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The Use of Bernstein's Framework in Mapping School Culture and the Resultant Development of the Curriculum

Robyn Chien and John Wallace
Science and Mathematics Education Centre,
Curtin University of Technology,
Perth, Western Australia

Abstract

This paper reports on a study of the relationships between school culture and curriculum practice. Bernstein's pedagogic code is used as a framework to collect and analyse interview and observational data from one school, focussing particularly on two units of study, one discipline-based and the other integrated. The main concepts from this framework are, "classification, framing, recognition rules and realisation rules". The overall classification of the school and the values of framing pertinent to the instructional discourse, for the two units observed, are transferred to a mapping tool developed for this study. Several propositional statements about the culture of a school and different styles of teaching are offered. It is felt that the use of parts of this framework in teacher education could help to assist in raising the awareness of teachers about school culture and curriculum development. A heightened awareness of the school culture and teachers' realisation rules would assist teachers dealing with students from different backgrounds.

Introduction

The philosophy of middle schooling emphasises the development of skills that are meaningful to the lives of young adolescents (Beane, 1991, 1993, 1996, 1998a, 1998b; Brandt, 1993; Cormack, 1998; Drake, 1993, 1998; Flemming, 1993; Fogarty, 1991; Hargreaves, Earl, Moore, & Manning, 2001; Hargreaves, Earl, & Ryan, 1996; Lounsbury, 1996a, 1996b, 2000). Such a philosophy seems to favour a holistic or integrated approach to education. However integrated approaches have to fit within an educational system that has traditionally encouraged the acquisition of content knowledge. This issue, of how integrated studies and middle schooling can fit within the culture of a school with a traditional subject-oriented structure, forms the basis of this study.

Theoretical Framework

To investigate this issue we use the pedagogic code of Basil Bernstein (1971a; 1971b; 1977; 1990; 1996; 2000) as a framework for our data collection and analysis. This code revolves around socially constructed meanings, which often go unnoticed in classrooms, but which

play an important role in how well students relate to the curriculum within the classroom and what it is that they actually learn. Bernstein's idea was that our culture could grow and change by the spread of habits and values within the educational experience. These means of propagating our culture, in his pedagogic code, are referred to as *distributive rules*. These aspects of the culture must be understood when developing appropriate curricula. He indicated the concept of these distributive rules, in his work, in terms of *recognition* and *realisation* rules. In order to operate effectively within a particular cultural group an individual needs to possess both the recognition and realisation rules of that society.

If a person has appropriate recognition rules for the culture, it will be seen in their successful orientation within that culture. It is possible to observe a person's reactions and mannerisms and how effectively they navigate themselves around the space of the culture involved to determine the extent of the recognition rules they possess. Power relationships, which are responsible for the creation of boundaries or divisions, between groups of people, between different categories of discourse (such as school subjects) and between different agents, are responsible for defining the acceptable culture of a particular group of people. In this framework, the power relation is defined by the word *classification* and within a school it can be seen in the structure of the timetabling and the arrangement of and use made of the spaces within the school, not just classrooms and halls etc., but also in the arrangement of the subjects and the importance they assume in the timetabling. The display of power is easily recognised by individuals for whom status is part of their culture and students who recognise this understand the culture of the school that is based on this power structure.

At the level of the classroom, power can take on different faces. The teacher is usually the authority figure in the classroom and is allocated the greatest amount of power. The division of power amongst the students can be witnessed in the social arrangements in the classroom. A pecking order becomes apparent, where some students assume greater degrees of power than others because of their social standing amongst the group and also because of the manner in which the teacher regards them. These power relationships contribute towards determining what categories of the *instructional discourse* can be successfully and easily adopted within the classroom. If the teacher or students do not possess adequate recognition rules of these power structures then inappropriate methods of instruction may be selected. The categories of the instructional discourse used in this study were adapted from Bernstein's pedagogic code and involved who had control over the "selection", "sequencing" and "pacing" of the work, and the "criteria of knowledge" i.e., what type of knowledge was held as important by the teacher.

In Bernstein's code (1971a; 1971b; 1977; 1990; 1996; 2000) the term, realisation rules, is used to refer to the ability of the person to communicate what they know in a manner that is acceptable and understandable to other people within the culture. Teachers, for example, may not possess the recognition rules of the students and therefore may have a completely different perception of what is happening within the school culture thus leading to misperceptions or misunderstandings. *Framing* is the method by which the realisation of power arrangements is transmitted. Framing includes the *regulative discourse*, which is responsible for providing the acquirer with the necessary skills to manoeuvre around the space of the classroom and the school, and the instructional discourse. The regulative discourse is considered by Bernstein to be the basis of framing issues and the instructional discourse can be found to be firmly embedded within it. The instructional discourse aims to give the student the necessary skills to communicate within the particular subject area in question. Students cannot simply recognise the culture of the school and the particular subject areas. They must also be able to communicate appropriately in the particular area of study if they wish to be successful within that particular discipline. The ability to communicate is

explained by the concept that the student possesses the necessary realisation rules. Figure 1 is a model of the way the regulative and instructional discourses relate to each other within this pedagogic code.

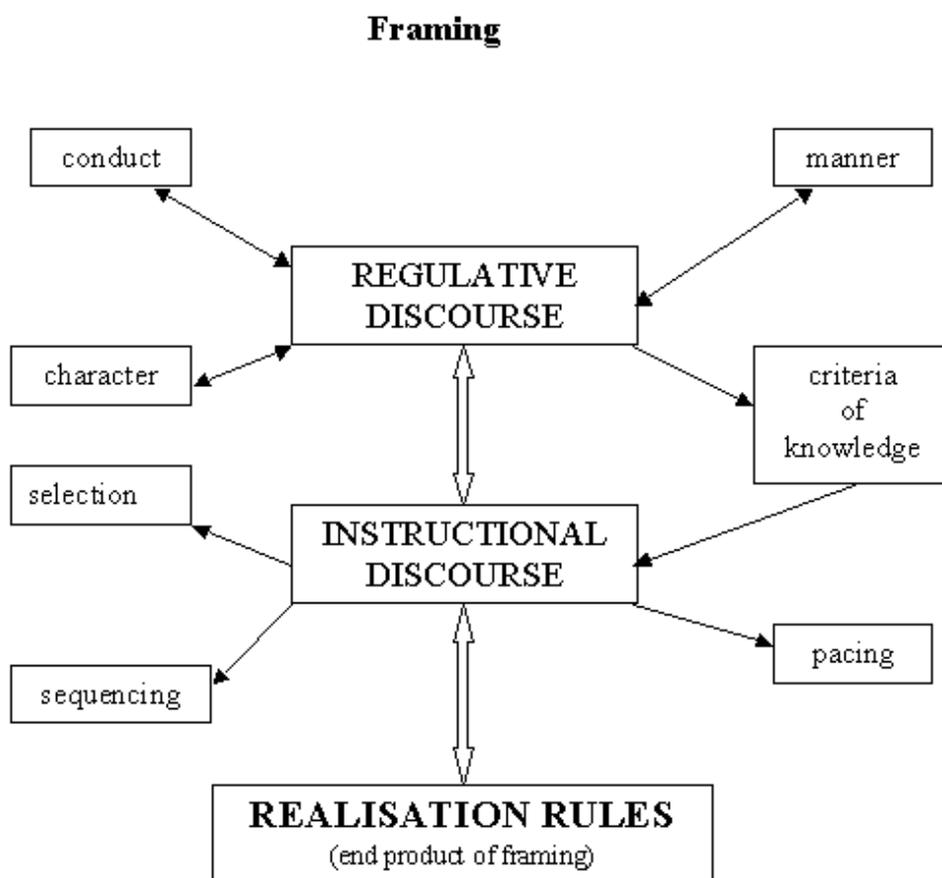


Figure 1 A model providing the framework for analysis of categories of the discourse of framing.

Taking these key concepts within Bernstein’s code and examining the school culture through a qualitative study, using these concepts as a framework, provided the data with which the school and classroom culture could be examined.

Methods

This study was located in a large, Australian, private, girls’ school comprising of an early childhood centre, junior school (to Year 6), middle school (Years 7-9) and a senior school (Years 10-12). The class under observation was a Year 7 middle school group consisting of 26 eleven to twelve year-old students and their science teacher who was also the Year 7 Level Coordinator. The class was observed during a science unit entitled, Above Our Heads, and also during an integrated unit entitled, Integrated Forensic Science. The integrated unit immediately preceded the science-based unit. Data were collected over a 12-week period, and the visits to the school included observations of 51, fifty-minute lessons (five days per week of Term four).

Multiple methods of data collection were employed, including participant observations and semi-structured interviews as well as collecting various artefacts such as test papers, practical experimental write-ups and other student written work. Seven students were later selected, on the recommendation of the teacher, for interviewing and the parents of these students were also interviewed. The teacher was interviewed before and after the observation period and there were also many informal discussions about the observations. Three other Year 7 teachers were also interviewed. I also attended meetings of the Year 7 teachers who met twice per six-day cycle to discuss various aspects of the curriculum, such as integration.

Data collection and analysis involved two major tasks. Drawing heavily on the work of Bernstein, a framework (described in the introduction of this paper) was developed to guide the research. Sense was made of the data by utilising writing as a method of analysis and inquiry (Richardson, 2000). Data were separated out to inform three case studies, one being a study of the overall culture of the school. This case study acted as a lens for the second and third case studies, embedded within it, that consisted of in-depth scenarios about the two units. The framework was used to guide this stage of the analysis and then applied in greater detail to the scenarios in order to address the four research questions.

- How are the selected units constructed in terms of ‘classification’ and ‘framing’?
- How does the classification and framing of these units match the recognition and realisation rules of the school?
- What are the similarities and differences between the units and what are their places within the curriculum of the school?
- How are the recognition rules and realisation rules of the school used in framing the curriculum?

Subsequently a mapping tool was devised as a means of assisting in data analysis. The second task was to map the data onto this mapping tool, modifying the initial tool to better accommodate the data. Meaning was then generated in the form of propositional statements about the connection between culture and curriculum practice.

Results

In this study, the framework described in the introduction, was used to explore the classification, framing, recognition and realisation rules of the school in question. Relative values were then assigned to classification (C) and framing (F) categories for the two units of study. The letters, C for classification and F for framing were used with pluses and minuses attached after the letter to indicate a relative value (after Daniels, 1987).

The regulative discourse was analysed using the categories, the school and its principal, parents, teachers and students, by collating descriptive words used by the interviewees to describe aspects of the school and the curriculum. An examination of this discourse allowed a better understanding of the framing categories. This discourse also tapped into the cultural background of the individuals and how the classification issues influenced school decision-making (see Table 1).

Table 1 Classification and Framing values that impact on the grammar of the school and the Instructional Discourse

	Classification	Framing of the Regulative Discourse
Principal's Views	C^{--} to C^{++}	F^{++}
Parents' Views	C^{--} to C^{+}	F^{+}
Teachers and Teaching Team Relationships	C^{-}	F^{-}
Students	–	F^{-}
Teacher/Student Relations	C^{+}	–
Timetabling	C^{+}	–
Spatial Arrangement	C^{+}	–
Curriculum Constraints	C^{+}	–

The instructional discourse was examined, by looking at the categories of the selection of the communication, the sequencing of the work, the pacing of the work for the individual students and the criteria of knowledge upon which the teachers chose to base the final structure of the two units observed (after Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger and Tarule, 1997). Determining the values of framing for the instructional discourse provided insight into the differences between the two units observed. An understanding of the classification, recognition rules and the framing of the regulative discourse was necessary to provide the cultural background to the school and the units and the reasons why certain parameters were chosen for the instructional discourse by the teachers.

It became apparent that the Integrated Forensic Science Unit was more weakly framed in terms of the instructional discourse than the discipline-based unit entitled Above Our Heads (Table 2).

Table 2 Framing values of the Instructional Discourse for the two units observed

Instructional Discourse	Value of Framing	
	Integrated Forensic Science	Above Our Heads
Selection of Communication	F ⁺	F ⁺⁺
Sequencing	F ⁻	F ⁺⁺
Pacing	F ⁻⁻	F ⁺⁺
Criteria of Knowledge	F ⁻	F ⁺

A Mapping Tool

A comparison can be visualised more easily if a mapping tool is used. The tool I initially chose to use was described by Parker (1994, p. 46). She took the classification and framing lines of Bernstein's and superimposed them at right angles forming a grid onto which values of classification and framing could be mapped. She also incorporated into this the concept of high and low status knowledge from Young (1971) equating them to Bernstein's collection code and integrated code respectively (see Figure 2).

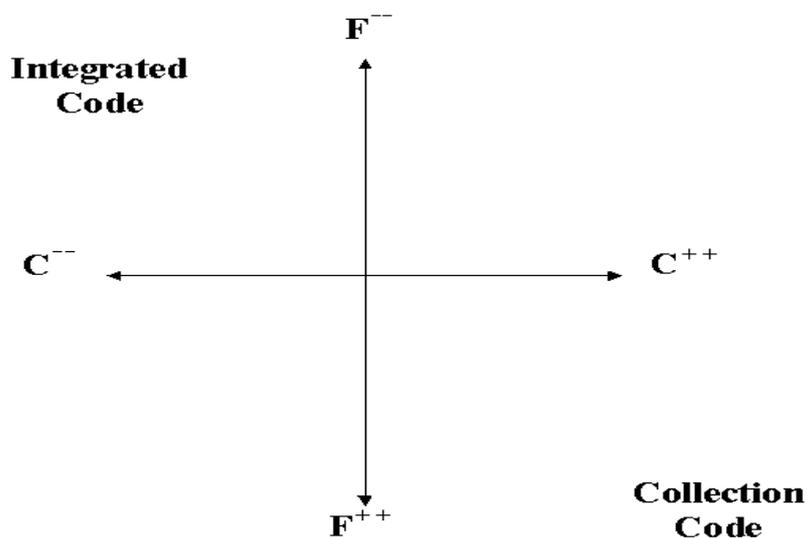


Figure 2 Reconceptualisation of Bernstein's model showing classification and framing values based on Parker (1994, p. 46).

This mapping tool was subsequently modified on the basis of the data collected and a three-dimensional tool was developed that gave greater insight into the data analysed.

Reflections on and Modification of the Mapping Tool

When trying to map the data for the instructional discourse onto the grid lines developed during the development of the framework (Figure 2) I found that a simple two-dimensional representation of the values of classification and framing was too simplistic a representation of a complex phenomenon.

My data were not clearly divided between the two units. There were some data that reflected the overall grammar of the school and were therefore applicable to both units. These overlapping data referred to the classification values of the school culture categories. I found that such data could not be easily represented on the two-dimensional gridlines of the existing mapping tool. As a consequence I chose to use the classification axis to represent the overall classification of the grammar of the school, as these power relationships appeared to be common for each of the units. I averaged classification values across these categories to arrive at a single value (C^+), reflecting the grammar of the school. Hence classification has been represented by a single axis in the modified mapping tool (see Figure 3), as it was in the original. However, the value of classification mapped is relevant to the overall culture of the school rather than individual categories of classification such as the principal. This allows comparison of the two units in relation to the overall school culture.

The framing axis was used to represent the values of framing only pertinent to the instructional discourse. These categories of framing could be applied to each of the two units. This reflected the framing of the units within the larger context of the school culture. However, this flat, two-dimensional representation did not go far enough in terms of indicating the nature of the units observed as there was no provision for showing more than a single value of framing for the instructional discourse (Figure 2). In my framework the instructional discourse had four distinct categories (Table 2). Hence, a third axis was added to the mapping tool to account for multiple instances of framing values attributable to a number of different categories of the instructional discourse. This third axis has been called “No. of instances of framing”. The provision of the third axis allowed me to represent the units in terms of the framing of the instructional discourse within the school culture. No attempt was made to identify the individual categories of framing. The third axis added another dimension to the mapping tool, which allowed for a more complete pictorial representation of the units observed.

The resulting three-dimensional map (Figure 3) represents the complexity of the framing issues for each of the units observed against the classification of the overall grammar of the school. This representation assists my final analysis by allowing visualisation of a complex, multifaceted set of phenomena.

Had the values of framing been averaged and a single value for framing recorded, for each of the units, the value for the integrated unit would have been close to F^- and for the discipline-based unit F^{++} . No common framing values would be shown and the interpretation of the results would not accurately reflect the units.

The resulting mapping tool could be used in other situations to provide pictorial representations of differently framed units of study within different cultural settings. It is important to remember that this tool provides a method of visualising qualitative data and is not intended to accurately map quantitative data. This pictorial representation of the qualitative data is an attempt to represent the blurring of the boundaries of the units.

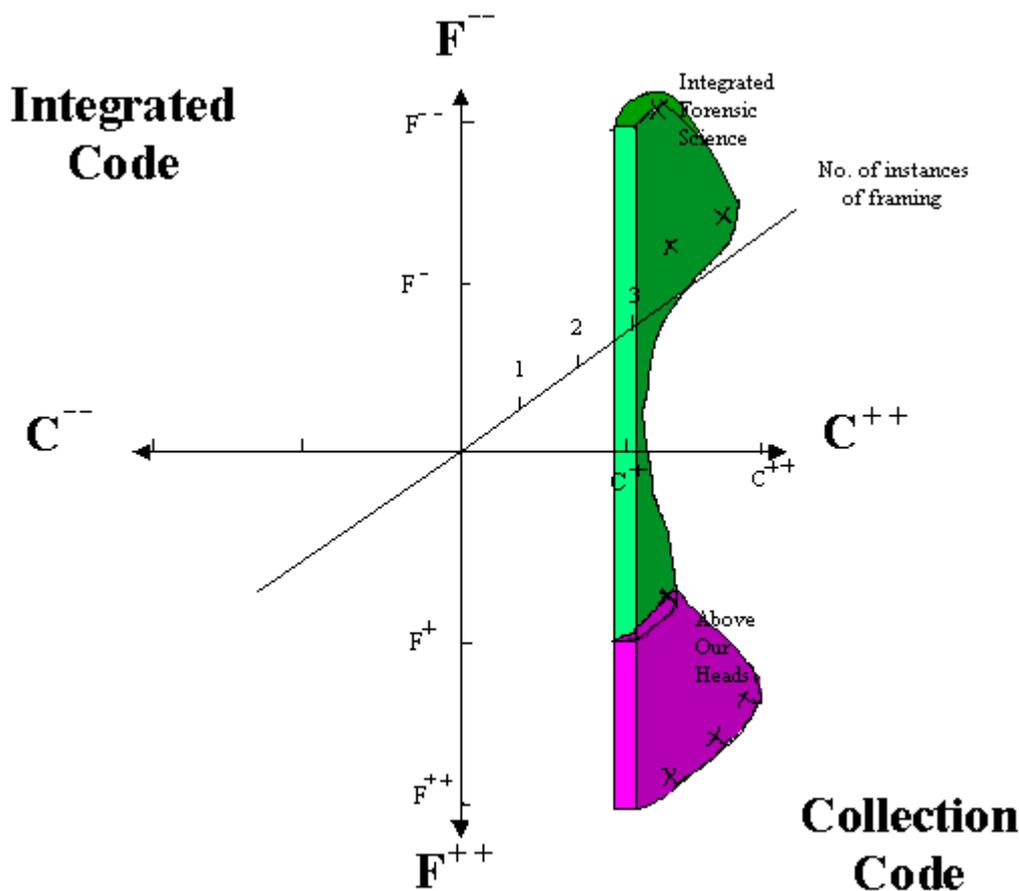


Figure 3 Map of the Instructional Discourse for the two units observed against the Classification of the School

(Each cross (x) refers to an instance of framing, for example, the sequencing of the work in the Above Our Heads unit was located at the intersection of F^{++} , C^{+} and 1.)

Propositional Statements

The purpose of the research study was to come to a better understanding of the relationship between school culture and curriculum practices using the pedagogic code. The following propositional statements are generalisable only to the extent that they match the context and experience of the reader.

Proposition One

The curriculum code in a school is strongly influenced by the congruence between the principal's espoused and realised values.

In this study I observed that the principal retained strongly held values of framing of the regulative discourse (see Table 1). The principal had strong control over the affairs of the school and in many matters his ideas predominated. The principal espoused a pluralism of

views about education — his belief in the importance of the discipline-based subjects was held alongside his belief in a holistic, well-rounded education. For the principal, integration reflected the importance of many distinct areas of study rather than eliminating boundaries between subject areas all together. The F^{++} value of framing for the principal, if superimposed on Figure 5 could be interpreted as influencing teachers to choose instructional discourses that are reasonably strongly framed, thus remaining in line with the overall framing values of the principal. In a sense, I believe that the grammar of the school and framing of the principal pulled towards a collection code and away from an integrated code. This occurred in spite of the principal's spread of classification values (C^{--} - C^{++}) and espoused belief in integration.

The similarities observed between this principal's espoused and realised values resulted in a strictly classified approach that allowed students access to a wide variety of discipline-based areas. On the other hand, this proposition would suggest that a principal with weak values of framing in the regulative discourse might lead to a style of integration that reflected weak to very weak values of classification and framing. Further, teachers implementing an integrated unit within such a school are likely to take into account the classification of the grammar of the school and the framing and realisation values of the principal and modify the unit accordingly.

Proposition Two

Parent culture is an important determinant of curriculum practice.

In this case study, parents had a strong influence on the school. Parents' perceptions of what constituted appropriate forms of education for their children became very important. They accepted the style of integration adopted by the school and provided their permission to proceed, within limitations. However, the overall conservativeness of the parent group meant that the teachers were reluctant to adopt integration more widely or in a more transdisciplinary manner.

Compared with the principal, the parents appeared to be less strongly framed in terms of the regulative discourse (Table 1). If superimposed on Figure 3 this framing value would be situated at the intersection of the two units. In my opinion it is possible that this intermediary value of framing for the parents allowed for the social acceptance of both units within the home culture, thereby giving tacit permission for the teachers to reduce the values of framing for certain units. The parents' pluralism of opinions — hence the range of classification values (C^{--} - C^{+}) — may have prevented the attainment of a pure collection code or a pure integrated code. Overall, parents held the view that the way they were taught was ultimately the way their children should be taught.

From this propositional statement it can be seen that schools do need to consider the parents' backgrounds and desires for their children's education when developing programs of instruction.

Proposition Three

While teachers may espouse weak values of classification and framing they cling to their authority in the classroom because of the school's strong classification and framing values.

All the teachers interviewed appeared to possess weaker values of framing (F^{-}) of the regulative discourse than the principal (F^{++}) or parents (F^{+}). This placed them comfortably

within the range of framing values for the integrated unit (see Figure 3). This leads me to propose that teachers found it easier to integrate units of study than the grammar of the school would suggest. Teachers' views and teaching team relationships (Table 1) were also more weakly classified than the overall grammar of the school. Again this may indicate that teachers were reasonably at ease with an integrated program. There was also a strong congruence between the framing and classification values of the middle school (F^- and C^-) and its teachers. However, teachers appeared to be reluctant to relinquish their authority in the classroom. The stronger framing and classification markers of the senior school appear to have influenced the middle school teachers. They retained at least one aspect of stronger framing, seeing the middle school as a preparation for the senior school. Most teachers believed that an important purpose of secondary schooling was to provide students with the opportunity to proceed to further education, best achieved by obtaining good results in the Year 12 external examination. This belief eroded their strongly held opinions that the middle school was the ideal place to develop lifelong skills and forced them to be more conservative in their approach to their teaching.

Proposition Four

Some overlapping values in the framing of the instructional discourse for units of work are required for integrated units to gain respectability and acceptance.

The principal and the parents held a spread of values for classification as the recognition rules identified for these categories indicated a dualism of views. Teachers appeared to be relatively weakly classified in terms of their recognition rules. The principal's, parents' and teachers' weaker values of classification (Table 1) were not being acted out in the school culture and hence the form of integration possible within the middle school was realised within a relatively strongly classified and framed school culture.

Throughout the middle school a similar style of integration was employed. This style of integration was strongly classified. However integration is normally represented by weak classification. To create a strongly classified integrated unit certain categories of the instructional discourse needed to be weakly framed. A close examination of Figure 3 reveals that some framing values of the instructional discourse were at similar levels for each of the two units observed and other values showed very weak framing for the integrated unit and very strong framing for the discipline-based unit.

The map in Figure 3 shows that the two units are positioned separately with a small amount of overlap in their framing values. My contention is that the sharing of some common framing values allows the integrated unit to be different from and yet still cling to aspects of a collection code. This provides the integrated unit with some degree of respectability and acceptance within an overall strongly classified school culture.

Proposition Five

School culture and curriculum practice are intricately connected.

Bernstein's notions of a collection code and integrated code are closely connected to an understanding of the various classification and framing issues involved in school culture. Changing to a more integrated code can only be achieved by subtle changes towards weakening values of classification (de-classification) and/or, as shown in this study, by weakening the framing of the instructional discourse.

This study showed that although the teachers were keen to introduce integration within the middle school curriculum there were many restrictions on what could be done in the classroom. These restrictions revolved around the power relationships between individuals and subjects and resulted in modifications to the integrated unit to keep it in line with the established school culture. The decision to modify the unit to reflect the school culture was not a conscious decision and the integrated unit became less integrated, in terms of the power relationships of the discipline-based subjects, over the three years that I witnessed its implementation. This was accomplished by introducing blocks of discipline-based content that could be assigned to a subject area in an effort to show that all subjects were being accounted for within the integrated unit. The need to account for the subject areas was influenced by a senior school culture that encouraged teaching to the Year 12 external examination. Although skill development was cited as an important benefit of integration this appeared to take a back seat to the content of the discipline-based subject areas. The integrated unit was adapted to fit within the classification of the school culture. This was achieved by modifying the framing of the instructional discourse. Some of the values of framing were kept in common with the discipline-based unit to allow it to fit within the strongly classified and framed school culture. This can be seen on Figure 3 where the two units meet at the intersection of C^+ and F^+ .

The integrated unit differed from the discipline-based unit in the way that the subject matter was handled in class. Students were given much greater control over the selection, sequencing and pacing of the work in the integrated unit. Because teachers weakened the framing of certain categories of the instructional discourse, for the integrated unit, some students became more confident. This increased confidence led to them becoming more visible to the teacher and other students therefore subtly altering the power relationships within the classroom and hence aspects of the classification of students and potentially the classification of the school culture.

Throughout the middle school, the classification of the subjects and framing of the instructional discourse for the discipline-based units served to influence the power relationships between teachers and students. Certain power relationships developed because of the predominance of discipline-based units in the curriculum hence contributing to the overall strong classification of the school culture. The integrated unit served to give students who might not normally be noticed the opportunity to bring themselves to the attention of the teacher and other students. This change in the power relationships among certain students due to the integrated unit could give rise to a gradual de-classification of the general school culture.

In this study the middle school curriculum has recently been modified to incorporate the development of integrated units. In Years 7 and 8 the units remain strongly classified and are integrated in terms of the framing of the instructional discourse. In Year 9 there is a greater weakening of the categories of framing, in particular pertaining to the criteria of the knowledge base. Given the situation where the classification of students and teachers is altered by the implementation of integrated units, it may be possible to witness a gradual de-classification of the school culture due to these integrated units. It follows that any de-classification of school culture would allow for the implementation of units that were more closely aligned to Bernstein's integrated code (weakly classified and framed). These observations reveal the intricacy of the connection between the curriculum and the school culture.

Implications

The five main propositional statements pose implications for teacher education, school change and future research. By implications, I refer to those questions or issues that my research has exposed but may fall outside the boundaries of my study. These implications are discussed in this section.

I believe that the use of Bernstein's pedagogic code provides valuable insight to aspects of human endeavour. An understanding of his ideas, particularly in relation to recognition and realisation rules, could assist in heightening the awareness of teachers to potential difficulties in communication within the classroom and the wider community. His ideas extend well beyond the classroom and could provide insight for organisations where a close working relationship between people is expected but often not encouraged in the most productive way. Further, a deepened knowledge of the power structures that are in play within the environment, in terms of classification and framing, may assist in developing appropriate strategies for change.

Using Bernstein's framework, it becomes apparent that the teachers' opinions about the criteria of knowledge and how they act as teachers is not simply determined by their short exposure to teacher preparation. Rather, their entire upbringing and experiences have subtly shaped their opinions about how students should be taught and what type of knowledge is valuable and should be taught in schools. Knowledge of Bernstein's ideas in relation to school culture and curriculum practice could be a useful tool to broaden student teachers' experiences and concept of schooling.

From my own contact with many student teachers and new teachers it appears that students who decide to become teachers enter teacher education courses with strong recognition and realisation values about schooling. Most were successful students who responded positively to the culture of schooling. These students, as teachers, appear to perpetuate the culture of schooling that was favourable to them, without thinking about the culture of the school they find themselves in or about the background of their students.

Personally, the use of Bernstein's framework opened up the door to the culture of the school and the classroom in ways that had not been expected. The complexity of the pedagogic code reflects the complexity of school culture and curriculum practices. In this study, the use of Bernstein's framework revealed a multitude of perspectives and opened windows to the lives of many different people. These insights brought understanding of the workings of the classroom in terms of the social background of students and teachers and provided possible reasons for certain curriculum practices.

The use of Bernstein's framework, in this study, in particular the ideas behind the development of recognition and realisation rules, has allowed me to establish some possible reasons why schools find it difficult to adopt curricula in line with new middle school philosophies. These reasons largely pertain to the culture pervading middle and senior schools. The strictly classified vertical structure throughout this school did not allow for the secure realisation of integrative practices in the manner that may seem to be ideal. Therefore practice needed to be modified to allow for the acceptance of the integrative curriculum within the culture of the school. This was done subconsciously over time with much trial and error. In this school, it has been done successfully by maintaining similarities in the instructional discourse of the integrated unit and discipline-based units and by limiting the amount of time devoted to the practice of integration.

It is postulated that some knowledge of Bernstein's ideas, in terms of recognition and realisation rules and their impact on school culture and curriculum practices, could be useful

teacher education tools. With improved recognition of the school culture teachers would be better able to decide the practicalities of various curriculum approaches. This would hopefully reduce stress and trauma when these teachers were encouraged to develop new approaches to teaching within a school culture. Developing units of instruction that varied markedly from the classification and framing values that defined the school culture could be too demanding on the established culture. Teachers would find themselves in a stressful environment that was not conducive to the acceptance of new approaches to the curriculum. Knowledge of the defining values of school culture through an understanding of Bernstein's framework could assist the development of new units.

Many of Bernstein's ideas also relate to the area of school change. Fullan (1993) notes that teachers are poorly prepared during teacher education about how to "understand and influence the conditions around them" (p. 108). If knowledge of Bernstein's framework can assist in the development of curricula that fit within a school culture then it is reasonable to believe that such knowledge can help teachers understand changes to the culture of the institution. The curriculum is only one aspect of school culture. This study has revealed that the curriculum is dependant on many factors making up the school culture, in particular, the classification values of the principal and to a lesser extent of the teachers and parents. It may be possible, when armed with a sufficient understanding of Bernstein's ideas in relation to the school culture to introduce change at the administrative and organisational levels of the institution in acceptable and sustainable ways.

An awareness of classification and framing values and the ways these values are recognised and realised within the school culture may assist in understanding the mechanisms of implementing change within the institution of the school. This knowledge could be used to implement change gradually and sustainably.

Conclusion

The study consisted of several stages. In the first stage a theoretical framework was explored and developed. Secondly, this framework was used to inform the data collection and the transformation of the data into scenarios. Writing was used as a tool to inform this stage of the inquiry process. These scenarios were then analysed in terms of the framework and arbitrary values for classification and framing assigned to categories pertinent to the framework. Fourthly, the mapping tool was re-examined and modified so that the values of classification and framing obtained in this study could be more easily visualised. From this visualisation of the data, several propositional statements became apparent. It was then feasible to consider implications for the broader educational community.

Using Bernstein's framework, it became apparent that the move towards a holistic philosophy for middle school, in this study, needed to be carefully thought about in terms of the design of the middle school curricula and the demands of senior schools that teach towards the Year 12 external examinations. Also necessary to consider are the power structures within the school and the ideals of the principal and other teachers, as well as the background of the students and their parents. The introduction of any change in the curriculum, in this case integration, needs to be carefully considered in relation to the cultural factors revealed by the framework.

It has been postulated that the use of this framework in teacher education could provide important insights for student teachers who often, as with most people, view the world from their own perspective without considering other possibilities. This framework could assist in

broadening teachers' experiences and concepts of schooling and as a result develop awareness about the learning going on in the classroom.

In conclusion, Bernstein's framework provided a very powerful lens through which school culture and curriculum development could be examined. The use of the framework enabled a broader perspective, considering the school culture equally important with the content in curriculum development. From this perspective, the curriculum is not seen as standing alone, but rather as an intrinsic part of the school culture with a delicate and intricate connection.

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