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State-based curriculum-making, Part 2, the tool-kit for the state’s curriculum-making

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\textbf{ABSTRACT}

The paper identifies three tools that support the administrative instrument of a state-based curriculum commission: compartmentalization, licensing and segmentation. These tools channel the state’s curriculum-making towards forms of symbolic rather than regulatory action. The state curriculum becomes a framework for the ideological governance of schools and school systems.

Modern organizational theory says that, under external pressure, complex organizations tend to restructure themselves through differentiation. This is precisely how the Prussian curriculum administration behaved when it took to compartmentalization, licensing and segmentation. The question is … whether those strategies of differentiation should be regarded as locally developed characteristics of the Prussian administration, or as much more common tools of symbolic action that may suit almost every case of curriculum administration above the classroom level.

Haft and Hopmann (1990), p. 164

\textbf{Introduction}

Doyle (1992; see also Deng, 2009; Goodlad and Associates 1979) distinguishes three contexts in which there is debate, discourse, deliberation and decision-making about the school curriculum. In what Doyle terms the societal context, the discourse reflects the intersection of schooling and cultures, economies and societies. In the institutional/programmatic context the issues, discourses and decision-making centre on the formal specification of programmes of study for school types, school tracks and different kinds of certification as well as the construction of plans for the content and forms of teaching within these programmes. Finally, in the classroom context teachers determine the content, methods of teaching and the expectations for learning that are appropriate, in this course for these students, with their aptitudes, formal dispositions towards school learning, etc.

As Doyle emphasizes, it is in institutional/programmatic contexts that rationales for the curriculum are offered and the character, content and titles of school programmes and courses of study are developed to direct the world of schools and teachers—and to inform...
parents, students and the public (see Table 1). It is in these institutional contexts that theories of
the school and of school ‘content’ become issues about where (and whether and why)
old or new subject areas, topics and themes, e.g. ancient history, ancient Greek, citizenship,
entrepreneurship, the environment, will be located in (or dropped from) programmes and
courses; about where (and whether and why) which works of, e.g. the norwegian dramatist
Henrik Ibsen, should be included in the norwegian language arts syllabus; and about what
experiences, e.g. animal dissection, will be included, or omitted in the formal curriculum
(see Hug, 2008; see also ‘High flyers and sad failures’, 2015).

As we have noted in the earlier papers in this JCS series (Sivesind & Westbury, 2016;
Westbury et al., 2016), in many jurisdictions state-based curriculum-making and its instru-
ment of the curriculum commission have long been institutionalized for such programmatic
decision-making. And, as we have also noted (see Westbury et al., 2016; see also Rosenmund,
2006), over the past 25 or so years state-based curriculum-making has increasingly become
the norm as more and more jurisdictions, e.g. England, many US states, have adopted one
or another interpretation of the state-based model.

The OCC study sought to examine the structures and working patterns of state-based
curriculum-making commissions cross-culturally, thereby extending to a range of settings a
German tradition of research into the structures and patterns of work in and around
curriculum commissions (see Haft, 1986; Hopmann, 1988a, b; see also Haft & Hopmann, 1990; Haller, 1973; Weniger, 2000). The questions the study pursued stemmed from the finding by Haft and Hopmann that a ‘progressive’, systematic research- and policy-based pattern of curriculum-making widely advocated in the 1960s and early-1970s in the then Federal Republic of Germany did not prevail over older, tradition- and practice-based patterns of curriculum-making. As Haft and Hopmann (1990; see also Hopmann, 1988) pursued this finding, they concluded that there was some powerful functionality in the ‘traditional’ patterns of curriculum-making deriving from the curriculum’s role in the ideological governance of schools (see Lundgren, 2003): the curriculum, and its texts, develop the public narratives that legitimate the idea of the school, and of the school system, in the public and school culture. ‘Traditional’ patterns served this end better than the reformed practices of Germany’s 1970s.

Such governance is not always easy:

Making a curriculum is always … an attempt to define and control the social distribution of knowledge. Every decision no matter how small about what to teach or to leave out is a decision about who should learn what …. Hence, what is needed is an elaborate system able to provide legitimation of the desired distribution.

This description applies to the Prussian system of curriculum administration. … Its strength … has been its usefulness for almost any of the powers prevailing at different times. It seems that every successful system of state-run curriculum administration has incorporated rules similar to those of the Prussian or German variant. (Haft & Hopmann, 1990, pp. 159, 160; emphasis added)

One goal of the cross-national OCC study was to explore the ‘portability’ of Haft and Hopmann’s understanding of the German framework for curriculum administration. In this first set of papers reporting the outcomes of the study, we focus in particular on the instruments, the curriculum commission and the toolkit used within the state’s curriculum-making—in particular the tools of compartmentalization, segmentation, and licensing. Haft and Hopmann (1990) contend that this framework constrains the state’s curriculum documents to become instruments of symbolic action, the textual bases for a public narrative about the inner work of a school system.

**Structuring curriculum commissions**

The ‘educational’ platforms brought to governments and ministries and boards of education by political parties, social groups and/or mobilizations, including those within the schools themselves, are the starting points of the state’s curriculum-making (see Rosenmund, 2006). Such platforms are expressions of collective understandings of:

1. what is seen as needed to maintain the salience and vitality of an idealized schooling and culture;
2. what are seen as the appropriate ways and means to address/resolve sociocultural or economic problems¹; and/or
3. what is seen as the futures that might, or must, be changed by way of schooling and teaching, e.g. ‘European consciousness,’ ‘global awareness’.²

Some elements of the platforms that must be addressed are posed and defined for political and public leaders and national and state administrations by international and cross-national policy advocacy and assessment (see, e.g. Lundgren, 2015; Rosenmund, 2006; Rutkowski, 2007). Others are ‘local’. Some are old. Others are ‘new’. But all have become
(increasingly) the grist for advocacy and debate by ‘local’ political and professional educational leaders and policy elites. They require formal responses from school systems and schools. But to do so, an (interim) societal/political resolution around the need to acknowledge and address, e.g. ‘the AIDS crisis’, ‘active citizenship’, ‘entrepreneurship’, gender equity, ‘mainstreaming’, widened participation in STEM learning, etc., must be recontextualized in programmatic terms to become something that teachers and/or the school system can work with, given their content backgrounds, experience, traditions, etc. Teachers and schools have to know what they are to do as they work with the ‘new’ classroom priorities, subjects and/or courses, themes, strands, units, etc. With a working interim recontextualization in hand, teachers (and the school system) can formulate the ways and means by which they will (or will not) operationalize the new narrative in classroom curricula.

Seen this way, the curriculum documents that are the outcomes of the state’s curriculum-making instantiate in text the cultural narratives that give, and support, public and professional ‘meanings’ of the idea of the school. The texts of the state’s curriculum offer school owners and school people, as well as parents, interest groups and publics, authoritative answers to questions around the meaning in ‘our’ schools of, e.g. ‘cultural literacy’, gender equality, etc.; the ways and means by which STEM subject can be taught so as to become the keys to the state or nation’s human resource and economic development; the significance, place and framework for the teaching of English, Japanese, French, Mandarin as international languages … for all? For some?; etc. In other words, curriculum-making commissions, the public processes around them, and the formal curricula-as-documents that are their outcomes are instruments whereby societal and cultural (and sub-cultural) narratives from within the political/public systems and within the school communities are precipitated into the formal institutional frameworks and narratives of school systems (Rosenmund, 2006; Westbury, 2003). Although such narratives are still linked only indirectly to actual classroom practice and classroom work, they must be seen to reflect (and be linked to) the public square and both the traditions and the communities of practice that frame the narratives. They provide the languages that school people can use to describe their work and its framing (see Figure 1).

How is the development and positioning of texts that set out what is taken as authoritative and legitimate accomplished? How is this work done? If they are to secure legitimacy, curriculum commissions, their texts, and the narratives they present and represent cannot themselves be the objects of sustained conflict, or indifference. But at the same time—and this was the experience of, e.g. the first years of the English National Curriculum, the US ‘national standards’ documents of the 1990s, and the contemporary US ‘Common Core’—there is always considerable potential for conflict around both the administrative and educational rationales and frameworks and around the work of recontextualization of the subject-matters

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**Figure 1.** Curriculum-making and symbolic legitimacy.  
Source: adapted from Meyer and Rowan (1977).
of the ‘new’ (see Table 2). Lay and professional ideologies of ‘education’ contend for organizational recognition in the curriculum’s symbolic mandates. Professional groups within and around schooling may confront both political and public attitudes and understandings. Professional groups may confront different viewpoints and ideologies within their own (and neighbouring) professional communities, e.g. ‘communicative’ vs. ‘heritage’ understanding of the tasks of a mother-tongue language-arts curriculum (see e.g. Hellberg, 2012). The curriculum-makers may experience the conflicts around comprehensive vs. selective models of programmes of study within post-compulsory education. How are such potential conflicts managed by curriculum-makers?

Haft and Hopmann (1990; see also Hopmann, 1988a) contend that the development of a bureaucracy for curriculum administration and state-based curriculum-making emerged in 19th-century Prussia as instruments for the ideological governance of Prussian schools. Needless to say, syllabi, as instruments of the central governance of the inner work of schools, did not achieve professional authority and public legitimacy because of the arguments and/or claims that might be set out in formal texts. As they muddled through the implications of this understanding, they came to realize that ‘it was the process—the question of who shaped the syllabus on what authority—that had to decide’ (Haft & Hopmann, 1990, p. 161). In other words, Haft and Hopmann (1990) contend that the legitimacy and authority of the curriculum emerged from the process of curriculum-making. They go on to note that the key to the authority-conferring process was procedural. Such procedures were, in their turn, supported by a set of routinized tools that, when they worked as they should, reduced the public and professional stakes around each new curriculum. And as we have noted, Haft and Hopmann (1990) speculate that these mechanisms are found almost everywhere that state-based curriculum-making is employed.

The curriculum commission is the primary instrument deployed by the state to manage the issues within and around curriculum-making and to legitimate the outcomes of a deliberation (see Sivesind & Westbury, 2016). The commission is a structure that brings representatives of both the public and teachers into the state’s decision-making. It is a temporary organization that reflects broad cultural, economic and educational interests. Haft and Hopmann (1990) go on to identify three tools that also emerged in Prussia in the 19th century, compartmentalization, licensing, and segmentation, that support, and circumscribe, the work of curriculum commissions. These tools lower the stakes around the state’s curriculum for

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Table 2. Conflicts in curriculum-making.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Knowledge conflicts</td>
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<tr>
<td>Knowledge conflicts develop because the knowledge referred to by the curriculum contents has to be perceived, selected, combined, or recombined</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflicts of perspective: any element of knowledge has to be perceived within the overall sphere of knowledge. This perception is largely determined by what was embodied in old curricula and by what has always been done and on the borders of the school with society and its other functional systems, such as the academic, economic, legal, religious, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflicts of choice: centre on the selection or definition of the knowledge to be taught. Choice must be made about what seems necessary and—above all—feasible. Conflicts occur where too much, or too little, or not the ‘right’ kind of knowledge has been selected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflicts of recombination: result in such a way that it is appropriate to the actual organization—which amounts to it taking the shape of what was known before</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Conflicts of position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participants in curriculum-making move within a sphere which is generally permeated with potential tensions, contradictions and differences. Two components define their position in this respect: their place in the curriculum planning process and their place in the comprehensive process of reproducing social knowledge and social structures</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: adapted from Bähr et al. (2000, pp. 20–22).
LEAs, schools and teachers, and thus have the effect of moving the final texts of commissions towards the realm of symbolic action.

**Compartmentalization**

Compartmentalization is a differentiation of issues and tasks within educational administrations such that the components of the state's administrative framework around the governance and management of schooling and the delivery of schooling are differentiated, and insulated from each other. Curriculum-making becomes the specification of what might be taught (and how) in particular school types, not the issues around the delivery of the curriculum, the funding of resources for its delivery, nor the certification of students’ accomplishment, e.g. the differentiation and resourcing of school types, the resources that permit schools to teach the range of subjects and topics admitted to the formal curriculum in different ways and at different levels, issues around teacher education and supply, etc. Such compartmentalization is typically wired into the framework of thinking about the school system of a state or nation (see Cohen & Spillane, 1992).

The inevitable result of compartmentalization is the lack of accountability structures or a managerial frameworks for the whole—the outcome of an array of separate arenas for discrete, yet uncoordinated, decision-making. Thus, a decision to have all students learn an Asian language can lose its impact if there are no appropriately qualified teachers in the school system, or its pipeline. But given the compartmentalization across policy arenas, such issues do not play heavily on the work of a curriculum commission.

**Licensing**

Under the principle of Lehrfreiheit, 'freedom of instruction', German teachers must cover the content embedded within the state Lehrplan, the curriculum, but have the freedom to teach it in any way that seems appropriate to their situation. Such a licence reduces the stakes around curriculum-making insofar as it permits (and legitimates) 'interpretations' of the curriculum by teachers, schools and school owners, as well as parents and communities. But the outcome has the effect of delinking curriculum documents from school practice or, in other words, disengaging planning authority from executive responsibility. Teachers, and not the curriculum-makers or the central school authority, are assumed to have a responsibility, and accountability, for the student effects.

**Segmentation**

Segmentation, a result of the stretching of the work of a commission over different formal groups, has the effect of dividing curriculum work into different, and segregated discourse communities. Working groups with members sharing common frames of reference are constructed and work together—but more or less in isolation from other working groups, and (at times) at very different points in the working processes of the commission. Thus principles for a curriculum 'reform' can be developed in one place by one group while subject syllabi are developed by other groups: such segmentation permits the educational administration to open the consultations around curriculum-making, but in ways that segregate the discourses, and allow (or require) the curriculum administration to coordinate the input of different groups and make the final decisions. As the segmented deliberations come together, the impression that 'everyone involved shares a common language' emerges. But, as Haft and Hopmann (1990) write:
Those who share the symbols almost never have a common view reaching beyond the labels … Furthermore, to discuss the labels thoroughly would destroy the common language of curriculum administration and thereby the necessary fiction that the means and ends named by the symbols are what the symbolic action is about. (p. 168)

Put another way, the state’s curriculum-making constructs and legitimates myths and narratives around and within the school (see Figure 1). Such narratives explain and justify the school and the school system to its stakeholders—both as idealized institutions and as places in which ‘our’ children and adolescents engage in legitimate, worthwhile and significant activities (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Westbury, 2003, 2008).

**OCC—the question**

As we have suggested, Haft and Hopmann (1990) ask if the tools that they discerned being used in their German study were ‘local’, discoveries from the process of muddling through the work of Prussian curriculum-making. Or are they instantiations of tools to address problems that had been discovered in many places? This question lies at the heart of the OCC study: Are the technologies of state-based curriculum-making that Haft and Hopmann (1990) identified employed fairly widely when viewed cross-nationally or are they local, i.e. ‘German’. We begin the pursuit of this question in the next three papers in this series by way of case studies of the curriculum commissions that developed the Norwegian compulsory school curriculum of 1997, Læreplanverket for den 10-årige grunnskolen (L97; Curriculum Guidelines for the Compulsory School) (Royal Ministry of Education, Research, and Church Affairs, 1999), and the US Illinois Learning Standards, also from 1997 (Illinois State Board of Education [ISBE], 1997). Illinois and Norway are very different in terms of governmental traditions and structures—and experiences with state-based curriculum-making. Both jurisdictions are (now) far from the Prussian/German institutions from which Haft and Hopmann developed their framework for the rules and tools of state curriculum-making!

**Notes**

1. E.g. economic growth, human resource development, youth unemployment, social immobility, intercultural relations, HIV/AIDS, tobacco and drug abuse, etc.
2. Whether there are or are not such problems and whether a changed or an unchanged pattern of school and curricular provision is needed to address them are, of course, grist for the mill of public discussion and debate.
3. For recontextualization, see Bernstein (1996), Singh (2002). For the use of the concept, see, e.g. Deng (2009), Morris and Chan (1997).
4. E.g. that a second national language, e.g. French in the German-speaking cantons in Switzerland or Swedish in Finland, not be a required subject for all elementary and middle-school students but can be replaced by ‘English’. That Norway’s ‘religion’ curriculum in grades 6 and 10 and 12 will include units on ‘Islam’. For an example of recent major controversy around a ‘reform’, see ‘High flyers and sad failures’ (2015).
5. Bähr et al. (2000), reflecting on the Swiss study that preceded the OCC project, suggest that such conflict and contention has, in a broad sense, two foci: (1) it can result from conflicts of position as, e.g. decisions and projects within Doyle’s (1992) societal context are recontextualized into the programmatic context, where there are different ideologies, traditions and legacies of practice; and (2) they can occur as knowledge conflicts, as, e.g. proposals for the teaching of new or different ‘knowledge’ are evaluated in the light of, e.g. what has always been done, of the perspectives of, e.g. the academic system, school subject traditions, resource considerations,
and other related functional systems, such as religion, work life, etc. (pp. 21–22; see Table 2). As Bähr et al. also point out, 'one may assume that that subject-related, institutional, positional and individual perspectives are also culturally biased; with the implication of possible further conflict emerging from cultural, ethnic or linguistic diversity (p. 22).


7. Mechanisms that are clearly cousins of the teacher-directed principle of Lehrfreiheit are found in other contexts. In a column on a controversial curriculum decision around the teaching of evolution made by the State Board of Education in the US state of Kansas, a newspaper columnist noted that: ‘I checked with the both the legal counsel at the state school board and the official in charge of curriculum standards. Both agreed … No law requires science teachers to teach what the Board wants them to teach’ (Hendricks, [2005]; emphasis added).

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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