio Moreira (1990, 2001), Elizabeth Macedo, and Alice Lopes. Based especially on the works of Ivor Goodson (1995), Thomas Popkewitz (1991), and Stephen Ball (1994), these researchers investigate the conversion and translation of scientific knowledge into school knowledge. Such research helps to appreciate how social hierarchies and divisions of culture—"erudite culture, popular culture, systematized knowledge, and commonsense knowledge"—are maintained, and how, at the same time cultural hybrids are produced (Lopes, 2011, pp. 116–117). As well, the socio-historical part of this research focus attempts to understand how the subject-centred curriculum functions as an organizational principle of school control and even undermines and negatively influences the so-called progressive curricular integration models and movements. Questioning and critiquing the social objectives embedded in school curricula (whether disciplinary, integrated or simultaneously disciplinary and integrated), in order to reveal the power relations present in the curricular organizations, is a key feature of postmodern research in Brazil (Lopes, 2011, p. 117).

In the recent times, Amorim (2011) has also developed a curriculum theory based on Deleuze's philosophy where his focus of research is to understand the relations among "time, being and event," "time, image and duration, of cinema studies," and "time, sign and sense" (pp. 67–68). Amorim (2011) views curriculum as a "field of sensation," which frees itself from the "humanist substance" that saturates it while searching for meaning and relevance in a "post-human state: "somnambulistic, unconscious, actionless, uninhabited" (p. 68). For Amorim (2011), cinema studies are influential in visualizing the curriculum as a "disfiguration context." In this view, the curriculum field anticipates discussions regarding new forms of living, for example, a world grounded in virtuality, temporal comprehension, nomadic movements and, provocatively, on "barbarism" (p. 56). Despite the postmodern emphasis of his research, Amorim (2011, pp. 55–56) criticizes postmodernist scholarship for exhibiting the "same bases and the same referents" as modernist scholarship, among them:

- the notion of a subject and "his/her conscience, autonomy, and power of transformation";
- "the relations of power" and their interpretation based on cultural (class, gender, and ethnicity) and ideological categories;
- a desire to understand the world and produce "just ideas" by means of interpretation, analysis, and judgment;
- and the act and intention of "establishing critical transcendental thought" (p. 56–57).

Moreover, Amorim (2011) observes a strong analytic tendency among postmodernists to reduce cultures to "text." Efforts to understand the relations between cultures and languages are collapsed into "discourse" as a metanarrative of cultural curriculum studies. Amorim argues that such centrality of identities and the subjectivist substance represent a tendency that is similar to structuralism (p. 67).

Curriculum as Hybrid and Multicultural Text

In recent times, "hybridism" has emerged as a major theoretical tendency in Brazilian curricular thinking. Hybridism signifies the ways in which diverse curricular traditions struggle for representation in the form of distinct curricular choice and organization, and in that struggle, have their meanings reconfigured. Such hybrid identities in no way disregard the history of existing traditions, the negotiations that are made with such traditions, and their multiple libraries—of books, theories, films, theatre plays, images, and memories. Hybridism has, without a doubt, greatly contributed to the complexity of the understanding of curriculum in Brazil, which is evidenced in the production of articles, books, theses, and dissertations. New theories from philosophy, political theory, sociology, and cultural studies are being incorporated into curriculum theorizing. Hybridism, at times, renders the curriculum so multifaceted that it risks losing resonance with the history of curricular thinking (Lopes, 2011, pp. 127–128); however, it is important for opening and advancing new perspectives. For the field to advance, hybridism must be critically embraced as an opportunity, not as a loss. As Laclau (1996 as cited in Lopes, 2011, pp. 128) notes, “only a conservative identity, closed on itself, could experience hybridization as a loss.” Hybridism, however, is not always successful in overcoming the prescriptive nature of curricular and pedagogical research. It is still a common practice to consider research to be a means for constructing proposals to guide practice in schools. Relationships among proposals, guidelines, and theories and practices are treated in a “verticalized manner,” which assumes that “it is up to theory, even if a theory of poststructuralist inspiration, to illuminate the paths of practice” (Lopes, 2011, p. 128).

Hybridism in curriculum research has also been accompanied by multiculturalism. From a multicultural perspective, contemporary curriculum “needs to … [have] respect for diversity and the school´s commitment to promoting social justice” (Lopes & Macedo, 2014, p. 92). A multicultural curriculum theory encourages “dialogue between cultures” (Moreira, 2001), emphasizes the use of “intercultural methodologies” of research, teaching, and learning (Candau, 2006, 2009), and questions and challenges the hegemony of Eurocentrism (Macedo, 2004). A teacher who believes in multiculturalism is expected to have a “critical” outlook, embrace “moral, political and ethical” responsibilities, and challenge “neoconservative and neoliberal” (Silva, 1999) ideologies (Lopes & Macedo, 2014, p. 92).

The turnaround of the field of the curriculum in the direction of multiculturalism coincided with the greater consolidation of democracy in Brazil and with the expansion of the political space won by the cultural minorities, especially the Black Movement (*Movimento Negro*). The racial equality law, the recognition of Zumbi dos Palmares as a national hero, the implementation of affirmative actions in the universities and in the public sector, and the inclusion of the Afro-Brazilian history and culture in the curricula of all Brazilian schools by a presidential decree in 2003, are all indicators of how important multiculturalism is from a curricular perspective (Barretto, 2011, p. 87; Macedo, 2011, p. 147). With the proclamation of Brazil’s new Constitution in 1988, it was recognized that the language of instruction for Indigenous peoples in the first grades of compulsory school should be in their native languages. A movement to rescue native languages and cultures has gained momentum. In 2008, the federal government made Indigenous studies a requirement at all levels of education. Cultural organizations, ethnic movements, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), universities, and other research institutions have produced studies and curriculum materials to enhance multicultural education. At the same time, teacher education initiatives, addressing multiculturalism, have also started to appear. In the field of curriculum, scholars such as Vera Candau, Ana Canen, and Antonio Flávio B. Moreira are known for conducting multicultural studies (Barretto, 2011, pp. 87–88; see also Canen & Moreira, 2001).

Influenced by postmodern perspectives, multiculturalism has played a central role in the transition from the Marxist emphasis on "social classes" to the forefronting, indeed celebration, of "difference." This emphasis upon "cultural differences," some contend, has overlooked those who struggle to obtain basic social goods. The discourse on "differences" has functioned to obscure the issue of inequalities as they become relevant only as they affect certain discriminated groups (Barretto, 2011, p. 87). Barretto (2011, p. 88) thinks that "the 'racialization' of certain identity movements deserves … a more profound reflection in the field of curriculum." Ferraço (2011, p. 101), based on his study of Bhabha (1994), Rutherford (1996), and Silva (1999), maintains that multiculturalism risks conceiving the school as a museum of different cultures as if it could exhibit these by means of "commemorative dates, characters, … habits" and other categories of "curricular prescription." In this multicultural perspective, the Other is "visited" from a "tourist perspective," which stimulates a "superficial and voyeuristic" approach of "exotic" cultures. A post-colonial perspective would demand a "multicultural curriculum" that would not separate issues of "knowledge, culture, and aesthetics" from "power, politics, and interpretation." A true multicultural perspective "fundamentally demands a 'decolonized curriculum,'" argues Ferraço (2011, p. 101). The "museum" approach to multiculturalism has also been criticized because it controls the dynamic processes of "cultural difference" as the former administers a false consensus structured by "cultural diversity." Although the idea of cultural diversity is welcomed, minority cultures tend to become located in the self-enclosed circuits of the dominant group (Ferraço, 2011, p. 102).

Curriculum as Cultural Enunciation

The fundamental shift in the field—from the Marxism of the 1980s to the "post" discourses of the 1990s—constituted a moment of transition from a "political concept of curriculum" to the "centrality of culture" in the curriculum. In the political conception, curriculum (school knowledge) is a shared repertory of cultural meanings as well as a means of cultural reproduction. While the primacy of cultural reproduction perspective dissipated in academic discourse due to the emergence of critical theory and pedagogy, which emphasized "practices of meaning" and teachers' and students' agency in bringing about social change, the binary pairs persisted between: formal and experienced curriculum; scholastic culture and culture of the school; and scientific and everyday knowledge (Macedo, 2011, pp. 136–137). To overcome such binaries, Macedo (2011) and Ferraço (2011; see also Ferraço, 2013) began to view curriculum and culture as sites of enunciation (see also Frangella, 2015).

Studies of curriculum policies in Brazil make such distinctions and binaries very clear, both in critiques of the "top/down models" (which argues that curriculum documents are imposed by the government on schools) and in the proposition of "down/top models" (which argue that curriculum should develop from the everyday life situations of the schools). The former focus was associated with the new sociology of education and critical theory with their emphasis on the notions of "official curriculum" and the notion of "reproduction." Most studies insist on the authority of the curricular documents produced by the state. Although fewer in number, there were also policy studies focused on curricular alternatives present in the everyday life of schools. These studies (e.g., Alves & Garcia, 2001; Oliveira, 2005) emphasized the creative dimension of everyday life while minimizing its reproductive function and criticizing the inflated importance accorded to "official" curricula in Marxist models (Ball, 1994; Goodson, 1995; Taylor, Fazal, Lingard, & Miriam, 1997). According to everyday life studies, the official or formal curriculum is disassociated from the thinking that produced it and is a distortion and misrepresentation of the lived experience from which it has been developed. The formal curriculum cannot (this reasoning goes) therefore have resonance with everyday life because it is an "illegitimate expression" of reality. Studies of the experienced curriculum thus seem to assume a self-evident, even "natural" relationship between representation and its meaning. The validation of the "experienced" curriculum as opposed to the "official" curriculum expresses the fantasy of verisimilitude in representation. The "official" curriculum, by the time it reaches practitioners on the ground, achieves an "anonymous" authorship. It is then up to everyday practitioners in the school to decide how the curriculum can be interpreted and implemented.

In both approaches (Marxist and everyday life studies), the distinction can be seen between "production" and "implementation" of the curriculum that accentuate the dichotomies outlined above (Macedo, 2011, p. 141). Curriculum theory, Macedo (2011) and Ferraço (2011, 2013) argue, must deconstruct binary distinctions between formal/experienced, reproduction/production and school knowledge/scientific knowledge. These dichotomies, Macedo (2011, p. 140) argues, can be surmounted by theorizing curriculum as the space of "cultural enunciation." According to Bhabha (1994, p. 248, as cited in Ferraço, 2011, p. 99),

> The process of enunciation is a more dialogical one that tries to track dislocations and realignments that result from cultural antagonisms and articulations—subverting the reason of the hegemonic moment and replacing it by hybrid, alternative places of cultural negotiation. (p. 99)

Ferraço (2011), drawing upon Bhabha's work, rejects the dualism between "official curricular prescriptions" and "performed curricula." In fact, he argues that in the routine of the schools, the "curricula performed" or "curricula practiced" or the "networked curricula" are expressed as potential possibilities for problematizing and broadening the official curriculum (p. 97). Ferraço considers schools, teachers, and students as "hybrid subjects" who interpret, experiment with, and problematize the curricula without being imprisoned by "political or cultural, original or fixed identities," (p. 102), and indeed question the official discourse of the whole system. Thereby, the participants of the everyday life situations work in the "gaps" or the "interstitial freedom" (Carvalho & Netto, 1994) and create their own meaning. Given this analysis, Ferraço (2011, p. 102) argues that it is imperative for everyday life practitioners to have a "political perspective" that is hybrid and is not fixed or uniform so that they can act in the "gaps" existing between the official and the lived curriculum. This will allow the participants to approach the official curricula from diverse epistemological, ontological, axiological, and ethical perspectives, and thereby, create "unforeseen possibilities" from working with the formal curricula.

Macedo (2011) considers Derrida's (1976) notion of "supplement[23]"—something that functions like a non-essential increase to something that is already complete, but which paradoxically lacks something—useful for overcoming the polarization between formal and the experienced curriculum (p. 142). In this instance of curriculum dualism, the experienced curriculum on the ground is supplemented by the official curriculum from the government. Therefore, it is impossible, Macedo) emphasizes, to conceive "experienced curricula" or "cultural production" inside schools without formal curriculum—historically shared meanings that characterize signs and that allows signification (p. 142). Neither experienced curriculum nor official curriculum, Macedo argues, is an "immediate representation of an accessible or isolated reality" (p. 142). As a result, the experienced curriculum would share with the written curriculum a past understood as "instituted outlines." Experienced curriculum, which is believed to be the "perfect representation" of reality, is thus very similar to the official or written curriculum, except that it does not have a specified origin as official curriculum does (p. 142).

Given how intimately and deeply the experienced and the formal curriculum are interrelated, Macedo (2011) thinks that distinctions like formal/experienced and reproduction/production become unjustifiable. Such distinctions support a scheme in which creative experimentation in the school's daily life exists only as resistance to past impositions (formal curricula). In a situation of infinite deferments and flux, the movements among past, present, and future conceptualizations and meanings demand negotiation, dialogue, and articulations of new meanings and concepts. The curricular documents only momentarily interrupt or fix the infinite flow of meaning-making. Without such a "fixing" or interruption of the creative flow of the educational experience, there would be no text or meaning. Therefore, a formal curriculum or temporal fixing of the lived curriculum seems unavoidable. In fact, it is only when the experience or the meaning is turned into a text that it becomes fully available to us and give us an opportunity to question the inherent ideologies and biases as well as appreciate its merits[24] (Macedo, 2011).

The idea that textual structure is decentred and without limits but is momentarily fixed around a temporary centre every time a text is produced, opens up into new possibilities of meanings (Macedo, 2011, p. 143). Derrida's concept of "brisure,"[25] Macedo (2011, p. 143) notes, contains this idea. Curricular texts are considered overdetermined and closed in spite of their "open structures" and "provisional quality." From the perspective of the curriculum as cultural enunciation, inspired by the notions of "supplement," "brisure," and "hybridism," dichotomies no longer make sense because the curriculum as enunciation emphasizes dialogues with traditions, thereby, spawning a "zone of ambivalence," an "in-between space" that is neither past nor future, but both and neither of them (Macedo, 2011, p. 144). In this "frontier zone" all that exists (experienced as well as official curricula) are "cultural flows" that represent the complexities and the possibilities of social and human realities. Such a fluid, creative, and possibilistic understanding of curriculum and the educational experience allows, argues Ferraço (2011, p. 99), curricularists to become researchers of daily life in multiple networks of ongoing negotiations, permeated by ambiguities, ambivalences of the possibilities that are presented in interstices, which are never fixed or absolute.

The idea of the curriculum as enunciation has been criticized for neglecting the operations of power. Macedo (2011) counters by pointing out that such a concept enables curriculum theorists to work in a more rigorous way with the power and, specifically, with the agency of subjects. It provides a way out of the doomed struggle against an absolute hegemonic power that Marxist theories, including the new sociology of education, have devised. Such a possibility, however, Macedo (2011, p. 144) urges, demands politicization of concepts like "brisure" and "hybridism," which may lead to a "theory of hegemony" on post-Marxist bases (see Laclau, 1996; Laclau & Mouffe, 2001; Mouffe, 2000). Such a "discursive theory of hegemony" can provide tools for understanding the overdetermination of the curricular texts and the discursive closings they invoke, on the one hand, and can counter criticisms of relativism associated with poststructural and postcolonial curriculum theory, on the other hand (Macedo, 2011, pp. 144–145; see also Lopes & Macedo, 2017).

Conclusion

In recent decades, the discipline of curriculum studies in Brazil has undergone significant shifts: from a positivist, then Marxist, to now post-Marxist phase. Curriculum studies in Brazil is an intellectually vibrant and impressive field, one that will exhibit a strong presence worldwide. According to Lopes and Macedo (2014),

> [T]he plurality of theoretical approaches and objects of study remains characteristic of the field [of curriculum studies in Brazil]. There is … research aiming at improving teacher activity in the classroom or in specific subjects involving school culture or schooling as a whole … [as well as] investigations that produce curriculum theory to analyze the different aspects linked to politics, culture, history, … daily life, … and … the dynamics of knowledge. (p. 86)

What can contribute to the continued intellectual advancement of the field? Research on the intellectual history of Brazilian curriculum studies is key, Barretto (2011) acknowledges. While focused on the "next moment," attentive to theoretical, social, and political developments in Brazil and worldwide, curriculum studies must remain attentive to the past, constantly reevaluating the significance and meaning of work conducted earlier. Such historicity includes ongoing attention to institutional politics that influence graduate education of future scholars (Lopes, 2011). Through a critical reconsideration of the past and present scholarship, curriculum theorists construct and reconstruct their and their own field's meanings and identities. This ongoing reconstruction of which forms of knowledge are the most worthwhile is animated by the ongoing negotiation of meanings, as the notion of complicated conversation implies (Pinar, 2012). With its emphasis on everyday life, cultural enunciation, and hybridity, curriculum studies in Brazil offer articulation of key concepts that contribute creatively to the ongoing formation of a vital, diverse, and inclusive field of international curriculum studies.

NOTES

1. This chapter draws on William F. Pinar's *Curriculum Studies in Brazil: Intellectual Histories, Present Circumstances* (2011) and more recent research on curriculum studies in Brazil. Pinar's *Curriculum Studies in Brazil* provides a most comprehensive view of the history and contemporary character of curriculum studies in Brazil.
2. See Note 13 of Chapter 1 for a brief introduction to the Tylerian rationale.
3. Cognitivism, in this context, refers to Bruner's work relating to strategies for human categorization and modes of representation used by children, which built upon Jean Piaget's work (Gardner, 2001).

4. See Note 7 in Chapter 2 for a brief introduction to the new sociology of education. See also the previous and the next chapter for how new sociology of education impacted the field of curriculum studies in South Africa and Mexico, respectively.
5. Bourdieu's concept of habitus refers to, "A set of acquired dispositions of thought, behaviour, and taste" and is said to "constitute the link between social structures and social practice (or social action)" (Scott & Marshall, 2009a, n.p.).
6. The "invisible pedagogy" is the name given by Bernstein (1975) to a pedagogical approach used in British infant schools. This approach was marked by teachers' implicit control over students, less value placed on transmission of skills and knowledge, an emphasis around playful engagement with the learning material and learning environment, and flexible assessment techniques (see Ronald, 1979).
7. According to Saviani, "… the historical-critical pedagogy defines education as the act of producing, directly and intentionally, in each single individual the humanity that is produced historically and collectively by humankind. This means that the role of education is to make individuals contemporary to their time, since, when entering existence, the members of the human species are already in a context which is a historical product, that is, product of the actions of the previous generations" (Saviani, 2013, p. 1, as cited in Taffarel & Santos Júnior, 2016).
8. The work of Lev Vygotsky and Jean Piaget paved the way for educators to view education in terms of the psychological development of the child—a process usually broken down into stages relating to age or cognitive skill. Notable contributors to the field of developmental psychology include Erik Ericson and Jerome Bruner (Gardner, 2001; Smith, 2001).
9. See Chapter 8 for a detailed discussion on the challenge of neoliberalism and its educational implications.
10. "In Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari's *A Thousand Plateaus* …, a territoriality is depicted as any entity or institution that restricts the free flow of desire. The family and the state count as prime examples of territorialities, and they conspire to produce the modern subject—the controlled and, as Deleuze and Guattari see it, inhibited subject of liberal humanism and the Enlightenment project: "there is no fixed subject unless there is repression," they insist. They argue that desire itself needs to be "deterritorialized," and treat nomadic existence as some kind of ideal of deterritorialization" (Stuart, 2001, p. 370).
11. Drawing upon the ideas of J. Krishnamurti (1953, 1954, 1964) and James Macdonald (1995), I have a developed the idea of "curriculum as meditative inquiry" in my book *Curriculum as Meditative Inquiry* (A. Kumar, 2013), which is very intimately connected to the perspectives

of everyday life researchers in Brazil. From a meditative inquiry perspective, the study of the consciousness of teachers and students, and the way in which it operates in the day to day reality, is the central purpose of an authentic education. Transformation—of the participants and their wider social structures—is not dependent on preestablished theories and methods but on their deepened understanding of themselves and their relationship to people and the environment.

12. See Ramos (1982) for a critical analysis of Gramsci's ideas.
13. The Frankfurt school of critical theory refers to the work which emerged from the Institute of Social Research, initially established in 1924 in Frankfurt. The institute had a considerable concentration of Marxist philosophers and is widely credited with the beginning of the term "critical theory," which now has a more expansive scope (Crotty, 1998).
14. See "Theoretical Framework" section of Chapter 6 for a discussion on Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1973).
15. Lefebvre was a French communist who conducted several studies in rural communities with the poor. In his multivolume *Critique of Everyday Life*, his discussion "centered on the analysis of alienation or reification in everyday consciousness, particularly as expressed in privatized consumption and personal relations" (Scott & Marshall, 2009b, n.p.).
16. de Certeau was a French cultural critic and religious historian. In his book *The Practice of Everyday Life*, he "proposed that everyday life could be seen as a balance between two types of practices which he termed strategy and tactics: the one referring to the set of practices Foucault theorized as discipline and the other being a kind of anti-discipline or resistance" (Buchanan, 2018, n.p.).
17. See Oliveira (2011) for a discussion on the implications of Boaventura de Sousa Santos' ideas of "sociology of absences" and "sociology of emergences" for everyday life research. According to Oliveira (2011, p. 156), the concepts of "sociology of absences" and "sociology of emergences" allow the quotidian researchers to think concretely about the "emancipating potential" of everyday curricular practices and to think of the possibilities to spread these practices on a larger scale as an inspiration for others to develop them, respectively.
18. Ferraço (2011) represents an important example of the influence of cultural studies in the conceptualization of everyday life research in Brazil.
19. "In *A Thousand Plateaus*, Deleuze and Guattari put forward the notion of the rhizome as a model for how systems should work in a postmodern world. Prime examples of rhizomes in the natural world would be tubers or mosses. It is characteristic of a rhizomatic system that, as Deleuze and Guattari put it, any point on it can be connected up to any other (as in the intertwining of mosses). Rhizomes are contrasted to trees and roots,

which, in Deleuze and Guattari's opinion, 'fix an order,' and are thus implicitly restrictive and authoritarian. The implication is that since rhizomes do not embody the linear development pattern of trees and roots, they are more democratic and creative, thus forming a better basis for systems in a postmodern world than the tree-like hierarchies most Western societies tend to favor instead. In common with their poststructuralist and postmodernist peers, Deleuze and Guattari are firmly opposed to hierarchy and authority, and are concerned to find alternative methods of constructing networks. Something like the rhizome idea can be found in the Internet, which similarly allows for connections to be established between any two points of the system, as well as having no clearly identifiable 'centre,' or central authority" (Stuart, 2001, p. 350).

20. Notably, the studies that adopted a Marxist perspective during this period found theoretical support in the works of Antonio Gramsci (1971), Dermeval Saviani (1991), and Gaudêncio Frigotto (1996) (Lopes, 2010).
21. Arising from the writings of Foucault, subjectification (or subjectivation) refers to the creation of an individual subject, a process through "which the effect of subjectivity is produced without individual agency" (Castree, Kitchin, & Rogers, 2013a, n.p.)
22. Governmentality refers to "1. A form of state power, distinct from sovereignty and discipline, combining practices and rationalities of government. 2. A form of power within and beyond the state, concerned with acting on the actions of others or on oneself in order to guide behaviour" (Castree, Kitchin, & Rogers, 2013b, n.p.).
23. Derrida's concept of supplement comes from *Of Grammatology* (Derrida, 1976). "A supplement is something that, allegedly secondarily, comes to serve as an aid to something 'original' or 'natural'" (Reynolds, n.d.).
24. See Macedo (2011, p. 142) for an invigorating use of Jackson Pollock's "Full Fathom Five" painting as an illustration of the connections and relations between experienced and formal curriculum.
25. Brisure means a hinge. It implies an opening and unfolding—a possibility of something new.

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CHAPTER 4

Curriculum Studies in Mexico: Technical Rationality, Curriculum Communities, and Neoliberal Globalization

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I provide a synoptic view of the evolution of the field of curriculum studies in Mexico.[1] Broadly, I have organized the evolution of the Mexican field into three phases. The first phase—the decade of the 1970s—was marked by the dissemination of the Spanish translations of curriculum studies texts from the USA, primarily articulating the technicist-behavioural curriculum theory (Á. Díaz-Barriga, 2011; F. Díaz-Barriga, 2011; Pinar, 2011). During the second phase—the decade of the 1980s—the Mexican field experienced its consolidation in the form of four major curriculum communities (critical theory, constructivism, interpretivism, and professional development), which posed key challenges to the dominance of the technicist-behavioural curriculum theory of the previous decade (F. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 98). The third and the current phase of curriculum studies in Mexico began in the 1990s. This phase is marked by the predominance of the globalization of educational reforms discourse. Consequently, the neoliberal notions of “innovation” and “accreditation” and the economistic vision of education that has reduced education to vocationalism and evaluation, particularly in terms of what can be measured through quantitative means, have now come to occupy the central stage on Mexico’s curriculum landscape (Á. Díaz-Barriga, 2011; F. Díaz-Barriga, 2011; Barrón, 2017; Glazman-Nowalski, 2011; Tirado, 2011).[2] Nevertheless, despite strong neoliberalist influences, the circulation and rise of the “discourses of postmodern

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and poststructural curriculum theories" (F. Díaz-Barriga, 2014, p. 329) in Mexican curriculum studies is also significant.

PHASE I: THE 1970S

Import of Technicist-Behavioural Models of Curriculum Development from the USA

The student protests of the late 1960s, which were initially responded to by state repression and then terminated by a massacre of youth in the *Tres Culturas Plaza* (*Tlatelolco*) on 2 October 1968, compelled the new Mexican administration (headed by Luis Echeverría) to press for political, industrial, and educational reforms in Mexican society (de Alba, 2011; Á. Díaz-Barriga, 2011; Garduño, 2011; Glazman-Nowalski, 2011).

The protective economic policies that restricted imports led to rapid industrial growth during the 1970s (approx. eight per cent annually), which, in turn, required the training of workers and professionals on a massive scale. In order to meet the demands of industrial modernization, the Mexican government imported technicist models of curriculum development from the United States[3] (Á. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 92). Several agencies associated with the US government, namely US Agency for International Development Agency for Development (USAID), the Department of Education and Culture, and the Organization of American States (OAS), financed Spanish translations of more than 20 US books on curriculum development including the works of "traditionalists" in US curriculum studies, namely James Popham and Eva Baker (Popham & Baker, 1970), Benjamin Bloom (1956), Robert Gagné (1965), Mauritz Johnson (1965), Robert Mager (1968), Hilda Taba (1962), and Ralph Tyler (1949). These models were to guide new curriculum policies and programmes in Mexico (Á. Díaz-Barriga, 2011; F. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, 2014; Pinar, 2011). Publishers were encouraged to print 20,000–40,000 copies of the selected texts, which were then sold to the public and distributed for free in libraries throughout Latin America. These translated texts were also disseminated to Ministries of Education, teacher training units, pedagogical institutes, and schools. These technicist-behaviourist models achieved a significant influence in Mexican curriculum studies during the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s (Á. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 92). Summarizing the nature of technicist-behaviourist tendency of curriculum theory in Mexico in this period, Ángel Díaz-Barriga writes:

> Curriculum reform in the 1970s was based, then, on behaviorist objectives from which instructional activities were to be derived, then implemented, and then evaluated. School programs were to reflect the programming models that the United States suggested, particularly those by Popham and Baker (1970). (2011, p. 92)

Significantly, the adoption of the aforementioned traditionalist US scholars' work during the 1970s, which had been published in the USA between the late 1940s and late 1960s, was also an intentional political act. It coincided with a US strategy to counteract the Cuban communist revolution, which threatened to spread throughout Latin America. This containment strategy was conducted through the Alliance for Progress. It was one of President John F. Kennedy's policies of US "cooperation" with Latin America in the early 1960s, whereby the technological and behavioural "American pragmatist pedagogy" was enforced on Latin America (Á. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 92; Garduño, 2011, p. 147). It was considered an ideological undertaking which was later characterized as "satellization[4]" or "colonization" (F. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 78). Ángel Díaz-Barriga (1985, p. 68) argued that educational imports from the USA into Mexico were an American strategy to consolidate its "ideological hegemony," which "ensured continued imperialism" (Garduño, 2011, p. 138).[5]

The technological-behaviourist perspective (what Frida Díaz-Barriga [2011, p. 78] terms the "technological-systematic tendency") that guided the 1970s Mexican curricular reform, was forced upon the highly centralized Mexican schools and teacher education programmes. As a consequence of the centralized and bureaucratized system, study plans[6] for primary education, first three years of secondary education, teacher education, and technological education were dictated by the National Ministry of Education (Á. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 93). It is important to highlight that the university system in Mexico, in contrast to the schools and teacher education programmes, could adopt a model of academic freedom where professors were responsible for developing their own curriculum guidelines. This possibility of academic freedom is the reason why Á. Díaz-Barriga (2011, p. 93) thinks Mexican curriculum studies scholars directed their research more towards higher education contexts instead of school education.

The first locally produced text that laid the foundation of the Mexican curriculum studies field was a book titled *Design of Study Plans* (1978) by María de Ibarrola and Raquel Glazman (now Glazman–Nowalski), (Furlán, 2011, p. 53). This pioneering book inspired a number of "curricular innovations" in Mexico. *Design of Study Plans* became legendary; it was not only widely accepted, but also generated widespread discussions and debates, which, in turn, constituted the birth of curriculum studies in Mexico (de Alba, 2011, p. 53).[7] Glazman and de Ibarrola emphasized the role of "behavioural objectives," "content analysis," and "evaluation" in the process of curriculum development and teaching. Significantly, Ibarrola and Glazman did not simply replicate Tylerian Rationale[8] (Tyler, 1949) or Taba's (1962) extension of it or Bloom's taxonomy (1956); their work was "hybrid" in character and bore some resemblance to the "conceptual-empiricist approach"[9] described by Pinar (1978) (Garduño, 2011, p. 148). Ibarrola and Glazman consulted many works available at the time, connecting curriculum design with social needs, the worldwide student movement (including the 1968 university movement in Mexico), the structure and development of knowledge, and the role of the universities, among others. In this text, they cited a wide range of scholars, philosophers, and theoreticians, namely "George Beauchamp, Arno Bellack, Benjamin Bloom, Noam Chomsky, Arthur Coombs, John Dewey, Emile Durkheim, Gonzalez Casanova, Henriquez Ureña, Robert Mager, McGrath, Muñoz Izquierdo, Jean Piaget, Galen Saylor and William Alexander, Israel Scheffler, Hilda Taba, Tierno Galvan, and Ralph Tyler" (Glazman-Nowalski, 2011, pp. 166–167). The other notable Mexican texts that contributed to the development of technological rationality in Mexican curriculum studies included *Programmed Teaching* (Commission of New Teaching Methods, 1976); *Self-Learning Packages for the Evaluation of Learning* (García, 1978); *Curricular Planning* (Arnaz, 1981); and *Development of Descriptive Letters* (Gago, 1982) (Á. Díaz-Barriga, 2011; F. Díaz-Barriga, 2011). The organizational support to scholars working from a technicist-behaviourist curriculum orientation came primarily from The National Association of Universities and the Higher Education Institution and Commission for New Teaching Methods (F. Díaz-Barriga, 2014, p. 331).

Influences from Europe and Latin America

While recontextualizing the technical rationality forcibly imported from the USA, the Mexican field also accepted theoretical and pedagogical influences, which were critical of the technicist-behaviourist approaches, from other countries in Latin America and Europe during the 1970s (Á. Díaz-Barriga, 2011; Glazman-Nowalski, 2011):

- Michel Lobrot's *Institutional Pedagogy*[10] (1980);
- institutional analysis of Lapassade and Lourau (1974);
- adoption of the *Letters to a Teacher*[11] (Di Barbiana & Milani, 1967);
- Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*[12] (1973);
- the approaches of Everett Reimer (1971) and Ivan Illich (1970) regarding deschooling,[13] including the work of ecclesiastical groups associated with the Second Vatican Council, accented by the Center for Intercultural Documentation (CIDOC) by Illich in Cuernavaca where the first Spanish edition of Freire's *Pedagogy As the Practice of Freedom* (1969) was printed;
- and the Belgian version of Group Dynamics,[14] which was reconstructed for Latin America by Jesus Andres Vela (*Técnicas y Prácticas de las Relaciones Humanas*, 1972) (Á. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 94).

Mexican curricular thought was also influenced by the Didactics movement associated with the National University of Cordoba, Argentina. The work of Susana Barco, Azucena Rodriguez and Gloria Edelstein, and Mirtha Antebi and Cristina Carranza characterized those theories of Didactics[15] that were elaborated in and for Latin America. Specific educational projects incorporating social dimensions of professional formation were also undertaken, among them popular architecture and social or preventive medicine sponsored by the Pan-American Association of Health. Both projects focused on social needs as compared to the behavioural objectives orientation of the technicist paradigm (Á. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 94). These projects became fundamental references for Modular Study Plans by Transformational Objectives in the 1970s and 1980s (as we will see in Phase II in this chapter).

Diversification of Graduate Programmes

The demands of industrialization, the promise of democratization, and, specifically, the import of technicist-behaviourist curriculum models from the USA as well as the theoretical and pedagogical influences from Europe and from within Latin America supported the diversification of graduate programmes in Mexico. Graduate programmes began to offer a wide and diverse range of courses and workshops focused on different educational themes, among them, General Didactics, the elaboration of study plans and programmes by instructional objectives, group dynamics, the evaluation of learning, and the psychology of teaching. Many of these courses reflected technical conceptions imported from the USA, whereas others reflected currents of thought from Europe and Latin America that were considered alternatives to US conceptions of curriculum. Consequently, within the same institution, graduate programmes could exhibit multiple, even contradictory, theoretical and methodological orientations. While in some seminars curriculum content reflected Latin American concerns such as the student–teacher relationship in the classroom as a "dialogical relationship," learning as a "social process," and the importance of the "whole person" in the educational process, in other seminars one could notice US technicist influences, wherein academic content was reduced to observable behaviours and curriculum comprised of mechanical relationships among objectives, teaching, and assessment (Á. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 96).

The establishment of academic research groups responsible for the formulation of study plans and academic programmes, including teacher education programmes, paved the way for Mexico's first generation of curriculum researchers. By the end of the 1970s, Mexican scholars began to question US technicist models inspired by both internal developments—the modular system based on the objectives of social transformation—and additional imports, among them the Spanish translation of Philip Jackson's *Life in Classrooms* (1968) in 1975. It is important to point out that while the "reconceptualization" of curriculum studies in the US[16] (Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery, & Taubman, 1995) and French structuralism (including the reproduction theory of Pierre Bourdieu [Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977]) became known in Mexico by the end of the 1970s, the critique of the technical rationality in Mexico had also emerged locally, not only as a critique of technicism, but also as a critical response to deep-rooted and widespread social inequality[17] (Á. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 96).[18]

Phase II: The 1980s

Consolidation of Curriculum Communities

During the 1980s, curriculum studies in Mexico experienced substantial growth marked by the diversification of theoretical and methodological approaches. Curriculum studies also became “institutionalized” whereby the K-12 schools, the universities, and other institutions of higher education created departments or faculty groups to design and evaluate study plans and programmes. Simultaneously, courses in curriculum theory and practice (e.g. training workshops and courses leading to diplomas and postgraduate degrees)—which were often directed towards teachers, educational planners, psychologists, and the bureaucrats, and other decision-makers in educational institutions—flourished (F. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 78).

The 1980s are also memorable because there was an emergence of “a number of [curricular] concepts and developments specific to Mexican national conditions” (Á. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 96). The National Council of Science and Technology organized the first national congress of educational research in 1981. This congress invited eight scholars to present state-of-the-art reports on eight research themes assessing the progress of the field since the 1970s. The curriculum was one of the eight themes. In the report, it became evident that international concepts—especially those imported from the USA, as discussed previously—now coexisted with concepts formulated by Mexican researchers that focused on the complex relationships between higher education and Mexican society. Mexican curriculum studies, thus, remained in accord with a nationalist vision inherited from the legacies of the Mexican revolution (Á. Díaz-Barriga, 2011). For Mexican scholars, engagement with curriculum studies provided means to cultural and social struggle for radical social transformation. “The constitution of the Mexican curriculum field is marked,” emphasizes de Alba, “with a strong Latin American footprint of struggle, hope, and commitment” (2011, p. 51).

In this significant phase of Mexican curriculum history, the two noteworthy books by Ángel Díaz-Barriga—*Didactics and Curriculum: Articulations in Study Programs* (Á. Díaz-Barriga, 1984a) and *Essays on the Problem of Curriculum* (Á. Díaz-Barriga, 1984b)—were published which influenced curriculum studies throughout Latin America (Á. Díaz-Barriga, 2011; de Alba, 2011; Garduño, 2011). Ángel Díaz-Barriga and his associates at Mexico’s National Autonomous University—among them young Argentinean scholars (who fled from Argentina to escape military *coup d’etat*), namely Roberto Follari, Alfredo Furlán, Eduardo Remedi, and Azucena Rodríguez—conducted extensive critiques of the Tyler Rationale and of educational technology, especially of what they termed the US industrial or efficiency pedagogy, thereby paving the way for the conceptual development of curriculum studies in Mexico (Á. Díaz-Barriga, 2011; F. Díaz-Barriga, 2011; Garduño, 2011; Glazman-Nowalski, 2011). The technical rationality or the "technological-systemic tendency" was criticized for being "reductionist" and "rigid" because of its overemphasis on behavioural objectives and "fragmentation and trivialization of learning." It was also condemned for its treatment of curriculum as a mechanical and decontextualized document rather considering it as a cultural phenomenon whose nature and character is determined by its political, historical, economic, and social settings. There was also a fear that the import of the "curriculum development paradigm" from the USA, and the instrumental rationality that underpinned it, would prove disastrous for the academic freedom of the Mexican curriculum theorists. They would be under greater administrative control and would be required to carry studies on diagnosis, documentation, and evaluation of curricular projects (F. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, pp. 78–79) rather than focus their labour on "understanding curriculum," as advocated by William Pinar and his colleagues in their classic *Understanding Curriculum: An Introduction to the Study of Historical and Curriculum Discourses*[19] (Pinar et al., 1995).

While many institutions continued to, then as now, work under the spell of "technological rationality in their efforts to make education more 'effective' through the application of 'scientific' techniques" (F. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 79), this definitive critique of behavioural and positivist curriculum models gave rise to diverse curriculum communities, which promoted distinct traditions, creating "habitus[20]" (Á. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 98), and were accentuated by the following events and ideas:

- the seminars coordinated by Ángel Díaz-Barriga on understanding and analysing John Franklin Bobbitt's *The Curriculum*[21] (1918);
- the conference on "Analysis of Curriculum Evaluation" coordinated by Alicia de Alba as well as her earlier work at National School for Professional Studies Zaragoza (ENEP-Zaragoza);
- the work of the ENEP-Iztacala group led by Alfredo Furlán and Eduardo Remedí;
- the work of Glazman-Nowalski and María Ibarrola (1978, 1987), who drew upon American and European sources, among them the work of Michael Apple (2004), David Ausubel (1963), Basil Bernstein (1973), Franklin Bobbitt (1918), Jerome Bruner (1966), John Dewey (1938),

Henry Giroux (1989), Philip Jackson (1968), Stephen Kemmis, Peter McLaren (1994), William Pinar (2012), Joseph Schwab (1969), Hilda Taba (1962), Ralph Tyler (1949), Carr Wilfred, Paul Willis (1981), and Michael Young (1971), among others;
- the works of Susana Barco (1975) who left Argentina due to dictatorship and came to Mexico;
- the educational ideas of Brazilian educator Paulo Freire (1973), who has been to Mexico many times and whose work proved inspirational for Mexican curriculum scholars;
- and the theoretical and methodological ideas of European and Latin American philosophers, psychoanalysts, and sociologists, among them Louis Althusser (1971), Pierre Bourdieu (1990), Cornelius Castoriadis (1987), Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari (1987), Jacques Derrida (1976), Emile Durkheim (1956), Frederich Engels (2001), Michel Foucault (1977), Sigmund Freud (1962), Hans-Georg Gadamer (1975), Antonio Gramsci (1971), Jurgen Habermas (1979), Georg Wilhelm Frederich Hegel (1991), Martin Heidegger (1962), Edmund Husserl (1964), Immanuel Kant (1990), Jacques Lacan (1977/2004), Ernesto Laclau (1996), Jean-Francois Lyotard (1988), Karl Marx and Engels (1967), Friedrich Nietzsche (1994), Nicos Poulantzas (1975), Levi- Strauss (1983), Leon Trotsky (1972), and Slavoj Žižek (1994), among others.

These aforementioned events, projects, and theoretical influences infused a spirit of “reflection, critique, and self-critique” in Mexican curriculum studies (Furlán, 2011, pp. 57–58) and gave rise to four distinctive curriculum groups in Mexico, namely critical theory, professional development, constructivism, and interpretivism (Á. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 98). These communities of curriculum scholars represent “trends” of curriculum scholarship with their respective views on the meaning of curriculum and the theoretical perspectives and methodological approaches to carry out research. However, these communities were not isolated compartments; indeed, there was and is mutual interaction and, thereby, hybridization and acculturation (Garduño, 2011, p. 138) of theories and methods (F. Díaz-Barriga, 2014, p. 330).

Critical Theory

The social and student protests of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s led to the emergence of “popular, democratic and critical universities,” distinguished by a “clear socialist orientation” in their philosophy and pedagogic practice (de Alba, 2011, p. 52). The major sources of thinking and inspiration for critical and democratic practices for Mexican scholars came from:

- the new sociology of education[22] from the UK, especially Michael Young’s seminal volume, *Knowledge and Control* [1971]), which problematized the notion of school knowledge and how latter’s selection, organization, and distribution is controlled by political, sociological, and economic forces;
- the “reconceptualization movement” literature from the USA—specifically Henry Giroux, Anthony Penna, and William Pinar’s critical book, *Curriculum and Instruction* [1981] and Michael Apple’s *Ideology and Curriculum* [2004])—which looked at curriculum from the perspective of a discourse influenced by a variety of theoretical positions and considered it a process embedded in cultural contexts rather than a mechanical and decontextualized product;
- neo-Marxist analysis and French theories of reproduction and resistance (primarily the works of Louis Althusser [1971], Christian Bauldelot [1988], Pierre Bourdieu [1990], Roger Establet [1988], and Jean-Claude Passeron [Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977]), which considered capitalist schooling as a means to reproduce social, political, and economic inequalities;
- the liberation pedagogy of Paulo Freire (1973), which criticizes “banking education” for being passive and uncritical and instead recommends dialogical and critical thinking-oriented democratic educational process (de Alba, 2011, p. 53; F. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 79);
- the ideas of Gramsci (1971) inspired Argentinean scholars in exile, namely Mario Manacorda and George Snyders;
- and the Latin American sociologists’ “dependency theory[23]” (Garduño, 2011, p. 150), signifying the exploitative relationship between the core (the developed world) and the periphery (the developing world, including the Latin American region).

Mexican scholars have made important contributions to this “critical-reconceptualist” line of thought through discussing the cultural and ideological hegemony of imperialist countries over Latin America, especially through the institutionalization of technological and scientific dependence, as discussed above in Phase I. The Mexican scholars who critiqued the incorporation of US technicist curriculum models included Alicia de Alba, Ángel Díaz-Barriga, Roberto Follari, Alfredo Furlán, María de Ibarrola, Porfirio Moran, Margarita Pansza, and Eduardo Remedi (F. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 79).

Acknowledging the political nature of school curriculum, critical-reconceptualist inspired scholarship rejected the technical rationality imported from the USA by means of undertaking an elaborate critical and conceptual examination of the curricular and pedagogical notions. This involved considering the difference between the “formal” and the “actual” curriculum, and emphasizing the significance of “emancipating and liberating impulses” (Silva[24] 1999, p. 115, as cited in F. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 80) in the transformation of education and the reconstruction of society. Despite their interest in making their theoretical analyses accessible, an important criticism of critical theory was that it was difficult to comprehend, especially for educators who did not have expertise in curriculum theory. When it did take accessible forms, it seemed to lose its critical edge (F. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 80).[25]

The most practical implementation of the critical theory perspective was the curricular project at the Autonomous Metropolitan University of Xochimilco where an “innovative modular system” was founded in the late 1970s. This system emphasized multidisciplinary and integrated curriculum by connecting academic knowledge with “urgent social problems for each profession,” or what is called “objectives of transformation,” instead of adopting the usual process of organizing curriculum according to academic disciplines (F. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, pp. 79–80).

Modular Study Plan by Transformational Objectives

The Modular Study Plan by Transformational Objectives was a “highly advanced” concept from the curricular point of view. Historically and sociopolitically, this is “the most important and an original contribution to curriculum theory” from the Mexican field (F. Díaz-Barriga, 2014, p. 332). Whereas the technicist model enforced the systematization of behavioural objectives by linking instructional models with evaluation schemes, the modular perspective focused on an “object of transformation”—a problem of socially and economically impoverished groups that need to be studied and engaged with professionally (Á. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 103). In the modular study plan, knowledge from different disciplines was integrated according to the context and situation and their social significance. Instead of using a "needs diagnosis model" based on socio-economic calculations, the specific setting wherein a profession was to be practised, was taken as the point of reference. The curricula of various professions were then informed by, but not necessarily aligned with, the academic disciplines. They took the forms of modules organized around professional problems, reminiscent of Hilda Taba's (1962) conception of an "integrated curriculum" (Á. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 95).

Guided by the modular programme, universities established academic programmes placing students in interdisciplinary groups (e.g. agronomists, doctors, dentists, economists, and sociologists) that travelled to specific places, often to rural communities where they offered viable solutions to problems presented by local inhabitants (Á. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 97). Education, thus, was not only located in libraries and classrooms, but also in actual communities where students, often working in collaborative groups, studied actual social problems, presented documented studies of specific problems, and researched possible actions that might be undertaken to resolve those problems.

"Utopic aspirations" for higher education represented by such "transformational objectives" began to diminish soon after their formulation. The primary cause of the decline of this social-action oriented education was the economic crisis of 1982. This crisis brought down the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI)'s government, which had been in power since the Mexican Revolution. A party associated with the Chicago School of Economics (under the aegis of "free market" economics as advanced by Milton Friedman [Friedman & Friedman, 1980]) came to power in 1982, imposing "Washington Consensus"[26] that stipulated policies in return for loans from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank (Lechini, 2008). This was followed by other neoliberal policies promoting the expansion of the capitalistic market mechanisms while requiring the contraction of the public sector. As a result of the free-market and neoliberal policies of the new Mexican government, the higher education budget declined rapidly (Á. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 98).

The end of projects based on transformational objectives was also brought about by the crisis of the academic communities that sustained them. The enthusiasm and capacities of the Mexican academicians were diminished drastically due to reduced salaries as well as the "intensified bureaucratization" by overemphasizing "efficiency" at the cost of social activism of the transformational objectives-oriented curriculum and pedagogy. Moreover, the pro-efficiency bureaucrats, in defiance of the fact that the proper functioning of the modular system required groups of no more than 20 students, started increasing the number of students per module. The very conditions that had enabled society-oriented educational projects began to dissolve in these degraded circumstances (Á. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, pp. 98–99). In Phase III, I will discuss the current phase of Mexican curriculum studies beset with the neoliberal discourses of global capitalism, which has reduced education to the level of a commodity instead of a rich experience that may enable the transformation of individuals and the society they inhabit.

Professional Development

While professional development did not take a unified theoretical or methodological form, research conducted under this category was directed to determine, evaluate, and improve the social practices of Mexican professionals. At first, demographic descriptive studies were conducted through surveys, several of which monitored graduates' professional paths. By the 1990s, professional preparation and practice studies acquired more theoretical consistency and came to be collectively designated as the "sociology of professions" (e.g. Á. Díaz-Barriga & Pacheco, 1990; Marin, 1993). Many drew upon Donald Schon's (1983) concept of "reflective practice," which emphasizes the need to reflect on one's practices and experiences in order to deepen one's understanding of one's work and learn continually. Yet another perspective that influenced these studies was community service which placed an emphasis on training university students to provide service to their community (Pacheco, Tullen, & Seijo, 2003). Given that these studies were "in-house" projects of curricular change in schools and universities, many of them were never published. The circulation of research reports was restricted to committees responsible for these projects, and people comprising these committees lacked expertise in curriculum theory and broader theoretical and philosophical perspectives (F. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 80).

Constructivism

Constructivism started as a critique of disciplinary organizations of knowledge and teacher-centred pedagogy. It underscored the significance of cognitive understanding in organizing school knowledge as well as in designing student-centred pedagogic practices. This curriculum research orientation drew heavily upon cognitive and developmental psychology, particularly theories of learning and stages of human development. Constructivism started in the 1970s and reached its zenith in the 1980s when several curriculum research projects with public and national character drew upon the works of David Ausubel (1963), Jerome Bruner (1966), and Jean Piaget (1967), among others. Guided by the theories of learning and development, the main focus of these research projects was to criticize the disciplinary organization of study plans. It was argued that that organizing study by discipline lacked understanding of the complexity of the human mind and the learning processes (Posner, 1998). In the 1990s, this research orientation shifted from individual/psychological constructivism to socio-cultural theories of constructivism. Drawing generally upon the work of Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky (1978, 1986) and specifically upon the work of Spanish curriculum researcher César Coll (1992) (F. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 81), social constructivist approaches focused on "interpsychological discursive and cultural realities." As a consequence of the development of constructivist thinking, curriculum came to be viewed as socially constructed cultural knowledge. Such developments allowed the adoption of alternative approaches to learning, namely problem-based learning, discovery learning, and project-based learning (F. Díaz-Barriga, 2014, p. 336). Initially, this perspective influenced primary education projects and was later introduced at secondary and higher education levels.

Significantly, these national curriculum planning and implementation projects, guided by constructivism, failed "on the ground."[27] Evidently, the administrative and managerial culture of Mexican educational institutions came in conflict with the principles and practical prerequisites of constructivism, prominent among them collaboration at various levels of curriculum development and implementation. Due to the hierarchical system and national politics of educational reform as well as a lack of proper teacher education such collaboration was not possible. Even today, after almost three decades of curricular reform founded on constructivist theory and research, Mexico remains far from any actual transformation of educational practices in its classrooms, primarily because the Mexican educational system has not been able to abandon a bureaucratized and authoritarian educational administration as well as textbook, teacher, and transmission-oriented pedagogical orientations (F. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, pp. 81–82; see also Scott, Posner, Martin, & Guzman, 2018). While in theoretical terms the influence of psycho-pedagogical constructivism is strong, more research is needed to fully understand its meaning and implications for different educational participants. In particular, there is a need to specify the possibilities of adopting and implementing constructivism into curricular planning for classroom teaching and for the professional preparation of professors (F. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 87).

Interpretivism
Interpretive studies have focused on understanding subjective and intersubjective meanings and experiences of educators and those they educate. These studies have drawn upon the multiple theoretical and methodological traditions of humanities and social science research, namely discourse analysis, hermeneutics, phenomenology, psychoanalysis, and sociology. The main methodological approaches employed in these studies include auto-ethnographic accounts, case studies, discourse analysis, in-depth interviews, and life histories. These studies are primarily concerned with exploring how participants' experience and interpret the curriculum.

There are also studies in this group which make significant and diverse references to gender, multicultural concerns,[28] and questions of social representation, as well as epistemological issues, which characterize post-modern and poststructural tendencies in Mexican curriculum studies. Guided by post-discourses, many of these studies view curriculum as a discourse and text generated by the interaction of the participants, and in turn, influence the process of identity formation. Due to their breadth and diversity, interpretive studies focus less on specific curricular problems, including practical problems like the design of curricular projects to transform educational practices (F. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 82). A selection of representative examples of these studies includes: Remedi's (1992), Jiménez' (2002), Quiroz' (2003), Covarrubias' (2009), and Rautenberg's (2009). While this research orientation is not interested in "practical" curriculum questions and problems, it is very meaningful as it looks at curriculum beyond technical and instrumental rationality and emphasizes the significance of subjectivity, identity, and culture in understanding the educational experience.

Curriculum studies in Mexico is thus characterized by diverse communities of scholars, with multiple, even contradictory, epistemological perspectives, social, cultural, and political interests, and research orientations. According to F. Díaz-Barriga (2011),

> [C]urriculum studies in Mexico is a complex conceptual and practical construction typified by very diverse … communities of curriculum scholars, with shared epistemological perspectives, shared work styles and interests within their groups, but these groups are, however, frequently in conflict with the other groups … [I]n our country … we find conceptions [of curriculum] that are not only divergent but also antagonistic, frankly debated over what the curriculum is, its meaning as an educational and social project, and what, how, and why it should be researched. (p. 76)

The field of curriculum studies in Mexico, therefore, is “dispersed, disintegrated, de-structuralized, even balkanized” (de Alba, 2011, p. 58) reflecting an intricate set of social, political, educational, legal, economic, psychological, and epistemological questions (Glazman-Nowalski, 2011, p. 172). The “polysemic” and “multi-referential” nature of curriculum studies in Mexico is also a sign of its intellectual vitality which requires open and tolerant attitudes, wherein uncertainty and conflict combine with rigour, careful work, and imagination (Furlán, 2011, p. 132). Invoking Pinar’s (2012) ideas, F. Díaz-Barriga (2014, p. 330) considers curriculum studies in Mexico “a complicated conversation that must lead us to an interdisciplinary, international, and cosmopolitan study of the educational experience itself.”

This complex and diverse nature of the field became explicit in 1991 when de Alicia de Alba, Ángel Díaz-Barriga, and Gonzalez Gaudiano published two edited volumes. The first volume featured the works of the US scholars, among them Bobbitt, Dewey, Giroux, Taba, and Tyler. The second volume was dedicated to the history of curriculum studies in Mexico, and included essays by important Mexican curriculum scholars, namely Ángel Díaz-Barriga, Frida Díaz-Barriga, Glazman and Ibarrola, Guevara Niebla, Serrano and Ysunza, Guzmán, Ulloa, Aguirre Lora, Pansza, Remedi, Furlán, González Gaudiano, de Alba, Michel Cerdá, Follari and Berruezo, Kuri and Follari, Hoyos Medina, Galán Giral and Marín Méndez, Bravo Mercado, Herrera Labra, and Orozco Fuentes. This second volume, which provided the first methodical and organized work on curriculum studies in Mexico, laid the foundation for state-of-the-art curriculum knowledge. The latter was coordinated by Ángel Díaz-Barriga (1995, 2003) on behalf of the Mexican Council for Educative Research (COMIE) (de Alba, 2011, p. 56).

Phase III: 1990s–Present

Curriculum Studies in the Era of Neoliberal Globalization

As a result of the economic crises of the 1980s, international financial organizations such as the World Bank, the Inter-American Bank of Development, and UNESCO required orchestration of educational reforms aligned with the neoliberal policies of global capitalism.[29] According to de Alba (2011), “The social commitments of the 1970s [in Mexico]—inspired by Marxism and the student movements—have been replaced [in the 1990s] with economistic demands to align curriculum with the market …” (p. 60). These international organizations and the so-called Washington Consensus (Lechini, 2008) prescribed structural adjustments (reduction in public finances), strict budget priorities, and the liberalization and the globalization of the economy (Á. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 99). The North American Free Trade Agreement[30] (NAFTA) with Canada and USA required certification procedures aimed at standardizing educational programmes and professions, which were to be disseminated through the decentralization of the national educational administration (F. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 83), without taking into account Mexico’s cultural diversities and socio-economic inequalities (F. Díaz-Barriga, 2014, p. 337) and without consulting curriculum scholars. According to Raquel Glazman-Nowalski (2011),

> [Neoliberalism in Mexico] created a spirit of curricular reform in which prevails an absence of criticism, a decontextualized character, a lack of consensus and little or no consultation with [curriculum] specialists … (p. 173)

These international agencies, especially UNESCO (see UNESCO, 1995, p. 8), emphasized the institutionalization of “innovation” in higher education. It specified that teaching, research, and service at all levels and forms need to be connected to the market and employment which are controlled by the state and patterns of public financing. Furthermore, these international agencies contended that higher education had become enormously important as the economic growth of a country is dependent upon graduates who have knowledge and skills, who are employable, and who are able to work in competitive and changing markets (Tirado, 2011, p. 185). Educators were instructed to teach students to “learn how to learn” so that they may compete in this era of economic uncertainties and challenges. The curriculum has come to the forefront once again, not as academic knowledge structured according to educational ideals but to serve the workplace demands of neoliberal global capitalism (F. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 83; Furlán & Rios, 2017). By "aligning curriculum to the market," contends Tirado (2011), "politicians [in Mexico and elsewhere] contradict the cultural and social mission of educational institutions" (p. 200).

Inundated by these neoliberal educational reforms, curriculum discussions in the contemporary period focus on:

- complying with free trade demands in educational and professional curricula;
- developing strategies for the "innovation" of educational systems, including the implementation of accreditation schemes based on the notions of "accountability," "homologation," "study certification," and "quality control" (F. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 83);
- creating more "flexibility" in the organization of curricula, supported by the new information technologies;
- and cultivating students' cognitive skills so that they are able to deal with rapid changes in technological, economic, and cultural spheres (Tirado, 2011, p. 190).

At the level of the school, too, neoliberal policies and the influence of international agencies have proven problematic. On the one hand, these international discourses talk about alternative and holistic ways of learning and the importance of constructivism and, on the other hand, they remain focused on marketable skills and competencies, which emanate from the instrumental view of education. Similarly, while there is a constant talk about the need for authentic assessment techniques in classrooms, the governments, media, and wider public have maintained their faith in the educational value of national and international standardized tests as the true indicator of learning (F. Díaz-Barriga, 2014, p. 337; see also F. Díaz-Barriga & Barrón, 2012).

Evaluation: Accreditation and Innovation

Exploiting the discourse of "quality," international organizations have promoted a series of "reforms" focused on the "evaluation" of education based on criteria of "accreditation" and "innovation" (Á. Díaz-Barriga, 2011; Glazman-Nowalski, 2011; Barrón, 2017). In Mexico, such accreditation of programmes is a relatively recent practice; it began with the "peer assessment model" in 1990. Since 2002, accrediting agencies have been conducting formal evaluations of educational institutions according to numerical criteria. Higher education institutions must restructure according to these criteria in order to achieve accreditation of academic programmes, a prerequisite for funding from the state.

The economistic conception of education has reduced higher education to a series of numbers: the number of doctorates in the academic faculty, the number of publications, the number of graduating students, the number of volumes in the library, the number of accredited programmes, and the number of graduates working in the labour market. Only those academic programmes that are evaluated favourably will receive funding. Stressing the "need" to diversify the higher education system (and thereby encourage "competition"), the establishment of private universities has also been promoted. In this economistic conception of education whatever cannot be assigned a number is not an indicator of quality. The conception of curriculum expertise is now replaced by curriculum "engineering," aligning curriculum with accreditation criteria (Á. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 100; see also Á. Díaz-Barriga; F. Díaz-Barriga, & Concepción, 2008).

The rhetoric of "innovation" has also become a key discourse in evaluation schemes since the 1990s (Á. Díaz-Barriga, 2011; F. Díaz-Barriga, 2011; Tirado, 2011). Curricular debates have been coded and identified by new concepts, as policymakers and university administrators promote the establishment of "innovative" curricula (Á. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 100). This emphasis upon "innovation" disguises policymakers' compliance with and allegiance to international agencies which demands that Mexican education and society be increasingly amenable to global capitalism. These so-called curricular "innovations" are devoid of any deep reflection regarding the consequences of the "uncritical incorporation" of economic conceptions into curricular development and classroom practices without taking into account the cultural and national context. Such "innovations" are forced on schools by the central authorities and their representatives in a top/down fashion (F. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 86).

The rhetoric of curriculum reform is marked by apparently commonsense categories (F. Díaz-Barriga & Lugo, 2003): "innovations," "competencies," "flexibility," "quality," "excellence," "student-centered pedagogy," "experiential learning," "academic tutorship," "problem-based learning," "information or communication technologies," and "curricular themes" (e.g. sustainability, values, and civic-mindedness), among others (F. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 86). Such "innovations" quickly lose their commonsense meanings—indeed, become jargon—as they are aligned with technicist standards of certification and evaluation "guaranteeing" professional quality by enforcing uniformity of the curricula not only of various institutions, but even of various countries, all justified in the name of educating for a highly competent and competitive job market (Tirado, 2011, p. 190). Consider more carefully the concepts of "flexibility" and "competency."

"Curricular flexibility" emerged first as a conception of "innovation" in the 1990s, signifying the training of students to become "versatile professionals" by acquiring the technical, social, and communicational proficiencies that are supposedly a prerequisite to entrepreneurship (Tirado, 2011, p. 184). In curricular terms, "flexibility" was to provide students with several "professional formation options" during the final phases of their bachelor's degree study. In academic psychology, for instance, curriculum concentrations in educational, clinical, social, or labour psychology were available. In addition to these usual options, students were given the choice of obtaining a technical or professional degree. Another form of "flexibility" allowed students to study an optional subject in another university, or in another faculty of the same university. Such "options" had existed in several programmes since the 1970s, but during this era of "innovations," these were paraded as examples of "curricular flexibility" renamed as "new" (Á. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 101).

The Bologna agreements[31] allowed students, who have economic support, to study one semester abroad. The Universitas Foundation of the Santander Bank and institutional resources supported studies in foreign countries. This was accompanied by internships in business consequent upon the agreements between institutions of higher education and employers. Through such internships students also earned academic credits. Notably, the number of students who could avail these opportunities never exceeded one per cent of the total enrolment. Such "options" of "innovation" and "flexibility" were limited to students; professors have been barred from both (Á. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 101).

The "innovation" of the so-called curriculum "flexibility" has been launched in the Latin American region as a "new" model to solve higher education problems, emerging in the light of liberalization of economies, rapid mutations of technologies, new forms of work organization, population pressures, and a host of other changes that are occurring in practically all strata of society. The concept of flexibility is not new. Before its arrival in Latin America due to encouragement and promotion from the international agencies for institutions of higher learning in Latin America, the idea of "flexibility" had already been conceptualized, evaluated, and revised in several European countries (including France, Germany, and England) as well as in the USA. "Flexibilities," such as the combination of short- and long-term training cycles (with the awarding of diplomas that confer recognition of proficiencies with different degrees of complexity and specialization), presented as "innovations," have in fact existed for many years. While not "innovations," these practices do represent another round of enforced imports from Europe and the USA that efface the specificity of the Mexican situation (Tirado, 2011, p. 191).

Another "innovation" called "competency-based education" was also launched during the 1990s. As they did with "flexibility," administrators and policymakers enforced competency-based education. The basic premise of the competency-based approaches was confusing (Á. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 101). There were multiple connotations of "competency" and there was no agreement regarding its meaning and the process of implementation. For some, competency meant "skill" while others insisted that the concept implied competence in unknown and unfamiliar situations. Whatever they are, competencies are always in the process of development. One theme that unites all competency-based advocates is its antagonism against "knowledge-based" and disciplinary teaching. The world today wants, advocates of competency models insisted, not a truly educated person with deep thinking and critical awareness, but "competent" and "flexible" entrepreneurs ready with skills to solve "problems." (Á. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, pp. 101–102).

Adding to the confusion was the acknowledgement that questions of sequencing competencies remain unanswered. What is clear, however, is that competency-based study plans repeatedly reinstall behavioural objectives underpinned by technical rationality as discussed previously. Professional competency is divided into multiple sub-competencies following W. W. Charters' (1923) early twentieth-century conception of "activity analysis."[32] What constitutes evidence for these sub-competencies is never obvious, and the conditions for the "execution" of various competencies tend to be highly specific, similar to those accompanying behavioural objectives. Moreover, a competency-based curriculum means that teachers must constantly modify their teaching content, pedagogy, and evaluation procedures. The competency model requires, presumably, a student-centred pedagogy to facilitate the integration of information. In this approach, the emphasis is on connecting knowledge with problems in actual contexts. Despite all the talk, however, nothing happened on the ground and teachers continue to teach the way they have been doing it for years (Á. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 102). The constructivist philosophy—particularly, student-centred pedagogy and resource-rich curriculum—that was said to form the basis of competency curriculum could not be enacted due to the over-enrolment of students and inadequate infrastructure (Pinar, 2011). In other words, educational reforms have largely remained confined to curriculum documents and have not been actualized on the ground due to the lack of teacher education programmes to cultivate constructivist teachers and the dearth of resources that would be required by constructivist educational activities and experiences.

Implications of Neoliberal Reforms for Curriculum Studies in Mexico

The forceful imposition of neoliberal economic policy and reforms through conceptions of "accreditation" and "innovation" has had deleterious effects on the curriculum research and scholarship in Mexico. First of all, under these reforms academicians no longer enjoy autonomy over the curriculum. Evaluation mechanisms have tightened the administrative and political grip over scholars and intellectuals and, thereby, greatly curbed their academic, that is to say, intellectual freedom (Glazman-Nowalski, 2011). This has been a great setback to curriculum scholars, especially because before the 1980s higher education in Mexico had enjoyed relative autonomy. It is the intellectual autonomy—including the opportunity to compose curriculum—that has been the core of Mexican curriculum studies (F. Díaz-Barriga, 2011; Garduño, 2011; Glazman-Nowalski, 2011). Curricular projects are now subjected to processes of budget negotiation and allocation that has removed curricular decisions from teachers and from educational institutions. The curricular design is now directed by guidelines set by national and international organizations. By means of manipulating the evaluation of programmes, professors, and students, politicians and bureaucrats have designated themselves as curriculum "designers"; they specify the essential academic matter, the curricular models, and the pedagogic strategies that characterize education in Mexico. Under the influence of the neoliberal discourse of accreditation, evaluation, and innovation, curriculum development decisions are now being made by governmental and nongovernmental organizations, business councils, and diverse civil associations instead of curriculum scholars and disciplinary experts (F. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 88). The 2003 state-of-the-art assessment of curriculum knowledge registers that many scholars have abandoned the field and moved to other sectors of educational research (de Alba, 2011, p. 56), no doubt a consequence of deteriorating academic conditions.

Indeed, now evaluation determines funding, and funding determines the policies and practices of educational institutions, including curriculum development (Á. Díaz-Barriga et al., 2008). This instrumentalist thinking is the formula of neoliberalism. Not only does it undermine collaborative or long-term research, but it also reinstalls institutional inequalities, as there is inequality in the distribution of resources: the most prestigious educational institutions are favoured over those located in the poorest states of the country. As the power and influence of organizations that accredit study plans and programmes continue to grow, dictating which curricular models educators must implement, the curriculum decision-making authority resides completely in the hands of administrators, bureaucratic functionaries, evaluation agencies, and others external to educational institutions (F. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 88).

These developments have intensified long-standing tensions between curriculum scholars and administrators. Curriculum scholars' interest in theory and history, especially as these enable understanding of curricular processes locally and globally, conflict with those of the administrators who are concerned only with neoliberal accountability to politicians. It is within the academic field of curriculum studies where one finds the openness to psychological, anthropological, and social research that is truly innovative and has international resonance. Tragically, curriculum research depends not on the priorities of the Mexican field's internal intellectual development and its conversations with the international discourses, but on funding aligned with the accreditation of academic programmes. Curriculum scholars are confronted by enormous economic and political pressures which restrict the possibilities for curriculum research and educational reforms (F. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, pp. 88–89). Curriculum research is, thus, prompted by variables rather than intellectual pursuits (Pinar, 2011, p. 234). As a consequence of neoliberal reforms, research on curricular practices and the lived curriculum has decreased considerably, and the studies on the hidden curriculum have simply stopped

(Á. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 100). Contemporary research prioritizes quantitative studies at the expense of qualitative and theoretical studies, thereby encouraging research that is in compliance with the governmental agenda. (F. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 85; Glazman-Nowalski, 2011, p. 174).

In certain respects, curriculum studies in Mexico are presently facing the same imperialism the field encountered in the 1970s. In the first decade of the new millennium, however, this technological rationality came from the economism of neoliberal ideology. Such economism has permeated many educational systems, and not only that of Mexico, as the various case studies in this book testify. The triumph of neoliberalism has led to the hegemony of standardized evaluation and accountability schemes, including the design of curricula according to the so-called competencies and evaluation centred on "quality assurance and certification," always at the forefront of assessment of performance. Through these schemes Mexican scholars once again confront the "satellization" or "colonization" of their field (F. Díaz-Barriga, 2011, p. 85) by forcing students, teachers, and curriculum scholars to value what would, presumably, make them more marketable rather what would allow them to be critical, creative, and thoughtful.

Conclusion

Over the past four decades, curriculum studies has emerged as a major area of research in Mexico, as is evident in the three state-of-the-art assessments of curriculum research production that the COMIE commissioned in the 1980s, 1990s, 2000s (Furlán, 2011, p. 111). The origin of the Mexican field was marked by the import of behavioural-technicist approaches from the USA during the 1970s. During the 1980s, curriculum scholars in Mexico conceptualized critique of this enforced importation that gave birth to Latin American concepts (e.g. "transformational objectives"). The consolidation of the field followed, exhibiting an internal complexity characteristic of sophisticated fields. Since the 1990s, the field has been assaulted by neoliberal educational reforms that, as historically minded critical analysis shows, represent a reinstallation of the same old industry-driven behavioural-technicist approaches, now disguised as "innovation" in the era of globalization. Despite these adverse circumstances, Mexican curriculum scholars are continuing to do world-class curriculum research.

Notes

1. This chapter draws on William F. Pinar's *Curriculum Studies in Mexico: Intellectual Histories, Present Circumstances* (2011) and more recent research on Mexican curriculum studies. Pinar's *Curriculum Studies in Mexico* is a pioneering and inclusive book showcasing Mexican scholars' work on the history and contemporary circumstances of curriculum studies in Mexico.
2. See F. Díaz-Barriga (2014) for an endorsement of my periodization of the evolution of curriculum studies in Mexico.
3. A similar phenomenon happened in Brazil where positivistic, behaviouristic, and cognitivist ideas were imported from the USA between the 1950s and 1970s (the pre-Marxist phase of curriculum history in Brazil) (see Chapter 3 of this volume). A comparable movement also happened in South Africa in the post-apartheid period where outcomes-based education models were imported from New Zealand, the UK, and the USA (see Chapter 2 of this volume).
4. Working from the premise that "satellization causes stagnation" in terms of economic development, Alschuler employs the image of a satellite (satellization) to describe the manner in which Latin American states, though officially independent, maintain economic dependency on former colonial nations (Alschuler, 1976).
5. According to Garduño (2011, p. 138), it was Martin Carnoy's work (1974) on education as an instrument of cultural imperialism that influenced Ángel Díaz-Barriga's thought on considering the import of technicist ideas from the USA as a representation of ideological hegemony and imperialism.
6. Within the context of curriculum studies in Mexico, the term "study plan" can refer to "curriculum programs, course of study or written curriculum" (José María García Garduño in Pinar, 2011, p. 23). It is thus a general term used to refer to various sorts of codified curriculum.
7. See Glazman and de Ibarrola (1987) for self-evaluation of their ideas regarding study plans.
8. See Note 13 of Chapter 1 for a brief note on the Tylerian Rationale.
9. The conceptual-empiricist approach is influenced by adherence to methods of mainstream social science and emphasizes a scientific study of the curriculum (Pinar, 1978).
10. Michel Lobrot's institutional pedagogy is aimed at creating autonomous and independent individuals. Lobrot proposes to do this by redesigning schools to foster self-management towards freedom and autonomy in school and wider society (Gadotti, 1996, p. 59).

11. *Letters to a teacher* is a well-known text attributed to eight male students with the close editing of Italian educator and scholar Lorenzo Milani. It offers a Marxist flavoured critique of the class stratification present in the school system (Borg, Cardona, & Caruana, 2013).
12. See "Theoretical Framework" section of Chapter 6 for a discussion on Paulo Freire's philosophy of education.
13. Illich's *Deschooling Society* was perhaps the first work to openly criticize the process of schooling as overly bureaucratic, and to differentiate schooling from learning. Illich argues that we need to remove the bureaucratic, systematic elements of modern education. Some have used Illich's work to advocate for the abolishment of the school system (Illich, 1970).
14. Group dynamics, in this context, refers to a shift in Latin American liturgical practice from the lecture style to a community dialogue or conversation (O'leary-Macias, 2013).
15. Didactics, in the context of Mexican curriculum studies, refers to scholarship focused on pedagogical models and the practicality of teaching (Pinar, 2011).
16. Reconceptualization refers to the movement of curriculum studies scholars around 1970 towards "understanding" curriculum rather than designing, developing, or implementing curriculum. The movement is marked by a more expansive intellectual base than the Tylerian Rationale and scientific curriculum thinking that dominated the field at the time (Pinar, 2010).
17. See Chapter 3 for how the curriculum scholars in Brazil responded to the social inequalities through adopting Marxism and critical theory in the 1990s.
18. At the end of the 1970s, the Unit of Human Resources Formation and Academic Evaluation (UFRHEA) was formed at the National School of Professional Studies (ENEP) Zaragoza under the leadership of Edgar Gonzalez Gaudiano. The Unit had about 20 recently "graduated pedagogues" who enthusiastically started a number of projects on teacher preparation, curriculum design, and curriculum evaluation (de Alba, 2011, p. 54).
19. See *Understanding Curriculum* for a detailed analysis of how curriculum studies in the US experienced a paradigm shift from "curriculum development" (an instrumentalist view of curriculum) to "understanding curriculum" (a critical, reflective, and transformative view of curriculum). This book also discusses the emergence of various theoretical perspectives regarding the notion of curriculum, namely critical pedagogy, phenomenology, psychoanalysis, and postmodernism, among others. Additionally, the text contains a very informative chapter on "Curriculum as International Text" for scholars interested in understanding the internationalization of curriculum studies.

20. See Note 5 of the previous chapter for a brief description of Bourdieu's idea of "habitus."
21. Largely credited as the first book on curriculum in the USA, Bobbit's *The Curriculum* was heavily influenced by the industrial revolution and articulated an education of social efficiency, emphasizing a scientific method of making curriculum (Null, 2010b).
22. See Note 7 in Chapter 2 for a brief introduction to the new sociology of education. See the previous two chapter for how new sociology of education impacted curriculum studies in Brazil and South Africa, respectively.
23. Dependency theory, in this context, refers to the political and economic thought emerging from Latin America in the post-Second World War era that sought to explain the chronic underdevelopment throughout Latin America by contextualizing national economies within global ones (Schmidt, 2018).
24. Tomaz Tadeu da Silva is a major Brazilian educator whose path-breaking work has deeply influenced the field of curriculum studies in Brazil. See the previous chapter for a detailed account of his contributions to curriculum studies in Brazil. Significantly, his work also became known and influenced curriculum scholars in Mexico, Argentina, and the USA (Pinar, 2011, p. 243).
25. According to F. Díaz-Barriga (2014, p. 333), the critical-reconceptualist curriculum thought is also experiencing the development of a trend where curriculum researchers are interested in understanding the everyday context of schooling including the beliefs, biases, and challenges of teachers, students, and others involved in the process of schooling. Recall that in the previous chapter we learned about a strong sector of scholarship that has emerged in Brazil called "everyday life research." This new trend in Mexico shares the same impulse as the everyday life research work in Brazil. In Mexico, guided by the work of scholars like Jackson (1968), Eggleston (1977), and Stenhouse (1975), curriculum scholars are interested in understanding the lived curriculum vis-à-vis the planned curriculum in order to uncover socially constructed nature of curriculum and role of power in everyday interaction within the classroom. Given their in-depth character, these studies naturally use ethnographic and qualitative methodologies in conducting their research.
26. Washington Consensus was a series of recommendations made to developing nations, particularly those in Latin America, regarding economic policy. The recommendations focus on deregulation and the establishment of free markets. These recommendations were supported by the World Bank, the IMF and the USA (Hurt, 2016).
27. See Chapters 2 and 6 to learn about the challenges that constructivist theories and practices experienced on the ground in South Africa and India, respectively.

28. For example, Harazduk (2014) has recently reviewed the Mexican curriculum for evidence of multiculturalism before and after the Zapatistas rebellion, finding that although more multicultural concepts were integrated into the curriculum, the overall goal of the curriculum where Indigenous people are concerned is assimilation.
29. See Chapter 8 of this book for a discussion on the meaning, history, and educational ramifications of neoliberalism and global capitalism. See Chapters 2, 3, 5, and 6 for a brief discussion of the impact of neoliberal educational policies in South Africa, Brazil, India, and other countries in Asia, respectively.
30. The North American Free Trade Agreement, signed in 1994, was an agreement between Canada, the USA, and Mexico which decreased regulations on trade between the three counties.
31. The Bologna agreements, or the Bologna process, refer to a series of pan European meetings and agreements "which seeks to standardize curriculum and diploma requirements, and the implementation at all levels [...] of procedures that standardize teaching and the curriculum, quantify student learning, and hold teachers and administrators responsible for numerical results ..." (Taubman, 2010, p. 60).
32. Popularized by the work of Charters and Bobbit, activity analysis refers to a form of curriculum development which makes lists of functional adult activities and aims curriculum towards teaching the skills necessary to complete those activities (Null, 2010a).

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CHAPTER 5

Curriculum as a Process of Conditioning in Asia: Ideology, Politics, and Religion

Introduction

In my book, *Curriculum as Meditative Inquiry* (2013), one key idea that I emphasize is how the process of conditioning colours children's perceptions of themselves and their relationships with other people. We are all born in the sphere of conditioning influences of various kinds that come from the media as well as political, cultural, economic, and religious domains. Our notions of ourselves, our neighbours, countries, and the world are based on these conditioning influences. Based on these influences, we build psychological images through which we relate with ourselves and with others. Cognitively, from the perspective of learning a skill, language, subject, or the arts, some conditioning is inevitable in order to remember, recall, and build upon the acquired knowledge. However, conditioning becomes problematic when it is used as a way to create fear, hatred, and antagonism by emphasizing one set of beliefs and identities against others. Historically, various political and religious ideologies have exercised control in numerous spheres including education. Such ideological influences are rooted in the belief of one's superiority and the fear of the other, bringing about antagonistic identities. The manner in which nationalism and political and religious fundamentalism have contributed to wars between and among nations, genocides, and hatred is a common history. Educational institutions, being part and parcel of the state's ideological apparatuses (Althusser, 1971) and being vulnerable to cultural and religious influences, have in many cases served as

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instruments of conditioning forces (Krishnamurti, 1953; A. Kumar, 2013a, 2014; A. Kumar & Downey, in press). Educational policies and schools being used as tools in the hands of conditioning influences is an alarming feature of the Asian educational landscape (Grossman & Lo, 2008; K. Kumar, 2001, 2007; Lall & Vickers, 2009; Lee, Grossman, Kennedy, & Fairbrother, 2004; Vickers & K. Kumar, 2015). According to Vickers and K. Kumar (2015),

> History is central to any understanding of human societies—an insight shared by those who have sought to distort or even erase it in their efforts to construct a citizenship predicated on warped and essentialized identities. While this enterprise has by no means been confined to Asia, it has attained pathological proportions in many societies across this continent. (p. xiii)

In this chapter, I provide analyses of various country-based case studies to show how curriculum as a process of conditioning in the context of unique political and historical landscapes in Asia has given rise to intriguing developments, challenges, and reforms in their educational and curricular policies. The analyses of these countries taken together have revealed several important interconnected themes that provide insights into ongoing political, ideological, cultural, and religious debates that influence education policy and curriculum design and reform. The key themes covered in this chapter include:

- Ideological control of teaching and curriculum;
- Nationalism, globalization, and moral values; and
- Religious influence on education.[1]

Ideological Control of Teaching and Curriculum

In this section, I discuss how political groups and ideologies exercise their control over teaching and curriculum. I consider five case studies to illustrate my point: (1) historical changes that have occurred in the Japanese curriculum; (2) South Korean policies on how students should learn about North Korea; (3) the historical changes to curriculum that took place in Afghanistan as the governing regime changed; (4) the prioritization of English language education in Malaysia; and (5) colonial impact on education in Hong Kong.

Ideological Influences and Battles in the Japanese Educational Landscape

Peter Cave (2009), a noted expert on Japanese education, investigates how politics and education have related to one another in Japan, both historically, and up to the modern era. His study provides a window into how ideological changes over time have correspondingly changed education policies, thus demonstrating just how contingent education can be on ideological frames.

From 1868 to the 1930s, Japan went through what is known as the Meiji restoration,[2] after which a modern Japanese state was created. The modern state prioritized cultivating a "Japanized version of modern civilization and instilling a national consciousness" (Cave, 2009, p. 49). Until the end of World War II, imperial ideology, along with ultra-nationalism and militarism, was promoted in Japanese education. Of course, this changed when Japan came under Allied Occupation (1945–1952). The Allied Powers wanted to propagate the principles of democracy and did so through an educational programme designed to promote democratic principles to counter the nationalistic and militaristic mindset of the immediate past. Since the Japanese political system has remained democratic, democratic values continue to be part of Japanese education, but ideological influence over education remains obvious: while the Right battles for a vision of education that is designed to foster love and pride for Japan, the Left fights to emphasize that education should be a way to promote critical and engaged citizenship.

Cave (2009) provides insightful analyses into three contemporary (post-1960s) educational controversies in Japan. First, debates over the content of history textbooks; second, disagreements over whether to use the national flag and anthem in schools; and third, differing views of how to revise the Fundamental Law of Education. My focus here is on the first.

As Cave (2009) explains, ideological differences have manifested in battles between conservatives and leftists over what to include in school textbooks almost immediately after the end of the Allied Occupation in 1952. By exerting influence over textbook screening, conservatives have made attempts to remove any content that is critical of Japan. For instance, Professor Saburo Ienaga[3] wrote a book which included information about the Nanking Massacre,[4] the Battle of Okinawa,[5] and Unit 731.[6] As such, it was rejected as unsuitable for school curriculum without providing justified revisions. A legal battle between Professor Ienaga and the government ensued for almost four decades. In the end, the Ministry of Education was found to have acted unlawfully when excessively screening school textbooks. While Professor Ienaga's eventual victory at the Japanese Supreme Court may have shone a light of hope onto leftist policymakers, it is a stark example of how politicized and contentious education in Japan had become.

While emphasising the ideological control of teaching in Japan, Cave (2009) contradictorily also suggests that Japanese education has successfully cultivated "democratic citizens" by developing "disciplined selves, and as a corollary, the creation and maintenance of social order" (p. 49). But, I would ask whether it is sound to equate "democratic citizenship" education with maintaining "social order"? Hursh and Ross (2000) in *Democratic Social Education: Social Studies for Social Change* suggest the contrary: democratic education promotes critical examination and engagement with pluralistic and dynamic societal structures and institutions. As such, rather than promoting the maintenance of social order and thereby deepening the social conditioning in students' minds, democratic education contributes to the questioning of ideological and political control and conditioning and thereby leads to societal reconstruction for a more democratic and just world (see also Ross, 2014, 2017).

Overall, Cave's (2009) discussion provides excellent insight into ideological influences on education through a Japanese case study. His analysis clearly demonstrates how politicians have used education to further their own ideological preferences, and how education as a field has been transformed, at times, into a political battlefield as a result.

Political Control of Teaching in South Korea

Daehoon Jho's (2008) essay on teaching about North Korea in South Korean social studies curriculum demonstrates how ideological impositions have constrained the way teachers in South Korea can run their classes. He explores two questions: How do South Korean social studies teachers perceive and teach about North Korea? And, what challenges and dilemmas do they face when teaching issues related to North Korea? Jho points out that due to the gradual loosening of state control over national curriculum arising from the heightened democratic mood of the South Korean society, the social studies curriculum and textbooks, which once were coloured with harsh ideological biases, have taken a different shape. However, the ghost of Cold War ideology still lingers on the Korean peninsula highlighted by division among people regarding their perceptions of North Korea: whether they should provide humanitarian support to North Korea or should dissociate from it due to its communist regime and nuclear programmes.

Theoretically, Jho (2008) employs the notion of teachers as “curricular and instructional gatekeepers” who are not mere passive deliverers of official curriculum and textbooks but are individuals who have a considerable degree of autonomy in process of making decisions about content and pedagogy (Thornton, 1991) and who are “practical theoreticians” who tend to develop subjective and context-bound theories for their daily classroom lessons, contrasted with the universal and theoretical principles of teaching (Chant, 2009; Chant, Heafner, & Bennett, 2004; Cornett 1990; Ross, Cornett, & McCutcheon, 1992; Schon 1983, 1987).

Jho (2008) explains, based on the in-depth interviews and resultant teachers’ narratives, how Mr. Lim and Ms. Yoo’s practical theories about teaching issues related to North Korea and their role as gatekeepers is influenced by the larger ideological and institutional contexts they are situated in. Jho identified three such factors—the general public’s ambivalent attitude towards North Korea, National Security Law that prohibits any pro-North Korea comment or activity, and assessment practices in schools that are standardized and examination-oriented—that tend to constrain South Korean teachers ideologically and pedagogically when they deal with issues related to North Korea.

Jho (2008) concludes that teaching ideologically sensitive issues in classrooms should be examined in terms of the ultimate goals of citizenship education and that the ideals of citizenship education should never be separated from teacher education. He recommends the incorporation of the notions of teachers as gatekeepers and personal theorizers in teacher education programmes, which in my view are crucial in order to understand and question the ideological and political control of education.

How Education Is at the Mercy of Ruling Powers’ Ideologies in Afghanistan

Patrick Belton’s (2009) historical account of Afghanistan through the lens of education gives an important insight into how education is susceptible to becoming a victim of ruling authorities. Through his historical analysis of the changing state of Afghani education, focusing mostly on the period of 1978–2001 (when Afghanistan was under communist and then Taleban regimes), Belton comes to his central message: while education is commonly understood to lead to valuable ideals like a peaceful and just society, a "close scrutiny of the Afghanistan case reveals that education can also foster attitudes liable to … violence and societal breakdown" (p. 198).

Belton (2009) starts his analysis by pointing out that it was King Amanullah who first attempted to give Afghanistan a significant, forward-thinking revamp immediately after Afghan autonomy from the British Empire in 1919. Along with women's emancipation, Amanullah had hoped for universal education in Afghanistan, but these efforts proved lofty. His reform initiatives were derailed by "the resistive conservative countryside, buttressed by the disgruntlement of the country's Ulema at the attempt to wrest control of education from the informal network of madrasas" (Belton, 2009, p. 200). Amanullah was exiled and until the end of the Second World War, educational reform in Afghanistan remained at a standstill.

The relationship with Russia that emerged in post-war Afghanistan gave rise to a renewed interest in educational reform. Beginning with Sardar Muhammad Daud Khan who led Afghanistan from 1953 to 1964, advocacy for co-education and women's rights re-emerged into the politico-educational discourse, which continued under the leadership of Zaher Shah from 1964 to 1973, who legalized women's equality, established an elected parliament, and legislated secular education policies.

Zaher Shah was overthrown in the Daoudist Coup of 1973, resulting in the new Republic of Afghanistan. Still, the expansive education policy initiated by Shah was kept intact under Daoud, but it was short-lived. The Marxist People's Democratic Party grew impatient of the slow political changes under Daoud. They launched a coup of their own in 1978 establishing the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Soon after, the Marxist cadres commenced a campaign to promote mass literacy. Part of the campaign involved countryside women attending classes with male teachers, prompting rebellion from traditionalists, especially those on the countryside. In 1979, with Soviet invasion, the rebellion was doused.

From 1979 to 1989, educational policy paralleled the Soviet education model. This model, as Belton (2009) outlines, involved six major themes: (1) secularization or minimization of religion in education; (2) incorporating lessons in Russian; (3) introducing students to Soviet-Afghan friendship; (4) Marxist-Leninist perspective-based textbooks;

(5) presenting Afghanistan as sharing a heritage with Central Asia, as opposed to Pakistan or Iran; and (6) ensuring that it was illegal (and punishable) for parents or guardians to deny primary education to their children.

But, Belton (2009) explains, in 1989, with Soviet departure from Afghanistan, and two years later, the failure of the socialist Massoud administration, Afghanistan became destabilized and lawlessness spread as Mujahideen groups[7] conflicted with one another. The stage was set for the emergence of Taleban as the major power, ultimately leading to Islamization and fundamentalization of education in Afghanistan. This period was characterized by anti-democratic, anti-women, and anti-secular sentiments on the part of the country's controllers. Belton's historical analysis is certainly telling of how access to education and content of education is so deeply contingent on which political forces rule a country.

The Taleban phase ended in 2007. Since then, The United Nations Children's Funds (UNICEF) and United States Agency for International Development (USAID) have successfully raised enrolment in primary schools but have not been able to pay particular attention to the quality of that education (Belton, 2009, p. 212).

Prioritization of English Language Education in Malaysia

Policies around language education are often demonstrative of a country's values and priorities. Elwyn Thomas's (2009) case study explores how the English language emerged as the primary language of education in Malaysia which, on the one hand, met the demands of marketability and global capitalism, while on the other hand, de-valued local language and culture.

Post its independence in 1957, the Razak Report was written, which grounded the Education Ordinance of 1957. This Ordinance recommended that Malay should be the national language, that vernacular schools should provide mother tongue instruction, and that English should be replaced by Malay in higher education as well. According to the report, this was motivated by the notion that establishing Bahasa Malasia in higher institutions would improve social conditions since most rural and economically disadvantaged people in Malaysia were Malay. Opportunities for these groups were less forthcoming in the past because the administration, business, and industry were conducted in English during colonial rule. Implementing Malay in higher education, it was thought, would thwart this trend, and more widespread reliance on Malay would result.

This policy was reversed in 2002. Then, English was to be used to teach math and sciences at school as well as in university instruction. That reversal was indicative, Thomas says, of “a perception that intensifying global economic competition, together with the vast increase in the knowledge and skills in science, technology (including information technology), trade and financial services, presents politicians not [only] in Malaysia but [also] in other emerging economies with serious dilemmas” (2009, p. 128). That is, the ideology of the market controls the language of teaching rather than giving importance to the language of the majority of the people. Thus, use of English as a language of instruction not only prioritizes economic aims of education but also devalues and undermines local cultures.

Several challenges arose from the policy reversal, as Thomas (2009) explains. First, there was a disconnect between the public sector which relied on Malay and the private sector where communication was in English. Balancing growth in these areas became difficult with changes in language education. In addition, one aim of anglicizing instruction in science, technology, finance, and business was intended to improve the employability of Malaysian university graduates, but those goals had to be balanced with ensuring that Bahasa Malay remained the national language. And third, Malaysian society was diverse in ethnicity, culture and religion—this also needed to be accommodated, which gave rise to implementing a multi-cultural curriculum as well as equable higher education.

Thomas (2009) discusses several “Ways Forward” for Malaysian society. But his ideas are descriptive and lack a critical bent. He suggests “upgrading of the teaching profession” and “setting up of high profile research institutes.” While these are worthwhile suggestions, they are limited by a vision that is constrained by the furtherance of governmental, political, and economic concerns. The value of critical thinking, the ability to critique societal structures and their underpinning ideologies, and personal reflection in teacher education and scholarship are not centralized in his proposals. As a result, the more intrinsic values of education, like transformation and realization of creative potential, are under-emphasized. Along with an over-emphasis on instrumental outputs of education, Thomas also ignores procedural concerns—the challenges and barriers that students, teachers, schools, and parents face as a consequence of changing language policies are not fully discussed.

Last, it is noteworthy that Thomas (2009) supports instruction in English in furtherance of economic goals and global marketability. Thomas's analysis would have been more nuanced and complete if he had engaged with perspectives that centralize the subjugation and cultural marginalization that many postcolonial countries face. Such a discussion may have shed further light on the challenges and ideological shifts that occur because of market-oriented educational policies.

Colonial Influences on Education in Hong Kong

Whenever a country's status changes from that of a colony, that political change is naturally reflected in its education system. Paul Morris (2009) studies the changes that occurred when Hong Kong went from being a British colony to a Special Administrative Region of China on July 1, 1997, and the ways in which the government used education as an ideological tool to shape students thinking of citizenship and national identity.

By exploring three phases in Hong Kong's history, Morris (2009) shows how political changes influenced and controlled education. First, between 1945 and 1966, the colonial government's priority was survival. Any thoughts of developing a citizenry that would come to identify with Britain was not a central concern in that phase. This prioritization manifested in educational policies that were designed to subdue any anti-colonialism. Bureaucratic control was levied over schools, and direct action was taken against "subversive" teachers and school. The content of the school curriculum was depoliticized. Schooling was, in large parts, handed over to missionary bodies who did not have hostile attitudes towards the colonial government.

In 1966, when the Hong Kong riots began, the colonial government shifted its focus. At that time, rather than simply aiming for its own survival, it saw itself as an agent of social harmony. That social harmony was sought to be achieved by minimizing conflict between the government and interest groups. The Joint Declaration between Britain and China in 1984 which retro-ceased Hong Kong to China in 1997 was a landmark of this second phase. This phase came with curricular changes that emphasized the study of contemporary Hong Kong while minimizing information about the People's Republic of China.

Then came the third phase, from 1997 onwards. The new government of the Special Administrative Region of China began the promotion of values like patriotism and began striving to instil a national identity. “This pattern,” Morris (2009) argues, “suggests a degree of convergence with what happened on mainland [China] where the shared sense of identity is now promoted primarily through a cultural and nationalistic agenda rather than through Mao’s interpretations of the tenets of Marxism/Leninism or of an allegiance to the [Chinese Communist Party]” (p. 89). At the same time, Hong Kong has also maintained “a free press, the rule of law, freedom of expression, an independent judiciary and a lively civil society” (p. 83). Hong Kong thus represents a unique situation where there is a co-existence of emphasis on freedom and independence due to a recent history of ambivalent political control and British influence, on the one hand, and a marked contemporary movement towards strong national identity and patriotism being part of China, on the other hand. This study is a telling example of how the goals of a colonial government, and subsequently the new goals of a postcolonial nation, influence education policy and the notions of citizenship and national identity.

Nationalism, Globalization, and Moral Values

Education is often used as a mechanism to promote national identities and moral values. This theme is central in my discussions of the seven case studies in this section. First, I discuss political influence over moral education in China. Second, I describe the incorporation of Kokoro (value-based) education in Japan. I then set out the highlights of a comparative study of Chinese and Japanese national identity education. Fourth, I outline ideological tensions in Singaporean education which have given rise to tensions over which moral attributes should be cultivated in students. Fifth, I comment on how the values of docility and harmony have been prioritized in educational policy in Macau. Sixth, I provide a discussion of Vietnamese curriculum design, aimed at creating a nationalistic identity. Seventh, I demonstrate how Singaporean policymakers have attempted to incorporate nationalistic and moral values into educational policy, and how those efforts have fared. I conclude my illustrations of this theme through a discussion of the unique development of Filipino national identity.

Political Influence on Moral Values Education in China

Edward Vickers (2009), a known scholar on Asian education systems, demonstrates how changes in political ideologies and strategies influence education in China, with an emphasis on the content of Chinese moral education textbooks (*Thought and Values* and *Thought and Politics*). Contemporary political ideas in China, Vickers explains, involve "effective abandonment of socialism and pursuit of rapid marketization and capitalist growth … with the promotion of state-centred patriotism …" (p. 54). This central goal is reflected in a changing conception of education in China. While education was once thought of (influenced by Mao Ze Dong's vision) as a "tool for social engineering, socialist indoctrination and the inculcation of the loyalty to the Party …", it is now concerned with "promoting skills necessary for building a strong, wealthy, modern and advanced nation" and promoting patriotism by emphasizing "identification with collective national achievements, goals and interests" (p. 55). A critical analysis of the information available in media and in educational policy documents, and textbooks (including moral education textbooks) reveal the "persistent salience of an aggrieved nationalism and a sense that China still faces a hostile world reluctant to accord the nation its proper international status" (p. 53). Chinese curriculum and educational policies strongly emphasize national pride and the importance of recognizing China's struggles and achievements. They remind students of China's ancient history, unique and splendid cultural inheritance, economic and technological advancement, and significance on global political and economic landscape. At the same time, the history of past aggressions, current conflicts with the neighbours, and internal tensions are emphasized in order to invoke a deeper sense of love and pride for the country. Such emphasis on the neoliberal rhetoric of efficiency and progress combined with uncritical and patriotic citizenship education initiatives and policies are in line with using education as an instrument of state ideology. Vicker's (2009) study provides yet another example of how moral education is used as a tool in the hands of political ideologies.

Teaching Nationalistic Values/Morals as a Response to Globalization—Japanese Kokoro Education

Julie Higashi's (2008) work examines teaching nationalistic values and morals as a response to globalization in contemporary Japan.

The essay analyses the politics of *Kokoro* education in Japan outlined in the National Commission on Education Reform Plan (January 2001). On the one hand, the government's policy shows inclinations towards emphasizing the importance of English for Japanese children in the wake of globalization (Action Plan for Cultivating Japanese with English ability, 2003) but on the other hand the recommendations made in the education reform plan for the twenty-first century reveal that the Japanese central government places special emphasis on building a firm Japanese identity by raising Japanese children with a rich *Kokoro*.

Higashi (2008) explains that the word *Kokoro* refers to "the intangible value systems that presumably govern the Japanese mind" (p. 40). *Kokoro* education demands that moral education should be strengthened at schools as well as at home. Guided by the philosophy of *Kokoro*, "Students are expected to form characters and identities that have a solid affinity with their schools, communities, and eventually the state." To this end, the government came up with a newly revised "Course of Study of Social Studies" for grades 6–9 that was implemented in 2002 with the aim of "fostering a love for country." The government spent huge amounts of money on producing and distributing *Kokoro* books and training *Kokoro* teachers.

Central government officials, conservative educators, and local Kyoto city officials see globalization as an imminent threat to Japan's national identity and emphasize the need to respond by landscaping the minds and the hearts of the young through *Kokoro* education. However, those who hold supporting views towards *Kokoro* have come under severe attack by citizen groups and educators who are highly critical of the use of *Kokoro* notebooks in schools today as these reflect the pre-war *shushin*[8] moral education textbooks that highlight the visual images of Japan, for example, as an isolated island surrounded by ocean and Mount Fuji rising above the clouds.

In the current state of globalization—with increasing numbers of students from other nationalities in Japanese schools and Japanese students studying internationally—Higashi (2008) points out the need of equipping the young with skills to voice doubts rather than accept the state-led moral principles so that they may become able to communicate with people who carry different worldviews.

Higashi's study on *Kokoro* helpfully indicates how political fears and reactions to globalization can manifest in the educational landscape through debates about the incorporation of nationalistic morals and values into the curriculum.

National Citizenship Vis-a-Vis Global Citizenship in China and Japan

Rose (2015) compares global citizenship and global values in Chinese and Japanese education, focusing on two central questions: (1) how does Japanese curriculum represent China and conversely, how does Chinese curriculum represent Japan in curriculum policy and textbooks? and (2) how do China and Japan represent themselves in relation to the rest of the world?

Rose (2015) undertakes her exploration of Japanese and Chinese citizenship education through a chronological and comparative review of policy documents, curriculum documents, and textbooks from both countries. Her analysis indicates that although the need to emphasize global citizenship rather than traditional patriotic values has been recognized in educational policies in both countries since the 1990s and early 2000s, a significant change in this respect is not visible in the actual curricula in either country. Chinese and Japanese students are not taught material that would encourage a post-national identity; to the contrary, strengthening the national identity has remained a central focus in both countries, as the above two case studies testify. As a result, even in the face of increasing globalization, students in these countries would not likely develop identities as global citizens; rather, they are likely to develop identities as Japanese or Chinese nationals who happen to live in an increasingly globalized context.

Education Reforms in China and Japan in 1990s–2000s

In terms of education reforms, Rose (2015) explains that Chinese and Japanese education underwent significant changes in the 1990s and 2000s. In Japan, the once-lauded education system was wrought with problems like bullying, dropping out, and worse, suicides, by the mid-1990s. Policymakers had to decide how to revamp the education system to address these problems and prepare the Japanese citizenry for the increasing relevance of globalization. This resulted in the introduction of *Yutori Kyoiku*, or “relaxed education.” *Yutori Kyoiku* was characterized by a greater emphasis “on fostering creativity, problem-solving skills and a ‘zest for living’” (Rose, 2015, p. 85). Problematically, however, public examinations did not change, and scores decreased, causing media frenzy and scepticism. In response, a heightened commitment to neoliberal and neoconservative educational policies occurred in Japanese education in the 2000s.[9]

A parallel trajectory occurred in Chinese education. Rose (2015), drawing on Law (2011), notes that in China, the 1990s saw serious problems of "money-worship" and "extreme individualism," which prompted the need for educational reforms because the socialist political scheme was losing its credibility. Rose notes that the Chinese reforms in response, called, *Suzhi Jiaoyu*, or "quality education," drew significantly from the *Yutori Kyoiku* system in Japan discussed above, and "was confronted with similar tensions" (p. 86).

Curriculum Reforms in China and Japan in 1990s–2000s

After examining a series of Courses of Study in Japanese curriculum, Rose (2015) concludes that since the 1970s, and up to and including the reforms of 2008, Japanese curriculum has prioritized enhancing a sense of Japanese identity. While the 2008 reforms include international and global components, their focus, Rose suggests, remains to demonstrate the Japanese role in international society and in fostering world peace.

In China, the reforms were broader, and the 2000s saw a marked increase in moral education, including fostering a love for China, as well as learning about other cultures and becoming internationally aware. But while globalization may have been introduced into the curriculum, nationalism remained central.

In addition, Rose (2015) observes that in both Japan and China, there is a marked absence of reference to Asia or East Asia. There is, accordingly, little engagement with regional history and the reasons for regional conflict and challenges. Instead, the curriculum focuses on developing a national identity through identifying oneself as the victim of the atrocities committed by neighbouring countries. This is indicative, again, of the prioritization of creating a national identity in both Japan and China.

Rose (2015) points to similar curricular trends towards nationalism that are notable in textbooks adopted in both countries. For instance, in the widely used *Atarashi Shakai* social studies text, it is not until grade six that Japanese students are taught economic issues beyond Japanese borders. Similarly, she notes, in the *Pinde yu Shehui* text used in China, grade six students are given a quick overview of global issues, and a lengthy (almost four times as long) discussion of China's history, its "century of humiliation," and its contemporary development. In both texts, other cultures are depicted stereotypically, and the troubled past between China and Japan are discussed quite superficially, with both countries focusing on the atrocities committed against them and depicting themselves through a lens of victimhood.

Rose (2015) shows that in terms of their depictions of themselves within a global context, while Chinese texts refer to "global villagers," and Japan introduces a similar concept in middle school, both China and Japan have, again, prioritized national identity. They devote much more time and space to presenting narratives that indicate their own contributions to the international community, and their own self-identification as peaceful nations.

Through her curriculum and textbook analysis of China and Japan, Rose (2015) provides a significant contribution to the literature on Asian educational responses to globalization and nationalistic education. However, Rose's piece may have benefited from more commentary on the regional divisiveness that is inherent in the Japanese and Chinese approaches to citizenship education, with their focus on national identity, their de-emphasis on their own roles in conflict, and their presentation of themselves as victims of others. On the whole, Rose's analysis helpfully suggests that while some recognition of the value of imparting a sense of international belonging is evident in educational policy in China and Japan, the fundamental emphasis remains on fostering a sense of national identity.

Creating Good People, Good Workers, Good Citizens: How Ideological Tensions Are Visible in Differing Aims of Education in Singapore

The tensions between the values of critical thinking and creativity versus productivity and loyalty are starkly demonstrated in Christine Han's (2009) discussion about ideological influence in her study on Singaporean education. By analysing educational policy and civics, moral education, and national education texts, Han argues that Singaporean education discourse, largely motivated by economic imperatives, is dominated by several key elements. One, there is a desire to produce the human capital necessary for a global knowledge economy, and instrumental conceptions of creative and critical thinking are valuable to this end. Second, "Asian Values" are centralized, which include respect and obedience to elders and authority figures. Third, Singaporean children should be imbibed with uncritical and absolute love for their country.

Han (2009) concludes that by de-emphasizing critical questioning and political participation, the goal of producing a workforce who has the skills of critical and creative thought, and who can, therefore, face and flourish in the challenges presented by globalization, is unlikely to be realized. Moreover, the dominant educational model (which values passivity and uncritical obedience) cannot prepare individuals to have moral and intellectual autonomy. How, then, can children educated in that manner be expected to handle the complexities of life in an increasingly complicated world?

Han's (2009) analysis may have benefited from engaging in debates around whether it is appropriate to dichotomize Western and Eastern values. In a country like Singapore, the superficiality and arbitrary nature of such distinctions are clear, because the Singaporean economic structure is rooted in capitalism, and the educational model is also deeply influenced by Western models, where individualism and competitiveness are respected and even celebrated. And what's more, ideas of civic participation and critical view of unconditional and uncritical patriotism and such democratic values are typically understood as "Western" (see Adler & Sim, 2008). Drawing attention to the superficiality of dichotomizing so-called "Eastern" and "Western" values is important because it indicates the lack of depth that policymakers bring when manipulating education in furtherance of their own aims. Han's study helpfully draws attention to how political responses to globalization are rooted in distinct values, and that those ideological values are then imposed into education systems.

Moral and Civil Education to Promote a "Docile" and "Harmonious" Community in Macau

Sou-Kuan Vong (2008) studies and uncovers how the discourses of moral and civic education are impacted upon by educational legislation and the perceptions of teachers and students in Macau. Vong employs Foucault's (1977, 1980, 1982) notion of power and knowledge embedded in the "text" and "discourses" of moral and civic education. Vong theorizes that the production of truths (of moral and civic education) in Macau is situational and linked to power relations. This epistemological position helped Vong reveal how the discourses and practices of the moral and civic education are shaped; examine the ways power circulates and produces a certain kind of moral and civic education knowledge; and acknowledge the informants' voices (teachers and students) within the process of construction of knowledge and in turn link the action of the subject to power. Vong's methodological framework included documentary analysis of government education policy documents and two semi-structured interviews of four frontline teachers and six pre-university students to understand and examine the prevalent discourse of moral and civic education in Macau.

Vong's (2008) research findings indicate the prevalence of different and even contradictory discourses of moral and civic education in Macau. Document analysis suggests that the emphasis of the government policy on moral and civic education is primarily to create "docile citizens" and a "harmonious society" since the mid-1980s when Macau was restored to China through a Sino-Portuguese treaty. The emphasis on "docile citizens" and "harmonious society" gained much attention due to the growing number of crimes by the youth of Macau who had been joining a rapidly growing gaming industry.

The interviews with teachers suggest that they all are concerned with producing "good citizens." However, every school has its own philosophy of what a good citizen is. For example, in religious schools, moral and civic education is primarily concerned with religious instructions with almost no emphasis on civic education, while non-religious schools mainly focus on legal and social issues in their moral and civic education classes. Interviews with pre-university students illustrated their discontent with civic and moral education. These students feel that the moral and civic education only helps them learn facts for the purpose of exams rather than making them think critically about the important issues that the society is facing.

Vong (2008) emphasizes the importance of "docility" and "conformity" in a critical perspective in moral and civic education (pp. 155, 157). I would disagree and so would many of the critical social educators such as Ross (2014, 2017), Stanley (2001), and Evans (2004) to name a few. "Docility" and "conformity" are goals of "traditional social studies instruction" and are totally inconsistent with critical social education.[10] The very foundation of critical social education can only be laid on challenging the conforming tendencies in teachers and the students so that they are able to challenge the existing system to bring about change. If conformity remains at the core, then what will happen in the name of social education is simply a reproduction of the oppressive social reality without any possibility for change. It is noteworthy that Adler and Sim (2008) (see the case study below) provide the evidence of my critique of Vong's piece. They criticize the Singaporean government's effort at creating a passive and materialist citizenry and emphasize the need for critical engagement that involves critiquing the status quo. Still, the Macau study is an excellent example of value-based and moral education being used as a political tool.

Creation of an Ideological National Identity Through Curricular Influence: Lessons from Vietnam

Matthieu Salomon and Vu Doan Kêt (2009) provide an insightful glimpse into how ideological ideals of creating a national identity can and have influenced educational development in Vietnam. Salomon and Kêt note that although Vietnamese national identity is constructed via a variety of sources (like media, home life, and social and political organizations), education, especially history curriculum, plays a critical role in identity-creation. Accordingly, they analyse school history texts and conclude that: "The most striking point in official and popular national identity education in Vietnam is the fact that 'Vietnamese-ness' is always presented in essentialized and eternal terms and portrayed as based on a specific and homogenous ethnic identity … [eternally engaged in] resistance against the northern 'Big Brother,' China" (p. 143).

Based on their analysis of the history curriculum, Salomon and Kêt (2009) suggest that in the post-*Doi-Moi* (Renovation)[11] Vietnam, one can sense that the narrative vis-à-vis China and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has relaxed somewhat because of economic pressures and calls from the intellectual communities and historians that a detached and objective approach to constructing national identity is desirable. Still, Salomon and Kêt affirm that any "denationalization" is unlikely to appear in the foreseeable future.

Salomon and Kêt (2009) focus on two central aspects of Vietnamese national identity: "essentialist and xenophobic ethno-cultural nationalism" and "contemporary socialism" (p. 146). They assert that the claim that nationalism and communism—two inextricable aspects of the Vietnamese Communist Party's ideology—are unified with each other is a key concept to understand. This idea sheds light on how ideology influences education. In the context of Vietnam, the creation of national identity is part of the Communist agenda and is being pushed in educational curriculum development.

Salomon and Kêt have provided a useful service by outlining the nature of ideological influence in Vietnamese education by way of controlling national identity formation through curriculum control.

When identity formation is understood as a political aim, the creating of identity through education is clearly visible as a manifestation of politicization of education.

Contested History Curriculum in Taiwan

Sharon Hsiao-Lan Chen (2008) focuses upon the history of curricular reform and the resultant controversies and debates in Taiwan, which began in 1994 with *New Curriculum Standards for the Junior High School Education*, followed by *Curriculum Guidelines for Compulsory Education* (1998) and *Temporal Guidelines for Senior High School Education* (2004 and 2005). Employing Foucault's (1980) poststructural ideas of power and knowledge, Chen studies the contestation and controversy over the curriculum of history from different groups—political parties, historians, school teachers, media, and the public. Chen's methodological framework includes thorough document analysis of the related reports of the Ministry of Education of Taiwan, news reports, newspaper editorials and public opinions, and interviews with high school teachers to understand their conceptions of the whole reform process. Chen examines the controversies related to history curriculum through historiographic, ideological, and pedagogical dimensions. Below I discuss the controversies related to the first two.

The historiographic issues were concerned with the question: What should be taught to students in a history curriculum? The first draft of the *History Curriculum Guidelines for Senior High School* replaced traditional chronological curriculum with a skill-oriented and theme-based curriculum framework, and it emphasized history as a distinct form of knowing and understanding. The new curriculum aimed to present a "'depoliticized' version of the history curriculum that would avoid political doctrines and moral dogmas" (Chen, 2008, p. 94). It also intended to move away from "the traditional imperialistic, Euro-centric, and Sino-centric historiography to reframe the history of Taiwan and Chinese history in a world context with emphasis on acknowledging the cross-influences and interconnections between Taiwan, China, and the rest of the world" (p. 95). The new curriculum adopted a modern historiographic approach and abandoned the chronological and moralistic approach to history teaching. The first volume of history textbooks deals with Taiwanese history so that students may start with something more relevant to have a sense of why it is important to learn history. The second volume discusses Chinese history up to the Ming dynasty. The third and fourth volumes focus on the modern world beginning at 1500 based on the understanding that during this time and afterwards China had more interaction with the other parts of the world and therefore the history of Modern China can be studied in a world context by merging it with Modern World History. Many pro-Chinese advocates objected to the idea of merging Modern Chinese History into Modern World History in the third and the fourth volumes to ensure that a core Chinese focus was not compromised. While the imperialistic, Euro-centric, and Sino-centric history has been challenged and abandoned in Taiwan, there are many individuals and groups who believe in history that promotes more traditional, chronological, and patriotic views. The Second Task Force Committee, influenced by pro-China groups, replaced Modern World History with Chinese history—the dominant nation-centric ideology remained successful in controlling, at least to some extent, the nature of history curriculum.

As is clear from the above discussion, due to political and ideological contestation, history curriculum in Taiwan became controversial. The key question with reference to ideological issues was: "[I]n what ways are historical accounts structured and for what kinds of purposes?" (Chen, 2008, p. 97). The ideological debate occurred between the pro-Taiwanese independence Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), which came to power in 2000 and Kuomintang (KMT), the party in opposition. The debate between these two parties focused on a number of issues related to history curriculum including: (1) There was a contestation over the content of Taiwan History. The party in opposition thought that there was too much Taiwanese content at the expense of Chinese history; (2) There were criticisms of integrating Modern Chinese history with the Modern World history, as mentioned above; (3) There were also many controversies because the proposed curriculum emphasized postwar Taiwanese history, questioned Taiwan's retrocession to China and appreciation of Japanese contributions, and criticized postwar KMT government; and (4) The party in opposition, KMT, in conclusion, blamed the party in power, DPP, for using history curriculum as a way to promote Taiwan's sovereignty and the latter's supposed agenda of "One Nation, Two State" to dilute Taiwan's relationship with China as well as the nationalistic sentiments of the Republic of China. DPP's response to these criticisms and questions came from the historiographic position discussed above whereby the role of history curriculum is to question the imperialistic, Euro-centric, and Sino-centric views of history which paint a biased picture of the glorious past. On the contrary, it proposes a curriculum that offers students opportunities to see past as non-linear and open to varying interpretations. Like Hong Kong, Taiwan represents another case where the transition of political control from one power to another has resulted in itself in contestation between various ideological groups and their intentions to control curriculum.

Nationalistic and Moral Values: Intended Outcomes Versus Realities in Singapore

Susan A. Adler and Jasmine B.-Y. Sim (2008) point out the contradictions of the intended and actual curriculum through a critical analysis of the social studies curriculum at the upper secondary level in Singapore. The intended outcomes of social studies (upper secondary level) as part of National Education is to “know Singapore” which is conceived as “a direct response to the problem of young Singaporeans’ lack of knowledge and interest in Singapore’s recent history and the central issues considered key to national survival” (p. 166). More specifically, Adler and Sim chose three desired outcomes of social studies curriculum to show the contradictions of the intended and the practised curriculum. These outcomes are: (1) nation before community and society before self; (2) racial and religious harmony; and (3) participation and civic engagement.

In order to understand the intended curriculum, the authors reviewed social studies syllabi and texts that were current in 2004–2006; while to understand the state of the enacted curriculum, the authors drew upon their experiences of teaching in pre- or postgraduate and in-service courses in social studies curriculum at the National Institute for Education. During the in-service course, the authors taped, scripted, and analysed class discussions on citizenship and the social studies curriculum. Additionally, participants in these courses wrote reflective essays responding to the nature and definition of social studies.

Adler and Sim (2008) critique the Singaporean government’s emphasis on harmony, consensus and communitarianism on several points. First, the importance of harmony and consensus is described as the Eastern virtue against the Western idea of individualism. The authors argue that the division between eastern and western ideals is inessential. They explain that the concepts of public good, civic participation, and commonwealth are Western in their origin and are not in contradiction with harmonious existence. At the root of Adler and Sim's critique is the notion that politicized labelling of "eastern" versus "western" values is conceptually unsound, and that problem appears in and contributes to the disconnect between intended outcomes in social studies education and the actual curriculum outputs in Singapore.

Secondly, the idea of "Singapore before self" is rootless because of its contradiction with the Singaporean government's support to capitalism (that only survives on self-interest) and the politics of pragmatism (that encourages people to leave the work of politics to the People's Action Party). Furthermore, the intended curriculum that stresses the importance of harmony and consensus is embedded in an education system that emphasizes competition, individual merit, and self-interest.

While Adler and Sim (2008) provide a brief critique of capitalism, they do not draw sufficient critical attention to the very existence of state and nation that uses education as one of their ideological apparatuses to reproduce and perpetuate status quo (Althusser, 1971). Moreover, social studies in a Singaporean context is nothing but transmission of government-approved knowledge. Teachers who participated in the study expressed the belief that examinations constrain what and how they teach. The examinations compel them to be didactic, teaching what is going to be tested, rather than engaging students in critical discussions. Teachers also expressed their lack of control in curriculum matters and other decision-making issues in the school. Adler and Sim remark, "if teachers have no experience of real decision-making, how can we expect the enacted curriculum to provide students with real decision-making experiences" (2008, p. 175). This is an indication of why the politicization of education often conflicts with equipping students and teachers to be critical and independent decision-makers, instead favouring promotion of certain values in furtherance of political ideologies.

National Identity Formation in the Philippines

Maca and Morris (2015) provide an exposition of the unique situation in the Philippines, where a nationalist identity has not seemed to form in the way that it has been promoted in other Asian countries, like Japan and China, as discussed previously. The authors show that although the Filipino state has endorsed the use of education to engender a sense of national identity, those nationalistic concerns have not been successfully transmitted to students or the citizenry. As a result, a strong "Filipino" identity is not shared among citizens. Referring to Diokno (1997), the authors point out that most Filipinos are fairly disinterested or at least ambivalent when it comes to civic participation, and do not have a strong sense of Filipino nationhood.

Maca and Morris (2015) allude to several reasons why this unique lack of national identity has endured in the Philippines. For one, they point out that the Filipino economy is contingent on migrant workers, so creating a sense of Filipinos as "global" citizens is more economically viable than creating a strong sense of national identity. In addition, unlike Japan and China, where education is authoritatively controlled by the state, in the Philippines, education policy developed through negotiations with powerful stakeholders like the "Catholic Church, foreign aid agencies, private university owners and textbook publishing groups" (p. 127). As a result, even though the government seems to be concerned with creating a national identity, it is more difficult for them to implement such goals in their educational policies.

Maca and Morris (2015) attempt to study state efforts to foster a sense of national identity and the limited success that these attempts have been met with. Although there is no significant discussion of their methodology, the authors review state documents, they consider the historical state formation of the Philippines, and refer to several secondary studies that have been conducted to examine various aspects of Filipino identity formation.

In terms of historical analysis, Maca and Morris (2015) point to three major periods in Filipino past. First is the pre-Spanish period, when Indigenous and Muslim education practices prevailed. Then, with Spanish colonization came Catholic Church's control over education. This was followed by the Spanish-American war resulting in the Philippines becoming an American colony. The Americans instituted a "mass education" strategy in order to achieve what the authors call "a benevolent assimilation." The aim was to inculcate American values of liberty and democracy. Referring to Constantino (1975) and Wurfel (1988), Maca and Morris (2015) note that during American rule, textbooks became predominantly English and replete with American narratives. The history of being ruled by Spain and America (and very briefly even by Japan) has considerably contributed, the authors suggest, to the shaky sense of a true Filipino identity among Filipino nationals.

In the contemporary Philippines, the only significant attempt at creating a national identity was done under the dictatorship of Ferdinand

Marcos (1965–1986); however, Marco's attempt was wrought with self-aggrandizement and was short-lived and unsuccessful. Since Marcos's exile in 1986, the government has attempted to prioritize national identity formation. For instance, 1988–1998 was declared "the Period of Philippine Nationalism" in an attempt to rebuild national identity in the post-Marcos period. Various initiatives were launched at this time, including the "Social Transformation through Education" programme and the "National Moral Recovery Program," a Senate Task Force Calling for *pagmamalaki sa bansa* (a sense of pride and love for Filipino identity), and *Makabayan* (an attempt to ensure a healthy personal and national self-concept). The studies available that assess these initiatives are limited, but the few that exist suggest little success (Maca and Morris (2015) refer to Mendoza and Nakayama [2003] and Bernardo and Mendoza [2009]).

The most recent governmental decrees with respect to education are the K + 12 reforms. These, Maca and Morris (2015) note, are permeated with neoliberal ideals of skills and competencies, and nationalistic goals are notably missing altogether. What is prioritized instead is a "transnational identity," which involves praise for American colonizers who gave liberal ideals to the country, and equally, praise for those who have earned prestige abroad. This is in line with the idea that the Filipino economy is largely driven by migrant workers, so creating a global identity is economically beneficial. In addition, this is likely the reason why there was little resistance to adopting English as an educational medium as opposed to national languages.

Maca and Morris (2015) provide a worthwhile illustration of a unique circumstance of an Asian country that has a fairly weak sense of national identity. They helpfully explain how the history of domination by others as well as a contemporary commitment to neoliberal and economic and market-driven concerns have led to the lack of a strong national sense of self among Filipinos. The work may have been even more valuable had the authors discussed the true nature of colonialism, including its exploitive tendencies, to highlight how surprising it is that the Filipino consciousness has not considered itself the victim of these forces.

Most strikingly though, throughout the essay, the authors seem to continually criticize the lack of national identity, but suggest only in passing in their conclusion that it has some positive effects because it has saved the Philippines from the chauvinistic tendencies that are present in other Asian nations that have focused on developing strong national identity through schooling.

Maca and Morris (2015) also fail to recognize that the national ideology *is* present in the Philippines, but its roots are Catholicism, Americanness, and market-driven concerns. The authors do not explore the interpretation of their findings that the national identity that exists in the Philippines may not have the same dedication for Filipino narratives, lauding Filipino heroes and the tendency of self-victimization as in other countries, but there is some shared sense of self as a nation of emigrants who apparently are (rather surprisingly) grateful to their colonizers.

Religious Influence on Education

In this section, I discuss: (1) how ideas of religious superiority which are central to certain political platforms in India have influenced educational policies; (2) how religion, politics and education have intersected in Pakistan over the course of changing governments; and (3) the Islamization of curriculum in Malaysia.

How Religious Ideologies Influence Education—India Under BJP Rule

India's lively political scene is often riddled with religious undertones which become visible in its changing educational policies. Marie Lall (2009a) has provided an analysis of how India's Bhartiya Janta Party's (BJP) Hindu Nationalism ideologies "fundamentailized" Indian education during their rule. BJP (a right-wing, conservative party) headed the National Democratic Alliance between 1998 and 2004. In that time, the party exercised political control over education in order to propagate Hindutva[12] nationalist ideology. For one, they replaced officials in the National Council of Educational Research and Training, the central government's department of education, and appointed right-wing conservative politicians as Union Minister and Minister of State to ensure no challenge to their efforts at designing and implementing educational policies aimed at creating a Hindu nation. BJP dominated regime also issued *National Curriculum Framework 2000* under the slogan of 'Indianize, nationalize, and spiritualize' to guide curriculum development and teaching. Its primary aim was to reclaim India's lost Hindu past.

History textbooks that were written during this period demonized Islam and asserted the superiority of Hindu culture, making claims that were unsupported by any scholarly evidence (Roy, 2003). This was accompanied by removal of the existing books and minimization of the publication of new books that were critical of Hindutva ideology by using intimidation tactics on authors and publishers.

Moreover, the party supported the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS)—a right-wing conservative cultural organization whose mandate is to portray and create a "Hindu" nation, where minority religions are subordinate. Under BJP rule, the RSS was able to establish several schools in India. In these schools, the key focus is to glorify the Hindu past and emphasize the atrocities and exploitation that Hindus had to bear due to Muslim and British rules.

India under BJP rule was, therefore, a quintessential example of religious nationalism being promoted via education. In its quest to build a Hindu nation BJP completely undermined India's plural, diverse, and secular ethos.

In 2004, a radical curricular reform was initiated when the United Progressive Alliance came to power. The un-democratic commitments and fundamentalism that had infiltrated into Indian curriculum were replaced with a prioritization on experiential, critical, and democratic teaching and learning. These changes were spearheaded by Professor Krishan Kumar. I discuss India's post-2004 curricular reforms in detail in the next chapter.

Significantly, in 2014, the BJP returned to power in India under the leadership of Prime Minister Modi, and this time with a full majority. The fears of fundamentalization and Hindu extremism that Lall (2009a) discusses are yet again at the forefront of the Indian educational landscape. It remains to be seen how this will influence Indian education in near future.

Religion, Politics, and Education in Pakistan

Pakistan embodies a complicated relationship between religion, politics, and education. Lall (2009b) provides a compelling historical account that brings this complexity to life. Contrary to Muhammad Ali Jinnah's original vision of Pakistan as a secular democracy, since independence, Pakistani governments have centralized Islam in Pakistani national identity. When Zulfikar Ali Bhutto became president, for instance (1971 post-Bangladeshi secession), Islamiyat (the study of Islam) became a mandatory subject. For Bhutto, Islam was a way to unify the country. In 1977, a military coup led by General Zia-ul-Haq overthrew Bhutto. Islamization then became a tool to promote fundamentalism in Pakistani students and citizens.

Synthesizing the analyses of many scholars (e.g., Aziz, 2004; Crook, 1996; K. Kumar, 2001; Rosser, 2003; Salim & Khan, 2004; & Zaidi, 2003), Lall (2009b) summarizes the primary characteristics and scope of Pakistan's school textbooks. She notes that textbooks often include references to Islam and consistently draw attention to the divergences between Hindu and Muslim culture. They contain reminders of the need for an independent Islamic state and suggest malicious intentions of India against Pakistan. They refer to the Kashmir dispute, emphasize the need for a strong defence in Pakistan, demonstrate removal of Aryan, pre-Islamic history references, and describe Mohandas Gandhi as a Hindu leader and present Congress as a Hindu organization intent on subjugating Muslims. Such fundementalization remained after Zia's rule, into the governments of Benazir Bhutto and into the reign of Nawaz Sharif.

Things changed after the coup of 1999 with what was known as the "Education Sector Reforms," initiated by General Pervez Musharraf. Among other things, these reforms included de-Islamization of textbooks, modernization of madrasas, more private-sector investment in higher education, and increased attention to democratic principles in the curriculum.

After the notorious September 11th tragedy, the USAID provided $100 Million to assist in Pakistan's education reform initiatives. Lall's (2009b) work indicates that the secularization of Pakistani education is underway in Pakistan, but curriculum reform faces numerous challenges from religious groups and even moderates, who characterized the reforms as an improper "Westernization." According to Lall (2009b), the best use of energy for Pakistani education reform should centralize access to education, equal access for girls, and adult literacy, rather than politicization of education.

Islamization of Curriculum in Malaysia

Helen Hung (2015) discusses the "Islamization" of Malaysia, and how that trend has influenced Malaysian education. Her analysis of textbooks and other secondary sources demonstrates that civics and history curricula in Malaysia are becoming more like a study of Islam and the life of the prophet Mohammed, rather than secular and objective courses of study. At the same time, there seems to be some recognition of the importance of creating unity in the country between Muslims and non-Muslims at the policy level, but ultimately, Islamization is a demonstrable priority.

Hung (2015) explains that Islamic revivalism was occurring globally in the 1970s. In Malaysia, this revival took place as well and resulted in the Malay people reviving their own Islam, leading to the creation of a distinct culture and other-ness compared to non-Malays in Malaysia. With this revival of Islam, Malaysia saw an insurgence of individuals spreading Islam in university settings during the 1970s. Several Islamic youth groups formed which would pressurize the government against non-Islamic policies (like selling lotteries and liquor) and would heavily criticize the incorporation of Western culture into Malaysia. Professor Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas was influential in this movement, and his work has formed the foundation of much of curriculum in Malaysia with respect to Islam. Al-Attas lauded Islam for its rationality and criticized Western influences towards secularism. He called for "the integration of 'the essential Islamic elements' such as Islamic philosophy and metaphysical concepts, worldview, ethics and civilization as 'core knowledge' throughout the Malaysian educational system" (as cited in Hung, 2015, p. 200).

Examining the Form 4 textbook (which is the primary data source in Hung's piece), Hung points to two overarching themes that correspond to al-Attas's ideas. First, students are taught that religious and moral integrity is a pathway to achieving civilizational progress. Second, students are discouraged away from "Western" ideas of material progress which is considered spiritually empty. Islam is periodically praised while other cultures are given little significance. Students are repeatedly reminded to be tolerant of others, but only because such tolerance is an Islamic principle.

On the one hand, this type of Islamization was intended to give rise to a certain unity and patriotism within Malaysia, but its actual divisiveness is obvious. For instance, by the late 1970s and early 1980s, there were two types of moral education being offered in Malaysian schools. One was an Islam-based model, where moral education is essentially interchangeable with religious education, and the other was a moral education for non-Muslims. Although Hung (2015) does not discuss this point, it is not hard to imagine that such segregation as well as the inclusion of extreme praise for Islam in the school curriculum, would have had the effect of creating disunity and a sense of otherness between Muslims and non-Muslims.

Unsurprisingly, therefore, there has been more and more resistance to the Islamization of school curricula by non-Muslims in Malaysia. It is clear, therefore, that the heavy bias in favour of Islam has caused "ethno-religious chauvinism among the Malay majority" (Hung, 2015, p. 211), which runs counter to any objective of creating national unity.

Hung's piece is a helpful exposition of the impact that religious bias can have on creation of lopsided curriculum and discord within a community.

Conclusion

This chapter demonstrated the ways in which curriculum has been used as an instrument of ideological, political, and religious conditioning in diverse and unique contexts within Asia. Several case studies indicated how governmental policies can be designed to perpetuate and encourage ideological commitments. The second set of case studies showed how political policies are contrived to create a sense of nationalism in students, to respond to the growing demands of globalization, and to instil certain moral values that are considered beneficial for the needs of the state. Various political approaches to, and fears around, globalization as well as liberalization and promotion of democratic ideals have caused political tensions which have translated into the emergence of fundamentalist, ethnocentric, and conservative responses in educational and curricular policymaking, as several of the case studies demonstrate. The final series of case studies focused on how religious sentiments and commitments have manifested within educational policy, serving to promote and prioritize certain worldviews over others. All the case studies examined above illustrate how those in power construct and propagate their preferred images of their nations and citizenry and highlight the ideological tensions that exist between people in power and the dissenters—political, religious, or academic—in any given country.

The case studies all exemplify a fundamental problem: that educational systems have consistently been designed to control and condition children in furtherance of certain goals, like productivity, fostering a strong sense of national identity, encouraging an orientation towards serving one's country, and so on. While the authors of the case studies critically address the discrete issues that occur in the country under examination, and many question the use of education as a political instrument to propagate ideologies, none of them directly and fully critique the foundational problem: that educational systems and society at large primarily seek to condition and shape minds. In other words, the authors do not highlight the problem of conditioning itself, no matter what the source and substantive nature of that conditioning. Moreover, the authors do not take a clear stand, for instance, that nationalism is a breeding ground for conflict and division in the world; neither does any author recognize that conditioning influences invariably creates a sense of "us" and "them," thereby preventing any true and lasting understanding among people. Furthermore, none of the authors offer future directions to envision the world as free from these small groups that divide people through nationality, ethnicity, and religion and look for more inclusive approaches to education that would prioritize global unity and care.

A conditioned mind is a narrow mind that thinks and works in the mould that is cast around it. The development of intelligence, creativity, and self-understanding, which are the goals of a truly transformative education, need the freedom to question the very process of conditioning within schools and society. Unless there is this possibility to question our taken-for-granted concepts of ourselves and our relationships with other people, our educational processes will likely bring about mediocre and fearful students who will give in to the pressures of divisive nationalistic and religious worldviews and primarily be driven by demands and lures of the market. I suggest meditative education (A. Kumar, 2013a, 2014; A. Kumar & Downey, in press)[13] as an alternative to an education that is focussed on conditioning students' minds according to dominant political, religious, and economic ideologies. In meditative education, teachers and their students are not treated as passive subjects who can "educate" and be "educated" to meet the ideological or economic needs of the society. From a meditative perspective, students and their teachers and parents are intelligent and creative individuals who question together—in a self-reflective dialogical spirit—the worldviews that narrow our minds and hearts and create conflicts within us and between us. It is only through such a deep and meditative understanding of our human condition that there is a real possibility to go beyond fragmentation and perceive a holistic way of living, learning, and teaching.

Notes

1. The case studies presented in this chapter are drawn from three edited scholarly volumes on Asian education, namely, *Social Education in Asia: Critical Issues and Multiple Perspectives* (Grossman & Lo, 2008); *Education as a Political Tool in Asia* (Lall & Vickers, 2009); and *Constructing Modern Asian Citizenship* (Vickers & K. Kumar, 2015).
   Social Education in Asia: Critical Issues and Multiple Perspectives fills the gap in the scholarship on social education by drawing on the research findings and experiences of scholars from eight East and Southeast Asian societies: North Korea, Japan, China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macao, Singapore, and Malaysia. Though there have been studies of civic, citizenship, and values education in the region and cross-national studies that include Asian societies, there is no single volume that brings together and analyses contemporary critical issues in social education from the perspective of diverse Asian Societies. These essays in the volume present eight different societal contexts using distinctive theoretical frameworks and methodologies, and as a result, provide a very fruitful resource for social studies researchers. Since many of these case studies focus on teachers, they shed lights on their practical theories about curriculum and pedagogy as well as the ideological and institutional contexts in which they work. This results in a collection of chapters that can be helpful to teachers working in the same or different contexts to reflect on their own situations (see A. Kumar [2008] for a detailed and critical review of this book).
   Education as a Political Tool in Asia brings together well-researched nine case studies from different historical, political, social, and economic contexts that investigate the intricate and complex relationship between education, politics, and national identity in Asia. The volume explores the "nexus between state ideology, different forms of nationalism and the socialization of the young through curriculum and textbooks" (p. 3) in distinct and unique settings of the nine Asian countries—Japan, China, and Hong Kong from East Asia; Singapore, Malaysia, and Vietnam from Southeast Asia; and India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan from South Asia. The editors and a majority of the contributors of *Education as a Political Tool in Asia* belong to the prestigious department of International and Life Long Learning at the Institute of Education (University of London), which gives this volume credibility in terms of the originality and significance of the research. Earlier versions of my summaries of the case studies from this volume appeared in my essay review of this book (see A. Kumar, 2013b).
   Constructing Modern Asian Citizenship discusses the influence of various cultural and political priorities and values on education in nine Asian countries: China, Japan, India, Malaysia, Mongolia, Pakistan, the

Philippines, Singapore, and Turkey. The book explores various conceptualizations of a "good citizen" and demonstrates how those conceptualizations influence educational policy in different regions across Asia. The book proffers a range of perspectives by providing both historical and contemporary observations, by exploring discreet local concerns along with broad global issues, and by discussing informal educational mechanisms like museums and youth organization to supplement discussions of formal education like curriculum development and educational policy. The volume contains a breadth of significant insights through the disconcerting accounts of colonial "civilizing missions"; through close examinations of models of citizenship and national identity formation within curricular policy; and through vivid expositions of ethnic and religious politics and their influence on education. The contributors and editors of *Constructing Modern Asian Citizenship* have made a valuable and rich contribution to the comparative education and Asian education scholarly landscapes.

2. The Meiji restoration of 1868 reconsolidated the power of the Japanese emperor and resulted in huge shifts in the culture of Japan, leading to the country's industrialization and the increased presence of western influence (Slatter, 2012).
3. Saburō Ienaga was a Japanese historian famous for writing a post-world war history textbook which was censored by the Japanese government. Rather than assenting to the suggested changes, Ienaga took the government to court (Perez, 1998). Noam Chomsky and others nominated Professor Ienaga for the Nobel Peace Prize in 1999 and 2001.
4. The Nanking Massacre was committed by the Japanese during their occupation of China between 1937 and 1938. It is estimated that between forty and three hundred thousand people were killed. The massacre has been remembered differently by the Chinese and the Japanese (Mitter, 2007).
5. The Battle of Okinawa was the last, and perhaps the bloodiest battle, of the Second World War. The Japanese lost the battle, but the tactics they employed, which included 3000 kamikazes and mass use of civilians as fodder on the front lines, led to 35 sunk and 350 damaged US navy ships (Lehman, 1995).
6. Unit 731 was a secret section of the Japanese imperial army that carried out fatal human and biological experiments during the Second World War (Perez, 1998).
7. The Mujahideen is an Arabic term which refers to a group involved in *jihad*, or holy struggle.
8. *Shushin* represented "Meiji government's Imperial Rescript of Education (1894) that reflected the Confucian virtues of filial piety and

loyalty toward the state, which all Japanese were expected to adhere to" (Higashi, 2008, p. 45).

9. See Chapter 8 for a detailed discussion of neoliberalism and its negative educational implications. Chapters 2, 3, 4, and 6 discuss how neoliberalism has impacted educational policies in South Africa, Brazil, Mexico, and India, respectively.
10. For a detailed discussion on the difference between "traditional" and "critical" social studies, see the "Theoretical Framework" section of the next chapter.
11. *Doi-Moi* refers to economic policy reforms that were launched in Vietnam in 1986 by the Vietnamese Communist Party.
12. "Hindutva is based on the premise that India is fundamentally a Hindu nation, and therefore any non-Hindus in the country should either accept the majority's domination or leave … This rigid and exclusivist interpretation of Hinduism arguably stands in total contradiction with that faith's traditionally inclusive and tolerant approach to adherents of other religions, differentiating it from the historically more intolerant and doctrinaire 'religions of the book'" (Lall, 2009a, p. 157).
13. While this chapter focused on how dominant ideological, political, and economic discourses have influenced education in Asia, it is worth mentioning that Asia has also offered the world some very unique, rich, varied alternative educational philosophies and schools, which view curriculum, teaching, and learning as holistic, meditative, and creative processes (see, e.g., Bhattacharya, 2014; Eppert & Wang, 2008; Krishnamurti, 1953; A. Kumar, 2013a).

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CHAPTER 6

Indian Social Studies Curriculum in Transition: Effects of a Paradigm Shift in Curriculum Discourse

INTRODUCTION

Almost a decade and a half ago, the Indian educational landscape became subject to a major curriculum reform. It was led by Professor Krishna Kumar,[1] who served as the Director of the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT)[2] from September 2006 to March 2010. The directorship of NCERT is a highly political post and is determined by the political party in power. Krishna Kumar's post of NCERT's directorship was not merely a recognition of his renowned scholarship; it also happened because the ruling party—the right-wing Bhartiya Janta Party (BJP) and the coalition, National Democratic Alliance (NDA) that it led—lost the 2003 national election to the Congress Party which was supported by left-wing parties. The outcome was the formation of a relatively progressive coalition known as the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) that appointed Krishna Kumar as the new Director of the NCERT.

Notably, during the rule of NDA, J. S. Rajput was the Director of NCERT. During Rajput's "regime," NCERT produced what is known as the *National Curriculum Framework (NCF) 2000*—a document that outlined the basis of the curriculum, pedagogy, and assessment of K-12 education in India. The *NCF 2000* reduced education to the level of information acquisition and served as a means to propagate Hindu ideology. It misrepresented history by overemphasizing Hindu fundamentalism, promoting communalism and national chauvinism,

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and undermining minority groups' historical experiences and contributions to the making of the nation of India. It also uncritically appreciated neoliberalism and globalisation (see Habib, 2005; Lall, 2009). It imposed traditional authorities and social and economic hierarchies, thereby negatively influencing the social mobility of disadvantaged people (Subaramaniam, 2003). As in the case of South Africa, Brazil, and Mexico as we have seen previously, *NCF 2000* represented Tylerian rationality and neoliberal influences in addition to being impacted by the Hindu fundamentalist ideology.

According to Professor Anil Sadgopal (2005a), a radical Indian educator, *NCF 2000* adopted a "secretive approach where the entire writing process was restricted to a 6-member team that operated under the chairpersonship of the then NCERT Director Prof. J.S. Rajput" (p. 25). Sadgopal reports that during the preparation of *NCF 2000*, "the then NCERT Director refused to even reveal the names of the team members engaged in the task of drafting the curriculum framework lest they are disturbed!" (p. 28). Thus, *NCF 2000*, Sadgopal argues, was characterized by a "lack of transparency, participation, and democratic consultation … [which] contributed to the dubious credibility of the document during the years that followed its release in November 2000" (p. 27). Besides, Sadgopal criticizes *NCF 2000* for arbitrarily recommending "Intelligence Quotient (IQ), Emotional Quotient (EQ) and Spiritual Quotient (SQ) for curricular planning and evaluating children without any scientific basis whatsoever" (p. 29). That is, the *NCF 2000* lacked a strong theoretical and conceptual basis to guide the process of curriculum development.

According to Teesta Setalvad (2005), a radical Indian journalist, by means of *NCF 2000*, the BJP led government sought "blatant distortions and even hatreds … for not simply narrow political gain but to enable a slow insidious reconstruction in the public mind and public domain of what India is and what it should be. Exclusions and denials of rights and liberties of religious minorities, Dalits, tribals and all women were a singular part of that agenda" (para. 8). This is an obvious, yet highly problematic, outcome of a ruling party who adheres to religious fundamentalism.

Marie Lall (2009), in her essay "Globalization and the Fundamentalization of Curricula: Lessons from India," argues that:

> [NCF 2000] was heavily based on the Hindutva ideological agenda … to 'Indianize, nationalize and spiritualize' [India]… India is not really Indian, it needs to be 'Indianized.' It is not a proper nation …, so it needs to be nationalized, involving a purging of all foreign elements [British and Mogul legacies] from the curriculum (Sharma, 2002). 'Spiritualize': … [because] the foreign non-Hindu elements … have taken away its soul. The new policy engendered a massive textbook[3] revision that justified an anti-minority outlook. In these books Muslims are homogenized, described as invariably antagonistic, perpetual aggressors and violators of the sacred Hindu land, women, cows, and temples.[4] (p. 168)

Based on her study of the works of Varadarajan (2004), Lall believes that the case of India under BJP rule, characterized by promotion of religious nationalism through educational means, represents a "state-controlled discursive mechanism … to contain and deflect potential dysfunctionalities produced by the effects of globalization in societies" (p. 176).[5]

Due to the apparent problematic nature of *NCF 2000*, NCERT produced another document—*NCF 2005*.[6] *NCF 2005* represents a complete break and a paradigm shift from the *NCF 2000* in many critical ways. Most significantly, it has been developed through an elaborate process of what William Reid (2006) calls "curriculum deliberation." Never before had curriculum development happened on such a large scale in terms of the number of people involved in its creation from diverse social spectra including education professors, discipline experts, school teachers, educational NGO's, psychologists, and policy experts, among others. This process of curriculum deliberation continued for years and has produced one of the most progressive curriculum documents in India (see also Gupta, 2015). This, however, is not to say that *NCF 2005* is a perfect document free of weaknesses, as I will explain later. Nevertheless, *NCF 2005* has been applauded even by its critics (Sadgopal, 2005a; Setalvad, 2005; Thapar, 2005) for being the result of hard work by people who would like to see India moving on the path of democracy, justice, peace, and secularism.

Notably, this paradigm shift in the Indian curriculum discourse has influenced all school disciplines including social studies education. The purpose of this chapter is to explain how such a paradigmatic change on India's educational landscape represents, with particular reference to social studies, a shift from "traditional social studies" (Leming, 1994) to "critical social studies" or "social studies for social change" (Hursh &

Ross, 2000; see also Ross, 2017). Undoubtedly, changes at the level of curriculum documents and textbooks are extremely significant and represent the level of thought, understanding, and intentions of curriculum planners. Nevertheless, "curriculum as document" does not necessarily translate itself into "curriculum as experience" (Cornbleth, 1990, 2000) because of the "tensionality" between "curriculum-as-plan" and "curriculum-as-lived experience" (Aoki in Aoki, Pinar, & Irwin, 2005, p. 159). Thus, in the empirical section of this chapter, in addition to providing a comparative content analysis of the *NCF 2000* and *NCF 2005*, I will also report the results of a short qualitative study wherein I analyse the perceptions of three teachers about such a paradigm shift and the problems and challenges that they encounter while "living in tensionality" (p. 159) and working with the new curriculum.

Theoretical Framework

The social studies we see in schools is often treated as a way of providing mere *informational* knowledge to the students about their country and the world in terms of social, political, economic, and geographical phenomena without a serious and deeper engagement with social conflicts and problems. Social conflicts and problems—such as racial and gender discrimination, poverty, inequality, wars, and nuclear crises—are social, political, economic, historical, and geographical in their origin and impact and, therefore, should ideally be addressed as part of social studies curriculum and teaching in schools; however, this does not seem to be the case in India (Batra, 2015; Jain, 2015; K. Kumar, 1996; A. Kumar, 2007; Lall, 2009) nor is it in North America (Hursh & Ross, 2000; Orlowski, 2001, 2011; Osborne, 2000; Ross, 2006, 2014, 2017).[7] The policies, curriculum frameworks, pedagogic approaches, and evaluation and assessment practices that present social studies as accepted or received general knowledge, have deprived social studies of its essential role in developing critical thinking and reflexivity among teachers and students about the conflict-ridden realities of a world torn apart along political, economic, religious, and racial lines.

When social studies education does not provide space for students and teachers to inquire and understand the nature and implication of social conflicts and problems, it serves the hegemonic power nexus and assists in the reproduction of the existing social order. Social studies education that is governed by the information transmission approach does not create opportunities for raising and discussing controversial issues and topics. Instead, it shows its faith in the established social and economic order and thereby develops tendencies to comply and conform among teachers and students rather than encouraging them to develop critical and transformative thoughts and actions. As we shall see later, the social studies component of *NCF 2000* imposes a traditional social studies approach and thereby perpetuates the status quo. Recall that in the previous chapter, I also reported several case studies which demonstrate how education is treated as a political instrument in many parts of Asia including India (Grossman & Lo, 2008; Lall & Vickers, 2009; Vickers & K. Kumar, 2015).

The problem of social studies at the level of curriculum documents and textbooks is further compounded when social studies teachers conceive their roles as limited to ensuring that the curriculum is covered effectively so that students are prepared to perform well on standardized tests and function in society in a manner that does not question the status quo (Ross, 2000). As a result, in most classroom situations social studies education is primarily characterized by "text-oriented, whole group, teacher-centred instruction" (Ross, 2000, p. 47) or what Leming (1994) terms as "traditional social studies instruction (TSSI)" (also see Leming, Ellington, & Porter-Magee, 2003; Ravich, 1990; Schlesinger, 1991).

Leming (1994) believes that the main purpose of social studies teaching is the mastery of social science content in classrooms. Leming also rejects the critique of traditional social studies instruction offered by critical social educators (e.g., Cuban, 1991; McNeil, 1988; Newmann, 1991), arguing that the traditional mode of social studies is the result of its acceptance by social studies teachers themselves who are mainly concerned with memorization of the prescribed content and students' performance on tests (Ross, 2006, 2014).[8] Leming's description of TSSI dismisses the issues of world hunger, poverty, capitalism, racism, sexism, and casteism as potential organizing themes because social studies instruction based on these themes represent "particular ideological perspectives" (Ross, 2000). Leming's TSSI approach presumes social studies instruction to be objective, neutral, and apolitical. Leming's TSSI is, however, no less ideological than the social studies instruction organized around themes of multiculturalism, antiracism, and internationalism (Ross 2000, 2006, 2014, 2017). Being neutral does not mean the absence of a stance; the ideology of neutrality is a stance in favour of the status quo. TSSI is based on a "doctrine of inevitability" wherein the existing social, political, and economic orders are accepted without critical analysis and examination (Ross, 2000).

The epistemological premise behind TSSI is the "spectatorial theory of knowledge" (Ross, 2000). In the spectatorial epistemological stance, the knowers' (in this case, social studies teachers and students) primary task is to create a cognitive image, with minimum subjective interference, corresponding to an ideal and fixed outer world. The "spectator knowing" in TSSI leads to "spectator citizenship" (Ross, 2000) and "spectator democracy" (Ross, 2006). In spectator citizenship, the goal of the citizens is to adapt and conform to the status quo and to the interests of the socially powerful rather than to aim to transform and reconstruct society. Spectator citizenship reflects a "failure of social studies educators to interrogate the meaning of words such as *democracy, capitalism, freedom of speech, and equality*" (Ross, 2000, p. 55). In spectator democracy, powerful elites make decisions and policies which are supposedly good for everyone (Ross, 2006).

TSSI promotes spectator citizenship and democracy by placing students and teachers outside the process of knowledge creation: teachers transmit state-approved knowledge while the students passively absorb that knowledge and reproduce it on standardized tests. Rooted in such a passive educational approach, democracy is, unsurprisingly, equated with elections and voting rather than preparing students to possess the knowledge, values, and skills needed for active participation in society. Thus, TSSI, along with other ideological apparatuses of the state (Althusser, 1971) such as media and government policies, ensures that the "*population remain passive, ignorant, and apathetic*" (Ross, 2000, p. 56, emphasis added). Thus, TSSI focuses more on implementing curriculum standards and responding to high-stakes tests with little or no consideration to the "social reconstructionist" vision of the future (as espoused by George S. Counts [1932], Harold Rugg [1936], and Theodore Brameld [1971]) to develop a more socially just world (Ross, 2006, 2014, 2017; Vinson, 2006). In a nutshell, "TSSI gives students the instruments to trace [and accept] the *lines drawn by others,* rather than opportunities to examine those lines and consider how they *might be redrawn*" (Ross, 2000, p. 57, emphasis added).[9]

The alternative to Leming's TSSI approach might be termed as Critical Social Studies (CSS) as is reflected in the works of critical social educators, namely, Evans (2004, 2015), Ross (2000, 2006, 2014, 2017), Ross and Marker (2009), Stanley (2001, 2015), Stanley and Nelson (1994), and Vinson (1998, 2006), among others. I am employing the term "critical social studies" to recognize the significant attempts of the foregoing critical social educators towards making social studies education a thoughtful, critical, and creative experience for teachers and students.[10] As we shall see later, the *NCF 2005* and its social studies component uphold the basic ideas that form the backbone of critical social studies.

CSS rejects the prevailing paradigm of social studies education, which is currently involved in the process of the reproduction of social reality. CSS is an attempt through which students and teachers, instead of accepting the taken-for-granted assumptions or what Ross (2000) calls "lines as drawn," critically examine and engage in the dynamic social reality and contribute towards its reconstruction for a more democratic and just world (Hursh & Ross, 2000; Ross, 2006, 2014, 2017). In CSS, the notion of active learner and the development of higher order thinking skills and intellectual understanding with an emphasis on issues of anti-racism (Nelson & Pang, 2014), gender equality (Loutzenheiser, 2014), multiculturalism (Malott & Pruyn, 2014), and social criticism occupy the central place (Ross, 2006, 2014). CSS does not claim that there is a predetermined set of principles that social studies instruction needs to fulfil; such principles might have the danger of reducing CSS to TSSI in its actual practice. Thus, CSS recognizes the contextual specificities of the classroom and the social milieu in which the classroom is situated rather than imposing universalistic conceptions (Noffke, 2000). In this manner, CSS would encourage students and teachers to engage in the conflicts and problems of their own local community and understand how these conflicts and problems are related to the larger political and economic structures. Thus, CSS rejects the spectatorial theory of knowledge discussed above and draws upon the experiential and critical approaches outlined in the works of John Dewey and Paulo Freire, among others.[11] In the rest of this section, I will discuss the ways in which Dewey's and Freire's ideas can contribute to the conceptualization of CSS.

John Dewey's (1916) alternative to the spectatorial theory of knowledge is the experiential and constructivist ways of learning and knowing. Instead of a sharp division between subject and object in the TSSI, a Deweyan approach to CSS argues for a "tridimensional paradigm"—inquirer, subject matter, and objective (Ross, 2000). In this pedagogical approach, teachers and students question, probe, and analyse the subject matter. They construct, reconstruct, and co-construct knowledge to promote inquiry rather than imposing memorization, as is the case in TSSI. Thus, Dewey's theory of knowledge rejects TSSI's focus on a singular, unidimensional, and static vision of the world and allows for the diverse and eclectic ways of learning about and transforming reality. It affirms the role of experiential learning where the learner is actively involved in understating rather than passively absorbing the transmitted information. Finally, the Deweyan way of knowing and learning considers the everyday dynamic of human psychological and social reality—beset with dilemmas, problems, conflicts, and uncertainty—as the source and stimulus for inquiry and learning rather than blocks for developing neutral, unproblematic, and naïve visions of the world (Ross, 2000).

Dewey's theory of democracy, which can fruitfully inform CSS, defines democracy as "a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experiences" (Dewey, 1916, p. 87). For Dewey, democratic life or citizenship involves paying attention to how our actions and activities affect others. Democracy for Dewey is a tremendous social and political force that breaks down the barriers that separate people and communities and bring them together for collective governance and harmonious living. In a Deweyean way of theorizing, democracy is not merely a form of government nor is it an end in itself. Rather, Dewey considers democracy as the political, social, and humanistic means by which human beings formulate, exercise, and protect human dignity.

According to Dewey, democracy has three central features: free individual existence, solidarity with others, and choice of work and other forms of participation in society (Ross, 2006). Guided by Dewey's conception of democracy and education, the social studies curriculum (including pedagogy and assessment), should not merely be an exercise in preparing the young for passive existence in a democratic society. On the other hand, it should attempt to create opportunities for broader participation in a democratic community of inquirers, reflective thinkers, and interactive practitioners (Ross, 2006). CSS education, influenced by Deweyean thought, can never have the purpose of inculcating the tendency to comply and conform to existing patterns of society among students; it instead intends to contribute towards developing the abilities to question, understand, analyze, and transform social reality.

Dewey's work can certainly be regarded as the beginning of a *critical* turn in education where subjective experience, reflective thinking, child-centered activities, knowledge construction, and the individual-society interaction were combined for an education that intends to create a democratic world. However, it is the pioneering work of Brazilian educator Paulo Freire, which led to the development of a critical theory and pedagogy tradition in education, that further informs the notion of CSS as well as the conceptual underpinnings behind *NCF 2005*.

Critical pedagogy encourages students and teachers to deeply question and examine the taken-for-granted views prevalent in society. It enables them to learn about and fight against conservative political ideologies, religious superstitions and orthodoxies, racial discrimination, gender inequalities, and economic divides, which characterize contemporary society. Critical pedagogy prioritizes social transformation as the primary goal of education, and it sees schools, classrooms, and wider society as pedagogical and political spaces where everybody needs to work collectively to attain social justice. An education devoid of the critical examination of the discriminatory social reality is an instrumental education that brings about passive human beings who reproduce rather than transform the existing exploitative systems. Critical pedagogy tradition is developed by the works of Paulo Freire (1973, 1996a, 1996b, 1998), Henri Giroux (1981, 1983, 1989), and Peter McLaren (2007a, 2007b, 2016) among others, and finds its roots in the Critical Theory School/Frankfurt School[12] developed by philosophers like Adorno (1973), Habermas (1968), Horkheimer (1972), and Marcuse (1964), among others (see A. Kumar, 2013).[13] Below, I discuss Paulo Freire's theory of education (which forms the core of critical pedagogy), and the ways in which it may strengthen the theorization of CSS.[14]

Paulo Freire, since the publication of his landmark *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1973), has contributed immensely to the theory and practice of education. He has developed a radical theory of education and revolution. The ultimate goal of Freire's theory is the disappearance of "oppressor-oppressed contradictions" from the society. This ultimate goal is to be achieved through the revolutionary process of *conscientization*—the development of "critical consciousness"—that can perceive social, political, and economic exploitation. Such perception will allow critical individuals to take actions against the oppressive elements of reality by employing dialogical praxis. And such dialogical praxis, in turn, will allow them to liberate the oppressed from oppressors and humanize the world where there would be no oppressor-oppressed contradiction. Freire considers the process of "humanization" the "historical and ontological vocations" of humankind (Freire, 1973). Freire's theory of education is radical and dialectical in nature. It is radical for it demands complete change or transformation of the unequal and oppressive nature of present society. The change, of course, does not mean mere superficial modifications and reforms ("paternalism") based on the sectarianism of the right or the left. Freire (1973) builds his theory dialectically where for each present negative condition, he suggests a healthy, transformative, and positive alternative (see Fig. 6.1).

According to Freire (1973), one of the most significant and basic elements in the relationship between oppressor and oppressed at all levels of society is "prescription," which represents impositions of one individual's preferences upon another, transforming the consciousness of the person prescribed into one that conforms and complies with the prescriber's consciousness. The oppressed, having internalized the image of the oppressor and adopted his guidelines, are fearful of freedom. When applied to educational systems, prescription gives rise to authoritarian education systems, which Freire creatively termed as "banking

Banking education (instrument of oppression) produces	Problem-posing education (instrument of liberation) allows for the
↓	↓
culture of silence that gives rise to	generation of themes for discussion that gives rise to
↓	↓
anti-dialogical action for	dialogical action for
↓	↓
mythesization by means of § conquest § divide and rule § manipulation § cultural invasion	conscientization by means of § cooperation § unity of liberation § organization § cultural synthesis
↓	↓
that gives rise to praxis of domination resulting into	that gives rise to revolutionary praxis (cultural revolution) resulting into
↓	↓
dehumanization (historical distortion) (oppressor-oppressed antagonism persists)	humanization (historical and ontological vocation of humankind) (oppressor-oppressed antagonism disappears)

Fig. 6.1 Freire's dialectical theory of education

education," that works as an "instrument of oppression." In such a system, Freire elaborates, teachers are the subjects and students are the objects of teaching where the former deposits information in the latter's mind. Students, without resistance, mechanically receive, memorize, and reproduce this information. Thus, in this system there is no interaction, cross-questioning or dialogue. This transmission of information becomes an instrument of oppression that inhibits authentic thinking, inquiry, creativity, and dialogue, which are essential for an individual to be truly human. Such an educational practice can only produce conformists and mediocre people who would further this oppressive reality instead of critical and authentic human beings who would transform oppressive reality to create a humanized world.

Such a prescriptive and authoritarian form of education can only produce a "culture of silence," which is the result of economic, social, and political domination and paternalism in society. That is how the oppressed in society and students in schools, rather than being encouraged and equipped to know and respond to the discriminatory realities of their world, are kept "submerged" in a situation in which critical awareness and response through a dialogical encounter is practically impossible. The oppressors (teachers) perpetuate a culture of silence through their "anti-dialogical actions" directed at "mythicization" or "indoctrination" of oppressed people (students). In this oppressive system, there is no place for dialogue with the oppressed about their life and problems; their critical consciousness is never awakened. Such anti-dialogical actions produce what Freire (1973) called the "praxis of domination" where all reflection and action, theory and practice are directed at dominating the oppressed and maintaining the status quo ("possessive or oppressive consciousness"). Obviously, such praxis, carried out through anti-dialogical actions aiming at "mythicization" of the oppressed, is dehumanizing in nature. In my understanding, Freire's description of banking education is similar to what Leming (1994) called "traditional social studies instruction," as discussed above, and it forms the basic thinking behind *NCF 2000*, as I will explain later.

The alternative that Freire suggests is "problem-posing education" as an "instrument of liberation." Problem-posing education proposes a democratic relationship between teachers and students in which both are simultaneously teachers and students. The democratization of the content and method of teaching incites inquiry, creativity, and critical thinking, bringing about the emergence of consciousness and constant unveiling of reality through discussion on themes that matter (in the context of social studies education, the themes that pertain to the conflicts and problems of society such as racism, casteism, nationalism, neoliberalism, and capitalism). Obviously, such education must be "dialogical" (conversational)[15] in nature that promotes freedom of expression without any oppression and encourages "cooperation," "unity," "organization," and "synthesis" among diverse groups and ways of thinking. Undoubtedly, Freire's theorization of problem-posing education provides the foundation of CSS, as discussed above, which in turn, provides support to the social studies component of *NCF 2005*.

Research Questions

In the following study, I explore the following research questions:

- In what ways do the *NCF 2000* and *NCF 2005* differ from each other with particular reference to their guidelines for social studies curriculum?
- How do social studies teachers perceive and conceptualize the paradigm shift as a result of *NCF 2005* and theorize their classroom practice?
- What are the major problems and challenges that these teachers face in working with the new curriculum?

I focus on two aspects in my exploration of these research questions. First, I present a comparative analysis of *NCF 2000* and *NCF 2005* with reference to their specific guidelines for social studies curriculum and teaching. Second, I report the results of semi-structured interviews and a focus-group discussion with three secondary social studies schoolteachers regarding their perceptions of recent curriculum reforms.

Comparative Analysis of the *NCF 2000* and *NCF 2005*

The nature of the curriculum determines to a large extent the nature of pedagogy and evaluation (see Bernstein, 1973). A curriculum that seeks to develop critical consciousness of students will give rise to critical and dialogical pedagogy aimed at *problematizing* the givens of society, and it will emphasize evaluation and assessment practices that seek and encourage critical reflection on the part of students. On the other hand, a curriculum that is designed to perpetuate the existing social system and its values will give rise to pedagogic practices that are mechanistic and anti-dialogical, facilitate an unproblematized transaction of knowledge, cultivate a culture of silence in the classroom, and expect unreflexive, rote-memorized, and pre-decided responses from the students.

In this section, I compare the *NCF 2000* and *NCF 2005* with reference to their guidelines for social science (social studies in North America) to understand the extent to which they differ from each other in terms of their objectives and epistemological framework. As part of my analysis, I carefully studied *NCF 2000* and *NCF 2005* with special reference to their guidelines for social studies. Based on my study, I identified the main objectives of these frameworks and the epistemological perspective that guided their conceptualization. I then conducted an individual analysis of the identified objectives and epistemological framework of each *NCF* separately to understand their basic thrust. Then, I drew comparisons between them regarding their objectives and epistemology.[16] Thus, I have employed two criteria in the comparative analysis: objectives of teaching social science and the proposed/implicit epistemological framework.

Objectives of Teaching Social Science

Objectives are one of the most significant elements of curriculum documents because they bear upon the epistemological framework, content, pedagogic practices, and evaluation practices. They explain the purpose behind curriculum formation: What knowledge is considered worth teaching and learning? What does the curriculum want teaching material (e.g., textbooks) to be like? What does it expect of teachers and students? What does it expect of the teaching-learning process?

Objectives of Teaching Social Sciences in NCF 2000

Social Science in *NCF 2000* aims to develop an understanding in children about “human environment in its totality” (p. 62). There is no explanation as to what it means by “human environment” and how it can be understood in its “totality.” *NCF 2000* further emphasizes the development of a “broader perspective” and an “empirical, reasonable and humane outlook” (p. 62). However, it fails to provide any explanation of these terms (which belong to three different strands of thought, namely, empiricism, rationalism, and humanism) or even a clarification of how these diverse strands will be combined in the curriculum, pedagogy, and evaluation.

Moreover, *NCF 2000* sees social science as merely a subject of general knowledge and utility to make students skilful in contributing to society (p. 62). It places no emphasis on developing a critical perception of social reality ridden with innumerable conflicts and problems. Thus, *NCF* lacks in providing social science with a normative outlook, which may have the purpose of working for a peaceful and just society. The *NCF 2000* also intends to develop the skills of "critical thinking," "reading," and "interpreting tables, diagrams, and map," "cooperating with others," and "responding to others problems" (p. 62). Here, the last two phrases represent values to be nurtured and the first three are skills. There is no explanation for how these values and skills come together. In addition, *NCF 2000* does not provide any explanation for what it means by "critical thinking," why reading and interpretation of tables and diagrams are essential in social science when mathematics is available as a school subject, what kind of data is being considered for interpretation, and whether this interpretation is merely statistical and whether or not students and teachers will engage in critical interpretation which demands understanding the inherent biases and limitations of the data and methods of data collection. The meaning of "critical thinking" seems to be confined to the mere development of cognitive skills rather than the critical examination of oppressive social realities to bring about social change, as articulated in the critical pedagogy tradition.[17] Overemphasis on skills gives *NCF 2000* a positivistic and utilitarian orientation, which fits well with the neoliberal thinking that supports it, and confines it within the parameters of TSSI, as discussed in the theoretical framework of this chapter.

NCF 2000 also has objectives that are simply meant for the uncritical glorification of India (e.g., to promote a "humane and national perspective and inculcate a sense of pride in the country and in being an Indian" and "strengthen the national identity and develop an appreciation for cultural heritage," [p. 62]).[18] Such objectives may be seen as the root causes of developing nationalistic and chauvinistic attitudes. Pride in one's country is not inherently problematic, but it should not come at the cost of suppressing a critical understanding of the conflicts and problems of a nation, which is essential if rigid social structures and practices are to give way to a democratic society. *NCF 2000* also desires to "promote communal harmony and social cohesion" (p. 62). However, this statement is not accompanied by any explanation of how to bring about desired harmony and cohesion; *NCF 2000* develops no argument on what brings disharmony and disintegration to promote critical awareness among students. On the whole, the objectives of teaching social science in the *NCF 2000* epitomize Leming's TSSI.

Objectives of Teaching Social Sciences in NCF 2005

The social science component of *NCF 2005* has the basic aim of developing a knowledge base for a just and peaceful society:

> Social science encompasses the diverse concerns of society, and [it] includes a wide range of content drawn from the disciplines of history, geography, political science, economics, sociology and anthropology. Social science perspectives and knowledge are indispensable to building the knowledge base for a just and peaceful society. (p. 50)

One *NCF 2005* objective, which calls for "raising students' awareness" (p. 50), links the curriculum to those perspectives in education (for example CSS, as discussed in the theoretical framework) which see education as a process of developing critical awareness among students about their social reality to view curriculum as an agent of social change. *NCF 2005* also aims to develop "social, cultural, and analytical skills" (p. 50) with a view to helping children to understand and respond to an increasingly interdependent social reality rather than arousing a sense of dangerous nationalism.

Moreover, *NCF 2005*s objective of developing understanding of "concepts and the ability to analyze socio-political realities rather than on mere retention of information without comprehension" (p. 50) is a departure from the traditional or the common-sense perception of social science as the storehouse of information that needs to be rote-memorized and reproduced in exams. According to *NCF 2005*:

> It is believed that the social sciences merely transmit information and are text centred. Therefore, the content needs to focus on a conceptual understanding rather than lining up facts to be memorized for examinations. Reiterating the recommendations of *Learning Without Burden* (1993),

> emphasis has to be laid on developing concepts and the ability to analyze sociopolitical realities rather than on the mere retention of information without comprehension. (p. 50)

The emphasis on conceptual clarity and comprehension of sociopolitical reality stands in sharp contrast to *NCF 2000*, which emphasizes mere information acquisition and cognitive skills.

NCF 2005 represents a serious effort in making education a process of social change and democratization. It stresses the normative dimensions of social science by considering the development of "human values, namely, freedom, trust, mutual respect and respect for diversity" (p. 51), which are essential for and the basis of a peaceful and just society.[19] *NCF 2000* doesn't make any recognizable and appropriate reference to the normative dimension of social science education.

Finally, *NCF 2005* also stresses the need to incorporate "relevant local content" (p. 50) so that the teaching-learning process not only respects the plurality of our society but also makes learning relevant for all by not imposing restrictions via a uniform curriculum framework.[20] Thus, *NCF 2005*, being guided by social constructivism and Gandhian philosophy of education, is a framework or guideline in the real sense of the term rather than being a straight-jacketed document resulting in textbooks that need to be considered sacrosanct and memorized for exams. It is a significant development when put in comparison with *NCF 2000* that hardly makes any reference to local culture or plurality. The objectives of teaching social science in *NCF 2005* explicitly incorporates the ideas of CSS.

Epistemological Framework

An epistemological framework explains how curriculum views knowledge: Which knowledge is considered worthwhile for students? How is that knowledge selected? How is the selected knowledge to be taught in the classroom? And, how will such knowledge be evaluated? Thus, an epistemological framework provides a broader perspective on the selection of knowledge in terms of textbooks and other teaching materials, pedagogic approaches, and evaluation and assessment practices.

Epistemological Framework of NCF 2000

NCF 2000 does not have a well-defined epistemological framework; however, there are certain points mentioned in the document in a rather disjointed fashion that demands critical scrutiny. *NCF 2000* employs certain phrases and words such as "interrelatedness of ideas and comprehensibility," "process of learning and thinking," "meaningful learning experiences," and "from simple to complex" (p. 63). The preceding ideas, which are clearly drawn from constructivist approaches of education, remain unexplained. Moreover, one of the points seems to suggest that the textbooks developed in line with *NCF 2000* would give emphasis to a theme/issue-based organization of the curriculum material[21] whereas in reality, *NCF 2000* adopted strict disciplinary divisions among the contributory subjects of social science. Finally, *NCF 2000* reduces the objective of learning to the mere acquisition of "basic competencies and skills" (p. 63), which is an instrumentalist view of education and is underpinned by technical rationality and neoliberal emphasis on marketability.

Epistemological Framework of NCF 2005

NCF 2005 outlines major "epistemological shifts" (see *Position Paper on National Focus Group on Teaching of Social Sciences 2005*, pp. 3–4) for the social science curriculum. First, *NCF 2005* recognizes the suitability of social science for rigorous inquiry and distinctness of its method(s). This is a clear departure from the common-sense perception that social science is "unscientific" or not rigorous:

> It is often presumed that only natural and physical phenomena lend themselves to scientific inquiry … [I]t is necessary to recognize that the social sciences lend themselves to scientific inquiry just as much as the natural and physical sciences do, as well as to indicate ways in which the methods employed by the social sciences are distinct (but in no way inferior) to those of the natural and physical sciences. (p. 2)

NCF 2005 takes a midway position between the pure disciplines versus integrated curriculum debate in social science education. It recognizes the boundaries of all disciplines and suggests identifying a few themes, which are "culturally relevant" and in accordance with the cognitive capacities of children, that can be studied in an integrated fashion. The *Position Paper on National Focus Group on Teaching of Social Sciences 2005* shows its concerns for interrelationship among disciplines:

> The boundaries of [social science] disciplines need to be opened up, and a plurality of approaches applied to understand a given phenomenon. For an enabling curriculum, certain themes that facilitate interdisciplinary thinking are required. These themes should be culturally relevant, and concepts [should be] introduced bearing in mind the age of the child. There is a need to select themes where different disciplinary approaches can facilitate an in-depth … [and multidimensional] understanding. (p. 3)

NCF 2005 is also a departure from the chronic conception of textbooks as sacrosanct and the cul-de-sac of learning. It sees textbooks as a means of "opening up avenues for further inquiry" (p. 3). This commitment in the *NCF 2005* is also reflected in social science textbooks where considerable space is provided through projects, fieldwork, in-text and end-text questions, and real-life narratives so that teaching and learning may go beyond the textual material. According to Batra (2005):

> While recommending the need to move away from a 'textbook culture' (where the textbook is seen as the only source of legitimate knowledge) towards a plurality of locally produced text materials, the *NCF 2005* makes an important argument in favour of bridging gaps between the lived experiences of children and formal school knowledge. (p. 4350)

NCF 2005 also attempts to link the local with the global via the national. It emphasizes the learning of history with reference to local ways of seeing national events and links the history of India with developments in other parts of the world. Such an approach has the capacity to broaden students' minds for accommodating and assimilating multiple perspectives looking at historical events and processes (p. 3). Thus, the *NCF 2005* and its social science section, are not based on what Ross (2000), drawing upon Dewey (1916), calls "spectatorial theory of knowledge"—the epistemological foundation of TSSI—where reality is singular and fixed. On the contrary, in *NCF 2005* social science intends to encourage multiple ways of knowing and, thus, best fits with the theoretical assumptions of critical social studies.

NCF 2005 also replaces "Civics" with "Political Science," which aims at developing citizens with social sensitivity and the capacity to question and transform the existing social reality. This is a significant reconceptualization because the discipline of Civics grew in India as a subject whose main objective was to create "civilized" and "obedient" citizens for the British Raj. Political Science, on the contrary, is an attempt to prepare students to treat "civil society as the sphere that produces sensitive, interrogative, deliberative, and transformative citizens" (p. 4). This perspective certainly resonates with the ideals of critical pedagogy and CSS, as discussed previously.

NCF 2005 also shows its concern with developing a gender-sensitive curriculum that incorporates the perspective of women to make the curriculum egalitarian instead of being patriarchal. According to the *Position Paper on National Focus Group on Teaching of Social Sciences 2005*:

> Gender concerns have been addressed within the social sciences by including women as 'examples.' For instance, in history the discussion on women is often limited to including Rani Lakshmibai, Sarojini Naidu … [W]hat is crucial is the need to make the perspectives of women integral to the discussion of any historical event and contemporary concerns. This shift requires an epistemic shift from the patriarchal frame within which social studies is currently conceptualized. (p. 4)

Finally, *NCF 2005* also represents a shift from being oriented to mere economic development to become normative and value driven in its orientation (see a comparative analysis of the objectives of *NCF 2000* and *NCF 2005* above).

In a nutshell, *NCF 2005* represents a great paradigm shift given the emphasis it has placed on issues of epistemology, which are core to any educational process. As discussed earlier in this chapter, *NCF 2000* lacked an epistemological framework and, thereby, a perspective on the entire educational process—the nature of the textual material and other teaching and learning resources, pedagogic approaches, and assessment practices.

It may appear to the readers—not only to those who are not familiar with Indian political and educational landscape, but also to the Indians who believe in right-wing conservative Hindu nationalist ideology and are supportive of neoliberalism and global capitalism—that my comparative analysis of the *NCF* of 2000 and 2005 with reference to social studies is lop-sided, that is to say, biased in favor of *NCF 2005*. The analysis may appear lop-sided, but this is not because of any deliberate intention on my part, it is due entirely to the content of these curriculum documents. *NCF 2000* and BJP's educational policies received heavy criticism from all quarters of critical educational scholarship for being a tool in the hands of a right-wing party who wanted to propagate Hindu ideology and neoliberal reforms (Batra, 2015; Ghosh, 2015; Jain, 2015; K. Kumar, 2001; Lall, 2009; Nanda, 2005; Roy, 2003; Setalvad, 2005; Sharma, 2002; Subarmaniam, 2003; Taneja, 2003). Undoubtedly, *NCF 2005* is also not free of infirmities. While there also exists criticisms of *NCF 2005* from theoretical, political, and methodological perspectives (Apte, 2005; Sadgopal, 2005a; Setalvad, 2005; Thapar, 2005; Thapan, 2015; Verma, 2005),[22] in the following section of this chapter, I report the results of a short study which critically evaluates the challenges and opportunities that social studies component of *NCF 2005* presented to teachers in their everyday classrooms. This will allow the readers to appreciate the significance of the everyday life of the teachers in their interpretation of the curriculum reforms and its impacts on their teaching practices. Now, I discuss the perceptions of three social studies teachers regarding the changes in the social studies curriculum and its influence on their classroom teaching.

INTERVIEWS AND A FOCUS-GROUP DISCUSSION WITH THREE SOCIAL STUDIES TEACHERS

Curriculum is what actually unfolds in the living reality of the classroom (Cornbleth, 1990, 2000), which is a zone of "tensionality." According to Aoki (Aoki et al., 2005, p. 159).

> …[A] pedagogic situation … [implies] living in tensionality—a tensionality that emerges, in part, from indwelling in a zone between two curriculum worlds: the worlds of curriculum-as-plan and curriculum-as-lived-experience. (p. 159)

This unfoldment of the curriculum in the zone of "tensionality" depends on the perceptions of teachers as well as the factors that shape those perceptions. In this section, I present findings from three in-depth semi-structured interviews and a focus-group discussion with three secondary social studies teachers, namely, Reshma Mihir, Bhairavi Tandon, and Kanta Kapoor[23] of Dilip Singh Public School (DSPS),[24] where the language of instruction and examination is English. I conducted three formal one-hour interviews separately with each teacher and one hour of focus-group discussion with all three teachers together for the purpose of this short study. Reshma Mihir is the senior-most teacher of Economics in DSPS. She teaches classes (grades in North America) 10, 11, and 12. Bhairavi Tandon is a senior Commerce teacher in the school and was requested to teach Economics to grades 9 and 10 when I conducted my study. Kanta Kapoor is a senior History teacher, but for little more than a year she has also been teaching Political Science.

In my interviews and discussion with teachers, I gave considerable emphasis to eliciting responses about the differences between the old and new textbooks,[25] developed by the NCERT in line with the perspectives of *NCF 2000* and *NCF 2005*. This focus was warranted because most teachers in India learn about changes in curriculum discourse through changes in the textbooks—their Bible in the classroom.[26] Hardly any of the teachers I interviewed had looked at the actual *NCF 2000* and *NCF 2005* documents; their opinion about the curriculum change and its impact on their classroom teaching were based on the changes in the content and organization of the textbooks. None of these teachers went through any professional development workshops or seminars about new curriculum changes prior to this interview; however, they had some idea of the national level curriculum change because of the media and changes in the textbooks.

The three perspectives that influenced my understanding of the role of teachers vis-à-vis curriculum include "curriculum as a praxis" (Grundy, 1987), "curriculum as contextualized social process" (Cornbleth, 1990, 2000), and "teacher personal theorizing" (Chant, 2009; Ross, 1994; Ross, Cornett, & McCutheon, 1992).

In the perspective which views curriculum as praxis, teachers play a central role vis-à-vis curriculum; their role is not just confined to the implementation of the documents but is a creative and reflective engagement in classroom situations where the curriculum is actually created through interaction and participation. In this view, the curriculum is a social process and knowledge is socially constructed and subject to criticism, multiple interpretations, and reconstruction (Grundy, 1987).

While Grundy gives importance to social criticism along with personal reflection, the idea that curriculum and teaching in classrooms are subject to tremendous influence by social context is well developed by

Cornbleth (1990, 2000). Cornbleth views curriculum as a "contextualized social process." Her perspective on curriculum is influenced by critical theory and pedagogy that is aimed at "engendering enlightenment and empowerment that can foster personal and social emancipation from various forms of domination" (Cornbleth, 1990, p. 3). Nevertheless, Cornbleth does not limit her conception to the theoretical argument of the influence of social context on society; rather, she considers her approach to curriculum theoretical as well as experiential. For Cornbleth, the curriculum is what actually happens in classrooms. Curriculum, for her, is a social process comprised of the interactions of students, teachers, knowledge, and milieu. This kind of curriculum conceptualization, which can be termed as "curriculum practice" or "curriculum-in-use," is diametrically opposite to the conceptions of "curriculum as document." In this view, a teacher's association with curriculum depends on the structural context (established roles and relationships, shared beliefs, and norms at several levels from individual classrooms to the national level education system) and socio-cultural context (environment beyond the education system including demographic, social, political, ideological, and economic conditions).

The notion of teachers' personal theorizing and the findings of research in this area (Chant, 2009; Chant, Heafner, & Bennett, 2004; Ross, 1994; Ross et al., 1992) argue that teachers' personal and practical theories (e.g., the ways in which teachers perceive curriculum and theorize their practice) have considerable influence on their classroom instruction. The findings in this area also illustrate that teachers live in the real world and tend to develop context-bound theories of curriculum and teaching, contrasted with universal and theoretical principles (e.g., as espoused in India's *NCF*). Thus, teachers' theories of teaching significantly determine the quality of the curriculum enacted in their classrooms.

Below I discuss the concerns of the three social studies teachers who I interviewed and conducted a focus-group discussion with regarding their experiences of recent curriculum reforms in India.

What Do Teachers Like About the New Social Science Textbooks?

Of the three teachers I interviewed and conducted a discussion with, Kanta seems to really like the new textbooks of History and Political Science. She recognizes the importance of "alternative perspectives," offered in the new textbook of History to understand India's freedom struggle. According to her, for example, the Non-Cooperation Movement had previously been taught from a "singular" perspective, but now the inclusion of the responses of various social groups and regions who participated in the movement (in other words, multiple ways of imagining reality) receive considerable importance. The new book explains in detail why Non-Cooperation started and why it was taken back rather than merely appreciating it uncritically. Besides, the freedom struggle is viewed "critically" by pointing to various problems associated with it. The new History book has also introduces many new topics that catch children's attention such as the History of Cricket. In her view, the old textbook was simply an exercise in "rote-memorization" where students had to learn "various dates of historical significance and roles of various leaders."

Kanta thinks that the new book for Political Science "helps children to understand concepts better by means of interesting case studies." There are various questions on the margin of the text that "makes reading interesting, and an exercise in thinking and reflection." She also feels that the replacement of Civics by Political Science has "relieved children from boring classes." The new Political Science book allows "lively discussions" in the classroom where students participate enthusiastically. Pictures, cartoons, and newspapers cuttings help students to comprehend the text effectively. Activities, boxes, and other in-text exercises are helpful in understanding the content of the chapter, which is to be covered by means of discussions, class-work or self-study. There are various open-ended questions that promote discussion in the classroom. The old book, she thinks, did not have any "input for thinking." The new book, on the contrary, "makes you think" about issues like "communalism" or "casteism" and the way they need to be countered by "secularism." The old books did not talk about social issues and problems as elaborately and did not evoke debates and discussions in classrooms, as the new ones do. Kanta also feels that the new books are able to develop "thinking and awareness" among the students. The old books were more of an exercise in rote-memorization of the historical facts and government institutions. By means of these new books, "students can develop their own ideas" and can develop their own "answers to examination questions." Rashmi and Bhairavi also appreciate certain aspects of the new Economics textbooks they teach. However, they also encounter some problems while teaching with new books that I highlight next.

What About the Lack of "Direct Material"?

According to Reshma, the old Economics textbook was better in comparison to the new one because the former provided "direct material," in the form of definitions, reasons, characteristics, positives and negatives etc., which can "answer all questions" given in the book and in the Central Board of Secondary Examinations (CBSE). She argues that although the new books are "child-friendly" because they contain photographs and case studies, they lack "basic knowledge" or factual content needed to "reproduce answers in the exams."

To support her points, Reshma further argues that the chapter titled "Globalization and the Indian Economy" in the new book (NCERT Textbook of *Economics for Class 10*, pp. 54–73, 2007) is a misnomer as this chapter "only talks about MNCs." The chapter "does not give even a passing reference to liberalization and privatization and history of India's economic policy." She asserts that the chapter "Towards Liberalization and Globalization" in the old book (NCERT Social Science Textbook *Contemporary India for Class 9*, 2000) "treated liberalization and globalization in a better way than the new book because the former had *direct content for the purpose of examinations*" (Reshma emphasized these words). Bhairavi also asserts, like Reshma, that the "new book has made no reference to liberalization as part of globalization and only focuses upon MNCs." She argues that the new book also does not explain, "how India actually facilitated globalization" and what are the "negatives and positives effects of globalization."

Reshma, however, acknowledges that "overall learning will be higher" if we teach through the new books. She acknowledges that "children seem happy" with the new books because of coloured pages, an ample number of examples, narratives, and case studies. However, she also feels that examples are good but not sufficient, and "we need to tell students about formal institutions and their policies in a very structured and direct way." She also remarks in the end that new books "*do* encourage students to explore" while the old books only emphasized "rote-memorization, *which is what is expected in exams*" (Reshma emphasized these words). Kanta also shares her concern that "if the pattern of the examination is not revised then these books might create considerable problems." In that case, "teachers will be required to provide notes to the students." Even Bhairavi argues, "if exams continue to be on the same track [based on memorization of the textbooks] these books might even create trouble." Bhairavi further explains that the new book is "good for the top 10% students" but for an average student it is very difficult to understand and "put that understanding on paper in exams." Moreover, it is "difficult to get 90 to 100% marks" because the mode of assessment, as the nature of the book suggests, will be "subjective" and an example can be viewed in many ways and students and teachers might not think alike. This might jeopardize students' final grades. Constructivist principles of learning thus would fail in face of an examination and memorization driven education system.[27]

What Problems Do Teachers Face in the Classroom?

All three teachers think that the new books are capable of arousing students' questioning and imaginative capacities. Though teachers like books with such attributes, they are afraid of the prevalent conception of "teachers" in Indian society. In India, many students and parents believe that teachers are "experts" in their subject, and if any teacher is unable to answer questions raised in the class then they are incompetent. Thus, the emphasis is more on "answers" rather than exploration and engagement. Since the new books are full of activities, in-text and end-text questions, and case studies, teachers at times might find themselves in positions where they do not have immediate answers. Teachers complain that the new books have many questions "whose answers cannot be found in the book itself," which makes it very difficult for them to "manage the class."

Moreover, Kanta feels that the children face problems with the new books because they "do not have the background to study history and civics in this fashion." For example, students study about ancient, medieval, and modern India in grades 6, 7, and 8, respectively, and in grade 9 they are introduced to the history of the contemporary world, which breaks the continuity. As well, the books for grades 9 and 10 do not have any relation to the previous grades. However, she acknowledges that the "books for grades 9 and 10 show continuity between them" because what the students study in grade 9 also gets reflected in grade 10.

Additionally, although Kanta finds no problem in teaching with the new history book as she has a strong background in history, she emphasizes that it is "very difficult to teach from this book to someone who does not have background of history especially where a teacher is teaching all the subjects"—which is a common feature of the government schools in India.

Do Teachers Have Enough Time?

Teachers argue that the new books require “more efforts” on the part of the teachers. Bhairavi stresses that “due to the arrival of the new books we are required to *give notes from the old books to meet the requirements of the exams*” (emphasis added). This creates a burden on teachers, she explains further, and on the school, because we have to provide photocopied notes to the students. If the school does not provide such facilities, then teachers will have to dictate notes in the class. This requires a lot of time, and teachers are just given 2–3 periods (80–120 minutes) per week,[28] and it may also require children to buy and study two books—old and new—that would add to their burden as well.

Teachers also raise the issue of “less number of periods available per week.” Teachers report that the content of the new book arouses many questions in children’s minds, making it difficult for them to balance “satisfying” students’ curiosity and “completing the syllabus” on time. Besides, there are many questions in the new book for which “no answer can be found in the book itself; the old book, on the contrary, contains almost 100% of the answers.”

What Do Teachers Expect?

In spite of the aforementioned challenges, teachers still feel that with certain changes they will be able to do justice to the new curriculum. For the new books to be successful, Reshma suggests that the “examination system needs to be changed.” Teachers also show their frustration due to “frequent curriculum change” in the wake of shuffles in political power. They expect new books to stay for at least two-three years to allow them to “adjust and build up their own ways of teaching.” Bhairavi feels that if the CBSE follows the pattern of new NCERT books for designing “exam papers” then teachers should have proper guidelines so that they may “prepare students for the exams, as their teaching is based on the patterns of previous years’ exam papers.” She argues that the topics of the old and new books are almost the same, but the new books contain case studies, and those who prepare exam papers might think that children have understood the concepts and ask a “direct” memory-based question. Thus, “we will also have to provide students with the theoretical matter.”

Teachers also feel that those who write NCERT books are “too educated” and write textbooks from their own level, which does not connect with teachers and children. Bhairavi suggests that schoolteachers should be involved in textbook writing because ultimately “*they have to teach*” (Bhaiaravi emphasized these words).

Nevertheless, teachers also think that in the new books the “teacher is more important and is expected to look for other books, newspaper articles etc.,” which is very good for their “professional growth.” Teachers believe that “earlier books promoted rote-memorization” of the facts but now teachers and students have been provided with plenty of “case studies” to explain things in a better and more interesting way. In the absence of these case studies, teachers produce “crammers not learners.” Teachers recognize that earlier children would “sleep in social studies classes” but now they are very “alert” as they get the opportunity to know and engage with “what is actually happening in the world.” Teachers also stress that there should be a balance in the number of photographs, case studies, narratives, and theoretical content in the textbooks.[29] Teachers also demand more time during the week along with professional training and help to implement new curriculum initiatives. Professor Romila Thapar’s (2005) important statement summarizes teachers’ concerns in this manner:

> Textbooks should certainly be child-friendly but it is equally necessary that the schoolteacher should be made child-friendly … An extensive programme of familiarising schoolteachers both with changes in the methods and concepts of the social sciences and with child-centered pedagogy will help … Teachers need a more intensive exposure if they are to understand the concepts of the social sciences, the changes in data and methods that disciplines such as history have undergone in the last fifty years, and to realise the significance of critical enquiry to education, which is said to be the aim of the *NCF* [*2005*]. (p. 57)

I note that my interview data in no way represents the vast pluralism of India’s educational, socio-cultural, and economic landscape. The teachers who participated in my research teach in a privileged, private school, which is attended mainly by children from middle-class families. The purpose of incorporating these interviews, thus, was not to generalize but to understand social studies teachers’ perceptions, which, in turn, allowed me to situate my document analysis in a real-life context.

Although my interview data is fairly limited, it is informative and revealing. One important inference that can easily be drawn is that if the teachers of a private and privileged school are facing problems in implementing the recent curricular changes, empirical studies of government schools are likely to show serious challenges faced by teachers, students, administrators, and parents in understanding the implications of new curriculum and executing it successfully on the ground. The following arguments support this assertion.

As already discussed in this chapter, *NCF 2005* heavily draws on the philosophy of constructivism. Constructivism is a school of thought that grew out of the contributions of John Dewey (1916/2004), Jean Piaget (1967), and Lev Vygotsky (1978, 1986) among others. According to constructivist philosophy, the child is the centre of the educational process. The teacher, instead of being a transmitter of the knowledge, is a facilitator who creates situations whereby students construct knowledge through experience and experimentation rather than teacher-centred textbook instruction. For constructivism to become operational on the ground several considerations are essential: fewer students per teacher, large instructional spaces in schools and classrooms, ample resources (e.g., well-equipped library, audio-visual media, instruments etc.), highly trained and knowledgeable teachers, and parents with sufficient income and educational background, among others.

While being progressive, constructivism has been problematic in developing countries, for example South Africa and Mexico as discussed in the previous chapters, and is likely to face serious problems in India, because of its social, historical, economic, and political contexts, including massive population size, poverty, malnutrition, underdeveloped school infrastructure, and poorly trained teachers.[30] My interviews clearly show that the new curriculum reforms have not been taken positively in their entirety even by the teachers of a privileged school; it is not difficult to imagine the extent to which this reform is likely to create challenges for the government schools, which have poor infrastructure and poorly trained teachers, and which are understaffed and are attended by children whose parents are neither educated nor free to spend time with their children and help them with their studies. I have many friends who teach in public schools in India, and based on the anecdotal evidence, my inference seems true.

Although limited in its scope, the empirical part of my study supplements my document analysis. Moreover, my study also has the potential to open avenues for scholars to carry out further research (and not only with reference to social studies) which may focus on one or more of the following possibilities: comparative analysis of the social studies textbooks developed in line with the perspectives of *NCF 2000* and *NCF 2005*; classroom observation in both private and public schools to understand the challenges posed by the new curriculum changes for teachers and students; interviews and focus-group discussions with government and private schoolteachers, students, parents, and administrators to understand, analyze, and compare their perceptions of the recent curriculum changes; interviews with curriculum planners and textbook writers to understand their perceptions of new curriculum and the factors that shape such perceptions; and tracing the history of social science curriculum framework in India to see how it has changed over a period of time and what factors have been responsible for the changes.

Conclusion

This study reveals that the *NCF 2005* and the new NCERT textbooks of social studies represent a *paradigm shift* in the way social studies is viewed in Indian schools. *NCF 2005* argues for a social studies curriculum that is epistemologically and pedagogically experiential, critical, and constructive and, thereby, provides space for teachers and students to engage in dialogue by questioning, analyzing, and deconstructing social reality with its conflicts and problems. The *NCF 2005* and new social studies textbooks prepared in its perspective are certainly influenced by and are an important contribution to CSS, as discussed in this chapter.

However, the curriculum is what unfolds in the living reality of the classroom (Cornbleth, 1990, 2000; Aoki et al., 2005). Interviews and a focus-group discussion with teachers of a private and privileged school clearly reveal that although teachers appreciate the new textbooks for being child-centred, creative, and interactive, they are also concerned about the challenges they face while teaching the new curriculum in their classrooms. The lack of adequate time and training for teachers, the paucity of resources, and textbook and exam-oriented system poseserious challenges for teachers to adopt constructivist and critical pedagogy expected by the new textbooks.

Significantly, interviews with three teachers of a private and privileged school helped me infer a critical contradiction between *NCF 2005* and India's social reality. *NCF 2005* quite emphatically argues in favour of constructivism as a mode of pedagogy without fully recognizing that it was developed in industrially advanced countries and it needs resource-rich schools and professionally trained teachers. India is a developing country with rampant poverty and overpopulation. Government schools lack proper infrastructure, and they do not have a sufficient number of highly qualified teachers. Students who attend government schools primarily belong to families with lower socio-economic backgrounds and, thus, cannot participate in such an ambitious endeavour unless they receive the needed supports from government. Given India's social reality, it is not hard to imagine that if the teachers of a private school are encountering problems in implementing the curriculum, the new textbooks will certainly create academic and practical challenges for the teachers and students of government schools. Through its lack of attention to India's socio-economic, historical and political reality, Setalvad (2005) thinks:

> NCF 2005 has consciously avoided the critical issues of structural denials to large sections of our population any form of education … that have not simply been perpetuated over the last 58 years but have sharply grown through the years after 1992 with the withdrawal of the State from its basic Constitutional Mandate—to ensure UEE [Universalization of Elementary Education] to each and every Indian child, regardless of gender, caste or community. (para. 9)

Irfan Habib (2005) supports and strengthens Setalvad's arguments further:

> In spite of NCF-2005's repeated statements that its scheme is to help children of rural and poorer backgrounds, almost every proposal it makes is only practical—if at all—for elite schools. Its insistence on 'individualized attention' to be given to children (2.4.4, p. 19), or multiplicity of subject choices (3.9.4, pp. 63–64; 3.10.4, p. 66), or two levels (Standard/Higher) of teaching, are all possible only for highly privileged schools. (p. 11)

If the *NCF 2005* and the new textbooks developed in accordance with its guidelines are to be successful in achieving their objective of raising students' critical awareness of their social reality to bring about a peaceful and just society, then intervention is needed in the following spheres: the system of examination, pre-service and in-service teacher education programs, and infrastructure development.

First, examinations in the form of high-stakes testing need to be abandoned at the national level for the apparent psychological stress on students, teachers, and parents and their sheer utilitarianism. While the UPA made CBSE board exams optional and introduced the concept of continuous comprehensive evaluation, the new BJP government, which came to power in 2014, had decided to go back to the usual ways of testing, measurement, and comparison (see Chowdhury, 2018). It is high time that the term "examination," (which was directly handed down from British colonial practices and continues to exert its influence on the Indian education system even today) should give way to "assessment" in the curriculum lexicon as well as in classrooms. Assessment of students' learning should happen in diverse ways depending on the subject, context, resources, and the cognitive abilities and interests of students. Assessment should have the purpose of helping students understand rather than reproduce in order to receive a certificate. Assessment practices should incorporate critical reflection, thinking, and inquiry as their central features and relieve teachers and students of rote-memorization of facts (Mathison & Fragnoli, 2006). The incorporation of right assessment approaches and practices are a prerequisite to achieving the ideals of *NCF 2005* (Thapar, 2005).

Second, while changes in curriculum documents and textbooks are essential, it is the teachers and their pedagogic practices that give life to the curriculum in real classroom situations. Thus, curriculum reform should not remain confined to producing documents and textbooks; it should also be concomitant with the rich academic and professional training of the pre- and in-service teachers. In an important article, "Voice and Agency of Teachers: Missing Link in the *National Curriculum Framework 2005*," Professor Poonam Batra (2005) discusses the complexities of the landscape of teacher education in India that presents serious challenges to the success of *NCF 2005*. Batra (2005) points out that most schoolteachers across the country are "under-trained, misqualified, under-compensated, [and] demotivated instruments of a mechanical system of education that was initially conceived as a support to a colonial regime." Moreover, she explains further, "in a globalizing India, school teaching has declined to the status of a least favoured profession. It has become a last resort of educated unemployment youth …, part-time business people and young women seeking to find a part-time socially acceptable profession away from [the] competitive university education system" (p. 4347; see also Batra, 2015).

Furthermore, over the past two decades, schoolteachers have been reduced to "a mere object of educational reform or worse a passive agent of the prevailing ideology of [the] modern state" (Batra, 2005, p. 4347). This is further compounded by the behavioristic and positivistic nature of teacher education programs in India, which have remained largely unchanged since colonial times. While the *NCF 2005* "presents a fresh vision and a new discourse on key contemporary educational issues …," Batra (2005) argues, "… it appears unable to define the contours of a traverse between the romantic ideal of the empowered and empowering individual teacher and an educational system comprised of several million such teachers focused on a 'mechanical' universalization of education" (p. 4347).

While there has been "repeated reiteration to strengthen the active 'agency' of the teacher in policy documents and commission reports over the last 30 years," Batra (2005, p. 4349) explains, "teacher education institutes continue to exist as insular organizations even within the university system where many are located," which prevents the larger academic debates on equity, gender and community from entering teacher education programs. Researchers (e.g., Anitha, 2000; Vasavi, 2000) have shown that teachers consider issues of drop-outs and child labour as inevitable resulting from poverty and children's social backgrounds rather than due to inadequate policies and programs. In addition to reminding of these bitter realities of the Indian educational landscape, Batra (2005, p. 4349) argues that "[*NCF 2005*] offers limited directions on how teachers could be prepared to include hitherto excluded social narratives, experiences and voices and make them available in the classroom and more importantly, to respond and resist attempts of short-term ideological persuasions of educational policymakers to intervene in the teaching-learning process." In view of the above contextual realities, Batra (2005, p. 4349) thinks that *NCF 2005* avoids dealing with a central curricular and pedagogical question: "How do you enable critical thinking and meaning-making among children (the aim of *NCF*) with a teacher who has not been through such a process herself?" What could be done in the sphere of teacher education to meet the goals of *NCF 2005*?

First, teacher education programs, which have been largely dominated by educational psychology (which in turn is dominated by behaviourism), must create space for constructivism, critical pedagogy, and meditative inquiry[31] to facilitate the development of deep learning, critical thinking, and self-awareness among teachers. Constructivism and critical pedagogy must be recontextualized in the Indian context and juxtaposed with Indian educational thought (e.g., the ideas of Gandhi, Ambedkar, Krishnamurti, and Tagore, among others) rather than imposed from outside. If constructivism and critical pedagogy are imposed without recontextualization and creative juxtaposition with Indian thought, they will not only perpetuate academic imperialism but will also be defeated on the ground. Second, teacher education programs must provide students with spaces to discuss and deeply inquire into the meaning of curriculum, teaching, learning, and education rather than simply preparing "implementers" of state-mandated curriculum. Schoolteachers should be provided with the opportunities for professional development. However, professional development is often understood as capsule courses to learn how to implement a state-mandated curriculum, which is better described as *professional degradation* than professional development (A. Kumar, 2014). An actual professional development of teachers implies that they are encouraged to engage in deep self-reflection and dialogue with their colleagues about their true role in the educational process. It respects their academic freedom to create knowledge and teach with dignity. It provides them with the support and opportunities to conduct critical educational research, which questions the hegemonic and oppressive educational discourses and practices. Such authentic professional development is a necessity for teachers to understand and challenge the dominance of instrumentalist and technical rationality and the ideology of the state.

Finally, central and state governments should make efforts to improve the quality of government schools. Readers may be surprised to learn about the acute level of inequality in India's K-12 schools: certain schools in the larger cities are no less than five-star hotels, while other schools in small villages are no more than huts! And, when the teachers of these "five-stars" schools are having problems in implementing new textbooks, it does not seem appropriate to expect much of the teachers, students, and parents in underprivileged schools and localities. Recognizing the significance of systemic reforms, Sadgopal (2005b) argues:

> The essential linkage between curricular reforms and systemic reforms must be appreciated, before it is too late. And such reforms would be feasible only within the framework of a Common School System.[32] It is also necessary to assert that no developed or developing country has ever achieved UEE [Universalization of Elementary Education] or, for that

> matter, Universal Secondary Education, without a strong state-funded and state-regulated[33] Common School System. India is unlikely to be an exception to this historical and global experience, notwithstanding the ambition of the Indian State to become a 'superpower' by 2020! (p. 4)

Given the above analysis, it is only through combining curriculum reforms with reforms in other spheres—the system of examination, teacher education, and infrastructure—that the larger educational goals of social justice, democracy, and peace can be realized, as espoused in the *NCF 2005*.

NOTES

1. I am not related to Professor Krishna Kumar. I studied with him for a couple of weeks at the Central Institute of Education (University of Delhi) in New Delhi, India. See Chacko's (2015) essay on Krishna Kumar's contributions to Indian curriculum studies that was published in William Pinar's edited collection, *Curriculum Studies in India: Intellectual Histories, Present Circumstances* (2015), the most comprehensive text on Indian curriculum studies thus far.
2. The NCERT is an apex resource organization set up by the Government of India in 1961, with headquarters at New Delhi, to assist and advise the central and state governments on the various dimensions of school education. NCERT is also responsible for drawing up the *NCF* and publishing textbooks, which are used as models by a majority of the state governments in India.
3. For a critical analysis of history textbooks developed according to the perspective of *NCF 2000*, see Roy (2003) and Subaramaniam (2003).
4. Also see the previous chapter for an analysis of Lall's research on the fundamentalization of education in India and Pakistan.
5. It is worth mentioning that Bhartiya Janta Party (BJP), under Narendra Modi's leadership, came back to power with a full majority in 2014. This time it has combined its emphasis on Hindutva agenda with fierce neoliberal economic policies and digitalization. It is clear from the new education policy proposals that BJP views education chiefly as an instrument means to developing skills to fit the workforce rather than as a possibility to nurture thoughtful, critical, and creative human beings. For further exploration of how BJP's political ideology is influencing India's educational landscape presently consider reviewing: Deshpande (2016), Flåten (2017), Sadgopal (2016), Siddiqui (2017), Venkataraman (2016), among others.

6. According to Poonam Batra (2005), the reason behind the efforts to bring about *NCF 2005* is "[d]eeper than … the politically driven initiative … [T]he professional need for curriculum review … [emerged] from the long ossification of a national education system that continues to view teachers as 'dispensers of information' and children as 'passive recipients' of an 'education,' sought to be 'delivered' in four-walled classrooms with little scope to develop critical thinking and understanding" (p. 4348; see also Batra, 2015). *NCF 2005* indeed is an attempt to free school education from the clutches of behaviorist, positivist, and instrumentalist tendencies, succinctly summarized by Freire (1973) as "banking education," so that students and their teachers may engage in meaningful learning.
7. This chapter has resulted from my research in India and my engagement with the conceptualization of social studies in North America. Professor E. Wayne Ross, a famous CSS educator at The University of British Columbia, helped me to engage with my research in India with new theoretical perspectives on social studies that have been conceptualized in North America. My experiences in India (first as a graduate student and later as a teacher of geography) and North America (first as a PhD student in the field of curriculum studies at University of British Columbia and now as a professor of education at Mount Saint Vincent University) have allowed me to juxtapose these two fields—Indian and North American—together with particular reference to social studies education.
8. Leming's claim that social studies teachers have accepted or prefer TSSI approach is not fully substantiated. Vinson (1998) has published evidence that directly contradicts this particular claim by Leming in the North American context.
9. Various schemes have been offered by researchers to make sense of a wide variety and opposing purposes for social studies e.g., Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1977), Morrissett and Hass (1982), Stanley and Nelson (1994), and Vinson (1998) among others. These works use different terms such as "citizenship or (cultural transmission)," "conservative cultural continuity," "cultural transmission," and "citizenship transmission," respectively, to categorize the social studies instruction that is akin to Leming's TSSI.
10. The above-mentioned authors use a wide variety of terms to define the purpose of CSS, namely, "reflective inquiry" (Barr et al., 1977), "thinking reflectively" (Stanley & Nelson, 1994), "informed social criticism" (Morrissett & Hass, 1982), and "critical or reflective thinking" (Vinson, 1998).
11. The educational thoughts of John Dewey and Paulo Freire have not only greatly influenced educational theory and practice in West but also in India. In schools of education in India, Dewey and Freire occupy

considerable space and attention along with Indian educators such as Rabindranath Tagore, Gandhi, and J. Krishnamurti. Major political figures like Mahatma Gandhi and B.R. Ambedkar, who had their deep influence on educational policy-making, had acknowledged the considerable influence of John Dewey's ideas on their educational thought (see Nanda, 2007). Professor Krishna Kumar, the key player behind *NCF 2005*, has also written a foreword to the Indian edition of Dewey's *Democracy and Education*. Moreover, Dewey's ideas on experiential and constructivist learning have found considerable space in *NCF 2005*. Dewey's ideas on pragmatism, however, have come under attack by critical educators who are drawn more towards the works of Paulo Freire (1973), Henry Giroux (1981, 1983, 1989), Geoff Whitty (1985), and Michael Apple (2004). Notably, it is the work of Freire and other critical educators who have found more space in South Africa, Mexico, and Brazil, as one can see in the respective chapters of this book. Even *NCF 2005*, along with its emphasis on constructivism, provides space to the principles of critical pedagogy.

12. See Note 13 of Chapter 3 for a brief introduction to the Frankfurt school of critical theory.
13. While there are merits of the critical pedagogy approach as I have noted in this chapter as well as in Chapter 8 on neoliberalism, I tend to think that critical pedagogy is entirely focused on social structures and has little place for subjective consciousness with its depths and complexities. Further elaboration is beyond the scope of this chapter, but those who are interested in understanding the limitations of critical pedagogy from the perspective of meditative inquiry, consider reviewing my book: *Curriculum As Meditative Inquiry* (A. Kumar, 2013).
14. For an introduction to critical pedagogy, see: Darder, Baltodano, and Torres (2009), Darder, Mayo, and Paraskeva (2016), and Kanpol (1999). See also Chapter 5 "Understanding Curriculum As Political Text" of *Understanding Curriculum* (Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery, & Taubman, 1995).
15. See A. Kumar and Downey (in press) for a discussion of my approach to dialogical meditative inquiry.
16. *NCF 2000* does not provide any clear statements regarding its vision about social science curriculum and teaching. *NCF 2005*, on the other hand, discusses its vision of social science in a well-developed manner. For the purpose of analysis, I have developed two categories—objectives and epistemological framework—and organized the information according to these categories without making any changes to the language and meaning of the documents.
17. For a detailed analysis of the differences between critical thinking and critical pedagogy, see Burbles and Berk (1999).

18. According to Irfan Habib (2005), an eminent Indian Historian, "The NCERT's post-2000 textbooks in History and Social Sciences were a scandal (see Indian History Congress report, History in the New NCERT Textbooks Kolkata, 2003)" (p. 9).
19. Romila Thapar (2005, p. 56), an eminent Indian historian, while recognizing the inclusion of normative issues in *NCF 2005*, warns that it may also be a tendency to avoid the "question of why poverty, illiteracy and communalism have come about." "How secularism, democracy, and human rights became a concern in Indian society," she points out, "are themes significant to the social sciences" and therefore needs to be clearly stated in the *NCF 2005*. I agree that the social studies education cannot be just about teaching inert information and inculcating positive ideals at the expense of understanding and inquiring into the conflicts and problems of people and their social, political, and economic systems.
20. While appreciating *NCF*'s concern for local-content and diversity, Romila Thapar (2005) hopes that:

    > the social sciences will also explain how diversities came or come into being, why there is an inequalityamong diverse groups, and how attitudes supporting this inequality are constructed. Furthermore, how diversities can be a source of enrichment to some cultures, but can also in some other cases become agencies of oppression … (p. 56)

    That is, an appreciation of diversity should not be simplistic or superficial. The issue of diversity has to be understood in light of how prejudice, discrimination, and exploitation continues in subtle and insidious ways.
21. Stanley and Nelson (1994) is an important resource to understand the differences between 'subject-centered,' 'Civics-centered,' and 'issue-centered' approaches to organize social studies curriculum.
22. I incorporate some of these criticisms in the next section where I analyze teachers' responses to the recent curriculum reform as well as in my conclusion. For a collection of the Marxist critique of *NCF 2005*, see an important document, Debating Education-1, available online at: http://issuu.com/sahmat/docs/debating_education-1.
23. These are all pseudonyms. I took permission for this study from all the three teachers as well as from the principal of the school. This study was approved by the Central Institute of Education of the University of Delhi.
24. This is also not the real name of the school. Readers should also know that in India the term "public school" means private schools. There are, however, a great number of schools that are run by the government and primarily cater to the socio-economically disadvantaged sections of the Indian population.

25. I have labeled NCERT textbooks developed in the perspectives of *NCF 2000* and *NCF 2005* as “old” and “new” respectively. Teachers who I interviewed mainly restricted their comments to the social science textbooks of grades 9 and 10. The new NCERT textbooks can be accessed here: http://ncert.nic.in/textbook/textbook.htm.
26. The culture of textbooks, examination, and teacher control in India has its origin in British colonial policies, which continue to impact the Indian education system even today (see Jain, 2015; K. Kumar, 2001, 2004, 2005; Pinar, 2015).
27. The CBSE is a highly regarded national level government agency in India that is entitled to conduct exams for the grades 10 and 12 and certify the appearing candidates. Notably, eight years ago, when UPA was in power, a Human Resource and Development Ministry’s regulation had the CBSE exams for grade 10 to be optional. It was up to the school and the students if they wanted to participate in the annual board exam. CBSE had also encouraged schools to practice continuous comprehensive evaluation schemes that were supposed to have reduced stress on teachers and students. Recently, however, under the BJP rule, the country has gone back to mandatory national level CBSE examinations (see Chowdhury, 2018). The faith in standardized large-scale testing to measure students’ performance and compare them against each other still holds a strong ground. The culture of behaviorism, positivism, neoliberalism, and capitalism which is rampant worldwide and appreciates grades, efficiency, and measurable knowledge, still sway the education system, and not only in India.
28. This concern of teachers should also be seen in the light of Habib’s (2005) criticism of *NCF 2005*. The latter does not specify “the distribution of time among the subjects (with the main components indicated thereof) at each set of class-levels” (p. 4).
29. The NCERT will soon be issuing a new set of revised textbooks for the school children after 10 years. It will be important to see how these textbooks change in their content and approach under BJP’s regime (see Gohain, 2017).
30. See Pinar (2010, 2011, 2015).
31. See A. Kumar (2014) and A. Kumar and Downey (in press) for a discussion on the nature of meditative inquiry driven teacher education.
32. Professor Anil Sadgopal has been the most significant proponent of the idea of Common School System in India, which was originally recommended by Education Commission 1964–66. According to Sadgopal (2005b),

    > Common School System … is founded on the principles of equality and social justice as enshrined in the Constitution and provides

> education of a comparable quality to all children in an equitable manner irrespective of their caste, creed, language, gender, economic or ethnic background, location or disability (physical or mental) … (p. 3)

In a Common School System, every school would provide free of charge education and be responsible for providinginfrastructural, educational, and human resources to support teaching and learning. Such schools would supportacademic freedom, critical inquiry, and creativity and would be responsive to their cultural contexts (Sadgopal, 2005b). To know more about Common School System, and how this transformative concept has been underminedby Indian educational policies including *NCF 2005*, see Sadgopal (2005a, 2005b).

33. State-regulation here does not imply, in my view, state's ideological control. It means that state takes its role seriously and provide the necessary facilities to provide a good education.

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CHAPTER 7

Postmodern Turn in North American Social Studies Education: Considering Identities, Contexts, and Discourses

Introduction

Postmodernism and poststructuralism have emerged as movements in arts, philosophy, and literature since the 1970s and have deeply influenced the ways in which we view the nature of knowledge, representation, progress, identity, language, science, and life as a whole. Their critique of scientism and positivism and exposition of the relationships among knowledge, power, and notions of truth have become important parts of educational research and scholarship. This chapter provides a discussion of how postmodern and poststructural thoughts have influenced research and teaching within social studies education in the USA and Canada. I begin with an introduction to the notion of postmodernism, briefly trace the history of how and why postmodernism became important in social studies education, and discuss various case studies to illustrate what it looks like to do research and teach social studies from post-perspectives. I conclude by raising questions regarding the nature of postmodernist thinking and its usefulness for educational research.

What Is Postmodernism?

Postmodernism is a unique "ism" because its proponents cast themselves against all "isms," categorizations, and essentializations, and many of them, therefore, do not accept this label. What unites them, however, is their focus on questioning and critiquing the central tenets of

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modernist thought, namely-, the notions of absolute truth and grand theories as well as the belief in objectivity and rationality. Postmodernism and poststructuralism can thus be described as a collection of perspectives, according to which, the Enlightenment notion of the absolute and universal truth is a misrepresentation of the actual life which is marked by spatial, temporal, and cultural variations and diversities. What is, therefore, important is not to develop universal truths about human thinking, feelings, actions, interactions, and events, but to understand the contexts and situations—political, economic, historical, cultural, aesthetic, literary, and psychological—in and through which they occur. Such a contextual and relativist view of life rejects positivist and empiricist insistence on objective truth as well as the notions of objectivity, scientific method, logic, intellect, reason, and rationality, which supposedly capture the truth as it is. On the contrary, postmodernist thinking celebrates subjectivity, and thereby multiplicity of perspectives and identities, as the lenses through which we interpret, understand, and narrate the world. Thus, postmodernist perspectives are inclusive and tolerant, and they emphasize the significance of looking at life from multiple, even contradictory, angles and reject the idea of grand narratives or theories which claim to provide universal explanations and predictions of human actions. Given their emphasis on multiplicity, diversity, and inclusiveness, postmodernist thinkers do not believe in strict disciplinary boundaries but support hybridized views of disciplines, theories, perspectives, and methodologies.

Postmodernists consider knowledge as neither a product of divine revelation nor an outcome of scientific methods. For them knowledge is socially constructed and is imbued with power and politics. In the same vein, postmodernism problematizes the notion of the individual and isolated self. Subjectivities and identities, postmodernists argue, are fragmented and heterogeneous and are socially constructed due to our immersion in the discourses, languages, and texts of the society and its institutions.

The postmodern thinkers are left-leaning and anarchic, and they are sceptical of the Enlightenment's emphasis on economic, scientific, and technological progress given their connection with colonialism, slavery, and ecological degradation. Postmodern thinkers also reject the notion of historicism and linear historical progress through time. History is seen as a complex and localized interplay of political, economic, cultural, and psychological influences, irreducible to identifiable origins, phases, and stages.

The postmodern movement began in the late 1970s and has impacted, like other philosophical movements, all aspects of human life including the arts, architecture, music, literature, and academic research. The key philosophers whose work laid the foundation of postmodernism include Roland Barthes, Jacques Derrida, Jean Baudrillard, Jean Francois Lyotard, John Gray, Judith Butler, Gillies Deleuze, Michele Foucault, and Richard Rorty, among others.[1] The key conceptual ideas of postmodernism are: deconstruction, text, discourse, hyperreality, rhizome, de (territorialization), simulacrum, genealogy, regimes of truth, normalization, and governmentality, among others.

Postmodernism and Social Studies Education

Recall the discussion about "traditional social studies instruction" and "critical social studies" in the previous chapter. I summarize the key points here briefly in order to set the stage for a discussion on the influence of postmodernism and poststructuralism on social studies education.

Traditional social studies imply an instrumental, transmissive, and passive approach to social studies teaching and learning. It is rooted in positivistic and behaviouristic notions of reality, knowledge, and learning. In this approach transmission of historical, political, and geographical knowledge without critical and deeper engagement characterize good teaching. Traditional social studies instruction does not profoundly engage with social conflicts and problems like racism, sexism, and economic exploitation. Rather, it focuses on facts, information, and knowledge that should be transmitted, memorized, and reproduced on tests of various kinds. Thus, traditional social studies instruction discourages critical and political engagement with the subject matter and explicitly or implicitly supports and reproduces existing economic inequalities, social discriminations, and political power structures whereby hegemonic groups continue to dominate society and its institutions.

Critical social studies, on the other hand, is an approach to teaching and learning that encourages reflective, experiential, and critical engagement with the subject matter and social and political institutions. Inspired by Deweyan and constructivist approaches to learning, critical social studies emphasizes inquiry- and discovery-based learning and views knowledge as socially constructed. The role of teacher and students in this approach is not to transmit and memorize information but to develop deeper understandings through reflective and experiential inquiry. Another major influence on critical social studies is the notion of critical pedagogy. While recognizing the need for reflective and experiential learning, critical pedagogy emphasizes the need to perceive education as a politically constructed activity. The reflection and inquiry in the critical pedagogy tradition are oriented towards understanding how education is shaped by and reproduces social, economic, and racial inequalities. A critical pedagogy inspired social studies thus examines social, political, economic, and historical phenomena from those perspectives, philosophies, and theories which engage with, rather than ignore, oppression, conflicts, and injustices. As such, critical social studies encourages teaching and learning approaches that are anti-oppressive and whose primary goal is to work for social justice and equality.

While postmodern and poststructural thoughts also criticize positivistic and behavioristic views of education like critical pedagogy, they also question the foundations of modernist thinking, as discussed previously, and problematize taken-for-granted notions including citizenship, identity, and democracy. In my view, postmodern perspectives allow critical social studies to become more reflexive of its foundations and intentions and more nuanced in terms of its interpretation of the concepts common to social studies education.

Like other disciplines of social sciences and humanities, the need for the postmodern and poststructural perspectives in social studies education has grown over the years due to emerging critiques of predominant worldviews rooted in Enlightenment notions of reason, logic, and progress. However, this growth has been somewhat slow when one compares it with other areas of research in education such as curriculum studies.[2]

Segall, Heilman, and Cherryholmes (2006)[3] express their concern with the preponderance of modernist thinking in social studies research, which sees truth and knowledge as "objective," "uniperspectival," "hard," "attainable," and "transmissible." Social studies, Segall and Heilman (2006) argue, had been in a theoretical "time warp," and therefore had excluded itself from intriguing developments of postmodern, postcolonial, poststructuralist, critical feminist, and cultural studies scholarship in academia since the 1980s (p. vii). They urge social studies scholars to pay attention to these new theoretical and methodological developments and design more inclusive, reflexive, and democratic approaches to teaching and conducting research in social studies education.

The social science disciplines such as geography, history, and anthropology, Heilman and Segall (2006) contend, have been influenced by "reflexive," "linguistic," and "critical turns" and in turn are contributing towards generating interesting intellectual conversations regarding research and teaching. Postmodern theory has offered researchers and scholars ways to problematize the taken-for-granted dualistic structures of understanding social, economic, and political issues such as developed and developing, public and private, and local and global. Besides, the postmodern perspective does not consider traditional concepts such as nation, state, culture, and sovereignty "neutral, deterministic, and concrete but rather as created academic concepts which are ill-defined and in flux" (Heilman & Segall, 2006, p. 20). In spite of these developments, the social studies field has only peripherally participated in postmodern discourse. This is surprising considering the "progressive roots," and an "inherently inter-, if not antidisciplinary" character of social studies, and because issues of power, representation, identity, subjectivity and voice are part of its fundamental nature (Heilman & Segall, 2006, p. 21). This begs the question: Why has social studies not fully participated in postmodernism?

According to Heilman and Segall (2006), the chief reason why mainstream social studies has not fully welcomed postmodern critical discourse is the lack of engagement with postmodern theories, methodologies, and themes. Most social studies educators have tended to focus on studying and improving classroom practice using the so-called "scientific methods" of conducting social science research. In spite of the contribution of scholars such as Giroux (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1991, 1993; Giroux, 1982, 1983, 1988; Giroux & McLaren, 1986), Cherryholmes (1982, 1987), and Popkewitz (Popkewitz & Brennan, 1998; Popkewitz, 1991) to education, social studies has not embraced their ideas in spite of the fact that their initial affiliation was with social studies (p. 21). Heilman and Segall (2006; see also Segall, 2013) refer to the 1982 issue of *Theory and Research in Social Education* (*TRSE*),[4] which was edited by Thomas Popkewitz. This issue included articles by Giroux (1982) and Cherryholmes (1982) where the former focused on critical theory (based on the Frankfurt School) while the latter focused more on Habermas and, to a lesser extent, on Foucault in order to explore how philosophical traditions from Europe might inform social studies research. They also mention the special issue of *Social Education* (*SE*), "New Criticism and Social Education," which brought articles of Apple and Teitelbaum (1985), Giroux (1985), Wexler (1985), Cherryholmes (1985), Gilbert (1985), and Stanley (1985) together.[5]

These scholars emphasized "moving beyond the immediate conditions of schooling … [to] … the political, social, economic, and cultural basis underlying current conditions of schooling, teaching and learning as well as the taken-for-granted ideologies that give rise to them" (Heilman and Segall, 2006, p. 22). These two issues of *TRSE* and *SE* could not give life to critical discourses within social studies until the late 1990s. In the late 1990s, critical issues occupied a significant place in *TRSE* due to its new editor, E. Wayne Ross, and the emergence of critical scholarship among social studies researchers.[6] The latter includes scholars who were nurtured through interdisciplinary and cross-disciplinary doctoral programmes and who based their works on a variety of theoretical and methodological perspectives such as cultural studies, curriculum theory, women's studies, African studies, and queer studies (p. 22).

Segall (2013, 477) points out that under the editorship of Patricia Avery, *TRSE* has also published some articles which employ post-discourses in their work (e.g., Garrett, 2011; Schmeichel, 2011; Schmidt, 2010). However, most of the researchers who employ post-discourses with reference to social studies education, Segall notes, have appeared outside of *TRSE and SE.* Some of these works include: Chandler and McKnight (2009), Richardson and Blades (2006), Segall, Heilman, and Cherryhomes (2006), and Vinson and Ross (2012). Based on my own perusal of *TRSE* since the publication of the 2013 special issue, relatively few essays have employed postmodern and poststructural lenses to conduct social studies education research. These include (if one takes a very broad understanding of the postmodern) articles by: Schmeichel (2015), Osler (2015), Patterson (2015), Levstik (2016), and Woodson (2016).

What can postmodernism offer to social education research and teaching? According to Segall and Heilman (2006), social studies research and teaching that is rooted in post-discourses allow researchers and teachers to problematize the assumptions of modernity regarding "knowledge" and "truth" and the hitherto taken-for-granted key concepts of social studies, namely, nation, state, sovereignty, and citizenship, among others. Guided by the post-discourses, none of these categories are perceived as fixed and stable; indeed, all of these notions, including the dominant discursive practices and regimes of truth that give rise to and perpetuate them, are critically examined. The "postmodern turn" thus can bring about a tremendous moment for social studies educators where, according to Cleo Cherryholmes,[7]

> [T]here is no one or set of undisputed, authoritative stories or theories or concepts of facts for social studies educators to adhere to and teach, even though governments at various levels are increasingly endorsing specific bodies of knowledge in standards documents and high stakes assessment test. (p. 6)

Echoing and furthering Cherryholmes's ideas, Segall (2013) articulates and emphasizes the significance of postmodern and poststructural thoughts for social studies research:

> After all, there are no natural historical or geographical or economic discourses "just out there, just growing wild" (Jenkins, 1995, p. 15). Rather, they are all socially constructed and cultivated to achieve specific societal and disciplinary ends … Thus, recognizing them [grand narratives, myths, and discourses] as highly political and ideologically charged, serving particular interests and perspectives, becomes the first order of business for critical scholars … A pressing goal of critical theories, then, is to identify these discourses; to explore their operating mechanisms; and to expose their underlying assumptions, the kinds of ethics, morality, meaning, and experience they promote, and the forms of inclusion/exclusion they foster. The intent is … to expose the very process through which some discourses (or myths or grand narratives) become considered as true and, thus, as Truths … (p. 480)

Therefore, the goal of postmodern social studies education should be to examine, understand, and reveal the deeper meanings, structures, and processes that underpin social, historical, political, economic knowledges, processes, and institutions. Without such a profound engagement and exploration, social studies will continue to be atheoretical, apolitical, and ahistorical in nature and remain a victim of positivistic, behaviouristic, outcomes-oriented, and instrumental approaches to research and teaching.[8]

In the next section, I discuss the works of those social studies scholars who have been influenced by post-discourses and in turn have incorporated diverse themes, methodologies, and theoretical frameworks in their research and teaching. I cover research themes such as gender and sexuality, deviant subjectivities, museum, family, popular culture, and multiculturalism. The scholarly works reported here have examined these themes through employing a gamut of research methodologies (e.g., deviant historiography, discourse analysis, autobiography, and media analysis) and wide-ranging theoretical frameworks (e.g., situated knowledges, critical geography, heteronormativity, critical history, feminism, cultural studies, and poststructuralism).

IDENTITIES, CONTEXTS, AND DISCOURSES

Image-Surveillance-Spectacle Complex

Kevin Vinson (2006; see also Vinson & Ross, 2003, 2007, 2012) explores the image-surveillance-spectacle complex in relation to social studies and citizenship education. In developing his arguments, he draws on the postmodernist ideas of Foucault (1977), Debord (1990), Baudrillard (2006), Bogard (1996), and Lyon (1994). Vinson critiques the notions of "accountability" and standardized tests on which the whole neoliberalist educational industry rests.[9] Standardized testing and its public display, Vinson (2006) argues, forces teachers, students, and schools to be the spectacle of the public and be under strict surveillance and control of policymakers, parents, and administrators.

An education that is focused on performance on standardized tests views teaching and learning as instrumental acts of achieving what is laid out in curriculum outcomes, goals, and guidelines. Such teaching and learning are not focused on deeper engagement, questioning, and critique, but on meeting the "standards" in order to achieve an image that is "respectable" in society and is approved by politicians and bureaucrats. The whole society and its educational system are caught in this image-spectacle-surveillance complex and thereby has become a victim of superficiality and mechanicalness. In such an environment, what assumes importance is comparison, competition, and thoughtlessness rather than intelligent, creative, and deeply self-reflective and meditative engagement with life and education. Recognizing the dangers of standardized education, which uses rewards and punishments, breeds comparison and competition, and create fear and anxiety, Vinson (2006) urges teachers and students to be aware of "the extent to which and how surveillance and spectacle rule and 'define' their lives as teachers, students and citizens" (p. 43) and how it undermines the possibilities of a holistic and meaningful education. He urges us to raise questions such as these in our classrooms and daily encounters:

> Is the disciplinary society based on seeing-being seen consistent with their vision of democracy? Is the life under such circumstances consistent with their vision of "good life"? Why or why not?… Are they comfortable with the way things are? Do they seek change? In what directions? Why? [and to see] "how might the varieties of their available citizen/social knowledge help them here? … [and], what might it—all of these—means for classroom based citizenship/social instruction? (p. 43)

Essentially, Vinson (2006) is encouraging us all to question our present circumstances and consider how education is being used as an instrument to control our thinking and actions, forcing us to treat teaching and learning as test-driven and performance-oriented activities instead of as profound opportunities for transformative experiences and creative possibilities.

Deviant Subjectivities

Lisa J. Cary's (2006a; see also Cary, 2001, 2003) research questions the taken-for-granted notions about female juvenile offenders in particular and citizenship in general. Cary points towards the state of a "social crisis" wherein "deviant" individuals are termed as "bad citizens" and deviant juvenile female offenders as "bad girls" and "pathologized women." These categories, Cary argues, are "historically framed through the intersection of multiple discursive practices" (2006, p. 48).

Invoking the ideas of Stanley (1992) and Popkewitz (1998), which are based on poststructuralist and postmodernist thinking (particularly Foucauldian analysis[10]), Cary (2006a) urges that we go beyond the "metanarratives," which do not capture the complexity of real life contexts, and work against the "normalizing tendencies of dominant discourses … to complicate its [i.e. social studies'] understanding and presentation of fixed signifier and stable collective subjects that are both exclusivist and essentialist, such as the good citizen and the bad girl" (p. 51). Using the lenses of postcolonialism and cultural studies, based on the works of postcolonial and cultural studies scholars like Bhabha (1994), Pratt (1992), Spivak (1993), Delgado (1999), and Ong (1999), Cary advocates that social studies educators look for "alternative ways of thinking about epistemological spaces [and teaching and learning contexts] in social studies that can be useful in interrupting the im (possible) constructions present within existing dominant discourses [such as "good citizens" and "bad girls"]" (p. 51).

In order to understand the notion of deviant subjectivity, Cary (2006a) employs Jennifer Terry's (1991) work on deviant historiography that focuses on the construction of deviant subjectivity with reference to individuals identifying themselves as LGBTQ. Deviant historiography, Cary explains, helps us understand how studying and analysing historical texts and discourses, which often marginalizes deviant subjects, can provide us insights into the ways that deviant subject positions are constructed in the context of juvenile female offenders.

By combining critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1995) and deviant historiography, Cary (2006a) explores how the construction of identities such as "good girls," citizen, child, adolescent, progressive era notions of women (social hygienists and eugenicists), social institutions of education and detention, and populist discourses, all tie in a "multiple-layered discursive spaces" that are exclusivist and reductive. The ways in which female juvenile offenders historically have been constructed as "deviant" in these epistemological spaces (see Cary, 2006b; Cary & Mutua, 2010) include the highly sexualized and pathologized medico-scientific discourses and aggressive behaviour that has been analysed as suggestive of masculine tendencies.

Cary's (2006a) major purpose behind deconstructing the historical discursive practices and institutional arrangements regarding juvenile female offenders is "to make possible interruptions of that essentializing and exclusivist construction for teachers, teacher educators, counselors, administration, juvenile justice officials and other state agents who are among the first to position and label these girls" (p. 60). Cary also wants to inform the work of social studies educators about the taken-for-granted notions of citizenship that marginalize those students who are considered "bad" or deviant in society. Cary's work on deviant subjectivities advocates for critical themes and creates new epistemological spaces that allow social studies to become more inclusive.

Sexuality, Fluidity, and Intersectionality

Lisa Loutzenheiser (2006; also see Loutzenheiser, 2010, 2014, 2015) discusses the continuing lack of focus on gender, sex, sexuality, misogyny, and homophobia within social studies research and teaching in spite of the fact that "teaching for diversity" and "teaching for social justice" are highlighted as major concerns within education in North America (also see Crocco, 2002, 2006a, 2008a, 2008b, 2018; Camicia, 2016). The central questions of her research are: What is normative and *normalized* in schools and classrooms in relation to gender and sexuality? How can we encourage youth to critique and challenge the normative, hegemonic, and the taken-for-granted notions about gender and sexuality in schools? (p. 62). Grounding her arguments in the works of Warner (1993), Sumara and Davis (1999), and Rodriguez (2003), Loutzenheiser critiques the notion of "heteronormativity" that demands assimilation and similarity in the everyday life of schools and in wider society. She argues that rather than creating educational spaces to appreciate the uncertain, partial, and messy nature of subjective and sexual identities, schools and society expects and reinforces commonsensical gender roles on individuals.

Loutzenheiser (2006) advocates for the incorporation of anti-oppressive pedagogies, queer and fluidity theories, and non-essentialized categories in order to theorize about teaching and learning of difference in social studies classrooms. Fluidity theories, according to her, give attention to the complicated and incomplete picture that subjectivities and identities offer. Loutzenheiser stresses the need for understanding "intersectionality," which points to spaces where the diverse subjective identities meet momentarily as well as to the contexts in which categories of race, gender, and sexuality experience flux and transformation. She critiques the "assimilation" and "add and stir"/"focus on similarity" models of curriculum that assume student identities as universal, non-intersectional, and fixed rather than as fluid, diverse, and unique.

Loutzenheiser (2006) questions whether the insertion of "multicultural" curricula contents into lessons, without interrupting heteronormativity and without making fundamental changes to the purposes of lessons or units, will offer much toward creating a truly open and inclusive space that allows inquiry into and celebrates subjective diversities. Drawing upon Felman (1992), Loutzenheiser acknowledges the difficulties teachers face when they teach classrooms that assume reality to be "normative" and "normalized." She suggests that the "conversation about gender, sexuality and (and in) their intersections cannot occur unless teachers also have experienced the hard conversations [in their pre-service teacher education program]" (p. 68). Therefore, teaching and researching about gender, sexuality, and identity should form the core of a postmodern approach to social studies education. These issues and question should become an important part of the educational experience in schools, teacher education programmes as well as in wider society if we want to create inclusive, tolerant, and diverse cultural, political, and social spaces where all identities and subjectivities are welcomed and celebrated rather than controlled and suppressed.

Democratic Citizenship as Situated Knowledge

Dawn Shinew (2006) reports a study involving six female elementary education student–teachers at Washington State University who were placed in two high-need schools in an urban school district in western Washington. The study focused upon exploring "'participants' beliefs, attitudes, and behaviours regarding the role of teachers in a democratic society and encouraged them to examine the extent to which knowledge about what it means to educate democratic citizens is constructed, situated and political" (p. 84).

Drawing on Haraway's (1991) concept of "situated knowledge,[11]" Shinew (2006) discusses the concepts of citizen and democratic citizenship as situated knowledge. The basic question that Shinew explores in his study is: How has the meaning of citizenship been shaped by the participants' locationality and positionality? Significantly, the purpose of this study, Shinew points out, was not to construct one definition and prove it better than the others. On the contrary, she intended to highlight the importance of multiple definitions and perspectives that grow out of participants' unique contexts, situations, and experiences. Shinew (2006) proposes a shift

> away from a foundational notion of citizen that rejects "real" all-embracing definition in favor of a perspective that acknowledges the validity of partial truths, socially constructed narratives and "situated" knowledge, all of which reflects a postmodern epistemology … Instead of presenting citizenship as a static, sterile, unchanged concept, social studies should be promoting critical, radical, lived democracy in which competing definitions challenge and complement one another. It is in these spaces that pre-service teachers and their future students can create new meaningful ways to act out their roles as citizens. (p. 82)

The notion of democratic citizenship, which is rooted in perspective of situated knowledge and postmodern endorsement of diversities, subjectivities, and identities, offers and allows social studies education to be a welcoming, open, and rich place of study and research.

National Identity and Public Museums

Brenda Trofanenko[12] (2006; also see Trofanenko, 2010, 2011, 2013, 2015, 2016) explains the role museums play in constructing national identity and propagating those historical representations which emphasize the dominant culture and its values at the expense of Indigenous cultures in Canada. She argues that "public museums carry ideas of inequality and dominance" which propagate the view of the nation being a singular identity rather than something that has grown out of conflicts and tensions "between belonging and non-belonging of unity and diversity, of cohesion and dispersion" (p. 97).

Trofanenko (2006) considers public museums a significant part of state apparatuses (Althuser, 1971) to educate and civilize the public in ideological ways by controlling the content of the displays.[13] She questions such unwarranted authority and power as well as trouble the trust over the objects displayed as neutral and "scientific" evidence of the past. Trofanenko argues that public museums do not give space to the role of Indigenous people in the formal nation-building; rather, they are seen as "marginalized and pre-modern people, whose identities are tied to objects from which the public understands culture" (p. 105). In her view, museums should be critical of the past instead of presenting an idealized and positive image. She suggests that the critical study of museums should start with "not only what is being represented but also how it came to be represented in the first place. The effect of the representation can and should be questioned and critiqued" (p. 105). Such profound examination of state and its institutions and apparatuses (including museums) in order to reveal ideological bases and biases of what is represented as history form the core of social studies research and teaching in the postmodern era.

A Critical Geography Perspective on Teaching History

Robert J. Helfenbein, Jr. (2006; see also Ares, Buendia, & Helfenbein, 2017; Helfenbein, 2004, 2010; Segall & Helfenbein, 2008) provides us with an intriguing critical geography perspective to teach history. Helfenbein's research is the outcome of his experience of teaching an online history course to pre-service teachers in North Carolina. In this course, Helfenbein explores three questions:

> How does a critical geography approach challenge a traditional history/social studies curriculum? In what ways could social studies teachers incorporate such approaches to both curriculum and pedagogy? Finally, what is at stake—for both teachers and students—in such an approach? (pp. 111–112)

The "critical turn" in geography, attributable to the works of geographers like Harvey (2001), Allen (2003), Massey (1995), and Soja (1989, 1996), involves dissolving the traditional physical versus human geography and human versus environment dualisms as well as questioning the notion of "border" as a fixed entity. From a critical geography perspective, "borders and boundaries are troubled, crossed and complicated … [and this is] part of the process of place-making" (p. 113). Critical geography applies multiple hierarchical level analyses to understand the complexity of curriculum, educative practice, and social development.

Helfenbein (2006) cites responses of several students in his history course to question the relationship of pre- and post-Civil War condition of slavery in order to explain that history cannot be understood through grand narrative; rather it is so rich and complex that it requires multiple perspectives of the people whose identities and perspectives have been shaped—but not in a deterministic fashion—due to being in different places and contexts. This is a point similar to one made by Shinew (2006) while describing the notion of democratic citizenship as situated knowledge, as discussed previously.

By means of various case studies, Helfenbein (2006) challenges "students to think of space as contested, navigated and negotiated" (p. 118) rather than as given and pre-determined. Instead of conceiving geographic regions as determining and limiting contexts for the unfolding of history, Helfenbein employs critical perspectives to encourage students to see the people living within these contexts as flexible, responsible, and creative agents who engage with, rather than accept passively, the conditions of their existence (see also Sack, 1997; Tuck & McKenzie, 2015; McCoy, Tuck, & McKenzie, 2016). This helps students, Helfenbein (2006) explains, move from the beginning questions of "how does *where* we are help make us *who* we are? to "how does *who* we are help us make *where* we are" (p. 122). This shift in thinking makes history and geography possibilistic rather than deterministic. Following Pinar (1994; see also Pinar, 2011, 2012), Helfenbein (2006) maintains that curriculum is not about subjects of history or geography but about "subjectivity" where people make their own history under conditions that are often not of their own making. Thus, he stresses that the autobiographical account of the history of the teachers and students (that he also employed in his own course), which is rooted in their own cultural, geographical, and personal contexts, allows them to reflect on their own subjectivities as knowers of history. Such understanding, Helfenbein (2006) argues, will help teachers see their own "classrooms, content and pedagogy as spaces of possibilities—indeed, as spaces of hope" (p. 124). Realizing the importance of place and subjective history in the learning of history and, thereby, recognizing the interdisciplinary nature of inquiry, teaching, and learning, is another contribution of postmodern thinking to social studies education.

A Critical Postmodern Approach to History Education

Avner Segall (2006a) identifies and analyses the limitations of "collective memory" and "disciplinary" orientations in order to highlight the significance of "critical postmodern approaches" to the discipline of history and history education (see also Segall, 1999, 2012, 2013). He questions Peter Sexias' ideas that support the disciplinary orientation and undermine the postmodern approach to history.

According to Sexias (2000), "disciplinary orientation" provides the student with multiple versions of the past. It teaches students to reach "better interpretation" on the basis of a series of documents, historians' assessments, and other relevant materials, and construct their own interpretations. By considering the ideas of knowledge and knowing as always positioned and positioning, Sexias points out, the postmodern orientations suspect the validity of grand narratives and disciplinary notions of truth. Sexias questions the importance of a postmodern orientation, which, unlike a disciplinary orientation, does not allow educators and students to: investigate the "best" or most historically valid approach based on evidence-and; to understand how different groups organize the past into histories and how these histories are implicated in and serve larger political and social purposes. For Sexias, a postmodern approach is "too overtly political and ideological, overly relativistic, present-day oriented, and circulatory reflexive to meaningfully guide history education in schools" (Sexias, 2000 as cited in Segall, 2006a, p. 127). While not being against questioning the foundation of the discipline of history and examining its assumptions, Sexias asks:

> How much is enough? What sense of the world of knowledge of history does the open-ended free-play of argument, plot, ideology and narrative trope offer students? How do they become aware of the limit? (Sexias, 2000 as cited in Segall, 2006a, p. 127)

Segall (2006a), contradicting Sexias, argues in favour of a "critical postmodern" approach and contends that the term "disciplinary" should be attributed to the postmodern approach to history rather than to the disciplinary approach. According to Segall, the emergence of postmodernism, poststructuralism, feminism, and postcolonialism has allowed researchers to problematize the so far taken-for-granted concepts of "facts," "reality," and "objectivity." Thus, reality and interpretation are not separable entities. Informed by the post discourses (Foucault, 1977), feminism, and cultural studies, Segall argues that the critical perspective allows the examination of

> disciplinary practices, arrangements and the boundaries and the regimes of truth emanating from them, with a particular focus on what the above require [for inclusion] as they make knowing possible, and what and who are silenced and ignored [and excluded] through those requirements. (p. 134)

Segall (2006a) stresses that it is in the context of inclusion and exclusion in the construction of the subject—both as the substance of knowledge and knowing—that critical approach stands in sharp contrast to the disciplinary approach. What becomes important for a disciplinary approach is not an exploration of history or its education as text but rather an examination of individual texts. That is, it carefully and diligently explores sources and measures them against other individual sources. A critical approach, on the other hand, implicates individual text sources in their discursive modes of production by connecting them to the broader discourse that made them possible. A critical perspective is not interested in "what" questions, for example, what is the meaning of a particular text, but with questions related to "why" and "how" that text and its meaning become important.

Recognizing the fact that historians and educators advocating a disciplinary orientation have criticized critical approaches on the basis of relativism (because it supposedly makes it difficult for teachers to help their student to construct a clear sense of the past), Segall (2006a) builds on Stanley's work (1992) and argues that the "use of relativism as a negative characterization only makes sense if we assume the possibilities of objective stable knowledge" (p. 137). Employing Derrida (1979), Segall believes that truth is plural and so relativism (or perspectivism) is the ground on which we live as human beings and conduct research and teach in the humanities.[14] Relativism, Segall argues, does not mean that educators cannot make choices and judgments, rather, it avoids belief in objective reality independent of human subjectivity; however, the criteria for such judgments and choices are not neutral but positioned, subjective, and contextual.

Segall (2006a) concludes that although all the three orientations engage with some aspect of the discipline, it is the critical approach that is self-reflexive and that helps students and teachers to know about the disciplines unlike collective memory (that exposes students to a limited dimension of the subject) and disciplinary orientation (that has criteria and method to analyse the past but does not question the tools or discipline itself). Thus, the main objective of critical approach is to help students question the very tools of historians and the discipline itself, which actually makes it "disciplinary." The possibility of raising questions that challenge the foundations of disciplines and sacrosanct approaches and methodologies is another important contribution of social studies research that draws on postmodern and poststructural approaches.

Tragic Knowledge, Violence, and Autobiography

Gerda Wever Rabehl (2006) strongly advocates for incorporating "tragic knowledge" in social studies education research and teaching. Rabehl points out that much of our social studies curriculum and pedagogy is disconnected from the real concrete contexts. This detachment, she explains, signifies a particular kind of abstract thinking and insensitivity to concrete human realities and contexts.

Grounding her ideas in the works of Simon Weil (1949/2002), Rabehl (2006) recognizes the importance of "witnessing" the social reality which we have either decided not to perceive or have become oblivious to due to our idealized construction of life. She questions the view of social reality that is "blinded by the complacency of optimism" and that does not allow us to see the reality which is "rooted in a specific existential terrain, a terrain inherited by much pain and suffering" (p. 143) at all levels of human existence. By providing us with excerpts from an autobiographical narration of a former displaced person and a prisoner of war, Rabehl raises significant and deep issues regarding "violence." She points out that seeing violence, as just the obvious form of cruelty and hatred is not sufficient. "Violence is everywhere, where we act as if the other is only to receive … violence is found in whatever narcissistic strategy the self uses to reduce, use and annihilate the other" (Rabehl, 2006, p. 145).[15]

Rabehl (2006) feels that if social studies educators actually want to take up issues of social justice in their work, then violence and cruelty cannot be seen as exclusive attributes of "others," but as the means through which the self, whether collectively or individually, perpetuates itself.

With reference to social studies curriculum and pedagogy in school, Rabehl (2006) encourages social studies educators to take up Piaget's suggestion of providing students with lived experiences in which they are given the opportunity to explore the nature of social conflicts and problems. She also sees social studies as an important field of research wherein space should be provided for the study of the social knowledge of the tragic including violence, hatred, and cruelty, and its remembrance so that it can emerge as a coherent field of study. She urges the social studies educators in schools and the social studies researchers in universities to focus on the personal and autobiographical memory as the link between collective memory and personal responses in order to disrupt self-deceiving collective interpretive frameworks.[16] Bringing violence and conflicts—individual as well as collective—to the site of education rather than treating the latter as an idealized and romanticized activity free of the psychological and social problems is extremely important. Such a realistic education becomes possible when we begin to see human beings and their social and subjective realities as complicated rather than objective and simplistic—another influence of postmodern thinking on social studies education.

Questioning the Normative Understanding of Family

Tammy Turner-Vorbeck (2006; see also Turner-Vorbeck, 2005; Marsh & Turner-Vorbeck, 2010; Turner-Vorbeck & Marsh, 2008) presents a critique of the modernist concept of "family" that is prevalent in the present social studies curriculum and pedagogy. According to

Turner-Vorbeck, a poststructural examination of the conception of family suggests that modernist social science discourses have developed “a normative conception of what defines a ‘family’ as well as what constitutes a normal, healthy, and thus, valued ‘family’.” Forms of family that divert from the so-called standards (e.g.: single-parent, same-sex couples, gender fluid or non-conforming couples, parents of adopted children, and grandparent as primary caregivers) often go unrecognized and unappreciated and even pathologized by labels such as “dysfunctional” or “morally wrong” (Turner-Vorbeck, 2006, p. 153). Referring to Chambers (2001), she argues that the academic discourses have followed governmental rhetoric and reproduced similar biases in upholding a white middle-class, success-driven, nuclear version of the family as a norm. As well, the family policy is strongly influenced by research agendas explicitly shaped by political agendas. The government agencies fund that research generously, upholding the dominant family ideals. These academic and political discourses on the family are further supported and perpetuated by media discourses and their consistent portrayals of the normative and ideal family forms as natural, biological, heterosexual, cohabiting conjugal unit. These three discourses—social science, political, and media—perpetuate those discursive practices that normalize the traditionally held belief of a family and exclude any “other” version of a family as “dysfunctional” or “abnormal” in spite of the fact that existing social reality has deviated considerably from the traditional and ideological conception of family.

Given such prevalent conceptions of family, Turner-Vorbeck (2006) advocates for a social studies curriculum and pedagogy that interrupts this normativity and gives space to critical and plural forms of understanding the diverse ways in which people in society have organized their relationships. Giving attention to themes and issues which challenge commonsensical and traditional views of social institutions like family and including them in teaching and research is another characteristic of a social studies education rooted in post-discourses.

Popular Culture and Media as the “First Curriculum”

Trenia Walker (2006; see also Walker, 2010) presents an emphatic case for the incorporation of popular culture in social studies in order to develop “civic competence” and provide “democratic education.” Walker points out that our environment is a “media-saturated environment,” which not only provides us with the images of the world around us by means of television, films, video, magazines, posters, video games, and the Internet but also opens avenues to understand the world through those images. She is surprised at and critical of the fact that in spite of the power and pervasiveness of popular media, many educators simply ignore it in their classrooms. She considers media as the "first curriculum" whereby students construct most of their images about themselves, about others, and about the world.[17] She critiques those teachers who think that just by refusing to incorporate popular media in their classrooms, they can save students from the negative impacts of the former.

Rather than escaping from the reality of the deep-seated influence of popular media, Walker (2006) calls for the development of critical literacy following the works of Freire (1973) and Aronowitz and Giroux (1993). Critical literacy, she emphasizes, helps students develop the connection between knowledge and power. It helps them know how knowledge is socially constructed and serves specific economic, political, and social interests. Thus, critical literacy provides students with the tools of reading the world and their own lives and relationships critically and reflectively, allowing them to perceive the significance of the social change, and to take action to effect that change. According to her, social studies curriculum provides the needed space for the development of critical literacy. Walker proposes that we go

> beyond the traditional methods of merely teaching through popular media texts (for entertainment, relevancy or the perceived immediacy of experience) and engaging students to think critically about popular media texts… [This] approach helps students critically examine assumptions, attitudes and values underlying the production, mediation, and consumption (especially students' own consumption) of such texts and how they position students to assume particular social, gendered, and racial reading positions. (2006, p. 173)

Such an approach, Walker thinks, provides space for "civic competence," as defined in the National Council for the Social Studies (1994), as well as "democratic education," based on the ideas of Nelson (2001), Dewey (1916/1966), Giroux (1988), McLaren (1995), and Tucker and Evans (1996). The possibility of developing civic competence and providing democratic demands critical examination of social issues, active participation in the life of the community, fighting against social discrimination, and a global outlook to address large-scale problems such as ecological degradation (see also Walker & Taylor, 2014, 2015; White & Walker, 2007, 2012). Considering media and popular culture as the "first curriculum" and keeping critical literacy at the core of the educational experience respects the significance of incorporating wider influences that shape our views of realities and create narratives and myths in our minds. Such realization is the core of a postmodern view of knowledge and learning as socially constructed processes.

Global Education as an Integrative Postmodern Study

Elizabeth Heilman (2006; see also Heilman, 2008; Heilman, Amthor, & Missias, 2010; Gaudelli & Heilman, 2009) makes a strong case for including global education in social studies curriculum given the pressing political, economic, cultural, and environmental problems that plague the planet earth. She remarks that though issues of global concern have been part of social studies curriculum, the nature of global education presents distinctive philosophical and conceptual challenges and often contradictions between theorists, which needs careful and deliberate examination and exploration. As such, she carries out a critical and thorough analysis of the philosophical and conceptual claims and counter-claims to bring about substantial improvement with reference to the meaning and significance of "global" in social studies curriculum and teaching.

Heilman's (2006) primary goals are to: undermine the modernist idea (based on positivism and empiricism) of neutrality; question the usual subject area division; problematize concepts such as state, identity, power and culture; and pose global education as essentially an integrative postmodern study. Heilman recognizes and exposits upon four aspects of the theory of globalization:

> (1) The overarching philosophical rationale for global education and whether global citizenship should be understood as a "status" or as an inclusive "critical capacity"?; 2) What can be involved in cross-cultural understanding and "knowing" the other?; 3) What is the meaning of culture?; And finally, 4) How might we think about the various media through which our global learning occurs? (p. 192)

Heilman (2006) opens up the debate between two strands of citizenship: "citizenship as status" and "citizenship as practice." Citizenship as status is given and available to those who are full members of a community and who are equal with respect to the rights and duties that comes with the status. Given that the concept of citizenship as status is confined to those who have the status, it has very limited implications for education, argues Heilman. She favours the concept of "citizenship as practices." It is more expansive, introduces an important "ethical dimension," highlights the need to make judgments that affect others, and demands that there be a willingness to listen to others across differences. She points out that these intellectual and ethical capacities are not particularly natural, and to develop these we need to provide thoughtful education to students and their teachers. Citizens, she argues, are not only law obeying passive people; true citizens need to be engaged with and bring about changes in the existing laws if they are in a conflict with ethical values. Heilman articulates that

> global education is fundamentally a moral, political and critical endeavor rooted in a particular idea of citizenship that asserts responsibility for all people, all species, and for the environment, and express faith in democratic dialogue and decision-making. (p. 192)

Heilman (2006) also questions the view of multiculturalism wherein other cultures can be known in their entirety and, thus, all differences and conflicts can be resolved. She remarks that "cross-cultural knowing is to begin with the idea that whoever the "other" is, the "other" can never be fully known and that coming to know across difference is an acutely difficult process" (p. 196). She considers it naive to think that one can know those perceived as "others" without any struggle or uncomfortable feeling of difference. To demand an appreciation of different perspectives is to undermine and underestimate the discomfort that comes with encountering difference. Heilman stresses that though the global citizenship requires "sincere and empathetic interpreters," it does not mean that the criticism of other individuals and cultures should be suspended. What is required is not superficial appreciation or criticism but a deeper examination of the world that is not composed of homogenous reality but of diverse, divergent, opposing belief systems. And such an examination, she thinks, needs imaginative and emotional capacities. She greatly emphasizes the need to incorporate postcolonial studies[18] and hybridity theory[19] to understand the term culture and its implications for global education.

Heilman (2006) also carries out a critical examination of media that often makes it hard for people to access the "real." She explains that besides formal curriculum and trips, it is the popular culture through mass media (also argued by Walker as discussed previously), that shapes students' imagination about other cultures. She refers to work of Baudrillard (1993) and explains how mass media create a hyperreality where truth does not exist. She warns us of using the popular culture and teaching resources with great caution and by employing critical analysis to make students aware of misinformation and cultural chauvinism. Following Merryfield (2001), Heilman urges for "globalizing" global education through literature, theories, and diverse practices that reflect the complexity of our world at the present time.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed the significance of postmodern and poststructural thinking regarding social studies education research and teaching. Through discussions of various case studies, I provided illustrations of what it means to teach and conduct research using postmodern themes, methodologies, and theories. Post-discourses have contributed to social studies education in a variety of ways. First, postmodernism provides a plethora of theoretical discourses for social studies scholars to deploy in their scholarly academic labour in order to deepen intellectual rigour, criticality, and practicality, and thereby challenge standardization and accountability pressures of the neoliberal era (Kincheloe, 2006; Merryfield, 2006). Post-discourses allow the possibility to challenge "undertheorization" in the field of social studies—due to the over dominance of practice in social studies research and largely positivistic orientation of the field's primary research journal, *TRSE*—with reference to its cardinal concepts of nation, state, identity, and citizenship (Crocco, 2006b). Finally, rather than replacing the existing curriculum and practices with new ones, postmodernism in social studies promotes a critical and reflexive engagement with existing disciplinary discourses and practices (Segall, 2006b; Segall, 2013).

While post-discourses have much to contribute to social studies education research and teaching, there are also areas where its goals and purposes need critical scrutiny. First, postmodernist thinkers tend to exaggeratedly associate modernism with positivism. Postmodernist critiques of positivism are valid, but the critiques of positivism have also been offered by several other traditions within modernism itself, including pragmatism, existentialism, and phenomenology. Moreover, besides these traditions, Marxism, psychoanalysis, and critical theory also fall within the gamut of modernist thinking and have contributed greatly to understanding social and individual problems and cannot reasonably be discarded for being "modernist." In fact, the basic principles of the Enlightenment, as well as the positivistic view of reality, were criticized by the modernist thinkers themselves. For example, Kant's critique of pure reason, the Marxist critique of the capitalist idea of progress, and the existentialist thinkers' (e.g., Schopenhauer, Kierkegaard, Nietzsche, and Heidegger) critique of the Enlightenment philosophers' emphasis on logic, intellect, science, linear concepts of historical progress and historicism, and technology, together paved the way for the emergence of postmodernist and post-structural thoughts (see Aylesworth, 2015; Hicks, 2011, 2018).

While postmodernist educators reflect on the oppressive conditions created by standards-based reforms and high-stakes standardized testing that are slowly and steadily eliminating social studies and arts from the school curriculum, they do not fully explain how these tendencies are linked with and can be explained through understanding the extent to which behaviorism and positivism is part and parcel of capitalist schooling and society.[20] As I will discuss in the next chapter on neoliberalism, capitalist society and its educational models appreciate and value commodification, productivity, and consumption. The importance given to antieducational standardized tests is nothing but an example of the predominance of positivism and behaviourism, which appreciate measurement, comparison, and competition. Their popularity is obvious in a capitalist system which needs and supports instrumental and mechanistic views of education. Therefore, a true critique of the positivistic and behavioristic tendencies in education has to be accompanied by a critique of the capitalist worldview.

Additionally, while postmodernism is sympathetic to issues of social injustice, it does not fully delve into why injustice exists in the first place. There is little concern over how the capitalist economy gives rise to social injustice and is reflected through poverty, unemployment, and poor funding of schooling. There is a lack of discussion of the expanding empire of capitalism through neoliberalism and neocolonialism spearheaded by the World Trade Organization, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund. There is little concern over the issues of war, nuclear crisis, and ecological problems. It is important that these problems be part of the postmodern social studies research agenda.

While recognizing the need to understand the contextuality and situatedness of a problem is valid and important, we cannot completely ignore the significance of grand narratives. There are issues and problems which operate at multiple levels and across communities. These issues change according to the local context but do not necessarily change in their basic structure. It is, for instance, important to investigate and examine how the basic principles of capitalism and neoliberalism (which dominates a majority of our world), and the preponderance of behaviourist and positivist thinking (which dominates most educational systems) operate in diverse contexts, globally as well as locally. Grand level theories, narratives, and analyses help us understand local contexts better when there is an openness to understanding how social, economic, and political forces operate and change at different levels and in different contexts.

What is the purpose of postmodernism in social studies education? Is it to replace modernism? Or, is it to keep the core values of modernism such as social justice, freedom, and equality and help social studies educators see how the limitations of modernist thinking might be overcome? One might ask: Is it essential to look at modernism and postmodernism from a dualistic lens? Is looking at them from a dualistic lens a mere academic exercise or is it a valuable approach for remedying the problems of our existence which are already very complicated? In my view, postmodernism is not a replacement but a critique of modernism which can aid in understanding cultural contexts and situations from diverse and relevant perspectives without undermining or imposing grand narratives and undervaluing the ideals of social justice and equality.

NOTES

1. The key texts that are considered core of postmodern and poststructural thinking include (among others): Foucault's *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of Prison* (1977), Derrida's *Of Grammatology* (1976), Deleuze and Guattari's *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (1987), Lyotard's *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (1984). For a brief and general introduction to postmodernism, see Christopher Butler's (2002) *Postmodernism: A Very Short Introduction*. Also recommended is Michael Crotty's chapter on postmodernism in *The Foundations of Social Research* (1998).
2. In the discipline of curriculum theory, the need and relevance of postmodernism and poststructuralism emerged from a growing discontentment with positivism and scientism which reduce teaching and learning

to measurable outcomes. Understanding and engaging with Rorty's "linguistic turn," Foucault's emphasis on the relationship of "knowledge and power," and Derrida's stress on "deconstruction" provided the foundation for the "postmodern turn" in education (Cherryholmes, 2006). With this turn, instrumentalist, behaviourist, and positivistic educational perspectives were questioned and critiqued at their very foundation.

Postmodernism as a mode of inquiry has helped educators develop diverse and deeper perspectives on curriculum, teaching, and learning. Often associated with the term reconceptualization and the broader shift from developing curriculum towards understanding it, a postmodern view of curriculum rejects "scientific" curriculum development and the Tylerian rationale (Miller, 2010). It, on the contrary, emphasizes the "contextual", "experiential" and "autobiographical" nature of educational experience. A postmodern perspective undermines the theory-practice divide and considers the two as deeply connected and mutually informing.

Postmodernism values the understanding that a singular perspective cannot possibly explain all the dimensions of a problem. Given that education is a complex subject and is influenced by diverse historical, political, economic, sociological, cultural, and psychological conditions, it needs to be studied from multiple perspectives based on inter-disciplinary, cross-disciplinary, and trans-disciplinary approaches. By showing the limitations of grand narratives and rationalist thought, postmodernism appreciates the significance of contextuality and the situatedness of the problem, which is very significant for the study of the educational experience.

The key scholars to have taken up postmodernism in the field of curriculum studies include (among others): William Doll (1993), Patrick Slattery (2013), Taubman (2009), and of course Cleo Cherryholmes (1988). See Chapter 9 of *Understanding Curriculum* (Pinar et al., 1995) for a synoptic view of postmodern and poststructural research in curriculum studies.

3. It was Avner Segall, Elizabeth E. Heilman, and Cleo H. Cherryholmes who, by means of their landmark book, *Social Studies—The Next Generation: Re-searching in the Postmodern* (2006a), ushered in a postmodern turn in social studies education at the beginning of the new millennium. This chapter draws on the essays published in this book as well as more recent research on the subject. *Social Studies—The Next Generation. Re-searching in the Postmodern* is an edited anthology of seminal articles that provides poststructural foundations to social studies research and teaching. The editors and the contributors of this remarkable collection question and critique the predominance of modernist epistemologies, ontologies, methodologies, and themes in social studies

research and teaching. Such preponderance of modernist thinking has not allowed social studies education to fully participate in and learn from intellectual developments in postmodern, postcolonial, poststructuralist, critical feminist, and cultural studies scholarship. By showcasing the works of those social studies scholars who have been influenced by postmodern and poststructural discourses, this collection very well examines and problematizes usually taken-for-granted notions pertinent to social studies, such as nation, identity, citizenship, state, culture, multiculturalism, and global citizenship, among others. Since its publication, *Social Studies—The Next Generation* has been a valuable contribution to the field of social studies that offers a plethora of post- perspectives to view social reality. It has served, and will continue to do so, as an authoritative postmodern reader for students, teachers, and researchers in the field of social studies. (See Kumar [2009] for a detailed and critical review of this book.)

4. *Theory and Research in Social Education* (*TRSE*) is North America's one of the most respected scholarly journals devoted to studying all aspects of social studies education. For the history and evolution of the *TRSE*, see Binford and Eisworth (2013) and Nelson and Stanley (2013).
5. The guest editor for this special issue was Jack Nelson. This was the first and the only issue of *Social Education* (*SE*) that explored critical perspectives and their relevance for social studies (Segall, 2013). In 2013, twenty-eight years later, *Theory and Research in Social Education* (*TRSE*) presented a special issue (41:4, 2013) on "Critical Studies and Social Education: 40 Years of *TRSE*." This issue was edited by William Stanley and Jack Nelson.
6. Since the late 1990s, Segall and Heilman (2006, p. 23) note, *TRSE* has published two special issues, titled "Connected Citizenship" (29:3, 2001; Guest Editor: Kevin D. Vinson) and "Social Studies and Sexual Identity" (30:2, 2002) as well as several individual pieces which incorporate postmodern themes in their research e.g., Bloom (1998), Reichenbach (1998), Segall (1999), Smith (1996), Vinson (1999), and Werner (2002), among others.
7. Cleo Cherryholmes was a political scientist and educational theorist famous for his work on postmodernism and pragmatism. Cherryholmes' notable works include (among others): *Power and Criticism* (1988), *Reading pragmatism* (1999), and the article "Social knowledge and citizenship education: Two views of truth and criticism" (1980). *Theory and Research in Social Education* (*TRSE*) dedicated its special issue (41:4, 2013) on "Critical Studies and Social Education: 40 Years of *TRSE*" to honour Cleo Cherryholmes for being the founding editor of *TRSE* and for his contributions to critical studies (Stanley & Nelson, 2013).

8. See Segall (2013) for examples of how post-discourses and methodologies can be included in social studies research and teaching in various disciplinary and thematic contexts.
9. See the next chapter for a detailed discussion on how neoliberalism has emerged as a dominant paradigm of education, and an explanation of how it has degraded the educational experience by emphasizing standardization, testing, and measurement.
10. See Foucault (1977, 1983).
11. Donna Haraway developed the idea of "situated knowledge" as a critique of postmodern relativism (denial of a universal truth) and positivistic empiricism (which is only interested in verifiable knowledge). Haraway considered postmodernism and empiricism as extreme positions, and she proposed the idea of situated knowledge as a middle path between the two (Buchanan, 2018). Situated knowledge considers the nature of reality dynamic and creative rather fixed and mechanical, and it aims to provide focused, context-bound, and subjective interpretation of the world.
12. Brenda Trofanenko is the Canada Research Chair in Education, Culture, and Community at Acadia University (Nova Scotia, Canada). Her research on museums and their significance for education, citizenship, and identity formation is exemplary. More information about her research is available here: https://education.acadiau.ca/dr-brenda-trofanenko.html.
13. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of how the curriculum is used as a process of conditioning students along political, ideological, and religious beliefs in Asia.
14. See Kincheloe and Berry (2004) for a discussion of "bricolage," which recognizes the significance of complexity in educational research and the need of working from multiple paradigms in order to get a deeper understanding of the subject under consideration.
15. For a deeper philosophical and existential understanding of the human condition, ridden with violence and crisis of consciousness, consider reading the work of Indian philosopher and educator, J. Krishnamurti (1953, 1954). My research on meditative inquiry and its educational significance (A. Kumar, 2013, 2014; A. Kumar & Downey, in press) is inspired by Krishnamurti's work.
16. See Pinar's (2011, 2012) notion of *currere* and autobiography, Krishnamurti's (1953) emphasis on self-knowledge, and my concept of meditative inquiry (A. Kumar, 2013, 2014; A. Kumar & Downey, in press) for further exploration of the significance of self-understanding in the educational experience.
17. Drawing upon the work Krishnamurti, I have also discussed the concept of conditioning influences, of which media is a part, and the process of

image-making and how the two create a misrepresentation of life and relationships (A. Kumar, 2013; A. Kumar & Downey, in press).

18. Post colonial studies is the field of study devoted to explorations of the experience of colonization and its effects. Key theorists in this area include Edward Said and Homi Bhabha, among others (see Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2013).
19. "…Hybridity commonly refers to the creation of new transcultural forms within contact zones produced by colonization" (Ashcroft et al., 2013, p. 108). Homi Bhabha has extensively theorized the "third space," by often making use of the term hybridity, that is created between two cultures due to colonization.
20. See the next chapter for a discussion on how neoliberalism combines positivism, behaviourism, and capitalism in the contemporary world.

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CHAPTER 8

The Menace of Neoliberal Education Reforms: Where Capitalism, Behaviourism, and Positivism Meet

Introduction

Neoliberalism is one of the most insidious incarnations of capitalist logic which informs social, economic, and educational policies in most parts of the contemporary world. With its emphasis on prescriptive and scripted curricula, standardized testing, and corporatization of public education, it has proven itself extremely deleterious to a rich and meaningful educational experience for students and their teachers.[1]

Neoliberalism has been a dominant "political and economic paradigm" over the last 35 years and represents those policies and practices which allow private corporations to control society and its institutions, including education, and reap huge profits. On the one hand, neoliberal policies emphasize privatization, free market, and consumer choice, and on the other hand, they persuade the state to withdraw its welfare functions and reduce funding to social services such as education and health. Economically, neoliberal policies have resulted in massive social and economic inequalities among individuals and nations. On a global scale, neoliberal economic policies, created by the US government and international financial institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, have destroyed the economies of developing countries,[2] while local elites and transnational corporations have earned huge profits. Politically, neoliberalism has given rise to a "formal democracy" where citizens remain mere "spectators," without any significant democratic participation or contribution to the functioning of the state.

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Educationally, neoliberalism has resulted in reduced funding in public education, the imposition of standardized tests to regulate freedom of teachers in the name of "accountability," and the privatization and corporatization of schooling (Ross and Gibson, 2007b, pp. 2–3).[3]

In my view, neoliberalism derives its power from combining capitalism, behaviourism, and positivism, and, therefore is antieducational to its very core. Capitalist society and its schooling give value to what can be commodified through production, quantification, marketing, and consumption. The neoliberal emphasis on standards, measures, examinations, grades, control, regulation, and predictability is the very manifestation of positivism and behaviourism—the philosophical and psychological sources behind all the mania around testing and comparison. Behaviourism and positivism value objective, measurable, reproducible, and transmissible knowledge and are bound to be popular in a capitalist society for they fit the very notion of commodification on which the capitalist society rests. It is my contention that capitalism, behaviourism, and positivism always go together as also exemplified by the classic work of F. W. Taylor (1911) *The Principles of Scientific Management*.[4] Together they inform neoliberalism in the contemporary world, as I will discuss in this chapter.

This chapter serves two purposes: to discuss in detail the ways in which neoliberalism has been negatively influencing the field of education and to consider the ways in which the problem of neoliberalism can be understood and challenged.

In What Ways Does Neoliberalism Control and Degrade the Educational Experience? Standardization, Comparison, and Alienation

Neoliberal education reforms, or what Pinar (2012) calls "school deform," have profoundly and deviously harmed the educational experience of students and their teachers. While the antieducational nature of examinations and testing, especially standardized testing, and the consequent comparison, sorting, and ranking have always been criticized by progressive educators (see, for example, Kohn, 2000; Krishnamurti, 1953; Macdonald, 1995), under neoliberal era this emphasis on measurement, comparison, and public display have caused serious implications. Now standardized tests are being used as a way to compare, and even shame, schools, teachers, students, administrators, and parents publicly in the name of so-called accountability. What is even more horrendous is the reliance on the performance of these tests to hire, fire, and promote teachers and to determine the level of funding a school is eligible for regardless of its context—the infrastructure and facilities, the background of the students, and the problems of the community where the school is located. The ever-deepening emphasis on measurement and comparison, reward and punishment, and corporatization and marketization, is a strong indication that neoliberal reforms have combined capitalism, behaviourism, and positivism in the most detrimental ways as far as teaching, learning, and the whole educational experience is concerned. In this section, I discuss why and how neoliberalism has become an educational nightmare.

Neoliberal reforms, which have transformed the educational system according to the market principles of accountability, choice, and efficiency, emerged as a critique of Keynesian economic policies[5] that were implemented in North America and Europe after Second World War. Keynesian policies were deemed ineffective in providing an adequate rate of profit to corporations, and for offering "too many" personal rights to individuals. Neoliberal policies, on the other hand, were considered highly promising for corporate growth because they allowed increased trade, decreased taxation and regulation, and decreased public support, as well as privatization of public services such as health, transportation, and education. David Harvey (2005), in his famous book on the subject, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, explicates,

> Neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade. (p. 2)

Significantly, the neoliberal goals of privatization and liberalizations are not just confined to the borders of a country but are also global in their scope. The dominance of multinational corporations throughout the world, as well as the World Bank–IMF policies (which are controlled by and therefore biased in favour of the developed world and which compel developing countries to reduce welfare function), are also manifestations of neoliberal social and economic policies (Hursh, 2007).[6]

According to Dave Hill (2007), a British critical and Marxist educator, neoliberalism is very different from classic laissez-faire capitalism. While the latter desired the least possible state interference in the market, the former depends on using the state and its ideological, political, and legal apparatuses in facilitating global capitalism. The main function of neoliberalism, Hill argues, is to create a "free market global economy" where the developed world can freely and legally exploit developing countries, and rich people everywhere can exploit and control poor people. Such exploitation and control are accomplished through a devious power nexus between corporations and politicians that forces the state to withdraw its welfare contributions. Such nexus is supported by conservative and fundamentalist people afraid of minorities and different cultures. In Hill's view, the capitalist class in Britain and the USA has three "business agendas" in the neoliberal era, and all of which are antithetical to good education: producing labour power for capitalist enterprise; privatizing education for profit-making within the UK and the USA; allowing British and the USA-based Edubusinesses and those based elsewhere to profit from privatization of educational activities internationally (p. 108) (see also Hill, 2009a, 2009b; Hill & R. Kumar, 2009).

David Hursh (2007) identifies several groundless rationalizations that the capitalist governments put forward to support neoliberal education reforms. First, in order to control public resistance to cuts in social services, neoliberal governments shift social responsibility from the community to the individual. In the context of education, this is done by limiting success to an individual merit whereby schooling is a matter of "consumer choice" and therefore one who chooses wisely succeeds. "Those who work hard," Hursh argues, "are admitted to good schools and do well; those who do not work hard have only themselves to blame. Inequality is explained as difference in personal efforts" (p. 26).

Secondly, the proponents of neoliberal reforms ignore developments and improvements especially with reference to the declining racial achievement gap, and without any concrete evidence and rationalization, blame education for economic and social problems in the US. It is due to such negative propaganda that the public's naïve hopes are raised in educational improvements by means of introducing and implementing antieducational notions of standardization, high-stakes testing, and competition (Hursh, 2007, p. 27). These are quantitative and behaviouristic assessment practices and do little to offer deep and meaningful education in schools.

Significantly, the reliance on standards and testing and on private, for-profit, competitive markets also demonstrates that the neoliberal strategy intends to control the education system by focusing on the output of schools in terms of their performance on high-stakes tests with no intention to improving teaching and learning in the actual classrooms. Thus, under neoliberal logic, it is the schools who are solely responsible for meeting the targets that the policymakers deem appropriate, which has led to the emergence of an "evaluative state" (Whitty, Power, & Halpin, 1998) that "steers from the distance" (Ball, 1990; Hursh, 2007).

Without sound reasoning, supporters of the standardization movement argue that standardized test scores will provide parents and teachers with "proven," "dependable," and "objective" ways to assess student learning and progress. In the view of policymakers and their corporate allies, such "evidence-based" and "scientific" assessment procedures are the only sources of "objective assessment," because teachers' "subjective biases" make them incapable of assessing their students' learning "objectively and accurately." This mistrust of teachers' capabilities, professional judgement, and knowledge is one chief characteristic of school reforms under neoliberalism. In my practice as a teacher educator, I often hear from my students—most of whom are public school teachers—the stories of a lack of public, administrative, and political trust in their work and abilities, and deep faith in standardized tests and the education "scientists" and "experts" who make them.

Neoliberalism uses the state apparatus to meet its economic goals. The federal No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act[7] of the US government, and its later iteration Race to the Top or what Pinar (2012) succinctly calls "race to nowhere," are significant examples of neoliberalism's political underpinnings in the recent educational history. These neoliberal inspired government acts and regulations use students' scores on standardized tests to determine whether schools are making "adequate yearly progress." Ironically, according to these policies, the schools that fail to make "adequate progress" must generate funds for tutoring their students. Such funding often comes from the private for-profit organization and faith-based corporations. Even worse, "failing" schools might also be converted to a charter school or to a private corporation because of the latter's perceived effectiveness (Hursh, 2007). Such corporatization of schooling characterize education policy under the Bush Administration and has continued under the Obama and Trump governments.

According to Pauline Lipman (2007), the NCLB and related policies have been responsible for intensifying race and class inequality in the context of neoliberal globalization. They have been successful in bringing "under one umbrella social conservatives, proponents of the market, and business interests concerned with the preparation of a literate and disciplined workforce through education standards and measurements" (Lipman, 2007, p. 39). The advocates of neoliberal reforms consider rigid accountability measures as justified means to hold public schools responsible for their inability to educate disadvantaged children, particularly children of a racial minority (Lipman, 2007; also see Lipman, 2004, 2011, 2013a, 2013b, 2017). Strict accountability measures are considered to exhibit a "stronger political will" working for the improvement of schools so that they may raise their students' score on maths and literacy tests.

Given that the effectiveness of teachers, students, and school administrators is linked to performance on high-stakes tests, test preparation rather than meaningful education becomes the focus of teaching and learning. This, naturally, forces the schools that score low on standardized tests and serve racial minorities and disadvantaged students, to buy expensive commercial test preparation books so that students may perform better on the tests instead of using the same money to improve their school's libraries and laboratories. Rich schools that serve white middle-class populations and score high on the tests, are able to offer a more progressive educational experience to their students. Such unequal educational practices, underpinned by racial and economic inequalities, further exacerbate and institutionalize educational disparities among students and thereby society. Thus, standardization intensifies racism and racial prejudices. It focuses on improving the "deficient" students rather than looking at why and how schools are unable to provide rich educational experiences to all its students instead of considering them incapable of learning based on their racial, cultural, and economic background (Lipman, 2007; also see Haney, 2001; McNeil, 2000).

One telling example of how the NCLB devalued America's cultural diversity was the requirement for conducting tests in English after three years in US schools. This is a gross lack of recognition of the effectiveness of bilingual education, as is supported and validated by research (Cummins, 2000; Gándara & Escamilla, 2017), as well as of students' home language and culture. Moreover, the pressure to pass standardized tests in English is so intense that bilingual teachers are bound to sacrifice fluency of their students' home language. Thus, NCLB and related education reform acts and policies attack bilingualism[8] and multiculturalism as well as serve market's demand for an assimilated and easily managed English-speaking workforce (Lipman, 2007, p. 47).

A test-driven education undermines the possibilities of a critical thinking and reflection-based teaching and learning environment. Instrumental conceptions of teaching that link it to standardized test preparation promote an emphasis on uniformity of responses rather than creative and divergent thinking; expects memory-based and performance-oriented learning rather than deep understanding; and imposes homogenous and standardized conceptions of the nature of knowledge instead of appreciating diverse, contextual, and cultural bases of knowledge. An instrumentalist and test-driven education goes against the principles of transformative and reflective approaches to teaching including critical pedagogy (Darder, Baltodano, & Torres, 2009; Darder, Mayo, & Paraskeva 2016; Kanpol, 1999), autobiography (Pinar, 2011, 2012), and meditative inquiry (A. Kumar, 2013, 2014; A. Kumar & Downey, in press).

In the UK, neoliberal policies came on the educational scene through the Education Reform Acts of 1980, 1988, 1992, which introduced national curriculum, standardized testing, and marketization of education as well as the notion of school league tables (Leckie & Goldstein, 2017, p. 193). Guided by neoliberal logic, the UK schools with open enrolment receive funding based on the number of students in the school. Strikingly, schools do not receive any additional support for students with disabilities and low-parental income, or for English as a second language learners. Such policy induces ugly competition between schools which fight for the white middle-class students because they will need fewer financial resources and will likely raise the school's aggregated test scores published in the annual "school league table."[9] Those schools with high-test scores are likely to admit high-scoring students to their few openings, whereas the schools with low scores are desperate to retain their "more able middle-class students." Schools serving diverse students and needs struggle to retain their students and funding. Already advantaged schools gain, whereas disadvantaged schools lose. Moreover, the market system also exacerbates the inequalities within schools. Since secondary schools in the UK are judged based on what grades students attain on their examinations, schools focus on those students who are seen as likely to achieve a grade of "C" or better and pay less attention to those who are likely to be failures, again typically students of colour, students with disabilities, and students who are English-language learners (Hursh, 2007, p. 30). What could be more unjust and barbaric—especially when it is done in the name of "education reform"! This is, indeed, "school deform" (Pinar, 2012) under the garb of "school reform."

According to Vinson and Ross (2007), neoliberalism inspired Standards-Based Education Reform (SBER) has created a unique situation where Foucault's (1977) notions of "spectacle" and "surveillance[10]" are merged together in the present-day political and educational landscape. According to Foucault (1977; see also Foucault, 1972), both spectacle and surveillance have been used by those in power to maintain control over the public. But whereas Foucault characterized ancient civilization as the "civilization of spectacle" (observation of few by many) and modern civilization as a "civilization of panoptic surveillance" (observation of the many by few), Vinson and Ross argue that in the neoliberal era the two have merged together to bring about a more "insidious and problematic gaze based disciplinarity" (p. 60) in social spheres including school education (see also Ross, 2017; Vinson, 2006; Vinson & Ross, 2003).

Under neoliberal school reforms, administrators and bureaucrats in power "monitor" schools' performance on standards-based high stakes tests, and the results of the performance on these tests are displayed publicly through media reports to maintain "accountability." Schools, students, and teachers are ranked and compared with each other, very much like the "league table" scenario in the UK discussed above, which brings about fear and competitiveness and does nothing to enrich the educational experience. Such monitoring by bureaucrats of the test scores and the public display of these scores are the examples of surveillance and spectacle, respectively, which together form a "gaze of disciplinarity" (Vinson & Ross, 2007) to control, regulate, and manipulate teachers, students, principals, and the common public. In the neoliberal ethos, notions like "accountability" and "standards" are used to create fear in teachers and principals and mistrust in public of the effectiveness of the schools. Such fear-ridden educational environment brings about the false conflict between schools and the common public. Fear of authority indeed has historically been a device to maintain control over the public and is again being utilized as an important part of neoliberal reforms.

From the perspective of good teaching and learning, neoliberal reforms add nothing except negativity and meaninglessness. The false belief in these superficial, memory-based, competition-driven, high-stakes standards-based tests undermines the complicated nature of the classroom—characterized by diversities of cultures, intellect, and creative abilities—and the possibilities and potentialities it may offer for rich teaching and learning experiences. By centralizing performance on tests instead of deep and authentic learning, neoliberal education allows people in power to control the curriculum, learning, and assessment which should be the domain of the educators, not politicians. Through exercising their control, powerful elites force their notions of "good education" and "discipline" on students, teachers, administrators, classrooms, schools, and districts through a chain of "panoptic surveillance": teachers survey students, administrators survey teachers, and school boards and other public officials survey them all (Vinson & Ross, 2007, p. 70). This chain is linked by the fear of authority, domination, and control and serves no educational purpose. This fear is further intensified when schools are compared based on their performance on these tests publicly in media. Naturally, parents panic when they see that their child's school is not doing "well." Out of their own anxiety and fear, they pressurize the school, school boards, and other authorities to rectify this situation. The fear that these tests produce shifts everybody's attention from the true meaning and purpose of education. In this state, where the discussion over the meanings, purposes, and aims of education is absent (Noddings, 2009), public officials, and the elites they represent, take over curriculum, teaching, and assessment and thereby control teachers, schools, and administrators.

Given that these tests take away from teachers their academic freedom to choose their curriculum and develop their unique pedagogy and assessment practices in the light of the context of their lived classroom, they bring about a social and psychological condition that Marx (1988) calls *alienation* (Vinson & Ross, 2007). Alienation, in the Marxist sense, implies a historical condition due to capitalism where human beings become disconnected from their environment, fellow human beings, and from the labour of their product (Skand, 2013).

Alienation is kind of psycho-social-economic phenomenon which brings about inner and outer barriers within and between people. The lack of deep relationship and meaning within and between people and their work is detrimental to healthy, productive, and holistic living. Alienation happens when human beings are treated instrumentally rather than with a sense of humanity, dignity, and freedom which provide the ground for developing their full creative potential in their work and in relationships. Overreliance on tests as a means to assess learning forces both teachers and their students to treat knowledge in an instrumental way where the whole purpose of teaching and learning is geared to perform well on a standardized test. This makes teaching and learning a repetitive, uncreative, and reproductive activity where teachers and learners have no deeper connection to the curriculum. Such lack of connection is akin to what happens in the capitalist production process where labour is alienated from what it produces. A capitalist system thrives on alienated workers, and, given that capitalism is at the root of neoliberalism, it forces alienation on teachers and students and destroys their authentic connection with their work—teaching and learning. Intrinsic love of learning is replaced by extrinsic rewards and the fear of losing those rewards. Alienation helps people in power to maintain their political, economic, and racial hegemony over schools by reducing teachers and students to agents of reproduction rather than creative and critical human beings who question the taken-for-granted assumptions and challenge oppression.

As conformity and compliance with these tests lead to an increased number of graduating students, promotion of teachers, and greater funding for schools, everybody must buy into the neoliberal logic. The consequences of not complying with these tests are obvious yet despicable: graduation rates lower, teachers who object to it lose their jobs, and schools who either do not perform better or do not conform lose required funding. As a result of this problematic connection between tests and funding, Vinson and Ross (2007, p. 71) argue, “the connection between school knowledge and economics intensifies, a condition made more dangerous in view of the expanding gap between the wealthy and the middle and lower classes.” These tests, while appearing “objective” and harmless, contribute immensely to the exacerbation of economic inequalities and undermine the possibilities of good education for all.

Patrick Shannon (2007) locates the current hype of high-stakes testing and “efficient instruction,” with special reference to reading and literacy, in the “progressive era,” nearly 100 years ago when the business principles of economy, psychological behaviourism of Thorndike and Skinner (Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery, & Taubman, 1995), and educational technology were combined together in the hope of bringing improvement and success to all sectors of society including education (e.g., Taylor, 1911). Such an unfortunate combination of capitalism, behaviourism (and its philosophical ally positivism), and technology gave rise to a host of antieducational ideas and practices. Standardization and high-stakes testing[11] are nothing but various representations and iterations of the "scientific" and means-to-an-end thinking which values prescriptive, predictable, and measurable instruction. One of the most negative outcomes of neoliberal education reforms, therefore, Hill (2007) contends, is the "loss of critical thought." Due to the marketization, bureaucratization, and commodification of education—in schools and universities—education has become an instrumental, mechanical, and outcomes-oriented activity rather than something that requires intelligence, professional judgment, and critical thinking on part of the teachers. Hill provides examples of how in the UK the term "teacher education" has been replaced with "teacher training" to ensure that teacher colleges simply produce a skilled workforce to teach what is required by the state and the market rather than critical thinkers who question the hegemonic nature of social and economic reality. Neoliberalism thus reinstates Tylerian rationality in schools and teacher education programs.

Shannon (2007) relies on Marxian analysis to understand the phenomena of the proliferation of business practices in reading programs and teachers' compliance with these practices. In the "capitalist logic," in which the primary interest is to maximize profits, a business must be predictable. In this "logic," everything that is required in a factory—raw materials, the environment, and worker—are instrumental components of a predictable and highly "efficient" and organized production process. This logic is then extended to all forms of human activity including education with the hope of making them predictable and therefore profitable. Prescriptive curriculum and instruction and the tests based on them will increase predictability of learning, the logic continues, and therefore will "reform" the schools and ensure student success.

According to Shannon (2007), two cardinal principles of Marxist theory, namely, reification and alienation, can help us understand why so many teachers, administrators, and taxpayers have become victim to the capitalist logic and rationalization that support prescriptive and scripted curricula and high-stakes testing.

Reification literally means to make a thing (Bray, 2013). It implies "objectification" or "thingification." That is, reification turns an idea or abstraction into an object or a thing. For example, the word "society" is an abstraction, but it is used as if it is a reality. Human beings—thinking, feeling, and acting beings—are a living reality, but society is an abstraction, a concept. In another related sense, something is reified—turned into something or perceived in a different way—when an "object" begins to act like a "subject" and becomes more important than the "subject" itself. Scripted curricula are a case in point.

Scripted curricula, which are commercially produced to make a profit, are seen as a viable and better replacement to a teacher. These are standardized, prepared by "educational scientists," and are supposed to be implemented regardless of context, culture, and situation of the school, classroom, teacher, and the learner. These commercially produced curricula are produced for profit and sold to school boards to "solve" reading and other "learning difficulties" among their students. As these scripted curricula and instructional materials—or "curriculum as planned" (Aoki in Aoki, Pinar, & Irwin, 2005)—originate away from the everyday lived world[12] of the teachers, it reduces teachers to the "installers" (Aoki in Aoki et al., 2005) of curriculum whose only job is to implement the prescribed curriculum according to pre-decided sequence and time allotment. The significance of these instructional materials is reified or heightened to such an extent, given their promise of predictability and performance on tests, that even the thought of teaching without them appears illogical and counter-intuitive. This treacherous and irrational deception is nothing but reification. It takes away the humanness from human activities like teaching and learning, and teachers and students become mere instruments of capitalist and neoliberal conceptions of schooling. It becomes most dangerous when teachers, students, administrators, and the wider public buys into this propaganda and work like automatons rather than intelligent and thoughtful human beings. The curriculum then becomes not an educational experience but a thing that separates rather than connect teachers and students. Its purpose is not to serve who it is supposed to—teachers and students—but capitalism.

Alienation, as discussed above, is psycho-social-economic process that disconnects people from their environment, fellow human beings, and their work. The prescriptive and scripted curricula, which disconnects teachers from their freedom to determine the knowledge they want to share with students and the way they want to teach and assess their students' learning, alienates teachers from their professional practice and the joy of teaching that drives their passion. The standardized curricula naturally force students to focus on the scripts and tests rather than pursue their own inner impulse and thereby suppresses their development as creative and critical human beings. Teachers and students are separated from their vocation and from each other in order to prove their worth on meaningless and antieducational tests. In such an alienated and reified ethos, the possibility of teachers' academic freedom to choose their curriculum and teach and assess in the way is best suitable for their students is considered an unacceptable "rebellion" not only to the whole activity of standardization but also to the capitalist state that sponsors such activities.

Neoliberalism permeates the entirety of the educational system, and higher education system is also not out of its ambit. Like K-12 schools, neoliberal policies in the higher education sector are resulting in marketization and academic capitalism by redefining educational efficiency and accountability in market terms and by commodifying the process of curriculum development and student-teacher relationships (Cannella & Koro-Ljungberg, 2017; Giroux, 2014; Levidow, 2007; Scott, 2016).[13]

Neoliberal education reform, and the related phenomena of the declining government's financial support to institutions of higher education, puts pressure on universities to gear their education to market and cater to the "age of information" and "knowledge economy" in order to raise their productivity to survive.[14] Instead of being places for deep academic learning and research, universities are now expected to package knowledge, deliver "flexible" and "competency-based" education, provide adequate training for "knowledge workers," and produce more workers at lower cost using Information Communication Technology (ICT) (Levidow, 2007). Universities, thus, have begun to function more like a corporation whose primary function is to serve the market and industry and make a profit rather than create knowledge to improve social conditions.

Guided by the neoliberal agenda, the purpose of emphasizing ICT, Levidow (2007) argues is not necessarily to enhance understanding and skills but rather to bring down the cost and increase the profits. Of course, ICT is a like any other tool and it does what it is expected to. It is not ICT that is problematic; it can and has been used to increase accessibility, support incremental and paced learning, and connect with peers virtually. If, however, it is used not to aid teaching and learning but to make a profit, as it is happening now, it also has negatives implications for the educational experience.

Firstly, given that ICT is being employed to catch more students, it is helping the commodification and standardization of education. Given its Internet dependence, it significantly reduces personal contact between the teachers and students and among students. They can interact virtually, but such interaction is more informational than dialogical and meditative.[15] This brings about a lack of connectivity and community and can negatively affect motivation and engagement (e.g. see Kraut et al., 1998; Xu & Jaggars, 2013). Incorporation of ICT, and in many cases the pressure to adopt it, forces teachers and students to take an interest in learning about technology and keep themselves abreast with the development of new software and hardware. It is not an overestimation to conclude that the primary reason for a push for ICT is not necessarily about finding ways to improve educational experiences and services but about its marketability. ICT is, therefore, another example of reification and alienation and serves the purpose of managing, disciplining, exploiting, and expelling human labour in the neoliberal capitalist society (Levidow, 2007, pp. 240–241). It seems now as if a good education is equivalent to using technology. Unless there is a smartboard in the class and unless a professor is "flexible" to offer online courses, good education seems impossible for the ICT enthusiasts.

Levidow (2007) identifies three key strategies being employed by global capitalism to marketize higher education in Africa, Europe, and the US—and I would say in Asia (see e.g. Sarker, 2015)—namely, efficiency as progress, commodification, and globalization.

"Efficiency" is the buzzword of the neoliberal agenda globally and is a requirement to be employed in the contemporary capitalist society.[16] The neoliberal inspired education reforms consider lack of efficiency as the chief cause for unemployment. Therefore, they recommend prioritizing "efficiency," "competencies," and other "transferable" skills, and learning through ICT, to meet the requirements of the market rather than study academic knowledge. Such market-driven education supposedly would meet the accountability expected of the professors and universities. Education is turned into a means-to-an-end activity—an instrument—to get employment rather than as an opportunity to grow into creative, critical, and thoughtful human beings. Significantly, a recent report titled "Human Wanted" by Canada's largest bank, Royal Bank of Canada, emphasizes the significance of "human skills" like creativity, critical thinking, and social and emotional intelligence in education (Blatchford, 2018). While on the surface it appears a positive outlook of education, in the neoliberal ethos, the so-called human skills are being emphasized for their employability rather than human qualities that we need to have in order to live as creative, compassionate, and thoughtful human beings. The danger is that this emphasis on "human skills" may be just limited to creating a suitable workforce; the call for these skills would be seen as related to employability and marketability rather than a genuine call for educating holistic and integrated human beings who can respond to the crisis that our world is facing.

Given that education becomes a means-to-an-end activity in the capitalist logic, it is marketed as a commodity and a purchasable service to prospective customers—students. Education thus becomes like any other consumer product. One pays for it so that one may get the value out of it. And in a capitalist ethos, that value is employability. Given that many students in North America take out loans to complete their studies, the instrumentalism becomes even deeper. In such an educational environment critical thinking, deeper engagement with social and political issues, and a consideration for justice, sustainability, and self-reflection seem a waste of time unless they can also somehow be used as instruments to become more employable. Students burdened with loans and ever-growing living expenses are more interested in the financial outcome of the education. This is, obviously, not conducive to the larger goals and purpose of education: to raise human beings who are not self-centred and self-absorbed and for whom the greatest worry is not just financial security which, inevitably, fuels inward fear and outward competition. The purpose of education is to provide conditions so that students find their passions, learn deeply, grow holistically and live as just, democratic, and compassionate human beings.[17] The fact that education has become a commodity—another example of reification—has alienated teachers and students from each other and from themselves. Using ICT as one of the most marketable options thus further degrades the educational experience.

The commodification of education through ICT is also facilitating the linking of global educational markets. Trade agreements like the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS)[18] and structural adjustment conditionalities[19] have forced developing countries to open their markets to suppliers of educational commodities from the so-called developed world, and the policies of neoliberalism has brought about the privatization of higher education from the national private entrepreneurs in the name of more skill-oriented and marketable education. India is one such example where international alliances with "better" foreign universities and the establishment of private universities are mushrooming everywhere (Sarker, 2015). In this new era of neoliberal academic capitalism

(Jessop, 2017), the state is slowly cutting its funding to public institutions and more and more students are expected to pay for their education from parental income and savings or by means of educational loans. Neoliberal educational policies and their technical and instrumental orientation are causing higher educational institutions to commodify education rather than provide deep and meaningful experiences that open students' mind to their own creative potential and to the global crisis reflecting itself in numerous conflicts and problems at all levels of human existence.[20]

The policies of neoliberalism are antithetical to the principles of good education. Neoliberal global capitalism and its purposes, approaches, and criteria of success are fundamentally different from a deeply meaningful education. While true education promotes learning and sharing without discrimination, capitalism prioritizes maximizing profit through the accumulation of private wealth in a few hands and thus brings about inequalities in society. For education, the central motivational force is to learn and grow holistically, but for capitalism, the main motivation is to grow demand and desire for endless products of superficial nature and create a consumerist society. Capitalism relies on selling its products while true education longs for sharing freely. Whereas capitalism's standards rest on how many products are sold and for how long they monopolize the market, education's true measure of success is the possibility of posing deep and broad problems for the teachers and their students that may release their creative capacities and allow their full development as human beings (Hill, 2007, pp. 123–126; see also McMurtry, 1991).

In What Ways Can We Challenge Neoliberalism? Critical Pedagogy, Autobiography, and Meditative Inquiry

Academics in education (e.g. McLaren, 2007a; Pinar, 2012; Ross & Gibson, 2007a; Taubman, 2009) and other branches of social sciences and humanities (e.g. Harvey, 2005; Huehls & Smith, 2017; Johnson, 2014; Springer, 2010) have recognized and criticized the insidious and negative educational and social implications of neoliberal policies.[21] In the discipline of education, the strongest voice in the critique of neoliberalism and in suggesting possible ways to challenge this educational nightmare has emerged from the sector of critical pedagogy[22]. In this section, I will first discuss critical pedagogues' strategies to fight neoliberalism followed by a discussion of autobiography and meditative inquiry as other possible avenues to critique and respond to the neoliberal challenges.

Critical pedagogy considers social justice as the central goal of education. It draws on Marxist and neo-Marxist analyses of social, economic, and political structures and their inherent exploitative tendencies in order to examine educational problems and issues (A. Kumar, 2013). Key proponents of critical pedagogy include Paulo Freire (1973, 1996a, 1996b, 1998a, 1998b), Henry Giroux (1981, 1983, 1989), and Peter McLaren (2007a, 2007b; also see Pruyn & Charles, 2016), among others.[23] In view of critical education theorists, neoliberalism is an expression of a deepening and widening capitalist crisis that is engulfing the planet at all levels and in every possible way (Giroux, 2014; Hill, 2009b; Hill & R. Kumar, 2009; Lipman, 2007, 2013a; McLaren, 2007a, 2007b, also see Pruyn & Charles, 2016; Ross, 2017; Ross & Gibson, 2007a).

According to Peter McLaren[24] (2007b; also see Pruyn & Charles, 2016), a major critical pedagogue, neoliberal capitalism can be held responsible for: cutbacks in government expenditure on health, education, and housing; the creation of shanty towns in urban industrial areas; the concentration of women in low-wage subcontracted work; the depletion of natural resources due to over-exploitation; the exploitative financial policies and structural adjustment measures of World Bank and IMF; the rampant de-unionization; the expansion of temporary and part-time labour, and rapid growth of "casino capitalism" (pp. 257–258).

In the wake of the dangerous growing tide of global capitalism, McLaren argues strongly in favour of developing critical pedagogy as an approach to curriculum development, educational policy-making, and teaching practices. Critical pedagogy underscores the need to understand the political nature of education and thereby challenges the conception of knowledge as "neutral" or "objective." Critical pedagogy's basic project is to develop the opportunities of political struggle through educational means as a way of challenging the reification and alienation of human beings and their relationship with their own selves, other fellow human beings, the environment, and their work. "Revolutionary critical pedagogy" (Allman, 1999), McLaren argues, should be based on the works of Karl Marx (1988), Marx and Engles (1967), Paulo Freire (1973), and Antonio Gramsci (1971). Such theoretical resources will help educators in creating pedagogical and political spaces in schools, classrooms, and wider society to challenge neoliberalism and what lies in its roots—capitalism.

In McLaren's (2007b) view, critical revolutionary pedagogy comprises three key elements: demystification, opposition, and revolution. Engaging students in the "pedagogy of demystification" allows them to question and examine the taken-for-granted views that are dominant in society (e.g. standardized tests are necessary to reform schools) and unearth their meanings that are rooted in the political, historical, and economic structures of capitalism. Demystification creates the space where students can be introduced to the "pedagogy of opposition." It allows students to develop their independent thinking and political views based on their engagement with critical ideas and dialogue with each other, preparing them to challenge the capitalist world view. The ground prepared by pedagogies of demystification and opposition brings a sense of hope and creates the possibility of the "pedagogy of revolution" whereby students and teachers engage in fights against injustices in and outside of the schools (p. 279).

Recognizing the grave danger of the neoliberal project of global capitalism for education and society, Hill (2007) recommends that teachers and educators act as "cultural workers" (Freire, 1998b)—those who are not merely intellectualizing issues of social justice and equality but are also struggling for the same in public and political domains such as media and policy making. Additionally, Hill stresses the need to have "transformative intellectuals" (Giroux & McLaren, 1986) who enable student–teachers, teachers, and their students to learn about and critically engage with diverse perspectives and ideologies that keep egalitarianism at their core. Furthermore, while Hill agrees with the reproductionist theorists (Bernstein, 1973; Bourdieu, 1973; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Bowel & Gintis, 1976) that political and economic structures dominantly exert their control over teachers and students from above and force them to reproduce the existing order, he believes that education (and its participants: teachers, students, and parents) can also be the site of resistance (Giroux, 1983). He recommends exploiting the opportunity whatever and whenever it presents itself—in the classrooms, in media, in public meetings, and community activities—to challenge and resist the neoliberal-capitalist hegemony. Hill, like other Marxist critical educators, demands that researchers and academicians critique ideas that weaken the struggle for equality and justice including all "post" discourses (see also Hill, McLaren, , & Rikowski, 2002).

Vinson and Ross (2007), referring to Foucault's (1977) call for a continuing struggle against concentration of power that dominates educational and political institutions, urge teachers and students to boycott high-stakes tests initiative of neoliberal education reforms for they are hazardous for good teaching and learning (see also Gibson, Queen, Ross, & Vinson, 2009). Following the ideas of Guy Debord,[25] Vinson and Ross emphasize on "*dérive*" and "*detournement*" as potential concepts to counter neoliberal education reform. What do these two terms mean and how may they be interpreted in the context of neoliberal climate?

Dérive is a psychogeographical concept. Psychogeography refers to the study of how geographical conditions of cities may influence people's thinking, behaviour, and emotions (see Debord, 1981; see also Coverley, 2010). It explores the relationship between human psychology and geography in artistic, political, and revolutionary ways. As an essential part of psychogeography, *dérive* is like a free-flowing movement where the subject moves through the city in an experimental manner and encounters unexpected things which allow her to imagine the city-landscape in new and inventive ways—different from its contemporary capitalist, exploitative, and unequal ethos (see Debord, 1981). Referring to the members of the Situationist International, of which Debord was a leading member, Wark elucidates the meaning of *dérive* further:

> Their practice of *dérive*, a kind of wandering, was a way of detecting the ambiences of urban spaces as they might be experienced outside of the division of the space of the city between the places and times of work and leisure. The practice of *dérive* yielded a psychogeography, a way of mapping the ambiences of the city, finding in the everyday experience of the city hints of *how to build another kind of city for another kind of life*. The Situationists used *dérive* to find clues as to how to imagine what the city could be like after the abolition of wage labor and the freeing of all of time and space for, as they put it, "less mediocre games" (Wark, 2011). (Wark, 2015, p. 179, emphasis added)

In my understanding, the psychogeographical concept of *dérive* offers more probabilistic and possibilistic views of reality as opposed to deterministic ones. It is a concept that invokes hope, imagination, and creativity to build something new which is not governed by capitalistic thinking. *Detournement* is an aesthetic concept, it implies an imaginative way of creating something new (like *dérive*) from already existing artistic works. It is a kind of reinterpretation and a juxtaposition of the past and the present creative works into something completely new or "superior" (see Debord, 1981).

In my view, both *dérive* and *detournement*, as metaphorical concepts, signify the importance of freedom, creativity, and imagination in everyday living, which includes teaching and learning. In the context of neoliberal education reform, these two concepts may be interpreted as ways to help us avoid limiting our thinking and practices to what is imposed on us from the capitalist society. We should find means through reflection and awareness to claim our academic freedom to teach and learn in creative and imaginative ways and challenge the hegemony of a neoliberal education paradigm that is governed by capitalist, behaviourist, and positivist thinking. "Both *dérive* and *detournement* imply," argue Vinson and Ross (2007; see also Ross 2017), "the dangers and possibilities of challenging standardization, testing, image, surveillance, and spectacle as each intrudes on the human-ness of everyday and experiential living" (p. 81).

Recognizing the standardization, and therefore degradation of literacy and reading under the influence of neoliberal reforms, Shannon (2007) proposes what he calls "projects of possibility" to challenge the former. The project of possibility expects teachers to become political from a Marxian standpoint and raise their students, and broader community's consciousness about the antieducational nature and implications of scripted lessons, high-stakes testing, and commercialization of schools. The project also calls for teachers to join the political movements advocating liveable minimum wages, national health insurance, affordable housing, and ending of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)[26] and General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).[27] On a small scale, Shannon suggests that attempts should be made to incorporate choice about methods at a district and school level to allow the freedom to compose curricula and improvise while teaching (see also Aoki et al., 2005). Additionally, teachers should fight for more time and space for teaching to undercut the standardization of reading instruction and they must work with other adults (parents, custodians, librarians, and local business owners) as co-teachers to expand the possibilities of literacy and learning for all involved. "Each of these acts," emphasizes Shannon (2007), "rejects the rationalization of schools, the reification of reading instruction and science, and the alienation of teachers from their teaching and students from their learning. Each is directed by a commitment to human emancipation" (p. 175), which is absolutely essential in the oppressive neoliberal reality of our times.

To fight the neoliberal agenda in the sphere of higher education, Levidow (2007) suggests several critical counterstrategies. First, it is gravely important that educational theorists and critics demonstrate, through their research and analysis, that educational reform initiatives like structural adjustment policies and their link to funding priorities, public–private partnerships, tuition fees, cost-benefit analysis, and curriculum reforms are part of global neoliberal capitalism without any serious consideration for providing higher education students with deep and meaningful learning. Second, it is important to form an international network of teachers, students, and nongovernmental organizations across all geographical regions so that it is possible to develop links among all neoliberal policies worldwide.[28] This will allow academics to circulate analyses of anti-marketization struggles, to enhance solidarity efforts, and to turn into collective subjects of resistance against neoliberal global capitalism. Third, it is important that we educate students and our colleagues to see the political and economic implications of ICT through enhancing critical debate so that they begin to question its supposed "neutrality" and apolitical nature. This will contribute to developing alternative pedagogies to cultivate critical citizenship needed in this era of neoliberal reforms.

While critical pedagogy's critique of the capitalist system and neoliberalism and their suggestion to counter its influences are very important and offer valuable perspectives, I think a discussion of human subjectivity and consciousness can provide us with a balanced and deeper understanding of neoliberalism and its impact on education. For a discussion on human subjectivity and consciousness, I draw on Pinar's work on *currere* and autobiography (Pinar, 2011, 2012) and my own work on meditative inquiry (A. Kumar, 2013, 2014; A. Kumar & Downey, in press).

Pinar's notion of *currere*[29] and autobiography provide educators with the possibilities of a deeper understanding of themselves and the ways in which their subjective lives are intimately connected to broader political and economic issues including neoliberalism. Underscoring the significance of human subjectivity in the educational experience, Pinar (2012) articulates:

> Education requires subjectivity in order for it to speak, for it to become concrete, to become actual. Without the agency of subjectivity education

> evaporates, replaced by the conformity compelled by the scripted curricula and standardized tests. (p. 43)

Without an emphasis on the individual and his or her relationship to broader society, we tend to lose sight of the subjective complexity of the problems. We direct our attention towards solving these problems—including what is happening in education due to neoliberal reforms—entirely outwardly as if these problems exist independent of us. In his very important essay titled "Unaddressed 'I' of the Ideology Critique" (2011), Pinar explains this relationship between subjectivity and structural change:

> Key to ideological critique is self-reflexively grasping the reciprocal relations between one's own ideological interpellation, social positioning, and historical conjuncture. Such an autobiographical undertaking animates as it structures the specificity of subjective and social reconstruction. (p. 38)

Neoliberal education reforms and their focus on standardization and testing, which brings about a sense of alienation and meaningless, is a severe attack on the subjective beings of teachers and their students. An autobiographical response, as I discussed in Chapter 1, is a subjective challenge to the dehumanizing effects of neoliberalism. An autobiographical response is an affirmative reply to Pinar's (2011, p. 38) deeply significant question for educators: "Is the knowledge that needs to be brought back in self-knowledge?" Without self-knowledge, education will remain a victim of the instrumentalist views of education including the ones promoted under neoliberalism.

Meditative inquiry (A. Kumar, 2013, 2014; A. Kumar & Downey, in press) further deepens our understanding of neoliberalism and provides ways to challenge this menace at the level of human consciousness. In my book, *Curriculum As Meditative Inquiry* (2013), I discuss the psychological roots of capitalism, of which neoliberalism is a part. The psychological source of capitalism and neoliberalism is in our tendency to measure and compare. Measurement and comparison are borne of our fears and insecurities, and consequent greed, all of which compel us to accumulate money and property beyond our needs, and to relish in exercising our power over others. Such accumulation and power-driven mentality give us a sense of false security. The over significance given to and overreliance on the tests, comparison, and competition are nothing but an expression of our deeper psychological fears and insecurities.

Unless we understand the deeper nature and movement of our consciousness—of which fears are a manifestation—our efforts to challenge neoliberalism and capitalism at the level of political and economic structures will be very superficial. A deeper response to the problem of fear, which brings about the tendencies to measure, compete, accumulate, and compare whether with reference to tests or money, is the meditative response. A meditative response implies paying attention to the way human consciousness operates within each one of us and creates subjective and social relations based on accumulation, comparison, and competition. Such attention—meditation—has the possibility of bringing about changes in our consciousness, in our psychological structures, and thereby in social, political, and economic structures. A meditative revolution of the inner consciousness is a precondition to the transformation in outer structures.

Conclusion

Neoliberalism underpins contemporary society and its economic, political, and educational structures. It is a global phenomenon which is sustained by and supports privatization, corporatization, and standardization in order to treat everything as a commodity including education. Given its emphasis on commodification and profit-making, standardization and high-stakes testing, and reward and punishment orientation, it is a deadly synthesis of capitalism, positivism, and behaviourism. In the field of education, it is responsible for bringing antieducational notions and practices including curriculum standards, high-stakes testing, scripted curricula, all of which treat education as an instrumental, mechanical, and outcomes-based activity. Neoliberalism inspired educational reforms thus have reinstated Tylerian rationality, which both undermines teachers' and their students' freedom, creativity, and intelligence, and induces in them fear, mistrust, and anxiety. It degrades the quality of teaching and learning and thereby the possibility of a rich and holistic educational experience. To challenge neoliberalism means challenging thinking that supports capitalism, behaviourism, and positivism. To counter neoliberalism, we need a profound deconditioning from our deep-seated beliefs in measurement, comparison, and competition. Critical pedagogy, autobiography, and meditative inquiry may help us to take up this challenge by questioning and challenging oppressive political structures, by studying ourselves in relationship to these oppressive structures, and through a meditative inquiry into our consciousness from where all human crises, of which neoliberalism is a reflection, emerge.

NOTES

1. This chapter draws on the essays on neoliberalism and its implications for education that were published in *Neoliberalism and Education Reform* (Ross & Gibson, 2007a) as well as more recent research on the subject. In addition, I provide a critique of neoliberalism and suggest ways to move forward from the perspective of autobiography (Pinar, 2011, 2012) and my own research that explores the relationship between the crisis of human consciousness (of which neoliberalism is a reflection), meditative inquiry, and education (A. Kumar, 2013, 2014; A. Kumar & Downey, in press).
2. Refer to Chapters 2, 3, 4, and 6 of this volume to see how neoliberal policies impacted and continue to impact educational reforms in South Africa, Brazil, Mexico, and India, respectively.
3. Ross & Gibson's *Neoliberalism and Education Reform* (2007a) is an edited anthology that analyzes the ramifications of neoliberal global capitalism and its hazardous impact on education. This collection must be appreciated for its insightful and comprehensive analyses of oppressive, exploitative, and divisive global capitalist system that we inhabit, and its forceful assertion of the urgency for change—a change that can be brought about through a revolution in structure and consciousness of human existence. The authors explain, primarily basing their arguments in Marx and Marxian thinkers, that worldwide neoliberal policies are characterized by cutting public expenditures for social services and controlling every aspect of life including education. For these authors, neoliberalism is tantamount to imperialism and colonialism in a new and dangerous garb, and rightly so. Although the authors' analysis may make readers feel pessimistic about the sad state of our world, which is being increasingly swept up by capitalist exploitation, accumulation crises, and their natural consequence, war, the authors themselves remain quite hopeful. Each of them in his or her own way makes useful suggestions for the collective and individual actions, not only in education but also in the community, policy-making, media, and other arenas, to question and fight back against the ideological, cultural, and economic hegemony of the capitalist system. The book serves as an indispensable guide for critical scholars, educators, activists, and anyone else who is perturbed with the ever-expanding empire of neoliberal global capitalism,

wants to understand its hazardous impacts on every aspect of society including education, and wants to contribute to the reversal of this ever-growing tide and bring about a more just and humane world. The American Educational Studies Association recognized the critical significance of *Neoliberalism and Education Reform* by awarding it the *Critics Choice Award* for 2008. (See A. Kumar [2008] for a detailed review of this book.)

4. See documentary *Clockwork* (Breitbart, 1981) for an intriguing introduction to Taylor and his ideas regarding scientific management. See also Ross (2010) for a critical evaluation of how Taylorism and the factory model of schooling still underpin the ways in which educational institutions are organized and run.
5. Keynesian economics is a term applied to the early twentieth-century economic philosophy of John Maynard Keynes. The core of his thinking was a reaction against the prevailing notion that the free market would automatically provide employment. Through Keynesian economics, government intervention in the free market is supported toward the stabilization of the economy (Jahan, Mahmud, & Papageorgiou, 2014, p. 53).
6. See David Harvey's authoritative introduction to the history and evolution of neoliberalism in his widely acclaimed book, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (2005). See also Steger and Roy (2010) and Eagleton-Pierce (2016).
7. The No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB) was an American Federal education policy which increased accountability measures in all schools through standardization. Though aimed at removing the "academic achievement gap," the act has received wide criticism for its neoliberal underpinnings (McLaren, 2007a; also see Pinar, 2012, 2013; Ross, 2017). In 2009, the Obama administration changed the act through the introduction of Race to the Top, a federal funding program aimed at rewarding reforms and innovation in the P-12 system. Its neoliberal underpinnings are no less pronounced than NCLB (Pinar, 2012, 2013; Ross, 2017).
8. See Chapter 2 for how an overemphasis on English as compared to the native languages have negatively influenced learning in South Africa.
9. School league tables summarize the average educational performance of students on General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) examination in state-funded secondary schools in England. These tables are a key component of the government's school accountability system (Leckie & Goldstein, 2017, p. 193) in the neoliberal era.
10. Within Foucault's thought, spectacle refers to a mechanism of sovereign power where citizens are scared into compliance through a violent public display of power. Surveillance, on the other hand, is a mechanism of

disciplinary power, where citizens are monitored by the state and monitor one another's actions in order to secure compliance (see Foucault, 1972; O'Farrell, 2013).

11. Other examples include programmed learning, criterion-referenced testing, and mastery learning (Shannon, 2007). Programmed learning is a theory or method of learning that can make use of computer technology and is based in behaviourism where subjects (students) are given a small amount of information and then tested on it. Criterion-referenced testing refers to tests issued to students where their scores are compared to pre-determined standards. An example in the Canadian context would be the Canadian Achievement Test (CAT). Mastery learning is an approach to education developed by Benjamin Bloom which emphasizes formative assessment towards complete adherence to the educational objectives of the unit (Guskey, 2007).
12. Everyday life research is a well developed and thriving sector of curriculum scholarship in Brazil. For a discussion on this topic see Chapter 3 of this volume.
13. See *Cultural Studies ↔ Critical Methodologies* special issue "Neoliberalism in Higher Education" (Volume 17, Issues 3, 2017) for important research on the influence of neoliberal policies on higher education: http://journals.sagepub.com/toc/csca/17/3.
14. This trend is very visible in the universities in Nova Scotia and other provinces in Canada. The government's financial support to universities has substantially declined over the years which has forced universities to not only raise their tuitions but also to think of education as a commodity. There is an emphasis on recruiting more and more international students and offering as many courses online as possible to increase the university's catchment area.
15. For an introduction to a dialogical and existential approach to teaching—what I call teaching as meditative inquiry—see A. Kumar & Downey (in press).
16. See Chapter 4 of this volume for how the neoliberal discourse of "efficiency" is playing out in Mexico's higher education policies.
17. See Noam Chomsky's interview on student debt and education with Edward Radzivilovskiy (2013) where Chomsky explains the non-necessity of student debt and the ways it negatively impacts the possibility of a good education and good society. Continuously soaring tuition fees and other expenses to attend universities and the growing burden of student debt is another outcome of neoliberal education reforms which transfer the responsibility of getting an education to the individual.

18. The General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) was a 1995 World Trade Organization (WTO) treaty. It attempted to expand the multilateral trading system into the service sector. See Rikowski (2007) and *International Higher Education Journal's* issues between 2004 and 2008 for more analyses of how GATS has impacted education. https://ejournals.bc.edu/ojs/index.php/ihe/index.
19. Structural adjustment conditionalities and policies refer to the loans and other monetary injunctions and incentives provided to developing nations by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and Work Bank. These loans, in particular, usually have restrictive conditions applied to them which cripple the economies of Third World countries.
20. See John Welsh's (2007) essay "The unchained dialectics: Critique and renewal of higher education research" for his proposal to reconceptualize higher education. According to Welsh, research in higher education has become "too technocratic, too narrow, too specialized, too self-serving, too inwardly focused, and irrelevant to public policy and social practice" (p. 218). He argues for the establishment of a critical theory research tradition in higher education that is concerned with critiquing the exploitation and oppression by the ideological hegemony of ruling classes.
21. See *Handbook of Neoliberalism* (Springer, , & MacLeavy, 2016) for a most updated, comprehensive, interdisciplinary, and international treatment of the concept of neoliberalism and its historical, economic, political, cultural, and educational ramifications.
22. For an introduction to critical pedagogy see critical pedagogy reader (Darder et al., 2009; Kanpol, 1999) and international critical pedagogy reader (Darder et al., 2016). See also Chapter 5 "Understanding Curriculum As Political Text" of *Understanding Curriculum* (Pinar et al., 1995).
23. See "Theoretical Framework" section of Chapter 6 for a discussion of critical pedagogy in general and Paulo Freire's philosophy of education in particular.
24. For an introduction to McLaren's work see *Teaching McLaren*: *Paths of Dissent* (Pruyn & Charles, 2005), *Peter McLaren, Education, and the Struggle* (Eryaman, 2009), and *Crisis of Commonwealth*: *Marcuse*, *Marx*, *McLaren* (Reitz, 2013), and *This Fist Called My Heart*: *Peter McLaren Reader Volume 1* (Pruyn & Charles, 2016).
25. Guy Debord was a French Marxist, philosopher, and filmmaker. He was a founding member of Situationist International, which was a group devoted to artistic critique and the development of oppositional modes of culture. Debord's best known work is probably *The Society of the Spectacle* (1967/1994). You may read more about Situationist

International and access related material here: http://www.cddc.vt.edu/sionline/index.html.

26. The North American Free Trade Agreement was an agreement between Canada, the USA, and Mexico which decreased regulations on trade between the three counties.
27. The General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade was an international agreement aimed at deregulating trade.
28. Two examples of groups acting against neoliberal educational reform are Rouge Forum in the USA and Lok Shikshak Manch in India. There are also a number of grassroots organizations such as "Alianza" in El Cerrito (Nygreen, 2017) and individual teachers who act against neoliberal educational reform (Shahasvari-Googhari, 2017).
29. *Currere* is the Latin root of curriculum. It means to run the course or the running of the course. It is the key element of the autobiographical perspective that emphasizes the significance of self-reflection and introspection in the educational experience (see Pinar, 2011, 2012).

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