

COMPARISON OF HIDDEN CURRICULUM THEORIES

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Abstract: *This study provides a summary of the existing researches on 'hidden curriculum'. Investigated literature are explained in detail and summarized as a table to show the whole picture. In that context it gives a reviewed literature and debates within the field of 'hidden curriculum'.*

Key Words: *Hidden curriculum, Unwritten curriculum*

INTRODUCTION

School curriculum is generally accepted as an explicit, conscious, formally planned course with specific objectives. In addition to this didactic curriculum, students experience an 'unwritten curriculum' described by informality and lack of conscious planning. It is also significant for the development of critical pedagogy. This refers to a 'hidden curriculum' that includes values, intergroup relations and celebrations that enables students' socialization process. This theory evolved from the work of various researchers such as Dreeben (1967), Jackson (1968), Vallance (1973) and so on. For many years, hidden curriculum theorists have tended to focus on how students experience an 'unwritten curriculum'.

This survey is aimed to present the key literatures and debates within the field of 'Hidden Curriculum', described by various theorists, as to better understand its context. Henceforth, firstly, definitions of hidden curriculum by various theorists will be given (Table 1). Then, the theories are explained in detail.

THEORIES OF HIDDEN CURRICULUM

Various studies have been conducted on review of hidden curriculum theories. In this study the work of Dreeben (1968), Lynch (1989), Margolis (2001) and Giroux (2001) have been utilized in order to explain the scope of hidden curriculum.

Hidden curriculum is acknowledged as the socialization process of schooling. Accordingly, Dreeben (1968) argues that each student has different parental background and when each attends to school, he/she

encounters the norms of schools that will prepare them to involve in the life of public sphere(s). He defines these norms as ‘independence’, ‘achievement’, ‘universalism’, and ‘specificity’ and suggested that these norms are required to teach them in order to collaborate with modern industrial society. Lynch (1989) argues that schools have universalistic and particularistic hidden aspects that enable an unequal environment for students. Although some of them are visible such as syllabuses, school time and exam procedures that might be accepted as universalistic, some of them are hidden such as social activities, reward systems that might be accepted as particularistic. Giroux (2001) identifies hidden curriculum as what is being taught and how one learns in the school as he also indicates that schools not only provides instruction but also more such as norms and principles experienced by students throughout their education life. Margolis (2001) argues that hidden curriculum, the school and classroom life, is the reproduction of schooling that enables to understand schools’ hegemonic function(s) that also maintains power of state. The works of former researchers will be summarized in the following paragraphs in detail.

In that context, citing Margolis, Emile Durkheim observes that more is taught and learned in schools than specified in the established curriculum of textbooks and teacher manuals. Even though it is not directly mentioned as ‘hidden curriculum’, this refers to hidden curriculum. In *Moral Education* Durkheim (1961) writes:

"In fact, there is a whole system of rules in the school that predetermine the child’s conduct. He must come to class regularly, he must arrive at a specified time and with an appropriate bearing and attitude. He must not disrupt things in class. He must have learned his lessons, done his homework, and have done so reasonably well, etc. There are, therefore, a host of obligations that the child is required to shoulder. Together they constitute the discipline of the school. It is through the practice of school discipline that we can inculcate the spirit of discipline in the child".

Table 1: Definitions of Hidden Curriculum

Author	Book	Definition
Emile Durkheim ([1925] 1961, p. 148)	Moral Education	Durkheim observed that more is taught and learned in schools than specified in the established curriculum of textbooks and teacher manuals. Even though it is not directly mentioned as ‘hidden curriculum’, this refers to hidden curriculum.
Philip Jackson (1968)	Life in Classrooms	Learning to wait quietly, exercising restraint, trying, completing work, keeping busy, cooperating, showing allegiance to both teachers and peers, being neat and punctual, and conducting oneself courteously.

Table 2: Definitions of Hidden Curriculum (continued)

Author	Book	Definition
Robert Dreeben (1967)	What is learned in classroom?	The hidden curriculum makes the pupils to form transient social relationships, submerge much of their personal identity, and accept the legitimacy of categorical treatment.
Elizabeth Vallance (1973)	“Hiding the hidden curriculum: An interpretation of the language of justification in nineteenth-century educational reform.” (Article)	The "unstudied curriculum," the "covert" or "latent" curriculum, the "non-academic outcomes of schooling," the "by-products of schooling," the "residue of schooling," or simply "what schooling does to people"
Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis (1976)	Schooling in Capitalist America	Schools are not as an agency of social mobility but as reproducing the existing class structure, sending a silent, but powerful message to students with regard to their intellectual ability, personal traits, and the appropriate occupational choice and this takes place through the hidden curriculum
Jane Martin (1976)	“What should we do with a hidden curriculum when we find one?” (Article)	Hidden curriculum can be found in the social structure of the classroom, the teacher’s exercise authority, the rules governing the relationship between teacher and student. Standard learning activities can be found also to be sources, as can the teacher’s use of language, textbooks, tracking systems, and curriculum priorities.

Table 3: Definitions of Hidden Curriculum (continued)

Author	Book	Definition
Paul Willis (1977)	Learning to Labour	The hidden curriculum of the school structure which is most important in determining the reproduction of class relations in schools; rather, it is the hidden curriculum of pupil resistances (cultural production) which must be understood if the dynamics of social and cultural reproductionism is to be explained.
Jean Anyon (1980)	"Social Class and the Hidden Curriculum of Work" (Article)	The hidden curriculum of schoolwork is tacit preparation for relating to the process of production in a particular way. Differing curricular, pedagogical, and pupil evaluation practices emphasize different cognitive and behavioral skills in each social setting and thus contribute to the development in the children of certain potential relationships to physical and symbolic capital, to authority, and to the process of work.
Michael Apple (1982)	Education and Power	He emphasized that hidden curriculum involves various interests, cultural forms, struggles, agreements, and compromises.
Henry Giroux (1983)	Theories of Reproduction and Resistance in the New Sociology of Education: A critical analysis.	He defines hidden curriculum as those unstated norms, values, and beliefs embedded in and transmitted to students through the underlying rules that structure the routines and social relationships in school and classroom

Accordingly, Philip Jackson (1968) enhances the meaning of the term ‘hidden curriculum’ in his book “Life in Classrooms” where he identified features of classroom life that were inherent in the social relations of schooling. According to his analysis, there were values, dispositions, and social and behavioral expectations that brought rewards in school for students and that learning what was expected as a feature of the hidden curriculum. This hidden curriculum is defined as learning to wait quietly, exercising restraint, trying, completing work, keeping busy, cooperating, showing allegiance to both teachers and peers, being neat and punctual, and conducting oneself courteously.

As indicated above, Robert Dreeben (1968) also examines the norms of school culture and concluded that they taught students to “form transient social relationships, submerge much of their personal identity, and accept the legitimacy of categorical treatment”. He focuses on the identifiable social structure of the classroom -for example waiting before getting time to teacher- and argues that classroom structure teaches children about the authority.

Margolis (2001) notes that the works of Durkheim, Jackson and Dreeben collected under the heading of consensus theory, provides the foundation for the general definition of the hidden curriculum as the elements of socialization that take place in school. However, it is not the formal curriculum in school. These include the norms, values and the belief systems throughout the curriculum, the school and classroom life. Students are informed the formers through daily routines, curricular content, and social relationships.

Although this approach provides the foundation for the general properties of the hidden curriculum and confirms that schools exist to serve the interests of the larger society, Lynch (1989) claims that this approach has a number of limitations. First, it falls under consensus theory which stresses consensus and stability while rejecting changes caused by conflict. Second, viewing the norms and belief system the school is transmitting as unproblematic and indisputable; this approach treats students as passive receipts defined in reductionist behavioral terms. Students are viewed only as the products of socialization without the ability to make meaning for themselves.

Vallance (1973) notes that there are three dimensions of hidden curriculum: (1) Contexts of schooling, including the student-teacher interaction unit, classroom structure, and the whole organizational pattern of the educational establishment as a microcosm of the social value system. (2) Processes operating in or through schools, including values acquisition, socialization, and maintenance of class structure. (3) Degrees of intentionality and depth of 'hiddenness' by the investigator. She claims that there might be unintended outcomes of schooling; however, these outcomes may not be nearly as unintended as one thinks (Arieh, 1991). Schools are considered as the places where educational ideologies are performed to maintain existence of dominant cultures.

Accordingly, Bowles and Gintis published a book "Schooling in Capitalist America" (1976) in which they argue from a Marxist perspective that refers to the authority structure of schooling. They develop a 'correspondence thesis' in which the key principle is that 'a structural correspondence' occurs between the social relations of school life and production. In other words, the values and culture of middle and upper-class are dominant throughout school life however, the low-class students are lack of them and suppressed. From this perspective, social inequality is reproduced through hidden curriculum.

Also, Paul Willis (1976) introduces the concept of resistance that he argues the school's role in social reproduction, Willis claims, resides not merely in some dominant and invincible institutional determinants, but also in the cultural forms produced by the 'lads' in their resistance to the authority of the school (Gorden 1984). According to Willis, the hidden curriculum of the school structure is important in determining the reproduction of class relations in schools. Otherwise, it should be understood as the hidden curriculum of cultural production when defining the dynamics of social and cultural reproductionism (Lynch, 1989).

From another perspective, theorists including Michael Apple, Jean Anyon, and Henry Giroux describe how hidden curricular practices provided. Their common point is that social reproduction emerges with the inclusion of the social organization of the school and the authority relationships between teachers and students.

Apple (1982) defines the hidden curriculum in a way that pointed to the concept of hegemony. He argues that the concept of hegemony shapes the school in many respects and defines schools as not just distributors but also producers of culture that are vital for the socialization of students. In other words, students encounter various norms and cultures through rules and activities during their school and classroom life that form the social life in the school. Also, in another work, "Ideology and Curriculum", Apple (2001) identifies that the hidden curriculum corresponds to the ideological needs of capital. Lynch (1989) emphasizes that Apple regards the manner of distributing high-status curricular knowledge as a core element of the hidden curriculum of reproduction.

Jean Anyon (1980) published an article entitled "Social Class and the Hidden Curriculum of Work". In her article, she reports the findings of a study in five schools in which investigated how children of different economic classes receive very different types of educations. For that reason, Anyon compared two working-class schools, one middle class school, an upper middle class school, and an elite school. She found a connection between the social class of the students, the type of education they receive in school, and the type of work. She observed that children in poor schools were prepared to become obedient laborers, while children in elite schools were prepared to become original thinkers and leaders. She notes that her article attempts a theoretical contribution as well and assesses student work in the light of a theoretical approach to social-class analysis.

Henry Giroux (2001) identifies schools as political institutions, inextricably linked to the issues of power and control in the dominant society. Citing Giroux, Giroux and Penna (1979), he noted that the schools mediate and legitimate the social and cultural reproduction of class, racial and gender relations in dominant society. When comparing with Bowles and Gintis, Giroux considers that it is possible for students to resist powers in schools. In other words, school environment can enhance individuals' understanding of power in society; accordingly, provide new possibilities for social organization.

Another theorist Martin (1976), defines hidden curriculum as a set of learning states, ultimately one must find out what is learned as a result of the practices, procedures, rules, relationships, structures, and physical characteristic which constitute a given setting. Therefore, a hidden curriculum cannot be found directly just for seeking, the researcher should examine it and search for reasons behind the events.

CONCLUSION

To sum up, the hidden curriculum as a socialization of schooling can be identified by the social interactions within an environment. Thus, it is in process at all times, and serves to transmit tacit messages to students about values, attitudes and principles. Hidden curriculum can reveal through an evaluation of the environment and the unexpected, unintentional interactions between teachers and students which revealed critical pedagogy.

This study has presented that every theorist has taken an important point into consideration, principally, exploring how pedagogical practices of schooling inform and socialize students. Also, many of them claim that the demands of upper and middle class are dominant throughout schooling. Particularly, the concept of hegemony and resistance are significant in the evaluation of hidden curriculum. Therefore, when examining the hidden curriculum of schooling, researchers should focus on them.

It is believed that this study will help the researchers to see a picture of the reviewed studies on hidden curriculum and guide them to use hidden curriculum theories in new areas and open a new age for the critical pedagogy.

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