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Leadership in Educational Studies: Lessons From Established Leaders

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I. Introduction

In this paper, I want to share some lessons that I have learned about leadership in educational studies—both from existing theory and research and from my work over the last fifteen years soliciting and publishing autobiographical personal statements of the leaders in many areas of educational studies including history, philosophy, sociology, curriculum, social education, critical pedagogy, gender studies and others. I offer these lessons as informal suggestions for further research on knowledge leadership in education and as useful guidance for young scholars aspiring to knowledge leadership roles.

After focusing on knowledge leadership, I take note of some existing theories and suggest that they fail adequately to consider the temporal dimension—the conditions that make for leadership in particular time periods including the present. I then use Kuhn's (1970) paradigm theory as a general frame to account for the temporal factor. I associate knowledge leadership with the shaping and carrying forward of emerging paradigms. I use existing theories and Kuhn's paradigm theory as searchlights to explore recent leadership in two fields of educational studies: philosophy of education and curriculum studies. These explorations are preliminary, but could be readily extended as a useful database on contemporary leaders in these and other subfields of educational studies fields exists.[1]

Because educational studies as a field aims to add to the understanding and improvement of educational practice, work in the field can be conceived as researchers taking resources (theories, methods, empirical research results) *from* the research literature and bringing them *to* existing problems. These may be problems in current research, but unless the field remains isolated in its ivory tower, its cumulative work must eventually engage practitioners (teachers, supervisors, curriculum designers, policy leaders) and lead to practical improvement—resolving problems of practical life.

Theories of Knowledge Leadership

We initially need to distinguish between organizational and knowledge leaders. To be a leader in any sense, you must have followers. The followers of organization leaders are their subordinates, though these leaders can also become thought leaders in their industries. A further twist is that

[1] The series on Leaders in Educational Studies published under my editorship by Sense/Brill now contains eight volumes with more than 150 autobiographical essays. See https://www.sensepublishers.com/catalogs/bookseries/leaders-in-educational-studies/

members of organizations who do not occupy official leadership positions can also exercise (informal) leadership—in some cases, by becoming recognized as knowledge leaders. Knowledge leaders in academic fields by contrast shape *fields of study,* though, as we shall see, this sometimes involves building and managing organizations, as when a knowledge leader in a field establishes a "center" for that field.

There exists a field of study devoted to knowledge creation, diffusion and utilization. The current name for this field is *knowledge management and intellectual capital* (KM/IC). Serenko, Cox, Bontis, and Booker (2011) investigated the factors explaining the rise of dominant knowledge leaders with special reference to leaders in that field itself. It has been widely observed that in most fields of scholarship "a minority of scholars produce the most works, attract an enormous number of citations, hold prestigious academic positions, and form the discipline's identity" (p. 334). Serenko et al. identify three theories called on to explain field dominance which they label "sacred spark," "cumulative advantage," and "search costs minimization" theories.

The first—the sacred spark theory—explains field dominance in terms of sharp differences in research abilities based on "talent, skills, prior training, persistence, work habits, motivation, creativity, long-term orientation, gratification deferral, and openness to criticism" (Serenko et al., 2011, p. 334). Surely these traits—whether or not they derive from some "sacred spark"—account for much of the success of knowledge leaders as well. But explanations based on individual traits do not open the black box of processes within the world of knowledge to show how these traits get translated into knowledge leadership. Sacred spark theories also offer little guidance to aspiring leaders—they suggest that individuals have either been blessed or not blessed by a sacred spark. The good news is that most of the traits mentioned can be learned; even those lacking unusual gifts can become more motivated, curious, and capable.

The second—the cumulative or compound advantages theory—does a better job in connecting such traits specifically to dominance in academic knowledge. It was originally formulated by Robert Merton in 1936 (see Merton, 1968 for details) and subsequently developed by others, including Merton's wife Harriet Zuckerman (1977), who employed it in her masterwork on Nobel laureates. This theory asserts that modest early differentials in these traits lead over time to extraordinary differences in leadership status. An elementary student scoring a single point better than a peer on a high-stakes admissions test may be selected over that peer for a high school for the gifted, and gain many advantages in terms of teachers, resources, and peers. At the end of high school, that initial one-point advantage will have been greatly compounded; his chances of admission to a highly selective university, and subsequently prestigious graduate and professional schools or corporate positions, will have been greatly improved. Those going to graduate school in turn may gain greater access to highly selective doctoral programs to work with field leaders and to present research at invited conferences and publish in leading journals. The modest early advantage in this way gets compounded into a huge one.

The third—search cost minimization—is an extension of the second. A young scholar studying with a field leader at a leading university has many opportunities to present her work in conferences and journals. Thus, when additional opportunities for presentation and publication open up, she is already more visible than most of her peers. When organizers of subsequent conferences and journal special issues consider possible contributors, her name rapidly comes up for consideration, and she is immediately seen as a satisfactory choice. This reduces the search costs of the organizers. Organizers can cease searching for others to fill this slot. As a result, her work compounds; it gains broader visibility and is more frequently cited, expanding her field influence.

Cumulative advantage and search cost minimization theories are important additions to sacred spark theories; they take into account the specific contexts of academic work—the relative prestige of universities, conferences and journals, the importance of citations. But they ignore the temporal element in leadership, presupposing that leadership opportunities are homogeneously distributed over time. Moments exist, however, when fields are ripe for new leadership. I now take up this factor.

II. Paradigm Theory: Normal and Revolutionary Scholarship

To examine the temporal element in leadership, I turn to the distinction between *normal* and *revolutionary* scholarship. The terms "normal" and "revolutionary" were introduced by Thomas Kuhn (1962/1970) in *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Kuhn not only described the process of change in science—how leaders emerge and gain followers—but self-consciously set himself the task of revolutionizing science studies itself, and succeeded: After *Structure* was published, previous approaches to science studies faded and Kuhn became the dominant leader.

Kuhn confined his theory of paradigm shifts to science, but it has been extended with qualifications to most fields of scholarship. His leading idea is that science is a human activity. Humans pursue it to satisfy thoroughly human goals—to investigate fascinating questions and discover new knowledge, but also to gain social position and recognition—to obtain and maintain university posts, to gain tenure and promotion, to publish articles in prestigious journals and obtain citations, to win recognition in the profession by being elected to high positions in professional societies and to earn prestigious awards.

In light of these goals, young scholars have many important decisions to make about the identity, current prestige and potential future of the academic domains in which they hope to make their mark, and, within those domains, the choice of dissertation topic and major advisor, post-doc research opportunities, *etcetera* (Serenko et al., 2011). Older scholars seeking to re-invigorate their careers also face similar decisions.

In any field of scholarship, there are existing *norms* and *exemplars*—works that lucidly set out the norms. As exemplars, they get widely cited and emulated. Kuhn calls such exemplar works and the norms they establish "paradigms." At some points in any field, there may be *no dominant paradigm*. Work in the field proceeds using a scattered variety of poorly established theories and methods. At other times a small number of research exemplars may emerge. The scholars who publish the theories and research that set the new standards and establish the models for work under these competing paradigms can be considered the field leaders—those with a substantial body of followers. The early followers, the first adopters, become the *standard-bearers* for the new paradigm; they extend it to additional problems and draw further interest. The work proceeding under them Kuhn calls *normal* science or scholarship. Paradigm acceptance allows researchers to simplify their research questions, to reduce complex problems to research puzzles that can be solved through the paradigm's norms and methods.

Sometimes, a single paradigm takes hold in a given field to the extent that work does not fall under it is no longer even considered work in that field; it is dismissed as unscientific or unscholarly. These are for Kuhn paradigms in the fullest sense; those producing them are the great *revolutionary* leaders in their fields: the Newtons, Darwins, Freuds and Einsteins. Their work captures all researchers in their

fields and establishes their professional identities; to do biology is then (at least for a period of time) to *be* a Darwinist; to do medical psychology—now labeled psychoanalysis—is to *be* a Freudian.

In every prospering field or subfield of study, most work is conducted under some recognizable paradigm. It is in this sense *normal*. And as the work progresses, as results are published and accepted, difficulties and challenges also arise. Sometimes, the problems that arise for the field cannot readily be turned into puzzles of the desired sort, or theoretical presuppositions are undercut with compelling criticism, or experiments repeatedly fail to yield predicted results. In the latter case, the philosopher Karl Popper would say that the underlying theory had been *refuted*. Kuhn approaches such situations in a quite different way. He calls such events "anomalies." In every field, anomalies build up and, at crucial periods, escalate. Normal work nevertheless continues at least for a while under the entrenched paradigm. This is the sort of work those producing "normal" research identify with and possess competence to do. But gradually the paradigm starts to feel exhausted. The paradigm is then confronted with internal challenges—for example, the field can no longer recruit and retain the most talented graduate students. But sometimes fields are also confronted with challenges from without; the priorities of governments or private foundations change and funding for work under entrenched paradigms can dry up, or new social, cultural, political or economic problems may simply cry out for research that doesn't fit under existing paradigms.

Those most sensitive to the anomalies, especially "young Turks" ambitious to make their own mark, begin to consider new possibilities—new paths for the field. They take risks, push out in new, unauthorized directions. They become revolutionaries. Those who create new templates and most importantly—attract followers—become the new leaders (see Figure 1).

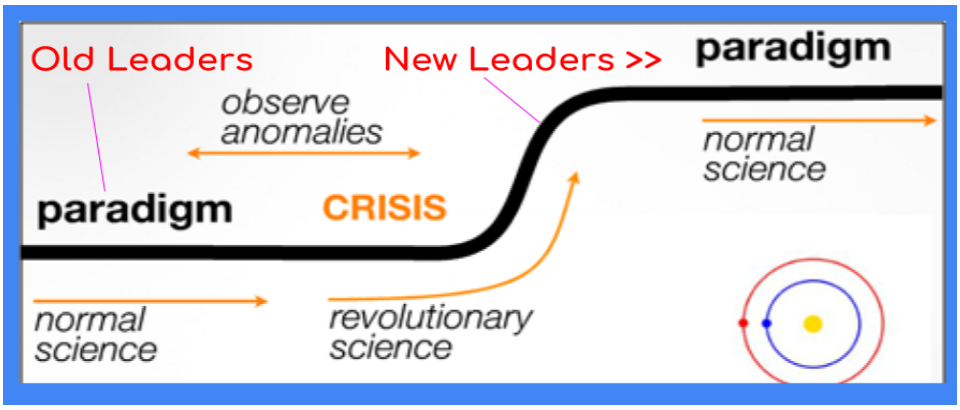

Figure 1. Paradigm theory leadership in educational studies (adapted from Thorup, cited in bulldozer00, 2012).

There have been times when some subfields of educational studies have been dominated by a hegemonic paradigm; Edward Thorndike and his learning theory is a plausible example as a single paradigm for educational psychology for a considerable period. The great variety of practical educational problems, however, indicates that the forms of work in educational studies will always be diverse. Specific fields, such as educational psychology, sociology, history or philosophy, may for periods of time fall under the domination of a single paradigm, but it is not untypical for work in subfields of educational studies to draw upon multiple paradigms, thus generating several types of "normal" research.

I now explore two fields of educational studies—philosophy of education and curriculum studies—to see whether and how they are illuminated by paradigm theory.

III. Leaders in Philosophy of Education

In English-language philosophy of education, John Dewey was the dominant figure from the 1920s through the 1950s. Although competing philosophies of education existed, most work regarded as serious made some use of Dewey's. They also collaborated with curriculum designers and empirical researchers in work of direct practical bearing. By the 1950s, for a number of reasons, Dewey's experimentalist paradigm had become exhausted; recruits to educational studies no longer found it attractive. The general quality of work in educational studies diminished, though there were certainly exceptions.

The Analytic Revolution

After the early 1960s, analytic philosophy, as exemplified in the work of Israel Scheffer and Bunnie Smith in the United States and Richard Peters and Paul Hirst in England, became dominant. There were important factors in the rise of the analytic paradigm, some that had little to do with the intellectual power of philosophical analysis per se.

Throughout the English-speaking world, and especially in the UK and North America, the early 1960s were marked by the incorporation of teacher training into universities. Former teachers' colleges or teacher training institutes were either transformed into universities or came under the supervision of university departments of education. With "education" established as a discipline for university teaching, the field required a proper academic knowledge base. The existing scholarly literature on education was widely condemned as of low quality. The publication of *The Education of American Teachers* by James Conant (1963) and *The Miseducation of American Teachers* by James D. Koerner (1963)—both bestsellers—brought this problem to the attention of both academics and the reading public.

Meanwhile, government agencies and private foundations were making major efforts to bring education as a discipline "up-to-date." Promising young scholars in humanities and social science departments were recruited by the leading schools of education. As philosophical analysis was the dominant paradigm in Anglo-American philosophy departments, the recruits brought their analytic tool kits to educational studies. Their early work applied analysis to central educational concepts. They met dogged, often highly personal opposition from oldtimers in education schools. At first, the program chairs of the Philosophy of Education Society refused to consider submissions employing analytic methods. Here is Jane Martin (2008, p. 126), speaking of her first encounter with the Philosophy of Education Society:

> [A]nalytic philosophy was not on the philosophy of education list; in fact, analytic endeavors were not allowed on the program and the few analytic philosophers in attendance had to meet in someone's room each evening to read and discuss each other's papers.

Nonetheless, these young Turks rapidly established themselves as field leaders. In philosophy of education, Scheffler's *The Language of Education* (1960) and Peters' *Ethics and Education* (1966) became the new paradigm works. They and their students turned to the new normal work, analysing such educational concepts as teaching, learning, subject matter knowledge, understanding, aims, learning objectives, curriculum, evaluation, indoctrination, student freedom, children's rights, and even education itself. After new journals were established in both the US and UK to feature the new analytic work, it soon emerged as dominant. Students and colleagues of the paradigm-shapers became the new leaders featured in those journals. Those not trained in analytic philosophy were no longer sought as university teachers in philosophy of education.

It is worth noting that the placement of these young scholars in prestigious universities, the support they received from their university leaders and by philanthropic organizations, their firm identification with paradigms dominating their "parent field" and hence recognized throughout the academic community as the "real" stuff, and their self-identity as a group with a mission to raise the quality of work in the field, all contributed to their rise as field leaders. The new paradigm provided a ready-made leadership vision, along with goals and clear means for achieving them, enthusiasm for the crusade, vocabularies for effective communication, group membership as comrades-in-arms leading to long-lasting and mutually supportive relationships, *etcetera*. There is an important lesson here. Sacred spark theories point to "god-given" traits as *causes* in the attainment of leadership. But these very traits of individual leaders may on the contrary be *effects* of attachment to winning paradigms.

Jane Martin (2008) provides a case study in field leadership. A distinguished philosopher of education, Martin began her professional life as a social studies teacher. She entered graduate school at Harvard eager to find ways to improve social studies curricula—these were the concerns of the heart that spoke to her as a teacher. Her program at Harvard included Israel Scheffler's philosophy of education course. At just the time when Scheffler (and Peters) were developing analytic philosophy of education, Martin quickly came to feel that the most pressing questions in her life were really about the analysis of educational concepts.

> Jack Easley, one of Israel Scheffler's first doctoral students, urged me to take a course with his mentor. "Analytic philosophy," he told me, "is the key to everything." The next semester I signed up for a group reading course with Scheffler. … Before I immersed myself in analytic philosophy I was deeply troubled by the mindless 5th grade curriculum of my Massachusetts public school: social studies as a set of unconnected concepts; math as a set of unrelated facts and techniques… When, however, I tried to design better curricula, I was brought up short by the arbitrariness of my attempts. What justified my thinking that this social studies curriculum was better than the one in place? On what basis was it legitimate to decide which content to include? Once I discovered analytic philosophy, I knew that to answer my own questions I would have to continue my studies.
>
> The trouble was that the further I traveled into philosophy, the more distant seemed the problems that had once exercised me. Before long, debates about the structure of historical explanation loomed larger on my horizon than discussions of the school curriculum. Insofar as I thought about education at all, definitions of teaching and learning commanded my attention…
>
> My first published paper, originally written for one of Scheffler's seminars, illustrates the distance I traveled from the schoolroom during my graduate studies. "On 'Knowing How' and 'Knowing That'"

(1959) was a discussion of one man's critique of another man's analysis of the verb "to know." (pp. 125–126)

Why this sudden and radical shift? How could such abstruse, even "pure" questions replace her previous ones that had built up over a decade of teaching? The answer is that the new paradigm provided a new, attractive career path—not as a better social studies teacher but as a standard-bearer for the new philosophical paradigm. Martin emphasizes the role of Robert Ennis—a student of Bunnie Smith at the University of Illinois and editor of the first book of essays in analytic philosophy of education—in easing her introduction to what was at that point an exclusively male group. Connected with both Scheffler's program at Harvard and Smith's students at Illinois, Martin rapidly became a well-established field leader.

But the Jane Martin story does not end there. By the early 1980s, after the analytic approach had been extended to a broad range of educational topics, new cultural interests—particularly the situation of women—became dominant, a theme I will develop further below. Martin joined forces with the new field of women's studies. At first, her work in that field stemmed directly from her previous analytic work, and she has continued to insist that all of her work is still shaped by her analytic training. But soon enough, Martin's new work on the education of girls and women was taken up and emulated, and a new sub-discipline—feminist philosophy of education—was born with Martin as an even more formidable leader than before, and new feminist philosophers such as Nel Noddings also rising to leadership status in the field. Let us consider two factors in this situation.

First, many more women were attending college and graduate school (Figure 2). This data is broken down in greater detail, and projected forward to 2027, by Statista (n.d.).

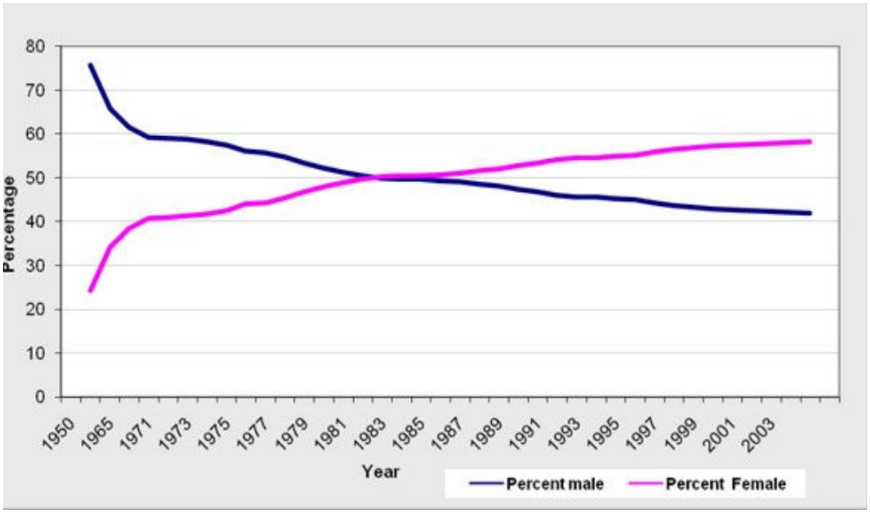

Figure 2. Percentage of males and females with degrees conferred (College degrees by gender, 2015).

While women had made steady progress in college participation since the late 1960s, they still lagged in graduate and professional education, as access to professional positions was blocked, causing talented, well-educated women to grow frustrated about their careers—and also their lives as dependent and devalued wives and mothers. These frustrations built into a powerful women's movement challenging occupational (and social) constraints, greatly expanding professional access after 1970.

From 1970 to 1990, waves of female students entered graduate and professional schools (Figure 3) and scholars increasingly studied problems being faced by women, including those in higher education.

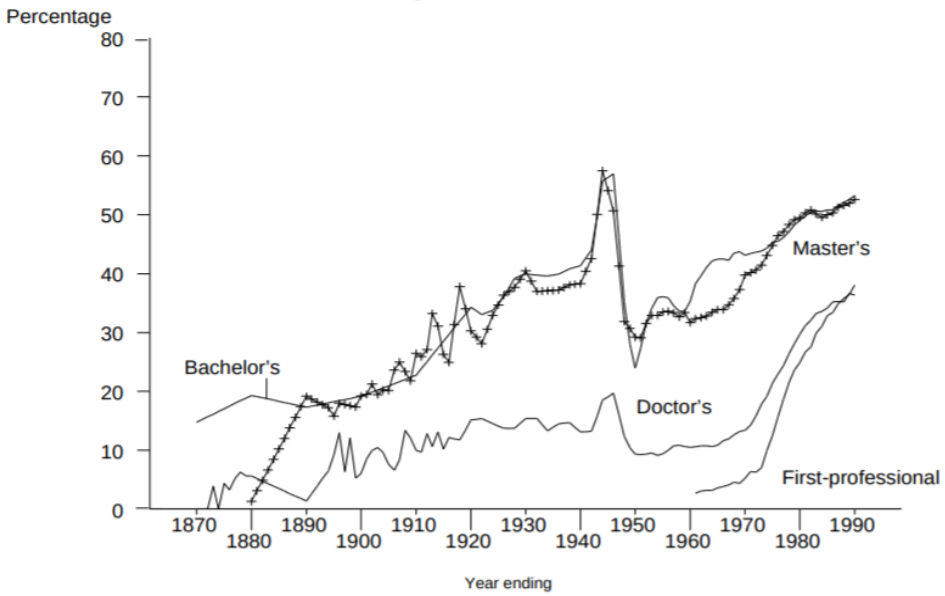

Figure 3. J-curve in female participation in graduate and professional school after 1970 (Snyder, 1993).

One result of the rapid increase of women students in higher education and particularly in graduate schools was that more women, among them more attending to women's issues, were now entering the *academic* profession (see Figure 4).

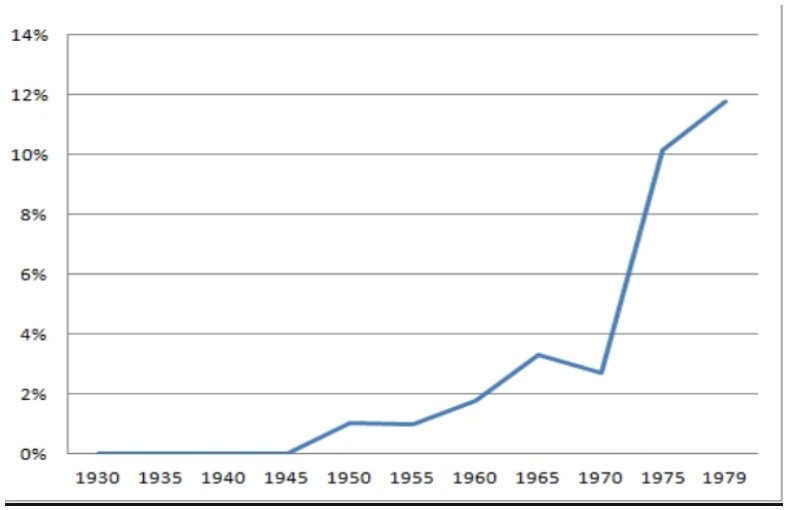

Figure 4. Percentage of women faculty at elite U.S. philosophy departments, 1930–1979 (Schwitzgebel, 2016).

As new faculty members seeking to make their mark, they sought strong new platforms for their work. Women's and gender studies courses proliferated in many fields, and many universities established interdisciplinary women's studies programs. Martin was among many already-established

scholars recruited to the field of women's studies. She was recruited as a philosopher, but soon saw her fellow faculty members in women's studies as her true colleagues.

As Martin's work turned to issues in women's studies, some powerful figures in analytic philosophy of education attacked, saying that she was no longer "doing philosophy." This is typical when older paradigms are challenged. The standard-bearers of older paradigms are threatened. They have *defined* the field in terms of their own theories, methods, and privileged exemplars. Work deviating from the paradigm challenges their field leadership. Indeed, their fears are well-justified: After 1980, emerging scholars turned away from the analytic paradigm and found new exemplars—and new leaders.

But second, the analytic paradigm itself was by 1980 showing signs of exhaustion. Its methods had already been extended to the important educational concepts. There are only so many key concepts to analyse; the heavy lifting had already been done, and groundbreaking opportunities no longer existed in analytic philosophy of education. Of equal importance, the analytic paradigm was now critiqued sharply as failing to contribute in concrete ways to resolving the new pressing cultural issues—in particular, those faced by women and ethnic and sexual minorities. This was a profound anomaly. Some criticized analytic philosophy as too abstract to be applied to real-world problems in education. Others saw it as a bulwark of educational conservatism—though Peters and Scheffler were without question themselves social liberals.

The Postmodern Turn

Some younger philosophers of education, including James Marshall, Michael Peters, and Paul Standish, thoroughly familiar with the work of Richard Peters—the so-called "London Line"—now sharply *rejected* it. They brought new postmodern theories and methods from the European continent—ideas already penetrating mainstream philosophy—into English-language philosophy of education. While earlier imports from continental philosophy had gained relatively little traction, Derrida, Foucault and Lyotard now became established reference points in philosophy of education under the influence of James Marshall and Michael Peters and their followers.

The work of continental postmodernist philosophers—especially Derrida's method of deconstruction, Foucault's analysis of power/knowledge and Lyotard's rejection of grand metanarratives—now was seen to provide intellectual traction on these pressing social, cultural and educational issues. Students entering educational studies after 1980—including an increasing percentage of women and ethnic and sexual minority students—were thus far more likely to see postmodern theories and methods not only as relevant to personal concerns and pathways to intellectual advancement, but also to career advancement as standard-bearers of the new postmodern paradigm. Postmodern approaches "spoke to them." They could turn enthusiastically to their *normal* scholarship under the new paradigm. Those—such as Marshall and Peters—who brought postmodern philosophy to educational studies now became new field leaders. In short order, postmodernism also inspired new approaches to feminist philosophy that challenged the exemplars provided by Martin and Nel Noddings. In this new feminist wave, Martin herself became the subject of feminist criticism.

Michael Peters's (2008) account of his turn to continental philosophers is illuminating. After a conventional education in analytic philosophy, where he came across its basic presuppositions and prejudices, he completed a doctoral dissertation on Wittgenstein in 1984. As he tells it:

> I remember coming across Jean-Francois Lyotard's (1984) *The Postmodern Condition* shortly after completing my PhD thesis in 1984. Reading Lyotard was like a revelation. I had come across the book accidentally and found it interesting because of its playful appropriation of Wittgenstein's work. … The happy and accidental conjuncture of Lyotard and Wittgenstein set me on a path which I am still traveling. On reading Wittgenstein during my years of PhD studies I read also Heidegger and Gadamer, then under the influence of my colleagues more and more the founders of Critical Theory, and later again Lyotard, Foucault, Derrida, all of whom I have written books about. (p. 155)

One of those colleagues was James Marshall, with whom Peters formed a twenty-year co-writing and editing partnership. Peters and Marshall were among those most important in moving work in philosophy of education in a continental postmodern direction. Peters describes the prejudices he initially ran into as he brought continental postmodern ideas and authors into a field previously dominated by Anglo-American analytic philosophy.

> I arrived at Canterbury to find a cartoon pinned on my door that advertised "Foucault flakes, a new cereal that was more real than any other cereal." At Auckland my appointment to a personal chair was derailed because of ideological interference… the moderator was openly ideologically hostile to a perceived "postmodernism." Again, on arriving in Glasgow I was asked by the then head of Senate, an Australian physicist, "What's all this nonsense about Foucault?" (p. 156)

To explain this prejudice, Peters turns to the work of Gadamer, who sees prejudice as inevitable, but also as an opportunity to reconsider one's presuppositions and to grow. As Peters puts it,

> This is definitely a process of "deep education" that is ultimately "spiritual" and I would describe it in Wittgensteinian therapeutic terms or in Derridean deconstructive terms or in Foucaultian genealogical terms as beginning the process of *unlearning*, unlearning the manners of the tribe and the prejudices that form us and our subjectivities. (p. 157)

The factor of timing adds significantly to Peters' account. He does not mention either the general exhaustion of the analytic paradigm by the 1980s or the new pressing social and cultural problems affecting potential recruits to philosophy of education at that time. There is a time for every purpose—for normal research and for revolutionary research. Unlearning the habits and prejudices of our tribe is especially timely (and greatly eased) when these habits and prejudices are failing us and new guidelines for research already felt as sorely needed.

IV. Leaders in Curriculum Studies

I now turn to the field of curriculum studies to explore the timing factor there. Again, I focus upon the scene in the United States, because it is the one I know best. But the analysis should prove useful when exploring leadership in all fields of education in other geographic sites.

The very term "curriculum studies" is somewhat new in educational studies. Curriculum itself—conceived of as sequencing subject matters for completion—entered the education lexicon in 1576, in the book *Professio Regia* by Petrus Ramus. In the medieval and early modern universities, studies had been organized by fields of knowledge as presented in specific books. A student might be said to

"read" geometry in Euclid's *Elements*, or logic in the textbook of Boethius. There was no required course sequence—actually, there were no courses either in the modern sense—just series of lectures based on the official books. There was no "curriculum" as we now understand it: the students read the textbooks, some more than a thousand years old, or digested their contents by attending lectures. Ramus, motivated by the Calvinist desire for order, dissected the various arts and sciences into their component parts, ordered them in terms of simplicity and hierarchy, and sequenced them for course completion. By the end of the 16th century, the term "curriculum"—a curriculum for geometry or logic—was augmenting or replacing official textbooks. The term appears in university records and was extended to include the university's "course of study"—the sequence of experiences leading to the degree.

Today, curriculum "often refers specifically to a planned sequence of instruction, or to a view of the student's experiences in terms of the educator's or school's instructional goals" ("Curriculum," n.d., para. 1). In this sense, curriculum, as the article on this concept in Wikipedia notes, "may incorporate the planned interaction of pupils with instructional content, materials, resources, and processes for evaluating the attainment of educational objectives" ("Curriculum," n.d., para. 1). As such, those working in the curriculum field are responsible for making explicit the goals and objectives of instructional programs; the planned sequences of activities and subject matter contents; the educational materials and resources to be employed by teachers and students within that sequence; and the evaluation procedures to be employed—both within (formative evaluation) and at the completion (summative evaluation) of the sequence.

When curriculum itself emerged as a university teaching field early in the 20th century, the task for professors of curriculum was providing simple, practical methods and techniques for *making* curricula. One of the first professors of curriculum was John Franklin Bobbitt, who, after several years of teaching in rural schools, joined the faculty of the Normal School of Manila in the Philippines. Assigned the task of organizing the course of study for the elementary schools of the island nation, Bobbitt first re-organized materials from U.S. textbooks. When these curricula failed to engage the students, Bobbitt recognized that distinct groups of students needed distinct materials, sequenced in different ways with distinct goals appropriate to their local situations. He brought this vision to the University of Chicago, where from 1909 to 1941 he was professor of curriculum and a national leader in the curriculum field.

Students in programs of educational administration and curriculum supervision like Bobbitt's at Chicago learned how to write goals and objectives, create and sequence instructional activities and materials, and evaluate student achievement—often defined for simplicity as attainment of the stated objectives. Theory and research in the field of curriculum—the knowledge base for courses in curriculum at universities and teachers' colleges—were organized around this "curriculum development" paradigm.

Without question, the most influential of curriculum workers under this paradigm was Ralph Tyler, who, after college and a number of years of school teaching, obtained his doctorate from the University of Chicago in 1927. He expanded on the work of previous curriculum scholars in his bestselling book *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction* (1949), which presented a simple method for developing and evaluating curricula—later called the "Tyler Rationale"—consisting of questions regarding educational purposes defined in terms of learning objectives, experiences useful in attaining these objectives, the

organization of these experiences, and evaluation of learning in terms of these objectives. The Tyler Rationale became the dominant approach within the curriculum development paradigm.

While curriculum-making may take place at local, regional or national levels, in the United States it has traditionally been local, as education is a reserved power of the states and generally placed under the control of local school districts. In 1942, there were 108,579 of these. Today, due to district consolidation, the number is 13,506—only 12 percent of the 1942 number. At the same time, and especially after 1970, the federal government has exerted increasing control over all aspects of education down to the number of required courses in subject matter fields, the course contents, and the mode of evaluation. When decisions about curriculum remained at the district level, and when there were more than 100,000 districts, the educational system clearly had a persistent need for professionals skilled in making, evaluating, and supervising curricula and training teachers in implementing them. The "curriculum development" paradigm made excellent practical sense. By the 1970s and 1980s, with the expansion of programs in teacher education and the pressure to improve the curriculum field as a knowledge base for teaching, the field became more fragmented and specialized. New leaders emerged in the various *parts* of the broad field as research focused narrowly on materials, implementation, and evaluation.

Two examples illustrate this trend. Gene F. Hall became the acknowledged leader in *curriculum implementation* research. Through workshops and research collaborations, Hall's Concerns-Based Adoption Model (CBAM) has been applied and tested in schools, business, government and the military in many countries throughout the world. Meanwhile, Daniel Stufflebeam emerged as a leader in *curriculum evaluation* research. Conventional evaluation determined program success on the basis of whether objectives had been achieved. The validity of such evaluations had long been questioned. Stufflebeam developed an alternative approach—the Context, Input, Process and Product model (CIPP)—as an analytic method for decision-making. In 1973, he launched his Evaluation Center at Western Michigan University, which became the leading site of evaluation research and trai ning. Subsequently, Stufflebeam led evaluation studies for many organizations including the U.S. Department of Education, the U.S. Marine Corps and leading grant-making foundations. He became the "go-to" guy in evaluation: whenever an organization needed an evaluation study, Stufflebeam's name popped up first.

Regardless of these leadership success stories, as the number of sites for curriculum development diminished, the field also needed altogether new paradigms to sustain itself as an academic field and as a required course in professional schools of education.

William Pinar and Currere

Several lines of conceptual, historical, comparative and empirical study emerged after the 1960s and curriculum studies became a multi-paradigm field. One line of study, however, was particularly successful in gaining recruits and becoming a thriving academic enterprise, eventually capturing much of the field: the "currere" paradigm developed by William Pinar. He, Reynolds, Slattery, and Taubman explain the concepts he introduced into the field as he entered it in the 1970s:

> The main concepts today are quite different from those which grew out of an era in which school buildings and populations were growing exponentially, and when keeping the curriculum ordered and organized were the main motives of professional activity. *That was the time of curriculum development.*

> Curriculum Development: Born: 1918. Died: 1969 … We live in a different time … [T]he general field of curriculum, the field interested in the relationships among school subjects … is no longer preoccupied with development … [T]he field today is preoccupied with *understanding*. (cited in Null, 2008, pp. 487–488, emphasis in original)

The first step in his project, Pinar explains,

> is the concept of *currere*, the infinitive form of the noun curriculum. I invoked it first during the 1970s to denote a shift from curriculum defined as syllabus (or objectives, or from any of its conceptualizations as a static entity, implied by the noun) to curriculum conceived as the educational experience of "complicated conversation" … implied by the verb. *Currere*—and the autobiographical method I devised to understand curriculum as educational experience. (2009, p. 143)

By this single move—from a noun, a thing, to a verb, a doing—Pinar tossed aside all prior academic work on curriculum, which was about developing some thing(s): a syllabus, materials or objectives.

> Extolling the centrality of educational experience in understanding curriculum precipitated my participation in what turned out to be a shift in the field's fundamental idea of itself: from a field focused on curriculum development to one devoted to understanding curriculum. (2009, p. 143)

Within fifteen years, currere defined an entire subfield of curriculum studies and arguably its most dynamic one. This move enabled Pinar to reconceptualize the entire field, and "reconceptualization" caught on as a defining term for his movement.

By the early 1980s, Pinar extended his project to embrace the emerging themes of the movements for liberation of women and ethnic and sexual minorities. What started as a shift in vocabularies now became a social movement within curriculum studies. This was a factor in Pinar's gathering of graduate student recruits who found avenues of expression in the conference and journal he organizes: the Bergamo Conference on Curriculum Theory and Classroom Practice and the *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*. More recently, Pinar and his associates have founded the International Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies and its U.S. affiliate, the American Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies. By laying claim to these titles, Pinar has in effect placed himself at the center not only of his currere group but the entire field of curriculum studies. Always a prolific author and editor, Pinar further extended his reach internationally with his *International Handbook of Curriculum Research* (2003). He spreads his influence through the Centre for the Internationalization of Curriculum Studies, which he founded at the University of British Columbia.

V. Changing Landscapes for Educational Studies

I spoke at the beginning about a "from–to" approach to exploring leadership in educational studies. Graduate schools of education are professional schools training teachers and other educational professionals. Their claim to social resources—especially for state funding through taxation—depends on their promise to improve educational practice through research and training. In exploring leadership in any subfield of educational studies, it is of interest to attend to both the intellectual inputs it draws *from* and the problems it is directed *to*. These problems may be either those of educational practitioners

or of academics. Research on the sociology of minority groups, for example, may be used in educational studies as a resource for either programs of education for minority groups or further research, perhaps in sociological studies of school communities or classrooms. Or both. David and Roger Johnson's (1989) work on cooperative learning is an example of a research project with considerable influence on both research and practice.

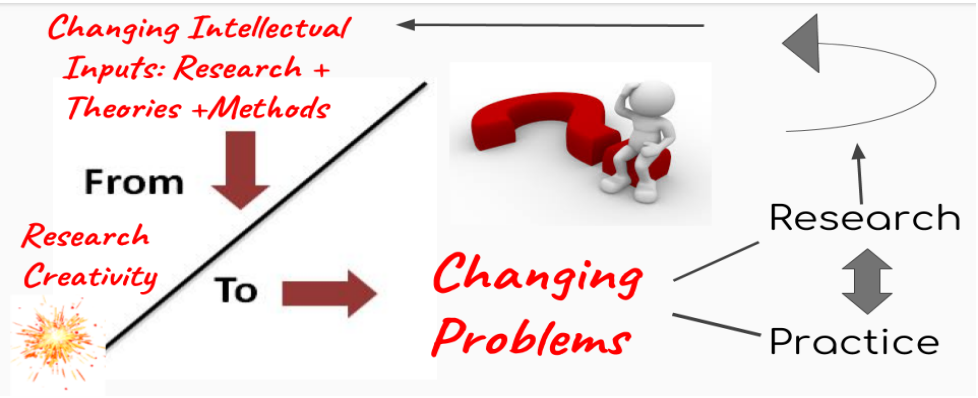

Figure 5. Shifting landscapes: the from–to model.

The question arises whether the works of leaders in educational studies are primarily useful for further academic studies or for the pressing problems of society—in the terms of a longstanding debate, whether it is merely academic or "relevant." The latter term can be misleading. A conceptual analysis of "teaching" is "relevant" to the understanding of teaching? Those concerned with the lack of relevance, however, are not thinking about conceptual connections but practical use. They want to know whether the research is accessible and appealing to educational professionals and policy makers—whether they can and will put it to use.

Educational studies faces shifting landscapes on both its "from" and "to" sides. New intellectual resources emerge as research inputs; new problems (in research or social practice) emerge to be addressed through research outputs. Leaders are those who shape the new intellectual inputs into paradigms—exemplars for new directions in research—for audiences in need of research outputs. Looked at in these terms, leaders in educational studies are those who shape new paradigms for educational research using new inputs, and direct their work to problems calling for new approaches—either existing intractable problems or new ones arising in the broader culture or the education profession.

Reviewing our earlier examples, the work of John Dewey and his progressive colleagues at Chicago and New York were widely taken up by both academics *and* practitioners. Their watchword was collaborative inter-field theory and research for practical use. Jane Martin, on the other hand, dropped her practice-related research focus as soon as she came into contact with analytic philosophy of education and considered it as her new life path. The work of educational postmodernists like James Marshall and Michael Peters has likewise had much more influence in research than practice. The work of earlier curriculum scholars, from Bobbitt and Tyler to Hall and Stufflebeam, was directed to and applied immediately by practitioners. Pinar's "currere" model has spawned a thriving academic enterprise, in part by finding an audience of young academics including women and ethnic and sexual

minorities. But, like the feminist and postmodern philosophers of education, Pinar's work has been more directed to other researchers than to direct use by practitioners.

A tentative conclusion may be that, in current educational studies, the "to" element in the "from–to" model is academia itself; educational studies has increasingly become a closed circuit. The field is not fulfilling its promise to improve educational practice through research and training. Perhaps it comes as no surprise that the field has lost much of the social and academic support—always meager—that it has enjoyed. That said, there is no inherent reason why educational studies as a field, and even its current paradigms, cannot be redirected towards practice. This would be greatly enhanced by interdisciplinary collaborative work that includes practitioners.

Suggestions and Conclusions

This has been a preliminary study, intended solely to show the relevance of the temporal factor in opportunities for knowledge leadership. I have taken it for granted that both individual trait and compound advantages are factors in the genesis of leaders, but have sought to show how the shifting landscapes of both academic research and social practice erode older paradigms and open opportunities for new leadership and followership at specific historical junctures. Opportunities for leadership can be found in forms of study directed to both academic and practitioner audiences, published in communication vehicles directed at either. The trend in Anglo-American research in educational studies has been, for the last half century or more, to offer work or relevance primarily to academic audiences. There is no reason to limit scholarship in educational studies to such audiences. The promise of research in professional schools of education that justifies public investment is that, taken as a whole, it can contribute to educational practice. Interdisciplinary collaborative teams with practitioner members can assist in making academic work practical in this sense.

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