

and policy (e.g. externalized evaluation) contexts in Europe that bring leadership into closer dialogue with Didaktik/Curriculum. Knapp and Hopmann also argue that *Didaktik Meets Curriculum* can offer a starting point for investigating how the construction of school leadership has changed in the new accountability and testing environment. We extend that argument with a further consideration of the contemporary policy and societal context for educational leadership and curriculum work in the next parts of this volume.

## Chapter 5

# The Didaktik/Curriculum Dialogue: What Did We Learn?

Walter Doyle

**Abstract** In the late 1990s, scholars from the Anglo-American curriculum community began a conversation with scholars in the German didaktik tradition (see Westbury I, Hopmann S, Riquarts K, *Teaching as a reflective practice: the German Didaktik Tradition*. Erlbaum, Mahwah, 2000). One major difference between these traditions is the perspective on content. In the US tradition, content is often seen as (a) a given that does not need to be analyzed and (b) inert, i.e., unchanging as it passes from curricular documents through classrooms to pupils (and even to standardized tests). Within this frame, school leadership need not be centrally concerned with the content of curriculum. In didaktik, content is fundamental and regulation is ideally normative and intellectual, i.e., it provides tools for teachers to come to pedagogical terms with the contents they teach. What didaktik thinking potentially brought to life for US curriculum thought was a more fruitful understanding of content processes as (a) formation for community and society and (b) transformation to rich pedagogical potential. This chapter elaborates more fully the lines of similarity and difference between the didaktik and curriculum traditions and explores the reasons why didaktik has had only a modest impact on turning the Anglo-American curriculum tradition toward a more fully developed sense of content and content enactment.

In this chapter my task is to examine the nature and impact of the Didaktik and/or Curriculum project that took place in the late 1990s, the results of which are reflected in the volume on teaching as reflective practice edited by Westbury et al. (2000). At the core of the project, scholars from the Anglo-American curriculum community began a conversation with scholars in the German didaktik tradition. The US tradition of curriculum thought had its roots in the analyses of the graded school in the later half of the nineteenth century as a state system of universal education began to evolve. The perceived task was to decide which content should be covered when,

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where, and in what order so that documents could be created to synchronize and regulate the work of a largely female teaching force who were not trusted to have the capacity to decide or manage curriculum in their classrooms. The concern, in other words, was organizational and managerial. Although there were competing conceptions during this time of organizing principles for curriculum—what Kliebard (2004) called “ferment”—the traditional “subjects” of the academy were generally accepted as the organizing frame for curriculum. The German didaktik tradition traced its roots to Comenius’ *Didactica Magna*—The Great Didactic—published from 1633 to 1638. The central task of didaktik was the analysis of content from a social and a pedagogical frame. General didaktik focuses on *bildung*, i.e., the educative or formative potential of various contents within a social context. *Fachdidaktik*, or subject didaktik, associated with the gymnasium, concentrates on the elementarization and simplification of disciplinary content to create pedagogically functional representations.

The Didaktik and/or Curriculum project consisted of several activities:

1. Multiple conversations among a small group of scholars—Westbury, Gudem, Hopmann—on the likely points of similarity and difference between these traditions and on the difficulties of translating core terminology from the German didaktik corpus into English equivalents.
2. A major international conference at the IPN in Kiel attended by scholars from both traditions, including Lee Shulman, George Posner, Sigrun Gudmundsdottir, Tomas Englund, Michael Uljens, Peter Menck, David Hamilton, Ingrid Carlgren, and Wolfgang Klafki himself.
3. Articles in journals, including *Bildung und Erziehung* and the *Journal of Curriculum Studies*.
4. Translations, for the first time, of major Didaktik writings into English.
5. Important summative commentaries from Hopmann, Riquarts, Westbury, Gudem, and others on the connections between the traditions.

This project and its attempt to connect the two great curriculum traditions was clearly a major event in the history of curriculum scholarship. But the impact is difficult to assess. As a participant in both the origins and the work of the project, I have had a continuing awareness of the value of didaktik thinking in my own work. Moreover, I have worked closely for the past 4 years with Fred Janssen and Hanna Westbroek in the Netherlands, and for them didaktik is part of their everyday thinking. So I am perhaps not representative of most US scholars on this topic.

There have been isolated references in the US curriculum literature over the years, but mostly by Europeans—e.g., Hopmann. Two other members of this panel have written on the topic. Autio (2006), writing from a Finnish perspective, has produced a quite comprehensive analysis of the two traditions, seeing both as fundamentally complicit with neoliberalism and managerial instrumentality. Pinar (2011) has also authored a book that pays close attention to aspects of Didaktik. Finally, I would point to this session as a sign that the conversation opened in the 1990s is continuing, enlarged, of course, to include leadership studies.

Rather than attempt some type of empirical estimate of the impact of the didaktik vs. curriculum project, I decided it would be most useful to map how my understanding of curriculum work has been shaped by my contact with the Didaktik and/or Curriculum project. My contention is that this mapping can be useful in locating points at which the Didaktik tradition can potentially inform both Anglo-American curriculum thinking and leadership studies and practice.

## The Centrality of Content

Let me start by noting that most of my scholarly work has been directed to understanding the culturally and historically situated forms and practices associated with teaching in classrooms. Such work is, of course, at the nexus of curriculum and pedagogy, a topic that I wrote about in the Jackson Handbook (Doyle 1992) and am preoccupied with even today. In the US curriculum tradition, content is bypassed, i.e., usually seen as (a) a given that does not need to be analyzed and (b) inert, i.e., unchanging as it passes through curricular documents and pedagogical material into classrooms to pupils and into standardized tests. Within this frame, school leadership need not be centrally concerned with the content of curriculum but rather with delivery systems and so-called professional development exercises to achieve implementation fidelity.

I might also point out that familiar, everyday pedagogical forms and arrangements are quite often objects of derision or at least disappointment among education academics throughout the world. As such, they are not items to be studied and understood but targets for removal and replacement with reputedly effective processes flowing from the superior minds of pedagogical scholars—to make the world a better place. Despite the premature reports of the impending death of conventional practice, these forms and arrangements are remarkably enduring and crop up, with few exceptions, across the world wherever schooling activity occurs. So while we wait for the end of schooling as we know it, I thought it might be useful to understand what existing practice is all about.

My contact with didaktik came about as a part of my effort to understanding teaching in classrooms in ways that went far beyond the content-free process-product studies that grew out of the conventional educational psychology paradigm. As recounted in Westbury's origin story in the Preface to *Teaching as Reflective Practice* (2000), the Didaktik and/or Curriculum project began with an exchange Ian and I had around the Kirsch (1977) article on elementarization and simplification in mathematics teaching. But let me tell the rest of the story. For me it all began with an experience I had in a doctoral oral examination of one of our students who was majoring in what we called Teaching and Teacher Education and minoring in mathematics. The oral exam committee consisted of professors from the major and a minor professor from mathematics. After an hour or so of questions from the major committee, the mathematician began his turn with a comment that he found all the talk about teaching quite trivial. I, of course, bristled at this characterization of my

career work and, when the mathematics professor finished his questions, I asked the student to go to the board and talk through the teaching of some topic in mathematics. The student selected “induction” as the topic and began to explain how he would teach it. The mathematician interrupted rather soon to question whether the student was actually teaching about induction. After a brief conversation, they agreed that induction was, in fact, the topic on the floor. Then as the student explained what he would do first, second, etc., the mathematician noted that the approach being taken would possibly result in confusion when the students reached a related topic, etc. This type of conversation when on for about 15 min and struck me as something I had never heard before—continuous talk about teaching that utilized content rather than psychological categories. When I relayed this experience to Westbury, he sent me the Kirsch article. Again, I had never seen such an analysis and asked him what this was. When he reported back that it was just an ordinary piece of *facdidaktik*, we began our quest to find out what this *didaktik* stuff was all about.

So in *didaktik* I saw a fundamental emphasis on content and on analysis and interpretation of content as essential to both curriculum work and teaching activity. From this perspective, my focus shifted from delivery and implementation fidelity to providing tools for teachers to come to pedagogical terms with the contents they teach.

Within this frame, curriculum is the process through which content is gathered from the world, brought into schools, transformed into pedagogical material, and enacted as classroom event. In other words, curriculum work is a process of interpreting content to connect the world to the classroom.

I see three major domains of content interpretation (i.e., curriculum discourse) in schooling. Although connected, the tasks and language differ, often substantially, across these domains.

## Levels of Curriculum Discourse

### *Societal Level Curriculum Discourse*

The first level of curriculum discourse is that which occurs at the juncture between society and the institution of schooling. It is usually quite difficult to locate where this discourse takes place and who the participants are, but this multi-voiced and multi-located conversation connects what Westbury (2000) called the “idea of curriculum” situated within the “the pervasive web of beliefs and understandings about what schooling is that is to be found embedded in any society or culture” (p. 106) and the institutional documents and arrangements that constitute the instantiation of that idea in schools. It is the discourse through which content in the world is curricularized—endowed with socially significant educative potential. Any particular curriculum, thus, is first a set of claims about the educative effects of certain contents (i.e., what outcomes can be expected of particular experiences) and the social significance of these effects (i.e., why such outcomes are important for children and youth to acquire).

Let me quickly illustrate this process with one of my favorite quotations from Margaret Atwood's (2000) novel, *The Blind Assassin*:

Father had decided, correctly enough, that our education had been neglected. He wanted us taught French, but also Mathematics and Latin—brisk mental exercises that would act as a corrective for our excessive dreaminess. Geography too would be bracing.... He wanted the lacy, frilly, somewhat murky edges trimmed off us as if we were lettuces, leaving a plain, sound core (p. 161).

What we see here are working, and perhaps naive, theories of the educative potential of various contents as justification for their inclusion in a curriculum. Such theories of content are quite ubiquitous and easy to write. Their essence is twofold: (1) an interpretation of what experiences with the content achieve, and (2) an understanding of the fundamental educational consequences or importance of these experiences. What's more difficult to understand, of course, is how particular theories of content become hegemonic—why, for example, we generally accept that mathematics, history, literature, and science should be the backbone of curriculum. If curriculum is a complex conversation—and certainly it is, especially in very heterogeneous societies—where does that conversation take place and who listens to and accepts the claims of educative potential?

In contemporary curriculum theorizing, considerable discourse is directed to the connection between society and schooling—to what I am calling the curricularization of content. At a minimum, such discourse integrates theories of society, theories of the person, theories of knowledge, and theories of institutions. No wonder the curriculum conversation is complicated. Didaktik has certainly been seen as a resource for curriculum discourse about the connection between society and schooling and, thus, the fundamental role and purposes of education in a society (e.g., Autio 2006). This theme runs through the papers in this session and the argument is put forward that educational leaders can exercise influence in helping define how this connection should be interpreted, especially in light of the host of at best mis-educative standardizations and assessment practices being employed globally to manage schooling efficiencies while conveniently ignoring issues of race, poverty, gender, exploitation, and cultural funds of knowledge. Educational leaders, in other words, are being cast as the first, or perhaps the last, line of defense against neoliberal managerialism.

### *Institutional Curriculum Discourse*

The second level of curriculum discourse occurs within the institutionalized enterprise of schooling and is focused on the transformation of content into pedagogical material. This transformation has several dimensions:

1. The writing of district curriculum documents that attempt to “resolve” issues of inclusion, scope, and sequence—a process that is currently being swamped by the Common Core Standards.

2. The creation of textbooks and related materials (including assessments) by a variety of industries, nonprofits, and special interest groups.
3. The design and testing of curriculum approaches and materials by university professors, often with government sponsorship.

Whether consciously or not, these activities involve didaktik processes of elementarization, simplification, and representation. Moreover, they involve a theorizing of the content itself—what counts as mathematics, reading, science, history, geography, play, self-realization, etc. Arguments around these issues are especially inflamed in the fields of reading and mathematics. I would note that much of this kind of work is being done within disciplines, particularly mathematics education or science education rather than in traditional curriculum studies (e.g., Clements 2007). However, science and math educators in the US tend to view their work as pedagogical rather than curricular, which masks a bit the extent to which they are actually creating theories of content.

Didaktik has helped me identify and conceptualize these processes of content theorization and transformation that occur as content moves toward pedagogical material and classroom use. I would also see this as a rich arena for leadership studies. Educational administrators spend considerable resources to acquire and distribute pedagogical material, so enhancing their capacity to support, facilitate, and critically inform this process would seem to be essential.

### *Classroom Enactment*

The third level of curriculum discourse occurs among teachers and especially within teachers (ultimately this is a private deliberation) as they engage in the practical task of enacting curriculum in classroom group settings. It is often true, of course, that curriculum designers often reach toward enactment by producing model lessons that illustrate how a program can be implemented in classrooms. Schoenfeld (2014), for example, in his TRU MATH project has given quite detailed and extensively tested lessons that exemplify his principles of teaching mathematics for rigorous understanding. Such model lessons are intended to serve as clarifications of what the basic principles of the approach are and as practical tools for teachers to learn how to implement the program in their own classrooms. But such lesson models, and the frameworks they represent, are intended necessarily for all classrooms and thus specific details of context and setting are stripped away. Teachers, however, deal with the particular so to do the practical work of teaching they must transform whatever curriculum they encounter into forms and practices they can use with specific students at a specific time and place.

I have written at length in other contexts about the myriad demands of the classroom setting and the complex tasks these demands pose for the practical work of teaching (Doyle 2006). For present purposes, I would like to underscore two major points. First, to enact a curriculum in a classroom, a teacher must design, bring to

life, and sustain events that afford participation by as many students in the class group as possible. In other words, subtraction, poetry, or self-realization must become events to get on the floor in classrooms. At a minimum, such events (a) must not jeopardize student cooperation in future events—classes have a long history—and (b) must contain tasks that students accomplish with respect to the curriculum. Indeed, such tasks are, essentially, the curriculum on the floor in classrooms.

Second, practical designs, in teaching as elsewhere, must be procedural, suitable, and efficient. That is, to do practical work teachers face issues of:

1. Instrumentality—what procedures can be used to bring events to life and sustain them in a classroom
2. Congruence—how do these procedures fit existing circumstances in a classroom
3. Cost—how much of one’s limited time and resources are required to bring the event to life in a classroom (Doyle and Ponder 1977; Janssen et al. 2013).

In contrast to what is often assumed in the Anglo-American curriculum tradition, curriculum processes do not stop at the classroom door as teaching begins. Rather, the interpretative processes—which I take to be the essence of curriculum—continue to occur as teachers engage in designing events, bringing them to life with groups of students, monitoring their progress, and judging student products. It is impossible, in other words, to obviate the teacher’s perspective and essential theoretical commitments from the actual curriculum on the floor in classrooms. What teachers uniquely bring to the table is situated event knowledge of curriculum, which shapes in profound ways what occurs as curriculum in the real world.

School leaders and pedagogical reformers typically ignore the practicality demands of teachers’ work and, in turn set teachers up to be seen as failures. Most professional development experiences either attempt to train teachers rather quickly in new pedagogies or place teachers in professional learning communities to deliberate about their practices. Since in most cases teachers are being asked to achieve goals they do not have with methods they do not know how to use, such efforts typically fail. However, since the pedagogies and/or learning community procedures are endowed with inherent “quality,” leaders are off the hook. They have done all they can do, so it’s the teachers who are to blame.

An emphasis on practicality leads to a quite different approach, one of seeking bridging tools that connect a world of possibility to a world of practicality, i.e., the general to the particular, and in this sense mirrors the very design processes of practicality that teachers face every day. I have had the privilege recently of working closely with Fred Janssen and Hanna Westbroek in the Netherlands (Janssen et al. 2015) and with Kristin Gunckel, Marcy Wood, and Erin Turner at Arizona (Doyle et al. 2013) on the design and use of such bridging tools. I do not have time here to go into this work in detail, but these tools have shown considerable promise in making innovations practical. In turn, I think this work in practicality studies can be the foundation for a reconstruction of how teachers are supported in accomplishing the design tasks they face in making the general particular.



To return to the didaktik theme, I would underscore that an emphasis on the interpretation of content that exists at the core of curriculum processes in classrooms is an essential component of practical change in teaching. Reform is often seen largely as a matter of pedagogical practice. But different practices usually reflect fundamentally different conceptions of the content. If I think reading is primarily about pronouncing words correctly, then my reading pedagogy will differ markedly from someone who thinks reading is about updating personal knowledge. Or if I think mathematics is primarily about putting correct numerals into arithmetical sentences, then my math teaching will differ from that of someone who thinks mathematics is about finding quantitative dimensions of real-world problems. In practicality terms, there is a problem of congruence. Asking me to change practices without exploring the congruence of my theory of the content with the intended pedagogy is quite likely to be unproductive.

## Summary

To summarize, I think one of the major contributions of Didaktik to the Anglo-American Curriculum tradition has been to make content process rather than managerial control central to the schooling enterprise. These basically interpretive processes include:

1. The curricularization of content, i.e., how content is endowed with educative significance
2. The transformation of content into pedagogical material
3. The enactment of content in the complex practical world of the classroom.

I want to emphasize that these processes do not disappear if one were to change the fundamental purposes of schooling. Whether schools seek reproduction, emancipation, or self-realization, there would still be the tasks of curricularizing specific contents, transforming them into pedagogical materials, and enacting them with group of children. An understanding of these processes empowers teachers and curriculum leaders to tackle the central educative issues of schooling. It also underscores the urgent need to the design sensible resources and support systems to sustain this practical conversation.

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# Chapter 6

## School Leadership as Gap Management: Curriculum Traditions, Changing Evaluation Parameters, and School Leadership Pathways

Mariella Knapp and Stefan Hopmann

**Abstract** School leadership nowadays is confronted with ever-changing and fast-growing expectations of what schools should be able to achieve. However, school leadership is an embedded activity, i.e. much depends on the underlying structure and culture of schooling. For instance, different traditions of defining schooling play a significant role in defining the role of school leaders. Therefore, it could be worthwhile to compare different traditions and current practices of defining school leadership with the traditions of conceptualizing the schooling within which they have evolved. Taking the well-known differences between the *Didaktik* and the Curriculum traditions as a starting point: Should one assume that these deeply rooted traditions have an impact on the leadership “pathways” which are determined by new expectations of the outcome of schooling? This becomes a fascinating empirical question the moment both traditions meet, e.g. by implementing in a *Didaktik* setting control patterns that historically have been developed within the curriculum tradition. For example, how do school leaders respond to the challenge of being measured by parameters that traditionally were none of their business? This chapter addresses conceptual issues of this question and empirical findings, based on a research project in Lower Austria.

### Introduction

Different concepts of teaching, instruction and preparing lessons in different countries can be distinguishable when taking an Anglo-American Curriculum tradition together with a German *Didaktik* one (Hopmann and Riquarts 1995). An understanding of German, Scandinavian and Central-European schooling presupposes

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knowledge about the significance and role of *Didaktik*; such knowledge, however, has not been given the same importance in Anglo-American countries where the issues concerning *Didaktik* are expounded within the framework of “curriculum and methods” and “curriculum and instruction” (Hopmann and Riquarts 1995; Hopmann 2015). Linguistic and cultural differences also make it difficult to translate concepts and theories from one to the other. The difference between these two traditions cannot be regarded merely as a boundary, since it also offers an opportunity for each to learn from the other within their own possibilities and restrictions. “*Didaktik* meets Curriculum” is a topic on which researchers since the 1990s have been focusing, and its implications have become more important as extensive and large-scale changes in school systems, such as the introduction of Educational Standards and National Testing in Austria, continue to evolve.

Since curriculum development occurs on different levels of decision-making, educational leadership in the Anglo-Saxon tradition is also an important part of the discussion, selection and organization of the educational purposes of a school. The concept of school leadership became familiar in the 1990s and is connected to reforms towards a decentralization of the education system. While in the 1960s the activities of school principals were described as administrative tasks, emphasis has shifted to the discussion of effective school management (see Gunter 2014). In conjunction with the implementation of school-based management, the tasks of principals were increasingly seen as planning strategies, implementing proposals and motivating people. In the 1990s, mostly with the results and student outcomes of National Testing in mind that seemed to demonstrate a necessity for change in the education systems, this label changed again (see also Wissinger and Huber 2002). Research on school effectiveness indicated that leadership was an important factor for innovation and school turnaround since it would be able to create ideal conditions for school improvement (Gunter 2014). This marked a shift from the management label to an emphasis on leadership.

It is a different thing in the German-speaking context. A systematic confrontation with leadership matters has never occurred from the perspective of the *Didaktik* tradition. Nevertheless, the label of school leadership as a description of the tasks of principals here also is becoming increasingly common with the ongoing trend towards Standardization and National Testing. From this perspective, “*Didaktik* meets Curriculum” can offer a starting point for investigating how the construction of school leadership has changed in the new accountability and testing environment. The basic idea of this chapter is to define the dual tasks of school leaders as gap management: on the one hand, to ensure the requirements of school administration, but on the other, also to ensure local freedoms. In the following sections, the main elements of both traditions, *Didaktik* und Curriculum, will be described and their ramifications for leadership discussed. If and how school leaders deal with this kind of gap management in testing times will be investigated with recourse to a interview study from Austria.

“*Didaktik meets Curriculum*” is a project that started about 20 years ago (Hopmann and Riquarts 1995) to think about schooling using the differences and

similarities of two different approaches. Both, *Didaktik* and Curriculum can be seen as different concepts associated with distinct traditions of dealing with the concept of schooling.

Both are historically evolved forms of reflection within distinct social systems (Hopmann 2015) and so are based on different understandings and images of schooling. These traditions have co-existed and from time to time have influenced each other in various ways, but until the late twentieth Century never in a way that changed the fundamentals of the other tradition. Due to developments stemming from social ones outside schooling, their current conjunction may be different in scope and consequences to any known hitherto. Besides the translation of important historical works of didactic and curriculum theory and making these accessible for both the English- and German-speaking worlds, another aim of the project is to discuss current developments and reforms in the field of education concerning the consequences of the ongoing mixing and transforming of both these traditions. The idea of the “*Didaktik* meets Curriculum” project can be seen as a background for the examination of actual trends in reforming education systems by implementing National Testing and modes of local accountability. Moreover, this new way of thinking about schooling also affects school leadership since reforms and changes in the context of implementing an accountability system often discuss school leadership as a key to the success of school effectiveness and related functions, but also new challenges, which were actually not part of the respective traditional activity set. Therefore, the different traditions of *Didaktik* Theory and Curriculum Research, but also current developments, are briefly characterized and serve as a background for the following description of the concept of school leadership as gap management.

## The German Tradition of *Didaktik*

Whereas the German tradition of *Didaktik* and its central concept “*Lehrplanung*” (instruction planning) is typical for German, Scandinavian and Central-Europe schooling, Curriculum Theory was established in the Anglo-American area. Since the implementation of public mass schooling in the late eighteenth century, both have been established as distinguishable traditions. Historically, three different aspects are important for a characteristic of the traditional European *Didaktik* Theory: the term “*Bildung*”, the pietistic understanding of schooling, and the implementation of a national curriculum regime.

A main feature of a pietistic understanding of schooling was not least the idea that teaching is more than acquiring knowledge, but that it renders teaching and learning as an unfolding of all the senses and powers (August Herman Francke). In this context the realization of teaching cannot be assumed but must be learned as a profession. Consequently, teacher seminaries as institutions for teacher education

were established and used with the basic idea of teaching as an independent activity. Becoming a teacher was not about doing a job but following a vocation. This understanding of professionalism confers the teacher considerable “pedagogical freedom” in decision-making during lessons based on his or her “professional knowledge”. In Curriculum Theory, this understanding is different and sees teaching more as an implementation and execution of curricular decisions (Westbury 2000).

Closely linked to the German understanding of teaching is also the implementation of a national curriculum regime or the so-called “*Lehrplan*”, which is a product of the Prussian corporative state with its administrative structure, and was developed as a regulatory tool of education policy and school administration for controlling local schooling and classroom practice. It defines and specifies the social function of schooling, the objectives to be achieved and the content of teaching (Künzli et al. 1999). As a document, the “*Lehrplan*” describes the framework of teaching, but also grants teachers enough pedagogical freedom and professionalism (see Horlacher and De Vincenti 2014). Since the school administration is not in a position to compulsorily standardize the activity of teachers and student learning, it defines the achievement of students at best as expectations (Künzli 2006). In this sense, it reaches the classroom only indirectly (Künzli et al. 1999). The concrete realization of the intended goals needs transformation into a concrete methodical and didactical arrangement but also one in which teachers can appreciate the situation of their students. This traditional construct of state-based regulation has important consequences for teachers as it helps them legitimize pedagogical and administrative decisions for parents and students (Hericks and Kunze 2008). Teachers were not *per se* responsible for the performance of students or that something “works”, but rather that something had been offered and done. *Didaktik* in this context was to close the gap between the regulations of the state and local teaching. For teachers this implies a scope of action that is manifested in a kind of “freedom of method” and a “pedagogical freedom”. In a type of license principle, the teacher is seen as a legal person who can choose the methods of instruction and is responsible for conducting lessons (Hopmann and Künzli 1998). In this sense, *Didaktik* can be seen as important for the transformation from the national curriculum to lesson planning since teachers answer questions as to which specific content should be taught in a particular lesson and why. So, during teacher training the teacher has the license and the permission to act in class autonomously within the framework of the official guidelines, but still retaining full responsibility. Erich Weniger (1932) described the transformation of cultural heritage into the educational content of the “*Lehrplan*” as a struggle of powers between political agencies (“*Kampf der geistigen Mächte*”).

The German tradition of *Didaktik* also established a close reference to the ideas of the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century and the German tradition of humanistic pedagogy (“*geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik*”). Most theories of *Didaktik* developed in the nineteenth century comprise as a constitutive element the category of “*Bildung*”. In this context, the aim of teaching and schooling has nothing to do with transporting knowledge from society, science, or other domains to a learner,

but uses knowledge for the transformation of the unfolding of a person's individuality and sociability. *Bildung* cannot be reached through *Didaktik*, but *Didaktik* makes it possible to "restrain teaching" in such a way as to allow for the individual development of the student to prosper (Hopmann 2007). Examples of this are the models of Wolfgang Klafki (1958, 1995), which until now are the most popular and best-known references to school practice in German-speaking countries when it comes to planning lessons or evaluating the quality of schooling and instruction. In a survey of German teachers, in answer to the question as to which text best characterized the German *Didaktik* tradition, nearly all replied: Klafki's *Didactic analysis as the core of preparation of instruction* (Hopmann 1999). Here, one aspect of the "common core of *Didaktik*" becomes obvious, namely the difference between matter and meaning, which means the distinction between the content as such and its "educational substance". One and the same matter (*Inhalt*) can represent many different meanings (*Gehalt*), and one, and the same, meaning can be represented by different matters (Künzli 2002). Meaning is what emerges when content is enacted in a classroom based on the methodological decisions of a teacher (Hopmann 2007). In this sense, *Didaktik* becomes a tool for teachers to identify and transform curricular matters into local teaching (meanings). From the perspective of Wolfgang Klafki, this transformation from "matter" to "meaning" is only possible by analyzing and answering the basic questions of didactic analysis (this concerns the question of what relevance the content has for students present and past, what the content exemplifies, how it can be integrated into the overall structure of the lessons and how students can get access to this topic). Klafki's outstanding performance lies in the extraction and development of an argumentation structure for the planning of teacher lessons based on educational theory. As a student of Erich Weniger, he managed to reform and integrate the relationship between didactical and methodical problems (*Primat pädagogischer und didaktischer Zielentscheidungen im Verhältnis zur Unterrichtsmethodik*, Klafki 1976, S 81) and describes how methods, contents and aims are interrelated.

Connected with different traditions in philosophy and ideas about schooling, the concept of *Didaktik* as a systematic differentiation between curricular "matter" and local teaching "meaning" is also uncommon in the Anglo-Saxon world (Westbury 2000). While "Curriculum Studies" deal with the organization of curriculum and the processes of teaching and learning, classical questions of *Didaktik*, for example, how to structure schooling and school subjects, are discussed under the category of "classroom research" (Gundem and Hopmann 1998).

For curriculum as a scientific discipline in German-speaking countries, research on educational questions of the curriculum and syllabus discourse only existed marginally before the 1960s. So far, a research tradition or a research institution bearing the catchword "curriculum" has never existed (Tröhler 2014). Famous and well-known Anglo-American curriculum literature, such as the *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction* (Tyler, first published 1949), was first translated and only published in German 24 years after its first printing in the USA. In current German-speaking discourse on schooling such literature is either not mentioned or has been forgotten. Furthermore, other famous curriculum research works like

Kliebard's "*The Struggle for the American Curriculum 1893-1958*" (first published in 1987) or Jackson's "*Life in classroom*" (1968) are only rarely addressed in German research on schools and education. German translations of these texts do not exist. There is also no German-speaking Educational Research Association with a division that focussing on curriculum studies (Tröhler 2014). As Tröhler (2014) mentions, this also seems interesting in the light of the 1961 OECD recommendation to found national institutions for the dissemination of the educational goals of the member states, which led to the initiation of the Max-Planck Institute in Germany with Saul Benjamin Robinsohn as Director. Robinsohn's publication "*Bildungsreform als Revision des Curriculum* [Educational Reform as Revision of the Curriculum 1971]" became popular in the German-speaking world and formed a basis for further curricular models (e.g. Frey 1971). The main idea was to build a scientific approach to curriculum planning by identifying through empirical investigation socially relevant qualifications and associated content, but also situations for achieving such qualifications. Like Tyler's "Basic Principles", Robinsohn's version of curriculum planning also focused on the importance of research, evaluation and expertise. Although it led to new models in *Didaktik* (e.g. Heimann et al. 1979) and to a new generation of "*Lehrpläne*" (Criblez 2009), this approach did not fit the German tradition of administrative curriculum work (Künzli Fries et al. 2013). Bearing in mind that learning goals were intended to be measurable and objective, it nevertheless can be seen as a precursor of the discussion on National Standards Testing, a discussion that is similar to the current discourse on Standardized Testing (Criblez 2009). During the sixties and seventies another American influence became very popular, namely, the concept of programmed learning and instruction. In hindsight, the traditional *Didaktik* was challenged by behaviourist ideas of learning, but also by more empirically based curriculum research (e.g. Heinrich Roth) and psychological testing (Terhart 2015). The interest in curriculum research in Germany finally waned during the 1980s, which is outlined in a "Renaissance of *Didaktik*" (Hopmann and Künzli 1992). Although the semantics were replaced, the rules and routines of state "teaching work as an administrative action" were reinforced (Hopmann 1988).

## Changing Times

Amplified by international comparison studies like PISA or TIMSS a growing political interest in the direct regulation and effectiveness of schooling has shifted the traditional focus from central input control towards output control. Regulation through the formulation of expectations in the "*Lehrplan*" and the idea of work conforming to such expectations were queried by implementing a continuous evaluation and assessment testing of students and schools to control the realization of these formulated expectations. Over the last 30 years the trend in borrowing elements from the Anglo-Saxon curriculum tradition, where such product control and dealing with evaluation in the form of student test results is more common, could be



observed. Whereas before, education planning was a promise without product viability, the implementation of standards as a new modus of regulation in education (which is also currently realized in Germany, Austria, Switzerland and in many other European countries) is oriented towards the idea of guiding learning processes through output control. This understanding emphasizes a strong rationalistic and deterministic view of teaching and learning and misjudges the fact that students do not automatically learn what they are taught. This is also called the “didactic difference” (Künzli 2006).

Although the Anglo-American “Curriculum tradition” is more oriented towards psychology models (Hericks and Kunze 2008), it, however, focused very early more on the learning process of students and how and what should be taught in school (Künzli et al. 2013). In contrast to the *Didaktik* approach, the term “Curriculum” is characterized by a culture of textbooks and learning materials (Künzli 2009). While ideally, and typically for curriculum theory, the preparation for everyday life is paramount, a central aspect of the *Didaktik* theory is the introduction into society through providing content or matter whose meaning should be learned (Westbury 2000). Furthermore, an output-oriented evaluation of learning results and of the public school system is more common in the Anglo-American discourse. Exemplary are Joseph Mayer Rice’s 1912 claims for “Scientific management in Education”, collecting data and developing common performance requirements in the form of educational standards (Kliebard 2004), but also as other American Educators like Leonard Porter Ayres, 1912, or Franklin Bobbitt, 1918, argued, reasons for regulating processes of teaching and learning through the results of tests. In this context, achievement testing and external evaluation for determining the quality of schooling increased and characterized the American school system in an important way. The College Admission Test (*Scholastic Assessment Tests*) was established already in 1901, but National Testing (*National Assessment of Educational Progress – NAEP*) also was implemented before the seventies. As mentioned earlier, standardization was also a recurring topic in Western-European countries but never had a sustainable influence in the US context until recent years. Education Standards, implemented as an answer to “*A Nation at Risk*” have existed in the US since the nineties. Paradoxically, the discussion today on standardization is led in the context of the first implementation of a National Curriculum, the “*Common Core State Standards*”, which defines in detail what K–12 students ought to know at the end of each grade. For England, the situation appears more moderate, but also there standards and attainment targets play an important role in describing the expected achievements of students, and being inspected and regulated by a government agency (*OFSTED*). Furthermore, national tests, teacher assessments and final examinations like GCSE are standard procedure. However, in contrast to the US, a National Curriculum as part of the “Education Reform Act” was implemented already in 1988. So what can be observed is an ongoing mixing of traditions in both directions, without at the same time neglecting the existing traditional form. Around the world, standards and tests are being implemented, which only intensifies the accountability problems of local teaching.

Moreover, the political drive towards raising the bar produces serious and significant consequences, which Nichols and Berliner (2007) described as “collateral damage”. There is considerable empirical evidence indicating that the more school systems focus on academic achievement as a key variable, the more they put pressure on disadvantaged students of all kinds (e.g. race, needs, migration) and promote social segregation (see e.g. Rustique-Forrester 2005; Braun et al. 2010; Ravitch 2011; Nichols et al. 2012). Another critical point is that standards also tend to draw attention and resources to certain subjects and therefore to knowledge and problems related thereto, which withdraws legitimacy from other subjects (Apple 1992). The more energy schools or students invest in achievement competition in key areas, the less they can really devote to other subject-matter areas such as civic education or the arts since fewer resources are left for other educational issues such as social activities or civic engagement (see e.g. Cuban 2007; Koretz 2008; Polikoff et al. 2011; Labaree 2010). Furthermore, curricular shrinking, also known as “Teaching to the test”, is often described as a consequence of teachers and schools focusing so as not to be low down on the league table. Such rigid testing programs are associated with fostering educational inequality (Marzano 2000; Linn 2003). So, all in all, research on National Testing indicates the opposite effect to that which was expected and supposed to be established (for a summary see Hopmann 2013).

Concerning the topic, “*Didaktik* meets Curriculum” (Gundem and Hopmann 1998), it is interesting to see what happens when two different traditions of schooling come together. How do those involved handle the situation? How do they realize reforms, and how do they change their actions? Especially the introduction of National Education Standards is already a change from an input-control orientation in schooling to one of output control, which can be seen as a change from viewing the “location of schooling” to viewing the “measurement and assessment of schooling” (Hopmann 2006). School leadership is also affected by this mixing of cultures and the striving for enhanced accountability. During the eighties and nineties, through national and international discussions about reform, restructuring and improvement of the school system, the activity of school leaders evolved to itself become a subject of research. In German-speaking countries since the nineties the amount of literature on how to lead a school successfully, how school leaders should improve their schools and manage their staff in an effective way has been permanently increasing. The standard economic concept of leadership has become a common term for describing the duties and tasks of principals in the local improvement of schooling and teaching. Here, leadership concepts are often borrowed from the Anglo-American area, ignoring that the activities of school leaders differ according to the respective tradition. The approach of “*Didaktik* meets Curriculum” can therefore enable an understanding of these traditions of school leadership and facilitate the discussion of trends for further development and the related implications.

## School Leadership as Gap Management

Closely related to the discourse on “*Didaktik* and curriculum” is the idea of “*School Leadership as gap management*”. Greatly simplified, the curriculum tradition was built around extremely high expectations of what local curriculum leadership meant. This was actually the basic notion of much of the curriculum work in the twentieth and mid-twentieth century. The institutional pattern of local curriculum leadership becomes obvious from Dewey (1902) to Tyler (1949) up to Schwab (1969), (1970). In Dewey’s “*Child and the Curriculum*” (1902), learning is only possible by adapting the curricular subject matter to the local experiences and actual lives of students. The curriculum tradition directly addressed school leaders as curriculum makers. This already can be seen in Tyler’s “*Principles*” (1949), which were developed in a University of Chicago course for school leaders. How should a school leader go about creating, defining, developing and controlling a curriculum at his or her school? By emphasizing the “rational” in curriculum planning, Tylers “*Principles*” matched the existing predominant paradigms of behaviourism, positivism and technical rationality and was thus often misinterpreted as a mechanistic understanding of curriculum (Pereira 1992). “*The Practical*” (Schwab 1970) criticized these principles and the idea of transforming scientific theories into pragmatic problems at school. But also for Schwab, curriculum was local, targeting a single school or small school districts and including a group of community members (and also the school leader) in the process of curriculum planning.

Up to the seventies and eighties, the idea that curriculum was publicly funded and locally decided was dominant in most of the Anglo-Saxon world. The basic idea of curriculum making was not only to locally define and determine its content, but also to regulate how and in what sequence, when and for whom, the content was to be considered. Since the late seventies, however, this tradition has been challenged not least as a consequence of reforms like “*A Nation at Risk*”, the implementation of new core curricula (*Common Core Standards*) or the introduction of state-based standard testing. These changes can be interpreted as the consequence of the development of a phenomenon called “risk-sharing”. The model of risk-sharing, which had been the basis for the development of the modern nation state, came under growing economic pressure (cf. Hopmann 2008). As with schooling, most societies met growing demands for health care, security provision, social services, etc. by simply expanding the institutions, professions and programs. There is an unavoidable limit to how much a society can spend on such risk-sharing without squeezing the tax-producing parts of society too much. Thus, since the eighties, almost all welfare states have had intensifying public struggles as to how much to spend on what, and most have had to adjust their risk programs to meet budget limitations. The people, as the other partner in the risk-sharing deal, do not simply accept that the State cannot deliver what was promised in exchange for loyalty and taxes; this has created an intensive search for ways of obtaining the same or even better services for less money. If more growth and expansion seemed not to be sustainable, the question instead was whether an “intensification” of public service delivery

would do the trick. This gave rise to concepts like the one of “new public management” and accountability measures, with which those involved in public institutions should be forced towards a more effective and equitable use of public resources. This change can also be described as a switch from “management by placement” towards “management by expectations” (Hopmann 2008).

For schools, the introduction of National Testing and evaluation was intended to make teachers and schools accountable for the outcomes of schooling. This means a mixed transformation where local leadership diverges from curriculum leadership in the traditionally comprehensive sense and turns leaders into being accountable for executing curricula they did not themselves develop, or did not inspire or develop with their teachers. All in all, this means a reduction in locally based curriculum making, which today one can say has been destroyed in many places. The implementation of National Testing also has consequences for the relationship between inner- and extra-curricular activities. Only schools with very good conditions, such as a composition of students from a high SES background, or with an environment climate matching the requirements of the local school climate, allow leaders to be able to offer a program besides “teaching to the test”. Under these conditions, reaching the standards of common core is just incidental. They can more or less act in the traditional way by planning and implementing their local curriculum in accordance with their students and situation. For schools with different conditions, the situation is different and National Testing has more relevance. These schools have to deal with the gap between local management and external accountability. So, what can be actually observed is that school leadership in times of accountability has to deal with new requirements. Gap management, in the sense of meeting local and state-based requirements, becomes an extended and transformed function.

In the midst of a transformation process towards school leadership as accountability management, issues like “fidelity”, teacher control and evaluation outcomes also evolve. The interesting thing that is happening at the same time in the US context is that much of the curriculum studies field seems to be disappearing from the discourse and is being turned into a sort of cultural studies field not actually connected to what goes on in schools, or what goes on in leadership. This becomes clear, for instance, in discourse on curriculum and gender, race, class or multiculturalism. Nevertheless, some scholars in curriculum research are discussing ways of managing public schooling in testing times, and the plus of public schooling other than reaching good results in National Testing situations (for example Darling-Hammond et al. 2014). There are many echoes of school not just being about testing (see Nussbaum 2011; Hansen 2011). In other words, with the continuance of high-stake testing a new (didactical) pragmatism is also being discussed.

The Anglo-American perspective has now been described. The German, or Austrian, State-based system, however is a different matter. What many people do not know is that when State curriculum production was invented the recipient of this State curriculum was the school as a unit not the individual teacher. The original desire was that the State also control school plans to ensure that they were in line with State expectations. Although school leadership was meant to have a plan of its own, the national curriculum was simply a tool to see whether the local curriculum

was covering enough of the material it indicated. Many of the very first curriculum documents in Europe in the first half of the nineteenth century actually dealt with which mathematics to teach. There were also all kinds of subjects available. In most European countries, the list of key subjects that we have nowadays was more or less finalized around 1850, and has not changed substantially since (Hopmann and Riquarts 1999). So the locally used curriculum became a matter for the individual teacher and not the school. The bridging gap here became *Didaktik*—*Didaktik* as a tool for teachers to define their work within the national frame.

However, leadership in this context was not to practice didactics on behalf of teachers, and so it became administrative. Each teacher was able to do as he or she saw fit, which reduced the leadership role in the course of the nineteenth century to a more administrative one. Indeed, leadership issues did not play a significant role either in prominent *Didaktik* theories (for example from Schleiermacher, 1810 to Weniger 1932; Klafki 1958) or in German Theories on Schooling. So, *Didaktik* generally addressed teachers and not school leadership, almost because leaders were not supposed to fill the gap. That was the teachers' view. Likewise, *Didaktik* had no key role in the history of leadership theories, which often focused on the administrative role of school leadership.

In this tradition, school leadership was primarily considered as an administrative task. A school leader represented the teachers and constituted the interface between school authorities and the matters of the local school. His or her central function in this model was the bureaucratic control and regulation of centrally based requirements of the school authorities. Legislation regulated the range of functions and duties of school leaders. This is still the situation today and school leaders fall under the responsibility of the local school and the proper implementation of rules, regulations and administrative provisions of the centralized school authorities. In this context school leaders have to deal with school authorities, teachers, and students and their parents. Schratz (1998) has summarized the traditional understanding of school leadership in German-speaking countries. In this sense, a “good” school leader is a person who is a good recipient and transmitter of orders in the interest of the smooth administration of schooling. In the traditional bureaucratic model the framework of the centrally regulated school is structured hierarchically and top-down.

In this sense, school leadership in State-based traditions also can be seen as gap management. This type of gap management has two distinctive sides. One is mainly located on the outside, and focuses on school leadership as an administrative and public task. School leaders have to show that their schools are firmly rooted in the institutional framework and perform the duties required of them by society and the State. But there is another side to the gap, which is located inside the school focusing on teachers and students. School leadership is also about defending the educative surplus of schooling (*Bildung*) as an outcome of the didactical use of teachers' pedagogical freedom. This State-based construction of school leadership remained basically unchanged until the late twentieth Century (see also Holtappels 1989) and was not discussed as a pedagogical issue (Wissinger and Huber 2002). Stimulated by Anglo-American school effectiveness research (“School Leadership matters”)

and international discussions on ensuring quality at schools, leadership started to become a topic in terms of school improvement. Connected with the idea of school leadership as a profession of its own, new intermediate programs and agencies (such as *Landesinstitute*), were created to offer training for school leaders. School leadership, however, did not become part of any didactical discussion and the programs did not really have an impact on everyday work in the schools. At best, they had an impact on the semantics of gap management.

## School Leaders as a Target for Educational Policies

New inputs came from international developments like the results of large-scale assessments of PISA, TIMSS and PIRLS. The related recommendations of supranational policy organizations like the OECD led to pressure and stress concerning assessment. In Austria, for example, they were used as arguments for reforms such as the implementation of National Testing, a standardized school leaving examination, competence-based instruction or an inclusive and comprehensive school setting. By addressing the whole school as accountable for results, school leadership becomes a new issue. According to accountability, school leaders have to show that the students of their school fulfill the external State-based standards.

So over the last years, school leadership and leadership theory have become important issues for the output-oriented management of schools. This trend is driven by the school-improvement discourse. Guided by the argument that school systems need reforming, the importance of “successful school leadership” has also increased. Current discussion is led by school-effectiveness research, debate on strengthening the local responsibility of schools, and a series of empirical research studies on identifying factors and characteristics of effective and “good” school leadership styles. The success of school leadership is measured by student outcome variables. However, research on the effectiveness of school leadership has come to a different conclusion: for example, that targeted cooperation and innovation-oriented leadership has a positive effect on the actions and cooperation of teachers (e.g. Bonsen et al. 2002; Hallinger et al. 1996; Mackenzie 1983). This contribution also found a place in the concept of “*Transformational Leadership*” (e.g. Leithwood and Jantzi 1999; Dubs 1994) and “*Contributed Leadership*” (Muji and Harris 2006), which are used internationally to describe and explain effective school leadership actions. Yet, findings concerning the relationship between school leadership and student achievement outcomes are inconsistent and very often without any theoretical substance. There is no evidence that a specific leadership style automatically leads to better achievement results. On the contrary, concrete leadership actions seem to be a response to the relationship between the contextual conditions of the individual school and the environment it serves as a moderating variable (Brauckmann 2012). Not personal factors, but the context as an interlock of institutional, system and personal factors, which cannot be investigated as separate, is important (*ibid*). In this sense, school leadership cannot be seen as the task of a single person, but as

co-actions of a system. In terms of Spillane et al. (2004) this is called “*Distributed Leadership*”. Charismatic and heroic school leaders who can perform all-important functions might be successful in reaching their goals, but there are only very few persons with this attitude. Over the last 10 years there also have been empirical references that focus on the interactions and active distribution of leadership functions which are helpful for identifying manners of organizational change (Harris 2008; Leithwood et al. 2007, Spillane et al. 2004).

Furthermore, school leadership is seen to influence student test results not directly and causally, but in indirect ways (Day et al. 2011). Effects seem small and often cognitive, and social- or organizational psychological models are borrowed to explain good leadership. Often these models take on an importance different to the context settings of schools. School context is discussed as a phenomenon of school culture, shared goals, trust and performance orientation, as well as cooperation among teachers, professional learning communities, capacity building, community partnerships and instructional settings. Often leadership theory is characterized by ideas of behavioural and personality theories, focusing on the person and the best leadership style, which imply normative ideas. Studies in this research context define and interpret very differently what a “good” school means and what successful leadership should look like.

So in the national and international discussion on school achievement, school improvement and school quality, often school leaders are seen as an important resource and dependent variable for influencing the development of their schools. New governance approaches and reforms, however, tend to extend the autonomy of the single school (“shift of powers”) and lead to changes in the tasks and functions of school leaders (“shift of tasks”), and so school leadership is also discussed with stronger significance. The increased scope of actions and decisions in the pedagogical process should make it possible to better deal with the specific contexts and situations of the school and thereby use resources more effectively, which aims to improve the quality of both schooling and instruction. Coincident with the active use of these new scopes, school leaders are also increasingly responsible for processes concerning the management of quality. For individual school leaders this means new challenges and requirements, but also a new understanding of their own positions. On the one hand, they are more responsible for changes that happen under their leadership, on the other, they must have a deep insight into and local knowledge of what exactly is happening in their school. A decentralization of decision-making often coincides with greater responsibility for external standard setting and increased centralized output control.

There is now new research on how school leaders deal with these new scopes, how they interpret them and how the perception of more responsibility in more complex areas of activity can be successful in the social reality of individual schools (Brauckmann 2012). Furthermore, questions on how schools use the new open spaces and how and why some schools seem to act more intensively and innovatively than others are being addressed (Rolf 2009). In this sense, school leadership is about matching local and contextual demands with external requirements (Moos 2005). Surveys in the German and Austrian context show that school leaders still see

their functions and duties as those of a steward and not as a developer and agent of school improvement (Bonsen 2010; Breit 2012). So the empirical questions now are: What happens to gap management in these contexts? How will an introduction of elements from the so-called “curriculum tradition” change the school leadership role? With the aid of examples of Austrian school leaders, we investigate how school leaders deal with these new challenges.

## The Implementation of Educational Standards and National Testing in Austria

In the context of Austria, National Education Testing is a new form of accountability that was borrowed and adapted from Anglo-American school systems. As a reaction to the bad Pisa results in 2001 and 2006, reforms like the implementation of National Education Testing in Austria and a new school type, the “New Middle School” (NMS), were intended to help improve performance in international large-scale assessments and achieve equity by reviewing and reconsidering traditional ways of teaching and learning. Evidence-based policy should thus help provide information about weaknesses and potential for improvement and increase quality not only in individual schools, but also in the whole school system (Haider et al. 2005). Unlike Germany and Switzerland, the Austrian education system is centralized, but similarly to the other two countries reforms are also intended to strengthen the responsibility and autonomy of individual schools. Discussion of National Testing is also embedded in this. While attention in the 90s focused on the improvement of the individual school, the results of international large-scale studies like TIMSS and PISA indicated a high variance between schools, which is considered problematic when it comes to the equity and efficiency of the education system (Freudenthaler and Specht 2006; Haider et al. 2005).

Conceptually, national testing in Austria is based on the construct of competence measurement and was tackled in 2003 after the publication in German of the so-called “Klieme Expertise”, which contains detailed proposals for designing education standards (*Zur Entwicklung nationaler Bildungsstandards*, Klieme et al. 2003). Connected with the idea of being “objectively measurable”, these standards, as in Germany, describe the normative expectations that schools should ensure (Lucyshyn 2006). Based on this definition, many more or less grounded competence models were introduced in the German-speaking world. Often these competences are criticized for being too focused on their measurability and not on their content (see e.g. Heid 2007; Scholl 2012), which may have far-reaching consequences for instruction and practical work in schools. In the Austrian school system, Schratz (2012), for example, observed that in discussions with their students, teachers focus more on the structure of learning processes than on examining more deeply the teaching content.

In Austria, National Testing takes place in the fourth and eighth grades. These are respectively the transitions from primary school to secondary I and from secondary I to secondary II. National Testing was first carried out in 2012 to measure compe-



tences in English (as a foreign language), and in 2013 for Mathematics. Besides an analysis at the state level, school leaders also receive feedback from their own schools, teachers receive feedback from their classes and students receive feedback on their own achievements. School leaders are also bound by law to discuss the results and further implications with teachers and parents. In the framework of this context, the question arises as to how school leaders use this information for the improvement of their school and instruction. In contrast to other countries like the US or England, the results of National Testing are not connected to any consequences or incentives for schools, such as benefits, job positions, school closing, participation in improvement programs or financial disadvantages (“low stake”). Comparisons between schools are not explicitly intended and results of schools and classes are not made public.

Nevertheless, discussion seems important with respect to how school leaders and parents react to these changing contexts bearing in mind that educational standards and the competence-oriented curriculum cannot be introduced as a one-fits-all done template in a school. Schools and individual teachers do not have an executive function; their task at school is also to translate and contextualize the guidelines into the practices and conditions of their everyday lives. First, they have to make sense of the guidelines so as to embed them in a further step of their own instructional work. Here, the self-concept of teachers as professionals could be very important for how guidelines are followed. It is interesting to note that school leaders and parents react differently when bridging the gap between external demands and local situations of their school. The Ministry of Education also considers school leaders to be important for the successful implementation of reforms at school. Since 2004, the Ministry has been offering an official program under the name of “Leadership Academy” (LEA) to qualify school leaders in professional guidance for school improvement and the professional development of their teachers (Schratz et al. 2010). Furthermore, National Testing is on the agenda of this program and is intended to support school leaders in its strategic implementation.

But National Testing is not the only reform with which school leaders in Austria are confronted. In the school year 2008/2009 a new school type was established in secondary I, and will replace the hitherto lower secondary school by 2015/2016. Due to the fact that the school reform intends to be a school for all children, to intermix the social composition and reduce disparities by site-specific programs, school leaders have to engage with more possibilities and autonomy in order to cope with the requirements of the students in class. Both reforms tend to foster school improvement based on local awareness of the conditions of their school. Also here it would be interesting to gain a more differentiated insight and more information on how school leaders deal with the gap between school autonomy and standardization, and the bases of information they use in school improvement processes.

In international comparisons, school leaders in Austria more often cite that their assignments deal with administration and teaching than do school leaders from other countries (Suchari et al. 2010). School reforms, like the implementation of National Education Standards and the New Middle School, focus instead on school improvement and school management based on local circumstances, considering these the most important tasks for school leaders and emphasizing their responsibil-

ity for them. So the question as to whether and how school leaders in their work approach this new aspect of school reforms seems to be very relevant. Do school leaders face more pressure or do they see no change at all? The answer to these questions would be of interest for the future development of schooling, school improvement and the schooling system.

## **Mixed Messages: School Leaders Re-framing the Feedback from National Testing: Results from the Interview Study**

Interviews with ten school leaders of New Middle Schools in the State of Lower Austria were conducted to study in an adequate way the individual perspectives, perceptions and attitudes relating to school leadership and the tasks of school leaders concerning National Education Standards. This small-scale study is embedded in the government-funded evaluation project of the New Middle School in the state of Lower Austria “NOESIS” (for results see e.g. Feichter and Krainz 2015; Geppert et al. 2015; Geppert and Knapp 2015; Hörmann 2012, Kilian and Katschnig 2015; Knapp 2015; Retzl and Ernst 2012). In general, the interviews showed, that school leaders reported different reactions depending on which perspective they focused. If, in their function as a representative of the school, they were asked to describe the changes after feedback from National Testing, they reframed such testing as a useful evaluation tool for thinking and talking about school improvement. However, when asked to mention concrete activities, not much seemed to have changed in their everyday practice at school. From this within-school and didactical perspective, they seemed to reframe National Testing as a tool too narrow and reductionist to capture schooling and the work at their school. This also seems to reflect their ambivalent attitude concerning National Testing.

In the interviews and from the official perspective of administering and representing schooling, all school leaders reported that they discussed school-specific results from National Education Testing with the teachers. Changes after these discussions concerned in particular improvement in instruction and vocational development. Following feedback from National Education Testing school leaders also reported a focus on topics that needed improvement apparent through the introduction of observation by colleagues in the lessons, longer discussions during conference calls or a specific search for courses on vocational teacher training. The school principals also said that on the basis of the results they would place a new emphasis on learning and encouragement and that they would pay more attention to listening, writing and/or the corresponding verbal communication. Furthermore, exercises in tests, school- and homework seem to be progressively adapted to the ideas of competence models and multiple-choice tests. The following interview passage provides an example for these narratives.

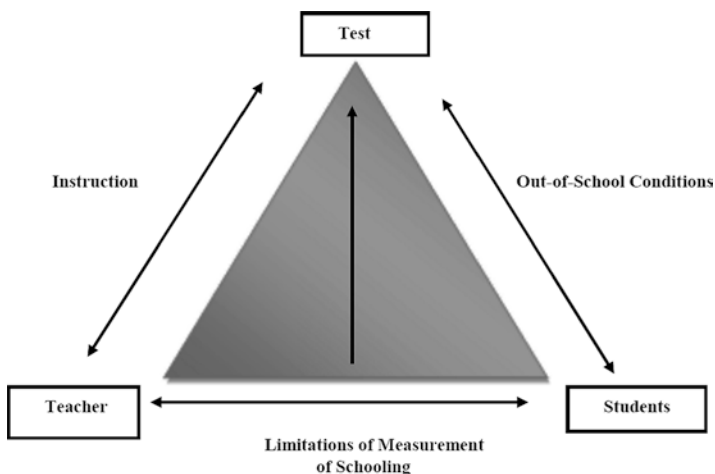
In this school, before National Testing, I suppose, we didn't really deal with questions as we do now because we developed the exercises for the tests in the old-fashioned way. Since National Testing came in, we have been developing tests in a new format from first grade up.

And I think we'll notice how the kids have become accustomed to these exercises in the next National Education Test. As I said before, the idea about what makes my colleagues special, well, we've also tried to bring this up at conferences and get it out there. (Interview 6)

What we actually see is that school leaders try to use the official language of the Ministry. From this perspective, they feel predominantly confident that National Testing offers a possibility for capturing and checking competences, but also for positioning their own school in an objective and fair comparison with other schools. They see it also as a way to evaluate and document the changes in their own instruction and to capture the effectiveness of that instruction. But we get another perspective if we look at the concrete changes at school. From this view, school leaders do not seem to be so sure anymore that National Testing can give them an orientation for further development at school. The ambivalent attitude towards National Testing would appear to be due to the perception that results of National Testing can be seen as snapshots of the current achievements of students that capture only a limited segment of schooling and what actually happens in the school system. This becomes obvious in the following statement of the interviews:

But they were certainly thought provoking, but not so much that, I wouldn't say we found a whole lot of information in it about what we can do differently. Some can, some areas always lag behind, okay? If I enhance reading, then some other area is lacking and that's the problem, okay? (Interview 10)

**Whose fault is it? Attributing the Results from National Testing.** We also see this ambivalence of different perspectives and in reframing National Testing when we look at how school leaders explain the results their school achieved. In the interviews school leaders mentioned three different ways of attributing the results from the National Education Standards. These possibilities can be arranged as in a triangle (see also Fig. 6.1).



**Fig. 6.1** Triangle to categorize the explanations for the scores achieved in National Testing of school leaders

One way is that school leaders think that out-of-school conditions are relevant and important for outcomes. In this perspective they argue that the family's socio-economic background and the missing commitment, but also the missing involvement of parents is responsible for bad outcomes. Because students do not bring the requirements necessary for schooling or because they have to deal with family problems, it is also hard for the school and teachers to prepare them adequately for the tests. Interestingly, results from National Education Testing mostly were attributed in the interviews to out-of-school conditions, such as the social background of the students. This perspective is illustrated in the following interview excerpt:

Last year we had some girls in the class where the families and the mothers had problems that were not really connected with the school, but we couldn't really get on with these people. Yes, definitely we had problems and I've seen the results of our school, because there were exactly three students who were hardly able to do anything properly in this class and there were these girls, who more or less failed themselves on purpose. So, umm, compared with the average, we didn't do so well in the English Test and were just below average for the overall test results. (Interview 3)

Another way to look at the results is to attribute the outcomes to the test itself, i.e. that the test can only measure what it measures and has some limitations. An example for this argumentation mentioned in the interviews is that, based on the construction of the test, it can only capture a snapshot of what schooling is about. So in this argumentation the inference that schooling is based only on National Education Testing is not a fair and good choice (for an example see the following interview passage).

Publicly, because in this form it's not possible to assess and evaluate schooling, and umm, this I wanted to add, if schooling is constructed only as an assessment of the National Education Test then Schooling and Education is interpreted very, very narrowly. (...) We're doing a good job, but also a job that can't be assessed in the form of a test. (Interview 1)

A possibility that was hardly noted was to explain the results as being due to the teacher's instruction, his or her personality and to what happened within a specific school. Although officially National Testing was intended to give feedback on learning processes and what had been learned at school, this argument rarely was used in the interviews. Here we can see the ambivalence in school leaders' views. While on the one hand school leaders reported that they had reflected on the results and used the testing for changes in instruction and school improvement, they, on the other hand, could not see the reasons for the results coming from themselves.

## Gap Management in Testing Times

The present chapter defines school leadership as gap management, which can have different connotation depending on the tradition in which it is embedded, i.e. curriculum or *Didaktik*. In short, by gap management we mean that school leaders deal simultaneously with centralized and State-based regulations and demands but also with matters, needs and requirements of the local school. In the curriculum tradition, school leadership was a major part of local curriculum planning and making.

By implementing State-based standards testing and a kind of national curriculum the local curriculum leadership became lost and school leaders were encouraged to execute an external curriculum.

In this context gap management deals with executing a centralized curriculum and being accountable for it, but also adapting this curriculum to local conditions. From a *Didaktik*-tradition, embedded in a centralized school system, school leadership has to deal with the gap between controlling and regulating the demands of centralized school authorities and defending the pedagogical freedom of teachers. This gap management becomes obvious as a “rhetorical shift” in the narratives of school leaders and seems to remain stable also after the implementation of (low-stake) National Testing. The interviews showed that school leaders also used this rhetorical shift when arguing for or against National Testing results. Whereas as part of their administrative duty they defended the results by explaining the changes they had initiated in their schools, they simultaneously defended the necessity of teachers’ pedagogical freedom by emphasizing the education surplus of schooling beyond achieving good test results and the situatedness of teaching and learning.

This chapter also offers a background story on the current situation from the perspective of school leaders of the implementation of National Testing in New Middle Schools in Lower Austria. It emphasizes the importance of the contextual factors of the surrounding school area for school reforms, especially for reforms that deal with standardization in the context of achievement assessment and competence measurement. Often these reforms are constructed like a one-size-fits-all solution, which might not capture the real challenges and problems of the individual schools. For schools that face especially challenging circumstances, the results of National Education Testing might not be the first priority of their work. The same applies for schools that enjoy good conditions and have reached outcomes above the average. They often see the testing results as a way to acknowledge their good standing in comparison with other schools. The results of National Education Standards might be of greater interest for schools that due to their location find themselves in competition with academic secondary schools. Another important point is that changes because of the National Education Standards often do not go beyond the level of tests, tasks and exercise materials. Further interventions and reflection on instruction, the concept, preparation and course of the lessons, were not mentioned in the interviews in the context of the debate on National Education Testing. Furthermore, the idea of teaching and learning as a linear process and the deductive reasoning that excessive training in competences that had failed might lead to better results the next time round, seems to be an important point for future research. This information is not only of interest for policymakers, for implementers of reforms and for education researchers, but also for teachers and school leaders. Until now, it remains unclear which specific information is used by school leaders and how it is used for the determination and planning of interventions in their school. Thus, the question also arises as to which information resources seem to have the most relevance for school leaders.

As we know from the Anglo-American context, schools in future will have to deal with expectations constrained by resources. The quality of schooling is

measured in terms of accountability for satisfying expectations within given resources. The interviews show clearly that school leaders are successful if they manage the gap and find ways and the capacity to react to the local problems of their school. Successful school leaders find it useful to take National Testing as a possibility and occasion to reflect on local circumstances. But that is not the only point. They also face the limits of National Testing and see the “added value” of schooling. In this sense, their aim is not only to achieve better test results, but also to find ways to deal with the problems facing them. This also necessitates allowing for local leeway in decision-making. The same applies for parents. Although National Testing also is intended to inform parents about the actual performance of their child and school, the results seem to hold only a part of parents’ attention. In many schools parents do not seem to be surprised or affected by test results.

The results of the interview study indicate that school leaders try to deal with the challenges they face by managing the gap between the external expectations of National Testing and the local practices and demands of their school. In this sense, an interesting phenomenon can be observed and is described with the terms of “talk” and “action” of neo-institutionalism (Brunson and Olsen 1993). First introduced by Brunson and Olsen (1993) in research on reforms in public administration, they used this differentiation to explain dealing with contradictory or inconsistent institutionalized provisions of organizations. On the “talk” level, organizations master the proper and particular vocabulary of the reform, they present themselves as open-minded towards the reform and signal that the organization complies with the expectations and notions desired. However, the “action” level, which includes everyday behavioural patterns and interpretative patterns, is not affected. So the loose coupling of “talk” and “action” is seen as a possibility for creating a space of freedom for dealing with expectations at a distance (Schaefer 2002). Expectations, benchmarks and provisions that are not in line with the interests or conditions of the organizational actors are only symbolically realized at the “talk” level. Neo-Institutionalism Theory describes that this symbolic compliance helps to ensure the legitimacy of the organization (Meyer and Rowan 1977).

Based on these ideas, school leaders seem to be bridging the gap between the prescriptions of new reforms like National Testing or the implementation of a new school type (the New Middle School) and the local demands of their school by “talking the talk” they especially need. From the inside of schooling (or the organization) it is all about using teachers’ “talk”. In this context, school leaders are using the language of instruction, *Didaktik*, Curriculum, and professionalism when they discuss the results with teachers at their school. So, discussing the results of National Testing is all about a stronger representation of learning, exercises in tests, the adaptation of school and homework to the ideas of competence models, better receptiveness to the needs of students, observation by colleagues during lessons, teacher training, and so on. It is not very specific and it is not clear if much changes in practice, but it is about how these matters are discussed within the school. In this sense, school leadership and gap management are defined as turning official (reform)

norms into building some kind of professional learning community and asserting the legal regulations symbolically. So school leaders “talk the talk” within the respective contexts they need.

In general, most of the school leaders seem to be positively disposed towards National Testing reform. However, it is questionable if this optimism is just an expression and reflection of the “talk” level to foster the legitimacy of their school. If you ask them what the results of National Testing tell them about their school, they answer: “not much”. So what school leaders do is actually put the new challenge into the old gap management strategy. Outside school they talk the talk of accountability, but at the same time they see themselves as key figures taking care of the pedagogical freedom and the local autonomy of each and every teacher, and not interfering too much with their teaching. Here school leaders act as classical representatives of their school, so failure is of course attributed to the outside wherever possible, e.g. to characteristics of students, out-of-school conditions, school environment, parents, limitations of the test, but not to factors inside the school.

In summary, the interviews illustrated how school leaders try to translate reform demands into familiar activity and interpretative patterns for their school. They deal with these demands inside and outside the school differently and in a symbolic and ceremonial way. From the inside, School Leadership is about sending a signal about the legal regulations to teaching staff and transforming the demands into instructional and curriculum language. Outside the school, leadership is about ensuring legitimacy by using the vocabulary of the reform and showing that their school meets the norms that are demanded of a modern organization. Beside the “talk” level it remains unclear whether changes in activities and implementation of new activities are realized or if the routines and usual problem-solving processes remain stable. This is an important aspect for future research, but unfortunately would go beyond the scope of this chapter.

It should be noted that the presented results take place in a low-stake environment. Up to now, National Testing has had no real impact and it is not of much consequence in Austria to be low down in the national table. Nobody knows if this will change but the impression is that there are three conditions typical for many Western countries. The first perspective is that schools in Austria are not as different from each other as they are in the US. They are also very homogeneous and only a few schools really experience difficulties with National Testing. Another perspective is that schools in our system have little leadership to change the system. In the Austrian system, school leaders have to administer and not decide. Reforms like school-based management and movements of decentralization are only at their beginnings. Finally, school leaders are highly routinized in this gap management symbolism and are brilliant in changing their approach depending on to whom they are talking. So the treatment of keeping both approaches going is a key element of leadership development.

Nevertheless, in different contexts where National Testing is connected to important consequences, schools in a high-stake environment might react in different

ways. Also, organizational theory describes a higher adoption of norms in an organization with a stronger dependency on the legitimacy of the norms. In the context of National Testing, a narrower adoption could mean a greater focus of curriculum on standards and “teaching to the test”. In fact, school leaders in the interviews mentioned cases of cheating in other schools, like correcting the tests with students or studying the examples before the real test. Internationally, this is not a new phenomenon and Standardized Test cheating has already been observed in other countries (like the US or England). Nevertheless “talking about cheating” also emphasizes a strong feeling of competition and the fear of being compared with hardly controllable criteria and perhaps inconsistent goals, otherwise school leaders would not have mentioned this during the interviews. But on the other hand they only described the situation of “other schools” not their own schools and demonstrated they were ensuring legitimacy by their “talk” of the other schools (Standard Testing seems unfair, if other schools cheat) (e.g. see Berliner 2011; Petrilli 2012).

As already discussed, models and theories of school leadership have until now not paid much attention to organizational perspectives of neo-institutionalism that might afford a possibility for deepening the understanding of the actions and functions of school leadership. The results might also be connected to previous research on change and reform in the state-based “*Lehrplan*”. Such research, too, indicates that the curriculum realized at a single school is only adapted to the new framework syllabus as far as necessary. This helps to ensure the established “curricular scripts” of teachers, which already secures their professional work at school (e.g. Vollstädt et al. 1999).

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# Chapter 7

## Curriculum Theory in Contestation? American Curriculum, European Didaktik, and Chinese Wisdom Traditions as Hybrid Platforms for Educational Leadership

Tero Autio

**Abstract** In this chapter, I attempt to theorize and historicize the current global education reform movement which the Finnish education policy analyst Pasi Sahlberg (Finnish lessons: What can the world learn from educational change in Finland. Teachers College Press, New York, 2011) has coined the GERM (Global Education Reform Movement), the “virus that is killing education.” The key drivers of that global education movement adopted in Western countries with very few exceptions render the triad of accountability, standardization and privatization as a marker of the corporatization of educational provision. More specifically, I will analyze the intellectual history of neoliberal ideology, its complicit academic contributions in instrumental curriculum theory and educational psychology with its historical succession of theories from behaviourist psychology to cognitive and learning theories. In this sense, William Doll’s (1993) recognition of the Tyler Rationale’s (Basic principles of curriculum and instruction. Chicago University Press, Chicago, 1949) intellectual affinity to Descartes’s Method as a core of modernization is not incidental. Descartes’ s curriculum theory overtly co-equalizes between knowledge and ethics, but actually subordinates ethics to instrumental science and knowledge. Descartes’ s initiatives led to the modernist stratagem where ethics seeks its refuge in the self-referentiality of logocentric Reason and, by implication, seeks to legitimate the moral supremacy of instrumental mode of rationality in human activities: the good in terms of instrumentality is the moral interior of the logocentric reason; hence there is no proper reason to question the validity and legitimacy of instrumental rationality. Simultaneously and significantly, the logocentric subject provides the hidden place and source of colonialism and exploitation. Finally, this chapter considers non-Western perspectives on curriculum in China.

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## Introduction

The widely recognized crisis in education that has been nationally and internationally documented in many research findings (e.g. Apple 2006; Hargreaves et al. 2009; Pinar 2013, 2011; Sahlberg 2011; Terhart 2003; Autio 2014, 2006) is arguably a crisis in educational leadership as well. In this chapter I will make an effort to balance the managerial stress on educational leadership genre by incorporating elements from internationally vibrant field of curriculum theory studies drawing on two major schools of thought. Curriculum theory is arguably of great significance to registering intellectual coordinates of education policy adopted. Curriculum theory would also be instrumental in overcoming the genre of education policy writing often epitomized as chronicling without any noticeable account of theoretical and historical affiliations. Against David Berliner's claim, "education reform is the hardest science of all" (in Lather 2010, 93), the lack of elaborated intellectual coordinates of policies seems groundless indeed.

Another dimension ignored more often that not in scholarly reporting of education crises is world political affiliations of those reform oeuvres. The prime example of the intense link between changes in the world political arena and education reforms is the 1957 Sputnik shock in the US with significant detrimental consequences on education policies and curriculum practices. In order to position the current issues of educational leadership beyond managerial rearrangements, we need to provide a broader analysis of a history of the current crisis in education.

First, I make an effort to deploy European, Anglo-American or broadly Anglophone, and Asian/Chinese variants of curriculum theory, their differing intellectual affiliations and their possible implications in the respective education reform and leadership mindset. China has a longest known education history for thousands of years, but I start my brief excursion from Europe from where Modern Education in the sense we know education today was witnessing its birth particularly by Jean Jacques Rousseau: The beginning of modern education – if we follow the dominant historiographies and philosophies of education – can be precisely dated, (...) in the year of 1762, in the year of publication of Rousseau's *Emile*. ... There is an old and a new, and the line of demarcation is the publication of the educational novel *Emile* in 1762 (Tröhler 2011, 61–62).

Rousseau's groundbreaking impact precedes the political ideals of the French Revolution 1789: Liberty, Equality, and Solidarity ("Fraternity") as the guiding beacons for the modern nation state, ideals of modern citizenship and modern education. Already Rousseau's early reception – due to many factors not the least because of his polemics seeking traits of character – was quite problematic still ultimately indispensable: in Germany where his reception was most ambivalent, Karl Georg von Raumer, the author of the four-volume *Geschichte der Pädagogik* (1843–1847), after first demoting Rousseau as a simple critic of France, "that civilization has gone to rot", in the conclusion he compares Rousseau to the one of the Seven



Wonders of the World, the lighthouse of Alexandria, *lighting the way for the French in politics and for the Germans in education*” (In Tröhler 2011, 63–64, my italics).

In retrospect, Raumer’s geographical division of Rousseau’s reception in French notions of politics and German concepts of education appears illuminative and allegorical in our present context of education crises. The shared and critical core in both receptions is concepts of freedom and liberation in epistemic and psychological terms (liberation from ignorance and coping with “passions”) and political liberation from societally produced inequalities. Rousseau emphasized the necessity to perceptively and constantly fight against the internal (passions) and external (societal) obstacles for freedom; he conceived of freedom as a desirable personal, social and civic virtue – and its lack as a vice, an index of weakness of character and subordination to institutions. “Freedom is found in no form of government; it is in the heart of the free man. He takes it with him everywhere. The wile man takes his servitude everywhere” (Rousseau, in Tröhler 2011, 36).

Rousseau’s decisive impact on German concepts of education is reflected in the original ideas of Bildung that necessarily remained an unfinished project yet programmatic to this day.

The Bildung tradition is anything else but a coherent and unified school of thought. There are a myriad of internal debates, derivations and variants within the Bildung movement and it has also powerfully affected notions and practices of education outside Europe. I will choose, reconsider and reactivate some topics and issues that would, in my view, provide alternative intellectual resources and inform the ignored dialogue between educational leadership and curriculum theory amidst the worldwide crisis in education.

The first and inalienable still contested principle in Bildung theories with significant implications to all domains of education from education policy to teacher education is freedom. The principle of freedom was characterized in different aspects of modernity; in theological, political, philosophical-scientific, and educational redefinitions of respective realities. Modernism at large means to liberate, to get rid of theological, philosophical and scientific beliefs petrified as stable, unquestionable dogma in geographically distinctive realities postulated, initially and respectively, in ancient Jerusalem and Athens. The engine of modernity was a cognizance of possibility for dynamizing the assumedly stabile reality by introducing new concepts basically based on freedom, newly acclaimed liberties from traditional authorities. In theology, the principle of freedom embodied in an attempt to get free from the papal authority in the sixteenth-century movement for the reform of abuses in the Roman Church ending in the establishment of the Reformed and Protestant Churches. Theological discourses imply significant consequences to modern education, curriculum theories and practices, educational leadership as no exception. In fact, the two major paradigms of Western curriculum theory – Anglo-American Curriculum and North European Bildung – are reducible to secular embodiments of two variants of Protestantism – respectively Calvinism and Lutheranism – in their effort to discarding the papal authority appreciated as corrupt. In tandem with the

huge impact on the birth of modern worldview by René Descartes (1596–1650), these two Protestant movements render the two distinctively different intellectual profiles for modern Western rationales of education.

The intellectual history of *Bildung* got a decisive impetus from Immanuel Kant (1724–1804). An anecdote of Kant's externally ordered life in Königsberg (the present Russian city of Kaliningrad) on the south eastern corner of the Baltic Sea anecdotally evidences the influence of Rousseau on the shape of German education. The story creates a stereotypical punctual picture of professor Kant who made his daily walk in the city with precision that inhabitants were able to check their clocks. The only exception from Kant's predictable routines took place – the story goes – when he started to read *Emile* and forgot the time.

The Rousseau inspired concept of freedom featured prominently Kant's moral philosophy and reflected in Kant's own lectures on pedagogy (Kant 1991). Kant's moral philosophy had groundbreaking consequences not only in the domain of moral philosophy per se but also on theories of mind, subjectivity and education. The Kantian concept of freedom affected by Rousseau would be the first historically perceivable antecedent between the divide of *Bildung* and Anglophone psychologized Curriculum. The divide is predicated on methodological and educational implications of Kant's moral philosophy: is the human being capable of autonomous decisions or exclusively determined by natural forces?

Kant argued that conformity to the Categorical Imperative, the CI (a non-instrumental principle) and hence to moral requirements themselves, can nevertheless be shown to be essential to rational agency. This argument was based on his striking doctrine that a rational will must be regarded as autonomous, or free in the sense of being the author of the law that binds it. The fundamental principle of morality – the CI – is none other than the law of an autonomous will. Thus, at the heart of Kant's moral philosophy is a conception of reason whose reach in practical affairs goes well beyond that of a Humean 'slave' to the passions. Moreover, it is the presence of this self-governing reason in each person that Kant thought offered decisive grounds for viewing each as possessed of equal worth and deserving of equal respect. (<http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/kant-moral/> Kant 1984).

Kant's perception of free will as a precondition of morality is deeply predicated on the North European and particularly Scandinavian notions of education and curriculum: for instance, to position the teacher, ideally, as an autonomous and free professional as the center of an education system whose main mission is to advance the holistic development of her/his students: "scratch a good teacher and you will always find a moral purpose." The Moral in this broad sense is often misinterpreted and atrophied as moralistic but its historical core meaning is related to the holistic understanding of human condition where an individual with her/his developing capacity of personal judgment – as free moral agent – orchestrates the acquired content of education comprised in the curriculum (Autio 2014). More closely, in the *Bildung* concept, cognitive, aesthetic, and practical dimensions of curriculum are

instrumental ones and what makes education educative is just moral judgment about the worthwhileness, value and relevance of studied and learned material. In *Bildung* inspired curriculum theories, cognitive, aesthetic and practical dimensions are related to instrumental rationality that focus on the pragmatic usability of acquired knowledge, skills and attitudes whereas the moral dimension of the *Bildung* curriculum represents the reflective modus of rationality that gives subjective meaning to the “content”, the studied and learned in the sense what Max Weber called value rationality (*Vernunft; Wertrationalität*) beyond its direct pragmatic usability. Finally, the moral dimension of curriculum in the classical *Bildung* sense asks about conditions for possibilities and limits of instrumental rationality for meaningful, sustainable human existence (Klafki 1991, 31).

The disconnection of morality from intellectual agendas of education could be argued to have theoretically advocated the current crisis in education, curriculum and leadership. Without adopting a view on curriculum as “a complicated conversation” (Pinar) where contestation over goals, purposes and meanings necessarily are part and parcel of democratic and educational conversation, we suffice to witness the current simulation of education and educational leadership around managerialist “best practices”, testing industry and test scores as goals and explicit business of education and education policy.

The eclipse of the comprehensive *Vernunft* rationality – embodied as a shortage of complicated conversation transcending means and methods – on the agenda of education, curriculum and educational leadership is an index of a larger historical phenomenon. Max Weber (1864–1920), in his classical but fragmentary studies on Western or “Occidental” rationalism (Weber 1978), made efforts to explain the peculiarly rationalized nature of “our European-American social and economic life,” that is manifest specifically in the establishment of the capitalist economy and the modern state. Weber’s treatment of the development of rationalization is pertinent and illuminative from educational viewpoint: how moral concerns give way to instrumental modes of rationality in curriculum theory and educational leadership. For Weber, rational action functions as two-way, reciprocal dynamics between single individuals and societal institutions; first, rational action by transcending individual interests advocates motivational anchoring of the individual in societal institutions and, second, posttraditional moral or psychological remakings of the self emerge as institutional embodiments. Instrumental rationality is deeply embedded in modern institutions; moral concerns are amenable to get reified as legal or other formal and regulative principles. An example would be the model of the Scandinavian welfare society where morality is instrumentally embedded in the mediating structures between self and society for the assumed and legally rationalized common good. The political ingenuity may not be related directly to solidarity – as it is often interpreted – but to sublimated and rationalized egoism, to moral and psychological remaking of the self by the state as a better deal to “me” (and indirectly to others as well) what would be the case without the mutual, instrumental social contract between egoistic “me” and society.

Instrumental rationality stands for Weber as the ideal type of Western rationalism, as a yardstick against which other orientations of social action could be ordered and against which they could be assessed (Autio 2006, 114). “Ideal types” always guide education and curriculum thought. Western modernization is succinctly interpretable in terms of tight interrelatedness between instrumental rationality and knowledge subordinated to instrumental interests:

When we use the expression “rational” we suppose that there is a close relation rationality and knowledge. ... for rationality has less to do with the possession of knowledge than with how speaking and acting subjects acquire and use knowledge. (Habermas 1984, in Autio 2006, 114)

The methodical and pragmatic stress is characteristic for instrumental rationality, where knowledge is assessed by its assumed capacity for instrumental mastery of reality. Habermas (1984, 10; Autio 2006, 114) introduces the concept of cognitive-instrumental rationality that has, “through empiricism, deeply marked the self-understanding of the modern era”. Instrumental rationality specified by Habermas leans on two basic premises. The first is the notion of truth conceived in empiricistic terms, and the second is the notion of effectiveness. This set of premises with its overall instrumental rationale render a major theme on educational agendas with minor still prominent variations (Dewey!) in the theme in the US since the turn of the twentieth century and in Europe more gradually since the end of WWII. The “icon” of modernist curriculum, the Tyler Rationale (Tyler 1949), would embody and deploy in an exemplary way the grand Western symbolic curriculum:

Empirical (“evidence-based”!) “truths” and pragmatic “effectiveness” stripped out of all metaphysical or moral considerations would form a kind of circular reasoning in curriculum planning, where educational goals are constantly revised in the light of “scientific findings” and “needs” of society, which, in turn, are to be tested against their effective applicability indicated as preferred behavior changes in students (Autio 2006, 114).

In such forms of knowledge, the answer to the basic curriculum question “what knowledge is of most worth” is obvious: instrumental knowledge – that still remains deeply problematic from sustainable education point of view:

Paradoxically, the greater the level of factual knowledge of the world the further the retreat of the possibility of discovering its meaning. Action based on scientific knowledge tends to be instrumental, focusing on short-run calculators of self-interest rather than long-term commitment. (Crook et al. 1992)

There are countries that still are opposing the scientism of truth-effectiveness in education and its most recent, openly politicized form, neoliberalism, most notably Finland. More generally, while acknowledging some serious biases in the *Bildung* tradition (its gender-structured nature, elitism, idealistic aestheticism and apolitical propensity), some other vital elements of *Bildung* could still deserve resurrection to provide credible alternatives to narrow and biased scientist-empiricist concept of

knowledge and curriculum. There are attempts to rephrase and reactivate comprehensive education discourse exemplified in international “complicated conversation” in US curriculum studies and Chinese education and curriculum reforms, but the international big picture of curriculum and educational leadership is the embodiment of presentist excesses of instrumentalism devoid of democratic dialogue and historical-theoretical reconsiderations.

## **A Brief Intellectual History of Present Transnational Education and Curriculum Policy and Leadership Crisis**

I will engage closer with internal manifestations of instrumental rationality in education and their historical-theoretical conditionings. I will restrict my focus on some sets of those conditionings that would arguably play a complicit role in our present education and its leadership crisis. I will follow the European Protestant theological discourses and some Kantian-Herbartian educational ideas, their transatlantic travelling and their reception in the rapidly industrializing United States around the turn of twentieth century. That primary stage between the cross-continental academic studies of education, theological discourses and the economy would provide an allegory for the coming times in the twentieth and twenty-first century in Western education. I will start at the end by the characterization of the current crisis and then make efforts to make them more comprehensible by an appeal to those earlier intellectual developments.

As a beginning, I would provide a short diagnosis of the educational (policy) crisis of our times that has been named differently: in Andy Hargreaves et al. (2009) Bigger, Harder, Tighter, Flatter strategy, in William Pinar’s (2006, 2011) several critiques of “The End of Public Education in The United States” to expose his worries about the deliberate destruction of public education. In Pinar’s view

the end of education in America was indicated by the plundering of public budgets by private companies. And with the privatization of schooling teachers have devolved into bureaucrats, checking students’ completion of online assignments. In universities, economists have replaced education professors as the experts in federally funded educational research. ([http://www.ced.zju.edu.cn/english/redir.php?catalog\\_id=39270&object\\_id=69658](http://www.ced.zju.edu.cn/english/redir.php?catalog_id=39270&object_id=69658))

Diane Ravitch who worked for the President George W. Bush and initially introduced the triad accountability, standardization and privatization as the guidelines of neoliberal education and curriculum policy reforms changed completely her mind after the recognition of the detrimental effects of the Bush Regime’s No Child Left Behind and President Obama’s reform initiative Through Race to the Top (Ravitch 2010). The Finnish education policy analyst Pasi Sahlberg characterizes the current education and curriculum policy mainstream as the Global Education Reform Movement, “the GERM that is killing education” (Sahlberg 2011) and strictly contrasts it with the Finnish education reform strategy that will take an even further step

away in the new 2016 Finnish National Curriculum Reform from the Anglophone driven accountability, standardization and privatization reforms.

## **The Sputnik Shock and the “Educationalization of the Cold War” as a Precursor for the Current Neoliberal Education Policy**

The longstanding narrow Culture of Method (Autio 2014, 2006) in both education research and practical teacher education programs has often, paradoxically for methodological reasons (if we think of method as a way to comprehensive and truthful evidence), prevented from seeing education as affected by larger complex of political, historical, cultural and theoretical issues. The Cold War culminated in the Sputnik Shock 1957 when Russians seemed to win the first match in space race by sending the kerosene-driven Sputnik rocket on the earth-circulating orbit. The political consequences resulted in fundamental change in reform mindset in the U.S. education: “... *the enemy was not only the Russians but also the progressive educational ideology that was dominant in the United States at that time, supported by philosophers of education and the powerful teachers’ unions*” (Tröhler 2013, 200, my emphasis). The establishment of the OECD in the aftermath of the Sputnik Crisis institutionalized the both efforts to “reform” (deform?) the then progressive U.S. education and combat the Soviet Union’s assumed technological and educational superiority by the educationalization of the Cold War. Symptomatic of the educational paradigm that followed was the first founding meeting of the OECD that was occupied by the representatives of the military and economy with no education expert keynotes (Tröhler 2011, 205). The defensive political and economic agenda dictated new, radically narrowed guidelines for education and curriculum: mathematics, sciences, and foreign languages as the “core curriculum”, almost identical to the PISA trilogy of today.

The founding event was a turning point when education policy and particularly assessment and evaluation as a natural part of pedagogic process and teachers’ work are removed to external, quasi-authoritative sources of testing industry advocated and designed by educational psychologists. In academic terms, the Sputnik Shock prompted the shift from educational philosophy to psychology as an intellectual core of the curriculum and teacher education programs. The final impetus for assessment and testing as a core of education policy and educational leadership came some years later, in 1966, from the massive survey, “second largest social science survey in history”, lead by the University of Chicago sociologist James S. Coleman: Equality of Educational Opportunity Study. What was striking and what made it “the most dangerous report in American education” (Moynihan, in Pinar 2006, 123) is that “After Coleman, ..., equal opportunity was to be measured by ‘outputs,’ among these (in Coleman’s study) the test scores of 570,000 children. Only if students from differing groups (social background, race, color, religion, and national

origin, my add.) scored roughly the same scores, Coleman insisted, could we conclude there was equal educational opportunity” (Pinar 2006, 124).

Central to those powerful standardizing efforts is the role of educational psychology, which meant a shift from pragmatic philosophy to schematic, radically simplified notions of human learning by behaviorism and cognitive theory:

The educationalization of the Cold War in the United States marked a transformation of the dominant reference discipline for education, for it switched from philosophy to psychology, more precisely from popular interpretation of Pragmatism to cognitive psychology, which was at its outset in the late 1950s – cognitive theory being the most important academic reference of PISA today, as the stakeholders admit themselves. (Tröhler 2013, 201)

The switch from philosophy to psychology also meant – paradoxically – the disappearance of the subject on the agenda of education for the abstract, reified and universal notions of “learning”. The whole historical array of (educational) psychologies from behaviorism to cognitive theories to “Learning Sciences” is fundamentally a-psychological by nature without any substantive reference to human psyche as a distinctive, complex entity *sui generis*. Initially for behaviorism, consciousness was too complicated and messy phenomenon to be directly graspable and the study of consciousness was replaced by the observation of outer behavior with the methods already employed in natural sciences in accordance with the politics of positivist agendas: to see in order to control and predict.

The trend to a priori schematize human consciousness is closely related to the instrumentalism of modernization with the influential Cartesian emphasis on Method in the creation of new knowledge and the rise of natural sciences in the seventeenth century. One of the most pivotal figures in the history of education, Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776–1841), had ambivalent and contrasting alternatives for the notions of psychology (Blass 1978) with far-reaching implications for both European and Anglo-American developments of education and curriculum theory. Herbart, as the follower of Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) in Königsberg (today’s Russian Kaliningrad), made efforts to combine freedom – necessary condition for Kant to design the moral sphere, free “judgmental reason” as the core of human rationality – with causal necessity. For Herbart, the intellectual “mission impossible” was to unite the moral end of education, the idea of inner freedom manifested ideally as knowledgeable and enlightened moral character, informed but not exclusively determined by external powers and authorities, with deterministic and exact ideals of scientific psychology developed in accordance with the methodology of the natural sciences (Autio 2006, 105).

The unbridgeable split remained to respectively live in two radically differing intellectual alternatives for Western curriculum theory: North European *Bildung/Didaktik* and Anglo-American Curriculum. The European concept of curriculum initiated by Humboldt suggested that the cognitive, practical and aesthetic dimensions of curriculum are to be subordinated to the fourth dimension, the moral, (Klafki 1991), the decisive instance of human rationality and freedom (*Vernunft*) that would guarantee the educative and transformative nature of education beyond proceduralism. The practical and democratic implication would be that teachers and

students alike are called to use their free judgmental faculties to enrich the educative experience of all participants by subjectively scrutinizing the meaning(fullness) of the learned content and its context; in Pinar's current words: "curriculum as a complicated conversation" where "subjectivity is threaded through the curriculum" (Pinar 2013). Already Kant himself (Autio 2006, 102) warned in his pedagogic lectures – as if anticipating the present colonization and standardization of reason and educational experience by psychological, administrative and commercial instrumentalism:

Intelligence divorced from judgment produces nothing but foolishness. Understanding is the knowledge of the general. Judgment is the application of general to the particular. Reason is the power of understanding the connection between the general and the particular.

The moral, that is: the reflective, free faculty of human mind with its contextualized focus on "the primacy of the particular" (Pinar) is in strict contrast with the behaviorist tenet of inductive, non-subjective generalization of abstract "learning". Actually, this kind of interpretation of the moral is one of the divisive intellectual factors between *Bildung/Didaktik* and the present of the neoliberal Anglo-American Curriculum and its global extension. The intellectual breakthrough in the US curriculum theory by Pinar and his colleagues (1995), the Reconceptualization, radically rephrased and opened new theoretical perspectives for curriculum thinking beyond procedural and abstract educational psychology. Simultaneously, like just the name of Pinar's et al. book, *Understanding Curriculum*, reveals, the Reconceptualization was intellectually affiliated with the Continental hermeneutic school of (educational) thought tentatively instigated by the German Movement around 1770–1830 but articulated more distinctively in the hermeneutic ("geisteswissenschaftliche") works of Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834) and Wilhelm Dilthey (1833–1911). Dilthey's argument centered around the idea that in the natural sciences we seek to explain phenomena in terms of cause and effect; contrastively, in the human and social sciences, we seek to understand meanings in terms of relations between parts and a whole; "Die Natur erklären wir, das Seelenleben verstehen wir." (Dilthey 1894). In retrospect, the American Reconceptualization meant an advancement of hermeneutic understanding beyond the European tradition of the humanistic and nationalistic bound notion of the unitary subject with its postmodern fragmentation and explicit introduction of the interplay between language, power and knowledge to curriculum theory.

## **Travelling Curriculum Discourses: From Herbart to American Psychologized Curriculum**

This intellectual division between hermeneutic Understanding and causal Explanation is already present in Herbart's blueprint for (inherently contradictory?) unified curriculum theory to combine the necessarily free will of the moral agent



with the causative determination of behavior of the human creature not qualitatively different from other creatures or natural phenomena. Herbart was ambivalent – for good reasons – about the intellectual validity of his contradictory, pre-positivist suggestion and he proposed alternative, hermeneutic model for education and curriculum research that is recognizable today, for instance, in Kelly (2009) and Pinar et al. (1995). Herbart's second, hermeneutic model suggests the relative autonomy of curriculum studies apart from borrowing foreign concepts from other fields: anthropology, philosophy, and psychology. In Herbart's view, educational and curriculum concepts are educational more distinctively, *einheimische Begriffe sui generis* – where education and curriculum should be conceived more autonomously in terms of how we define educative experience which arise from its own practice and its intellectual tradition rather than as conceptual borrowings from alienating and external realms of knowledge (Herbart 1804/1986, in Autio 2006, 105).

Yet, finally – likely due to the scholarly fashions in his day – Herbart's own intellectual ambition was to develop a universal model of a causal “mechanics of mind” in the spirit of deterministic Explanation – eine Mechanik des Geistes – and go down in history as “the Newton of Psychology” – als Newton der Psychologie in die Geschichte einzugehen (Autio 2006, 107).

Later in the United States, the short period of American Herbartianism around 1890–1900 was a decisive transition period to organize the assumedly chaotic and confused inner world of the child by organizing “the contents of knowledge in ‘well-organized’” textbooks and ensure that they are “stored in the mind in well arranged form”. The standardization of learning and the child's psyche in the American Herbartianism still took place by reference to inner psychic life that behaviorism was coming to change for the favor of outer behavior. In the 1890s American Herbartianism, “the essence of the position was to produce an identity of outlook among the mass of population; the image of the industrial system demanding uniformity and interchangeability is dominant. *The morality and character being sought was a conformity of wills and predictability of behavior; there was no intention of accepting individuality or personal autonomy* (Bowen, in Autio 2006, 106, my emphasis). The intellectual bridge for significant change from inner psychic life to outer behavior between Herbartianism and behaviorism was methodological and conceptual standardization of subjectivity in terms of “learning” as behavior that justified the discard of the assumedly redundant and messy conformity of wills for the assumedly law-like prediction of behavior.

Further, the political pressure by the industrial system for standardization in the late nineteenth century was instrumental to methodologically simplify the theory with displacement of any moral, metaphysical, or existential elements in education theory and remove the Kantian free will of the moral agent, the moral dimension, from the center of the curriculum and education.

As a consequence, there appears a split in the US between “a conformity of wills and predictability of behavior”: the “conformity of wills” element remained out of the intellectual and methodological reach of behaviorist agendas. Behaviorism with its intent on the external determination and inductive generalizations of a behavior of an individual predicated on the agenda of positivism creates the powerful norma-

tivity by the standardization of the subject; individuality and personal autonomy is to be conceived not in their genuine idiosyncrasies but in universal, abstract, and collective terms of “learning”.

## Neoliberal Cause as the Rule of Education

These early historical, theoretical, and political incentives related particularly to instrumentalism in theoretical terms and industrialization and the economy in practical terms have arguably contributed to the shape of our present crisis of education where we can sense that something went wrong in the turn of the twentieth century in the intellectual design of education when moral and political aspects as goals of education was reduced to psychologized instrumentalism. The children’s and peoples’ capacity and talents are wasted, neglected or underused particularly by the external assessment obsessions of present education systems what the powerful national and transnational agencies EU, OECD, and the USA advocate. The excessively utilitarian thinking – “economic thought is coterminous with rationality” (Couldry 2011, 28) – sweepingly colonizes with intellectual and moral atrophy historical reminders, present circumstances and future imaginaries of education. Internally, the long tradition of the de-intellectualization of education render it complicit in the neoliberal reduction of the French Enlightenment rationality of liberty, equality and solidarity and its German *Bildung* equivalent moral, cognitive, aesthetic and practical dimensions of curriculum to instrumentalism of economic thought.

The adoption of the obsolete positivist image of science based on external observation and the ideal of exact measurement in social and education studies can further defy the complexity of education processes by preferring methodological reasons in the definition of educational reality. Neoliberalism policies purposefully but misguidedly advocate the ahistorical, a-theoretical, abstract system-driven and a kind of laboratory images of education research that still reflect the modernist, fundamentalist “quest for certainty”-posture in the numerically forced “evidence-based” interpretations of educational reality.

Paradoxically enough, the period of tumultuous change and instability of financial and economic systems since 2000 that reached the pinnacle in the 2007 financial crisis still going on has not prevented the forces of corporatization from losing their hold on social infrastructure (Goodson 2014, 14). Indeed, “economic thought is coterminous with rationality” (Couldry 2011) and in that all-eggs-in-the-same-basket spirit educational leadership promotes school-as-a-business model and respective business-like “profit projections” of standardized test score results through neoliberal education reforms. Despite the recognized failure of the new economy to create a sustainable new world order, transnational education and curriculum policy hold on the imitation of corporate logic as the educational rule: the “bottom line” in business is structurally and ideologically in congruence with the tested “learning outcomes” in education (Autio 2016, 113).

These developments lead to the pervasive sense of inversion at many levels, for instance, the move from market economy to becoming market society – “everything is now saleable and available a site of profit making” (Sandel in Goodson 2014, 14). From curriculum and educational leadership perspective, if we are still able to think of education as a prime site for and of democracy, “the inversion of democracy” by neoliberalism would alarmingly mean the repudiation of “a system that was once set up to represent the people against vested power now seems to represent vested power (especially corporate power) against the people. Education policy and leadership can function like a tacit vehicle for these undemocratic ideals to creep into the socialization of future generations in advanced societies as, for instance, the US Through Race to the Top policy program would manifest by the absence of any explicit reference to democracy, education and personality ideals in any broader or holistic sense – except for competitiveness in the economy. The sense of national belonging is still there but subordinated to the assumedly more significant ideals of the market (Autio 2016, 113).

Indeed, “Neoliberalism has become a ‘theory of everything’ providing a pervasive account of self and identity, knowledge and information, economy and government” (Mirowski in Goodson 2014, 14). In terms of society and governance, “we would seem to be entering a period of ‘corporate rule’, where all criteria fit the prevailing neo-liberal dogma and where ... even alternative imaginary possibilities are clinically and forcefully expunged (Goodson 2014, 114).

In order to seek historical and theoretical composition and possible alternatives for neoliberalism as the hegemonic ideology of current educational leadership, we cannot evade the impact of Protestantism, especially Calvinism, on present educational landscape. In the context of neoliberalism, reactivation of Calvinist intellectual-theological heritage may illuminate the present in the long historical intertwinement prophetically recorded for first time in Max Weber’s *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1930/1995). Within Protestantism, Calvinism and Lutheranism radically depart from each other in terms of their respective views on the interrelatedness between individuality and social organization. Both theologies stipulate individual responsibility for God as kernel of human existence with much less influence of the mediating instances of the Holy Scriptures – churchly authorities – that render the core of their “Protest” against Catholic belief and papal institutions. Lutheranism encourages for self-improvement by advocating literacy, the translation of the Bible and other religious texts to mother tongue that make them available to personal study – motivated by enticing incentives like in the nineteenth and early twentieth century Finland as literacy was a precondition for marriage license. This episodic view on Lutheranism allegorically characterizes the relatively “free”, educational nature of Scandinavian interpretation of Lutheranism and how education was connected to the building of the modern state by educationally conditioning the family formation as a basic cell of society. Yet, the mediations between self and society stamped by Luther’s doctrine of Two Regiments that subordinate the Earthly to the Heavenly and particularly the Doctrine of Grace give to worldly social organization a kind of positive *laissez-faire*, less binding but also much more tradi-

tional and conservative character than strongly interfering measures in Puritan Calvinism to arrange the relationship between the individual and social world (Weber 1995/1930; Autio 2006).

While Lutheranism's attitude toward the world remained to a certain degree indifferent without strictly bounding principles, Calvinism introduced a powerful curriculum to methodize the life of its supporters by interpreting devoted paid work as a sign of religious virtue. "Lutheranism, on account of its doctrine of Grace, lacked a psychological sanction of systematic conduct to compel the methodological rationalization of life. ... The Lutheran faith thus left the spontaneous vitality of impulsive action and naïve emotion more nearly unchanged. The motive to constant self-control and thus to a deliberate regulation of one's own life, which the gloomy doctrine of Calvinism gave, was lacking. ... The simple, sensitive, and peculiarly emotional form of piety, which is the ornament of many of the highest types of Lutherans, finds few parallels in genuine Puritanism (Weber 1995/1930 in Autio 2006, 67).

Calvinism's revolutionary secular impact on the new social order is psychologically based on its diabolically ingenious doctrine of Predestination. The constant uncertainty as to whether one is among the elect (due to the limited but secret number of the elect) creates the basic existential anxiety and the only way of alleviation is to exhibit one's spiritual worthwhileness through work. In the Calvinist view, calling is not a fate, but God's commandment to the individual to work for the divine glory ... with far reaching psychological consequences and, socially, work "became connected with a further development of the providential interpretation of the economic order which had begun in scholasticism (Weber, p. 160). The time horizon and the prime motive of Calvinism was in the future because only the fruits of labor were to reveal to mankind the providential purpose regarding the order of the world. The Calvinist-Puritan stress on the outcomes or the "fruits" of labor constantly challenged the present skills of its practitioners. Thus the human mind and human skills were in constant need of improvement, namely learning and education, in order to work better and better for the glory of God (Autio 2006, 66).

Theological scaffolding provided an early motivation for modern education and, paradoxically, its further, fully-fledged secularization and, most significantly, for the idea and concept of progress. These developments related to secularization and the pre-pragmatic notions by Francis Bacon (1561–1626): "Truth and Utility are ... the very same things" (Autio 2006, 20) can be read as a historical-theoretical prelude to our full-blown instrumentalist, neoliberal concepts of education, curriculum and leadership where the concept of "truth" as current anachronism is absorbed and removed by the guiding principle of education policies of today: high outputs at the lowest possible costs.

Initial theological incentives in educational thinking are buried in the tradition of Anglophone, especially in the Anglo-American Curriculum. The historical forging of American education has not of course any single origin, it is a long-term, com-

plex process whose principles are assembled and connected to a myriad of different patterns that include religious, political, philosophical, social, and cultural discourses.

From the current perspective, the *Bildung* tradition is hardly present in any of present national educational and curriculum discourses, policies and practices. The only exception still may be Finland when the rest of the Scandinavian front (Denmark, Norway, Sweden) is fragmented to more or less neoliberal blocks with Anglophone accountability, standardization and privatization policy and leadership drivers. Finland's case is interesting in terms of the divide between psychologized Curriculum and *Bildung* that has not captured much attention in the PISA reception but what is highly significant in the current context of educational leadership. In a matter of fact, we can claim that the good Finnish results in PISA paradoxically and at least temporarily saved Finland from the Anglophone and OECD driven GERM, "virus that is killing education" (Sahlberg 2011). The success in the first PISA round in 2001 was a huge surprise in Finland; it was an unintended consequence and side product of the broad-based, holistic national curriculum, teachers' professional freedom and the democratic Finnish concept of comprehensive school (*peruskoulu*). The *peruskoulu* was constantly attacked since its creation from 1970s by the political right and the leaders of business sector but this critique was silenced overnight when the first PISA results were issued in 2001 (Saari et al. 2014). Without PISA surprise, Finland would most probably be engaged in transnational neoliberal policy drivers accountability, standardization and privatization. Characteristic to the Finnish *peruskoulu* is the academically qualified teachers, (master level requirement at all levels), implied in professional autonomy, freedom and high trust in teachers, the absence of external assessments and tests (practically all tests are teacher-driven), the not-stigmatizing support in cases of social and educational challenges, etc. Teaching is related to holistic education, in strict contrast with countries where teaching basically means teaching to the externally mandated tests. The decisive element in Finnish comprehensive school ideology is the interpretation of quality as equality; quality as equal educational opportunity regardless of social, economic or ethnic background. Again, that Finnish policy principle is in strict contrast with the Coleman report (1966, in Pinar 2006, 123–124) and its neoliberal offspring the NCLB and TRTT policy programs where educational (e)quality is linked to test scores by quasi-causal psychological argumentation used to advocate the intellectually dishonest and simplified conception of teaching as a "cause" and learning as an "effect". "Only if students from differing groups scored roughly the same scores, Coleman insisted, could we conclude there was equal educational opportunity" (Pinar 2006, 124).

Comparable to Sputnik shock in the 1950s USA, Germany experienced a PISA shock in 2001 that created a debate about the conflation between the concept of knowledge and competences, skills and performances. Apart from the shock of the PISA results as such, in the aftermath the debate in Germany created a conceptual shock that is very significant from the perspective of curriculum theory and educational leadership. To the proponents of traditional *Bildung* concept a shocking move

by some German PISA experts was to suggest the concept of competence as a new Bildung concept: “Kompetenz – ein neuer Bildungsbegriff”.

It is important to note, . . . , that the merging of competencies and Bildung is not solely an act by historically blind empiricists . . . Heinz-Elmar Tenorth, a genuine historian of education, did the very same thing: “Bildung and literacy, basic skills and modes of handling higher culture do not depict disjunctive classes of knowledge and behavioral patterns but specific developments of a single and identical dimension of human practice.” (Tröhler 2011, 196)

Here, in an unexpected context of Bildung, we witness a single instance of neo-liberalism as “a theory of everything”, a discourse on education, knowledge and subjectivity, all conflated together as an image of the human subject reduced to a sheer aggregate of competences.

The example is a generalizable index of the current state of Bildung in its homeland Germany where it is increasingly colonized in the aftermath of the PISA shock by the instrumentalism of Anglo-American psychologized Curriculum.

PISA has led to the growing importance of principles such as outcome control, competence orientation and external assessment. The post-PISA academic discourse in Germany can be characterised by the re-orientation of educational studies towards a greater emphasis on the empirical research of pedagogic practice (empirische Unterrichtsforschung). (Ertl 2006, 619)

The reaction in Germany to PISA to get intellectually allied with transnational, narrow and detrimental psychologized agendas is just the opposite what is the case in Finland. PISA, paradoxically, has increased educational self-esteem to maintain and develop education, curriculum and leadership policies that preserve curriculum breadth and depth, academic teacher education with guided practice, teachers’ untouchable professional autonomy and freedom and students’ increasing involvement in school decisions that would affect them. In the 2016 new national curriculum reform students are invited from first grade on to actively participate with teachers in the assessment not only of learning and study process but also students’ overall judgment over the quality of life at school. Despite the transnational terminological pressures to replace knowledge and education in favor of neoliberal and psychologized vocabulary of competencies, skills and performances, the atmosphere in Finnish comprehensive school still seems to adhering to the Deweyan conception of the school as a specific institution, confirming its status as a prime site of democracy: education is of and for democracy, strictly contrasting with anti-democratic, neoliberal drivers of external accountability, standardization and accountability based on rudimentary “evidence-based” scientism.

## **Toward Genuine Theorization and Reactivation of the Past in Education: The Educational Landscape of Internationalization Between West and East (China) as a Reaction to Neoliberal Globalization**

The German post-PISA case with all conceptual confusions like there were attempt to marry fire and water is to be conceived as an index of lack of theorization and lost sense of intellectual history of education and curriculum. Particularly in the Anglophone empiricist world, there is perceivable a long empiricist and pragmatist tradition where method is replacing comprehensive theorization in research and teacher education curricula. Not directly related to the aftermath of PISA shock, Ewald Terhart (2003, 25–26) registers the instigation of education paradigm shift in Germany toward ahistorical and a-theoretical Anglophone empiricism and psychologism:

In Germany, it has become quiet around general didactics. The controversies of the late 1960s and early 1970s have died down; the theoretical situation has been basically stable for decades. ... this is surprising because one might perhaps expect, given the widespread talk about the crisis in instruction, in school, and the teaching profession, that the wheat of didactics would bloom on a theoretical level. Just the opposite is the case! In general didactics, there has been no theoretical discussion worth speaking of for around 2 decades ... genuine theoretical discussion has been largely replaced by the development and defense of certain teaching methods on a more practical level.

Increased awareness of the excessive instrumentalism and its detrimental effects on education in the United States that would urge genuine theoretical and historical reconsideration was embodying already in the 1970s in the scholarship of William Pinar. Reconsideration that was essentially drawing on critique of educational psychology, the Tyler Rationale as its icon, lead to re-conceptualizing of the ahistorical, psychologized concept of curriculum by behaviorism and cognitivism. The Reconceptualization Movement, “as an intellectual breakthrough” in the American context, materialized as a monumental magnum opus of American curriculum theory and history *Understanding Curriculum* coauthored by William Pinar et al. (1995), is sharing some intellectual affinities with German and north European Bildung but also critical reappraising and ‘post-modernizing’ some of Bildung tenets.

In terms of theory of science, the positivism of educational psychology as a vehicle of the psychologized Curriculum identify itself with the ideals of causal explanation, in turn, Bildung and the Reconceptualization share the common affiliation with hermeneutic concept of science with respective ideals of understanding of meanings, intentions and the interplay between the whole and the parts. Hermeneutics is a reaction to the methodological monism of positivism (Wright von 1971) and this reaction is specified respectively, in modernist terms, in Bildung and, in post-modernist sense, in Reconceptualization theories and concept. The American Reconceptualization meant a decisive advancement of hermeneutic understanding beyond the European tradition of the humanistic and nationalistic bound notion of

the unitary subject with its postmodern fragmentation and explicit introduction of a interplay between language, power and knowledge to curriculum theory.

The hermeneutic critique directed to both Anglo-American abstract, instrumental, method-driven psychology and *Bildung* concepts of the unitary humanistic, nationally bound subject has transformed the educationally vital discourse on the subject from male dominated WASP discourse exemplified in the Tyler Rationale, the English gentleman ideal of education and the elitist, erudite, nationalistic male individual of the *Bildung* ideal toward gender-, culture- and internationally sensitive discourses on subjectivity. These intellectual shifts have radically transformed the landscape of education and curriculum through more nuanced dynamics of the subject facilitated by richer palettes of research methodology than is the case of routinized, unimaginative empiricism of surveys in current educational policies and leadership. For instance, the introduction of (auto)biographical research methods is essentially increasing knowledge and understanding what it is be a human being, teacher and student in the present world in more authentic, practical, and comprehensive ways than the mechanistic politics of behaviorist and cognitivist psychologies have provided or could in principle provide within their limited epistemic and methodological boundaries.

The interest to take individuality more comprehensively than traditional educational psychology by employing new methodologies implied in the intellectual legacies of *Bildung* and Reconceptualization has vital political implications. By scrutinizing internal and external circumstances of an individual, current curriculum theory/studies would reconsider and challenge the preconditions of democracy by amplifying and articulating more explicitly individual potentialities through narrative and biographical approaches. The urge to rethink individuality, subjectivity, agency, or self would denote a theoretical articulation of the current situation where individualization – biographical differences – has become “a structural characteristics of highly differentiated societies” (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002, xxi; Autio 2006, 160).

The intensified individualism is tied to globalization, both of them marking the constitutive features of postmodernity, or in Ulrich Beck’s terms, ‘the second modernity’. Globalization has by the outsourcing of the functions of “the first modernity” effected a radical shift in the relationships between individuals and institutions (Autio 2006, 160). The neoliberal measures of external accountability, standardization and privatization are educational symptoms of globalization to which curriculum theory is reacting by inter-nationalization to effect the sense of historicity, locality, nuance, and fragmentation countering uniform standards of transnational reform and leadership mindset.

As Ulrich Beck and Elizabeth Beck-Gernsheim (Autio 2006, 161) point out, the move toward complexity has meant “a de-normalization of roles”; “the roles of the first modernity depended very much on what Kant called determinate judgment; on prescription, on determinate rules”.



Now, the individual must be much more the rule finder her/himself. Determinate judgment is replaced by “reflective judgment”. Reflective judgment is not reflection because there is no universal to subsume the particular. In reflective judgment the individual must find the rule. Reflective judgment is always a question of uncertainty, of risk, but it always leaves the door open much more to innovation. (Lash, in Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, cited in Autio 2006, 162)

*Mutatis mutandis*, Scott Lash’s description of a capable individual in the current world of “second modernity” or postmodernity could be a description what pedagogic practice has always been, “good teacherhood” (Goodson 2014) or “teaching as a reflective practice” (Westbury et al. 2000), in the spirit of *Bildung* – in sharp disagreement with pseudo-causal “evidence-based” and assessment-driven neoliberal education and leadership policies where – with glaring theoretical simplicity but political purposefulness – teaching is imagined as a “cause” and learning as an “effect”.

the countries that have pursued neo-liberal reforms in the fastest and deepest manner, such as England, perform very poorly in educational standards. Meanwhile, those that have defended a social democratic vision and have explicitly valued professional autonomy, such as Finland, have produced top-rate educational standards. It would seem time to seriously scrutinise the neo-liberal orthodoxy in the field of education. (Goodson 2014, 43–44)

As “the curriculum provides a prism, a litmus test, through which to see and test societal health and character” (Goodson 2014, 14), likewise the positioning of the teacher within the curriculum is the litmus test of educational leadership. In terms of curriculum theory, there are basically two already described variants: psychologized Curriculum as managerial, transnational kernel of educational leadership or curriculum receptions motivated and reactivated by *Bildung* and Reconceptualization that stipulate the teacher as an academically educated, free professional rather than “the agent or the conduit of the system”:

The managerial perspective of curriculum [as the embodiment of the dominant psychologized curriculum theory, my add.], teachers are always the invisible agents of the system, seen as “animated” and directed by the system, and not sources of animation for the system. This starting point leads to a view that existing teachers are a (if not the) major break on the innovation, change, and reform that the schools seem to require. ... it is this view of the teacher as a cipher for the formal curriculum that represents perhaps the major source of internal tension within contemporary, ... [psychologized, my add.] curriculum theory and practice. ... it is their respective views of the teacher, and the role the teacher is given within their theoretical and institutional systems, that represents the most dramatic difference in viewpoint between Didaktik and [psychologized, my add.] curriculum theory. (Westbury et al. 2000, 21)

The wider perception that there are theoretical alternatives and the recognition of respective impact of adopted curriculum theory on the work and professional identity of teachers is an international counter reaction to measures of neoliberal education policy and leadership. Yet, the reactions are uneven and vary paradoxically even in countries traditionally affiliated with *Bildung* theories like in post-Pisa Germany and in Sweden, Finland as an obvious exception.

In the US, there are interesting efforts to overcome the Westburyan picture of the (American) teacher as a cipher for impersonal learning theories and the formal curriculum by the introduction of curriculum design and practice informed by Reconceptualized, autobiographical theories into the discourses of being a teacher and pedagogic artistry (Henderson et al. 2015) as guiding beacons for educational leadership. A kindred perception by Ivor Goodson (2014, 16) importantly extends the being a teacher and pedagogic artistry to education reform. The acid test here is the sustainability of change. The key lacuna in externally mandated change is the link to teachers' professional beliefs and teachers' own personal missions. New research findings in education reform patently show that personal and professional commitment must exist at the heart of any new changes or reforms. "Not only is it neutrally absent, it is in fact positively absent in the sense that there is a mixture of profound indifference and active hostility to so many changes and reforms" (ibid.).

One of the most interesting process in this sense of post-psychologism and post-standardization is taking place in China when the huge country is liberalizing and modernizing its education systems and developing curriculum theory and practice, internationally receptive and well-informed, still adjusted to the national, regional and local traditions, present circumstances and future imaginaries. China's education and curriculum strategy seems to be a hybrid one: the international comparisons like the PISA, TIMSS etc. keeps China, obviously for superpower reasons and its long tradition of externally mandated exams, alert to be competitive in the OECD and other organizations' tests and "racetracks". Simultaneously and apart from the standardizing global competition, China seems to make efforts to struggle against that 'global virus', Global Education Reform Movement, by seeking sources to rephrase and hybridize its "wisdom traditions" of Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism together with Western theoretical novelties, like poststructuralism and post-modernism in curriculum theory.

China's modernization and its impact will not just be economic but cultural too. China's modernization may suggest in a longer run the way out – in a spirit of the Hegelian dialectic – both from the current fundamental and structural crises of Capitalism and obsolete and rigid Socialism. "The reason for China's transformation (...) has been the way it has succeeded in combining what it has learnt from the West, and also its East Asian neighbors, with its own history and culture, whereby tapping and releasing its native sources of dynamism. We have moved from the era of either/or to one characterized by hybridity" (Jacques 2012, 562).

China's hybrid modernization may signal a cultural feedback to Western notions of modernity and a future of an emergence of contested modernities. If we think about the age of the Enlightenment as the huge educational project, China's modernization and its global cultural impact would imply a need to reconsidering the European Bildung/Didaktik as well as Anglo-American Curriculum as two (Western) master narratives of curriculum theory. In the research project lead by William Pinar (2014): *Curriculum Studies in China: Intellectual Histories, Present Circumstances*, the chapters by Chinese curriculum scholars bear witness to the

decisive turn away from the globally spread US reform model of accountability, standardization and teaching to the test – all based on superficial notions of human psyche, human activity and on absurdly narrow educational rationality. Intellectually and culturally profiled, emerging Chinese curriculum theory and practice seem to be affiliating with the North American post-reconceptualization Currere and older European *Bildung* thought reactivated, localized and hybridized by Chinese wisdom traditions. Chinese distinctive emphases on curriculum theory (Zhang 2014a) may as such work like antidote to schematic, routinized instrumentality and “teaching-by-numbers” mentality in education policy, leadership, and practice in most of Western countries. In Zhang’s enthusiastic precondition for curriculum theory is echoed the hybrid resonances with the Eastern wisdom traditions and Western reappraisals of curriculum theory: “No Freedom, No Curriculum!” (Zhang 2014a).

Against the atrophy of economic and political liberalism and democracy to neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism, educationally manifested in the totalitarian accountability and standardization, the Chinese opening might shed new light into the world of education by its contested modernity like the postmodern scholarship of Zhang Wenjun (2014b) signals in the Chinese context. Also the ongoing school reforms in China resonate in the reactivated *Bildung*-Currere spirit the marriage between agency and freedom, so vital to successful education system through the recognition of the significance of the broad-based teacher education curriculum and the positioning of the teacher beyond the sheer conduit of the system. Yuting Chen (2014) speaks powerfully against the grain of Western top-down reforms controlled by standardization and accountability by alternatively predicating on the necessary role of every single school as the “Reform Subject” when schools’ role is transformed from the target of implementation, standardization and accountability, “From Follower to Creator”, to the active agent of a reform.

China’s monumental “liberalizing and modernizing education reforms” is informative in their attempts to overcome the intellectual limitations and exhaustion of presentist empirical social and educational sciences as resources for education reforms. Instead of the modernist four boxes model and division of labor in educational sciences – history, philosophy, psychology and sociology of education – academic study of education and teacher education in China is reorganized as Curriculum Studies.

Curriculum Studies, comprising curriculum theory, curriculum history and curriculum design create the intellectual center of educational sciences and teacher education curricula (Autio 2014) and provide an academic framework and intellectual support for education and curriculum reforms: curriculum becomes an organizational and intellectual center of education. While viewing curriculum as an intellectual and organizational centerpiece of education, Curriculum Studies in China can be seen as a reactivation of the double meaning of *Bildung* /*Didaktik* discourse in German-speaking and North European traditions where they can refer to both theory and practice. While reform in China is focused on questions of prac-

tice, it is not exclusively organizational, “as quite an unproblematic syllabus or content to be taught/transmitted/delivered/tested” but strives “towards more intellectual, more complicated understanding of curriculum” (Pinar 2014, 182). And: “while definitely organizational, the current curriculum reform is profoundly political and intellectual, informed, ..., by culture and history” (Pinar 2014, 21).

Rather than degrading public education, as US politicians have done since Sputnik, in China the Ministry of Education encourages reform through consultation with experts, including contributors to this volume. Rather than imposing a simplistic model of reform, as in the United States, in China the ministry demands complexity and local innovation, not in the service of standardization but to promote organizational diversity and student-centeredness. In their intellectual courage, their ethical conviction, and their cosmopolitan incorporation of concepts, ancient and contemporary (East and West), curriculum researchers in China demonstrate that the future of education is not inevitably the tragic tale it too often is in the West today. (ibid., 1)

The lessons from internationally informed curriculum theory, one of the most vibrant fields of educational study, persuade us to believe that the world of education can be named differently. The fatal discard of moral, historical and democratic elements as vital preconditions for educational discourse by methodologies of positivism and presentist pragmatism has contributed to the neoliberal simulation of education. Separated divisions of labor in education research (history, philosophy, psychology, sociology) have been unable to provide a view comprehensive enough on the contested discourses of education so vital for sound educational leadership. Genuinely international curriculum theory could be a credible source for theoretical and practical uses of leadership by introducing educational concepts more *sui generis* which have hovered in the minds of prominent curriculum scholars throughout modern times from Herbart’s *einheimische Begriffe* to Kelly’s (2004) and Pinar’s et al. (1995) views on curriculum as a study of its own right.

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