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ABSTRACT

Thirty-nine people from 10 OECD member countries participated at this conference aimed at setting the value-loaded questions of curriculum development in an international context. The conference looked at the relationship between development styles for development enterprises as a whole and the developmental pattern of individual projects. Attention was concentrated on how curriculum developments are defined and by whom, in what terms they are formulated, and how activities are generated in response to these needs and purposes. Much of the discussion centered around (1) the contrast between centralized and decentralized systems; (2) the impact of curriculum development on the role of the teacher; and (3) the relationship between the center and the periphery -- referring to central government curriculum department and schools. This document synthesizes the substance of four discussion groups. (Author/MLF)

Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI)

STYLES OF CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

Conference held at Allerton Park,
Monticello, Illinois, USA,
19-23 September, 1971,

organised jointly by the
Centre for Educational Research and Innovation
at OECD, Paris,
and the
University of Illinois,
and sponsored by the National Science Foundation

A report by
Stuart Maclure
Consultant to OECD

ORGANISATION FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT
1972

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), which was set up under a Convention signed in Paris on 14th December, 1960, provides that the OECD shall promote policies designed:

- *to achieve the highest sustainable economic growth and employment and a rising standard of living in Member countries, while maintaining financial stability, and thus to contribute to the development of the world economy;*
- *to contribute to sound economic expansion in Member as well as non-member countries in the process of economic development;*
- *to contribute to the expansion of world trade on a multilateral, non-discriminatory basis in accordance with international obligations.*

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The Centre for Educational Research and Innovation was created in June 1968 by the Council of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development for an initial period of three years, with the help of grants from the Ford Foundation and the Royal Dutch Shell Group of Companies. In May 1971, the Council decided that the Centre should continue its work for a period of five years as from 1st January, 1972.

The main objectives of the Centre are as follows:

- *to promote and support the development of research activities in education and undertake such research activities where appropriate;*
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- *to promote the development of co-operation between Member countries in the field of educational research and innovation.*

The Centre functions within the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development in accordance with the decisions of the Council of the Organisation, under the authority of the Secretary-General. It is supervised by a Governing Board composed of one national expert in its field of competence from each of the countries participating in its programme of work.

PREFACE

The basic problem in curriculum development today, as in so many social domains, is how to reconcile efficiency and humanity. In the last analysis the curriculum determines what goes on between the teacher and the child and thereby transmits to the child the values of society. Yet in addition to being a career of values, curriculum development under modern conditions has become a field of technique in its own right, in which theories, models, techniques and experts abound. The very notion that the curriculum must be "developed" in a systematic manner lends itself to technocracy.

It is not surprising therefore that resistance is growing to curriculum development which is handed down from above for consumption by teachers in schools. They are becoming swamped with projects and are no longer satisfied to be at the end of the production line.

This is a healthy reaction, for the teacher above all knows that the material and manner of teaching is a subtle reflection of values, of assumptions about social relationships, and above all of the human relationship between the young person and the teacher as the interpreter of adult society. To reduce such relationships to consideration of technique is to empty them of their reality.

The Illinois Conference tried to escape from this dilemma by hinging its discussions around the concept of "style". Is it possible to identify and describe different curriculum development styles to the extent that they can be understood and followed? Judging from the conclusions the answer appears to be a cautious "no". This is not surprising since style is an intensely individual attribute - the hardest thing of all to copy authentically and the easiest to ape.

Would it not follow that there is no substitute in education for the personal style of the individual teacher? The lesson of the Conference appears to be that curriculum development projects,

however technically sophisticated they may be, will fail unless they involve teachers, and unless teachers are men and women of quality who can bridge the gap between techniques and values.

J.R. GASS
Director,
Centre for Educational
Research and Innovation

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INTRODUCTION

This is the report of a five-day, international meeting held at Allerton Park, the University of Illinois's residential conference centre at Monticello, Illinois, from 19th to 23rd September, 1971. The conference was sponsored by the U.S. National Science Foundation and was jointly organised by the University of Illinois and the Centre for Educational Research and Innovation of the OECD. Thirty-nine people from 10 Member countries of the OECD attended all or part of the conference (see Appendix 4 for full list of participants). Professor J. Myron Atkin, Dean of the College of Education at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, and Mr. David C. Thomas of the Centre for Educational Research and Innovation at the OECD in Paris acted as co-directors.

To help the discussion at Allerton Park, the following working papers were prepared by some of the participants for circulation in advance:

Karl-Georg Ahlström	What is Curriculum Development.
Heinrich Bauersfeld	Some Remarks on the Effectiveness of Educational Objectives.
R.A. Becher	Three Styles of Curriculum Development.
F. Michael Connelly	The Character, Function and Study of Curriculum Development.
Klaus Hinst	Towards Incorporating Educational Development in the Educational System.
Robert Karplus	Curriculum Development Decisions: The Science Curriculum Improvement Study.
Earle Loman	Key decisions shaping the USMES project.
Sixten Marklund	Frame Factors and Curriculum Development.
Jean Rudduck	Decision points in the Humanities Project.
Erik Wallin	From General Goals to Teaching.

In addition the conference had access to a draft report prepared for the Schools Council in London on Curriculum Development Projects*.

These papers are referred to throughout the text of this report.

The conference met for the most part in four discussion groups with only a few plenary sessions. This report, therefore, owes a great deal to the group rapporteurs: Earle Loman and Harry Silberman, Christoph Wulf and Michael Connelly: the fourth group decided to have no rapporteur and comments were received after the meeting from Hendrik Gideonse, R.A. Becher and Robert Davis.

Other members of the conference, including Georges Belbenoit, Arturo de la Orden Hoz and J.W. van Lierop, contributed notes which were incorporated within the rapporteurs' papers.

I am, therefore deeply indebted to these sources for the substance of this report. My own notes were based on the visits I made to each of the groups as well as on the no less important informal deliberations which took place between sessions and over meals in the eminently relaxed and congenial atmosphere of a small but remarkably well attuned international gathering.

The reports from the groups show that the discussion moved broadly in the same direction, but took interestingly different routes. It was not a conference from which clear-cut recommendations would emerge: the main outcome of the meeting was the substance of the discussions themselves, and in this attempt to record the exchanges of ideas which occurred. It was aiming at something more valuable than concensus - understanding, enlivened by the cross-currents of international experience, the constantly surprising interchange of dissonance and harmony, the individual self discipline of seeking to free the conventional wisdom from its purely local context and measure it against the orthodoxies and heresies of other countries and cultures.

In acknowledging my debt to the many participants who have contributed to this report, as a participant as well as a reporter, I should add that the responsibility for the final result is mine alone.

Stuart Maclure

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* Excerpts are reproduced by permission of the Schools Council from this draft report on curriculum development projects by M. Corrie and P.H. Halsey, to be published in the "Schools Council Research Studies" series (Macmillan Education, 1973).

Chapter I

A QUESTION OF STYLE

The starting point is a hypothesis. Stated simply it is this: that the way in which you set about curriculum development is determined by tacit assumptions about values - social, political, educational. If this is accepted, a question follows: can you identify different ways of organising curriculum reform which reflect these different values? Can you distinguish "styles" of curriculum development - that is, sets of related characteristics about the way curricular change is organised, which fit together with something of the consistency and coherence which the term style implies?

At a workshop organised by CERI at Kassel in Germany in 1970, much of the discussion had focused on the value questions which underlie the curriculum development process. In a letter sent out to participants before the Illinois meeting, David Thomas referred to this:

"Implicit in much of the discussion (at Kassel)," he wrote, "was the realisation of the fact that the 'style' used in developing new programmes implies a heavy loading of value questions, few of which are examined in an explicit fashion. It will be the purpose of the conference at the University of Illinois to illuminate some of these value questions and their implications. Curriculum developers attempt the organised improvement of the quality of learning: but to select just one example - in the field of objectives - some groups involved in natural science curriculum development attempt successive iterations of objectives; other programmes rely heavily on pre-specification; while others choose to eschew objectives in the initial stages. Not only with respect to objectives, but with respect to curriculum areas chosen for examination, target student populations, evaluation decisions, 'dissemination' procedures, and implications for school organisation, there are

a variety of approaches in the development process that reflect differing views about schooling, the child, the teacher, the role of the community, etc."

Mr. Thomas went on to suggest three questions around which preliminary discussions might revolve:

1. In what ways are curriculum development needs and purposes defined, and by whom?
2. In what terms are they formulated?
3. How are activities generated in response to these needs and purposes?

The background papers for Illinois included some, such as those by Becher, Hinst and Marklund and the Schools Council document, which were directly addressed to larger questions of style and approach. Others, like those by Rudduck, Wallin, Loman and Bauersfeld, described the characteristics of individual projects, including the way in which the key decisions which governed the development process were taken.

To get to grips with the original hypothesis it is necessary to begin to explore in more depth the concept of "style". As a metaphor it is more sinuous and adaptable (but no more metaphorical) than the all-pervasive idea of a "model" which social scientists often prefer to use. Questions of vocabulary play an important part in discourse about the curriculum. Words, no less than techniques of development, carry with them concealed values: the idea of a "model" imports the notion of engineering and design, with the overtones and quasi-scientific assumptions of social science. "Style", on the other hand, draws on the language of the arts and the ideas and techniques of perception and analysis which go with this language.

There were clearly those as the Illinois conference who found this tiresome, and, at the outset at least, uphelpful as a means of illuminating practical questions of curriculum development. To others, it seemed a valuable way of getting beyond an approach to problems which all too easily become tautological: in which every question tends to be stated in terms of a prospective answer.

Style can be a matter of period. For example, architecture and furniture, music, literature, drama and costume, can be

analysed according to styles which belong to a simple chronology, one following another, drawing on the past and handling on to the future, yet each epitomising in some well-defined manner the present to which it belongs.

Thus, a style of, say, costume, has implied a set of prevailing values for the period when this style was at its height. Deductions about the psychology and philosophy of a period can be built up from a study of fashion. Differences within the styles of a single period can be used to illustrate competing social assumptions within the class structure.

To take an example, the archetypal representative of the City of London has worn a dark suit and a bowler hat, and carried a rolled umbrella in one hand, a brief case in the other. But as well as being a style of gentleman's outfitting, this has also been regarded as a clue to a way of life and an attitude of mind: a belief in the conventional values of the time, an establishment view of society, a respect for law, order and property, probity in business dealings conducted largely by word of mouth. There is no limit to the accretions which can be built up around the image, including ideas about empire and loss of empire, which can be used to explain why the uniform of the City of London is becoming less a uniform as background assumptions about England, the English way of life and the City of London are themselves changing; and why, though the archetype remains, it has now become one of a number of competing styles of clothes and men, with larger variations between generations on the one hand, and narrower variations between social classes on the other.

If you try to relate this idea of style to curriculum development, it is possible to distinguish several different period styles in the past 15 years or so. Tony Becher(1) recognised a style of curriculum development originating in the United States in the late 1950s which he tentatively described as "instrumental", meaning that in the post-Sputnik era the stimulus to curriculum development took the form of specific needs for more and better-prepared students in science and mathematics. This was followed in the mid-sixties by what Becher called the "interactive" style, as curriculum reform was extended to other aspects of the school programme and other sections of the school community.

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1) Three Styles of Curriculum Development, see also p. 23 et seq. for a further discussion of this paper.

By the end of the 1960s, he saw evidence that a third style had evolved, to which he attached the label "individualist", which in its turn embodied another set of assumptions about such matters as the organisation of knowledge, the relationship between the school, the individual and society, and the role of the teacher.

If style can be recognised as an expression of period, so, too, can it be related to national approaches to problems. Becher suggested that the three successive styles, which he identified, travelled at a few years remove, first from the United States to Britain and Scandinavia, and then to Western Europe; each nation or group of nations had to progress through the succession of styles in turn, discovering the value and limitations of one after another, and their relevance to different kinds of curriculum question.

Allowing for a progression of ideas reflecting the growing sophistication in the state of the art which Becher implies, national styles can be seen also as the logical consequences of differing national systems of educational administration and political organisation. In this sense, there is, for example, a clearly recognisable Swedish style of curriculum development, which owes its character to, among other things, the centralised nature of the Swedish education system, the size and homogeneity of the Swedish community, the widespread political consensus, the nature, quality and size of the Swedish teaching profession.

Sixten Marklund, of the Swedish National Board of Education, both in his paper(1) and in some opening remarks at the first plenary session of the conference, expounded this Swedish style and contrasted it with what he recognised as a decentralised piecemeal English style and with the multiplicity of styles in the United States (where this multiplicity could, in itself, be called a national style).

To do justice to the Swedish approach, Marklund had to begin by establishing a meaning for the term "curriculum". He pointed out that for many Europeans the word has no direct translation. Syllabus, programme, course - these can be rendered in French or German; curriculum, on the other hand, not only has no counterpart, but tends to be used so loosely in English that the concept as well as the word seems difficult to pin down.

1) Frame Factors and Curriculum Development.

For much of the time the Anglo-Saxons use curriculum to mean what Albert I. Oliver said it meant(1):

"Basically the curriculum is what happens to children in school as a result of what teachers do. It includes all of the experiences of children for which school should take responsibility. It is the programme used by the school as a means of accomplishing its purpose."

Karl-George Ahlstrom(2) in his working paper quoted an article by Mauritz Johnson Jr. in Educational Theory (1967) which suggested the need to narrow this so as to allow a meaningful distinction between curriculum and instruction. This, it might be inferred, would appeal to the French who point out with some justice that it is difficult to distinguish Oliver's portmanteau definition from education itself. (There are certainly difficulties for the English, too; they feel mildly uncomfortable when called on to regard school activities which everybody describes as "extra curricular" as part of the curriculum.)

In so far as this represents merely a series of different definitions, it need not inhibit international discussion - it is possible to agree on terms for the purpose of a particular argument: this, after all, is what technical language is for. But the dispute about definitions goes much deeper than this. It really amounts to a difference of view about the school as an organism. At one extreme is the concept of the educational process as a totality, with the school and its teachers charged with responsibility for the development of the whole child, to which the content of instruction and the social relations with the community all contribute. At the opposite extreme is a much more limited notion of the curriculum and the function of the teacher confined more nearly to the giving of instruction in accordance with specified syllabuses and teaching methods. In this sense, though ostensibly the debate may be about the meaning of "curriculum" and the suitable synonyms for it, translated from one language to another, it is really about basic philosophical and pedagogic differences.

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1) Curriculum Improvement, Albert I. Oliver, Dodd, Mead and Co. Inc., 1965, quoted with other definitions in Lawrence Stenhouse et al: Problems in Curriculum Development: A Working Paper (circulated at the Conference as a background paper).

2) What is Curriculum Development?

Sixten Marklund's interpretation of the Swedish style(1) leant towards a wider rather than a narrower notion of curriculum. Or rather, he implied that educational reform which incorporated this larger view was what really mattered. As generally used, he took the term curriculum to refer to what happened within the given external framework of the school and curriculum development to be the "improvements and changes within the existing external structure of the school". The Swedish approach was to change the curriculum and the external structure at the same time; to hold, in fact, the key to educational improvement to be the translation of social goals into educational experiences through a variety of inter-related policies, some inside the school (i.e. the curriculum in the narrow sense) some outside.

"If we allow the term curriculum," he writes, "to cover the entire range of school functions from aim and content to forms of instruction and methods of working, we can distinguish three main levels:

"Level 1: the external structure of the school, above all in respect of the number of grades, stages and divisions into different course of studies.

"Level 2: time-tables and syllabuses with aims and content of subjects or groups of subjects.

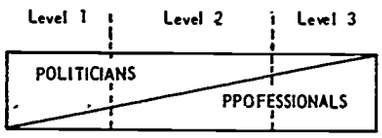
"Level 3: the teacher's instructional methods, the pupils' way of working, educational materials, study materials and forms of evaluation."

Marklund went on to discuss the different roles of the politicians and the professionals in setting the objectives and translating them into practice at each level.

"School has long been regarded as a community on its own, a state within the state with its own rules. This is no longer true. School is now looked upon as forming part of the community as a whole, an open system, in which the objectives and forms of work of the community are reflected in those of the school, that is to say in curriculum development. This means that development must be executed by school politicians just as much as by school administrators, teachers and research workers. The three last-named can be assigned to a group which we have called

1) Frame Factors and Curriculum Development.

'professionals' for the sake of simplicity. The proportions between the groups 'politicians' and 'professionals' vary within the three above-mentioned levels in accordance with the following diagram:



The part played by educational politicians is greatest when it is a matter of determining the external structure of the school, that is to say on Level 1. On Level 2, which deals with the time-tables and syllabuses of the school, the politicians surrender much of their powers of decision to the professional group. The latter take over still more on Level 3, which is chiefly concerned with materials and teaching methods. A movement from Level 1 via Level 2 to Level 3 implies an increasing degree of detail and formulation of aims and materials. The increased specification of goals allows increased scope for professional freedom and at the same time reduced involvement of politicians.

"It must also be understood that both categories participate in curriculum change at all three levels, even if the proportions vary in respect of responsibility and effort.

"A primary consequence of the above is that, to be effective, curriculum development must not be limited to Level 3 or even to Levels 2-3. It must apply to all three levels.

"A second consequence is that curriculum development at one level affects the other levels. Every form of change contains both political as well as professional-educational implications.

"A third consequence and a result of the two mentioned above is that every type of curriculum development demands co-operation between politicians and professionals. If curriculum development is left entirely in the hands of the second group, its members must realise their political role also."

It followed from this, that development had to take place throughout the educational system, otherwise a failure to innovate in one sector would frustrate the process elsewhere. Marklund put forward a series of what he called "squares" - the school, the class, the lesson, the subject, the teacher and the text book. To

be effective, development had to modify each of these squares - thereby changing what he called the "frame-factors":

"These squares must be prised up with "educational crowbars". Curriculum development thus means a systems approach, where the squares are replaced as follows:

School	⟶	system of school units
Class	⟶	flexible grouping of pupils
Lesson	⟶	system of shorter time modules
Subject	⟶	study units
Teacher	⟶	teacher team
Text book	⟶	educational materials system

A French participant, Georges Belbenoit, introduced a necessary distinction between the use of the word curriculum without any qualifying adjective, meaning "the curriculum as a whole", and the ingredients which go to make it up such as the "science curriculum", "civics curriculum", "humanities curriculum" or whatever. "My assumption," he wrote(1) "is that the curriculum as a whole is not merely the sum of the specific curricula it comprises, and for me it does include the frame factors described by Marklund."

He doubted whether much could be learned about style by "surveying or reviewing a number of actual curriculum development projects because each of them bears upon subject curriculum (be it disciplinary or interdisciplinary) instead of bearing upon curriculum as a whole set of tools and devices to be used, each in its turn and according to its function for the same global task - the general and common aim being more important than the improvement of any single learning procedure in any subject matter."

Belbenoit noted two kinds of <u>educational</u> style. First, a "training" style (exemplified by vocational education) when "you know the final product you want and organise the curriculum accordingly."

Second, a "growth" style when "you don't know and don't want or have any right to know in advance what the final result will be, but you know the present child, its needs and possibilities and your main objective is to avoid repeating errors, prevent misfits, clear obstacles, provide opportunities..."

1) In a note appended to the report of Discussion Group IV.

There was, he suggested, a choice of curriculum development styles which corresponded to this choice of educational styles. There was a "goal-oriented style" which matched the training function and an "open" style which went with the educational idea of growth.

A style of curriculum development, in his view, represented the way in which we attempt to improve the quality of learning according to a given set of values, goals and principles - the values and goals reflecting the external pressures of society and the principles, those guidelines implied by a particular educational style.

Belbenoit also referred to three perceived needs which curriculum development is invoked to meet: economic efficiency; social justice and democracy; and individual and collective satisfaction(1).

There is, clearly, a close correspondence between these three stimuli to development and the groupings which Becher put forward under the tentative headings of instrumental, interactive and individualist. These concerns certainly go a long way beyond the limited field of curriculum development, nearer to what Marklund understands by educational reform. The most superficial reflection on the educational odyssey of the past fifteen years would confirm this, with the development of OECD's educational interest offering a case in point.

In the early 1960s the economics of education appeared to offer one of the analytical keys to economic growth and this led to important work in this field. This was also the period when curriculum development was often seen in the same light as a means to more efficient learning of particular "useful" subjects like science and mathematics. A certain style of development evolved, based on engineering models, which appeared to be the functional response to the task in hand. It entailed a set of assumptions about learning and teaching and the results could be evaluated in terms of specific standards of attainment.

During the decade, the attitude towards educational development began to change. Every country's experience was different but changes at OECD reflected a common process. The economists of education encountered methodological difficulties in establishing direct relationships between educational investment

1) These also match the three goals identified in Harry Silberman's note on Group IV's discussions: productivity, equity and self-realisation.

and economic growth. It was impossible to tell if educational expenditure made countries rich or was simply a form of spending favoured by countries which had already become rich. The emphasis in OECD shifted: the organisation remained interested in education but less for expectation of direct economic return, more because it was thought to contribute to the larger aim of social and cultural development and the equalisation of opportunity.

All this, of course, is sweeping over-simplification - shorthand which attempts in a few sentences to reflect changes taking place in many different countries for complex reasons. Part of this background - in Europe at any rate - is the transformation of one education system after another as the concept of mass secondary education replaces that of elite secondary education and education systems which have hitherto relied on a battery of different types of secondary and post-primary schools (grammar, modern, technical, vocational, senior-elementary; the terminology differs from country to country without direct translation) begin to change to comprehensive or polyvalent forms.

No doubt any analysis of the causes behind these changes would draw out many which arise from within the particular national setting in which each school system is placed. A common feature, however, would certainly be the greater emphasis given to the second of M. Belbenoit's perceived needs, and the widespread conviction that education could and should serve the aim of larger opportunity and social justice.

It is, of course, easy to write as if this social justice were some new discovery lighted upon in the sixties, instead of being present in some degree in the aims of education over centuries. The new features were the degree of priority given to this aim, the sociological analysis which revealed the extent to which previous educational development had served to reinforce social class divisions, and the growing willingness to use the educational system as a major public instrument of social change.

As objectives of policy, social equality and democratisation differ sharply from economic efficiency in that they much more obviously depend on moral and political values about which modern men disagree. Indeed, the staple of modern politics is provided by controversy about these values. Education, therefore, has become a controversial topic in new and different ways. Public

and political interest could be expected in the circumstances to extend to the content of education as well as its organisation and hence curriculum development becomes another of the arenas where this is worked out.

This is the setting for Becher's "interactive" style of curriculum development where the aspects of the curriculum which are tackled, and the sectors of the school population whose needs are examined, are related to the changes in school organisation which are taking place and the social objectives which they incorporate. These social relationships appear more important than the specific attainment of prescribed standards of achievement and the affective domain receives priority over the cognitive. The pedagogy of comprehensive education also makes express demands upon curriculum development as the teaching environment changes and streaming or tracking is seen to conflict with the comprehensive ideal. Among the papers available to the Allerton Park meeting the Schools Council document shows the influence of some of these considerations on later projects in Britain. Because it dealt with 16 of the longer-established projects it tended to cover those started during the first phases but a tendency to move in the direction outlined here is nevertheless evident in the descriptions given.

In so far as social and political controversy attaches to the overriding objective of social equality - more especially in the form of the "soft" and "hard" theories of equality which motivate the devotees of meritocracy and its critics - so, too, curriculum development which is serving this objective raises controversy because it also is an expression of values.

The larger public controversies are matched by controversy within the schools and educational systems. Ostensibly these are about different pedagogic and professional issues but they reproduce similar divisions between conservative (traditional) and liberal (innovative) ideas, only from time to time linking up with the main stream of political discussion. Thus, in many countries, the teachers come to be regarded, collectively, as traditionalists, however liberal they may be individually on matters not directly connected with their profession. In such circumstances, curriculum development is liable to be seen by the teachers as a threat, even if they would give their own private assent to the objectives at which the development is aimed.

M. Belbenoit's third perceived need - "individual and collective satisfactions" - links in strictly curriculum development terms with the individualisation of instruction which becomes a practical necessity in the comprehensive school if social objectives of community are to be harmonised with the pedagogic need to recognise a wide range of individual differences.

But it may go beyond this and echo the suggestion that the school is, in fact, a very limited instrument for achieving social equality, and that to subordinate education to egalitarian aims is to ensure disappointment. If evidence accumulates that the common school is unlikely to realise the most ambitious hopes which have been placed upon it - not because some other system of organisation, past or present, is better, but because it is unreasonable to expect school as such to perform so large a task - then attention reverts to the personal experience which education can bring, the private and internal satisfaction it can offer to individuals and the contribution it can make communally to the cultural life.

It is easy to see how thought along these lines could be linked up with other signs of the times. Informal methods of education spreading upwards from the primary school, less directive and authoritarian roles for the teachers, opportunities for more participation by pupils in choosing what, how and when they are going to learn, may all be seen as pointing in this direction, with direct consequences for the curriculum and, hence, as Becher suggests, for curriculum development.

The implications could be very great indeed, for this would seem to challenge the basic model of curriculum development as something which takes place at the centre with schools as peripheral institutions in a client relationship. If a much more individualistic approach is envisaged in which the pupil is given a wider measure of choice and responsibility, much more of the initiative would have to pass to the periphery and curriculum development might be seen as a network of activity located in many places and undertaken by many individual practitioners instead of being the work of central teams.

What stands out from all this is the elementary observation that none of these needs or objectives exists in isolation. A style may reflect a dominant idea, but no single idea ever has the field to itself. In so far as a dominant idea reflects some coherent set of values, in pluralistic societies where conflicting

values are held in tension, styles are compromises which emerge from the competition of ideas.

One of the early conclusions at Allerton Park - of this observer, at least - was that no simple formula was likely to do justice to the complicated interaction of ideas implicit in almost any programme of educational reform. Economic efficiency might appear on the face of it to be the inspiration of a particular phase of development and a particular set of innovative techniques. Yet "social equality and democratisation" is also present as an aim; so too is "individual and collective satisfaction" - one of the classic aims of education. Many writers have pointed out that, while it is true that the Sputnik gave a massive boost to the American government's financial interest in curriculum reform, the intellectual process had clearly begun before the Russians launched their capsule, prompted by a complex of academic and pedagogic concerns, which could certainly not crudely be categorised as the desire for more economic efficiency.

So too egalitarian and democratic aims have to be seen alongside those of economic efficiency: one implication of narrow educational opportunity is the social waste of talent which ensues. To discover and release more talent is an economic objective as well as a social ideal. And, as has been suggested, the emphasis on individual and collective satisfaction can be seen in part, at least, as a reaction to the less attractive aspects of meritocracy, while not, of itself, replacing interest in either economic growth or social equality as a characteristic aim of educational development.

If nothing else then, this glorious confusion makes it entirely unsurprising that different styles of curriculum should be found existing side by side within a single country, not only in decentralised systems which make a virtue of diversity, but also in centralised systems when different problems call forth different answers for pragmatic reasons.

This means that, just as the several subject or inter-subject curricula can be distinguished from the larger entity which is known as the curriculum, so too they are styles of micro-development which can be distinguished from the larger concept of a style for a whole curriculum enterprise. Time has to be spent in consideration of both the micro-model and the macro-model - a wide-angle lens as well as a microscope is needed and if a working concept of style can eventually be elucidated it may come from a refinement of both kinds of study.

Chapter II

DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS

It will be recalled that at the outset three questions were put forward. These concentrated attention on how curriculum developments are defined and by whom; in what terms they are formulated; and how activities are generated in response to these needs and purposes.

When considered in national terms the questions are answerable differently in each country, by reference to institutions developed within the social and political frameworks of public education systems. Much time can be spent in exploring the intricacies of one set of institutions and another. Each country represented at Allerton Park - as the previous chapter indicated - reflected a different combination of societal, institutional and instructional pressures. The patterns of behaviour in curriculum development which resulted from these, and the blend of values and priorities which these patterns portray, could be said to add up to the determinants of national styles of curriculum development.

What is clear is that there is a considerable analytical and descriptive task to be done before there are the basic materials from which reliable general statements about the relationship between particular organisational struotures and particular social, political and pedagogical values can be made. Essentially the idea of style depends on large and necessarily sweeping generalisations. These generalisations need to be tested against gritty facts, qualified and refined. Style is never universal nor entirely consistent. But to be a useful concept in discourse about curriculum development, it needs to be combined with detailed analysis and much more informative description than is now freely available.

This has a bearing, too, on any discussion of micro-curriculum development. The same questions which were asked

generally about curriculum development as a national enterprise can be asked about individual curriculum development projects. How are critical decisions taken, developmental tasks assigned, objectives formulated, activities generated, for each major curriculum project?

The question needs only to be formulated for the magnitude of the unknown quantities to become apparent. Much of the discussion at Allerton Park was devoted to considering ways in which meaningful answers could be framed - not merely for the sake of better descriptive and illustrative material, but also a means, once again, of pin-pointing the concealed or unrecognised value questions which were the main concern of those attending the conference. This may be usefully considered under three heads:

1. LANGUAGE

The first and recurrent concern was with the language available for the study and description of the curriculum development process. As I have already suggested, the choice of the word "style" rather than "model" reflected this on-going preoccupation with language.

The danger was obvious in that the necessary use of a technical language for any analysis might obscure rather than illuminate the background issues. It was easy to see how this could happen: how a quest for something like a science of curriculum development might impose its own assumptions on the debate: how - to take a single example - techniques and analytical rationales carried over from systems engineering could actually lead people to talk about pupils as if they were manipulable cogs in a machine.

One participant put it - "My principal impression is the pervasiveness of value issues in all questions dealing with the choice among alternative styles of curriculum development. There appear to be no areas which are purely technical or professional in character.

"Few means exist for resolving the value issues which might be identified in the course of choosing among alternative styles. We apparently possess no adequate "language" for debating and

resolving value issues. Political models for resolving such questions, while suggestive, appear cumbersome. The absence of such tools means that the value questions tend to be ignored.....

"The elements of the pervasiveness of value issues can be found in the obvious value-character of the choice of both goals and objectives of different styles of curriculum development. I am not talking here about the learning goals and objectives of the curriculum itself, but the goals and objectives behind the curriculum development itself."

I have deliberately quoted an extreme expression of this view because the point is made most clearly and uncomfortably. Not every one would go as far as this. This warning, however, was well taken. The need is for a language and set of analytic terms which is useful in considering the value questions as well as the more narrowly "technical" questions about developmental procedures.

Philosophically this poses problems of great difficulty. Many of those taking part were trained in the social sciences and it is on that linguistic base that most of the present discussion of curriculum has been built.

At this opposite end of the spectrum, as it were, were those who, not altogether fancifully demanded a much wider range of metaphor than that chosen by the social scientist - a range which might draw on the language resources of other branches of scholarship and criticism - "the mood, temperament, ideology of the curriculum....."

Language, as I say, was an on-going concern. I have put it first because logically that is where it belongs, not because it dominated the discussion.

2. DESCRIPTIVE CATEGORIES

One way of looking for evidence of style - that is, evidence of a set of related characteristics which distinguish one approach to curriculum development from another - is to seek to define the characteristics under specified headings and see if patterns can be discerned from the resulting clusters.

This was how Becher approached the matter in the paper to which reference has already been made. Every project is based on a set of general assumptions, implied or expressed, about such fundamental matters as the aims of education, the nature of

knowledge; the role of teacher and learner. Each project is also based on a set of particular assumptions about curriculum development technique which among other things govern the choice of an innovation model, the selection of change agents, the methods of dissemination and evaluation.

It is possible, therefore, to devise a matrix which will represent a selection of these assumptions in simplified form. In this way some stereotypes of development styles can be built up, both about education in general, and curriculum development methods in particular.

To give a concrete and provocative illustration of what Becher had in mind, he set out some 15 characteristics of, or topics relating to, curriculum development, which might be expected to vary from one project to another. For example, every project assumes a certain role on the part of the teacher. Therefore "teacher's role" provides one of the 15 characteristics, with a choice of three forms - "dominating", "managing", and "assisting". In the same way a choice of variables is offered for each of the other characteristics.

The result is a matrix (see page 25) against which, any curriculum development project can be matched, choosing the appropriate variable from each row and observing how the results cluster in these columns.

This could only be regarded as a crude first-stage model(1), open to indefinite refinement. It was connected with the hypothesis already referred to that three separate and distinct styles can be identified. This introduced an arbitrary element. Why three? The number and definition of the styles is, itself, an expression of priorities about curriculum development and the matrix is only a way of matching projects against pre-conceived stereotypes.

The intention was to produce some way of describing projects which put a frame round certain qualities. It was not just a tool of cold analysis but intended to be an instrument for isolating and pin-pointing value issues. Within its limitations it did this - even if someone else might prefer different criteria or think that he could find more revealing touchstones of hidden value.

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1) For Becher's modification of the matrix, arrived at after the conference discussion, see Appendix, page 57.

A FIRST-STAGE MODEL OF STYLES OF CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

	Characteristic emphasis under:	Col. 1 Cluster I	Col. 2 Cluster II	Col. 3 Cluster III
Row 1	Innovation model	Research, development and diffusion	Social interaction	Problem-solving
Row 2	Academic derivation	Behavioural psychology (learning theory)	Sociology (organisation theory)	Philosophy (Deweyism/ existentialism)
Row 3	Implicit values	Competition	Co-operation	Self-development
Row 4	Orientation and Relevance	Manpower-oriented/ utilitarian	Society-oriented/social	Individually-oriented/personal
Row 5	Taxonomic domain	Cognitive	Affective	Evaluative/ creative
Row 6	Teaching technique	Discovery methods/ inductive-heuristic	Group projects/ discussion	Self-instructional/ practical tasks
Row 7	Teacher role	Dominating	Managing	Assisting
Row 8	Student assessment system	Conventional, but process-oriented	Continuous assessment	Self-checking
Row 9	Form of work organisation	Conventional class groups	Varying-sized groups	"Cafeteria" study/ practical workshops
Row 10	Institutional typology	Meritocratic	Comprehensive	De-institutionalised
Row 11	Subject-matter	"Linear" disciplines (maths, science, languages)	"Non-linear" subjects (humanities, social studies)	Cross-disciplinary/ wide-ranging options (arts-science mix, practical & creative skills)
Row 12	Mode of materials	Highly-structured	Loosely-structured	Modular-based/ non-structured
Row 13	Materials assessment systems/ criteria	Objective testing/ system engineered	Subjective expert appraisal/ local adaptability	Consumer evaluation/success in take-up
Row 14	Forms of dissemination	Teacher handbooks, student workbooks, media back-up	Multi-media student packages, teacher guides	Complex resource banks, retrieval systems
Row 15	Means of implementation/ Principal clients	Rational persuasion and demonstration/institutional authorities	Changes in staff attitudes/ teachers	Direct response to learner needs/ students

The temptation is to use it as the first stage of a parlour game. There is no limit to the number of rows or columns which could be added. Nor is there any possible way of constructing verbal boxes which every project can be made to fit neatly. Some projects start out in one cluster and end in another. Some are intended to be one thing and turn into something different. Some achieve their predetermined objectives and are adjudged successes as development exercises. Others achieve results which differ widely from those originally intended. Some are liberal in an authoritarian way. Others are authoritarian in a liberal way. Others are nondescript in ways which might well defy the earnest analyst.

The test of any such matrix is to apply it to a series of individual projects - to look painstakingly at those which fit and those which don't. To do this thoroughly demands a lot of information about a wide range of different projects and examination by trial and error of such modifications as might seem to improve the frames of reference.

On a limited scale this was attempted at Allerton Park, but opinion differed about the validity of the exercise. Some projects were found to fit snugly into one of the three clusters; others spread-eagled the available choices. On balance participants were sceptical. In some cases they were sceptical of the mechanics of the matrix and the typology required to substantiate this particular approach. In others the scepticism took the form of a search for more sensitive indicators and more comprehensive ways of describing the relevant qualities of curriculum development projects.

One group approached this by considering a whole range of prior questions which developers (or their sponsors) had to ask and answer. In effect they followed the same technique as that adopted in the matrix but simply sought more profound insights into what they called "decision areas which are possible determinants of styles of curriculum development". The result took the form of some 19 questions in the following terms:

1. What is your view of the nature of man, i.e. philosophical position as expressed operationally? e.g. existentialist, Marxist, eclectic, etc.
2. What is your view of position regarding the nature of learning - Piaget, Skinner, Dewey, Gestalt, etc.?

3. How was the content of materials determined? (structure of knowledge/specialists/knowledge base of staff/capabilities of learners/etc.
4. What are the determinants of the instructional process - tradition, inquiry, etc. ?
5. What assumptions do you make about the school as a society and its relation to the external society?
6. What type of relationships do you want between teacher and students, students and students, students and materials?
7. How do you organise to provide for individual differences?
8. What role do you give the teacher in (a) development, (b) practice - developer, technician, technologist, researcher, manager, etc.?
9. What is your position with regard to evaluation?
10. Is the community involved - as resource persons/in decision on goals, etc.?
11. What is your stance toward present/future and their inter-relationships? (present as present valid into itself/present as leading to further child development which is predictable/futuristic in terms of changing society?
12. Have you an articulated act of specifications (a road map) for the (a) aims and (b) means of the project and (c) how flexible are they?
13. What is the relative emphasis on R and D and how do they relate to each other; i.e. is the research intended to answer questions raised by development?
14. What are the implications of the degree of centralisation/decentralisation for planning, development, dissemination?
15. What feedback mechanisms are provided, how effective are they, and how responsive are the developers to the information provided?
16. What type and style of management is there within the project or programme - i.e. decision-making, communications, resources, allocations, risk-taking, etc.?
17. What are the consequences of size and scope of project on programme for its mode of operation? Are the resources adequate for the breadth/depth/complexity?

18. What are the relative influences of political, technical and pedagogical considerations in shaping the project? What security for high-risk projects?
19. What provisions have been made for dissemination, what procedures planned and at what stage in development?

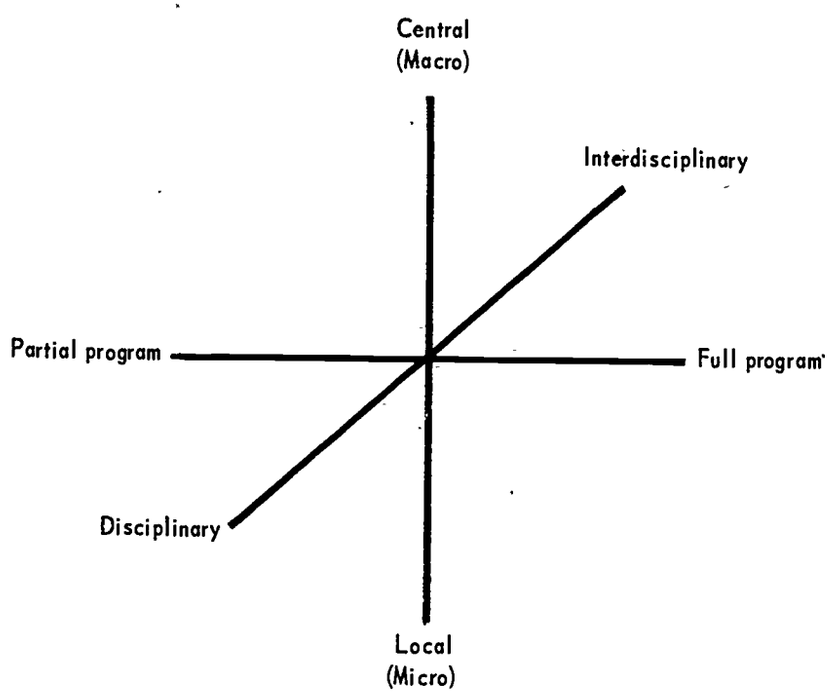
In answering those questions, it was suggested, four dimensions should be considered:

1. Is the question relevant for the particular curriculum development, i.e. what are the priorities to be accorded to each of the questions in terms of the project investigated? Is the question of (a) fundamental or (b) secondary importance?
2. When was the decision about the consideration of this specific question made? (a) at an early stage (b) at an intermediate stage or (c) at a later stage or (d) never?
3. Was the consideration of the question (a) planned or (b) accidental?
4. Was the question explicit or implicit?"

If this reads like a fiendish examination paper set for a curriculum developer in some pedagogic purgatory, the object of the exercise is clear: to pin-point the underlying philosophical postulates which, in the rough-and-ready press of affairs are liable to be obscured or taken for granted. Like all questions which go back at every point to first principles they demand answers to theoretical questions which expose the necessary compromises on which daily life is based. But as a means of sharpening debate about styles and values they serve a purpose.

It is arguable, however, that a matrix is too rigid a form in which to present this kind of information. As an alternative it is possible to plot the characteristics of a curriculum development project as dimensions on a graph, as in the figure on next page. Each axis represents a continuum of choices between polar extremes and the different dimensions are assumed to be linearly independent. The figure attempts to depict three of the more sensitive dimensions, five others are listed below the figure.

DIMENSIONS OF CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT STYLES



and

4. Facts - processes
5. Open - specified goals
6. Vocational - growth
7. Non-instrumental - instrumental (materials for classroom)
8. Rigid frames - flexible frames

Position in this space changes with time.

It will be noted that each project, plotted on such a graph, would produce a somewhat different profile. Projects having a similar profile could be said to share a common style. Any form of analysis has to recognise that characteristics do not necessarily remain constant. This form of graphical representation attempts to be more versatile than "discrete and static" models put forward in the suggested matrix(1).

There was general agreement that the next stage was to work on a taxonomy of curriculum development; to survey the literature and compare the various approaches (including those put forward here and elsewhere) with a view to establishing a viable system of classification.

3. THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

One of the conference working papers which bore most directly on the development process itself was the paper from the Schools Council in London. This attempted to perform a limited task. It reviewed some 16 of the Council's better established projects - among them, projects showing most of the more significant variations in practice - and asked five main questions which might bring to light the elusive quality of style. The questions were:

Why have the projects been set up?
What sort of aims do projects have?
What are the outputs of projects?
How do projects set about their work?
What sort of people undertake project work?

The paper, which ran to 80-odd, closely typed pages, offered a wealth of information about what could loosely be described as a representative cross-section of English curriculum development. In a final chapter an attempt was made to draw together "issues for consideration" and to construct another matrix, simpler than Becher, but more deeply rooted in a study of a group of projects.

1) See also Appendix, pages 52-56.

From this emerged a grid (see Appendix, pages 52-56) which showed:

"A. The five broad reasons underlying the establishment of curriculum development projects;
B. Three main aims;
C. Four outputs, through which projects have sought to effect their aims;
D. Three ways in which projects have set about writing new materials.

As will be seen from some examples quoted in the Appendix, the grid provided a useful way of presenting some critical judgments of the development processes adopted by the projects. But the conclusions drawn at the end of the paper are austerely inconclusive. No clear stylistic patterns emerge. Cautiously the author of the study noted a tendency for an increasing diversity - if there ever had been such a thing as a classic approach it seemed to be augmented and modified by others as new areas of development were explored. Emphasis could be seen to shift away from curriculum content towards teaching and learning methods and attitudes. Where originally there had been a general tendency to rely on new materials as the main agent of change, there were signs that more importance had latterly been placed upon teacher development and the involvement of teachers in school-based development as an alternative method of changing the status quo.

The paper aroused considerable interest at Allerton Park, but as with the more ambitious matrix, there was an acute awareness of its limitations. Were the right questions being asked? In a sense, this was an attempt to answer the third interrogative put up by David Thomas. "How are activities generated in response to these [curriculum development] needs?"

Is it possible to elucidate the concept of style by concentrating attention on the successive decision points within the development process itself, the range of possibilities open to the developer at each stage? Can style be discovered by going much further than the Schools Council had been able to do and discovering which were the critical stages of each project and looking at these in detail? Is it possible to cut through the minor decisions and get down to the relatively few key decisions

where decisive action determines the character of the project and the values which it transmits?

It is not difficult to elaborate upon the questions and alternative answers put forward in the Schools Council grid. One such elaboration - of the questions, at least - comes from one of the groups at Allerton Park:

"Operational Alternatives

How can an enterprise:

a) Respond to technical advances, educational research, social changes, change of educational system, a new educational need, etc.?
b) Aim to affect curriculum content, teaching/learning methods, attitudes?
c) Develop new materials?
d) Disseminate?

For (a) it can:

1. Find interested small groups to develop;
2. Choose from existing knowledge and disseminate;
3. Choose from existing knowledge and make available new materials;
4. Prevail upon government to set up another enterprise to respond;
5. Try experiments in its own domain to provide a model and then proceed to 2, 3 or 4.

For (b) it can:

1. Finance (development) in that area;
2. Legislate for a change in "frame" such as in balance of funding, or school time;
3. Produce propaganda materials.

For (c) it can:

1. Have school trials in (i) selected classes, or (ii) random classes;
2. Hold conferences of experts and users;

3. Perform scholarly research;
4. Pay writing groups.

For (d) it can:

1. Make money available to schools to set up training institutes;
2. Provide evaluation data;
3. Help to induce needed legislation."

Similarly, an analysis of a development project could concentrate attention on how it affects the child in his various roles, (see Appendix, page 65) on the assumptions it makes about the school, society, the process of change itself, the relationship between immediate and ultimate aims.

Among the conclusions which might be drawn from all this are two.

First, that more research is needed before the background facts can be established on which to erect a structure of theoretical analysis which, eventually, may help the policy-makers to understand more about the side effects of different methods of curriculum development. This is an anodyne statement of a kind which emanates from every conference, but is intended to mean more than that. Curriculum developers have been so heavily engaged in the process of development, so concerned about the outcome of their work in terms of better education, that they have had little time to study their own activities. An awareness of the way in which huge questions can be begged all along the line is behind the current concern about implicit and explicit values. An important consequence of this new awareness should be some penetrating investigation.

Second - that the policy makers and administrators do not need to wait for the results of research - which, in the nature of things, is unlikely to be definitive - before looking for ways in which present practice may be leading to unexpected, indirect, consequences. It is customary to speak of a "hidden curriculum" which exists alongside the official one. It may be that the time has now come to recognise also a "hidden curriculum development" as its logical corollary.

Chapter III

ISSUES AND WATERSHEDS

On the first evening of the conference, Ralph Garry asked what might be called the previous question. Is it possible to be systematic about curriculum development at all? Do we have anything to learn from each other, or are the national differences between educational systems and the environments within which they exist so great that in practice we can learn little from each other?

This was the challenge which ran through the four-day meeting. How realistic is it to build theories of curriculum development which transcend local and national circumstances: can the process of development be studied without taking off into abstractions which part company with practical experience? Can the links between the development process and the social and political values which it projects be illuminated in such a way as to increase both the self-knowledge of the curriculum developers and the effective understanding of the policy-makers elsewhere in the public education service?

Any attempt to assess the extent to which the conference succeeded in doing this is dependent on a recognition that the reason for having an <u>international</u> conference was not to seek ultimate truth about curriculum development in the form of a definitive theoretical analysis, nor yet to encourage the import of some practice or project from one country to another, but to set the value-loaded questions of curriculum development in an international context, and thus to enable each participant to see his own situation more clearly in the light of the experience of others.

In attempting to draw any conclusions from the conference, therefore, it is important to concentrate on issues which divided opinion, rather than those on which concensus was easily obtained. These watershed issues may demonstrate contrasts in

style which throw light on the large matters under discussion and throw into relief the contending values with which the meeting was concerned. Much of the discussion turned on three closely-related topics:

1. The contrast between centralised and decentralised systems;
2. The impact of curriculum development on the role of the teacher; and
3. The relationship between the centre and the periphery.

1. THE CONTRAST BETWEEN CENTRALISED AND DECENTRALISED SYSTEMS

This was one of the topics which kept on claiming the attention of the discussion groups. It seem an obvious indicator of style, both with regard to education in general and curriculum development in particular. In large measure centralisation or decentralisation has to be accepted as part of the political landscape. At any given time the balance between central and local organs of government is changing, but only at times of major upheaval are the changes sudden or radical. Modifications take place from time to time - the Swedes seek to transfer more responsibility to the local authorities, or the British reduce the number of local authorities with a view (in theory if not in practice) to devolving more power, while setting up new central institutions like the Schools Council which informally exercise a unifying function. In the United States, the extremes of decentralisation are adjusted in practice from time to time by national programmes which distribute money in accordance with policies decided nationally as well as locally.

How the balance of power is arranged between central and local government may be a strong factor in determining educational style but is more likely to reflect general legal and political considerations than specifically educational assumptions; it is likely to be rooted in the history of the development of the modern state, in the concepts of law and national unity, in the way in which religious divisions have been resolved and in such special arrangements as may have been established to respect local autonomy.

Inevitably in each country political theories are likely to form around particular legal and administrative arrangements and for some centralisation will represent national unity and uniformity of standards while for others decentralisation will be equated with academic freedom and individual liberty and systems of checks and balances which restrain the executive.

When the specific question of the control of the curriculum (and hence curriculum development) is considered, there are degrees of centralisation and decentralisation. There are, for example, countries like Sweden and France and the German Länder where curriculum is centrally controlled through the prescription of syllabuses and through handbooks of guidance for teachers which lay down principles and give examples of approved methods for carrying these out. As Group III's rapporteur, Christoph Wulf, indicated, there is room for endless argument about the extent to which such systems actually succeed in directing the work of the teachers in the manner which is desired. The central authorities tend to invest the official curriculum and guidance manual with more authority than the teachers do. Both agree, however, in insisting that official guidance is concerned to establish a framework within which teachers can work, not to bind the teachers in points of detail.

Centralisation can, therefore, suggest a greater degree of uniformity and control than is actually achieved - especially as what happens within the school is likely to be influenced, in part at least, by social environments which may vary markedly from place to place.

Similarly, decentralisation can mean very different things if, say, comparison is made between the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom.

Group IV discussed these matters at some length and they gave rise to "stresses among us which at first blocked progress but in the end formed the product of our group".

"The most polarising issue was the efficacy of country-wide, long-term comprehensive rulings and specifications concerning school organisation and curriculum versus local initiative with incomplete specifications developing specificity with experience... At the beginning some participants did not fully appreciate the role central planning has been able to play in marshalling human and financial resources in some countries to alter a traditional

pattern and opening up new educational opportunities. These may have been countries in which the needed changes were common and relatively simple, or in which broad national concensus exists. On the other hand, there was at first insufficient realisation by some of the need for continuous feedback and re-direction in an endeavour which involves the complexities of society and of the human mind and emotions. This of course becomes more obvious in a heterogeneous, turbulent country. Though to some the issue may have been curriculum development as a science as opposed to its being an art, to me it is a question of the complexity required of the science or technology, and the degree to which our present knowledge suffices for broad planning."

The same group was concerned with "the problem of multiple goals" and the pluralistic form in which different curricula are provided for individuals and communities with different goals". The advantage of pluralism was that it could accommodate a whole range of different values and correct the error made in assuming any single form of education is best for all people. "Pluralism allows natural selection to find better solutions than can be obtained by a monolithic plan. The disadvantages of pluralism include the possibility that some types of education programmes will become stigmatised as inferior to other types.

"This form of stratification may be very difficult to overcome. For example, vocational high schools are viewed as inferior to college preparatory high schools. Pluralism may also be inconsistent with current trends toward populism and egalitarianism. Countries which had just achieved comprehensive systems would not find it possible to convert to a pluralistic education system. Pluralism may only be possible in a large country where social goals are varied and complex.

"One must consider the best mechanism for establishing planned variation in education programmes that accommodate two different groups. Some countries make such decisions at the central national level while other countries let the local communities determine their own variations in education programmes. It is generally considered desirable to permit local participation and involvement in curriculum decision making. There may be an important inconsistency between local control and the achievement of equal opportunity for all students. Local control may perpetuate discrimination. Ability to control

resources to promote equity may not be available at the local decision-making level.

"Pluralism does not imply local decision-making, necessarily. Thoroughly planned variation is one method of promoting pluralism, not only with respect to content but also with respect to process and methods. Countries cannot allow individual communities to completely decide what they are going to teach because state-wide goals are necessary to tie national policy to education programmes as in the case of Sweden. Spain's education system is also centrally controlled. There, recent expansion of secondary education into outlying areas found that the local populace was extremely conservative when asked what form of education they would prefer. They wanted a formal academic programme of Latin and Greek for their youngsters. Also, community advisory groups have been found to be extremely conservative in their perspectives about education curriculum in the United States. Holland requires common goals but within that framework they are somewhat less centrally organised than Spain or Sweden. Britain is decentralised, having placed substantial control in local authorities, as is the case in the United States. The important feature of local control is the high motivation found in community groups which are permitted to make important decisions about their curricula whether or not those decisions are progressive. Most members of the group agreed that some balance must be achieved between central planning and local control to insure adequate uniformity to reach society's goals while at the same time promoting sufficient variation to accommodate local needs."

The reference to Britain and the United States could be misleading unless it is remembered that there is a major difference between the two systems in respect of the control of the curriculum - which in the United States is in the hands of the local school board and its officers, while in England is largely (in practice, though not in law) devolved to the schools and the teachers themselves. The English system then brings into existence other normative institutions, most obviously, the external examination boards for the secondary schools, to set practical limits to the teachers' autonomy.

2. THE IMPACT OF CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT ON THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER

"A concern for the role of the teacher in curriculum development was at the heart of most of our discussion", was one group's comment.

The same might have been said of other groups also. The English obsession with the teachers' participatory role was one reason for this to be frequently brought to the surface. Another was the possibility that this - and the related question of the impact of the product of curriculum development on the teacher's role - might be one of the watershed issues which would actually help to identify important differences of style.

"... The use of teachers on curriculum development committees was recognised and seen as neither especially desirable nor undesirable. The involved teachers will undeniably gain considerably in the development process but the mere existence of a set of teachers on a curriculum development project does not guarantee more effective use of those materials by other teachers. In fact, the net effects of teacher involvement at this level may be to dilute the intellectual component which is the major strength of curriculum developments undertaken by experts outside of school systems.

"A model was presented in which responsibility for curriculum development was allotted to two major groups, those external to school systems and those internal to it. Each was seen as having a function to perform in development. External developers are primarily concerned with coherence, rigor, and the elaboration of new ideas in curriculum reform. Local people live in actual school settings. Those choices are primarily made by teachers. The choices here are much more complex than those made by the external developers but would, of course, be made in a less rigorous, in-depth, manner. The primary difficulty with the model at the moment is recognised to be the lack of effective decision making by teachers, that is, teachers need to be trained in the theoretical and practical matters involved in the deliberation and choice of curriculum programmes, packages and goals.

"It was suggested that research is needed on interpretations made by teachers. Some of this work is taking place in Sweden's

Project 25 although its primary purpose is not to elaborate teacher interpretation. There is a rich source of status studies along these lines in England and, in North America, it would seem that the elaboration and development of training programmes for teachers would be useful.

"Two fears were identified with the model. First, a direct consequence of this view is that local people should have control over whether or not a package is to be used in the school. Thus, there can be no guarantees of wide dissementation. Second, some members of our group felt that teachers ought to be limited in the sorts of curriculum choices that they could make and, in fact, one member felt that teachers ought not to have a say in the making of choices, since all they knew was teaching, and could not be responsible to society.

"A major research problem is engendered by a concern for a proper role of the teacher in curriculum development, namely to establish correlations between decision making by teachers and their curriculum development procedures and products."

There was general agreement that research might reveal a lot of detailed information about how schools and teachers actually work and in this way make for better-informed planning. But what the role of the teacher should be is essentially a value judgment and it is in connection with difference about values that this impinges on styles of curriculum development. What is at issue may not be what the teacher actually does, but a myth about the teacher's role which, in England, for instance, determines options in curriculum development.

I have written elsewhere that "the myth of the autonomy of the teacher as master of his fate and his pupils' curriculum ... is a myth in the sense that it expresses great truths in a form which corresponds more to an idea than to reality. The less factually correct it may be, the more important it is to assert... To refer to this as a myth is not to denigrate it. It is a crucial element in the English educational idea. It is the key to the combination of pedagogic, political and administrative initiatives which provide the drive for curriculum reform in England and Wales..."

The English view, reflected at Allerton Park, would probably be that the case for the teachers' autonomy is most formidable, not on grounds of philosophy, which is not a strong point in

English education circles, but on grounds of practice - that is to say, that the best way to enlist the teacher's commitment to any innovation, or to the idea of innovation as a recurrent phenomenon in education, is to implicate him in the process; because unless he is so implicated, he can and will resist and in all probability defeat the efforts of the innovators.

This belief does not necessarily obscure the weaknesses which often go with it: weakness in organisation, evaluation, dissemination and implementation, and a general scepticism about theory-building which risks carrying pragmatism to the point of naivety. These can be seen in part as a price paid for the essential commitment of the teacher: in part a series of remediable faults which it should be the aim of politicians, educational administrators and curriculum developers to correct by resolute action, provided that the demythologising process which this might involve does not prove to be destructive of the insight behind the myth.

People from Sweden, Germany, France and elsewhere in Europe are unwilling to take the English obsession with the teacher at its face value, or to regard teacher participation and teacher-control as either uniquely necessary to obtain the desired result, nor yet wholly compatible with public control of the education system. The English have tended to regard the content of education as too important and too sensitive to trust to the politicians; to some at least, especially in Scandinavia, this seems a frivolous view.

The Swedes have sought systematically to meet the teachers' professional needs, by in-service training and by consulting with them in many ways in drawing up organisational and curricula policies. It would be out of the question for them, as Marklund indicated with patience from time to time at Allerton Park, to cede to the teachers responsibilities which properly belong to the elected representatives of the community. The hostility of some of the teachers might be an inevitable price to be paid for one or other aspect of educational reform, which conflicted with the vested interests of some teachers or groups of teachers. The professional satisfaction of some teachers might be, or appear to be, linked with curricula, whose objectives had been overtaken by new social policies.

If this happened, great efforts were needed to win the teachers over, without retreating from the social objectives

behind the reform, and to equip them with training and practical support so that the professional confidence might survive the changes. It appeared that it was not always possible to do this.

The force of the English case was recognised but the English were widely believed to have got this matter out of perspective and to leave too many loose ends. To disperse control, as the English did, meant accepting unevenness and diversity and imposing unacceptable limits on administrative authority at the expense of (among other things) equal treatment for all children. It would also be agreed, however, that teachers in countries like France, Germany and Italy could hold a strong traditional view of their own roles, even though this did not, in theory, include control of the curriculum, and that this could inhibit innovation and reform.

North American participants were, perhaps, somewhat more inclined to see some virtue in the English position, while wincing from time to time at the limits it appeared to place on the developer's role and the unreasonable hopes it placed in rank and file members of the teaching profession. They saw only too clearly the coincidental co-existence of this myth with a relatively inflexible system of external examinations, a secondary school system which required early differentiation, and in many parts of the country still, a system of selective grammar schools to match the selective scarcity of places in higher education.

But critical as one might be of these shortcomings, discussion showed that it also a myth to suppose that a politician, administrator or "expert" could necessarily determine what children are actually taught. It is clearly one thing to design a new course, new books, new kits of teaching resources and to train people in their use; quite another actually to ensure that the curriculum which reaches the pupil is the one which the developer devised. The teacher is likely to end up as the arbiter of the curriculum in practice if not in theory.

Examples were quoted of the "misuse" of new materials - that is to say, their use in ways different from those envisaged by the project team - when, for example, "new mathematics" are taught in the same ways as have hitherto been used for "old mathematics" or new, discovery-based science courses have been rendered nugatory by the persistent use of non-heuristic methods. The response of some developers has been to say this was fine - it was just one of the chances of the curriculum development game:

new materials are added to the available resources and how they are used is up to the schools. Others saw in this the challenge to in-service training, teachers' workshops and so on. Yet others saw in the unpredictable nature of the outcome of any development project something relevant to the specification of developmental objectives, and the need to find effective ways of combining the in-put and out-put - engineering and process - models of development.

If different styles of development may envisage radically different maps of knowledge, possibly alongside one another, within a single school or school system, the responsibility of the teacher is bound to increase.

3. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CENTRE AND THE PERIPHERY

Most of the curriculum development projects used to illustrate the discussion at Allerton Park were based on a centre-periphery relationship. The centre might be a central government curriculum department or agency, developing new courses and new materials with more or less experimental assistance from schools on the periphery and then issuing the products which result from this process to the schools for optional or required use. In this respect there could be a great deal in common between a project sponsored by a foundation or a university in the United States, or by the Schools Council or Nuffield Foundation in England, or by the National Board of Education in Sweden, or a central agency for curriculum development in a German state.

The metaphor of a wheel with a hub at the centre where the development takes place, radiating new objectives, processes, methods and materials via the spokes of the wheel to the rim and tyre which actually makes contact with solid ground, is so pervasive that it is fair to ask if this is not, in itself, value-loaded and might not, therefore, also hold a key to stylistic differences if not now, as trends which can already be discerned, become more pronounced as time passes.

A centre-periphery relationship is axiomatic if it is maintained that society's social and political aims in education must be formally worked out by democratically-centralised institutions. It is also implicit in methods of innovation which are based on the large-scale application of educational technology.

If the high cost of developing learning systems is to be justified by extensive use, a centre-periphery model is inevitable. In its day, gadget and hardware-oriented educational technology represented a centre-periphery relationship par excellence. Klaus Hinst(1), describing the Centre for Educational Technology in the State of Hesse, an organisation which has been set up as a non-profit, state-financed research and development institution, showed how one of his first tasks was to change the out-of-date concept of educational technology as a bag of mechanical tricks. But the centre-periphery relationship would be more difficult to change, even if he wished to do so.

Earle Loman's(2) paper on USMES and Jean Rudduck's(3) on the Nuffield-Schools Council Humanities project described the way in which key decisions were taken - some of them before the project came into being, some of them as the scheme evolved. Both projects depended on the involvement of a network of schools and the co-operation of large numbers of practitioners. In the case of the Humanities Project, the outcome was a technique for handling controversial issues which, in so far as it could be regarded as a "product", was worked out in practice by teachers using the project materials. The relationship between the schools and the team was one of periphery and centre, but in a modified form; the Humanities project team remained in contact with schools which used their materials; some of the teachers taking up the Humanities packages received short courses in the technique. Jean Rudduck's paper showed how the project decisions were shared - how some (like the decision to use an input rather than an output model) were decisions which only the team and its director could take; but how they in turn were dependent in other respects on the decisions which teachers took as to implementation, adaptation and so on.

Other projects, including some of those described in the Schools Council paper are less centrally, more peripherally controlled, the development taking place at the periphery and flows towards the centre, not vice-versa. This can be seen in other kinds of curriculum development project - especially those inner city ventures which link the renewal of a school and its

1) Klaus Hinst: Towards Incorporating Educational Development in the Educational System.

2) Earle Loman: Key decisions shaping the USMES project.

3) Jean Rudduck: Decision Points in the Humanities Project.

whole life (including curriculum) with the renewal of the surrounding community. Examples of "schools without walls" in the United States could be cited as curriculum development which does not adopt the centre-periphery model; small-scale English examples would be the five educational priority areas, including Dr. Eric Midwinter's at Liverpool. The objectives are much wider than those - say - for an advanced physics course - being nothing less than the revival of a community which is in danger of collapse. The relationship between the school and the local community bulks much bigger than the relationship between the schools' aims and those of the educational system as a whole. Considerations of tidiness and uniform standards are secondary to the search for local stimuli to learning, which may even include the deliberate study of local grievances as a means of rousing people to action (including work at school). As a technique of innovation it may have little in common with nation-wide, highly-structured, highly-centralised procedures. Beyond doubt in this case at any rate, a different style implies different values.

At least one American participant saw a tendency for the classic, instrumental style, based on the engineering model, organised at the centre and dispensed from the centre to the periphery, to be self-perpetuating for reasons of sheer administrative necessity. It was easier to fit into programme planned budgeting. It was easier to explain and justify to politicians. His comments had to be taken in the light of contemporary American discussions about the projected National Institute for Education and its role as the directive body for educational research and development.

If research and development policies in defence and industry are to be carried over into education and the customer-contractor principle is to apply, there is a risk to which attention was drawn, that the priorities which define efficiency in industry and defence will be carried over into the educational field. In a military or industrial context there is a recognisable relation-ship between the basic work of the original scientist, the development work of the engineer and the distribution of the product for general use by soldiers or industrial workers.

There are those who would like to think the same logic can be applied to education by taking the results of educational research, setting up a development programme to translate these

into immediately effective pedagogic tools, and distributing these in the most efficient way to the industrial workers of education who, on this analogy, are the teachers.

This can have two undesirable consequences to be set alongside any benefits which accrue. First, it devalues the professional teachers' contribution, ignores their unique gifts (or rather, expressly denies that they have gifts which are unique) and makes better education and training for teachers an unnecessary luxury. And, second, it puts a premium on narrow and limited achievements which can be categorically prescribed and efficiently engineered. As one participant put it: "don't mess around with mystical concepts like self-realisation or understanding, or whatever. Say what you want in very simple language - say 'at least 90 per cent of the children can spell at least 80 per cent of the words on this specific list correctly by a specified date, two years hence', then write a contract and pay the contractor more or less depending on how well the students do on their reading tests ..."

CONCLUSIONS

No formal conclusions were reached, but certain plans for follow-up activity were discussed.

In the very nature of things, the original hypothesis remained unproven but necessary. If no such thing as a "style" of curriculum development had existed it would have been necessary to invent it.

While styles of curriculum development (like styles of women's fashions) may most easily be recognised in their extremes and extravagances, the task of the conference was to look at the relationship between development styles for curriculum development enterprises as a whole, and the developmental pattern of individual projects. Arising from this came the specific recommendation of two groups for a special CERI-sponsored short research project to consider a taxonomy for curriculum development.

It was further suggested that a handbook of curriculum development should be prepared on the basis of international co-operation under the CERI umbrella.

Both the handbook and the taxonomy (which might find a place in it) highlight the linguistic questions to which the conference constantly returned. A more sensitive language of discourse is needed if the value issues which permeate curriculum development are not to be obscured by a spurious scientism.

This is true about the discussion of curricula matters within a single county. One of the reminders this writer took away from Allerton Park was the insistence that curriculum development is not a cold, objective, scientific exercise with right and wrong answers which can be derived from research, but an expression of a whole range of social, political and pedagogic goals, like the rest of the educational process.

It follows that if this is so about the domestic issues of curriculum development, it must be doubly so when set in an international context. International co-operation and an international conference and handbook can share experience and sharpen

self-knowledge: this is good and worth pursuing for its own sake. But the nature of the curriculum and its links with indigenous social systems are such that none need fear - nor should anyone hope for - the emergence of an international technocracy of curricula development.

Appendix

1. EXTRACT FROM THE SCHOOLS COUNCIL'S PAPER "CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS"

The paper attempted to review 16 major British projects. Five basic questions were asked (see Figure 1).

Figures 2 to 5 are reproduced to show how a selection of projects - English for Immigrants, the Humanities Curriculum Project, the Northwest Regional Curriculum Development Project, and Science 5-13 - measure up against this grid.

Figure 1

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

A project may be a response to	A project may aim to influence	A project may seek to effect its aims by providing or stimulating	A project may develop new materials through
A1 scientific and technological advance		C1 new teaching/learning materials for teachers/pupils	
	B1 curriculum content		D1 the work of a central team
A2 educational or other research		C2 new forms examination	
A3 social changes	B2 teaching/learning methods		D2 co-operative by teachers and a central team
		C3 teacher development	
A4 Change within the educational system	B3 teacher pupil attitudes		D3 the work of teachers supported by a central team
A5 a new special educational need		C4 teacher/school based curriculum development	

Figure 2

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

A project may be a response to	A project may aim to influence	A project may seek to effect its aims by providing or stimulating	A project may develop new materials through
A1 scientific and technological advance		C1 new teaching/learning materials for teachers/pupils	
	B1 curriculum content		D1 the work of a central team
A2 educational or other research		C2 new forms of examination	
A3 social changes	B2 teaching/learning methods		D2 co-operative work by teachers and a central team
		C3 teacher development	
A4 change within the educational system	B3 teacher/pupil attitudes		D3 the work of teachers supported by a central team
A5 a new special educational need		C4 teacher/school based curriculum development	

ENGLISH FOR IMMIGRANT CHILDREN

Figure 3

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

A project may be a response to	A project may aim to influence	A project may seek to effect its aims by providing or stimulating	A project may develop new materials through
A1 scientific and technological advance		C1 new teaching/learning materials for teachers/pupils	
	B1 curriculum content		D1 the work of a central team
A2 educational or other research		C2 new forms of examination	
A3 social changes	B2 teaching/learning methods		D2 co-operative work by teachers and a central team
A4 change within the educational system	B3 teacher/pupil attitudes	C3 teacher development	D3 the work of teachers supported by a central team
A5 a new special educational need		C4 teacher/school based curriculum development	

HUMANITIES CURRICULUM PROJECT

Figure 4

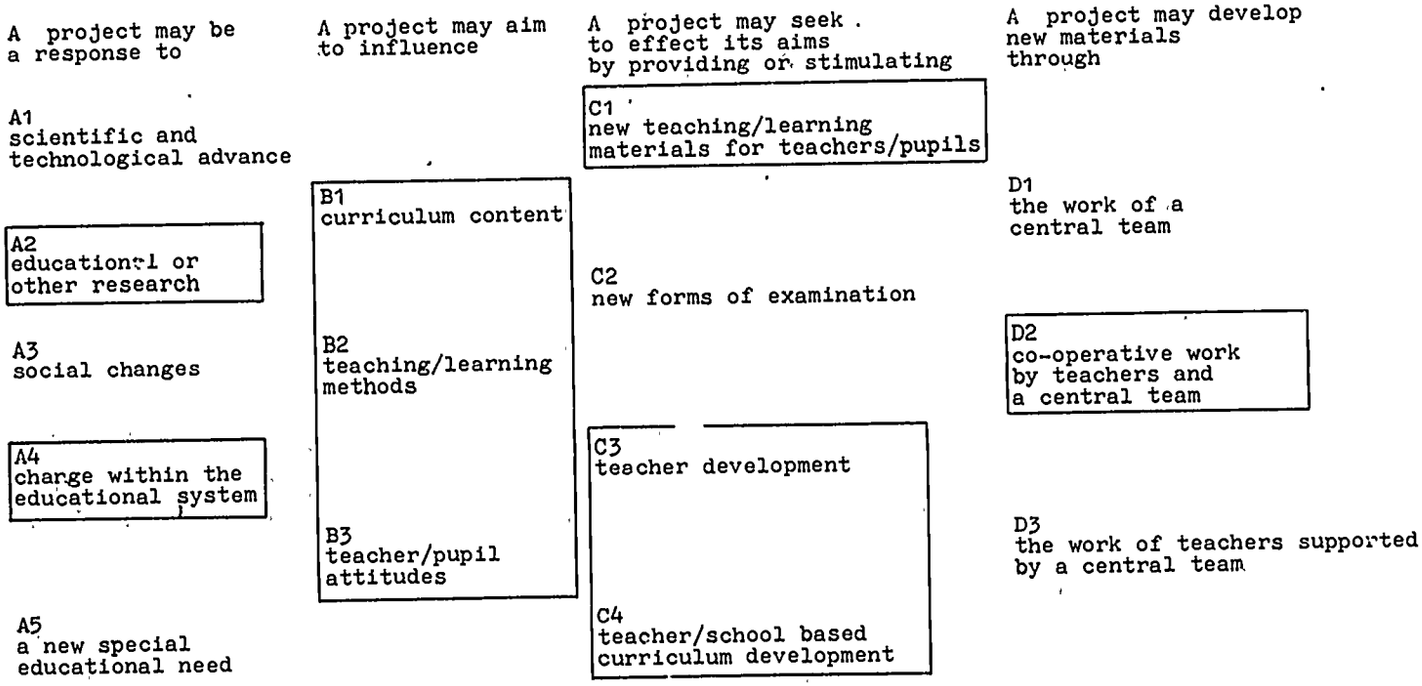
CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

A project may be a response to	A project may aim to influence	A project may seek to effect its aims by providing or stimulating	A project may develop new materials through
A1 scientific and technological advance		C1 new teaching/learning materials for teachers/pupils	
	B1 curriculum content		D1 the work of a central team
A2 educational or other research		C2 new forms of examination	
A3 social changes	B2 teaching/learning methods		D2 co-operative work by teachers and a central team
A4 change within the educational system		C3 teacher development	
	B3 teacher/pupil attitudes		D3 the work of teachers supported by a central team
A5 a new special educational need		C4 teacher/school based curriculum development	

NORTH-WEST REGIONAL
CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

Figure 5

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS



SCIENCE 5-13

2. POSTCRIPT TO WORKING PAPER BY R.A. BECHER ENTITLED "THREE STYLES OF CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT"

In the light of the discussion at Allerton Park Becher modified his original matrix and reduced the number of rows to eight:

	Cluster I	Cluster II	Cluster III
View of knowledge	PACKAGES (subject disciplines)	PROBLEMS (interdisciplinary enquiry)	PERSONAL EXPLORATION (eclectic searches)
Categories of goals most emphasised	JOB/CAREER	SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT	PERSONAL HAPPINESS
Means adopted	HIGHLY STRUCTURED MATERIALS	LOOSELY-STRUCTURED MATERIALS (but researched)	UNSTRUCTURED (non-existent?) MATERIALS
Teachers' classroom roles	DOMINATING	MANAGING	ASSISTING
Dissemination strategies	TEACHERS AS PASSIVE (RATIONAL) RECIPIENTS	TEACHERS AS REPRESENTATIVE (token?) PARTICIPANTS	TEACHERS AS (PARTIAL?) DEVELOPERS
Evaluation techniques	ATTAINMENT OF PRE-SPECIFIED GOALS	ECOLOGICAL (case-history) STUDIES	EXTENT OF CLIENT TAKE-UP
View of humanity	PEOPLE AS THINGS (manipulable)	PEOPLE AS SOCIAL ANIMALS (interactive)	PEOPLE AS INDIVIDUALS (idiosyncratic)
View of external reality	TERRA FIRMA (the real world) / Newton?	SANDBANKS (the changing world) / Einstein?	TERRA INCOGNITA (the unknowable, therefore) / Berkeley?

In presenting this to the summing-up session of the conference, Becher had offered other triple groupings but by the time he came to prepare a note for this report he wrote:

"I don't want to fill in any more boxes at the present stage in my learning ... What I am left asking is a series of questions about the relevance for informed choice of describing curricula style in these ways and, for instance, at what time and for what purposes is it useful for a learner to see knowledge in packages (statistics as a tool for biologists?), or as a series of problems (sociology as a field of passive acquaintance for doctors?) or as a set of personal explorations (mathematics for the mathematician?) I have tried elsewhere to outline some of the characteristic difficulties, in terms of dissemination of adopting one or other style. But if the notions we have talked about are really to gain currency, they will only do it in terms of their purchasing power - that is, in terms of how many people, at different places in the curriculum development game, can make practical use themselves of the categories with which we have been concerned. Even if it only stimulates them to create other, better, more useful categories we shall at least have achieved something beyond a highly engaging and delightful three days of debate."

3. EXTRACTS FROM RAPPORTEURS' REPORTS

a) FOUR ASSUMPTIONS

"1. An adequate account of style considers the character and context of particular curriculum developments. The character of a curriculum development includes its structure, for example, who the developers are and how are they organised, and functions, for example, processes of deliberation utilised in arriving at curriculum development decisions ...

"2. Research on curriculum development is needed and will contribute to our understanding of curriculum and to improved curriculum development practices. One consequence of this assumption is that the group did not deal explicitly with the three questions posed initially by David Thomas but, rather, tackled the more general problem of developing a set of analytic terms which could be used to study actual curriculum developments and to answer the three questions. It was recognised that the application of the analytic framework would yield very complex data (see below) and that the problem of identifying criteria for the specification of types of curriculum development remained as a problem. That is, the analytic framework would not, by itself, lead to the construction of a typology of curriculum development. One might look for this typology by using analytical techniques or by attempting to identify underlying principles of what curriculum development is and what is its social function.

"3. Curriculum development includes the construction of materials and plans and school uses of them. There are losses and gains in this assumption. The loss is in terms of clearness of definition. The gains are in the direction of meaningfulness and utility. That is, curriculum development takes its meaning and its usefulness from the practices it influences. There were several consequences of this assumption. First, considerable attention was given to the role of the teacher in curriculum development, particularly with respect to the teacher's role in

curriculum decision making. A second consequence was the concern to evaluate curriculum development. The concern here is not the extent to which evaluation procedures are built into curriculum development but, rather, to evaluate the quality and effectiveness of the curriculum development activity in the ongoing affairs of practice. A third consequence is that any particular curriculum development is, in effect, a complex piece of curriculum research. That is, the use of materials and plans amounts to a test of the assumptions and point of view adopted in the curriculum development activity. For example, theoretical assumptions about the nature of knowledge and how it is related to the mind is always involved in a curriculum development activity.

"4. People's views are worth hearing. This is a process assumption underlying our discussion. The adoption of the assumption led to a congenial group which gave considerable support and encouragement to members with various ideas."

The need for a set of analytic terms within which to work was recognised early on, and the result of the group's deliberations appears below.

Analytic Terms

Analytic terms for:

1. The study of actual developments;
2. The description of possible styles for use by developers;
3. The generation of as-yet-untried styles.

Programatic	People & Mode of Organisation	Process of Deliberation	Product Character-istics	Implementation Mode/ School Affairs
Framework	Organisation (Setting for School System)	Assumptions (Curricular choice points)	Organisation (School System Level)	
Locus	1 Government	2 Commissions	3 -in house Centers -out house	4 Unconnected to Groups
	5 University Research Groups	6 School Based	7 Commercial	

1. Each of the terms could be elaborated, as is "Locus". For instance, two possibilities were suggested for "Product Characteristics". These were trying Morissette's system and one suggested by the group. The latter had four parts:

Material Based - Here there is a complete package, with no specified strategies, and a loose structure. Therefore, the teacher or the student or a combination of both decides on the use of the materials.

Teacher Based - Here, the primary product is for teachers.

Process Based - Here, the concern is with skills orientation in students.

Learner Based - Here, there is a complete package such as is found in programmed texts and in independent learning programmes. Has extensive strategies and allows for little interference by the teachers.

2. "Implementation" has two parts. The "mode" refers simply to such things as how the programme was sold, who disseminated it, how school systems are reached and so on. "The school affairs" refers to the uses made of the curriculum by schools. This is a specification, in effect, of our third Assumption.

3. The terms could be arranged on a three-dimensional grid. Thus, each curriculum development could be specified by a particular location on the grid for each term. The "style" of a curriculum development could be plotted to give a three-dimensional chart, or could be named by a sequence of cell numbers.

There are various uses to which the terms could be put.

1. By elaborating the various parts, as was done for "locus", and by establishing a sequence of processes within the project, it would be possible to answer such questions as "what kinds of deliberation gave rise to what kinds of conditions and what kinds of outcomes were achieved". We have, in effect, a set of parameters with a set of descriptors with which to study style.

2. Such analysis is of use to researchers interested in understanding curriculum and of use to developers in improving development practices. For the former, the understanding is not merely of the phenomena of curriculum development but also of curriculum practices. That is, the developmental procedures utilised in arriving at a certain set of practices in a certain school are an important element in understanding the curriculum of that school.

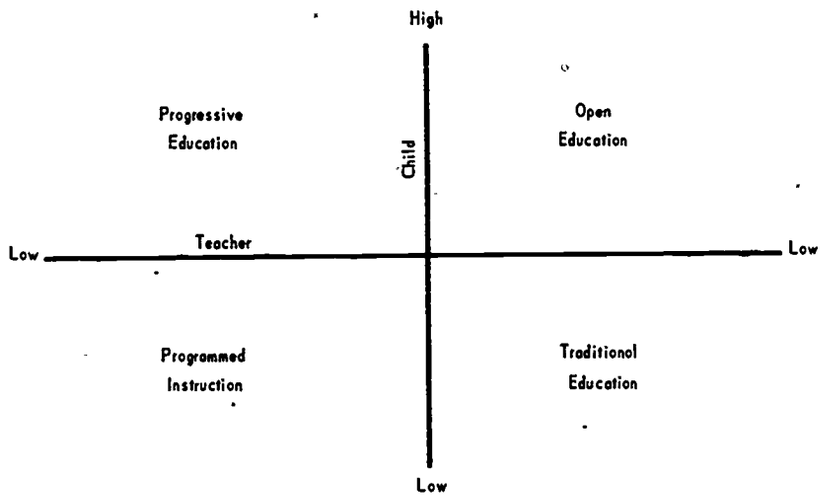
3. Terms can be utilised to identify losses and gains in curriculum developments. For example, what is gained and what is lost in local curriculum development?; and what are the effects, positive and negative, of logically planning, economic and personnel resources.

One of the difficulties of such a set of terms is the complexity of description which they give. Several simplifications were attempted by our group to show how a typology might emerge. The following grids are examples of the sort of simplified information that might eventually come from an analysis.

Grid I

DEVELOPMENT TYPES

Decision Model

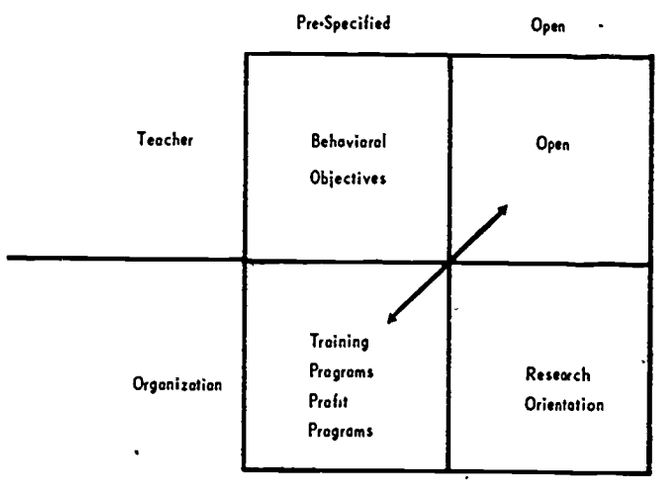


Or, as an alternative:

Grid II

DEVELOPMENT TYPES

Goal Model



Given this model it is possible to imagine a solution where prespecified organisation goals lead to an open teaching system (diagonal).

School System Comparison - Sweden, England, United States, Minneapolis - St. Paul

The group undertook a comparison of curriculum development in Sweden and England with minor comparisons being made with the United States, in particular Minneapolis - St. Paul. Two themes emerged in this discussion.

First, the theme identified in Assumption Number Three came out clearly in the concern of the group to identify the role of the teacher in curriculum development. Secondly, there was an overriding concern for the relations between school and society in curriculum development. It became clear that the form (style?) of curriculum development used by a country did not necessarily specify the role played by teachers and students in development nor did it specify a relationship between school and society. For instance, in Sweden curriculum development is highly centralised and is easily flow-charted from Government policy to syllabus specification. There is no effective flow-chart for England, although there are a multiplicity of arrows leading towards the school. However, in both cases teachers and students enter the process at all levels. For instance, in Sweden teachers are on the original government policy committees. It is, of course, an empirical matter to determine the effectiveness and role played by local people in these various committees in both countries.

For school-society relations it was clear that Sweden saw the schools as an instrument of social construction and reconstruction. Thus, in the balance between education for social ends and education for individuals the shift was to the former in Sweden and to the latter in England. Returning to our set of terms, the framework factor "organisation" (setting for school system) is one of the prominent factors in identifying curriculum development style in Sweden as compared to England.

Some additional points of comparison are:

1. Overall purpose in Sweden is equalisation whereas in Britain it is individualisation;
2. Teacher interpretation is maximised in England and minimised in Sweden;
3. Minneapolis - St. Paul exhibits all seven "locus" types. One school system exhibits considerable diversity;

4. America tends to be object-centred whereas Britain tends to be subject centred in curriculum development.

b) FOCI FOR VALUE INQUIRY:

It is possible to identify a number of foci for value inquiry. The list below indicates some categories for value inquiry about which the decision-maker should be aware when he makes choices concerning alternative styles.

"The child as object of learning:

- As a learner;
- As a human being;
- As a member of society;
- As a future adult;
- As master of his own fate;
- As part or whole.

"The school as a means for "applying" curriculum:

- As a social institution itself;
- As a professional institution;
- As an enabling institution for individuals;
- As an agency of social transmission;
- As an agent of social change.

"Society as the "matrix":

- Happy with it? Why?
- Unhappy with it? Why?

"How does social change come about?

- Directed;
- Directed but using persuasion;
- By changing incentives operating on people;
- Manipulation;
- Emergent and self-directed;
- Inexplicable.

"What is the scope of one's aims?

- Small: just the curriculum;
  just the school;

- Large: the entire society;
  the basic values we live by.

This list is not exhaustive, merely suggestive. The last item perhaps needs a little explanation. In the course of our group's discussion it became rather clear that some of us, in acting as proponents of one or another style of curriculum development, were doing so not in the (narrower) belief that it was a better way to go about curriculum development per se but because of the (broader) belief - up until that point, a sub-conscious belief at best - that the preferred style was in fact dearer to us by virtue of its implicit identification with a particular view of society which we also favoured. Thus, those of us with more radical or more person-centered views of what ought to be happening in society found it comfortable to recommend styles of curriculum development consonant with those views even in the face of evidence that they conflicted with the dominant values of the educational system or the society as a whole. In other words, the choice of curriculum development style was an opportunity to make one more choice in the direction of a desired policy admittedly quite different from that prevailing. While now obvious to me, that was a personal revelation and useful to grasp with some explicitness. For some of us, in effect, the agenda was considerably larger than the express task before us.

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