Symposium Abstracts

Towards a Bernsteinian problematic for identifying and analysing knowledge relationships in collaborative doctoral research projects.

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Recent policy emphases on the knowledge economy and innovation in Australia and internationally have linked research, including higher degree research, to broader goals of knowledge transfer involving the translation of knowledge to domains outside the university where it can be taken up and applied. Research in this area has focused on various aspects of university-industry relationships with respect to doctoral education including labour market and employment relationships of doctoral graduates (Western et al, 2007; Campbell et al, 2005; Enders, 2005; Miller et al, 2005), and their experience of university-industry interface (Thune, 2009; Harman, 2002).

The perceived requirement to adapt doctoral training to labour market and employment relationships and research-industry collaboration has been linked to the increased emphasis on “mode two knowledge” as knowledge produced in the context of application (Gibbons et al, 1994). A central development in relation to these changes is the growth of collaborative contexts in which doctoral research is conducted, including, in Australia, industry and cross-sectoral funding for doctoral projects through the Australian Research Council and other research funding schemes, doctoral programs in cooperative research centres with industry partners (Harman, 2004) and increasing participation from the professions and applied disciplines (e.g. design, business and nursing) in research higher degrees (Barnacle, 2005). These changes have also been associated with a transformation in the profile of doctoral students, including a substantial increase in numbers enrolled in doctoral degrees and significant changes in their characteristics. Around 50% of doctoral students are part-time and a high proportion of these are employed in industry, often in senior positions (Pearson, Evans and Macauley, 2004). Barnacle has identified a key property of this changing profile as the motivations of doctoral students, who are increasingly oriented to transformation in their professional lives (Barnacle, 2004).

Changes have also occurred in what is required of the doctoral student, characterised by Gemme and Gringas as follows: “The apprentice-researcher will not only have to master the foundations of his or her discipline and the specialized knowledge of a specific research area, but also to develop sufficient command of the problems related to the context of application (Gemme and Gringas 2004, p. 4). This has been supported in a recent Australian study of employment outcomes of doctoral graduates, which identified the need to better understand the mix and balance in doctoral training of generic analytical, research design and collaboration skills on the one hand with the
insights gained through specific disciplinary learning on the other (Western et al, 2007).

These changes raise questions about the nature of doctoral pedagogy in applied contexts and specifically the processes and contexts of application. Barnacle opens up the question of the way we respond to such findings with respect to doctoral pedagogy. She questions the often implicitly assumed connection between the “needs” of a knowledge economy and the aspirations, preferences and practices of doctoral students. She argues that a focus on “doctoral becoming” as a key component of knowledge acquisition should not be sacrificed in an enhanced focus on knowledge production as instrumentally attuned to the requirements of application and knowledge transfer (Barnacle, 2005). Bullen et al propose a similar caution in relation to institutional responses to knowledge economy imperatives, departing from approaches characterised by the “science-oriented techno-economic paradigm” and urging consideration of the ongoing importance of producing reflexive knowledge that embraces not only substantive discoveries but also insights into the need for constant revision of knowledge and its implications for individuals and society (Bullen et al, 2004).

These reviews play an important role in identifying points of departure from assumptions regarding remedies for the assumed “gaps” between university-based doctoral training on the one hand and the knowledge requirements of contexts of application on the other. In Durkheimian sociology, these assumptions can constitute pre-notions or concepts that may not be systematically grounded in analysis of the social contexts to which they refer. For Durkheim there was a need to intervene in the attraction of adopting assumptions that may be “practically adequate” and subject them to conceptual and empirical analysis (Durkheim, 1982). In particular the above reviews beg the question of the nature of doctoral students’ perceptions and practices at the interface of disciplines and contexts of application.

This paper applies the analytical framework of Basil Bersntein, as a theorist attuned to Durkheimian principles, to identify these perceptions and practices in the case of doctoral students in an Australian cooperative research centre. The paper will apply Bernstein’s framework to this question, as a set of concepts suited to capturing the system of relationships in which doctoral students’ applied work is embedded. Following Durkheim the overarching focus of his theory is the relationship between “principles of social order, identity and the structuring of consciousness, social practice and the regulatory role of context” with a focus on pedagogic discourse (Moore, 2001). As such we argue that it is a framework suited to understanding doctoral students’ perceptions and practices in the context of the different levels of knowledge relationships involved in the application of their research. The paper then turns to a review of the cooperative research centre program in Australia as a particular kind of “problem raising situation” for this application, involving a particular process and configuration of “regionalisation” (Bernstein, 1996) of disciplines and industry partnerships, and raising questions of the nature of the knowledge structures required to address these relationships. We then turn to an analysis of doctoral graduates’ descriptions of their research topics and processes, applying membership categorisation analysis developed by Harvey Sacks ( ) as a means of exploring the relationships between (“classification”) and within (“framing”) the domains relevant to their current research practice (Bernstein, 1996).
As such we further develop the insights of David Silverman in relation to the potential affinity between conversation analysis and Bernstein’s theoretical and methodological project (Silverman, 1995). Finally we review the conceptual methodological and empirical contributions of our study to a Bernsteinian problematic suited to identifying and analysing the relationships of application assumed to lie at the heart of knowledge transfer relationships.

References


Is interdisciplinarity old news?
A disciplined consideration of interdisciplinarity

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In April 2009, Mark C. Taylor, chair of the religion department at Columbia University, contributed a piece to the New York Times provocatively titled “End the university as we know it.” The article had attracted 473 comments on the paper’s website before the thread was closed just over 12 hours following its release and a quick online search reveals the article to have become a veritable internet sensation.

Taylor’s main criticism in the article is that a “mass production university model has led to separation where there ought to be collaboration and to ever increasing specialization” as, he posits in reference Kant (1798), academics become trustees “not of a branch of the sciences, but of limited knowledge that all too often is irrelevant for genuinely important problems” and as “research and publication become more and more about less and less” within fragmenting academic departments.

Taylor suggests that, in response, American universities must be “vigorously regulated and completely restructured.” He offers six prospective steps towards such restructuring, including the production of doctoral theses as “analytic treatments in formats from hypertext and websites to films and videogames,” the abolition of tenure, and the imposition of mandatory retirement. My paper, however, focuses on his two suggestions dealing most directly with the theme of interdisciplinarity.

In addressing interdisciplinarity, Taylor deems the “division-of-labor model” of separate academic departments “obsolete” and suggests that they be abolished and replaced by a curriculum focused on “common problems” such as “water” (and its quantity, quality, and distribution). He argues that such a problem-focused curriculum, which could be restructured periodically to address new issues, would “bring together people in the humanities, arts, social and natural sciences with representatives from professional schools like medicine, law, business, engineering, social work, theology and architecture. Through the intersection of multiple perspectives and approaches, new theoretical insights will develop and unexpected practical solutions will emerge.”

This is certainly not the first time the disciplines (and those who teach and research within them) have faced such critiques, which explicitly and implicitly call into question their autonomy, their status, and the legitimacy of their claims to expertise based on their production and possession of specialized knowledge (Beck and Young, 2005). My paper draws first on the Bernsteinian work of Rob Moore to explore one particularly influential way - which he terms “hyper-interdisciplinarity” - that the disciplines are put on the defensive, as they are in Taylor’s New York Times piece. Moore (forthcoming) stresses that the sociological focus of this exploration is “not upon the principle of interdisciplinarity per se, but upon a type of [approach] in debates about knowledge and education in which it is presented as a radical alternative to disciplinary knowledge”. Such a presentation necessitates the rhetorical
construction of a “radical break” between disciplinary knowledge, often held to be “a stultifying force that imposes arbitrary divisions and restrictions upon the educational field that stifle originality and innovation and preserve the educational advantages of dominant social groups” (ibid.), and a new order of interdisciplinary knowledge (which is, it should be added, more economically productive in the global “free market” according to neoliberal; conceptualizations). Andrew Abbott, in work referenced by Moore, argues, rather, that interdisciplinarity relates (and, generally, *always has* related) stably and complementarily with disciplinarity. Based on a historical consideration of the departmental structure as it emerged within the American university and of interdisciplinary research within the social sciences from the mid-1920s (including an analysis of article titles suggestive of “interdisciplinarity” within the *Social Sciences Citation Index*), Abbott suggests that “like most good ideas in social science, interdisciplinarity is old news” (2001, p. 131).

Additionally, what Taylor most crucially seems to overlook in promoting the abolition of permanent academic departments and the shift to an entirely problem-focused curriculum is that the intersection of multiple perspectives that he foresees as resulting from such a shift requires the *existence* of various perspectives, and some training within these various perspectives, in the first place; “interdisciplinarity presupposes disciplines” (Abbott, 2001, p. 135). Ultimately, the disciplinary stability that Taylor terms “obsolete” is rather “the condition for successful *innovation* within and between disciplinary networks rather than for ossification and sclerosis and for radical, progressive advancement in knowledge and understanding” (Moore, forthcoming).

Building on this framework, my paper next suggests that the “hyper-interdisciplinarity” promoted by Taylor is symptomatic of what Basil Bernstein (2000, p. 52) describes as “regionalization,” the recontextualization of “singular” knowledge structures (disciplines) into “larger units” increasingly responsive to and dependent upon the “market their output is serving” and subject to external control, within university settings. According to Bernstein (2000), for whom the notion of boundaries was a focal point, the boundary between the Trivium and Quadrivium established in the curriculum of the medieval University of Paris can be seen to represent a boundary between, in a Durkheimian sense, the “sacred” pursuit of transcendental and esoteric knowledge for intrinsic purposes and the “profane” pursuit of knowledge tied to much more instrumental and mundane practices such as economic production (Beck, 1999). Importantly, in light of the discussion that follows in my paper, for Bernstein “a sense of the sacred … of educational knowledge … is … a function of socialization into subject loyalty: for it is the subject which becomes the linch-pin of identity” (1977, p. 96).

Recognizing, then, Bernstein’s longstanding concern with understanding how school curricula and pedagogy serve to structure identity and consciousness and his related attempts to link the mode of production and division of labor in different eras with the dominant pedagogical models of the time (Bonal and Rambla, 2003), my paper seeks to identify effects on the relationship between, as Bernstein (2000) puts it, knowledge and knowers (here, particularly, university teachers, researchers and students) resulting from the shift from “singular” knowledge structures to “regions”. These might be expected to include the replacement of “inner commitments and dedications by short-term instrumentalities” (Bernstein, 2000, p. 62), serving to construct an
“outwardly responsive identity rather than one driven by inner dedication” (ibid., p. 69).

In the global shift towards neo-liberal capitalism, Bernstein (2000) conceptualized a related shift from “competence” to more instrumental “performance” models of pedagogy. As opposed to the focus of competence models on the production of what Bernstein termed introjected identities, performance models focus more instrumentally on external objectives such as economic concerns (and the production of projected identities), leading ultimately to what he conceptualized as “short-termism” (ibid., p. 59). Such external and “short term” concerns are evidenced throughout Taylor’s *New York Times* piece - by the analogy he draws between American higher education and the automotive industry in Detroit (the recent government “bailout” of car manufacturers there - the “necessity” of which has been blamed by conservative groups such as the Heritage Foundation largely on high labor costs, “expensive pension and health care packages negotiated through collective bargaining” and other “poor decisions” (Gattuso and Loris, 2008) often involving management’s historical concessions to labor - is of course heavily implied by Taylor here), by his invocation of terms and ideas such as “cost,” “contracting,” “problems” and the need for “practical solutions” to them, by multiple references to the “market” and, perhaps most particularly, by his deeming of a student’s dissertation on how the medieval theologian Duns Scotus used citations as “irrelevant” – and constitute an entirely instrumental, and largely market-oriented, conceptualization of knowledge and of the role of the university in producing it.

My paper concludes by considering whether Taylor’s proposed regionalization of the university curriculum is likely to develop into what Bernstein identified as a “generic” performance model focused on producing among learners (often through “lifelong learning”) a “set of general skills [necessary for] a range of specific performances” (2000, p. 55) or, rather, whether it is more likely to result what might be termed a “hyper-specialization” even more intense than the sort identified by Taylor as the reason behind his proposal to restructure the American university in the first place!

**References**


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Introduction

Following the election of the Labour Party to government in 1997 a number of long standing concerns about political representation, resulted in the devolution of power held by the government in London to Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales. In addition, building on the earlier Labour Party publication entitled ‘A new voice for England’s regions’, the new administration examined how it might further devolve or decentralise power within England. Campaigning organisations (Campaigns for the English Regions) were set up in 1999/2000, in each of the identified regions, with the intention to both make the case for devolution and also to provide fora for discussion on how this might be taken forward.

Political Devolution and Cornu-appropriate curricula

In the South West, the identified region extended from Gloucestershire, across to Dorset and down the peninsula to include Cornwall. The South West Constitutional Campaign group, however, was joined by a separate cross-party organisation in Cornwall, which, unlike the larger regional body, campaigned for a separate assembly that covered Cornwall alone. The possibility of increased sub-national responsibility found particular resonance in Cornwall where there had been a long history of calls for the restoration of self governance and a recognition by Westminster of the different legal relationship that exists between Cornwall and England (see Deacon, Cole and Tregidga (2003) for an overview). Emboldened by the potential for a local assembly a number of representations were made to Europe and the UK Government including a claim for the recognition of the Cornish as an ethnic minority (Deacon, 1999) and for their language to be officially recognised under the European Charter (MacKinnon, 2002).

The political claim for a degree of self governance in Cornwall stalled, however, when the government’s planned regional devolution was shelved in 2004 following the referendum result in North East England. The raising of awareness of distinctiveness did not, however, subside with this rejection by government and calls for recognition of difference continued to be heard and debated in Cornwall. Varying social groups, drawing on their respective backgrounds, proposed a range of possibilities about how this might be taken forward, resulting in a continuum of positions that extended from maintaining the current relationship with England, to the creation of a Unitary Authority through to calls for the creation of an independent state. Against this backdrop of debate there was a growing interest in the way that the education system, and the National Curriculum in particular, contributed to students’ understanding of such differences. Calls were made to introduce curriculum changes that were not anglocentric (Angarrack, 2002) in nature and would support the promotion and recognition of difference with specific reference to Cornish history and identity.
Recontextualisation of Official Knowledge

Bernstein (2000,66) suggests that where there is a requirement to engage with contemporary cultural change then curriculum reform is likely to occur. As part of the changing focus on the nature of political power and the increased interest in involvement at a sub-national level, educational institutions in the first decade of the 21st Century, were encouraged by a number of government directives to be cognisant of local needs. Whilst working within the national funding and curriculum frameworks educational institutions were able to incorporate local foci by either extending or developing new provision. The forms that these foci took differed between sectors but offered opportunities for social factions to influence locally published curricula: the outcomes of which contribute to help ‘produce and institutionalise’ particular pedagogic identities, which subsequently become part of the lived experiences of students.

This paper will utilise Bernstein’s Pedagogic Identities Classification to examine the influence of different groups, on the recontextualisation of Official Knowledge in Cornwall during this period in both the Official and Pedagogic fields. Whilst noting that the framework has limitations and frustrations (Power,2006) its use, it is hoped, will offer a means by which to better identify both the ‘gatekeepers’ and ‘licensers’ of the new published curricula and the extent of the range of prospective Pedagogic Identities (PIs) on offer.

One major player in the provision of new curricula in Cornwall for the compulsory education sector has been the Local Authority’s (LA) ‘Sense-of-Place’ project. The Project has published a number of alternative National Curriculum Units for use in phases ranging from Foundation to KS3. Using examples drawn from this provision it will be possible to examine the different projected Pedagogic Identities that result from the project. The PIs would appear to range from ones that do not significantly challenge the status quo, for example by requesting recognition of Cornish contributions to the Industrial Revolution i.e. what Olneck (2001) sees as the ‘we were there too’ approach, to a more strident call for a reworking of the accepted national historical narrative on the Tudor period. The paper will examine possible links between the projected PIs of the SoP project and the range of political positions being voiced in the devolution debate including those created by the LA in its role as ‘gatekeeper’.

Published curricula from the post compulsory sector offer further insight into other social factions at play within Cornwall during the period. Two key factors helped to create space for new curricula: the awarding of Objective One status by Europe allowing for an expansion of HE provision and the new Foundation Degree (FD) qualification which required providers to provide courses that met the specific needs of the local population. Unlike the situation in the compulsory sector the ‘gatekeepers’ and ‘licensers’ are more dispersed with employers, Professional Bodies and validating authorities all having a degree of input into the final product. Examples from FD curricula as diverse as Tourism and Applied Literary Studies will illustrate how different relationships between the ‘gatekeepers’, ‘licensers’ and the producers of the curricula in the post compulsory sector further extended the projected PIs occurring in Cornwall.
In concluding, the paper will argue that Bernstein’s PI Classification model has been useful in providing a framework for clarification of the links between the ‘gatekeepers and licensers’ of Cornu-appropriate curricula and the resulting projected PIs available to students and teachers. Pedagogic Identities that, as this paper suggests, in the absence of a directive Cornish political assembly, are clearly competing in their aims, intentions and outcomes.

References


Bringing a social realist approach into computer-supported learning environments: 
The Design Studio case study.

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Bernstein theorizes that pedagogical contexts do not exist only in formal educational settings, but rather in any setting in which there is a reproduction of knowledge. Computer-supported learning (or e-learning) environments are one such site that uses computers as a medium to support teaching and learning. Educational e-learning environments contain learning activities, the content related to a subject matter, and navigational features to guide learners through the content. In such environments, learners will undertake learning activities and learn about a given topic (the content), through their interactions with the system, which are mediated by its design and navigational features. If one accepts that environments can be seen as ‘pedagogical contexts’ (Bernstein, 2000), containing transmitters (e.g. instructional designers and stakeholders involved in the system) and acquirers (e.g. learners or users) of knowledge, then one must accept that they reflect a particular way in which the pedagogical interaction takes place, or a particular way of communicating knowledge. As such, they are not neutral in terms of the structuring of pedagogic discourse. Yet, instructional designers and the professionals who work to produce the functionality and visual displays of content and learning activities have often ignored this non-neutrality in accepting that the pedagogic interactions are governed by rules of human-computer interaction - they have ignored the role of knowledge. These designers often draw on patterns, principles and processes derived from the design of e-commerce systems to help develop a well-crafted e-learning system (Van Duyne et al., 2003). This view results in an often-neglected aspect of such environments, which is the support for learners in establishing connections between the knowledge of a field and the social context in which this knowledge is produced and reproduced. Current guidelines and standards used by instructional designers do not contain information about how designers should express the language of a field within these environments, or how to incorporate features to help learners understand what is valued as meaningful within a particular field. Existent guidelines either assume that learners already understand the language of a field, that is, its norms and codes, or that students will ‘pick it up’, or yet that there is none to be learned. Bringing a social realist perspective can add a new dimension to the development of computer-supported learning environments: making explicit to students the ways a particular field valorizes knowledge.

This paper presents a social realist approach to the design of computer-supported learning environments for experiencing the language of a field. The research draws on social realist approaches (Bernstein, 1977; 2000; Maton; 2000; Moore & Maton, 2001) in two complementary stages in order to realize the e-learning environment: an analytical stage to examine the bases for legitimate knowledge within four design disciplines: engineering, architecture, digital media and fashion; and a generative stage to create the visual, content and interaction design of Design Studio. In the
analytical stage, the research applies social realism to explore what is considered legitimate knowledge and practices within the field of design, and how these can be brought into a design learning experience within a museum setting. In the generative stage, the research uses social realism to guide the development of new ways of supporting museum visitors to learn about what is valued within the field while experiencing the processes of designing an object within a museum setting.

The paper discusses the development of Design Studio as a case study to illustrate how theoretical concepts and empirical results from an analytical application of social realism can shape the development of an e-learning environment to support the learning of what is valued within the design field. Two main issues addressed in this research, the use of computer mediated learning environments to support informal learning of design within museums and the form of knowledge learners may be accessing as they learn about design, are addressed in an integrative manner using social realism. The e-learning environment is of value for learners when they are situated within an experience of learning that involves understanding what the bases of the knowledge of a field are and how professionals within the field inquire about its knowledge. Instructional designers may benefit from this approach to e-learning design, in particular those instructional designers who regard theoretical contributions relevant to their work, but struggle to understand how abstract theoretical representations fit contextual design problems (Yanchar and colleagues, 2009).

References


A Vacuum of Legitimacy: Students’ experiences of constructivist pedagogy online.

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Online flexible learning and internationalization have been two major stimuli to the recent change in the university landscape in Australia. A third force that is also gaining popularity in this landscape is constructivist pedagogy, which is believed by many supporters of the new technologies to be compatible with online learning. At present, the online learning literature is dominated by claims about the educational potential of the coupling of online learning and constructivist-inspired teaching approaches. For example, it is believed that this convergence provides a rich context for learning, which, in turn, leads to active and reflective learning, and learner empowerment. However, there is little empirical backing for these claims. In particular, the effects of online education for students are largely unknown. In the relatively small body of research conducted so far, there has been a tendency for studies to concentrate on either the learner or the learning context rather than on relations between the two. That is, previous studies have not systematically described or theorised learners’ educational dispositions, the nature of the learning context, or the outcomes of the meeting of the two. International students are the concern of this paper for two reasons: they account for a significant percentage of the student population in Australia (26%), bringing more than AUD14 billion a year to Australia; secondly, international students are in a situation that renders their learning experiences particularly interesting to the authors of this paper – they are studying online while being on campus in Australia.

This paper draws on the code theories of Bernstein (1990, 2000) and Maton (2000, 2007, 2009; Moore & Maton, 2001) to explore the effects of online flexible learning on international students in Australian higher education. We were especially interested in examining whether the claims about the educational benefits of constructivist teaching practices in online contexts are realised in these students’ experiences. Bernstein’s educational knowledge codes enabled us to analyse, characterise and, thus, compare the underlying structuring principles of the educational practices experienced by students in their home and host cultures in terms of curriculum, pedagogy and assessment. Maton’s legitimation codes of specialisation, by additionally bringing the knower dimension into the analysis of social fields, then provided us with a further means of analysing the coding orientation students bring to the online learning context, the codes underpinning this context and the relations between the two sets of codes. This enabled us to more fully conceptualise the student participants’ online educational experiences in Australia.

Specifically, the paper reports on the experiences of Chinese students, who presently comprise the largest international student cohort in Australia. We present findings
from a qualitative case study of postgraduate Chinese students’ online experiences in the Faculty of Education at an Australian university. The paper addresses three questions:

1. What are Chinese students’ educational dispositions? How have these dispositions been shaped by the characteristics of the teaching practices in China?
2. What are the characteristics of the online teaching practices at the Australian university, including the pedagogical beliefs underpinning them?
3. How do Chinese students interpret and respond to these online teaching practices?

To address these questions, the research on which this paper is based involved conducting: focus groups with Chinese students from various faculties; interviews with Australian teachers of online units in the Faculty of Education, and a review of their unit outlines; and multi-session interviews with individual Chinese students who had previously been or were currently enrolled in an online unit in the Faculty of Education.

A major finding of the study discussed in this paper was that there was, in the terms of legitimization codes, a ‘code clash’ between the students’ prior ‘knowledge code’ educational experiences (where explicit procedures, skills and specialised knowledge are emphasised) and the teachers’ ‘knower code’ notions of education (where learners’ dispositions are emphasised as the basis of achievement). This code clash in the students’ online learning experiences led to ‘relativist code’ consequences (where neither specialist knowledge nor particular dispositions is emphasised – a kind of vacuum of legitimacy), which were associated with feelings of isolation, guilt and depression. We argue that online constructivist teaching assumes a particular kind of knower, with particular socially-based dispositions and experiences, and systematically disadvantages other kinds of knowers. In this paper, we also discuss our findings in relation to constructivist teaching practice and online learning.

One contribution of this paper is that it expands the knowledge base concerning Chinese learners’ experiences with online flexible education. More prominent and enduring contributions of this research, however, reside in the wider application of the findings to other learner populations, and in the demonstrated utility of exploring online educational practice and experience through a sociology of knowledge approach. The paper shows how Maton’s concepts of epistemic and social relations build on Bernstein’s concepts of classification and framing. By developing an external language of description for these two sets of concepts, we demonstrate the differing manifestations of these concepts with respect to curriculum, pedagogy and assessment. The study presented also contributed to Maton’s theory by highlighting a particular kind of knowledge code that is based on atomised knowledge, and different kinds of knower code that are based on different social attributes of knowers.

References


Making sense of ‘The Journey’: a case study in segmental pedagogy in senior secondary school subject English.

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Of all subjects in the school curriculum none other excites the debates and often bitter arguments that does English. Witness the many discussions and changes in government policy in the UK following the deliberations of the Kingman Committee (1988), the Cox National Curriculum Working Group (1989) and later the various versions of the National English Curriculum (1995). In Australia since 1990 we have had a series of Government reports and papers on language and literacy, and more specifically on English as a subject (discussed in detail by Christie 2003) and at the time of writing this abstract, the country is about to adopt its National English Curriculum, already the cause of much debate and professional soul-searching over the last two years. In an earlier paper with Macken-Horarik (Christie and Macken-Horarik 2007) I argued that, historically, English had horizontal knowledge structures, and that it had proliferated many models, each proposed as representing a new and better ‘take’ on the subject, each seeking to transform its nature by producing a ‘new language’, each offering ‘a fresh perspective’, and creating ‘a new set of speakers’ (Bernstein 2000: 162). With the proliferation of the various models (Basic Skills, Cultural Heritage, Personal Growth, Functional Language Studies, Cultural Analysis, Multiliteracies), we suggested, has come an increasing visibility, so that the principles that must be mastered to succeed in the subject remain hidden, at times obscure even to the teachers who attempt to teach the subject. Successful students manage to intuit what they must do in order to achieve the necessary ‘gaze’ (Bernstein ibid), while others remain baffled.

This paper will examine two texts written by students in Year 12 sitting for the public examination at the High School Certificate level, one of which represents significant success, while the other does not succeed. Both were written as part of a study of various texts, literary and non-literary, all brought together under the overarching theme of ‘The Journey’, said to be useful in achieving some thematic unity for examination of texts.

The object, using systemic functional linguistic (SFL) theory, and more specifically the SF grammar, will be to investigate the meanings students are required to make and the gazes they must acquire in undertaking the study of ‘The Journey’. Using Maton’s concept of semantic gravity (2009), I shall seek to demonstrate how the successful student cleverly deploys her language to create a text marked by high levels of abstraction, achieving very weak semantic gravity. The less successful student, by contrast, fails to draw on the linguistic system with similar facility, creating a text that is marked by its absence of abstraction and its relatively strong semantic gravity.

How might such an analysis serve to clarify the segmental pedagogy of subject English, and why might it be useful to do this? I shall suggest that the functional grammar is an essential tool for unpacking the nature of the challenge for students in writing texts of the kind required for success at Year 12, rendering it far more visible than much teaching practice allows. I shall go on to argue that, though the various
models of English are normally represented as having different languages, and
different perspectives, the truth is that success at the senior levels actually requires a
level of performance that takes much from most of the other models in order to
achieve success. Hence, it may well be, as Muller (personal comment) suggested to
Macken-Horarik and me some time ago, that the notion of horizontal knowledge
structure sits uneasily on subject English, and that we need a better formulation with
which to propose a knowledge structure for the subject, one which the notion of
‘semantic gravity’ aims to move us towards. The functional grammar, I shall suggest,
can inform educational theory and pedagogical practice, offering a means of unifying
an often fractured and confusing subject.

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curriculum structures in knowledge-building, British Journal of Sociology of
Bernstein’s last book (2000) laid the foundations for a theory of how curricular orientations projected pedagogic identities for both teachers and students. This paper will use his typology of curricular orientation and concept of pedagogic identity to understand the growing phenomenon of schools offering the International Baccalaureate Diploma as an alternative senior schooling curriculum in Australia. Such an internal curricular market takes the responsibility off the broader social order to politically negotiate and shape a singular curriculum for all citizens (as is notionally the case of the proposed national curriculum), and gives it to the individual to choose between the different curricular products on offer, matching both capacities and aspirations to the pedagogic identities projected by the curricular product. This ecology of neo-liberal choice, it is suggested, will highlight the discursive production of reputations and branding, expressed through ideal types of graduates and their dispositions, that is, the pedagogic identities invoked.

Despite the isomorphism of subject lists, school curricula are not the same, but are expressions of different underlying principles of selection and of what counts as knowledge. Labaree’s (1997, p. 41) review of curricular reform in the US distinguishes three core principles that have competed for dominance in curricular politics over time: ‘democratic equality (schools should focus on preparing citizens), social efficiency (they should focus on training workers), and social mobility (they should prepare individuals to compete for social positions)’. Labaree points out that under the first two principles, knowledge is essentially a public good; but under the third it becomes a private good. Marginson (1997) similarly argues educational markets convert knowledge from a public good with use value to a positional good with exchange value. When there is just one curriculum on offer, these three principles have to arrive at some settlement in terms of relative strength and priority in the reform underway. If however, the school can offer a menu of curricula, then in theory, diversity can flourish, and consumers can ‘choose their own adventure’ so to speak. Curricular politics is then played out through the marketing of curricular brands and recruitment of students. In this vein, Larabee goes on to argue that the social mobility perspective has come to generate the following policy effects in the US:

- increasingly hierarchical stratification of educational credentials;
- increasing stratification of educational institutions by reputation; and,
- increasing stratification of offerings within educational institutions to distinguish the individual from others.

This paper will explore how this last point is also the case in Australia with reference to the relations between curricular offerings within the institution.
Historically, each state and territory in Australia has developed and governed its own local curriculum. Since the spread of comprehensive secondary schooling in the 1950s whereby all students notionally achieved access to the same curriculum (Campbell, 2005), there has been gradual (re-)growth in curricular choice and/or curricular streaming in Australian schools. Across the 90s, a vocational education stream with a modular nationally accredited curriculum was reinstated in as an alternative in many Australian schools to address higher school retention rates and growing youth unemployment (Connell, 1985; Teese & Polesel, 2003). This curriculum sits below the ‘competitive academic curriculum’ (Connell, 1985) in the internal hierarchy of offerings, pitched to a different set of students and their aspirations. A national curriculum is due to commence in four key subjects from 2012, but whether this will ultimately replace the spread of state curricula or sits alongside as an additional option is yet to be made clear (see Australian Council for Educational Research, 2006 for initial vision as additional choice). The Victorian government has recently welcomed alternative curricula such as Steiner and Montessori into some government schools alongside the local curriculum to accommodate parent preferences (O'Connor, 2007). Meanwhile, the International Baccalaureate Diploma (IBD), a curriculum developed and governed by a non-profit organisation based in Geneva, was first offered in an Australian school in 1978. The IBD and its associated middle years and primary years curricula, is becoming more popular, now offered in both government and private (fee-paying) schools (Doherty, 2009). In 2009, the IBD was offered in 11 government schools and 49 independent schools, with more undergoing accreditation. Few IBD schools offer just the IBD, thus it is more typically found as one choice of senior secondary schooling certifications offered within a school. This curriculum competes directly with the local competitive academic curriculum for the ‘high’ end in the hierarchy of offerings, so has to send out different messages about ‘who’ should do the IBD ‘why’ to recruit students. The head-to-head competition is fertile ground for the production and circulation of pedagogic identities.

For Apple (2001), the trend towards neoliberal choice in educational policy developments exists in contradictory but symbiotic relationship with resurgent neo-conservative attitudes, which favour more nostalgic, traditional values for what counts in school curriculum. Buras (1996) unpacks the core assumptions of this ‘neo-conservative vision’ across the work of its strongest US advocate, E.D. Hirsch. These include the valuing of traditional didactic practice over child-centred or process oriented pedagogy; a search for coherence in unproblematic universal knowledge and a common cultural induction as formative nationalism/citizenship. In Australia this same agenda has been led by The Australian newspaper, which has consistently championed the public discourse around ‘crises’ in schooling. This paper will use Bernstein’s concepts to understand how this ironic marriage of neoliberalism (divesting power from the centre to the market) and neo-conservatism (re-asserting centralised power) is both thinkable and doable, and how the IB Diploma thrives in this ideological space.

Bernstein distinguished various curriculum codes (collection/integrated, singular/region/generic), and pedagogies (competence/performance, visible/invisible) whose regulative discourses were produced in different political, economic and ideological contexts, and which in turn, produced different identity positions for their students. As Muller (2000p. 109) explains:
The moral of the story is … that recontextualizing fields, both official and pedagogic, are fields of contest with various social fractions with different degrees of social power sponsoring pedagogic regimes which, despite some similarities of rhetoric, will have quite different policy implications and, more to the point here, will construct different teachers and learners.

For Bernstein, a **pedagogic identity** is the identity position projected for both students and teachers in the larger discourse(s) shaping pedagogic practice. Such discourses would include a curricular framework and the messages associated with its branding in the public imaginary. In other words, a pedagogic identity is produced in the relation forged between the learner/teacher and the socially constituted body of knowledge, and will reflect the distinctness of that body of knowledge from others, relations within the knowledge community, and its relation to the broader economic context. Thus, the International Baccalaureate will offer particular identities for its students and teachers flowing from their membership in the community convened around the curriculum and its relational positioning in the hierarchy of offerings. It may also be a source of identity due to the material rewards, forms of distinction or cultural capital flowing from the exchange value of its credential.

Bernstein (2000, p. 205) identifies four curricular orientations ‘for designing and distributing pedagogic identities’—retrospective, prospective, therapeutic, and market orientations. Each of these orientations attempts ‘to construct in teachers and students a particular moral disposition, motivation and aspiration, embedded in particular performances and practices’ (Bernstein, 2000, p. 65). To explore how and what pedagogic identities are projected in Australian curricular markets, the paper will draw on observational and interview data collected in qualitative case studies of three schools offering the IBD as well as a local senior curriculum. The case study sites were selected to include: both public and private school settings; different states thus relations to different local curriculum; and different histories in offering the IBD. Each site was visited by the same researcher over two separate weeks across 2009.

The analysis will explore firstly how school managers accounted for their school’s strategy in offering the IBD. Their different game plans will be mapped back to Bernstein’s curricular orientations to suggest the ‘official’ pedagogic identities to be projected. Then the analysis will explore how teachers and students, both involved in the IBD and not, understood ‘who’ should do the IBD ‘why’, and thus the qualities of the pedagogic identity projected informally by the IBD through its consumption in that particular site. Their accounts will be read against the school managers’ accounts to reveal how curricular offerings and the identities they project can be reinterpreted from different vantage points. The contrast between the formal and informal versions reveals how the combination of a re-centring prospective orientation and a de-centring market orientation becomes thinkable and doable.

**References**


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i 2 in South Australia, 6 in Queensland and 3 in the Australian Capital Territory.

ii 7 in South Australia, 15 in New South Wales, 16 in Victoria, 5 in Queensland, 1 in the Northern Territory, 1 in Tasmania and 4 in Western Australia.
Acquirers’ trajectories and orientations to meaning and activity: The combined use of Bernstein’s code theory and cultural historical activity theory to analyse subject position and semiotic mediation variation in foreign language education in Japan.

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The socio-genetic model of development emerges from Vygotsky’s answer to the stimulus-response dualism found in most of the psychological schools of his time. The model introduces semiotic mediation as an element that mediates the subject’s object-driven activity. This opens the way to a non-deterministic account in which psychological tools (especially speech) serve as the means whereby the individual acts upon and is acted upon by social, cultural and historical factors. Semiotic mediation is a pivotal unit that bridges the internal with the external and the social with the individual. Semiotic mediation, when referred to Vygotsky’s unit of analysis, is primarily a term referring to mediation through speech (language). According to Lee (1985), Vygotsky focused on language because (a) linguistic signs are ‘reversible’, they can be both stimulus and response, allowing language to be internalised and then used to regulate behaviour; (b) language is multifunctional, it can be used as a means to organising multiple goal-oriented activities; (c) language serves the purpose of communication, that is, of sustaining social action and, closely linked to this, (d) language allows, on the one hand, generalisation, that is, it can depict common characteristics of phenomena through various levels of generality, and on the other, self-reflection —‘language is the only sign system that can refer to itself’ (p. 76-77). The generalisation and self-reflection qualities of language create the possibility of abstract thinking, and abstract thinking finds reality and form in language (expression) in a dialectical fashion. In foreign language education, adult learners—who have already acquired higher psychological functions—are also encouraged to learn structural aspects of the target language (theoretical knowledge) by communicative means, that is, by everyday speech (everyday knowledge), establishing an uncommon relation between theoretical and everyday knowledge and therefore, peculiar forms of semiotic mediation. Nonetheless, semiotic mediation does not take place in a social vacuum or in undifferentiated activity systems. Semiotic mediation modulates and is modulated by object-oriented activity within particular institutions which are semiotic mediation in themselves, whose affordances and constraints are historically situated. Using cultural historical activity theory’s socio-genetic analytical framework and Bernstein’s theory of codes, I attempt to analyse how semiotic mediation varies according to the particular subjects of a given activity system beyond the dichotomy individual/group, paying attention to the particular characteristics of the relation between theoretical and everyday knowledge and between language’s socio-communicative and representational functions. First, I develop and validate an instrument of analysis based on Bernstein’s code theory and attuned to foreign language educational settings at the tertiary level in Japan. Bernstein proposes a dialectical approach to determining and analysing subject
position, as well as a model that can generate a vast range of modalities of pedagogic discourse and practice. He is concerned with both the ‘translation of … power relations, and … of control relations’ (Bernstein, 2000, p. 5). The translation of power relations into principles of classification and how these principles establish social divisions of labour—and therefore identities and voices—is called ‘classification’. This is the structural level. The translation of control relations into forms of realisation of discourses—and therefore messages—is called ‘framing’. This is the interactional level. Pedagogic codes are the result of differences in strong or weak classification and framing (Bernstein, 2000). Second, based on the theoretical work on activity structure, I determine motive-action as the unit of analysis of classroom interaction, since motive-action is the germ-cell that contains the possibility of joint activity (collective objective-driven activity). Then I combine both approaches in analysing two tertiary organisations teaching Spanish as a foreign language in Japan, tracing back acquirers’ educational trajectories and determining their orientations to meaning. The findings indicate that acquirers who had a formal trajectory of language learning and who can recognise grammar instructional discourse attain better levels of achievement (active realisation) than those who had informal trajectories (e.g. learning languages overseas in a conversational fashion without following a formal programme) and cannot recognise grammar instructional discourse. This suggests that the programmes of both organisations are (perhaps involuntarily) heavily based or pursue almost exclusively language’s representational function instead of language’s socio-communicative function—even in so-called ‘communication’ courses. Therefore, acquirers who have an informal approach (a socio-communicative orientation) to language learning have a great start but soon lag behind their course peers. Furthermore, many doubts arise about the viability of non representational-function approaches to foreign language learning for adult acquirers. The data seem to indicate that there is no way outside representational-function programmes (even though acquirers enrol in those programmes attracted by their communication prospects). The findings suggest that transmitters’ pedagogies should care more for those acquirers whose trajectories and orientations to meaning are informal. The bottom-up move within Vygotsky’s Zone of Proximal Development is suggested as a feasible intervention without a drastic reshaping of the programmes. Tightening and making more explicit the evaluation criteria (so as to have those acquirers gradually recontextualising their approaches), especially in ‘communication’ courses, may also help. In conclusion, the use of cultural historical activity theory and Bernstein’s theory of code looks promising in analysing semiotic mediation variation in its relation with acquirers’ identities and consciousness and offers a more accurate way of comparing semiotic mediation across organisations and pedagogical settings.

References


It is thus prudent to explore Bernstein’s (1990, 1996) theorisation of pedagogic identities as they are constituted through pedagogic discourse. Bernstein’s (1990, 1996) work focuses more exclusively on the forms of discourse that are particular to pedagogic transmission and acquisition, their generating context and processes of change. For example, according to Bernstein (1990), and later reinforced by Semel (1995), discourses external to education, such as historical discourses and discourses of the state, prescribe and proscribe ways of being and seeing that act powerfully to provide the limits within which teachers enact their pedagogic roles. Bernstein (2000) theorised that in current times varying discourses may project one or more of four identities into educational institutions: de-centered therapeutic, de-centred market, retrospective and prospective. Bernstein’s (2000) theorisation is useful for its categorization of the identity projections made available, and further to this, how these projections work for and on teachers in new times.

However, in reality, pedagogic identities will never exist in a pure singular form; rather it is possible for all four discourses to be circulating simultaneously within educational institutions. At any one time, different interest groups will be lobbying for one or more of these pedagogic identity projections. This means that teachers’ pedagogic identities will always be a site of contestation and conflict as state policies, institutional plans, and consumer forces struggle to establish and maintain their interests. The stakes are high, for the interest group that exercises some power manages to relay their ideological interest to the next generation. The significant point is that teachers are positioned in multiple and often contradictory ways. Of central importance to this paper is that teachers negotiate pedagogic identities within these multiple contradictory discourses. Understandings the ways that teachers may be positioned, and how they counter dominant discourses, are a necessary part of filling an identified gap in the literature on teachers’ professional knowledge bases.

This paper draws on an interview-based study undertaken over an eighteen month period within five Australian offshore teachers who were seconded from their
positions with an Australian State educational provider to become guest teachers of English for Indonesian adolescents for approximately ten months. The teachers each provided between eleven and thirty-six significant episodes of data about themselves as offshore teachers. The paper introduces the teachers’ accounts of their interactions with Indonesian educators and students. A detailed analysis revealed that from the guest teachers’ perspectives, the central issue of their pedagogic identity was not acknowledging difference, rather, the more difficult issue of what kind of difference was acknowledged, accepted or renegotiated. Their accounts suggest that they could not simply give up any cultural privileges but had to develop and enact strategies that responded to the specificities of their offshore context. Following Bernstein (2000), the dominance of discourses that relied on grand narratives of the past positioned these teachers with recontextualised grand narrative identities. This paper draws on Bernstein’s (1996, 2000) sociology of pedagogy to offer a new theorisation of the range of strategies these offshore English language teachers employed as they attempted to counter the dominant grand narrative discourses about readings of white Westerners.

The analysis presented suggests that these guest teachers used three strategies as they struggled over the constitution of their offshore pedagogic identities: establishing a credible and professional teacher identity; positioning themselves as an expert within a limited disciplinarity field whilst simultaneously promoting the Indonesian teachers’ disciplinary expertise; and negotiating a discursive position outside of hegemonic white Western expatriate identities. In theoretical terms, all three strategies employed common principles. They all sought to weaken the guest teachers’ engagement with stereotypes of white English speaking Westerners as superior, and in turn strengthen the bonds with the local communities. In other words, while identities of whiteness, Westernness and native English speaker were still present, their identities were not so fixed or so stable that they could not alter their readings/meanings. There was some space within which the teachers could negotiate. As the data showed, it took some time for these teachers to be cognisant of the processes they needed to undertake to promote de-centred therapeutic identity discourses, that is, discourses based on present resources that individuals could, to a limited degree, control.
Interdisciplinarity and boundary maintenance in a ‘new generation’ undergraduate degree.

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‘because it is rarely the case it is important to study those cases where the producers or effectors of the discourse are also its recontextualisers’
(Bernstein, 1990, p. 198)

These words from Bernstein set the theoretical context of this paper, concerned with how interdisciplinarity is recontextualized in an undergraduate degree, where knowledge recontextualization is close to, and often operates in parallel with, knowledge production. This research is situated within a university undergoing dramatic curriculum change and its subject is the curriculum, both espoused and enacted. Significantly, in my study those responsible for selecting, delocating and relocating knowledge – the recontextualisers – are also responsible for transforming this pedagogic discourse into evaluative criteria (Maton & Muller, 2007, pp. 18-19).

As part of the implementation of the Melbourne Model, the University of Melbourne introduced six broad undergraduate “New Generation” degrees. The Bachelor of Environments, one of these new degrees, is notable for its emphasis on interdisciplinarity, ‘The foundation of the degree is the inter-disciplinary nature of real-world projects’. (course handbook) The involvement of multiple faculties and the interdisciplinarity emphasis prompted my research questions: What constitutes interdisciplinarity in the new degree? How is interdisciplinarity revealed in the curriculum? Does this reflect disciplinary differences?

This paper will examine the role of the senior tutors as key recontextualising agents (Bernstein, 1996), responsible for both developing and delivering the curriculum to students in the Bachelor of Environments degree. One of the challenges of their role is to address the knowledge requirements of their discipline and the interdisciplinary mandate. Bernstein’s concepts of collection and integrated codes (1971, 1975) are used to examine the subject curricula as ‘curriculum defines what counts as valid knowledge’ (Bernstein, 1971, p. 203; 1975, p. 85). The subject curricula are located along both a classification continuum and an interdisciplinary continuum to analyse the relations between the curricula type and realization of interdisciplinarity.

This research is based on an examination of the curriculum of six first year subjects in semester 2, 2008, the first year of the new degrees. Two text types are used to analyse the curriculum, subject overviews and assessment tasks. Subject overviews are selected as significant semiotic texts because they represent the recontextualization of the disciplinary knowledge structures into the subject structure. The genre of subject overview is by nature a high-level view, a summary; nonetheless it can contribute to an appreciation of the curriculum type and the realization of interdisciplinarity. The methods used include analysis of the lexis and sequential organization.
In addition, assessment tasks were analysed because what is assessed is what is deemed important by both the senior tutors as recontextualising agents and the students, signalling what counts as legitimate knowledge (James, McInnis & Devlin, 2002) and given priority by students. Assessment reveals what knowledge should be acquired and how its acquisition is to be demonstrated. Within the framework of the handbook, the assessment tasks are constructed and evaluated to privilege not only specific knowledge but ways of its expression such as examinations, projects, models. Tasks are analysed according to purpose and form to provide insight into not only the disciplinary knowledge but also how interdisciplinarity is applied. Interviews with the senior tutors provide an additional view of the curriculum through confirming, elaborating or complicating findings from the written documentation.

Findings suggest there are relationships between the type of curriculum code and interdisciplinarity. Generally, those subjects whose curriculum represents a collection code exhibit less interdisciplinarity than those subjects which represent a more integrated code. As the flagship degree in the new undergraduate degree model, the Bachelor of Environments promotes a particular form of interdisciplinarity. Relying on individual recontextualising agents to implement interdisciplinarity seems to ignore disciplinary influences through which the curriculum is mediated. This may result in an interdisciplinary experience different from that intended.

References


Investigating the interface between policy and practice: The usefulness of Bernstein’s binary categories.

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Drawing evidence from a recent empirical study, this paper argues that Bernstein’s corpus of work offers a language of description and analysis to investigate the disjuncture between policy and practice in contemporary educational reform. It is argued that the disjuncture is often the result of practitioners having to enact reforms with somewhat contradictory expectations such as meeting external accountability demands while building capacities at the local level.

Using a case study methodology, the study discussed in this paper, investigated, through teacher voices, the interface between policy and practice in the lived experiences of a group of secondary teachers teaching early adolescents. It was a retrospective investigation of a trialled direction in policy whereby a government-initiated standards-based reform project also aimed at school renewal and building capacity at the school level. The stated purpose of this reform was to facilitate a re-conceptualisation of curriculum, pedagogy and assessment in order to enhance the capacity of schools to respond more effectively to the teaching and learning demands of the new millennium and the knowledge society. As such, this reform can be viewed as a pragmatic attempt to reconcile two orientations to reform. Teachers interviewed for the study gave their accounts of planning a futures-oriented, transdisciplinary curriculum for early adolescents, collaborating across subject departments, creating new professional identities and professional learning communities and aligning curriculum and pedagogy to mandated assessment. Analysing these accounts required theoretical frames that had the capacity to interrogate changes in teachers’ conceptions of knowledge, professional identities and in secondary school structures and cultures. The paper argues that Bernstein’s work provided the necessary frames for a theoretical framework that was tailored for this study.

The framework used the concepts of pedagogic identities (official/local; prospective/therapeutic), pedagogic discourse (vertical/horizontal, instructional/regulative discourses), pedagogic models (competence-based/performance-based) and educational knowledge codes (collection/integrated). These key concepts were chosen because they offered useful lenses with which to analyse the following five elements central to the study’s focus on reconceptualising secondary schools for the knowledge society: changing conceptions of educational knowledge, pedagogic changes, building capacities in early adolescents, aligning curriculum and pedagogy to mandated assessment and taking learning outside the school to sites of knowledge application. In particular, Bernstein’s concept of boundaries proved to be especially useful when analysing teachers’ accounts of planning a transdisciplinary curriculum, forging professional identities across subject departments, taking learning outside the school walls and reconceptualising curriculum, pedagogy and assessment in order to build futures-oriented capacities in early adolescents.
The analysis of the empirical data through the theoretical frames derived from Bernstein was able to reveal that the enactment of reform in a school involved a dynamic interplay of several dimensions: structures, cultures, identities, beliefs, pedagogic practices and contexts of learning, both inside and outside of the school. In particular, a disjuncture was identified between the official reform and the enacted reform in all of these dimensions. The paper links the contradictions and tensions described by the teachers in their accounts to the tensions between the oppositional modalities of collection and integrated codes, between prospective and therapeutic pedagogic identities, between horizontal/vertical discourses, between instructional/regulative pedagogic discourses and between performance-based and competence-based pedagogic models.

The theoretical framework constructed with binary categories was useful for the researcher, who was also a teacher-practitioner. It enabled her to interrogate her colleagues’ accounts in a critical manner, to establish critical distance from what she had been part of and to generate critical perspectives on the enacted reform. The paper argues that the use of Bernstein’s binary categories helped the researcher to identify the multidimensionality of enacted reform and the diversity in the lived experiences of teachers. The analysis revealed that transformational change was hampered by inflexible structures, lack of time and the absence of conceptual tools to guide reflection and dialogue in teacher professional learning communities. The argument that is advanced by the paper is that sustained intellectual work is needed when questioning and reconceptualising current practices, structures and cultures in schools. Shared ownership of any reform can only emerge from sustained intellectual work. For that to occur, teachers have to be provided with conceptual tools to analyse critically the contradictions in their work contexts and practices, so that these can be resolved in a way that contributes to improved student engagement and student outcomes. Consequently, there is a need for teachers to adopt the roles of reflective practitioners and researchers. The author puts forward the suggestion that the binary categories drawn from Bernstein are useful conceptual tools that can also help secondary teachers to interrogate practices and the systems of belief on which these practices are based and that conceptual tools are necessary for the development of teacher professional learning communities. In the empirical data, there was a tendency among the teachers interviewed to accept the status quo with passive resignation. If bold questioning of current structures and cultures of secondary schools is to occur, teachers need conceptual frames to guide dialogue and reflection. The binary categories offer the common language and analytical lenses that are needed in professional conversations. This intellectual work is necessary for the transformation of a secondary school into a learning organisation in the new millennium.
Sherpa Bernstein, exploring the power relations in the quality assurance of higher education in the UK?

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Higher education has a high profile in UK society. Knowledge is linked to individual and national economic wealth (Peters, 2003; King, 2006; Shattock, 2006) and consequently there are an increasing number of individuals with a vested interest in the reputation of UK universities: students, parents, employers, the media, government, and the academic community. One means of safeguarding and legitimising this reputation, required by the State, is through external review. This paper will focus on one organisation involved in this safeguarding, the Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education (QAA). QAA was established in 1997 to integrate the existing forms of external scrutiny that had been taking place in the UK since the late 1980s, with the mission to:

‘safeguard the public interest in sound standards of higher education qualifications and to inform and encourage continuous improvement in the management of the quality of higher education’ (QAA, 2006, p2).

QAA, however, does not hold statutory or regulatory authority. It operates on the premise that universities are autonomous, independent bodies that have the primary responsibility for academic standards and quality, as set out in the 1995 Further and Higher Education Act. In addition, QAA is funded predominantly through contracts with the funding councils and by subscriptions from UK universities themselves. QAA therefore functions in a complex environment of multiple stakeholders (actors) and multiple roles. This interesting position and the tensions it raises, warrants further analysis through an exploration of the role and positioning of QAA in the political and societal fields, and its influence on the recontextualisation of knowledge in higher education. Such analysis is particularly apt as the role and authority of QAA has been brought under the spotlight as a result of concerns raised in the media in June 2008 about the standards of UK degrees. This concern resulted in the parliamentary Innovation, Universities, Science and Skills Committee Inquiry into students and universities which concluded that ‘the system in England for safeguarding consistent national standards in higher education institutions is out-of-date, inadequate and in urgent need of replacement.’ Although in response the Government stated that it did not ‘recognise the committee’s description of our higher education sector, which is in fact world class and second only to the USA as a top destination for overseas students. We are also seeing record applications from our own students, who value the benefits of a UK degree’ (Mandelson, 2009).

Bernstein’s concepts of classification and framing, provide powerful tools to identify the tensions and power relations between the different actors in higher education and its quality assurance, and also to explore the nature of the communication between these groups. The distributive, recontextualising and evaluation rules provide a means to examine in detail who controls and recontextualises discourses within higher
education and who are the producers, reproducers and acquirers of this discourse in late modernity (Bernstein, 2000). Do QAA’s significant regulatory, enhancement, and informative roles mean that it is a site of the recontextualisation of discourses in higher education? Who influences this recontextualisation, the State, the Universities? What is the nature of QAA’s relationship with the State and universities, is QAA the official recontextualising field because is it an agent of the state or is it a champion of the pedagogic recontextualising field?

In undertaking this analysis it has been helpful to firstly establish the context for quality assurance in the twenty first century. This paper will therefore draw on my preliminary research has explored the historical perspectives of higher education discourse in the UK and mapped the shifting sites and agents of this discourse and it recontextualisation. From this analysis I derive a typology to characterise university types, each type reflecting an ideological model of universities in the UK on which to map Bernstein’s concepts of classification and framing in order to identify the tensions and power relations (Moore and Maton; 2001 and Maton, 2002, 2004). I have termed the three models doctrinal, secular and vocational.

The doctrinal model reflects a set of perceptions which begins from the premise that the ideal-type university is a community of scholars in which individual students seek fuller personal development. Education at this level is identified with a concern for excellence that emphasises the innate worth of a non-utilitarian and ‘pure’ ethos. The associated image is heavily redolent of the medieval link between religion and knowledge. All educational activity takes place within the exclusive setting of a self-governing community in which the preservation of standards and the definitions of excellence fall within the sole prerogative of senior members of the academic body, whose primary objectives are both narrow and inward-looking (Martin, 1969, p85).

The doctrinal model is strongly classified and the gap between the official recontextualising field and the pedagogic recontextualising field is minimal such was the power and control of the Church over the official discourse.

Increasingly, however, the dominance and exclusivity of the doctrinal model came under attack; non-Anglicans deplored the monopolistic hold over higher education of the Church of England and there was a move to follow Scotland and break the traditional link between Church and university. From the 1850s onwards, the scientific revolution established a stronger link between the universities and its parent society, with greater emphasis on the study of subjects which were linked to the local needs of industry (Briggs, 1969, p98): the secular model.

The secular model saw a weakening of the classification of the universities. Although the academy was established, its power was not that of the Church and greater interest in the higher education by the State ensued. Nevertheless, the State did not establish a national curriculum and the official recontextualising field was diminished (Bernstein, 2000, p60): the gap between the official recontextualising field and the pedagogic recontextualising field was significant and academic autonomy was created.

The third model is the vocational type where the purpose of the university was linked more closely to the economic, political and social needs of society. This has manifested itself in the establishment of new institutions and new ‘innovative’ subject areas which have received much criticism, including the charge that they promote ‘trivial subjects’ (Minogue, 1973, p60). Thus some institutions welcomed
external review as a means of legitimising their existence or curriculum development. The vocational model reflected a further weakening of the classification of the universities; although the was no formal official recontextualising field, the State was increasingly using its agents such as the funding councils (Bernstein, 2000, p 60) and some would argue QAA to indirectly regulate the recontextualising process and in turn weakening the insulation of the universities from the State.

The paper will explore the positioning of QAA in relation to the State and to the different types of universities identified above. Is QAA the enforcer of standards and controller of the pedagogic device; or the agent of the State weakening the boundary between disciplinary knowledge and applied knowledge; or the advocate, acting between the State and the universities; or the facilitator, encouraging the enhancement of the discourse? Who determines what this role is and does it vary depending on the ideological type of institution?

References


Towards an understanding of service-learning as a pedagogic tool.

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Introduction
In South Africa Higher Education (HE) is increasingly being called upon to form partnerships with government and communities at large as part of a new social contract identified as necessary if both global and localised needs are to be addressed (Kraak, 2000). Service-learning (part of the Community Engagement continuum constituting one of the three ‘pillars’ of HE) has been identified as a tool to develop this new social contract.

The potential of service-learning to act in this way rests on relatively broad assumptions which have not been tested through research. This paper uses a case study drawn from ongoing doctoral research in order to explore the way disciplinary structures impact on the infusion of service-learning in the curriculum and, thus, to begin to evaluate the potential of service-learning to contribute to the development of the new social contract identified above. In the paper, I argue that Bernstein’s (1971, 1977) theory of classification and framing provides insights into the enabling and constraining factors influencing the infusion of service-learning in the curriculum.

Context
South Africa has 23 public higher education institutions divided into three main categories: universities (11), comprehensive universities (6) and universities of technology (6). The university at which the research underpinning this paper was conducted falls within the first category. Further clustering within the HE system categorises the institution as one of the country’s five ‘research-intensive’ universities. This status impacts on the cultural milieu of the institution, an issue I draw attention to in the paper. This institution is an ideal site in which to explore the impact of discilinary structure on the infusion of service-learning as it is one of the few universities in South Africa which made the decision to adhere to traditional disciplinary structures in the widespread curriculum restructuring processes which followed the shift to democracy. This is important given the focus of this paper on discipline knowledge structures and how they can help answer systemic questions of where, how, when and why service-learning can be infused in curricula.

Curriculum decisions in relation to service-learning infusion possibilities are constituted by actions, intentions and reflections. These are outlined by Connole as aspects of the critical perspective which is the orientation of this research (Connole, 1998). An important focal point in research located in a critical orientation is the acknowledgement of “…the potential for understandings of human action to be distorted” (Connole, 1998:20). It is this consideration which prompts my use of Roy Bhaskar’s (1998) critical realist ontology as an under labouring framework in this study.

The academic structure at the university consists of 39 departments spread across 6 faculties. Biglan’s (1973) discipline typology distinguishes disciplines into four categories ‘hard pure’, ‘soft pure’, ‘hard applied’ and ‘soft applied’. The paper
focuses on a case study conducted in Entomology which according to Biglan’s typology can be classified as a ‘hard pure’ discipline which is characterised as “…cumulative, atomistic structure, concerned with universals, simplification and a quantitative emphasis” (Neumann et al, 2002:pg 406). This case explores service-learning infusion possibilities using Bernstein’s classification and framing theory bringing to the fore important considerations related to knowledge structures which are consequential in curriculum deliberations.

Bernstein’s (1971, 1977) concepts of classification and framing are linked to issues of power and control. Power is demonstrated by how boundaries between different disciplines are created, legitimated and reproduced to have relative strength or relative weakness. The strength and weakness of boundaries between disciplines is dependent on whether disciplines are insular in relation to each other or if they are similar to each other along a continuum (-C to +C).

Control, on the other hand, focuses on “…legitimate forms of communication within…categories” (Bernstein, 2000:5). The relative strength of control within categories such as disciplines is referred to by Bernstein as framing and occurs along a continuum (-F to +F). In essence, framing refers to the internal operation or how strongly what counts as legitimate within the discipline is regulated and controlled. The relative strengths of classification (+ -C) and framing (+ -F) are the structuring principles of practices used to help illuminate possibilities of infusing service-learning in curricula.

Using classification and framing as a framework makes it possible to infer that in disciplines where classification and framing are strong, difficulties regarding infusion possibilities may occur. However, further extrapolation may be required. Maton’s (2000) Legitimation Code Theory (LCT) has the potential to uncover underlying principles that generate curriculum, knowledge and discourse structures. This theory comprises five dimensions. Maton asserts that these dimensions bring together sociological and epistemological understandings of knowledge. In this paper the focus is on the semantics dimension since an important factor in infusion possibilities is the relationship between knowledge and its social and cultural contexts. This relationship between knowledge and its context Maton refers to as ‘semantic gravity’. “When semantic gravity is stronger, meaning is more closely related to its context of acquisition or use; when it is weaker, meaning is less dependent on its context” (Maton, 2009, p.46). Strengthening and weakening of semantic gravity is an important aspect to consider for service-learning infusion because semantic gravity can indicate the transferability of knowledge from one context to another.

In a university with a curriculum structure adhering to traditional disciplinary structures, a hard pure discipline like Entomology is expected to display fairly strong classification and framing. Therefore it is reasonable to expect the discipline structure to impact as a constraining factor for infusion of service-learning in the curriculum. However, this is one of two disciplines within the hard pure category in this university that uses service-learning as a pedagogic tool. Maton’s semantic gravity can be used to uncover the underlying principles which enable the department to offer the service-learning honours module called Cultural Entomology.
The Entomology case illustrates how combining Bernstein and Maton’s work could potentially offer insights into complex factors related to the conditions which impact on service-learning infusion in curricula.
Classification and framing in vocational education in Germany.

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Bernstein claims that the model of description for pedagogic practice he developed is valid for a wide range of, if not all situations of knowledge transmission. He applies the categories „classification“ and „framing“, which are at the core of this model, also to describe the relationship between education and production. So it should be possible to use these categories also to describe knowledge transmission within and research about the German system of vocational education.

Since this system did not develop in line with the history of academic thinking, i.e. trivium and quadrivium, but from the tradition of artisans’ training, the presentation shall start with a short historic overview, leading to an introduction of the different agencies, agents and social relations involved in the field of power in vocational education in Germany today. Based on documentary analysis, the existing balance of powers shall be explained, which is regulated by social partnership, and it shall be made clear that the centre of gravity is not learning in a VET school, but workplace learning in a training company. We shall suggest that, in Bernsteinian terms, the German VET system is characterised by strong horizontal classification between the „professions“ and weak vertical classification towards the world of work.

The ideology of vocational education generally accepted in Germany is to make young people experts in their professions and thus prepare them for employment. For the different professions, there are different professional labour markets in Germany, so there, again, is strong horizontal classification.

According to segmentation theory, graduates from the dual system should find employment on the corresponding professional labour markets. In view of generally rising labour market flexibility and weakening classifications on the labour market, the Federal Institute for Vocational Education and Training started a research project in order to find out whether this tendency applied to young professionals as well and, what this might mean for the dual system, which used to have a reputation for smooth labour market entry trajectories. Following a major quantitative analysis, a small number of qualitative interviews was carried out among graduates from the dual system, who had changed their profession at least once in ten years after graduation, in order to find out, whether and how workplace-learning in the dual system of VET, independently of individual trades, had helped them for further learning and working in other jobs.

Bernstein’s category framing, with its values selection, sequencing, pacing, evaluation and hierarchical rules, and the relative control transmitters and aquirers have over these values, the ‘how’ of pedagogy, was used to structure problem-centred interviews about how learning took place both at the workplace in the dual system and later on the job. Respondents came from different vocational professions; different organizational training structures were taken into account. The interviews gave indications to similarities and dissimilarities between the pathways of learning.
and to effects of workplace learning in VET that made young people feel safe and confident in the world of work. The latter is of importance especially for disadvantaged groups among the population. While in the knowledge society it is the elaborate code that counts, “Elaborate orientations are potentially dangerous, and those acquiring them have to be made safe.” The analysis also gives rise to a number of further research questions.

“My concept of pedagogic practice is somewhat wider than the relationships that go on in schools… In other words, the notion of pedagogic practice which I shall be using will regard pedagogic practice as a fundamental social context through which cultural reproduction-production takes place. Operating with this rather wide definition of pedagogic practice, the models of description that I shall try to create necessarily have a certain generality in order that they can cope with the differentiation of the agencies of cultural reproduction.” Bernstein 2000, Pedagogy, Symbolic Control and Identity, p. 3

Bernstein 1977, Class, Codes and Control 3, revised edition, Chapter 8

According to a dictionary (Collins Dictionary of the English Language. Collins, London&Glasgow, 1979), a profession is: “an occupation requiring special training in the liberal arts or sciences, esp. one of the three learned professions, law, theology, or medicine”. There seem to be certain parallels between the three learned professions and the professions transmitted in the dual system in Germany. (Compare e.g. “The traditional professions – law, medicine, engineering, accounting, architecture, for example – have over the centuries developed stable ways of determining and updating the knowledge base of the profession, in concert with a strong social base in the organisation of the profession.” In: Muller, Johan (2009) 'Forms of knowledge and curriculum coherence', Journal of Education and Work, 22:3, 205 — 226, p; here: p. 213/214.) It should be kept in mind, however, that the word “profession” in this presentation refers exclusively to non-academic, vocational professions.


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Legitimising research differently in different intellectual fields: instantiating different knowledge-knower structures.

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In the rhetoric of the current academic context, trans- or inter-disciplinary studies are actively encouraged, yet the implications for the discourses of research are as yet poorly understood. An appreciation of the ways in which different disciplines use language differently to mean differently is fundamental to understanding the potential for effective collaboration, and to providing meaningful support to those who study or research across disciplinary boundaries. In this paper I begin to take up this challenge with a focus on one context of research writing, that of the introductions to research articles, across a range of disciplines.

Introductory sections of research articles across disciplines in the sciences, social sciences and humanities share a common generalised social purpose, that is, to construct a legitimising platform from which the writer can proceed to report in detail on their study and the contribution they make to knowledge. They function as a warrant for the writer’s study. Within the common generalised function of a research warrant, variations may reflect differences in the nature of the object of study and/or the writer’s interpretation of how best to position their own research, but variations also arise in response to disciplinary differences.

In taking a closer look at how the disciplinary context can impact on the construction of the research warrant I draw on two bodies or dimensions of theory. From the sociology of knowledge I connect with theorisations of how different intellectual fields or disciplines represent different kinds of knowledge structure (Bernstein 1996, 1999, 2000), or as Maton (2007) articulates different knowledge-knower structures, with different codes for legitimating both what can be known and how - epistemic relations - and who can know it - social relations (Maton 2000a, 2000b, 2007). This theorisation of how different kinds of intellectual fields legitimate themselves in different ways would seem to have particular relevance to an analysis of how researchers construct a warrant for their own research, and how they might do so differently in different disciplines.

From Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) I draw on appraisal theory as a basis for exploring aspects of evaluation in the discourse. Of particular relevance here is the dimension of appraisal theory referred to as engagement (Martin & White 2005). Engagement theorises options for the management of other voices introduced into the discourse and the potential such options afford for aligning or dis-aligning the reader with various positions. In this paper I draw on engagement in questioning whether propositions and values expressed in the research warrant are attributable to the writer of the article or to some other source, and if the latter, whether the writer moves to align us with those propositions and values or to distance us from them. The theory also informs an analysis of how much and what kind of information is provided about those other ‘voices’ and why, and what it is that those voices are introduced to
appraise. From the dual theoretical bases of Bernsteinian sociology of knowledge and SFL I proceed to explore how an analysis of the ways in which research writers engage with other voices in their introductions can provide insights into how disciplines differ in their strategies for legitimising the construction of new knowledge.

References


Expanding learning: Codes, skills and *phronesis*.

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In his article ‘From Constructivism to Realism in the Sociology of Curriculum’ (2008) Michael Young returns to the issue of educational disadvantage by considering powerful knowledge and knowledge of the powerful. He points to a growing concern that the subjects of curriculum are in danger of losing their traditional focus on content under pressure from the outside to respond to market forces. In effect, curriculum content is being reduced and there is a weakening of the boundary between formal and informal knowledge. He argues that the sociology of curriculum needs to fight for the integrity of curricular content if we are not to slide inextricable towards social constructionist with implications of relativism. Education is based on the distinction between formal and informal knowledge; a position adopted recently by socio-cultural scholars within the field of psychology. For example, I have argued for the importance of maintaining the boundary between common sense knowledge and official knowledge, and between the sacred and the profane in relation to sex education (Ivinson 2004, 2010 forthcoming). Education is, in part, an endeavour to open up new landscapes and other knowledge(s) to young people. The issue as Young points out is how to teach young people so that they can both engage meaningfully in classroom activities and enter into what seem like esoteric or reified fields of knowing characterised by abstract, decontextualised discourses. However, we have argued, along with Daniels (1994) that to conceptualise the problem in this way hides disjunctions between levels of structure. Recontextualization, in Bernstein's theory, is a form of mediation which points to the transformation of knowledge between sites or groups of people. While Daniels placed pointed to the need to recognise individual variation in learning, our focus was on the properties of pedagogy itself and our question concerned the ways in which children reconstruct the curriculum as it was made available to them through teachers’ pedagogic practices. This highlighted the recontextualization of knowledge that takes place between the education institution and the children within it (Ivinson and Duveen, 2005, 2006). Pedagogic discourse projects an ideal learner/citizen as the imaginary interlocutor. Bernstein's theory is based on a distinction between code and its realisations, in which realisations are "a function of the culture acting through social relations in specific contexts" (Bernstein, 1974, pp. 173-4). At the level of the classroom the concepts of recognition and realization rules (Bernstein, 1990, 1996) were used to specify the manner in which the curriculum is made available to children.

Taking up this line of argument, Evans *et al.* (2007, 2010 forthcoming) have draw attention to the ideal learner/citizen to whom pedagogic discourse is addressed by bringing the body of the learner into view as recommended by Bourne (2000). True to the spirit of Foucault, they recognise that the pedagogic gaze lands first on the body of the learner. Evan’s *et al* have introduced the Corporeal Device to draw attention to the way pedagogic practices are processes that are literally ‘embodied’. They demonstrate how societies set up bodily perfection codes that young people encounter in various social contexts and which are recontextualised in pedagogic practice to set up ‘ideal bodies’ reflected within and by school practices. They suggest that some
young people experience pain and exclusion through being positioned outside ideal body types and how this negatively influenced learning. This is not formal learned, yet it is learned through participation in social practices. Jeanne Gamble has investigated the ‘theory-practice’ conundrum though her empirical work on cabinet makers. She points out as does Young and Sennet (2009) that a fundamental epistemological element to the master-novice relationship was the trust and hierarchical nature of the pedagogic relationship. A major feature of the craftwork, a ‘horizontal knowledge structure’ (Bernstein 1996) was the use of models to aid the ‘tactic’ transmission of craftwork through ‘doing’ (Gamble, 2006). We can make parallels between visible models and tacit models such as the imaginary learner or the ideal body type because they provide semiotic messages about learning.

The role of the body as a site of learning has received little attention. Within education the body has tended to be investigated negatively using Foucauldian notions of governmentality and biopolitics. The paper will develop Evans et al’s work on pedagogic discourse and the Corporeal Device by drawing on Merleau-Ponty’s phenomenological account of the body to address the body as a site of learning. Merleau-Ponty (1968) undertook a radical reworking of the nature of embodiment from consciousness to intercorporeal being, captured by the termed ‘flesh’. This has been further developed by Iris Young and Linda Finlay to provide a strong account of how the social is intertwined with bodily practices and can be used to elaborate the interactions between biology and culture that Evans’s et al have started to address. The aim will be to use this theoretical work to start to conceptualise bodily knowing specifically in relation to the burgeoning rhetoric in education about skill. In the UK there has been move to describe the school curriculum in terms of skill rather than disciplinary content. This chimes with declarations from economists who argue that schools should teach skills required for economic competitiveness (e.g. Porter, 1990) in the face of globalized markets and possible economic decline (Leitch 2006; Webb, 2007). Since 2002, both vocational and academic courses in education have been described in terms of ‘skills’ (QCA, 2000; WAG, 2002). Evan’s et al’s notion of the Corporeal Device provides a much needed way to widen the conceptual landscape and points to the fruitfulness of drawing on Bernstein’s conceptual apparatus to broaden understandings of learning. I will draw on Merleau-Ponty’s phenomenological approach to develop the Corporeal Device yet further.

The paper will use examples from two current research projects to develop the Corporeal Device. The first study investigated young people’s social representations of skills in four contexts using photographs of skills as visual prompts: in the home (ironing, cooking); in the school (writing, reading, doing science), in leisure pursuits (football, biking, singing and dancing) and in the work place (building, mechanics, financial trading). The study started from the premise that learning can not be disengaged from bodily experiences that are ‘sensory, affective, mythic or aesthetic’ (Claxton, 2000, p.32). Over 50 individual interviews were conducted with young people in schools in post-industrial areas of South Wales targeted for economic regeneration. Analysis is at a very early stage, yet I hope to use this empirical work together with research being undertaken in a second project called ‘Young People’s Understanding of Place’ (WISERD 2009). This study uses multimodal methods including walking tours, classroom map based activities and individual interviews.
using photographs of places in the locality as stimulus prompts in individual interviews with approximately 60 young people aged 14 years to understand bodies moving in space. I aim, eventually, to develop a semiotics/grammar of bodily practices to inform theories of learning. My immediate aim in this paper will be to extend the Corporeal Device by theorising between body, practices and knowledge in order to develop theories of learning that can take account of the body as a site for tacit knowledge that does not privilege the mind.
Virtual regulative discourse: moderator strategies in asynchronous online discussions in higher education.

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This paper takes as its starting point Bernstein’s (2000) concepts of regulative and instructional discourses. Bernstein describes the role of instructional discourse to create ‘specialized skills and their relationship to each other’ and regulative discourse to create ‘order, relations and identity’ and manage ‘attitudes, dispositions and performances’. These concepts from the sociology of education have been reinterpreted from within systemic functional linguistics to explore dual registers that function in the interaction of school classrooms (Christie 2002), such that an instructional register is projected through a regulatory one. This pilot study shifts the locus to higher education, and specifically to moderated and assessed asynchronous online discussions, which are becoming commonplace in tertiary settings in Australia. The focus is on the regulative register.

The pedagogical rationale for online discussions hinges on loosely applied Vygotskian theories of the collaborative construction of knowledge and on the concept of a community of learners, with ‘moderation’ and ‘facilitation’ replacing transmission and teaching, leading to a potentially more ‘democratic’ means of engagement between the ‘teacher’ and the ‘taught’. Online discussions inhabit the boundary of the written and the spoken and of the academic and the social; they are not transitory, as classroom interaction is; indeed a permanent record of the interaction remains. In this context, is a regulative register evident? and if it is, what form does it take?

To answer these questions from a linguistic point of view, discussion threads taken from postgraduate online courses in three different disciplinary areas within Public Health were investigated using a multilayered approach, concentrating on discourse analysis informed by Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) but referring also to survey and observational data. Linguistic data were analysed using two systems within SFL – the systems of NEGOTIATION and APPRAISAL. This paper will describe the tools and methods of analysis and comment on their usefulness (and their limitations) for identifying and describing regulative discourse, as well as discussing some of the results of the analyses.

Exchange structure analysis is used to describe the negotiation of meaning in spoken language, distinguishing what is being negotiated: information (knowledge moves) or goods and services (action moves); whether the speaker is giving or demanding and whether a move initiates an exchange or responds to another speaker (Martin JR and Rose D 2007:223). In terms of SFL theory, this NEGOTIATION system is located in the interpersonal metafunction, hence is implicated in ‘construing social relations of power and solidarity (tenor) in social context [Martin JR, Zappavinga M and Dwyer P: forthcoming] and therefore seems ideally suited to describing if, and how, regulative discourse is instantiated by moderators in this context.
Exchange structure (choices within the NEGOTIATION system) was used in the present study to describe the overall structure of the discussions, leading to a tentative curriculum genre description. In common with many other analyses of pedagogical discourse, it was necessary to employ Ventola’s (1987) category of ‘linguistic service’, conflating action and knowledge moves, to account for much moderator ‘talk’. The analysis enabled the identification of possible regulative moves and exchanges (these terms were used in preference to ‘regulative register’ for this discussion) and within them the extensive use of interpersonal metaphor, for example the avoidance of outright imperatives and substitution of non-congruent forms such as statements and questions, presumably to mitigate power differentials in this more ‘democratic’ form of pedagogy. The identification of primary and secondary knowers proved difficult in some cases, with implications for identifying task design and power relations, and this form of analysis does not seem to illuminate the long sequences of knowledge moves per ‘speaker’ which occurred in these threads. These might be more usefully analysed with reference to written genres, an example of the way boundaries are so often blurred in asynchronous online discussions. While some of the regulative moves identified were no more than task instructions, others seemed to be positioning participants as online learners and public health professionals, in other words managing ‘attitudes, dispositions and performances’.

The system of APPRAISAL in SFL is likewise situated in the interpersonal metafunction and refers to linguistic resources used to express the speaker’s or writer’s attitude towards both interlocutors and topic, and thereby to position listeners and readers. It includes affect (emotions such as happiness, inclination and satisfaction and their opposites), appreciation (of objects, ideas), judgment (of such things as truthfulness, propriety and capacity) and engagement (with others, present and absent, and their words and ideas).

This analysis showed that, although there was some variation between moderators, in most cases there was subtle interplay between affect, appreciation and judgment (as well as interpersonal metaphor) in regulative and evaluative moves, much of it setting the basic rules for contributing and underscoring the virtue of cooperative approaches. There were some instances of student participants initiating regulative and evaluative exchanges. This may lend some support to the concept of a more democratic medium, albeit one with a somewhat implicit, competence based and progressivist curriculum.

References


Mapping the Hierarchy: Advancing the theoretical and practical understanding of the hierarchical knowledge structure of physics.

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Background
Basil Bernstein (1996) conceptualises knowledge structures as either hierarchical or horizontal. The natural sciences have a hierarchical knowledge structure characterized by an “explicit, coherent, systematically principled and hierarchical organization of knowledge” (p. 172). In contrast, in the horizontal knowledge structures of the humanities and social sciences the production of knowledge creates “a series of expanding, non-translatable, specialized languages with non-comparable principles of description based on different, often opposed, assumptions” (p. 173).

Building on Bernstein’s work, Karl Maton is developing Legitimation Code Theory (LCT) to provide a framework with which to analyse knowledge practices. One of the five dimensions of LCT is Semantics, which introduces semantic gravity and semantic density. “Semantic gravity (SG) refers to the degree to which meaning is dependent on its context,” with stronger semantic gravity referring to meaning being more closely related to its context, whereas “[s]emantic density (SD) refers to the degree to which meaning is condensed within symbols (a term, concept, phrase, expression, gesture, etc)” (Maton, 2008, pp. 7-8).

Physics is characterised by having a very strong hierarchical knowledge structure. As a consequence, difficulty in learning the subject does not lie in simply the number of concepts that need to be learnt, rather it lies in learning the myriad of relations among concepts. Although the knowledge structure of physics is hierarchical, first year students generally do not have their own understanding of the knowledge hierarchically organized, as this is a lengthy process that requires considerable subject knowledge and training in how this knowledge is arranged, i.e. the relations among concepts. A hierarchical knowledge structure represents a way of knowing that is characteristic of physics (and the sciences in general), and to succeed in physics, one must develop this, referred to as ‘training a gaze’. However, this structure is rarely (if ever) explicitly taught in physics.

Most of Bernstein’s work has looked at horizontal knowledge structures (e.g. Maton & Moore, 2010); little has been written on hierarchical knowledge structures. The work of Ana Morais and her colleagues (e.g. Morais et al 1992) is invaluable for analyzing science education in term of Bernstein’s education knowledge codes. However, science and how it can be taught and learnt is relatively underresearched in terms of Bernstein’s later development of his framework. The overall issue is: how to induct students into the hierarchical structure of physics knowledge?

In this paper I will focus on complete physics novices and the teaching of physics during these students’ first semester of physics at the University of Sydney. The paper
will describe how a learning environment was developed to explicitly address the hierarchical knowledge structure of physics, and the evaluation of this intervention, particularly in terms of student feedback and student performance in the final examination.

**Link Maps and Map Meetings**

Particularly vulnerable are first year physics students without a high school physics background. At the University of Sydney, these students enroll in the ‘Fundamentals’ course, which is designed to rapidly acquaint students with physics terminology so that they are able to undertake courses in second semester jointly with students who studied physics at high school.

To help these students, Link Maps were developed: visual maps presenting the essential features of the knowledge structures in physics. Link Maps focus on the relationships or links between the few basic concepts in physics that keep emerging in different topics. In the Fundamentals course, seven core concepts formed the foundation of all topics covered. These concepts are combined and dealt with differently depending on the topic, and are also linked across different topics, reflecting the interconnectedness of topics in physics. Therefore, in addition to presenting the information taught in the course, the Link Maps explicitly model the hierarchical knowledge structure of physics. It does this by showing relations at three levels. Firstly, there are the relations between two or three concepts, generally via equations. Secondly, there are the connections between all such first-order relations, within a single topic. Thirdly, the consistency of the core concepts across topics highlights the interconnectedness of these higher levels of the physics hierarchy. These three levels are referred to as intra-layer, inter-layer, and inter-map relations, where a ‘layer’ is a self-contained sub-section of an individual Link Map.

For each topic only the most essential information and relationships were given, often with relevant diagrams to aid understanding or retention. The material included on the map was the most general ideas within the topic, excluding examples, derivations, and peripheral facts. Thus, Link Maps consist of information with very weak semantic gravity and strong semantic density.

Link Maps have been implemented as a key feature of weekly first year physics tutorials, called Map Meetings. In the first 10-15 minutes of the tutorial, the tutorial supervisor discusses the information on the weekly Link Map in a summary lecture. This covers all the core information of the topic covered in lectures in the previous week. The summary lecture focuses on the Link Map, but provides more information by giving examples and explanations, which have relatively strong semantic gravity. Thus, the students are led towards the abstract concepts on the map via the verbal discourse, which connects the concrete and the abstract. This follows from the fact that “it is not just the states of ‘stronger’ and ‘weaker’ [semantic gravity and density] but also these movements up and down the continua that are the key for enabling cumulative knowledge building” (Maton, 2008, p. 8). Such movements along the continua occur during the summary lecture. This explicitly reflects the strong relationship between the concrete, empirical world and the generalised, abstract representation of this used in physics, which is referred to as strong grammaticality. Hence, although the summary talk and the Link Map cover essentially the same
material, the role played by these two in the cumulative knowledge-building of the students is quite different.

The Experiment

In 2007 an experiment was run in which half the Fundamentals students were allocated to Map Meetings and the other half to Workshop Tutorials. In Workshop Tutorials approximately 50 students work for the entire 50 minutes collaboratively in groups of four on a problem sheet with tutors available to help. In Map Meetings, the 25-30 minutes following the summary lecture are similar with approximately the same number of students, except that students receive a colour copy of the Link Map. In the final five minutes, the tutorial supervisor discusses a relevant issue, usually the most difficult tutorial problem.

Both quantitative and qualitative data were gathered: student attendance, examination performances, questionnaire responses, focus group discussions, tutorial observations by an objective researcher not associated with the project, and official student feedback. Both types of tutorials appeared to be valuable learning environments to the external observer, who did not note any difference in tutor enthusiasm or competency. However, in their feedback, students preferred the structured Map Meeting environment and commented particularly favourably on both the Link Maps and summary lecture. This was indicated by student attendance, which remained essentially constant in Map Meetings, but declined steadily to 67% of initial attendance by the end of semester in Workshop Tutorials. In the final examination, of the students who had attended at least ten out of 12 tutorials (in either tutorial type) there were proportionately fewer Map Meeting students who achieved less than 30 marks out of 90 (11%), compared to Workshop Tutorial students (21%). In both tutorial groups 15% of the students achieved at least 60 marks.

Conclusion

This work shows that Bernstein’s ideas of knowledge structures and Maton’s extended work on semantic gravity and semantic density are valuable when developing educational environments in physics. It shows that the theoretical ideas can be further developed to describe and categorise physics knowledge in a way that is applicable and practical. The results suggest that the materials developed to help students in their own cumulative knowledge building were successful at achieving their aim. In particular, the Link Maps and Map Meetings were perceived to be useful by the students and helped students build a basic understanding of physics, evidenced by the lower number of students obtaining less than one thirds of the marks in the final examination.

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Martin (to appear) discusses four phases of dialogue between Bernstein's sociology of education and systemic functional linguistics - coding orientation, pedagogic discourse, knowledge structure and most recently identity. This paper develops a theme from the third phase, knowledge structure - drawing on discussions collected in Christie & Martin 2007. In particular it focuses on one dimension of Maton's Legitimation Code Theory, semantic gravity and semantic density, in relation to SFL work on technicality and abstraction (especially in relation to grammatical metaphor).

This dialogue is a development of Bernstein's late work on horizontal and vertical discourse (Bernstein 1996/2000), and within vertical discourse, his distinction between horizontal and hierarchical knowledge structures. Muller (2007) proposes ‘verticality’ to describe how theories progress - via ever more integrative or general propositions (cf Bernstein's strong/weak internal grammar) or via the introduction of a new language which constructs a ‘fresh perspective, a new set of questions, a new set of connections, and an apparently new problematic, and most importantly a new set of speakers’ (Bernstein 1996:162). In addition Muller proposes ‘grammaticality’ to describe how theoretical statements deal with their empirical predicates (cf. Bernstein's strong/weak external grammar). The stronger the (external) grammaticality of a language, the more stably it is able to generate empirical correlates and the more unambiguous because more restricted the field of referents. Though these concepts highlight features of knowledge structures, they do not analyse their underlying structuring principles.

Addressing this problem, Maton (in press) considers the form taken by theories and knowledge structures along two dimensions:

(i) **semantic gravity**, or the degree of context-dependency of meaning; and
(ii) **semantic density**, or the degree of condensation of meaning.

He notes that we can talk about of *processes* of "weakening semantic gravity, as one’s understanding is lifted above the concrete particulars of a specific context or case, and strengthening semantic gravity, as abstract or generalised ideas are made more concrete; and of strengthening semantic density, such as when a lengthy description is ‘packaged up or condensed into a term or brief expression, and weakening semantic density, when an abstract idea is fleshed out with empirical detail.”

Processes of this kind are obviously essential to effective teaching and learning in any subject area. Consequently, as part of a project funded by the Australian Research Council investigating secondary school biology and history teaching, we have been concerned with interpreting such processes from a functional linguistic perspective,
unpicking the linguistic resources that are used by teachers and students to weaken semantic gravity and strengthen semantic density as various degrees of verticality are pursued. In this paper we will focus in particular on history discourse, looking at how participants and their activities are generalised, organised into phases, named as eras, and axiologically charged with moral values in relation to what can be termed ‘-isms’, such as ‘colonialism’.

Analysis has shown (Maton & Matruglio 2009) that the cultivation of students’ legitimate historical ‘gaze’ depends to a large degree on the ability of students to strengthen and weaken both semantic gravity and semantic density. In other words, students need to be able to move between the specifics of certain historical events or personages to wider issues of how to interpret these historically and to understand how they contribute to the construction of historical principles. Learning these types of shifts in semantic gravity and density are essential to the students apprenticeship into the community of historians and are often referenced explicitly in the classroom.

In addition, increased semantic density occurs through what Maton (2008) terms ‘axiological condensation’, where values become condensed within the discourse of history via the creation of ‘constellations’ or groupings of related terms and concepts around participants and their activities. One way of investigating the axiological charging of participants and their activities is through the linguistic theory of coupling (Martin 2009), which gives us an insight into how various constellations form throughout the discourse and how these constellations interact with each other as a realisation of the ‘cosmology’ of History. We will demonstrate how these constellations not only provide evidence of the nature of the legitimate basis for knowledge in history, but also how they can both construct an example of an ideal knower of history and therefore also be used by the teacher in the cultivation of the students’ historical gaze.

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Reclaiming Knowers: Advancing Bernstein’s sociology of knowledge.

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A key feature through the development of Basil Bernstein’s sociological framework has been to reclaim knowledge as an object of study: his earlier work brought the structuring of educational knowledge to the fore (1975); the ‘pedagogic device’ analysed the ways in which this educational knowledge was constructed (1990); and his later work analysed the ‘knowledge structures’ of intellectual fields subject to this pedagogising process (1999). In this paper I illustrate how Bernstein’s theoretical framework is being advanced. This cumulative development, codified as ‘Legitimation Code Theory’ (LCT), maintains and builds on the gains made by Bernstein’s approach by exploring further the underlying principles structuring knowledge and their effects on practices and experiences. However, it also brings to light a dimension of intellectual and educational fields that remains secondary in Bernstein’s framework: knowers. This is not to say Bernstein analysed knowledge and LCT analyses knowers, but rather that LCT analyses knowledge and knowers (Maton 2010b).

How this approach is advancing Bernstein’s sociology can be illustrated by his model of knowledge structures. Bernstein distinguished ‘hierarchical knowledge structures’, such as the natural sciences, from ‘horizontal knowledge structures’, such as the humanities and social sciences. Hierarchical knowledge structures aim to bring a broadening base of empirical phenomena within the purview of a decreasing number of axioms and develop through the integration and subsumption of previous knowledge. In contrast, horizontal knowledge structures are segmented, progress by adding another segment horizontally, and so struggle to achieve cumulative knowledge-building. Bernstein’s conceptualisation raises a series of questions. First, his model maps out a series of dichotomous ideal types - they highlight what kind of ‘knowledge structure’ one might discover in research, but not the underlying principles that make them ‘hierarchical’ or ‘horizontal’. Secondly, horizontal knowledge structures such as the social sciences and humanities are characterised as having weak ‘verticality’ (internal relations among ideas) and weak ‘grammars’ (external relations to data) which begs questions of where their ‘strength’ might lie, or the basis of selection, recontextualisation and evaluation of ideas and actors in these fields. It has thus been argued Bernstein’s conceptualisation represents a deficit model, where these subject areas are found wanting in comparison to the hierarchical structures of the natural sciences (Muller & Young 2010).

A cumulative series of papers have been addressing these questions. First, the concepts of ‘legitimation codes’ (Maton 2000) and ‘the epistemic device’ (Moore & Maton 2001) were introduced to start excavating the underlying principles generating different forms of curriculum and knowledge structures. Bernstein’s notion of ‘knowledge structures’ was then extended to explore different forms of ‘gaze’ underpinning the ‘knower structures’ of fields (Maton 2007, 2010a). This brought to
light the basis of achievement, identity and relation within fields where knowledge is less explicit, such as those with horizontal knowledge structures. The issue of knowledge-building was then addressed in terms of the degree to which meanings (in curriculum and in students’ understandings) achieved weaker ‘semantic gravity’ or lesser context-dependency and stronger ‘semantic density’ or greater condensation of meaning (Maton 2008, 2009). These ideas, which integrate and subsume Bernstein’s concepts, are currently being used in a growing range of empirical studies of education (e.g. Carvahlo et al., 2009; Doherty 2008; Hood 2007; Lamont & Maton 2008; Luckett 2009; McNamara 2009; Martin 2009).

In this paper I draw on and develop this conceptual framework to further explore the humanities and social sciences and, in particular, the nature of theorising within these fields. Bernstein’s framework suggests that theories within these fields have limited capacity for cumulative knowledge-building (‘verticality’) and weak external relations to data (‘grammars’). This raises the questions: what purpose do they serve, how do they work, and why do such epistemologically weak theories achieve such prominence? Such questions can, I argue, only be addressed if one explores issues concerning both knowledge and knowers.

Focusing on the fields of sociology and Education and, specifically, approaches like constructivism and theories by Bourdieu, Foucault, Deleuze, Derrida, Lyotard and others, I argue that the key to understanding their prominence lies in the nature of the cosmology of these modes of theorising: the basis of legitimacy and value in intellectual fields. I argue that in such fields, these cosmologies tend to be less epistemological and more axiological, i.e. a moral ordering which works to allocate ideas and authors to different poles of the field, as more or less virtuous or iniquitous. Using the longstanding divide between ‘teacher-centred’ and ‘student-centred’ approaches I analyse how such axiological cosmologies are generated through the construction of constellations of related positions that become morally charged. Drawing on LCT concepts I show how such theories do indeed involve high levels of abstraction (weaker semantic gravity) and condensation of meaning (stronger semantic density) but that their principal external relations - their ‘grammars’ - are not to empirical data but rather to knowers. That is, concepts in these theories condense a structure of feeling which then reflects on the actor adopting them. The axiological cosmology thus sets up different relations to knowers than those in fields dominated more by epistemological considerations (such as those with hierarchical knowledge structures). I argue that these relations are central to the widespread adoption of these relatively weak theories and that understanding the formation of constellations and axiological cosmologies is crucial for understanding the current state of the humanities and social sciences. Lastly, I discuss what this analysis suggests for how stronger theories, such as the tradition inspired by Bernstein, can reach out to a wider audience across the field. I also reflect on how bringing knowers back in can itself be misinterpreted within a knowledge-oriented field, such as the Bernsteinian community.

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Hierarchies in family and school: Study of children’s positioning in relation to school success.

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Most of the research that has been developed by the ESSA group (Sociological Studies of the Classroom) has been focused on an extensive and deep understanding of school learning and on the definition and concretization of innovative action guidelines for school education. The research has been theoretically grounded in aspects of epistemology, psychology and sociology, where Bernstein’s theory of pedagogic discourse is the central matrix to guide a multilayered conceptualization of students’ failure/success in school. Reasons for this failure/success have been studied, considering the multiple characteristics of primary socializing contexts (family/community) and secondary socializing contexts (classroom/school) and their interrelations. Studies have also looked for teachers’ practices that may lead students who enter school in disadvantage to overcome their difficulties (e.g. Morais & Neves, 2001; Neves & Morais, 2005).

In order to analyse students’ learning in relation to the sociological characteristics of family and school contexts, Bernstein’s concepts of coding orientation and positioning have been used, by studying, for example, the extent to which codes and positioning acquired in family and/or school may condition learning of students from distinct social groups and within the same social group.

Various studies of the ESSA Group have been focused on the development of an external language of description that put into operation the concept of coding orientation as a variable that interferes on students’ learning, in specific instructional and regulative contexts of the classroom, and results of those studies have shown the influence of this variable on school success (e.g. Morais & Neves, 2001).

This article intends to report studies where positioning was also taken as a differential characteristic of family and school contexts that may be a factor of school failure/success. The objective of the article is: (1) to explicate the meaning accorded to positioning in the studies done so far, by showing instruments to obtain and to analyse data and making clear the development of the respective external language of description; (2) to present the results of the studies, highlighting the importance of introducing this variable in the analyses of school learning of socially differentiated children.

According to Bernstein (1990), the principle of the social division of labour, created by class structure, determines both a differential position of subjects in the social hierarchical structure and specific social relations between them. This process defines subjects positioning and, simultaneously, conditions their access to differential forms of communication. As stated by Bernstein, “positioning is used [...] to refer to the
establishing of a specific relation to other subjects and to the creating of specific relationships within subjects.” (pp. 13). Starting from this theorization, positioning was taken in the studies as a sociological dimension which, reflecting power and control relations present in any hierarchical structure (broad society, community, family, school), manifests itself at the level of the subject (citizen/child/student) through the form s/he sees herself/himself valued in society/family/school. In terms of empirical research, the nature of the hierarchical structure (power relations) and the form taken by social relations (control relations) in the contexts of primary socialization (between parents and children) and secondary socialization (between teachers and students) were used as indicators that allow the characterization of child/student’s positioning in the social context where s/he is placed and the extent to which that positioning may constitute a mediating variable between social group and school success.

The studies about the influence of positioning on school failure/success focused on various socializing contexts (family, community, school, classroom) and their interrelations and, according to the specificity of each study, instruments (questionnaires, interviews) and models were made in order to collect and analyse various dimensions of positioning – in society, in family/community and in school. A mixed methodology was used in the studies.

Broadly, the studies made so far (e.g. Neves, 1992; Miranda & Morais, 1996; Pires, 2001) suggest that, in general, the positioning is influenced by students’ social group, lower positioning being acquired by students of lower social classes and, within them, by girls and by those who study in schools of disadvantaged social contexts. They also suggest that high positioning influences favourably students’ success. The existence of the relation “social group – positioning in the family/community – positioning in the school – school achievement” supports the idea that the positioning acquired by the child in the primary socializing context is one of the sociological factors that may explain the relation between social group and differential achievement. However, the studies also highlight the importance of the positioning acquired in the secondary socializing context to change that pattern, suggesting that the effect of school/pedagogic practice may overcome the effect of social class. Another interesting result of the studies is that the relation child’s positioning in the family/social class is not linear, as it can be altered whenever parents are active in agencies of challenge/opposition/cultural reproduction. Also a not always linear relation has been found between positioning and coding orientation.

All these relations and conclusions are discussed in the article and new paths for further research are suggested.

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Investigating the interface between policy and practice: The usefulness of Bernstein’s binary categories.

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Drawing evidence from a recent empirical study, this paper argues that Bernstein’s corpus of work offers a language of description and analysis to investigate the disjuncture between policy and practice in contemporary educational reform. It is argued that the disjuncture is often the result of practitioners having to enact reforms with somewhat contradictory expectations such as meeting external accountability demands while building capacities at the local level.

Using a case study methodology, the study discussed in this paper, investigated, through teacher voices, the interface between policy and practice in the lived experiences of a group of secondary teachers teaching early adolescents. It was a retrospective investigation of a trialled direction in policy whereby a government-initiated standards-based reform project also aimed at school renewal and building capacity at the school level. The stated purpose of this reform was to facilitate a reconceptualisation of curriculum, pedagogy and assessment in order to enhance the capacity of schools to respond more effectively to the teaching and learning demands of the new millennium and the knowledge society. As such, this reform can be viewed as a pragmatic attempt to reconcile two orientations to reform. Teachers interviewed for the study gave their accounts of planning a futures-oriented, transdisciplinary curriculum for early adolescents, collaborating across subject departments, creating new professional identities and professional learning communities and aligning curriculum and pedagogy to mandated assessment. Analysing these accounts required theoretical frames that had the capacity to interrogate changes in teachers’ conceptions of knowledge, professional identities and in secondary school structures and cultures. The paper argues that Bernstein’s work provided the necessary frames for a theoretical framework that was tailored for this study.

The framework used the concepts of pedagogic identities (official/local; prospective/therapeutic), pedagogic discourse (vertical/horizontal, instructional/regulative discourses), pedagogic models (competence-based/performance-based) and educational knowledge codes (collection/integrated). These key concepts were chosen because they offered useful lenses with which to analyse the following five elements central to the study’s focus on reconceptualising secondary schools for the knowledge society: changing conceptions of educational knowledge, pedagogic changes, building capacities in early adolescents, aligning curriculum and pedagogy to mandated assessment and taking learning outside the school to sites of knowledge application. In particular, Bernstein’s concept of boundaries proved to be especially useful when analysing teachers’ accounts of planning a transdisciplinary curriculum, forging professional identities across subject departments, taking learning outside the school walls and reconceptualising curriculum, pedagogy and assessment in order to build futures-oriented capacities in early adolescents.
The analysis of the empirical data through the theoretical frames derived from Bernstein was able to reveal that the enactment of reform in a school involved a dynamic interplay of several dimensions: structures, cultures, identities, beliefs, pedagogic practices and contexts of learning, both inside and outside of the school. In particular, a disjuncture was identified between the official reform and the enacted reform in all of these dimensions. The paper links the contradictions and tensions described by the teachers in their accounts to the tensions between the oppositional modalities of collection and integrated codes, between prospective and therapeutic pedagogic identities, between horizontal/vertical discourses, between instructional/regulative pedagogic discourses and between performance-based and competence-based pedagogic models.

The theoretical framework constructed with binary categories was useful for the researcher, who was also a teacher-practitioner. It enabled her to interrogate her colleagues’ accounts in a critical manner, to establish critical distance from what she had been part of and to generate critical perspectives on the enacted reform. The paper argues that the use of Bernstein’s binary categories helped the researcher to identify the multidimensionality of enacted reform and the diversity in the lived experiences of teachers. The analysis revealed that transformational change was hampered by inflexible structures, lack of time and the absence of conceptual tools to guide reflection and dialogue in teacher professional learning communities. The argument that is advanced by the paper is that sustained intellectual work is needed when questioning and reconceptualising current practices, structures and cultures in schools. Shared ownership of any reform can only emerge from sustained intellectual work. For that to occur, teachers have to be provided with conceptual tools to analyse critically the contradictions in their work contexts and practices, so that these can be resolved in a way that contributes to improved student engagement and student outcomes. Consequently, there is a need for teachers to adopt the roles of reflective practitioners and researchers. The author puts forward the suggestion that the binary categories drawn from Bernstein are useful conceptual tools that can also help secondary teachers to interrogate practices and the systems of belief on which these practices are based and that conceptual tools are necessary for the development of teacher professional learning communities. In the empirical data, there was a tendency among the teachers interviewed to accept the status quo with passive resignation. If bold questioning of current structures and cultures of secondary schools is to occur, teachers need conceptual frames to guide dialogue and reflection. The binary categories offer the common language and analytical lenses that are needed in professional conversations. This intellectual work is necessary for the transformation of a secondary school into a learning organisation in the new millennium.
The formation of higher education curriculum: A case study from a South African History programme.

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The context for this paper is higher education in South Africa where there has been, in the lead up to and since 1994, wide-ranging higher education policy intervention (Badat 2009). In response there has been a small (relative to the focus on schooling) but significant body of Bernsteinian scholarship focusing on the effects of these policies on curriculum in higher education with a particular interest in the implications for knowledge (Breier 2004, Ensor 2002, Moore 2003 & 2004, Muller 2000 & 2008). More recently the Centre for Higher Education Development at the University of Cape Town hosted a Knowledge and Curriculum in Higher Education symposium where papers, drawing largely on the work of Basil Bernstein and Karl Maton, explored the relationship between knowledge and curriculum in specific disciplinary contexts (Carter 2009, Vorster 2009, Luckett 2009, Shalem & Slonimsky 2009, Shay 2009).

As a contribution to this Knowledge and Curriculum in Higher Education scholarship this paper reports on a case study of an undergraduate History curriculum in a South African University. The case study offers a historical perspective on the formation of this curriculum and seeks to describe the particular forms of educational knowledge which constitute this curriculum over time, how these forms of knowledge have shifted and are shifting, and the implications of these knowledge shifts for staff and student identities.

The analysis reveals three periods in the formation of this curriculum since its establishment at University of Cape Town in 1918 to the present. These periods are referred to as History as Canon, History as Social Science and History for the Market. The key research questions are:

- What are some of the key influences on the formation of this History undergraduate curriculum?
- What are the implications of this curriculum formation for the kinds of educational knowledge privileged and the kinds of student identities being promoted?

The primary sources of data collected were faculty handbook entries spanning the period from 1918 to 2008, examination scripts sampled from across the same period and interviews with academic staff. This paper reports on the ‘Market’ period (see Shay in press for analysis of first two periods).

The data reveals an overall pattern of weakening in both the classification and framing of the historical educational knowledge from the earlier periods (pre-1999). This is evidenced by a weakening of the traditional boundaries of the History curriculum and an attempt to forge alliances with other disciplines in the design of courses with a multi-disciplinary perspective on History. This results in the virtual disappearance of ‘core’ requirements and a significant expansion in ‘elective’
offerings. I argue that these shifts in the organization and transmission of educational knowledge are an interplay of recontextualizing forces both intrinsic and extrinsic to the discipline. The first is a policy attempt in the late 1990’s to break down disciplinary insulation in order to meet the imperatives of market-responsiveness, inter-disciplinarity and greater accountability. A second influence comes from the field of knowledge production – the intellectual segmentation of post-modernism and a resulting curriculum fragmentation. The third influence is a perceived reduction in the status of History as a discipline in post-apartheid South Africa. This formation process of this period could be characterized as an attempt to shift the History undergraduate curriculum from a collection code to an integrated code (Bernstein 1975 & 2000).

While Bernstein’s code types are useful for exposing shifts in the structure and transmission of educational knowledge, the theory does not fully deliver on its promise with respect to the analysis of the educational knowledge itself and how this knowledge constitutes knower identities. As the organization of the knowledge shifts (from strongly bounded course content to less strongly bounded) and as the transmission of the knowledge shifts (from strong academic control over sequence, pace, selection to more control invested in students), what is happening to the educational knowledge itself? In what ways is the basis of legitimation shifting? Bernstein offers some tantalizing pointers. He notes that in the shift from collection code to integrated code there is a shift from “states of knowledge” (or surface structure of knowledge) to “ways of knowing” (or deep structure of knowledge). He also suggests that the kind of consciousness or identity promoted in an integrated code will be very different to the identity of the collection code with its strong disciplinary loyalty. In the second part of the analysis therefore I draw on Karl Maton’s (2000) legitimation code theory for a more fine-grained analysis of the educational knowledge and knower code shifts of the History as Market period.

The paper concludes by arguing for the timeliness and significance of the Knowledge and Curriculum project given recent calls in South Africa for curriculum reform. A recent ministerial report on the transformation of higher education calls for “epistemological transformation” in the curriculum, that is, “how knowledge is conceived, constructed and transmitted” (Report of Ministerial Committee, p. 89 citing Hall 2006). Such transformations will inevitably result in shifts in educational knowledge. In responding to pressures for change, whatever form they might take, it is crucial that we understand whose interests these knowledge shifts will serve and what kind of student identity is being promoted.

References


Social class, race and pedagogic practices: An analysis of the effects of early childhood programs on low-income African American children.

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The relationship between social class and pedagogic practices has been a central concern of Bernstein scholars (Morais and Neves; Sadovnik, 1991, 2008; Sadovnik and Semel, 2000; Semel, 1995). Based upon Bernstein’s work on the social class contexts of pedagogic practice (Bernstein, 1977, 1990), the question of whether or not there is a more appropriate practice for educating working class and low-income students has become an important part of curriculum and pedagogic debates, especially in the United States (Delpit, 1995; Thernstrom and Thernstrom, 2003).

During the past decade the debate in the United States has centered on how to best close the achievement gap between low-income, mostly students of color and their more affluent, mostly white peers. Drawing upon Delpit’s (1995) argument that progressive education has been detrimental to low-income children of color due to the fact that they often misunderstand or misread middle class codes, educational models such as Knowledge is Power Program (KIPP) and Uncommon Schools offer a traditional, often authoritarian, and highly structured pedagogy that has received considerable attention for their success in closing the achievement gap (Thernstrom and Thernstrom, 2003). Semel and Sadovnik (2008), however, have argued that there are historical examples of progressive education that have been successful for similar populations, citing Central Park East Secondary School under the leadership of Deborah Meier’s leadership (Meier, 1995; 2005) and Urban Academy under the leadership of Ann Cook and Herb Mack (Raywid, 1999), as examples. Finally, Sadovnik (2008), using a Bernsteinian perspective, raises a number of questions about the methods of KIPP and Uncommon Schools, suggesting that although their students perform well on standardized tests, they may not be adequately prepared for the elaborated codes of colleges and universities, where authority and discipline need to be internalized and where authority is more often than not invisible rather than visible.

The purpose of this paper is to examine this issue in the context of early childhood education, as preschools provide children with the educational and social foundation for future success in school. In the 1960s, research on culture and race led many experts of the time to conclude that poor minority children were culturally deprived. Teachers in Head Start, a federal early childhood program targeting low-income children, were given the charge to teach these children what their parents could not (Meier, 2002). Thus, Head Start curriculum became strongly teacher directed in an effort to make up for cultural deficiencies. During this period, critics of cultural deprivation theory (Labov,; Valentine,) argued that theorists such as Bernstein had a cultural deficit model to explain the lower achievement of working class and low-income children. In the United States, some critics (Labov, ) incorrectly accused Bernstein of arguing that African American children were culturally deficient, even
though Bernstein had written exclusively about white working class children in England. Despite Bernstein’s rejection of what he saw as a misguided recontextualization of his work (1990), these debates over cultural deprivation and pedagogic practice have continued in the United States.

Although cultural deficit theory is no longer part of the explicit discourse in early childhood pedagogy development, it has left its mark on many curriculums. Classic works on progressive early childhood education (Brice Heath, Lubeck) provided ethnographic examples of how social class differences are central to understanding preschool curriculum and pedagogy. A decade later work by Hart and Risley (1995) asserted that children from low-income homes have a smaller vocabulary by kindergarten than more affluent children. Their work has been cited by those who advocate that due to these differences less affluent children need a more structured compensatory curriculum in preschool. Culture also became a consideration when creating curriculum for poor minority children. Delpit (2006) suggests that black children require more explicit instruction to gain the codes of the white middle class.

As a result of these issues, several curriculums developed for low-income children, particularly those in Head Start, varying degrees of teacher directed instruction. High/Scope requires that children make a plan for their day with the teacher before going to play. Creative Curriculum is highly focused on meeting benchmarks and testing. Leap, a curriculum developed in response to Hart and Risley’s study, requires that teachers follow a strict, pre-planned lesson.

But it is not a foregone conclusion that pedagogy for poor minority children always grows from a teacher directed model. Several schools have incorporated more progressive approaches, such as Reggio Emilia or Project Approach, into Head Start classrooms. Each of these approaches includes a highly child-centered pedagogy in which the interests of the children drive the curriculum. In both Reggio Emilia and Project Approach, the teacher plans lessons based on the children’s interests. In these approaches, the children chose activities with teacher guidance, rather than teacher direction.

Among many current early childhood researchers, child-centered pedagogy is considered superior to teacher directed methods. The National Association for the Education of Young Children finds many of the features of a child-centered pedagogy to be ‘developmentally appropriate’ for early childhood. However, issues raised by Delpit, Hart and Risley, and others should not be ignored. Should low-income children—particularly low-income minority children—be educated differently than middle-class children due to their limited contact with middle class codes at home?

This study will consider the effectiveness of differing pedagogical approaches for low-income black children. Using a Bernsteinian theoretical framework, it will use a comparative case study of three Head Start centers in high-minority Chicago neighborhoods to examine the effects of different pedagogic practices on the development of cognitive and non-cognitive skills of young children. The first school uses a highly teacher-directed curriculum developed by Leap Learning Systems. Leap advocates a year-long scripted curriculum including a weekly theme, required vocabulary words, teacher-lead dramatic play activities, and pre-specified writing and
art activities. The second school uses Reggio Emilia, a highly child-centered approach. Reggio supports emergent curriculum, natural elements, exploration of the environment, and teacher-child dialogue. This center uses a self-developed curriculum called Bonding with Books. This curriculum includes the creation of a month-long classroom theme based on a book. The book of the month will be chosen by the Education Coordinator, who is based at the managing agency’s cooperate office. Through the use of this curriculum, the center draws upon elements of both teacher-directed and child-centered pedagogy.

As a pilot for this larger study, a preliminary study was done at a Head Start classroom in Newark, NJ. This classroom is part of a program (Newark Preschool Counsel) that encourages directed instruction as a means to ensure kindergarten readiness. The classroom teacher and assistant teacher, however, both favored a child centered model. The resulting classroom environment drew on elements of teacher-directed instruction and child direction. The children were observed to have internalized classroom rules and required little explicit direction or discipline during their child directed free-play period. The teacher also used this period to deliver a highly directed small group lesson. The children responded well to both and moved easily between teacher directed and child directed activities.

The full study will employ a mixed-method methodology for analyzing the effects of the three programs on cognitive and non-cognitive development. First, based on six months of ethnographic research, the researchers will employ the Morais and Neves’s (2010) model for analyzing the classification and framing rules of classrooms in each school. Second, through interviews with administrators, teachers and parents, their attitudes, beliefs and practices about appropriate pedagogic practices for their low-income students will be explored. Finally, through an analysis of a longitudinal data base on the 2005 cohorts of each school, the research will examine differences in academic achievement of students who have remained in the Chicago Public Schools through fourth grade. Controlling for race, income and other demographic variables, we will be able to isolate the independent effect of each school on achievement in elementary (primary) school. Given the fact that all three schools are located in the same part of Chicago and have similar low-income African American student populations, this research will provide empirical evidence to assess the effects on progressive and traditional pedagogic practices on low-income children of color.

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Pedagogy and Development: what could Bernstein’s concepts bring to understanding ‘quality’ education in developing country contexts?

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Over the last two decades, national and global agendas concerned with the ‘quality’ of Education For All (EFA) have brought focus to the qualitative dimensions of school processes in developing country contexts. This has identified pedagogy in particular as a priority for development reforms. The proliferation of various ‘learner-centred’ reform programmes across the global South have drawn attention to interactive, contextually embedded processes of learning. Despite the rhetoric of relational and learner-specific education put forward by many pedagogic reforms, there has been a strengthening of development discourses around standardised benchmarks and outcomes of schooling. Time-bound targets for the universalisation of elementary education have provided states and agencies further impetus to invest in system-wide evaluations and reporting of school ‘quality’, intending to identify progress and gaps for policy planning and resource allocation. These exercises of supposed accountability have been concerned largely with indicators and measures based on problematic conceptualisations of pedagogy. As Alexander (2008:7-8) observed of EFA discourses on development:

Pedagogy is defined as a controllable input rather than as a process whose dynamic reflects the unique circumstances of each classroom and which is therefore variable and unpredictable; and the only aspects of pedagogy which are admitted as ‘inputs’ are those which can be measured. The whole exercise becomes impossibly reductionist, and the educational endeavour itself is as a consequence trivialised.

Reflecting on this problem, this paper examines how Bernstein’s theories of pedagogy could contribute to a more complex understanding of pedagogy in EFA contexts. Bernstein has offered a detailed descriptive and analytic language which many researchers of western schooling systems have found useful, particularly in uncovering the implicit social codes of pedagogic relay (cf. Sadovnik, 1995; Morais et al., 2001; Muller et al., 2004; Moore et al., 2006; Arnot & Reay, 2007). This paper reviews some of the recent applications of Bernstein’s framework in developing country contexts (cf. Hoadley, 2008; Nyambe and Wilmot, 2008; Barrett, 2007). I begin by discussing the conceptualisation of ‘quality’ in EFA discourses and its implications for educational research and evaluation. If ‘quality’ needs to be measured by states and development agencies, how might the complexities of pedagogic interaction be better captured? How can the selectiveness and limits of such evaluative exercises be acknowledged, and in ways which urge us to consider carefully the relationship between pedagogy and ‘development’? I consider how Bernstein’s pedagogic framework may enrich analyses of schooling and discuss the limitations of his theories in non-western education and social systems. The paper then moves to examine the ways Bernstein’s ideas on classification and framing informed my own study of learner-centred pedagogic reforms in rural Indian primary schools. I work through the methodological process (and tensions) of employing
Bernstein’s theories in the analysis of pedagogy in low-income, under-resourced school settings. Drawing on this discussion, the paper concludes by reflecting on the possibilities for more complex descriptive and analytic approaches to understanding educational ‘development’.

**Paper Outline:**
1. ‘Quality’ Education for All and implications for research.
2. Bernstein’s theories of pedagogy: possibilities and limitations in development contexts
3. Analysing learner-centred reforms in rural Indian primary school: methodological reflections
4. Understanding and evaluating ‘development’: towards a more complex descriptive and analytic approach.

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Therapeutic identities in imaginary spaces: leading the enactment of wicked policy reform.

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This paper looks at how the work of Basil Bernstein can inform critical analyses of policy. Many policies are concerned with wicked policy problems, problems that call for transdisciplinary analyses. Wicked policy problems are problems that are tough to describe because their roots are complex & tangled, occurring in a complex social context that makes them difficult to manage (Camillus, 2008). As such, wicked policy problems require ‘clumsy solutions’ (Logue, 2009) that entail a transdisciplinary approach, which addresses the complexity both of the problem and the social context in which it is grounded, and the need for diverse solutions (MacKay, 1990). The paper argues that concepts drawn from Bernstein’s work and from critical discourse analysis (CDA) provides a framework for the transdisciplinary analysis of wicked policy problems.

Bernstein’s (2000) work and critical discourse analysis share many common features. Language has a central position in both theories, which share an orientation towards social change and foreground language in processes of change. Both Bernstein and CDA have developed a theory of discourse. As critical theories, both Bernstein’s work and CDA trace social practices within power relations and are concerned with the potential for social transformation (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). Chouralaki and Fairclough note also a shared concern with the dialect between structure and agency and the focus on language as social practice within this dialectic. Both theories connect language analysis with sociological analysis.

Further, critical discourse analysis has been demonstrated to be a valuable tool for policy analysis (Bacchi, 2000; Taylor, 2004; Thomas, 2005). In an analysis of educational policy documents on teacher quality, Thomas (2005) showed CDA to be more than a linguistic method of analysis. CDA was established as a complex model that drew on an ensemble of social science techniques that was particularly suited to transdisciplinary analysis. Fairclough (2004) has noted the need for the transdisciplinary analysis of political texts, noting that these texts, including policy documents, create imaginaries that move towards changed realities. Policy discourses, therefore, work to construct imaginary spaces for governance as they ‘construct/imagine “frameworks for action”, procedures which network social practices (activities) in particular ways’ (Fairclough, 2005, p. 59). Thus, a critical discourse of policy documents can trace the construction both of imaginary spaces for governance and of the social practices within a particular set of social relations.

Bernstein’s (2000) work on official knowledge and pedagogic identities can further the analyses of social practices gained through such CDA. Bernstein understands official knowledge to be ‘the educational knowledge which the state constructs and distributes in educational institutions’ (p. 65). This official knowledge, which can be shaped by policy discourses, constructs particular pedagogic identities for teachers and students. Bernstein identifies four positions that represent different approaches to
regulating and managing change and that project particular pedagogic identities through the processes of educational reform. An analysis of the pedagogic identities constructed through the enactment of a particular educational reform, will extend the analysis of the construction of teacher identities within particular power relations that have been traced through a critical discourse analysis of policy documents.

This paper will investigate one recent education policy that has been designed to address the wicked policy problem of skills shortages and vocational skills training in Australian secondary schools (Garrick, forthcoming). The policy outlines a program for the introduction of Trade Centres into secondary schools (Australian Government Department of Education Employment and Workplace Relations, 2008). Trade centres were identified as a means to produce young people capable of helping Australia maintain a human capital advantage in the competitive and globalised world of today, and thus to address the very real skills shortage in the country (Rudd & Smith, 2007). Thus, the policy is concerned with effecting social change through changes to the secondary schooling experiences through the introduction of Trade Training Centres.

The study that is reported in this paper involved interviews with the leaders of four schools who received funding in the first stage of the program. The paper utilises a framework that draws on Bernstein’s work and Fairclough’s CDA to conduct a transdisciplinary analysis of the initial roll out of the Trade Centres policy. In particular, Bernstein’s concepts of pedagogic identities and Fairclough’s concepts of imaginary space and frameworks for action (Fairclough, 2004, 2005) work together in an analysis of the construction of leaders’ identities during the initial stages of the implementation of the Trade Centres program.

References


Schooling the Museum: Pedagogy and Display in the Information Age

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The public museum in the second half of the 20th Century has taken a departure from the classical “collection” model of specialized research and exhibition towards web-based access, community outreach and touristic promotion. By locating this transformation within the socio-semiotics of the information age (Tyler, 2004), the paper traces the pedagogy of classical museum from one of a though relatively autonomous and insulated textual space to one now defined by market positioning and audience extension through globalised media. This account is formalized in a typology of museum’s position within the field of social and cultural reproduction that draws on Bernstein’s later insights into the emergence of the Totally Pedagogised Society (2002) and Tyler’s (2004) reading of the socio-semiotic field of pedagogic discourse in the age of information. This typology builds on and extends previous applications of Bernstein’s cultural theories to the museum, including Fyfe’s historical typology (1998), Hooper-Greenhill’s (2000) account of the pedagogy of the classical museum and Carvallo and Dong’s (2008) account of legitimation in the design field. The paper concludes by exploring the implications of the new museology for critical accounts of informal learning in the reproductive field, with particular attention to the definition of official knowledge, the formation of pedagogic identities and the status of performativity in the information age.

References


Facing both ways: An analysis of the structuring principles underpinning the integration of theory and practice in a Journalism and Media Studies curriculum in a “research-intensive” university.

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In this paper I investigate some of the bases for struggle in a collaborative project among lecturers in a Journalism and Media Studies (JMS) department which aimed to develop a curriculum which integrates media studies (MS) and media practice (MP). The purpose of the integration project was to create coherence between the theory and practice components of the course; to enable students to make the links between the theory they study in MS and the practice fields and also to enhance the academic integrity of the practice specialisations through the theorization of practice.

This department is situated in a “research-intensive”, traditional university. What emerged from the research reported on in this paper is the centrality of the nature of knowledge in driving curriculum coherence. This is congruent with Muller’s (2008) argument that the nature of the knowledge (whether predominantly conceptual or contextual) should direct the manner in which a curriculum is constructed. Within a professional qualification it seems as if the nature of knowledge and the nature of enterprise of the university guide (constrain) the possibilities for curriculum content and processes.

Lecturers teaching the fourth year of a four-year JMS course participated in a curriculum development process which lasted for approximately one year; the length of the process was mainly due to the difficulties they experienced in reaching consensus about curriculum content and associated pedagogic processes. The aim of the fourth year (which is regarded as the “professionalizing” year in the JMS programme) is to develop graduates who are able to integrate their theoretical knowledge of the field of JMS with the practice of a journalistic or media specialisation. In curriculum meetings lecturers spoke about the need for students to be “hybrids”, to “wear two hats”, to be able to “code switch”, to be able to “integrate” and “bridge the gap” between theory and practice. There was therefore a keen awareness of the need for the curriculum to “face both ways”, towards the academy and towards the profession (Barnett 2006, Wheelahan 2007). In this paper I interrogate the degree to which it may be possible for the curriculum to face both ways within the context of a professional course such as JMS in a research-intensive institution.

Journalism is an example of what Bernstein (2001) terms a “new profession” and, Muller (2008) classifies as a “fourth generation” profession. However, it a profession that is loosely organized, without, for example, a professional board that regulates the curriculum. My investigation focuses on the structuring principles of the hybrid knowledge that is considered to be the ideal in a JMS curriculum as well as what seems to be possible in terms of the degree to which teaching and learning can / is required to “face both ways”. For example, it is important to consider the nature of the
discourses of MS and the practice fields. The degree to which the practical fields can be considered vertical discourses is examined. The data I use for this analysis includes transcribed curriculum conversations and interviews with lecturers, curriculum documentation as well as theoretical texts on the nature of knowledge and practices in the different practice fields such as photo-journalism, design, new media, radio and television. (For the purpose of this paper, I shall select two or three of the practice fields to analyse).

The curriculum project of softening the boundaries between theory and practice was clearly problematic and it was evident that a syncretic solution to the theory-practice dilemma would be difficult to forge. It is therefore important to understand “the underlying principles that keep the components [of the JMS curriculum] apart” (Shay 2009).

One principle relates to the degrees of verticality and horizontality of the discourses and knowledge structures of the various specialisations, while another relates to what it is that the fields specialise in terms of the epistemic and social relations (ER and SR) to knowledge and how. I use aspects of Maton’s Legitimation Code Theory (LCT) to illuminate the complexities of these underlying structuring principles. I examine how the JMS curriculum as a whole aims to establish the relative importance of the epistemic and the social and between the contextual and the conceptual through its explicit regulative discourse. I argue that the different practice fields exhibit various strengths of the epistemic and the social relations; that they require different “settings” of the ER and the SR and that this is part of the basis for the struggle for curriculum coherence. Furthermore my analysis of the data indicate that in the case of the JMS curriculum the instructional discourse is determined more by the forms of knowledge of the various fields (MS and MP) than by the RD.

In addition, I use Maton’s LCT (Semantics) to examine the principles structuring the degrees of context dependence-independence of MS and the various practice fields. The different fields exhibit different degrees of semantic gravity (SG) and have differential capacity for strengthening semantic density (SD). Theoretical disciplines exhibit relatively low degrees of semantic gravity and high semantic density. When an academic programme aims to “face both ways” or develop graduates who are “hybrids” the requisite relationship between SG and SD needs to be established. This is, I argue, a function of the form of knowledge of the field, but is also to an extent influenced by the nature of the institution or enterprise (Henkel 2005) in which the field is taught, since different kinds of institutions privilege different forms of knowledge.

I therefore argue that it is the confluence of the settings of the Specialisation and Semantics codes that will determine the capacity of a professional programme to “face both ways”.

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This study examines socio-historical analysis of the development of Regents level mathematics curricula in the public schools of New York State since 1866. The overall objective of the proposed study is to illuminate relationships between the micro-level practices of schools and the macro-level structures of society. Fundamental research questions to be addressed are: 1) How has the classification, framing, and evaluation of Regents level mathematics curricula in the public schools of New York changed since 1866? and 2) How has popularization and democratization influenced the contents, structure and academic rigor of Regents examinations? Using Basil Bernstein's theories of educational transmissions and pedagogic discourse as a theoretical framework for the study, this paper will use samples from New York State mathematics regents over a hundred year time frame to analyze the social, educational and societal factors that influenced mathematics curriculum and assessment. Data from a collection of 1,465 Regents mathematics examinations, dating from 1866 to the present, will be coded and analyzed to identify changes and trends in New York State's secondary school mathematics curricula.

In 1864, during the Civil War, the legislature of the State of New York enacted a law granting the Board of Regents authority to create entrance examinations for use in all of the high schools and academies of New York State (Folts 1996). The idea was to establish a system of educational credentials associated with minimum standards of student achievement on written examinations in five subject areas: reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, and geography. Through state sponsorship and standardization, these Regents credentials would be a form of currency, and would have recognized value between educational institutions throughout the state. Equally important, academies and high schools throughout New York State would receive their allocations from the state literature fund based on their count of “academic scholars” who had passed these examinations (SED 1987). Because state funding of schools was tied to student achievement on examinations, the Regents examination system would quickly become an important quality control system used by the State to influence the micro-level practices of schools (SED 1965). These early Regents examinations assessed student readiness for secondary schooling and were known as “preliminary” examinations. The first Regents preliminary examinations were administered on November 11, 1866, and they continued to be administered each and every year from 1866 through the present.

Subsequently, from 1879 to the present, Regents academic examinations have been used to qualify students for Regents diplomas. Over these many years, the Regents examination system has become a hallmark of the New York public education system,
and the collection of Regents credentials became associated with high academic standards and a means of differentiating elite students in pursuit of higher levels of educational attainment.

The consistency with which Regents preliminary and academic examinations have been administered year in and year out since 1866 is important. As historical artifacts of public education in the state of New York, consistently administered Regents examinations provide opportunities for analysis of historical trends in: 1) the classification of knowledge in public school curricula; 2) the pedagogical practices associated with the transmission of knowledge; and 3) the evaluation and recognition of student achievement through high stakes testing. These trends can be examined in the context of contemporaneous historical events and evolving societal structures, thus leading to increased awareness and understanding of relationships between schools and society. Accordingly, a detailed analysis of these examinations, in terms of their contents and structures, is the focus of this study.

From 1866 through 1878, preliminary examinations were associated only with the credentialing of academic scholars. From 1879, when the Regents examination system was expanded to include academic examinations that qualified students for Regents diplomas, through 1906, the New York Board of Regents recognized no diplomas other than their own Regents academic diplomas, which were earned by passing Regents academic examinations. In 1906, the Board of Regents authorized the awarding of non-academic diplomas without state examinations. The importance of recognizing non-academic diplomas was huge, because it was accompanied by relaxed funding rules that allowed for more progressive curricula, and it enabled the tracking of students into academic and non-academic curricula. Most students who graduated from secondary schools in New York subsequent to 1906 did so with non-academic diplomas, and the academic examinations continued to be designed for, and administered to, elite middle class students, who were described in 1965 by the New York State Education Department as students with “…average and above average academic abilities” (SED 1965, p. 6). Students, perceived to have lesser abilities were presumably tracked into non-academic curricula. Under this system, New York schools developed a pattern of tracking elite students into curricula associated with Regents examinations, and Regents diplomas became coveted credentials in public schools throughout New York State. In 1996, however, the Board of Regents began to dismantle this reified tracking system (Folts 1996).

Under the guidance of the Board of Regents, the New York State Education Department decided in 1996 to: 1) eliminate non-academic secondary school diplomas for all general education students; and 2) require all general education secondary school students to take and pass five academic examinations (in English, mathematics, science, global history and U.S. history) in order to earn a Regents academic diploma (Folts 1996). An incremental program to eliminate almost all non-academic diplomas was announced shortly thereafter, with the new requirements being effective for all secondary school students entering ninth grade during the 2008-2009 school year. Thus, a century old practice of tracking students into academic and non-academic curricula is ending in New York State and the Regents diploma as an academic credential is no longer focused solely on middle class students of above and above average academic abilities. Instead, Regents diplomas and a subset of Regents
examinations are now focused on all classes of students enrolled in New York State’s public schools. In recent years, as the Regents diploma becomes popularized, the number of students taking the five academic examinations required for graduation has exploded. Concurrently, the academic examinations not required for graduation have not been popularized. This situation provides a research opportunity to look at the effects of popularization on the credentials values of both Regents diplomas and individual Regents academic examinations associated with elite and non-elite students.

Research Questions and Theories

Two research questions, which are central to this study, arise from the preceding narrative concerning the history of the Regents examinations and the students who took them. These are:

- How have the classification, framing, and evaluation of Regents level mathematics curricula in the public schools of New York changed since 1866? And
- How has popularization influenced the contents, structure and academic rigor of Regents examinations?

To examine these questions, a proposed research model has been developed. This model depicts four historical timelines/narratives that will be developed and subjected to critical analyses through the lenses of two theories. The first theory, which frames the first research question, is Basil Bernstein’s theory of educational transmissions (Bernstein, 1977, 1990). The second theory, which frames the second research question, is credentials theory. This paper will focus on the first question and theory. Both theories illuminate our understanding of the social stratification effects of public schools. See Figure I-1.
The two theoretical lenses that underlie the proposed research, which are shown in the horizontal row that crosses the four vertical timelines in Figure 1, should be interpreted as extending to both the beginnings and the ends of each of the four vertical timelines.

Basil Bernstein presented a structuralist view of education when he posited that there are three pillars of public education, these being: curriculum; pedagogy; and evaluation.
In explaining the three pillars of education, Bernstein wrote,

Formal educational knowledge can be considered through three message systems: curriculum, pedagogy, and evaluation. Curriculum defines what counts as valid knowledge, pedagogy defines what counts as valid transmission of knowledge, and evaluation defines what counts as a valid realization of this knowledge on the part of the taught (Bernstein 1977, P. 85).

In this study, Bernstein’s theory of educational transmissions provides the lens through which curriculum, pedagogy, and evaluation -- the micro-level practices of schools -- are related to the historical events and changing macro-level social structures of our society.

For example, algorithms and mathematical constructs are among the highest levels of abstraction routinely used by the human mind, and pure mathematicians have sometimes been caricatured as living in an abstract world devoid of real-world connections. Keith Devlin, when describing mathematics as part of the highest level of human abstraction, writes, “Mathematical objects are entirely abstract; they have no simple or direct link to the real world, other than being abstracted from the world…. (Devlin, 1997: 121). Thus, the teaching of high school mathematics can be understood as one in which abstract algorithms and mathematical constructs are articulated as elements of an elaborated code that is autonomous of evoking social structures. On this view, the evoking context of a problem on a Regents mathematics examination is seen as relevant primarily as a means through which the student is instructed to retrieve from memory a more abstract, hence more autonomous, elaborated code of an algorithm or mathematical construct. The context of the problem is not a call for the student to use past experiences in the articulated context to solve the problem. Accordingly, one would expect to find in a study of past Regents examinations that algorithms and mathematical constructs are embedded in numerous social contexts, and that the elaborated and autonomous codes of the algorithms and mathematical constructs are independent of their evoking social structures. Such a finding would be consistent with Bernstein’s code theory, can be verified through the proposed study, and would illuminate the mechanisms through which public school mathematics facilitates social stratification.

References
Can Bernstein deliver relevant and responsive Health Education curricula for Indigenous girls?

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Recent debates in the Australian media and Government policy initiatives (e.g. Closing the Gap) have reinvigorated the ‘educational disadvantage’ perspective on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander (Indigenous) education. Debates such as these focus upon the social, material and cultural circumstances of students as the explanation for educational achievement (or lack thereof), where Indigenous students are defined more by what they ‘lack’ than what the Western schooling system fails to deliver (Nakata 2007). This paper is an attempt to focus the analysis of Indigenous education in Australia upon the power and control relations operating within schools, rather than external social relations, using principles of pedagogic discourse from Bernstein (1975, 1990, 2000). Some theorists have argued that Basil Bernstein’s work did not examine issues of gender or culture, and tended to focus solely on explaining class reproduction. Therefore, this paper examines the usefulness of Bernstein’s theoretical framework in analysing micro-level school curriculum politics within an Indigenous community setting. It also suggests how Indigenous and non-Indigenous educational researchers can build on Bernsteins’ curriculum theorising to address ongoing issues in education for Indigenous people.
A Bernsteinian analysis of the 3rd wave of higher education expansion since the Second World War.

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Anglophone countries such as Australia are on the cusp of the third major expansion of higher education since the Second World War. The first period of expansion was in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. New universities were established in the United Kingdom and in Australia along with a new higher education sector – colleges of advanced education in Australia, and polytechnics in the UK. The United States greatly expanded its existing system of community colleges and universities. The second period of expansion was in the 1980s and 1990s. The UK and Australia merged their colleges and universities to create an expanded unified university system, while the United States once again expanded its existing system. The third period of growth in other Anglophone countries is now occurring in the second, vocationally oriented sector of tertiary education. Further education colleges in the UK have a ‘special mission’ to offer vocationally oriented two-year foundation degrees and to increase participation by students from disadvantaged backgrounds in higher education. Some 10 states in the US have authorised their community colleges to offer full degrees, and so go beyond their traditional two-year associate degrees. Similar developments are occurring in other Anglophone countries. Ten of the 59 Technical and Further Education (TAFE) institutes in Australia now offer associate degrees and degrees. TAFE is the public provider of vocational education and training in Australia, and while higher education in TAFE is still small it will almost certainly grow as a consequence of government objectives to expand participation in higher education.

The paper will use a Bernsteinian analysis of the structures of knowledge and the pedagogic device to analyse the way in which this new form of higher education mediates access to knowledge. It draws on recently completed research on the development of higher education in TAFE in Australia (Wheelahan et al. 2009). The rationale for the growth of higher education in TAFE, and for similar institutions in other Anglophone countries, is twofold. The first is that it will offer more vocationally oriented higher education programs than universities thus serving industry’s ‘need’ to have a more highly educated workforce with vocationally specific skills. The second is that it is a key mechanism for increasing access to higher education for students from disadvantaged backgrounds.

The paper uses Martin Trow’s (1974) famous distinction between elite, mass and universal higher education systems to associate different kinds of knowledge with each, and the way in which such knowledge is implicated in social power. Trow described a higher education system in which half the population or more of the relevant age group participates as a universal system, while a mass system has between 16-50% participation, and an elite system has up to 15% participation. Trow argues that the nature of higher education institutions, curriculum and pedagogy
changes as the system moves from being elite to mass and then universal. The purpose of elite systems is to prepare the social elite, and this is reflected in a curriculum that is based on ‘shaping the mind and character’ of students through highly structured concepts of academic and professional knowledge. Institutions are relatively small and homogeneous with clear boundaries that mark the academic community off from the rest of society. In contrast, the purpose of mass systems is to transmit knowledge and to prepare this segment of the population for a broader range of technical and economic leadership roles. The curriculum is modular, more flexible, and consists of semi-structured sequences within institutions that are comprehensive with standards that are more diverse and boundaries that are more fuzzy and permeable. The purpose of universal systems is to prepare the whole population for rapid social and technological change. The boundaries between formally structured knowledge and the everyday in the curriculum begin to break down, as do the distinctions between the educational institution and other aspects of life, including the workplace (Trow 2005: 64). Most industrialised countries have been progressively moving from elite to universal systems over the last 30-40 years in response to changes in society, the economy and technology.

Trow’s (2005) later insights were that elite, mass and universal components co-exist within a universal higher education system, with each playing different roles. His analysis is useful for understanding the hierarchical structuring of higher education. Applying a Bernsteinian analysis to Trow’s framework reveals the way in which external and internal relations of classification and framing structure institutions, culture, pedagogy and curriculum and the way that distributive rules differentially mediate access to powerful knowledge for social elites and deny this access to the working class (Bernstein 2000).

This paper uses this analysis to argue that the apparently meritocratic goal of higher education for all disguises different levels of access to knowledge. This is achieved through a number of mechanisms which include:

- The marketisation of higher education and the commodification of knowledge so that the specification of knowledge is through its specific use-value to ‘customers’;
- The increasingly pervasive ‘genericism’ of curriculum in all sectors of education which replaces access to knowledge as the raison d’être of education in favour of developing a ‘perpetual trainability’ (Bernstein 2000: 59);
- The emphasis on social inclusion in higher education rather than social justice. Social inclusion asks questions about those who are excluded and tries to identify their deficits as the basis for interventions. It does not ask questions about the nature of inclusion, different types of participation or the outcomes that result. In contrast, social justice asks questions about the social distribution of access to different types of education, the outcomes of education, and the relations of exclusion and inclusion.
- The co-option and incorporation of apparently progressive discourses of universal higher education by neo-liberalism. It will show that this leads to an anti-intellectualism disguised by democratising discourses around recognising new forms of knowledge in the academy, and legitimated through the putative bringing together of the theoretical and the practical.

The paper will show that despite universal higher education, different relations of classification and framing exist within elite, mass and universal higher education.
institutions or components of the system. It will use Bernstein’s concepts of performance, competence and generic pedagogic modes to analyse these different forms of participation in higher education, the different institutional contexts of each, and the different social outcomes they mediate.

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Objective
Through the case of Chinese school identity in colonial Hong Kong, this article develops a theory of state policy towards educational institutions upholding the culture of a subordinated group through blending the notion of classification of Basil Bernstein and the idea of hegemony of Antonio Gramsci. Chinese schools use the Chinese language as the chief medium of instruction. In the context of colonial Hong Kong, they were institutions transmitting the culture of the colonised Chinese residents.

Theoretical Framework
Inspired by Bernstein’s theory of classification, I consider the identity of Chinese schools as being determined by their external cultural boundary and internal material cleavage. The external cultural boundary refers to the cultural categorization of Chinese schools as opposed to other institutions. When the Chinese language and Chinese culture are taught exclusively at Chinese schools within the educational system concerned, these institutions are then culturally classified. The internal material cleavage refers to the schism among Chinese schools in such matters as financial resources, building facilities, and remuneration of their personnel. The identity of Chinese schools is most discrete when they are culturally segmented from other institutions but are not divided among themselves by their stark material differences.

The strength of Chinese school identity has important bearings on the stability of the social order within which the institutions finds themselves. For when these schools are culturally classified, they tend to inculcate in students cultural and linguistic traits that are significantly distinct from those of other schools; and, as a result these hinder social integration. In addition, when Chinese schools are culturally too distinctive from others, the instruction of, and in, the Chinese language and Chinese culture becomes the prerogative of these institutions and thus the demise of Chinese schools leads to a crisis of continuation of Chinese culture. This situation can be exploited to foment oppositional campaigns, especially if most Chinese schools receive substandard treatment from the government and are not divided according to differences in material resources.

Hegemony, according to Gramsci, is the historical process through which ruling power is consolidated by compromising with the demands of the subordinated part of the society. This paper distinguishes between two forms of concession granted by the powerful to handle the educational institutions of the dominated group, namely, cultural accommodating and institutional incorporation. The former takes place when the culture upheld by the subordinated institutions is absorbed into the 'selective tradition' of mainstream schools; the latter occurs when the educational establishments of the subordinated population are either assimilated directly into state-run schools or become institutions which are substantially government-funded. These two forms of hegemonic practice lead to crucial ramifications of the identity of
Chinese schools because the move of cultural accommodation can profoundly change their degree of cultural distinctiveness; while the policy of institutional incorporation modifies the material distinctions among Chinese schools.

**Historical Argument**

In colonial Hong Kong the identity of Chinese schools was blurred both because these schools were culturally declassified when the learning of Chinese was introduced into mainstream English schools, and because the government’s incorporation of only select Chinese schools into the state-operated or government-financed sector caused a cleavage in the Chinese education system. The material cited to substantiate this claim originates from local newspaper reports, published official documents, and declassified governmental files stored in archives in London and in Hong Kong. Chinese schools predated British imperial rule in Hong Kong. Shortly after the territory became a British dependency in 1841, English schools came into being as the colonial government and western missionary bodies swiftly inaugurated these institutions. The cultural classification of the two types of schools was never categorical, however, for since the earliest days of British rule Chinese-language learning had been made part of the curriculum of English schools and all Chinese students were required to pass a test of Chinese every year in order to be promoted to the next grade. These moves were made because, as Hong Kong was occupied as a stepping stone to penetrate China, the colonizers had to ensure Chinese elites groomed by their schools were well-versed in both English and Chinese and could serve capably as middlemen between East and West. In subsequent years, the British took further steps to strengthen the teaching of Chinese in English schools whenever they needed to counter the influence of Chinese nationalism in the local educational system and to satisfy demands from London to use as much indigenous language as possible for education in colonies. These concessionary moves culturally declassified Chinese schools and blunted their identity.

After WWII the strength of identity of Chinese schools was further attenuated by the material gaps resulting from the colonial state’s partial incorporation of Chinese institutions. Before the war, most Chinese schools in Hong Kong had been private establishments receiving no funding from the British. In the early postwar years anti-colonial pressure from both the international arena and the local Hong Kong society propelled the British to become more active in providing schooling opportunities using indigenous language. Thus, the government launched a considerable number of Chinese schools that were either directly state-operated or substantially government-funded. Nevertheless, the government’s incorporation of Chinese institutions was incomplete because as the British considered Chinese residents—mostly refugees fleeing disturbances in China—impermanent dwellers in Hong Kong, they shrugged off the responsibility of providing all school-aged children with schooling opportunities. Due to this attitude, a considerable number of private Chinese schools in the Colony remained unaided and operated under very stringent conditions. Creating three types of schools with vast difference in material resources, the government’s incomplete incorporation of Chinese institutions fragmented the identities of these schools.

**Significance**
This paper seeks to construct a theory of education and power through combining the ideas of classification of Bernstein and of hegemony of Gramsci. So far, the notion of classification has been employed by many researchers to examine the role of schools in maintaining social order through shaping cultural identity; and the concept of hegemony has been frequently used to analyze the ways domination is perpetuated via concessions by the ruling class. No hitherto literature, however, has endeavoured to weld the insights of these two important thinkers into a theory explicating the ways through which concession by the dominant group fortifies power relations via modifying the social identity emanates from the school system. This paper takes a first step towards this direction. In addition, this article refines both the concepts of classification and of hegemony. It delineates the former into the dimensions of external cultural boundary and internal material cleavage; and the latter, into cultural accommodation and institutional incorporation. By doing so, it will furnish scholars of the traditions of Bernstein and Gramsci with more sophisticated analytical tools to explore the link between education and social power.
Investigating the Reading to Learn Program: A case study.

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The Reading to Learn program developed by Rose (2005) is a Sydney School approach to genre pedagogy, grounded on the theoretical model of language developed by Michael Halliday (1994). The distinctive features of this model are its focus on grammar as a meaning making resource and its focus on text as semantic choice in social context. On the basis of the systemic functional framework, Martin and his colleagues (Martin 1993, 1998; Rothery 1989, 1994) have developed a theory of genre in which form, function and social context are closely linked. Genre, field, tenor and mode are realised as discourse semantic patterns in texts which are in turn realised as lexicogrammatical patterns in clauses.

In terms of pedagogical orientations, the innovative approach is characterized by its adoption of an explicit mode of transmission and its ideologically motivated advocacy to empower the disadvantaged groups in Australia. For this reason, Martin (2006) positions the Reading to Learn pedagogy in the lower right-hand quadrant of Bernstein’s topological diagram of instructional theories (Bernstein 1975, 1990, 1996), regarding it as explicit and subversive.

The reading-to-learn approach is currently being adapted to a deck course entitled “Direct Entry Course” at Center for English Teaching, the University of Sydney. This is a pre-sessional ten week course mostly for Chinese students preparing to enter a post-graduate program in the university. The pedagogy is believed to help innovate the course to better prepare the students for their coming postgraduate studies. This research project will focus on the study of the course and examine two major issues. The first issue deals with the curriculum. It discusses the nature of academic literacy in relations to Bernstein’s theory of horizontal and vertical discourses through an analysis of different types of academic genres students of different disciplines need to master in order to achieve success in their postgraduate studies. The second issue is concerned with the Sydney School’s application of pedagogic device. Martin (2006) refers to the Sydney School as “a social semiotic instructional discourse”, which projects regulative discourse on one hand and instructional discourse through regulative discourse on the other. Then to what extent have the teachers and students negotiated their regulatory discourse with one another in the Direct Entry Course? What are the actual patterns of classification and framing in the classroom? How is knowledge about language dealt with?

This study is expected to contribute to our understanding of academic literacy through an examination of the curriculum in an innovative English course and find out how successful the Sydney School is in reforming the pedagogical device in the real world.

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