

PATHS NOT TAKEN

Curriculum Integration and the Political and Moral Purposes of Schooling

The movements to reinforce the occupational content of high schools, from of the turn of the century to the present, have all tended to reinforce a particularly utilitarian conception of education. The school reform movements since the publication of *A Nation at Risk* (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983) have similarly been driven by economic concerns, with employers clamoring for a better trained workforce while policymakers worry about reforming schools to improve the nation's competitiveness. Occasionally, commission reports over the past decade have reminded us of the importance of political education. For example, *A Nation at Risk* repeated Thomas Jefferson's dictum:

I know of no safe depository of the ultimate powers of the society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them but to inform their discretion. (p. 7)

However, such comments have largely been afterthoughts, and the political and moral aspects of education—the central purpose of the public when they were established in the nineteenth century—have been by most reformers and policymakers.

Current efforts to integrate academic and vocational education have generally followed the same path. The academic subjects included in integration have been those that are the most necessary to occupations: math, reading and writing for comprehension ("communication skills"), biology and chemistry for the health fields, and electronics and physics for technical occupations. The curricula associated most closely with political and moral education—literature, government or civics, history, and social studies or the social sciences—have almost never been included. This tends to justify one potential objection to these efforts: that they intend, like career education 20 years ago, to turn high schools into wholly vocational institutions with no commitment to the political development of students, no place for students to acquire the capacity to be socially critical (including the ability to evaluate the limits of existing occupations and of American capitalism generally), and no place for the exploration of values and sensibilities that goes hand in hand with the humanities.

Yet this need not be true. Occupations, understood in their broadest sense, provide ways to approach virtually any subject, as John Dewey argued when he advocated education *through* occupations. Occupations can provide contexts for understanding the importance of history or civics; they offer ways to make relevant to present life, and to adolescent dilemmas, those disciplines that students often find irrelevant and arcane. An occupational focus also provides a way of balancing the emphasis within history and civics on political issues—an understandable legacy of the nineteenth-century concern with preparing individuals for life in a democracy—with a greater appreciation of economic problems and roles. Following are some ways of

incorporating literature, history, and social studies into programs that integrate academic and occupational education.¹

THE LITERATURE OF WORK

In efforts to incorporate material from the English curriculum into vocational programs, the emphasis so far has been on "communication skills." For example, the *Applied Communication* sequence produced by the Agency for Instructional Technology (1988) emphasizes reading for comprehension (as one might read a technical or instructional manual), writing in such "practical" forms as resumes and business letters, aural comprehension (following directions), and speaking abilities (speaking with supervisors, co-workers, or clients). The literary side of conventional English curricula has been largely neglected, though there have been a few attempts to identify literary works suitable for a "literature component" in applied communication courses.² However, the potential for incorporating literature describing work, its special complexities and relationships, the tensions between life at work and life in other spheres, and changing attitudes toward work has been little explored.³

WHY STUDY LITERATURE ABOUT WORK?

Reading literature is an excellent way to develop critical thinking. It is also a powerful means for learning about character and values, showing, for instance, the difference between ambition and greed, loyalty and servitude, liberty and license. Literature has the power to capture the intensity of experience—as with romance, or pain, or work—and can thus conjure powerful scenes and feelings. And perhaps more than any other mode of expression, it pulls the reader in, confronts basic assumptions, and then leaves the reader to work out his or her own solutions. Accordingly, reading literature permits the student into the lives and work of other individuals and to observe representative and relevant experiences that are otherwise inaccessible.

Most people will spend much of their lives as workers. Over 30 % of the average person's normal waking experience is related to work outside the home. Events at work encompass the full range of human emotion—courage, honor, loyalty, ambition, fear, love, pain, and greed. Through these emotions, people derive differing degrees of satisfaction from work. Some have to drag themselves daily to a dull, meaningless job, while others receive from work some of the most exhilarating experiences life offers. Because of unemployment, work is often unequally distributed, and perhaps meaningful work even more so. However, whether one likes work or not, an individual's identity is often tied to the work one does.

The literature of work is also concerned with acting within the human community. Through this literature, one can examine work life and the emotions it stirs from another person's point of view and learn to take responsibility for one's own work: "Literature plays an important part in developing awareness of the commonness of the human drama. What an impact a work has when the reader finds in it a fellow sufferer, one who obviously knows 'what it is like!'" (Burton,

1970, p. 10). Success at work is usually built through effort, and often the greatest success comes with effectively working with others. Studying the literature of work can provide new insights into what is significant about human life, the ability to empathize with others through the development of an understanding of human needs and problems (Coles, 1989, p. 120).

Studying the literature of work offers other important advantages. Because of the major role of work in daily life, it is important to understand its function in society, and the individual's relationship to it. By reading about work one can also learn about historical events from a perspective that differs from the "great men / great events" focus usually found in social studies textbooks—whether the events be the rise of the factory system in New England, the struggles of the "Okies" during the Great Depression, or the development of corporate business culture in post-World War II America. Through literature, for example, one can gain new insights into labor conditions, the rise of unions and other social and political movements, as well as the background of work-related legislative acts for which work literature itself has sometimes served as a catalyst (Holt, 1989). For the large and increasing portion of the labor force who are not only workers but also women and mothers, usually with special familial responsibilities, literature can serve as a way of exploring the relation between work and family life, the sense of meaning in work that women have come to find, together with the special conflicts they experience. Literature also affords the opportunity to gain a greater appreciation of the contributions, struggles, and feelings of individual working people who have built this world, from homemakers to space—age technologists, from blue-collar workers to middle managers, from street messengers and peasants to corporate executives. Few of us will end up being one of the great "movers and shakers" profiled in conventional histories, but we will nearly all be workers.

Work-related literature thus operates like a mirror that reflects historical material, and also like a microscope that examines it in detail. It not only presents an author's point of view at a moment in history (as exemplified in Upton Sinclair's criticism of slaughterhouse conditions in *The Jungle*, and Sinclair Lewis's insight into American business in *Babbitt*), but it also analyzes as a case study the events occurring around the moment, as well as the actions of individuals whom the author posits as representative of the time. This literature, furthermore, "... contributes to the social vision and moral development in the growth of sensibility and exercise of imaginative alternatives" (Nelms & Nelms, 1988, p. 214). Readers of Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath*, for instance, discover a number of economic and social obstacles to the formation of workers' unions as they read about the struggle of the load family to find a place to live and work in California during the Dust Bowl era. As Rosenblatt (1983) stated, what is

particularly important is [the] discovery that various groups within our society hold up diverse images of success, and that there are kinds of work despised or ignored by [one's] own group that others considered socially valuable ... the craftsmen, the technologists, the artists, the scientists, the scholars offer personal goals and systems of value often strongly in contrast to those represented by the dominant image of the successful businessman. (p. 194)

The literature of work articulates the lives of men and women who run the machines, plow the fields, sign the contracts, sew the clothes, work the assembly lines, and sit in offices. It can be enjoyable and informative, thought-provoking, and perhaps even unsettling. Some novels and stories focus on the laudable side of work, while others criticize or satirize the more unpleasant or burdensome aspects—Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*, Joseph Heller's *Good as Gold*, and a larger literature exploring the oppressiveness of the modern corporation—thereby capturing the full range of experience surrounding work. Certain pieces of work literature represent efforts to defy what they see as a conspiracy on the part of business and government to dehumanize individuals or to characterize businesspeople as Babbitts or unlettered philistines. Others attempt to right a perceived prejudice against labor and labor leaders. Some contemporary critics hold that "literature ... serves a purpose. It can integrate the reader into culture, inviting him to define himself against a background of cultural expectations and to modify that background" (Probst, 1988, p. 249). When seen in this light, the literature of work can aid in the transition from academic to work life by encouraging a more total human development, raising the stakes of the individual's interest in the curriculum material presented.

Lastly, through reading the literature of work, it is possible to capture the romance and human drama of the work and business worlds—the good and bad, the excitement and boredom, and the nobility and rascality. In these creations, dry economic theories are given flesh and blood explorations and interpretations.

There are, to be sure, utilitarian reasons for reading work-related literature. Businesses often complain that their workers are not able to read and communicate at appropriate levels, and that they lack the requisite higher-order capacities. By studying literature, students can gain new insights into work habits, communication skills, interpersonal skills, and problem solving—skills that business leaders consider just as important as technical abilities. Literature can, furthermore, help develop a stronger corporate citizenship by promoting a sensitivity to the needs and desires of others in a work setting, and a sensitivity to the problems within a work setting. One business instructor teaching a course called *Wisdom for the Workplace*, used literature, together with case studies from business, to "teach students that the wisdom of Great writers from the past is still pertinent to the solving of contemporary job-related problems." This instructor described the process as follows:

I have also discovered why my business-career students generally falter when faced with complex problems in their business or technical core courses, especially those that deal with human issues. The juxtaposition between the humanities—which always ask questions about life, happiness, and freedom—and the courses that fill their career programs (always focusing on the absorption of accepted processes or pragmatic applications) is so strong. [My course] is a wild mix that asks students to question first,

and then to justify their opinions convincingly, rather than to simply accept (Smith, 1990)⁴

The use of literature as an approach to problem solving may strike some—particularly some traditional English teachers—as overly utilitarian in this sense, but it is also a way of allowing students to view the world from radically different perspectives.

THE ADOLESCENT AND WORK LITERATURE

Critics have pointed out that the typical secondary school English literature curriculum lacks appeal to many students (Probst, 1988, p. 114). Must such curricula utilize a majority of works from the classic canon. Junior and senior high school literature programs are still often organized historically and not thematically. In contrast, high school years are a time of orienting oneself to the central goals and purposes of one's life. An adolescent "is concerned about relations with peers the gradual assumption of responsibilities. He wants to understand work, love, hate, death, vengeance" (Probst, 1988, p. 4). Hence, a literature curriculum that does not include a substantial number of selections that relate directly to work may be less interesting and relevant to students.

In view of the increase over the past two decades in the number of high school students who also are working, it is rare to find students today who have not had at least a summer job, or done baby-sitting, or chores for pay. Their own experience, in turn, makes them keen observers of the work world around them: "Students are simultaneously observers, beneficiaries, victims of their parents' work lives, continually assessing the merits and drawbacks of their work choices, their moods after a work day" (Hoffman, 1990, p. 56). Most are eager to recount their own experiences with bosses or customers. For adolescent students, jobs are boring, exciting, oppressive, heroic, difficult, and satisfying. They can already begin to realize that Work can transform lives by imbuing them with significance and meaning—or conversely, that work can be "a drag."

Moreover, high school students are often already preoccupied with their own work futures, but are pressured by adults and peers to declare future professions based on woefully inadequate information—few have a sense of the day-to-day experiences that lie behind even the most familiar jobs (Hoffman, 1990, p. 55). And many lack realistic views about what the future will hold for them: "Most secondary students will not become professional literary scholars they will more likely drive cabs, wait on tables, sell real estate, [or] work in an office" (Probst, 1988, p. 3). Adolescents are developing independence from parents and other authority figures. They are struggling with the almost universal concerns of growing up and of accepting adult roles. Reading literature can provide an opportunity for adolescents to exercise independent

response and critical judgment. Work literature often deals seriously with these recurring themes.

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE CLASSROOM

Students in both general and vocational tracks often are assigned less literature in school than are students in the academic track (Ravitch & Finn, 1987, p. 171). Perhaps it is time not only to reverse that trend, but also to enrich the spectrum of what students in all classes read with choices ranging from works that concentrate on personal life to those that relate the experience of the individual at work and in other social contexts. In some states, students are "expected to read provocative works" (California State Department of Education, 1987, p. 8). These could include works giving a more balanced view of relations between labor and labor leaders and businesspeople—perhaps striking a responsive chord in students by offering substance that relates to what they have experienced and will experience—to keep interest alive (Probst, 1988, p. 5).

As already mentioned, there are few examples of curriculum material designed to teach the literature of work. One purpose of such material would be to provide another perspective about work and its consequences—since the conventional approach in high school has been to stress the skills and knowledge necessary for work but not otherwise to explore what working means in an individual's life. Through such material, students would explore and analyze attitudes toward work and learn to appreciate what is significant about this important part of human life. Another purpose would be to lead students back into literature; for the large number of students who view literature as a chore, or who think of reading in purely utilitarian terms, it might be possible to use literature about work to move from purely informational uses of reading to more literary concerns. In this way, students could become more competent in the interpretation of literature and in the understanding of other symbolic expressions and, thereby, develop their abilities to communicate about basic human experiences such as work. Finally, another purpose of such material would be to allow students to analyze a significant component of human life—work—and to understand that no single interpretation of it (as either insignificant or all-important, as viewed from a capitalist or a labor-union standpoint, and so on) is sufficient.

How does one approach the literature of work in the classroom? One of the first steps is to identify the literary works suitable for the classroom. Because there are few resources, teachers may have to develop their own plans using books, bibliographies, and other materials at hand. In the realm of fiction, Koziol (1992) has compiled an annotated bibliography of nearly two hundred works written in English or available in translation that teachers can use to help students at the secondary and college levels to think critically about the world of work. The bibliography also includes references for teaching resources about work that can provide a

background for discussion of an author's insights on the work setting. The fiction in this bibliography is primarily about work and the major characters' reactions to it. There are, however, several selections in the list, some considered part of the "canon," where the main story does not directly concern work, but in which work does figure prominently in one chapter or section. The paint factory chapters of Ralph Ellison's *The Invisible Man*, and the introductory chapter, "The Custom House," of Nathaniel Hawthorn's *The Scarlet Letter* are two examples.

As for the actual incorporation of this material into the classroom, one possibility is simply to include examples of this literature among the types of literature to be studied, or among the themes to be examined, which already exist in the curriculum. The following provides some brief illustrations of how this could be done.

Example I

The short poem "Relief Locations Managers" by Herbert Scott (1976, p. 38) could be used, along with other more traditional pieces, in a class on free verse, or in one exploring human relationships.

Relief is everywhere
at once. He's on his way
up. When he works the front,
the register jumps
under his fingers,
groceries flashing past
like landscape,
his arms almost
screaming with motion.
If he comes to help you
in your section, you know
you're moving too slow.
You go home ashamed
of your thick clumsy hands.
Relief's bucking for manager
in a new store. You hope
he'll make it.

After the class reads the poem, the teacher could then stimulate discussion about type of poem, its structure, and its general meaning. Next, the teacher could assign activities based on the piece in which students discuss their reactions to the poem as a piece of literature about work:

1. In small groups, exchange anecdotes about times you or someone else has not followed directions or made mistakes on a job. How did you feel about your errors? How did your boss or co-workers react? How would you react if you were them?
2. With the members of your group, compose a set of directions or guidelines to help fellow workers avoid making the same mistakes.

Unlike the usual questions about literature, which focus on facts of plot and character, these questions are designed to move students toward a consideration of both personal experiences and their implications for others.

Example II

Students would be assigned a reading of John Updike's "A & P," a short Story about a checkout person who quits his job to make a point. Then they Can be asked the following questions, which again move beyond questions Of plot to those of interpretation and meaning within work contexts:

1. Skim the story to identify the four male A & P employee characters and scan to locate details about these characters and the reaction of each to the young female customers.
2. Why did Sammy quit his job at the A & P?
3. Discuss the meaning of one character's statement to Sammy: "You Don't want to do this to your Mom and Dad."
4. Speculate on Sammy's final comment: "... my stomach kind of fell As I felt how hard the world was going to be to me hereafter." Have you experienced something similar?

Another possibility for incorporating this material into the classroom would be to structure a class directly around the theme of work and its many facets—personal, social, and economic. For example, when studying a great work like Herman Melville's *Moby Dick*, students could explore the whole of the work instead of merely concentrating on the major theme—the obsession for revenge against a perceived evil. They could examine the historic and economic background of the whaling industry, the methods used in recruiting a crew, and the details of the search for whales, and then discuss how all this fits into the plot and major theme. Another focus could be on worker relations: what would it have been like to work on a whaling ship: the cramped living conditions; living, working, and eating with all different types of people; relations with co-workers and supervisors. Melville, after all, conceived of his work as a whole, not merely as story of a man revenging himself against a whale.

In dealing with Melville's novel and with the works of other authors, instructors should require students to look critically at the World of work that is presented—to examine and pose questions about the nature and politics of work, its necessity, its rewards, and its pitfalls. The biographical interviews of working people in Studs Terkel's *Working*, for instance, could be read to bring out these motifs: money versus meaning in the choice of work; the impulse to leave a lasting mark on the world; the unjust stereotypes with which most jobs are weighted. Students could then be asked to write about their own visions of their personal work futures. In George Orwell's *Animal Farm*, the author at first presents a rather sympathetic view of an uprising of the animals against a farmer who exploits them so that he can gain the maximum profit. However, students learn further on in the work that applications of the socialist-like society the animals themselves devise are also difficult.

An entire curriculum could also center on the general theme of work. For example, a one-semester course focusing on literature and labor could include works of fiction such as: *The Factory Girl* by Sarah Savage, the earliest American novel with a working person as the main character; Charlotte Brontë's *Shirley*, a story in which workers react to the introduction of machinery; Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*, which exposes the abuses of workers in the meat—packing industry in Chicago and the struggle of organized labor therein; Anthony Bimba's *Molly Maguires*, about a coal miner's strike for better conditions; and John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath*. There are also biographies available for classroom use that deal with the lives of labor leaders, such as John L. Lewis, Samuel Gompers, "Mother" Jones, and Caesar Chavez. These all provide excellent opportunities for creative writing, allowing students to explore the biographical form, or work histories of people they know, or their own work lives.

In the category of the most comprehensive approaches to integration, it is possible to develop courses that incorporate literature, vocational studies and other elements of the school curriculum in an all-encompassing fashion. One such course was created at Mastbaum Vocational—Technical School in Kensington, Maryland. There, a class in Shakespeare was transformed into an investigation of the aspects of Elizabethan life and culture that were relevant to the students' vocational studies. Students came up with projects in carpentry, food science, home economics, cosmetology, and drafting adopted from what they had learned from the literature and history of the age.

In all of these alternatives, attention can be given to open discussion about the merits and demerits of each author's interpretation of the work reality, about the author's views of his contemporaries, and about the contribution of historical insight to understanding the views presented in the selections. Students should learn to be critical of a Babbitt, for example, but also be able to see what positive lessons for work and for life (for example, the importance of integrity in business dealings) can be drawn from that piece of literature. While reading *Death*

of *a Salesman*, students can focus on the many ways that author Arthur Miller demonstrates Willy's alienation from his family, his job, and society as a whole. They can examine why Willy cannot comprehend Biff's rebellion against rigidly prescribed modes of behavior and the hierarchy of the business world, and why, for Willy, there is no other way of living.

Authors writing about work and the lives of real people often use a realistic style. Work literature often contains language culled from the work experience, which may at times be quite raw and explicit (Hoffman, 1990, p. 55). Two prime examples of this frank expression and approach are Studs Terkel's candid interviews of ordinary workers in *Working*, and the graphic descriptions of a coal miner's life and family in D.H. Lawrence's *Sons and Lovers*. Discussion of this type of literature could focus on the living and working conditions of the characters, and on the traits that enable them to endure adversity and to relish personal triumphs.

Finally, literature about work provides opportunities—as does literature in general—for examining a number of themes connected to multicultural perspectives in the curriculum: the particular conditions of women at work, the special experiences of African Americans and Hispanics, the conflicts between historical and “modern” patterns of work among Native Americans, and so on. (For a partial listing of some appropriate literature, see Koziol, 1992) Within this large area, there is room for stressing both the similarities and differences that exist between the general experience and the experiences of particular groups: for example, differences that include the experience of particular groups with discrimination in employment, relegation to menial work or to “woman's work,” and conflict between different cultures and their approaches to work; and similarities in the realm of what all workers must face (both the joys and pains of work), the ambitions of twentieth century Americans for progress through work, and the disappointments connected with ambitions that are limited by conditions beyond our control.

Of course, it is unnecessary, and probably inappropriate, to choose one Type of literature over another. The literature of work need not be used to The exclusion of all other kinds of literature. Instead, instructors can find a better balance, correcting the pervasive neglect of work-related themes in the high school that restricts the range of issues that students can explore through literature. Given the richness of the literature about work, a greater variety of reading material provides one way of allowing all students to explore the work-related issues they will confront, while at the same time preventing the potential excesses of applied and overly utilitarian approaches to reading and writing that can exist in academies, clusters, and magnet schools with an occupational focus.

THE STUDY OF HISTORY

Americans face a perplexing choice between the maxim of Henry Ford, who declared that "History is bunk," and that of George Santayana, who said that "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it." In the main, Ford has won out. Serious consideration of historical perspectives is not common in our society, and the historical knowledge of high school students is weak (Ravitch & Finn, 1987). Ironically, however, history continues to be considered an important subject in the list of official school subjects sanctioned by everyone in society: *A Nation at Risk* (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983) included historically oriented social studies among the five "New Basics," and U.S. history is included among high school graduation requirements virtually everywhere.

While history is officially recommended and widely required, its teaching generally confirms Henry Ford's view of the matter. High school history courses continue to be dominated by fact-oriented lectures in which history—represented primarily by names and dates, the political history of wars, information about presidents and other leaders, and facts about a series of events that punctuate the timeline—is presented as straight chronology, without possibilities for interpretation or for application to present issues (Wineburg & Wilson, 1991). Because of the emphasis of nineteenth-century educators on socializing students for their roles as citizens in a democracy, history teaching has been consistently dominated by political history, relegating to marginal status economic history—a set of topics more consistent with occupational concerns—as well as social history and other emphases that might be closer to students' current interests.

The conventional approaches to history have, unfortunately enough, failed all groups of students. For college-bound students, high school teaching has left them without the ability to make their own interpretations, to understand contrasting points of view, to perceive the biases and arguments in the historical record—the stuff that college-level historians prize most, and that they find missing in the classwork of high school graduates. On the other hand, conventional history teaching has left the non-college-bound unconvinced that history is a subject worth studying or remembering. History study in the high school is in the worst of all positions: It is not "real history," the discipline in which practitioners debate endlessly, but has become instead a "school subject," a set of facts to memorize, a stripped-down version of what the discipline is about. If history seems so boring and irrelevant, it is small wonder that most high school students cannot date the Civil War or identify many twentieth-century presidents.

Partly in response to this situation, interest in the methods of teaching history has revived during the last 5 years after nearly two decades of relative neglect. The reports of the Bradley Commission on History in Schools (1989), the continuing work of the National Council for History Education, the widely cited curriculum framework for history and social science

developed by the California State Board of Education (1988), and the curriculum standards being developed by the National History Standards Project (Crabtree, Nash, & Symcox, 1993) have all restated the case for history teaching, and have provided opportunities for generating some consensus about what ought to be taught. At the same time, an interest has developed in more active forms of teaching history, in an attempt to move away from the fact-intensive, lecture—dominated mode of teaching that is still so prevalent today (McAndrews, 1991). The greater use of oral history and the creation of local community histories, as ways of involving students in the “doing” of history, provide one such method; debates, role playing, the creation of historical dramas, and cooperative projects represent other efforts to make the teaching of history more involving. Many more history teachers are now using primary source materials, partly to get their students to do “real history” and partly to move away from the tyranny of textbooks, which are dominated by facts and regarded by professional historians as the least reliable of historical materials (Wineburg, 1991). Finally, there have been greater efforts to integrate other subjects, including literature, art, and music, and nontext materials, like movies, music, and art, into the teaching of history.

While a reconsideration of the importance of history and more active teaching methods hold great promise for revitalizing history courses, there remain several problems to be dealt with in the context of the recent commission reports—and quite apart from the fact that these reports have as yet made little headway against conventional practice. One is that the motivation for learning history continues to be weak. The various reports tend to develop long lists of reasons why history is important, but these reasons are restated from the viewpoint of historians and educators, rather than from the viewpoint of students. For example, the National Center for the Study of History has developed a manifesto called “Value History!” that offers myriad reasons for the importance of the study of history, grouped under the headings “personal reasons,” “civic reasons,” and “professional (or occupational) reasons.” These range from the utilitarian (“to enable managers to identify germinal factors affecting an organization’s performance”) to the moral (“good character is much nourished by a grounding in past examples”) to the amusing (“history entertains by animating protagonists, dramatizing events in sequence, revealing motives and background action”). It remains unclear, however, whether the effort to accumulate more and more reasons is convincing; as in the case of social studies, more reasons may simply confuse teachers and students alike without getting at the central issue—that history seems irrelevant. And in particular instances of suggested alternatives for teaching—for example, the presentation of an interdisciplinary approach to teaching about the Great Depression; or a unit allowing students to act out the roles of various states in the Constitutional Convention—the issue of why students might want to know about the Great Depression or about the Constitution is ignored, historians see these subjects as self-evidently “good things.” But it is still not clear that students do.

A second problem is that most recent reports (for example, those of the Bradley Commission and the California frameworks) continue to stress the importance of chronological history. The National History Standards Project has stated that historical standards should be "founded in chronology" (Crabtree, Nash, & Symcox, 1993, p. 34), and has developed a periodization suggesting the importance of a standard chronology in teaching. The Bradley Commission further recommended that courses urge students to perceive past events and issues as they were experienced by the people at the time, to develop historical empathy as opposed to present-mindedness" (Bradley Commission, 1989, p. 25). The danger of these recommendations is that they may lead back to chronological names-and-dates history teaching, with history continuing to be a subject about the far-off past, without implication for the present.

Finally, the recommendations about revising history continue to stress subjects from political history, and are based on great civilizations of the past. Of particular importance to schools considering an occupational focus and the integration of academic and vocational content, the issues of history most closely related to occupational concerns—economic history, the history of technology, occupations, sectors, and their influence on the rest of society—have been given scant attention. To be sure, the National History Standards Project has adopted economics and technology as one of five themes to be used in teaching history, and the history of technology is conventionally mentioned among the important topics to be covered.⁵ But in general, subjects related to the occupational missions of the high school, and to the occupational decisions high school students are making, are lacking.

Overall, then, the recent reports on the teaching of history promise not to change the teaching of history very much. The alternative, of course, is to take a different approach, one that stresses a thematic approach to history and one that emphasizes the value—indeed the necessity—of historical perspectives in understanding the present.⁶ This would allow the incorporation into history courses of themes related to occupational concerns, and the enhancement of the occupational focus of academies, clusters, or magnet schools, and it would allow teachers to incorporate into their history classes references to current issues being raised in other classes, or being debated on the front pages of newspapers or in the local community. Integration with other subjects—with literature being taught in English courses, for example, or lab demonstrations in science—can then be shared with other teachers, rather than falling only on the shoulders of the history teacher. This approach thereby provides motivational advantages over other approaches to teaching history particularly in school settings where students have chosen an occupational focus and are more captivated—one hopes—with all subjects related to that broad occupational cluster.

There are many different ways to think about history being integrated with occupational content:

1. *The most obvious alternative is simply to teach a course in the history of an occupation or industry.* For example, the health sector has a fascinating history, one that intersects with issues such as the rise of science, emerging conceptions of professionalism at the turn of the century, the subordinate treatment of women, the appropriate role of government regulation, and pressures for differentiation and specialization into professions and semi-professions—issues that continue to be relevant today. Business has a long history of organizational forms—from the family-based capitalism of the eighteenth century to the early industrial firms of the nineteenth century, to the development of the corporate form and multinational corporations, with related issues of internal controls and government regulation. Agriculture has a history that reveals its evolution from the dominant sector of society to one that employs only a small minority of individuals, and that illustrates how technical change and consolidation forced individuals off the farms while society at large still clings to associations with that sector as one that forms the basis for many of our values and myths. Even in the case of occupations for which course offerings, many would argue, should not be included in high schools, there are opportunities for developing an historical imagination: a cosmetology program could examine changing conceptions of beauty, while a home economics program could analyze changing conceptions of cooking and nutrition, and the “language of clothes” (Lurie, 1981).
2. *Other courses could be devised as electives that are more closely related to Occupational issues than are the conventional history electives.* Good examples include the history of technology, historical approaches to the topic of science, technology, and society,⁷ courses on government regulation of business and technology, labor history, and the development of Social and environmental policy. Such courses could be offered in several different ways. In most cases, perhaps, courses would be open to all students within a high school; in a high school with occupational clusters or academies, these courses would include students from several different occupational areas, allowing them to share issues and problems from varied perspectives (though this makes the task of focusing on particular occupations or industries more difficult). Alternative courses could be developed that are specific to an occupational area or industry, for students in a specific academy or cluster; the history of agriculture, the history of government regulation of business, and the history of children and families (for those in the human services or education) are examples of more specific courses. Such electives provide a way to include in the curriculum subjects that both develop historical thinking and knowledge and simultaneously explore occupational concerns from a different disciplinary perspective.

3. *A current controversy or development could become a theme for historical examination.* For example, the current efforts to reshape the health system exemplify the trend in government regulation and increasing involvement because of transfer programs (like Medicaid and Medicare). The recession of 1990-92 and its effects on employment patterns provides a springboard for examining other recessions, including the Great Depression, with its many effects on both social and economic policy. The current debate over the skills required at work—a debate that influences high school students directly, through the current discussions about SCANS skills and higher-order thinking—invites an examination of changing skills requirements in earlier periods. Controversies over pesticides, restrictions on logging, controversy surrounding the fate of the spotted owl and snail darter, and other environmental issues—some national and some quite local—provide opportunities for historical discussions about the different economic interests of local communities, the views of business and labor, and the role of government regulation in a capitalist economy. Such present-oriented topics could occupy lessons of short periods of time, in module lasting a week or two, or more substantial teaching periods devoted to an issues-oriented course. Whatever form they take, courses on these topics provide yet further opportunities to present the value of historical perspectives in understanding current issues.
4. *Semester-long courses in contemporary problems—an extension of the analysis of a current issue—also provide opportunities for historical analysis (Stearns, 1993, p. 178), as well as for raising occupational issues.* Sometimes these courses are treated as capstone courses in the senior year, allowing students to integrate the different perspectives of the humanities. They have the advantage of allowing students to become more sophisticated about subjects of current importance, hopefully motivating the kind of political participation that civics is intended to foster, while they can also allow exploration of historical perspectives.
5. *Occupational issues can be themes that cut across a series of courses, including history.* In the standards being developed by the National History Standards Project, the theme of technology and society is one that can be brought up through each of the periods covered by chronological history, making sure that these occupationally oriented subjects are not lost in the greater weight of political history. In the Pennsylvania Youth Apprenticeship curriculum, five themes cut across the subjects of English, social studies, math, science, and an occupational course: the themes of labor history, technology, and society; technical manuals; interpersonal skills; youth in society; and family (Nahemov, 1993). Each of these has some relevance to occupational preparation (except perhaps youth in society and family, both opportunities to be self-aware about adolescence). The Mendocino (California) program, *Windows to the Future*, examines the extent to which technology has shaped American culture, values, art, and history throughout the twentieth century. A final possibility is that such themes can be place-specific; for

example, Philadelphia has adopted a course called "Exploring the City, Understanding the Nation," which uses material on Philadelphia itself to explore larger issues about the role of cities in society. Within this course, one strand examines the influence of technological change on the city of Philadelphia itself and, by extension, on cities in general.⁸

6. *A project can be devised that explicitly unites history and occupational or local concerns.* For example, the practice of developing local histories, with the aid of oral histories and interviews with elderly residents—a mainstay of the Foxfire approach developed by Eliot Wiggington (1991)—could be extended to develop histories of a locally dominant industry, like agriculture in rural areas, textiles in the south, or mining in the west.

The techniques for integrating history with occupational content are no different, then, than those for integrating any other two subjects. They are also relatively consistent with current efforts to place greater emphasis on history, to stimulate historical perspectives and analytic thinking rather than an exclusive attention to facts, and to develop more interdisciplinary theme-based teaching. But such integration has a particular advantage in the case of history, one that teachers in the midst of curriculum integration mention also in conjunction with algebra, literature, and other subjects:⁹ it can help students *back into* history, to discover the power of historical perspectives not by declaring history to be important but by demonstrating how valuable it is for a particular issue. In this way, integration can help students overcome the dread of history that seems almost to be bred into them by the time they reach high school.

Finally, revising the teaching of history along these lines would benefit all students. For those bound for 4-year colleges, it would restore the role of interpretive history, in which participants debate the varied interpretations of historical events rather than simply regurgitate uninteresting facts. For students who end their study of history in high school, it has promise for leading them into a kind of historical thinking not much in evidence today. For students in occupationally focused programs, like academies and clusters, it provides new opportunities for examining the kinds of vocational issues that are not generally part of the curriculum. And even for those students (and teachers) who consider their interests more academic or intellectual, these ways of teaching history can restore the issues of economic history that have been neglected in the over emphasis on political developments.

In the end, debates over chronological history versus thematic approaches, or historical empathy versus present-oriented teaching, or fact-based approaches versus analytic approaches, are false dichotomies, as the Bradley Commission (1989, p. 43) points out; in each case both are necessary for a complete approach. But since current history teaching, or dominated by fact-intensive, chronological approaches with almost no connection to current issues, and with economic issues given short shrift, some correction of this imbalance is

necessary. Using occupations and current economic issues to frame historical questions is one way to do this, which, at the same time, allows occupationally focused program to expand their conception of the capacities important to students.

THE STUDY OF SOCIAL STUDIES AND CIVICS

As is the case for the teaching of history,¹⁰ educators involved in teaching social studies and civics face a perplexing dilemma, caught between persistent pressure to develop the realm of political education and widespread apathy for the subject matter. Recommendations on the necessity of teaching students about the values of a democracy and the importance of political participation (a legacy of the nineteenth-century common school) have persisted in virtually every commission report, even as the main emphasis in recent reports has rested on the nation's economic decline, disregarding issues of political malaise. The persistent decline in political participation nationwide can be viewed side by side with the fact that it becomes harder and harder for schools to convince students of the importance of democratic participation. And, as in the case of history, the way social studies is taught has compounded the problem. A didactic, fact-intensive presentation of concepts remote from the lives of adolescents (lectures on the three branches of government, checks and balances, and endless detail about the legislative process), the apparent irrelevance of social studies (Van Sickle, 1990), and the tendency to slip into sermonizing such attributes as civility (in an uncivil society) and civic-mindedness (in a society of runaway individualism) have made social studies the least popular subject in schools (Morrisett, Hawke, and Sperba, 1980).

Partly in response, several groups have recently proposed revisions of the social studies curriculum¹¹ They have stressed its importance for citizenship training, and argued for an expansion of the time devoted to social studies. Recognizing that fact-intensive approaches are inconsistent with current efforts to change teaching, they espouse a greater role for inquiry interpretation. For example, *Charting a Course: Social Studies for the 21st Century* (National Commission on Social Studies in the Schools, 1989) recommends that "content knowledge from the social studies should not be treated merely as received knowledge to be accepted and memorized, but as the means through which open and vital questions may be explored and confronted" (p. 3). Indeed, social studies by its nature is interdisciplinary, and most advocates favor keeping it interdisciplinary, and focused around social issues and their application, rather than purely discipline-based.¹²

However, in other respects the recommendations for social studies and civics haven't changed much.¹³ *Charting a Course* recommends a conventional three-course sequence in world history, American history, and geography for grades 9-11, with the twelfth grade occupied with economics and government. The topics included—the differences among capitalism, communism, and mixed economies; the Constitution and the Bill of Rights; and world

geography—are assumed to be important without any justification, any recognition of their importance in the eyes of students, or much effort to relate such subjects to current issues. The mammoth *Civitas*, 665 oversized pages thick, begins with Aristotle’s words about the centrality of widespread civic participation to liberty and equality, and then goes on to stress the importance of civic virtue as a personal disposition, of civic participation as a citizen’s responsibility, and of civic knowledge as the foundation of civic virtue and participation. As an earnest statement of a particular tradition, *Civitas* is quite powerful; but as a response to the hostility of students toward social studies, and to the decline of civic participation, it is utterly lacking.

Again, there is an obvious alternative that others involved in teaching social studies have begun to explore: a theme (or issue) orientation,¹⁴ which allows students to examine the same political topics but within a specific context of concern to students, rather than to the grand tradition of civics. A theme-based approach can then incorporate, among many possible themes, those related to occupations and preparation for the workforce, all of which are particularly appropriate in schools integrating academic and vocational education. It can also examine current events of local importance, and use these events as ways of opening up discussion on the forms they take in other cultures and societies, and the forms they took in other times (in acknowledgment of the emphasis on the “far away and long ago” so dear to the hearts of educators, but so incomprehensible to students in a xenophobic and present-oriented society). Again, as in the case of history, these general approaches to social studies and civics can take many forms:

1. *Current policy issues specific to occupational clusters, or industries, can form the basis for examining any political issue, including traditional subjects (the rule of law, separation of powers, etc.), the tension between individualism and civic virtue, the behaviors appropriate for a democracy, and so on.* The current federal legislation related to dislocated workers, the reformulation of the health sector, the debates over international trade as they apply to agriculture and the computer industry, the regulation of employment conditions (including laws related to discrimination and sexual harassment), the debates about unemployment versus inflation as targets of fiscal and monetary policy, and the declining role of unions are some of the endless and varied public issues that can be related to occupational clusters, or to occupational concerns more generally. These issues also exist at local, state, federal, and international levels, allowing instructors to move among the different levels in a federal system, and from the familiar to the more abstract.¹⁵
2. *Occupationally oriented issues can become themes cutting across a variety of courses.* Issues like the measurement of well-being (in the context of earnings, unemployment,

or poverty levels), trends in employment; and changes in the nature of occupations, industries, and skill requirements are all issues that can be examined not only in government and history courses, but also in English (including literature), perhaps in math, and in occupational courses.

3. *In some occupations and industries, and in some areas of the country, international trade is sufficiently important to provide a basis for examining other countries.* The trade of Western states with countries around the Pacific Rim or of the southern tier of states with nations in Latin America provides topics related to the well-being of local workers that can be used to explore a variety of international issues.
4. *Science, Technology, and Society (STS), a curriculum development with a large number of examples, can be used to examine technological changes, their influences on society, and the government regulation of business—either for particular occupations or industries, or in more general ways.* The general subject of STS is broad enough to encompass either technical changes specific to an occupation or industry—for those academies, clusters, and magnet schools that focus on particular occupational areas—or to encompass a variety of changes in different sectors. In some cases STS courses appear to concentrate more on the applications of academic science, while in others they focus on technological change, shifts in occupations, and more recognizable vocational concerns. In either case, however, STS provides a vehicle for integrating a variety of subjects; science and its technological applications, industry and occupational transformation, and social concerns of many kinds.
5. *Every industry and every occupation involve some aspect of government regulation, and therefore provide concrete opportunities for examining the role of government and public policy in a “private” or capitalist society, particularly one like the U.S. with a comparatively strong distrust of government regulation.* Instances of government regulation can then serve as ways to explore interest group politics, the limits of regulation, the role of litigation versus legislation, and well-worn subjects, like the three branches of government, checks and balances, separation of powers, and the mechanics of legislation—not as abstract topics that are “formal, superficial, and cold” (Dewey, 1916, Chap. 23), but as political mechanisms that influence students, their families and communities, and their future lives.
6. *The projects sometimes used to enliven social studies—debates, visits to state capitals, mock legislatures—can incorporate themes drawn from work and economic policy rather than nonoccupational themes.*

In addition to these suggestions for revised content, an occupational focus to another way in which to conceive of teaching civics. The curriculum content for civics draws largely on political practice, but in this country it has also always been conceived of as a way of teaching individual responsibility—to the community, to the principles on which our republic was founded, to some sense of the public interest. However, because the content of civics has been drawn relentlessly from political concerns, the sense of responsibility contained within this tradition has been one of political responsibility, or civic virtue. The analogous sense of responsibility within the economic sphere—the conception, for lack of a better term, of the good worker-citizen—has never been part of civics at all.¹⁶ This notion has been incorporated into the curriculum only in certain vocational programs, particularly within efforts to socialize students for the role of diligent and obedient worker.

This is, of course, an aspect of vocational education that has drawn the fire of its fiercest critics, particularly those who argue that fostering obedience is merely a way of legitimizing an oppressive economic system. But conceiving of the responsibilities of the worker-citizen only within the context of socializing students misconstrues the issues. Just as the responsible citizen should not be passive and docile, and should not always be blindly obedient to political authority, so too the responsible worker-citizen should not always be docile and obedient. The rights and responsibilities of workers, often seen only in the context of legal wrangling, also provide a foundation on which a broader approach to civics can be built, one in which teenagers can confront the issues of interpersonal work relationships, of private versus public interest, and of individual versus collective responsibility; issues they will continue to face throughout their working lives.

There are, then, many opportunities for incorporating relevant material into social studies and civics classes. To be sure, as in the case of teaching history, doing so requires a change in teaching approaches leading away from the fact-intensive, didactic, and relatively abstract presentation of curriculum material and toward a more issues-oriented presentation, emphasizing student interpretation and participation—a change that is at least as challenging to consider as is the incorporation of diverse content into the social studies curriculum. What a change such as this promises, however, is that a widely loathed corner of the high school curriculum could finally come alive for students, allowing high schools to prepare the kinds of engaged citizens and workers that nineteenth-century educators first envisioned.

CONCLUSIONS: THE SPECIAL IMPORTANCE OF VOCATION IN THE HIGH SCHOOL

Efforts to improve teaching in the humanities (including literature and history) and in civics-oriented subjects (including social studies) have been fragmented in part by the pleading of special interest groups—for example, by environmentalists, feminists, fundamentalists, and advocates of multiculturalism, consumer rights, and parental education. Proponents of more

career-oriented education can be counted among these groups, in the sense that they also argue for their point of view to be incorporated into the crowded curriculum. Thus, the idea of integrating occupational content with literature, history, and civics could be dismissed as merely another example of partisanship.¹⁷

Nevertheless, several elements distinguish occupational issues from the particular positions espoused by the types of interest groups listed above. Occupations and economic life are all-encompassing: they affect everyone, rather than being political positions or life choices that some will choose but others reject. Furthermore, high school students are, consciously or not, making choices about their future occupations when they decide what courses to attend, or whether or not to prepare for college or to complete high school. These are considerations that firmly link high school studies to occupations, but these links are hidden by the “academic” appearance of the high school. The incorporation of more occupational themes into high school courses provides students with ways to wrestle with choosing among the great variety of occupations and their consequences—ways that are embedded in the curriculum, rather than being independent of it, as career guidance and counseling are.¹⁸ Because students are beginning to grapple with occupational options and their relation to schooling, there may be greater motivational power in the integration of occupational themes and content. At the very least, the ubiquitous question about the relevance of subject matter to real life can be addressed with more obvious answers when occupational themes are used. And while occupational relevance may be too narrow and utilitarian a criterion for many teachers of English, history, and social studies, it does provide a route into these subjects, a way of backing into learning that also will include an aesthetic appreciation for language, a sense of historical empathy, and a veneration for our political culture—learning that now eludes the majority of our students.

In high schools (or in schools—within—schools, like academies) with an occupational focus, the incorporation of themes drawn from work is both natural and constructive, a way of making sure that such education does not become overly utilitarian. But even where an occupational focus is absent, the use of themes and projects provides a pedagogical route out of the most stultifying types of teaching. In selecting themes, the merits of occupations that John Dewey (1916, Chap. 23) claimed are still valid. Dewey noted that an occupation “balances the distinctive capacity of an individual with his social service” (p. 308), allowing instructors to address both individual interests and the social concerns present in occupations. Second, he argued that “a calling is also of necessity an organizing principle for information and ideas” (p. 309), a principle that is less contrived than one around which topics are usually organized in school subjects, allowing exploration of a variety of information and ideas without being forced or unnatural. Finally, he declared that “the only adequate training *for* occupations is training *through* occupations” (p. 310), and called for a broad approach to occupational preparation. By

using occupations to provide a context for instruction, the use of work-oriented themes provides a way of preparing students broadly for their occupational futures, while avoiding the overly narrow training of traditional vocational education. The use of occupations to illuminate academic disciplines can restore to disciplines the sense that they are important for understanding the world, that youth and adults live in, rather than disconnected from the world, irrelevant, and abstract.¹⁹

The role of occupations within high schools is thus distinctive, and the argument for incorporating occupational themes into English, history, and the social studies is not simply another form of special pleading. In the end, however, debates about alternative content for these subjects, or alternative ways of teaching them, usually present false dichotomies. The issue is not whether students in English should read either the “canon” (Shakespeare and Elliot) or the anti-canon (Alice Walker and William Least Heat-Moon), or whether they should read either literature about work or literature about personal life. The purpose of education should be to turn them into readers, able and interested in reading different kinds of literature for their own purposes.²⁰ The battle in history should not be waged over which approach—chronological or thematic—is better, or whether historical empathy is more important than a concern with history illuminating present concerns; these are debates that professional historians cannot resolve. The problem high schools face is to convince students about the value of history and historical thinking in its many and varied forms. And the role of social studies and civics in enhancing political participation cannot be advanced as long as students view it as the most boring subject in the high school curriculum; the mechanics of government and our civic tradition are important, but without student motivation and current application, they are irrelevant.

Most high schools are now failing in these tasks. Most students leave school without having become either readers, or informed students of history, or engaged political participants. Integrating English, history, social studies, and civics teaching with occupational applications and concerns provides one way to remedy these failures—a way that can simultaneously rescue these subjects from irrelevance and prevent occupationally-oriented curricula from ignoring the moral and political purposes of education.

NOTES

1. There are various other disciplines that are somewhat easier to integrate with occupational perspectives. Economics, for example, has often been adapted into agricultural economics or business economics. There is both a sociology of occupations and a psychology of occupations that could be incorporated into high school courses. This paper stresses the disciplines linked to the humanistic and political traditions of education.

2. The *Applied Communications* curriculum contains resource sections in which literary works are listed that relate to topics covered in the lessons of each module (i.e., following and giving directions, evaluating performance, and so on). However, none of the suggested literary works is used as a basis for a lesson in the sequence. Supplementary lists of literature that could be used to accompany the *Applied Communications* sequence have been compiled by a few state education agencies. The South Carolina Department of Education has developed its own modules as a literature supplement to *Applied Communications*. However, the literature used is from the traditional canon and not literature about work itself. The career education movement of the 1970s also suggested integrating career education into academic subjects, but it too neglected literature; see, for example, Davidson et al. (1975), presenting the perspectives of the National Council of Teachers of English.

3. One of the exceptions is a reading textbook developed for high schools by Holt, Rinehart & Winston of Canada, *Language at Work* (Gough & Tickner, 1987). This reading includes examples of Canadian fiction, poetry, and nonfiction that relate to the subject of work, and is not therefore directed to a U.S. audience. In addition, a few instructors in the U. S., particularly several in community colleges, have initiated their own forms of integration by creating humanities courses—mainly dealing with science and technology—centered on work-related themes. One such course, entitled *Working in America*, has been developed at Kirkwood Community College in Iowa as part of a project called *Integrating the Humanities into Vocational Education*, sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities and the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges; see Grubb and Kraskouskas (1992).

4 This is an example drawn from a community college, where some of the most interesting cases of integrating literature and history with work-oriented themes have been developed; see Grubb and Kraskouskas (1992).

5. It can be noted, however, that the history of technology is generally covered as a series of names and dates associated with particular inventions—the cotton gin, the spinning jenny, the steam engine, and so on. The analytic issues that are just as important now as in the nineteenth century, and which could be applied to computers, computer-integrated technologies, lasers, new materials, and other recent inventions (i.e., what problems cause inventions to come into being; what influences their diffusion; what kinds of social issues and dislocations are generated by inventions) are less often examined.

6. For an excellent review of the issues surrounding presentism, see Seixas (1993). He points out that professional historians are divided on the issue of present-oriented readings of history versus historical empathy—as on most issues—so that there is no orthodoxy that high schools must adopt. A thematic and present-oriented approach to history was a mainstay of reforms during the 1960s; see especially Oliver and Shaver (1966).

7. National Association for Science, Technology and Society publishes a newsletter called *STS Today*. There are also many new developments in both schools and colleges; see Yager (1990). While STS is often associated with social studies rather than with history, there is an obvious historical approach to STS.

8. See Parssinnen and Spodek (1992) and the special issue on "Exploring the City" of *Continuum*, a newsletter of Paths/Prism in Philadelphia.

9. The practice of backing into abstract material is quite common in some of the integration efforts. In one academy, the vocational teacher observed: "We don't tell them [the students] we're going to do algebra because they're afraid of algebra; we just trick them into doing it."

10. In a way, the separation of social studies and history is artificial, since some advocates argued that history should be the centerpiece of social studies. However, there is an emphasis within social studies on citizenship and political participation, an emphasis sometimes present in the rationales for history but which limits the range of purposes and subjects taught within history—and which specifically makes it more difficult to move away from political history. There are many parallels between recent debates about history and those about civics, as this paper notes; on the sense of crisis common to both, see especially Seixas (1993).

11. See especially National Commission on Social Studies in the Schools (NCSS) (1989) and the mammoth *Civitas: A Framework for Civic Education* (Quigley and Buhmueller, 1991).

12. The 1979 guidelines of the National Council for the Social Studies acknowledged that learning could be structured either around disciplines or around issues, but encouraged the latter. For an excellent review of social studies issues, see Brophy (1990).

13. See also Cuban (1991) on the stability of social studies teaching.

14. On issue-centered approaches, see the special issue of *The Social Studies*, September/October 1989.

15. Social studies in the early grades is founded on the *expanding environments* notion of moving from the child to the family to the neighborhood and then outward to increasingly distant and abstract units. Social studies in the high school seems to have lost this approach to teaching; but given the difficulty many high school students have with more distant events and with units of government, a recasting of the expanding environments approach might be appropriate.

16. If we think of an education as preparing students to examine their responsibilities in the major spheres of adult life, civics prepares them (in theory, at least) for their roles as citizens. Preparation for their roles as parents and family members takes place only sporadically, in

parent education courses or in courses like social living, or sex education. But preparation for their roles as workers is generally absent entirely.

17. On the tendency of social studies teaching reforms to be fragmented by special interest groups, see NCSST (1989), p. vi. Of course, the recent commission reports calling for more history or more social studies are themselves examples of special interests within the constellation of the school subjects. For example, *Charting a Course* itself declares that “no branch of the school curriculum is more central than social studies” (NCSST, 1989, p. x).

18. See, for example, Belinda McCharen’s recommendation (Grubb, 1995) that guidance and counseling be embedded in the curriculum is more than segregated into separate counseling activities.

19. See also Kliebard (1992) on the decline of humanistic studies.

20. For this argument, see the elegant essay on the battle over the “canon” by Pollitt (1991).

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