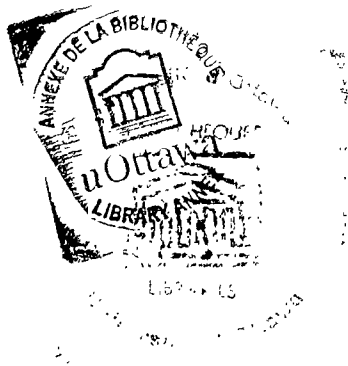



**A THEORETICAL-INTEGRATIVE MODEL
OF CORE CURRICULUM POLICY-MAKING**

by

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Thesis presented to the School of
Graduate Studies of the University of Ottawa
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy



 Caroline D. Krentz, Ottawa, Canada, 1989.

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ABSTRACT**Theoretical-Integrative Model of Core Curriculum Policy-making**

Curriculum policy-making in general, and core curriculum policy-making specifically is a phenomenon which is little understood and often overlooked in the literature. The renewed interest in core curriculum as a direction to follow in developing a required curriculum raises the issue of how to formulate a core curriculum policy that will answer the question of what all students should learn and guide the subsequent development of curriculum documents. A review of the literature regarding core curriculum revealed a lengthy history of attempts to develop and implement a core curriculum. The literature review also indicated a dearth of information related to core curriculum policy-making.

The phenomenon of core curriculum policy-making is neither conceptualized nor understood from a theoretical perspective. Studies related to curriculum policy-making fail to provide a theoretical view that describes the stages of the core curriculum policy process or the factors which affect the development of curriculum policy. Contemporary demands for decisions about required curriculum content necessitate clarity and understanding of the core curriculum

policy process. Therefore, the purpose of the thesis was to develop a theoretical model which integrates the policy process and the curriculum policy-making process to guide the making of core curriculum policy.

This thesis focused on the development of a theoretical-integrative model of the core curriculum policy process based on the findings of 38 studies of the policy process. The interpretative-theoretical methodology employed in the thesis demands rigour and careful deliberation throughout the four sequential phases. In the first phase of exploration, the methodology establishes the framework of the thesis and poses the research questions which guide the activity in the subsequent phases. The exploration phase prescribes specific criteria for selecting data sources and describes the studies.

The second phase, analysis, systematically compares the major data sources. Research questions established in the exploration phase serve as the framework to guide the analysis of the studies. Data from the analysis forms the basis of the classification phase which follows. In the classification, the data base is methodically organized into categories which assist in clarifying thought about the phenomenon under study. Categories are prepared using pre-established criteria.

The final phase of explanation presents the conceptualization of the theoretical relations in the

construction of a theoretical-integrative model of the core curriculum policy process. The model and the explanation furnish answers to the five research questions posed in the exploration phase of the study. The five research questions are as follows:

1. How does the policy process function?
2. What are the elements in the policy process?
3. What are the relationships among the elements in the policy process?
4. Are there elements unique to the curriculum policy process?
5. How is the policy process affected by these elements?

The thesis concludes that the core curriculum policy process consists of six stages of policy agenda, policy alternatives, policy selection, policy implementation, policy evaluation, and policy adjustment. The development of a core curriculum policy does not necessarily follow the sequence implied in the six stages because of the iterative nature of the process. The process is complete when the core curriculum problem is defined and the policy selected continues through all of the stages. Not all core curriculum policy-making will complete the full cycle. The complex and uncertain nature of the policy process results from the variables which impinge on it.

Six categories of elements of the core curriculum policy-making process emanate from the analysis and classification phases in the study. These categories include the curriculum, decision-making strategies, explicit and implicit variables, institutions and people. These elements interact both as internal and external factors on the core curriculum policy process. The process is seen as a decision-making process which is, in turn, influenced by the elements within each of the other five categories. Decisions at each stage affect the forward or reverse momentum of the policy process.

The thesis demonstrates that the core curriculum policy process is influenced by both internal and external factors which interact. These factors affect the policy process in terms of the nature and the number impinging on the process over time. The nature and the number of factors modify the process of core curriculum policy-making, the quality of the core curriculum policy, and the magnitude of change the policy represents.

Core curriculum policy-making seems to reflect the complex nature of the effect of these factors on the process by favouring an incremental, political strategy in deciding on policy and plans.

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INTRODUCTION

Recent education studies in Canada, the United States, and the western world focus attention on the school curriculum. Resolving the question of what students should learn in elementary and secondary school is by no means a new issue (Spencer, 1860) but one which confronts educators on a recurrent basis (Sizer, 1984). Core curriculum has been offered in the past (Alberty, 1953; Fraley, 1977; Smith, Stanley & Shores, 1957) as a means of organizing and selecting curriculum content specific to certain goals. Today, core curriculum is again being discussed in the literature and by various levels of government as a potential solution to the continuing quest for appropriate curriculum content and structure (Adler, 1982; Barrow, 1979; Boyer, 1983; Chitty, 1979; Friedenborg, 1982; Holt, 1976; Morgan, 1980; Roberts & Cawelti, 1984; Toomey, 1980; Vars, 1981). The writer, as a former director of curriculum in the province of Saskatchewan, participated in the development of a core curriculum policy for elementary and secondary students. It was evident to the writer during the policy-making process that curriculum policy-makers must again consider the difficulties associated with core curriculum.

The renewed interest in core curriculum brings to the fore the major shortcomings of the earlier attempts to develop core curriculum. Because the core curriculum literature offers little in the way of positive suggestions for learning from the mistakes of the past, another source must be explored. What seems to be needed is another view of this complex problem. Perhaps Short (1983a) has a contribution to make in this regard when he draws attention to the distinction between the curriculum development process and the curriculum policy process. The core curriculum movement may have suffered because of the failure to see the need for a process that Short describes as making "initial general determinations" (p. 44). These "determinations" fall into the area of curriculum policy-making as opposed to curriculum development. The task, then, of deciding what should be the intent of the content and structure of the core curriculum is designated to policy-making as opposed to the curriculum development process which "involves any curriculum-related decision-making that is done subsequent to the making of initial general determinations of substantive curriculum policy" (Short, 1983a, p. 44). It would seem that the early activities in core curriculum in the United States and Canada did not clearly determine the "kind, structure, and intent" of core curriculum and resulted in a variety of definitions and interpretations of core. Consequently, core

programs varied widely and failed to achieve what their advocates intended. At the time, however, it seems that educational policy-making in general (which includes curriculum policy-making) was limited and inadequate (Conant, 1964).

Recent education reports in Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States raise a list of curriculum concerns for the consideration of curriculum decision-makers today in the development of a core curriculum policy. The current core curriculum literature offers little guidance to the curriculum policy-maker. Rather, it reveals a continuing debate about the definition, goals, and content of such a policy (Barrow, 1979; Boyer, 1983; Chitty, 1979; CMEC, 1979; Enns & Connelly, 1979; Harris, 1977; Hughes, 1982; Lawton, 1980b; Morgan, 1980; Tanner, 1984; Toomey, 1980; Tripp & Watt, 1984). There is little in the way of concrete help for the decision-maker to assist in formulating a core curriculum policy that satisfies all the concerns.

Policy literature, on the other hand, contains a vast amount of material, some of which may have application to core curriculum policy-making. In recent years, the policy sciences area has experienced growth and development to the extent that it may provide assistance to the core curriculum policy process (Harman, 1975; Mitchell, 1984). Within the policy literature, the very abundance of information may be a deterrent to the curriculum policy-maker. Indeed, the

need for a bridge between the policy theory and educational practice has been identified (Elboim-Dror, 1970; Mitchell, 1984; Sergiovanni, 1981). Policy literature upholds the need for help in applying what is now known about the policy process. Quade (1982) indicates that "satisfactory theoretical foundations for guiding action is lacking. Consequently, we must again rely on model building" (p. 143).

The need for model building springs from the dearth of information related to curriculum policy-making. With so limited a range of material available, the building of a model using the domain of policy-making to help explain the curriculum policy-making process expands knowledge of both processes. Kaplan (1964) indicates that two kinds of knowledge emanate from theory building. "Extension" of knowledge occurs when the boundaries of existing theory expand to include factors not considered previously. "Intension" of knowledge results when existing explanations of an area are strengthened by the activity. Building a theoretical model which integrates the existing knowledge of the policy process with the related area of curriculum policy-making will extend knowledge in the curriculum policy area while furthering understanding of the policy process. In this way, it is possible to move from the known to the unknown in a systematic manner (Belth, 1969). Halpin's (1958) view that there are specific factors in educational administration that distinguish it from other and more

general forms of administration may hold true for curriculum policy-making and the broader policy-making process.

It is against this background that a model which integrates the theory of the policy process with the practice of making core curriculum policy is proposed. The purpose of this study is to develop a theoretical model which integrates the policy process and the curriculum policy-making process to guide the making of core curriculum policy. The model is developed using a rigorous methodology which demands that data meeting specific criteria be examined and analyzed. The results of the analysis are then subjected to the interpretative-theoretical methodology to produce the model. The theoretical-integrative model presents curriculum policy-making as a process separate from and previous to curriculum development. The model assists understanding of the core curriculum policy-making process. The study is presented in six chapters. The first chapter contains the rationale for combining the policy theory and the curriculum policy-making process. In the second chapter, the methodology appropriate to the development of a theoretical-integrative model is presented. Subsequently chapter three consists of an examination of the data used in the study. Chapter four analyzes and categorizes the findings. The fifth chapter presents the model and explains the relationships among the categories. The final chapter summarizes the study's results and discusses the implications of the model.

CHAPTER ONE

Core Curriculum and the Policy Context

In this chapter, literature related to core curriculum is reviewed to show how core curriculum has evolved during the twentieth century in North America. The historical perspective places core curriculum in the context of contemporary debates about core curriculum policy. A second body of literature presents the theoretical framework of the policy process.

Historical Background

For purposes of this review, the historical time frame encompasses the years 1900 to 1960. It was during these years that the core curriculum movement had its beginnings and demise in the United States (Fraley, 1977; Zais, 1976). Growth of schools and accessibility to primary and secondary education reached its peak during the first half of the twentieth century. Social conditions of depression, war immigration and population increase contributed to the ground swell for change to curriculum offerings and designs (Faunce & Bossing, 1958). The core curriculum movement seems to have been one of the responses to the pressures on schools to accommodate changing social and economic conditions.

Early Indications

Even before the turn of the century, the American common school ideal supported the extension of schooling and the expansion of school content for all levels of society. The common school movement set a pattern for combining education, social equality and democracy.

Early in the twentieth century the concept of core curriculum arose as a result of "piecemeal learning accumulated from separate subjects" (Smith, Stanley & Shores, 1957, p.311). This fragmentation of curriculum offerings resulted in what Zais (1976) describes as the "Ziller plan," a core of "cultural studies--biblical and profane history and literature--...about which the other subjects were organized," and the "Parker plan," a core of "sciences--mineralogy, zoology, anthropology and history" (p. 420). The core in these two plans was simply a list of required courses. Fraley (1977) agrees that the term "core curriculum" did, at first, refer to a set of required courses.

Both the concern for the preservation of democratic ideals and the need for a coherent curriculum design appear as early contributing factors in the rise of the core curriculum movement. The era of progressivism continued the development of the concept of core curriculum.

The Progressive Movement

With the progressive movement in North America came the view that social values should be included in the school curriculum. The National Education Association's Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education and its publication of "Cardinal Principles" support this addition (Fraley, 1977). The progressive movement took a different view of core than that of course requirements. Zais (1976) indicates that "the progressives proposed a core of studies that would centre on common individual and social needs" (p. 420). In fact, at least three types of core programs grew out of the movement (Zais, 1976): (1) areas of living or social functions core, (2) social problems core, and (3) learner-centred core. Core curriculum, even in its early history, shows a variety of designs and interpretations. Each of these interpretations appears to arise out of a specific context with a number of factors impinging on its development. At the time each particular design evolved, there was no indication that any type of logical analysis gave rise to the specific curriculum structure. Rather, as Fraley (1977) observes "core was promoted on the premise that a teacher will try out general theories in the classroom to see if they work" (p. 10). As a result, the term "core" came to be used in many ways or synonymously with many other terms. Alberty and Alberty (1968) list terms such as:

Basic Education, Fundamental Learning, Common Learnings, Self-Contained Classes, General Education Classes, Unified Studies, Correlated Studies, Core-type Classes, 'Five' Core Classes, Block-Time Classes...Required Courses. (p. 204)

What is clear is that the application of the term "core" varied from content to organization, from subjects to scheduling.

Influence of the Eight Year Study

The Progressive Education Association and its Eight Year Study greatly affected the growth of the core curriculum approach. With prominent educators involved, the study encouraged 30 secondary schools in the US. to experiment with innovative educational practices. Little guidance or help was available to prepare for the study. Nevertheless, the study proceeded and follow-up reviews showed that college students from these experimental schools were as successful in college as their cohorts (Aiken, 1942). Alberty participated in the activities of the study by conducting workshops and encouraging materials development to stabilize and refine the core idea (Fraley, 1977). Alberty describes his view of core curriculum under the rubric of "general education" when he says,

It is clear then that public education, as one of our society's chief instruments for providing optimal development of the individual and

dedication to common goals, needs to provide the conditions and opportunities for individual fulfillment in a context of ideals, values, understandings and skills that are needed by all for effective citizenship. (Alberty & Alberty, 1968, p. 200)

The term "core" as Alberty uses it, describes the various types of organization in general education. The roots of his notion of core are grounded in the notions of the democratic ideal of the American common school, the need for a coherent curriculum design demonstrated by the Ziller and Parker plans and the social values instruction of the Cardinal Principles. With the Progressive Movements' Eight Year Study and accompanying professional activities Alberty was able to refine and gain wide support for his idea of core programs.

Development of Core Curriculum

During the period of time spanned by the Eight Year Study (1930-1941), Caswell, Alberty, and other prominent educators of the time, worked towards the development of curriculum guides and supporting materials. In the southern United States, Caswell acted as a consultant to the state of Virginia in 1937 to establish a core curriculum echoing the ideals of the earlier American common school (Fraley, 1977). Caswell seems to have maintained a focus on the social, democratic orientation to curriculum while Alberty seems to

have been influenced by the Progressive Movement's orientation to the child as well as by the democratic ideal (Fraley, 1977). Consequently, core curriculum continued to exhibit both the democratic ideal as well as the personal, individual concern of the progressives.

Types of Core Programs

The literature presents other views of core for consideration. Zais (1976) describes the core as a "universally required component intended to provide common learnings, or general education, for all students" (p. 421). In his summary Zais argues that the common learnings aspect is the essential feature of a core design. A second feature according to Zais is the administrative framework, the block-time class. Nearly all core designs combined several time periods to teach the core component. The core design was intended for use at the secondary school level because of the perceived need for a more general education. In contrast to the primary level where curriculum focuses on basic or common learnings, the secondary level was seen as "fragmented" and "excessively specialized." Zais presents a skeletal structure of a core design as a demonstration of the thinking at the time. Although the structure demonstrates the central focus of the core or common learnings, Zais is quick to point out that "there is very little that can be assumed about the goals, content and organization of a core curriculum" (p. 421). With so little

clarity beyond the two features presented above core programs varied in type and description in practice.

Zais (1976) synthesizes the different types of core curriculum designs into six categories as follows:

1. The separate-subjects design is simply a group of subjects selected from the range of available courses and required of all students.
2. The correlated core attempts to show interrelationships among two or more subjects to furnish coherence and enhance the common learnings aspect of the core. Zais describes two forms of this design. The first is the presentation of material related to a similar time-period or idea. The second relates to the use of "themes, problems, or units" (p. 424). In both these variations, the content of the curriculum originates from the subjects being correlated.
3. The fused core totally integrates two or more subjects. Social studies with its fusion of history, geography, economics, sociology, anthropology, political science and psychology exemplifies a fused core. However, not all subjects or the core of common learnings can be fused so that there may be a combination of separate and integrated subjects.

4. The activity/experience core is also called the "unstructured" core, which "defines general education in terms of the immediate felt needs and interests of the learners" (p. 425). This particular design has its origins in the progressive movement which focused on learner-centred education. Often labelled as the "true" core, this design is taught in a block-time class.
5. The areas-of-living core is also considered an "authentic core design," and is based on common problems arising out of every day life (p. 425). Characteristics of this design include problem-centred rather than learner-centred content, preplanning, and integrated required learnings taught in a block-time class.
6. The social problems core is similar to the preceding design, and focuses primarily on contemporary social issues. Zais notes that the areas-of-living core sanctions the existing situation, while the social problems core critically examines conflicting value systems.

As early as 1947, Alberty presented a list of six types of core programs, but later Alberty and Alberty (1968) discussed only five types of core programs which met the requirements of general education. The five types of core designs are described as (1) separate subjects, (2)

correlation of two or more subjects, (3) fusion of two or more subjects, (4) common problems, needs and interests of adolescents, and (5) teacher-student planned activities, without any reference to formal structure (Alberty & Alberty, 1968). Compared with Zais' (1976) list, Alberty's core type number four appears to be a fusion of the areas-of-living and the social problems core.

Smith, Stanley and Shores (1957) purport that the "idea of the core curriculum is only a radical modification of the subject curriculum" (p. 313). They offer two features which distinguish the core curriculum from other forms of curriculum organization. The first is that the core curriculum emphasizes social values. The core curriculum is described as "unique in its insistence that the major goals of education be those reflecting the major needs of the social system" (p. 317). Second, the structure of the core curriculum is shaped by "broad social problems or by themes of social living" (p. 317). Subject matter loses its central focus, but is essential in defining and solving problems. Thus the core curriculum with its broad themes of social living facilitates both the involvement of children in planning and solving the social problems and satisfying children's interests and needs.

In their discussion, Smith, Stanley and Shores (1957) identify six types of core programs as follows:

Subject-centred categories.

1. unified courses in which content from particular subjects are "fused" to produce a new course labelled the core "program."
2. the cultural history core in which the unifying factor is a significant phase of cultural development. History in its broadest meaning is the core of the program so that the integration of the major fields of knowledge is broader than the fusion in the unified courses.

Individual-centred categories.

3. the adolescent-needs core is derived from individual-centred needs in reference to a social context or social relationships.
4. the interests-and-needs core is based upon an analysis of children's developmental needs as well as the demands of democratic culture. This core program is more typical of elementary school curricula.

Social-centred categories.

5. the social-functions core consists of content found in the basic and universal categories of life activities such as government, vocational activities and recreation.
6. the social-problems core differs from the social functions core in that the categories are based on

critical social problems which are significant to the life of a society.

These six types of core curriculum are parallel to those of Zais and Alberty, but are organized into three distinct categories. Of interest is the slight variations in each listing. For example, Alberty's open-ended, teacher-student planned activities are not even considered by Smith, Stanley and Shores in their presentation. This kind of variation is typical of the lack of agreement which existed in the core movement in the United States even at the height of its popularity.

Taba (1962) points out that the different meanings of the term "core" lead to confusion. She criticizes Alberty's distinction between general required content and elective content as simplistic. The types of core programs which Alberty describes are "practically synonymous with general education" (p. 408), and in Taba's view this renders the concept of core useless. Taba maintains that the core programs are not actually curriculum designs but rather class-scheduling techniques which give much larger blocks of time to content. In addition, Taba contends that it was too difficult to identify the use of core programs because of the variations in types and the lack of clarity in terms. Faunce and Bossing (1958) report that 57.3 per cent of junior high schools used core programs, but Taba points out

that Wright (1958) indicates that 31.4 per cent were using core programs.

Criticisms of Core Designs and Programs

"The theory of the core curriculum, like theories in general does not work perfectly in practice" (Smith, Stanley & Shores, 1957, p. 337). With this caution, Smith, Stanley and Shores present their views of the strengths and weaknesses of the core programs in vogue at the time. First of all, they focus on the subject-centred categories which they see as an improvement over the "piecemeal presentation" of separate subjects. The unified courses allow teachers and students considerably more freedom to explore ideas and to develop new relationships among the subjects and content. Some of these unified courses are in reality only another form of subject orientation. Little guidance is available to organize the content of the courses and the social problems roots of the core may be entirely neglected. Taba (1962) points out that without direction in organization, one field or subject becomes dominant and "violates unique qualities and contributions of 'cooperating' fields" (p. 411). Albery and Albery (1968) also recognize limitations of the subject-oriented types of core designs. Both the needs of the individual and the values of democracy are overlooked in the focus on subject matter mastery. In addition, certain subjects may still be required outside of the unified or fused design. The considerable organization

required to produce an effective core program limits the effectiveness of the attempts to unify concepts for the learner. Attention to implementation is often lacking and results in a lack of coherence and a significant knowledge base (Taba, 1962).

The second major grouping which Smith, Stanley and Shores (1957) criticize is the individual-centre core category. While the major advantage of this type of core design is its focus on individual interests and needs, questions are raised about whose needs and whose interests are paramount in the design of the program. Too often, the needs of the middle class student provide the focus and even in this choice it is assumed that all middle-class students have the same needs and interests. Although Taba (1962) agrees that the flexibility of the core type can encourage a variety of learning experiences as well as provide the opportunity for developing academic skills in a meaningful context, she too raises concerns. With such openness, the scope of learning experiences is difficult to organize with any validity or coherence. Alberty and Alberty (1968) recognize the strength of this core design in its consistency with democratic processes because it focuses on cooperative planning and individual needs. However, they too underscore the lack of continuity in learning when the process becomes the focus of the design.

The third and final set of core designs Smith, Stanley and Shores (1957) consider is the social-centred category. The focus on the social context of everyday living provides a forum for learning about value standards and value conflicts. Rather than a past orientation, this design looks at present day topics of current interest to students. The concern here is that it is difficult to ensure that the focus remains on the value conflict rather than on the historical context. Though the intent is to examine social problems, the school is itself limited in its capacity to do more than consider the problems. Solutions are beyond the reach of the curriculum. Zais (1976) argues that the criticism of the attempt to remake society in accord with the views of curriculum planners and teachers is a misinterpretation. The main advantage of the social-centred category which Taba (1962) cites is its encouragement of critical thinking and problem-solving techniques. Alberty and Alberty (1968) offer some positive support for this core design in pointing out that class barriers can be eliminated in the discussion of problems and, in turn, democratic processes practised. Because bridging between subject areas is possible in this design, the approach is consistent with theories of learning and transfer. However, Alberty and Alberty also recognize that the design is a radical departure from the subject-centred designs and that resource

materials to support the discussions may be difficult to obtain.

Overall the writers agree that teachers require the background and training to implement any of the designs (Alberty & Alberty, 1968; Smith, Stanley & Shores, 1957, and Taba, 1962). Because the changes are usually centred on the secondary school where teachers are trained in discipline areas, there is a lack of competent teachers to implement the designs (Taba, 1962) which go beyond the single subject-centred orientation. At the time these writers observed the situation, there had been little opportunity for teachers to develop the necessary skills or to practice the approaches essential to success. As Taba so aptly puts it, "one could say that the unified or core program design has not yet received a fair test" (1962, p. 412).

Research and Core Programs

Alberty and Alberty (1968) lament the inconclusiveness of the results of research into the effectiveness of core programs when they say that the research suffers from the same confusion which surrounds the meaning of the term "core." The results of objective tests at the time indicate few significant differences between core programs and other types of curriculum organization (Alberty, 1960). The Eight Year Study (Aiken, 1942) provides little help in understanding the results of core programs on college students' progress, because each of the 30 schools used a

unique program. However, Fraley (1977) reports that status studies in the 1950's indicated a consistent increase of core programs, particularly in correlated-subjects programs. She indicates that "criteria for effectiveness of the core curriculum were elusive at best" (p. 156). Most assessments of the effectiveness of core programs were not objective evaluations but rather were the results of "opinionnaires." As a result evidence that core programs attained their goals is lacking.

The Demise of Core Curriculum

At the end of the 1950's most of the impetus for the core curriculum waned. Although Fraley reports the existence of certain types of core programs, she also notes the phasing out of many of the formerly large scale programs in New York and Denver. With Conant's (1959) urging that high schools continue with comprehensive programs and required courses, and Bruner's (1960) support for the discipline orientation, the impetus swung away from innovation and back to traditional subject orientation.

Overton (1966) writes that core curriculum was a "curriculum innovation that held the attention and devotion of so many teachers and theorists for nearly three decades" (p. 533). He concludes that there were three main reasons for the fall of the core curriculum. First of all, the confusion over the meaning of the term "core" resulted in a failure of theorists to agree upon a common definition of

core. Consequently, teachers, administrators, and the public did not understand the meaning of core curriculum. Secondly, proponents of the core curriculum neglected to establish any empirical support for the superiority of core designs over traditional models. Rather, promotion of particular core designs was based upon the Eight Year Study results. Unfortunately these results did nothing to justify the effectiveness of core curriculum. Finally, there was a clear renunciation of the school's responsibility to serve in a reform capacity. Little hope of continuing with the most radical social-problems programs was evident in the late 1950's with the return to a more conservative era. Overton emphasizes that, although the core movement collapsed, "the problems of American education to which the pioneers of core addressed themselves are still with us, magnified and more unmanageable than before" (p. 536). Despite valiant efforts to bring interest, relevance and coherence to the curriculum, the core curriculum vision followed its proponents into a quiet retirement.

The early attempts to implement core curriculum failed to realize the goals of the proponents. There is little evidence that development of a core curriculum was preceded by curriculum policy-making to set the general directions through a political process. More recent endeavours to establish a core curriculum are reviewed in the following section.

Beyond 1960

The interest in a core curriculum has, however, lingered on. Vars, at Kent State University, maintains the National Association for Core Curriculum, established in 1953, as a rallying point for encouraging educators to apply the core concept to present day settings. A pamphlet (Vars & Larson, 1980) defining core curriculum and listing its underlying assumptions was available for purchase in this decade. In his writing, Vars has attempted to be optimistic about the core curriculum. As a rebuttal to Overton, Vars (1968) describes the status of core curriculum as "lively," with regular, but small gatherings of the national group to discuss the prevalence of the administrative framework of core curriculum, and the block-time schedule in junior high schools. Vars acknowledges that a lack of definition continues to plague the core movement, and that there has been insufficient research as well as difficulty in teacher-preparation. Vars recognizes that human concerns do not fall neatly into the "boundaries of conventional subjects" and consequently the search for curriculum designs must continue. Of course the core curriculum design is a viable offering as far as he is concerned.

Vars (1981) argues for the support of core curriculum and points out that the current middle school movement focuses on students' needs in a manner similar to the interdisciplinary teamwork associated with core curriculum

in the 1930's and 1940's. Present day group guidance movements appear to repeat the social-problems design. Higher education movements toward a core-curriculum design also mirror earlier attempts by the core-curriculum movement to overcome the "piecemeal organization" of subject offerings. In his view, the core curriculum continues to be a force in modern education and deserves to be maintained.

One of the major concerns still evident in Vars' writing is the lack of a clear definition which encompasses all of the examples he presents in support of the viability of core curriculum. He describes core curriculum in three different ways.

1. He declares that "core curriculum is a form of block-time program in which learning experiences are organized around problems of significance to students with conventional matter brought in only as needed to deal with these problems" (1976, p. 379).
2. He affirms that "the emphasis [is] on meeting the needs of students, as manifested in the rapidly changing society of the time in which we live" (1980, p. ii).
3. He describes core curriculum as a humanistic philosophy which is "transdisciplinary" (1981).

It is apparent that the Vars has difficulty in clearly characterizing core curriculum.

The lack of clarity about core curriculum is evident throughout the current literature. Barrow (1979) suggests that education is "concerned to produce a thriving community of autonomous and democratic citizens" (p. 56). He proposes a compulsory, common core curriculum in which the term "common" means the curriculum applies to all students. The common curriculum would comprise that knowledge which is above culture and subjective opinion. Although Barrow presents arguments for the common curriculum, his definition is so very broad that designing the common curriculum may prove difficult even with the guidance he provides.

When the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada, (1979) examined core curriculum in the provinces, it found the three following definitions of core curriculum used across the country:

1. core curriculum as a list of required courses or subjects necessary for promotion through given levels of the school program,
2. core as basic knowledge and skills in prescribed subjects,
3. core as specified goals, aims or objectives regardless of course content.

Even within a provincial system, the definition of core may not be consistent. Enns and Connelly (1979) conclude that the nature and emphasis of core curriculum change from one curricular division to the next when they found that "no

single document provides an adequate source of information on Ontario's view of core" (p. 16).

In another province, an official document regarding the core curriculum states that core

is intended to provide all Saskatchewan students with an education that will serve them well regardless of their choices after leaving school. It will both reinforce the teaching of basic skills and introduce an expanded range of new skills to the curriculum. It will also encompass the processes and knowledge needed to achieve broader goals. (Saskatchewan Education, 1987, p. 3)

The core curriculum consists of seven required areas of study (language arts, mathematics, science, social studies, health education, arts education and physical education) combined with common essential learnings (communication, numeracy, critical and creative thinking, technological literacy, independent learning, and personal and social skills and values). Both the process of developing the core curriculum policy and the definition of core curriculum for Saskatchewan have been criticized (Cochrane, 1987).

Friedenberg (1982) offers yet another view of core curriculum when he declares that schools must teach the particular culture's ideology and do it through an efficient core curriculum. This core curriculum is organized around

blocks of time in which students learn by experience. The core should be composed of knowledge most worth having, precious qualities of insight and clear values.

Britain, where curriculum has long been the preserve of the local school, has recently shown interest in core curriculum. The term "common curriculum" is used more frequently there, although some British writers draw a distinction. Lawton (1980b) feels the concept of core curriculum is weak because a recent report disclosed that nearly all British secondary schools have a core curriculum consisting of at least English and mathematics. Instead Lawton prefers the term "common curriculum" which he says is based upon the principle of social justice and would involve "defining what is most worthwhile in terms of educational knowledge and educational experiences" (p. 80). Lawton's view of the common curriculum appears to have roots in the democratic ideal of the American core curriculum movement mentioned above. Reid (1979) uses the term "common core curriculum" to describe the subjects commonly required of all students. Morgan (1980) points out, however, that in Britain the common core curriculum is specific to a school rather than system-wide as it is in Canadian provinces. White (1977) provides yet another definition of core curriculum as "any curriculum or curricular objectives laid down at national level...as indispensable for all children" (p. 181). One writer (Harris, 1977) chose not to define core

curriculum on the grounds that it would be impossible to satisfy "all ideological demands of a pluralistic society" (p.179). Consequently, any core curriculum would result from political pressure and be arbitrary.

Recent reports in the United States contain views on core curriculum. Boyer (1983) speaks of a core of common learning for secondary schools. This core is a program of required courses in literature, the arts, foreign language, history, civics, science, mathematics, technology and health. Roberts and Cawelti (1984) include Boyer's common learnings in their chronology of general education which appears to subsume the notion of core curriculum. The listing includes core requirements spanning subject requirements to the broad-fields clusters of Broudy, Smith and Bennett (1964) to Goodlad's (1984) time allocations.

With renewed interest in core curriculum, the range of problems unresolved during its height loom up for resolution. Lack of clarity in definition and content are again difficulties. Terms such as general education, core curriculum, common core, common curriculum appear to be closely linked. Decisions about curriculum policy require that terms be clarified and all necessary factors considered. Earlier policy decisions about core curriculum were limited by lack of definition, research and societal commitment. Current literature echoes similar conditions to the advent of core curriculum in the first part of the

century with patchwork curriculum offerings on the one hand and social needs on the other. The situation calls for a solution. Core curriculum is being offered again as a possible direction. Without due attention to making core curriculum policy, there is no promise that a core curriculum policy will solve the existing problems.

Setting a curriculum direction is a policy process (Short, 1983a). Before a core curriculum policy can be developed, some understanding of the curriculum policy process is necessary. Questions about the function of the policy process and elements and their relationships need to be addressed. The next section discusses the core curriculum in relation to the political context and the policy process.

Core Curriculum and Politics

The review of the core curriculum literature reveals a recurrent interest in the notion of core curriculum during the last 80 years. In spite of the concern and dedication of a number of prominent educators, core curriculum remains a somewhat elusive concept. The reason for this may be in what Harris (1977) alludes to as the political nature of making core curriculum policy. Lack of what Short (1983a) calls "initial general determinations" which distinguish the curriculum development process from the curriculum policy-making process may have contributed to the failure of the

core curriculum in meeting the goals and intents of its proponents.

When educational policy literature is examined, it seems to suggest that in the past, educational decisions were made in an apolitical context. The world of education was seen apart and separate from the world of politics (Scribner & Englert, 1977). The myth of apolitical education began early in the century to overcome the political corruption and its negative effect on school efficiency (Scribner & Englert, 1977; Wirt & Kirst, 1972).

Increasingly though there has been a trend toward more awareness of the political nature and context of educational decision-making. Pressures for more participation by particular groups (parents, students, teachers, taxpayers, minorities and federal and state authorities) expanded the political nature of education (Wirt & Kirst, 1982). Forces beyond education impinged on the decisions made within the educational context. Wirt and Kirst regard the period between 1960 and the present as a politically turbulent one for education. The increased demands for participation coupled with the effects of social and economic events (Scribner & Englert, 1977) led to a change in paradigms, to confrontation from consensus-seeking.

Curriculum policy seems no less affected by the shift of paradigms. Observing curriculum change, Reid and Walker (1975) note the importance of acknowledging the political

aspect of curriculum planning. They warn that if the rational aspect of curriculum change takes precedence over the political, the goals are less likely to be achieved. To overcome the problem, they advise that "the answer is to make sure that curriculum planning is itself to a degree political" (p. 255).

Apple (1977) supports the notion that curriculum and politics are related. He speaks of the "major gap in our understanding of the relationship between politics and curriculum" (p. 358). Wirt and Kirst (1972) add that what has previously been accepted as professional responsibilities and viewed as apolitical must be seen in a different light. Specific "professional tasks such as curriculum decisions are highly political" (Wirt & Kirst, 1972, p.4).

Other writers (Schwille, Porter & Grant, 1980) argue that teachers make content decisions on a regular basis in the school context. These decisions are political in nature and should be included in political research. Until now, political research in education has focused more on institutional governance than on the politics associated with the selection of content. Schwille and others encourage investigations of the political nature of teacher decision-making about curriculum content.

Unruh (1983) sees political awareness as indispensable when curriculum policy and direction are under

consideration. Because of the political context in which curriculum decisions take place, Unruh says that "naiveté about the politics of education or willful disregard of formal and informal power centers are out of place today" (p. 99). What is stressed is the need for political awareness and continuing dialogue to resolve the conflicts which arise in the political environment.

Another difficulty regarding curriculum is also raised in the literature. Walker (1973) points to the dearth of curriculum research and the lack of clarity about the curriculum domain. More recently, Johnson (1985) refers to the lack of discipline in the field of curriculum inquiry. Problems occur in communication because curriculum terminology is not well established. Curriculum policy-making seems to labour under the stress of both naive political practice and delayed development. Past attempts to develop effective core curriculum policy have met with little success. What seems to be needed is more understanding of politics and policy-making to close the gap between politics and curriculum. In bringing the two concepts together, perhaps the process of making core curriculum policy will be enriched. Some background to understanding policy is provided as a next step.

Theoretical Framework

Policy Theory

A unified body of policy theory does not exist (Yeakey, 1983). Rather there are several areas in the literature on which policy theory depends. Decision-making theory and the policy analysis approaches provide the context for understanding the policy theory as it exists today. The following section presents an overview of the pertinent literature.

Decision-Making Theory

Decision-making theory has grown out of a vast but disparate body of literature relating how decisions are made to their effects (Robinson & Majak, 1967). Decision-making permeates all organizations (Simon, 1957). Katz and Kahn (1966) linked policy-making and decision-making on the basis of three dimensions of 1) level of generality or abstraction, 2) the amount of organizational space affected, and 3) duration. The development of goals and objectives and the formulation of strategies to achieve the goals are policy activities based on a combination of the three dimensions.

The close relationship between decision-making and policy-making results in differing views. Some (Dror, 1968; Katz & Kahn, 1966) describe policy-making as a category of decision-making. Others see little help from decision-making theory in the understanding of policy-making because

of a failure to discriminate between the kinds of decision-making (March & Simon, 1958). More recently, however, decision-making is seen as a component of policy-making insofar as it involves the choice of an alternative from an array of choices available during the policy-making process (Yeakey, 1983). Typically decisions occur at various stages of the policy process so that the resultant product, the policy, is a combination of a series of decisions over time. The selection or policy formulation stage, however, focuses almost entirely on the decision-making activity. Pfeffer (1987) and Estler (1988) maintain that decision-making in educational organizations appears and functions differently under different conditions. The various models of decision-making may be employed throughout the policy process depending on the situation, participants and other factors. Consequently decision-making models provide some help in understanding how policies are developed by the policy-maker/decision-maker in the educational setting.

The rational comprehensive theory.

Rational decision models are possibly the best known and most widely accepted decision-making models (Yeakey, 1983). They are commonly used as guides to practice in everyday life (Harman, 1978). The theory is based upon reasoned choice between different courses of action that may resolve public policy problems (Dunn, 1981). In the rational model, policy is formulated through a series of

related steps (Dror, 1968; Braybrooke & Lindblom, 1967) as follows:

1. recognize and identify a policy problem;
2. clarify and rank the goals, values or objectives that guide the decision-maker;
3. examine all alternatives that may contribute to achievement of the goals and objectives;
4. forecast all consequences of each alternative if selected;
5. compare each alternative and its attendant consequences with the other alternatives;
6. select the alternative which maximizes the attainment of the goals, objectives or values.

The rational model is an ideal type which can serve as a guide to practice or a basis for identifying barriers to rationality (Braybrooke & Lindblom, 1967). The model provides a structure for the decision process (Estler, 1988).

Serious limitations and weaknesses of this model, however, have been identified in the literature. The rational model treats policy problems as intellectual problems and tends to disregard the political forces involved in the policy environment (Braybrooke & Lindblom, 1967) which makes the problem most complex and difficult to define. In addition, the comprehensive gathering of information in order to project all possible alternatives

and consequences is costly in both human and material resources. When human as well as technical limitations are considered, the barriers to implementing the model become obvious (Lindblom, 1959). Another concern with the model is the value aspect in which the decision-maker is confronted by conflicting values which are difficult to weigh or compare in establishing priorities. The human attributes of the decision-maker are neglected in the model (Estler, 1988).

These concerns (Braybrooke & Lindblom, 1967) have led to modifications of the model. For example, March and Simon (1958) present a "satisficing" model which suggests that decision-makers stop their search for the best or "maximizing" alternative when the first alternative that will satisfy and suffice (work) is found. This concept is labelled as "bounded rationality" and implies that rationality is limited.

The disjointed incremental theory.

This theory was first proposed by Lindblom (1959) as "successive limited comparisons" in a critique of the rational comprehensive theory of decision-making. It was more fully developed later by Braybrooke and Lindblom (1967) as a model of how policy-makers actually make decisions, avoiding many of the pitfalls of the rational theory. Incrementalism can be summarized as follows:

1. select objectives which differ incrementally (minimally) from the status quo;
2. consider objectives and the means to attain them in combination and adjust accordingly;
3. limit the number of consequences to central or important ones;
4. redefine the problem in light of means-ends, ends-means adjustments;
5. remedy present social problems rather than solve problems completely at one time;
6. share the process of analysis with various groups resulting in a fragmented or disjointed but sequential process of policy-making.

Incrementalism is politically expedient in that agreements on policy decisions come more easily when only small, incremental changes are proposed in contrast to large ones. Indeed, the term "political model" has been applied by some (Estler, 1988; Pfeffer, 1987). In addition, the model recognizes the limitations of most decision-makers and purports to describe the real situation. Practical, low risk decisions are the result. Curriculum policy-making appears to depend on this model (Kirst & Walker, 1977).

Limitations of this approach centre on its inability to deal with basic or fundamental changes and the need for policy-makers to deal with radical alternatives (Harman, 1978). When the basic policy or an entire program fails to

resolve difficulties, it is questionable as to whether an incremental change will remedy the condition.

The mixed scanning theory.

Sociology has also contributed a decision-making model in the mixed scanning theory of Etzioni (1967). He notes shortcomings in both the rational and incremental models and proposes a model which provides for choices based on both (Dunn, 1981). Because incrementalism focuses only on short term planning while the rational model accommodates strategic planning, a combination of the two may result in more effective policy-making (Yeakey, 1983). The precise combination, however, depends upon the problem. The mixed scanning model distinguishes and includes both fundamental and incremental decisions to provide for "high-order, fundamental policy-making processes which set basic directions and...incremental processes which prepare for fundamental decisions and work them out after they have been reached" (Etzioni, 1967, p. 388).

Mixed scanning can be described as a compromise model which attempts to overcome the limitations of rationalism and incrementalism (Anderson, 1979). Estler (1988) sees this model as a subset of the rational model and uses the term "participatory" to describe the model's attempt to reach consensus through agreement on rules and procedures. The model does demonstrate the fact that decisions vary in "magnitude (e.g., scope, impact) and that different decision

processes may be appropriate as the nature of decisions varies" (Anderson, 1979, p. 13; Gershuny, 1978). How the model operates in practical settings or how to distinguish between fundamental and incremental decisions are questions remaining to be explored.

Organized anarchy theory.

The literature introduces a fourth model of decision-making. Estler (1988) uses the term "organized anarchy" to denote the post-rational nature of the approach. The focus is on the process itself with its many effects which may be unrelated to outcomes rather than on goal achievement (Pfeffer, 1987). March and Olsen (1976) describe this as the "garbage can" model which is affected by the context where there is ambiguity of goals, technology and participation. They see decisions as interpretations of problems, solutions, participants and choice opportunities. This model focuses specifically on decision-making in educational organizations.

The terminology is used in a metaphorical sense rather than a literal one. Estler (1988) says that the model incorporates the familiar aspects of rational approaches but organizes them differently. Rather than decision-making aimed at achieving goals, decision-making is seen as a process loosely connected to the organizational goals or intentions. Three kinds of decision styles related to problems are possible. The first is oversight in which a

choice is made with a minimum of time and energy as well as little attention to the problems. The second decision style is flight in which the existing problem moves to a more attractive choice, but is not resolved. The third decision style, resolution, occurs when the choice actually resolves the problems attached to it.

The organized anarchy model is perhaps the least understood of the models. In some ways, it might be seen as a rational means of explaining nonrational processes which occur in educational settings (Estler, 1988). March and Olsen (1976) explore aspects of the approach in 12 cases. Taken as a whole, the cases seem to explain behaviours and processes that would be obscured by other models (Estler, 1988). While it does account for contextual variables in the decision processes, some see the approach as chaotic. One of the strengths of the approach seems to be the order that is brought to situational variables. The limitations arise when it is acknowledged that final outcomes may not be influenced by the process.

The four decision-making models provide a part of the theoretical framework for considering core curriculum policy-making. The influence of the various approaches on the core curriculum policy process will be examined in later sections.

Policy Analysis Approaches

The current policy analysis literature contains several models which focus on the policy process. In contrast to the decision-making models which describe the problem identification and policy formulation stages of the policy process, process models provide a framework for analyzing each phase of the policy process. Policy analysis has been described as an heuristic method that enables the policy-maker to identify the most appropriate direction or alternative (Yeakey, 1983). Quade (1982) describes the policy analysis process as iterative in nature with several repetitions necessary during the analytic process. He presents five states in logical order:

1. formulation: clarifying and constraining the problem and determining the objectives,
2. search: identifying, designing and screening the alternatives,
3. forecasting: predicting the future environment or operational context,
4. modelling: building and using models to determine the impacts,
5. evaluation: comparing and ranking the alternatives (p. 48).

Each of these stages in the policy-analysis process model is tied to particular activities and methods which Quade (1982) draws from other disciplines. The formulation

stage develops an issue paper which is a "formalized approach to problem definition which attempts to identify what the problems at issue really are, to isolate the fundamental objectives, to suggest alternatives and appropriate measures of effectiveness, and to identify the populations and subgroups affected" (p. 71). The second stage, search, uses techniques to find, design or screen alternatives, while the third stage, forecasting, suggests scenario writing, a description of the conditions under which "a policy is assumed to perform" (p. 191), to forecast the future context. Modelling, the fourth stage, provides information about possibilities that clarify the context for the analyst. The fifth stage of evaluation includes techniques such as the fixed budget approach or the calculation of cost-effectiveness.

Dunn's (1981) policy-analysis model more clearly ties the policy process stages to methods. Policy analysis, according to Dunn, "may be viewed as a process of inquiry which involves five policy-informational components that are transformed into one another by using six policy-analytic methods" (p. 47).

The policy-analytic methods of problem structuring, forecasting, recommendation, monitoring, evaluation are interdependent with the components of the policy process. Use of the appropriate policy-analytic method transforms the respective component into the next appropriate component.

Both Quade (1982) and Dunn (1981) emphasize the need to recognize the use of intuition, judgment and experience in the policy analysis process. In Dunn's model, practical inference indicates and identifies the use of value judgments by the analyst in clarifying policy problems.

Political Settings Models

Another grouping of models helpful in policy analysis are those which can be categorized as political settings models. In this category, composed of institutionalism, elite theory, group theory, each contributes a specific focus to policy-making within the political context. Each is described briefly below.

Institutionalism.

Because public policy is determined and implemented by governmental structures and institutions, the traditional focus of a political scientist was a description of the structures and functions, organizations and duties of governmental institutions (Dye, 1981; Anderson, 1979). More recently, attention shifted to the behaviour of the individual and group participants and to the political context (Anderson, 1979). Dye (1981) cautions that though this model is useful in policy analysis, it must not be assumed that there is a causal relationship between institutional structure and policy content.

Elite Theory.

In this model, policy may be analyzed by considering the value and preferences of a governing elite (Dye, 1981; Dye & Ziegler, 1978; Anderson, 1979). Elite theory suggests that, in general, public policy is determined by a ruling elite, and is put into effect by public officials and institutions. Dye and Ziegler (1978) provide a summary of the theory as follows:

1. Society is divided into the few who have power and the many who do not. Only a small number of persons allocate values for society; the masses do not decide public policy.
2. The few who govern are not typical of the masses who are governed. Elites are drawn disproportionately from the upper socioeconomic strata of society.
3. The movement of nonelites to elite positions must be slow and continuous if stability is to be maintained and revolution avoided. Only nonelites who have accepted the basic elite consensus are admitted to governing circles.
4. Elites share a consensus on the basic values of the social system and the preservation of the system. They disagree only on a narrow range of issues.
5. Public policy does not reflect demands of masses but rather the prevailing values of the elite.

Changes in public policy will be incremental rather than revolutionary.

6. Active elites are subject to relatively little direct influence from the apathetic masses. Elites influence masses more than masses influence elites.

Public policy, according to Dye (1981), reflects the interests and values of elites more than the demands of "the people." Because elites wish to preserve the system, changes will be incremental and not fundamental. Elite theory though demonstrates that in any political system, the few govern the many and, as such, it focuses attention on the role of leadership in policy formation (Anderson, 1979). Among the elite, there is consensus regarding the fundamental norms of the social system and the basic "rules of the game" (Dye, 1981). Consequently any competition among elites will centre around "a very narrow range of issues [because] elites agree on more matters than they disagree" (Dye, 1981, p. 31).

Group theory.

Group theory suggests that public policy is a result of struggles between groups and that the interaction and struggle among groups is central to political life (Truman, 1951). The group, rather than the individual, influences public policy formation and serves as the link from the individual to the government. Relative influence of an interest group, "a shared-attitude group that makes certain

claims upon other groups in the society" can affect the direction of public policy "if and when it makes a claim through or upon any of the institutions of government" (Truman, 1951, p. 37).

Anderson (1979) has criticized group theory for overstating the role of public officials in any policy-making process. As noted in other models, there are many factors which contribute to the policy process and can be useful in analyzing the policy process. To use group theory as the major focus in policy analysis would overlook other elements affecting policy formation (Anderson, 1979). Group theory contributes an awareness of group influences in policy-making.

Political systems model.

David Easton (1965) proposes a systems analysis model to view the responses of a political system to the forces or demands brought to bear upon it from the environment. The environment generates demands upon the political system in the form of inputs to the political system. Easton (1965) defines a political system as "those interactions through which values are authoritatively allocated for a society" (p. 21). Outputs are the policy decisions generated by the political system.

The systems model is of a highly general nature (Wirt & Kirst, 1972) but emphasizes the importance of the environment factors/demands which impinge upon political

decision-making and consequently policy-making. Dye (1981) commends the model for the valuable questions it poses about the interaction of the political system and its environment. On the other hand, the model does little to explain how policy decisions are made or how policy is actually developed (Berrien, 1968; Wirt & Kirst, 1972). The model does provide "an organizational principle" (Wirt and Kirst, 1972), which facilitates investigation of the policy process, though it provides no methodology in itself (Von Bertalanffy, 1962). However, the policy systems model contributes to an understanding of the importance of the environment on the policy output.

Policy Typology

A simple model of policy analysis is suggested by Lowi in the field of public administration. In this model, Lowi (1964) assumes that a political relationship is determined by the type of policy at stake, that is, "policies determine politics" (Lowi, 1971). He defines policies "in terms of their impact or expected impact on society" (1964, p. 689) and examines the policy-making process from the perspective of the outputs of government policy. Lowi links the types of coercion available to governments to the political context and in turn attempts to establish a relationship between coercion and four policy types: distributive, regulative, redistributive and constituent. These policy outputs are influenced by the degree of likelihood of

coercion coupled with the size of the context (individuals to group). By distributive policies, Lowi refers to the policies that give individuals something such as tariffs or subsidies. Redistributive policies are those that transfer resources through programs such as social security or progressive income tax, while regulative policies are those standards and controls which influence behaviour such as reducing fraudulent advertising. Constituent policies are directed at large groups such as establishing a new governmental agency.

Though there are weaknesses in the typology (Harman, 1978); nevertheless, it is helpful to differentiate among the policy types to link policies to processes. The major contributions of Lowi's typology are the four policy types which may help in classifying educational policies.

Understanding Policy

The term "policy" is used with a variety of meanings in daily conversation and in the literature (Harman, 1978; Guba, 1984). The etymological origins of the word "policy" are found in the Greek and Latin languages in which the Greek word "polis," meant city-state, and the Latin "politicus" meant political, and formed the later Middle English word "policie" referring to the conduct of public affairs (Dunn, 1981; Scruton, 1984). The close connection between politics and policy is immediately clear but at the same time has contributed to some ambiguities. For some,

policy is a central concept associated with politics (Scribner & Englert, 1977). Educators have acknowledged their own participation in policy development but have until recently maintained the myth of apolitical education (Wirt & Kirst, 1982). One helpful distinction that can be made for clarity is between private policy and public policy. The former consists of personal or corporate decisions while the latter concerns decisions made for or by society or its representatives. Educational policy generally, and curriculum policy specifically fall into the latter category of public policy.

The protracted debate about the meaning of the term "policy" prompts some to caution that "if a word represents everything, it risks meaning nothing" (Brewer & de Leon, 1984, p. 6). Mitchell (1984) observes that "the term policy is both complicated and subtle." Dye (1981) maintains that the debate is of little value to the study of public policy because all definitions can be reduced to one, "public policy is whatever governments choose to do or not to do" (p. 1). This notion of policy includes all government actions and not just the stated intentions of the government and its officials. A variation on this is Anderson's (1979) definition which focuses on what is actually done rather than on intentions, when he describes policy as "a purposive course of action followed by an actor or set of actors in dealing with a problem or matter of concern" (p. 3).

Actions, inaction, and intentions seem to fall under the umbrella of these two definitions.

Others have offered different approaches to understanding policy. Lerner and Lasswell (1951) view policies as a body of principles which guide actions. More succinctly, policy is the "official statement of how things are going to be done around here" (House, 1982, p. 133). There is a sense of guiding behaviour in these descriptions of policy. Yet policy can be seen as a means of solving a problem (Anderson, 1979; Aucoin, 1971) as well as providing guidelines. Dahl (1976) also sees policy as a way of improving a situation when he speaks of policy as a "bridge between what one thinks will be if one does not act and what one believes ought to be" (p. 140). Wildavsky (1979) echoes Dahl when he says "policy is spoken of as what is and what ought to be" (p. 387).

Still others refrain from defining policy at all. Lindblom (1980) asserts that "almost any definition will do, except limiting policy to decisions about standing rules to be imposed on decision-making" (p. 4). His restriction, however, appears to extend policy beyond the bounds of the definitions above.

With the many definitions available, Guba (1984) offers a framework for categorizing policy definitions into three types (Figure 1). The typology which Guba proposes can readily accommodate any of the definitions offered above and

is a useful means of categorizing policies. Understanding policy in this way has been suggested by others (Eulau & Prewitt, 1973; Jones, 1984). Identifying policy components though, is but a part of the whole, in that policy is a general notion composed of several elements (Eulau & Prewitt, 1973; Jones, 1984) and it is important to distinguish between the whole and its components. Jones lists these components as intentions, goals, plans or proposals, programs decisions or choices, and effects, but cautions that the term "policy" must not be used interchangeably with any of the parts. Further, Jones notes that legal terms such as legislation, laws, statutes, and regulations are "simply the formal ingredients or legal expressions of programs and decisions" (p. 27).

Figure 1: Guba's Policy Types and Definitions

Policy Type	Definition of Policy	Actual Policy
Policy-in-intention	1. Goals or intents	Ends
	2. Standing decisions	Rules
	3. Guide to discretionary action	Guidelines
	4. Problem-solving strategy	Tactics
Policy-in-action	5. Sanctioned behaviour	Expectations
	6. Norms of conduct	Norms
	7. Output of the policy-making system	Effects
Policy-in-experience	8. Constructions based on experiences	Encounters

Aside from the problem of "miscommunication and confusion" that may result from the lack of uniformity in policy definitions, Guba (1984) also identifies a more serious difficulty. According to Guba,

the particular definition assumed by the policy analyst determines the kinds of policy questions that are asked, the kinds of policy-relevant data that are collected, the sources of data that are tapped, the methodology used, and finally, the policy products that emerge. (p. 63)

Thus the choice of a particular definition by the policy analyst would in Guba's (1984) view, result in differential effects, some of which might not be appropriate to the situation. To overcome this difficulty, he advises that the policy analyst disclose the chosen definition before embarking on the analysis so that all involved may understand the direction and outcome of the policy investigation. In choosing the particular policy definition, the policy analyst is also advised to take the purpose of the analysis into account so that the resultant policy statement reflects the needs of the situation and not the values of the analyst.

Guba's (1984) conclusion that "virtually any policy definition must be admitted so long as its proposer can make a rational case for his or her particular usage" (p. 70) seems to coincide with Lindblom's notion that any definition

will do. From this discussion of policy definitions, there are several important observations to convey to educational policy. First of all, the lack of uniformity and agreement on definition requires that educational policy-makers acknowledge the diversity of meanings and realize the impact of various definitions on the policy statements. Secondly, some of the confusion that has prevailed in curriculum policy-making may be overcome by heeding the advice that Guba offers, that is to select a definition that is appropriate to the setting. Finally, awareness of the purpose of the particular policy will assist in selecting the appropriate definition.

Educational Policy

With all the variation in definitions of policy in the literature, it is not surprising to find the same range in the education policy literature. Kirst and Walker (1977) utilize Lerner and Lasswell (1951) to describe policy as "a guide for discretionary action adopted by a board of education to govern the work of the professional staff" (p. 54). Ratsoy (1976), influenced by Dye (1981), holds that educational policy is "whatever boards in the field of education choose to do or not to do" (p. 1). Harman (1978), however, uses Anderson's definition (1979) when he offers the view that policy is "a course of action or inaction towards the accomplishment of some intended or desired end" (p. 5). It seems clear that educational policy-making can

benefit from Guba's (1984) advice to clarify policy purpose and definition before policy analysis and formation takes place. Consensus and accommodation to the selected definition may eliminate the "miscommunication and confusion" that is prevalent in both the policy and the education literature about policy-making.

In his review of educational policy, Mitchell (1984) clusters the various definitions into four generic types. He explains that the differences among these types are a result of the "four broad, fundamentally incompatible, social science theories or paradigms" (p. 138). The four paradigms include the structural, the functional, the exchange and the interaction. Mitchell sets both politics and policy in the context of scarcity and conflict. Each of the four paradigms is an attempt to explain what is meant by educational policy. The paradigms are rooted in four major social institutions of the military, the medieval church, bourgeois economics and the cultural renaissance.

Two paradigms, structuralism and exchange theory assume scarcity as a given and attempt to control or eliminate conflict. The remaining two, functionalism and symbolic interactionism focus instead on managing scarcity while relying on cooperation and consensus. The differences between the two pairs are further reflected in how policy is defined:

1. structuralism intends to reduce conflict through direct regulation.
2. functionalism attempts to control scarcity through policy that has clear purposes or goals.
3. exchange theory sees policy as a means of influencing private choice.
4. interactionism offers policy as an encouragement of appropriate beliefs and actions.

These four paradigms provide a helpful framework from a normative perspective in sorting through the various definitions offered in the literature, though other frameworks do exist in the literature (Shapiro and Berkeley, 1986).

For purposes of this study, "policy" will be defined in accord with Lerner and Lasswell (1951), as a "body of principle [sic] to guide action" (p. ix). This definition implies goals and intentions, and specifies guidelines for action, both of which are appropriate to curriculum policy. In Guba's (1984) typology, this definition would be classified as a policy-in-intention and falls into the functionalist paradigm proposed by Mitchell (1984).

In the presentation so far, policy has been discussed mainly as a product. However, policy is more than a product; it is also a process (Jones, 1984; Wildavsky, 1979). This raises another of the confusions in the policy literature. In some instances, the term "policy-making" is

used to describe one component in a complex process, while other scholars use the term to encompass the entire policy process including policy formulation, implementation, and evaluation. This lack of clarity adds to the difficulty of applying these concepts to the educational setting and may be a source of some of the problems in curriculum policy-making noted above. This study focuses on policy as a process and seeks to understand the process to improve curriculum policy-making.

Traditionally, policy-making was assumed to be a single activity which resulted in a law, the establishment of a government department, or an expenditure aimed at pursuing certain goals (Dye, 1981). With the inevitable failures of policy decisions to effect desired outcomes, greater attention began to be focussed on the study of the policy process itself. These deliberations demonstrated that the policy-making process is "more complex than the legally oriented traditional theory" (Thompson, 1976).

The advent of the policy sciences movement encouraged a change in emphasis from a discipline-orientation to a human-centered one (Brewer & de Leon, 1984). Policy sciences, as described by Lasswell (1971) include both the "knowledge of and knowledge in the decision processes of the public and civic order" (p. 1). In other words, the policy sciences bring together theory (knowledge of the decision of the policy process), and integrate theory with practice

(knowledge in the particular policy area) (Brewer & de Leon, 1984). The policy sciences approach contrasts with the discipline-orientation of political science which focuses mainly on processes with little concern for the content or substance of policy beyond its interaction with the process (Dye, 1981; Jones, 1984). Aucoin (1971) also differentiates between two camps interested in policy-making. The first is the theorist group which constructs models of the policy-making process and the second is the group which focuses on the functioning of the process in practice by examining the actual policies. Policy sciences appears to draw both camps into the study of the policy process and thus is best suited to the educational context where both theory and practice are of importance in improving the policy-making (Sergiovanni, 1981). This study will bring together the policy theory literature and the curriculum policy-making process to improve the core curriculum policy process.

Models of the Policy Process

Several models of the policy process are presented in the literature. Each of the models situates the process within the political context (Anderson, 1979; Brewer & de Leon, 1984; Dunn, 1981; Jones, 1984; Lindblom, 1980). As Aucoin (1971) indicates,

In one sense politics and policy-making are synonymous, at least insofar as politics can be described as "the authoritative allocation of

values for a whole society" or the determination of "who gets what, when and how" (p. 13).

In this statement, Aucoin draws support from both Easton (1965) and Lasswell (1958). Dahl (1976) defines a political system as "any persistent pattern of human relationships that involves to a significant extent, control, influence, power or authority" (p. 3). Within this broad definition, the policy process is obviously a part of the political context.

The foundation for conceptualizing policy-making as a process is found in Lasswell's writings (1971). Although Lasswell refers to his approach as a map of the decision process, on examination it is obvious that it includes more than making a decision. The model encompasses seven phases, termed "power outcomes" by Lasswell. These include intelligence, promotion, prescription, invocation, application, termination, and appraisal (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Lasswell's Functional Processes of Policy

Phase	Function	Criteria
Intelligence	Gather, process and disseminate information	Dependable, comprehensive selective, creative, open
Promotional	Recommend proposals to decision-makers	Rational, integrative comprehensive
Prescription	Describe expectations	Stable, rational, comprehensive
Invocation	Characterize situation according to conformity or non-conformity	Timely, dependable, rational, non-provocative
Application	Enforce laws or rules	Rational, real, uniform
Termination	Conclude or modify rules or laws	Timely, dependable, comprehensive, balance, improvement
Appraisal	Judge success or failure	Dependable, rational, comprehensive, selective, independent, continuous

Lasswell's (1971) seven phases concentrate on the cognitive processes involved in policy development rather than on the political processes which also require consideration. The inclusion of criteria is helpful when planning activities for each stage of the policy process. Others have built upon Lasswell's framework to clarify the policy process. For purposes of this study, data which view policy-making as a process are selected.

Summary

Chapter One has presented an overview of the historical context of the core curriculum during which the movement experienced limited success in North America. Though interest in core curriculum has waned, recent events have stimulated another look at the concept of core curriculum. This chapter sets contemporary considerations of the core curriculum within the political context and suggests that the understanding of the policy process offers a means of overcoming past difficulties of core curriculum policy-making.

Because limited attention has been given to the area of curriculum policy-making in the literature, this thesis focuses on the need to apply what is known about policy-making in general to the curriculum policy-making process specifically. In this way more information will be available regarding curriculum policy-making and will increase what is known about the policy process and core curriculum policy-making. The following chapter describes the interpretative-theoretical methodology, an approach which encourages the extension and intension of knowledge described by Kaplan (1964) and is essential to improving what is known about core curriculum policy-making.

CHAPTER TWO

Methodology

Recognition of curriculum policy-making as an explicit policy area is a fairly recent phenomenon. Though the curriculum development process has been widely investigated, Mitchell (1984) recommends that policy research "document the alternative mechanisms available to policy makers" (p. 154) which would in turn provide the "initial generation determinations" that Short (1983a) describes as important to subsequent curriculum development. This type of activity though depends upon the application of comprehensive and meaningful policy theory to curriculum policy-making. The previous chapter has described the shortcomings related to earlier attempts to define core curriculum as well as the need to relate what is known about the policy process to the curriculum area. In this chapter, the methodology employed in the study is described and explained in relation to the purpose of the study and the research questions derived from the review of the literature to clarify the core curriculum policy process.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study is to develop a theoretical-integrative model to guide the core curriculum policy-making

process. The model will integrate policy theory with the process of core curriculum policy development. The methodology appropriate to the development of a theoretical-integrative model of the core curriculum policy process is based upon the interpretative-theoretical mode of investigation proposed by de Groot (1976) and theory construction offered by Reynolds (1971) and Dubin (1978). Wright (1982) successfully combined de Groot's approach with Dubin's theory building to develop a contextual model of curriculum implementation.

This study focuses on theoretical model building to improve understanding and extend knowledge of the core curriculum policy process. Kaplan (1964) says that knowledge increases by extending what is known in one area, applying it to another area, and by transforming what is known in the area itself. Building a model with an interpretative-theoretical methodology uses what is known about the policy process to extend knowledge of the curriculum policy process and to transform knowledge of the policy process itself.

Building Theoretical Models

In building a theoretical model, Dubin purports that the observer or theorist seeks to find order in the "booming, bustling confusion that is the realm of experience" (p. 5). He proposes building a theoretical model using several steps. The first step entails the

isolation of units which "constitute the subject matter of attention" (p. 7). Next the theorist describes how these variables or units of the model interact and then establishes boundaries or limits within which the theory is expected to hold. Finally the theorist explains the various system states in which the units interact differently with each other (pp. 7-8). For Dubin the adequacy of the logic used to construct the theoretical model is critical (p. 12).

Reynolds (1971) also emphasizes the logical rigour necessary in theory construction and model building. He describes a composite approach to building theoretical models. The approach consists of three phases of exploration, description and explanation. For Reynolds, exploration entails flexibility during the investigation of phenomena to develop "suggestive" ideas. The second phase results in careful descriptions of patterns found in the first phase. Then, the third phase explains the generalizations resulting from phase two.

The de Groot (1976) methodology complements and extends the steps outlined by Reynolds and Dubin. Interpretative-theoretical research is clearly more prescriptive and useful for the investigator (Wright, 1982) in developing theoretical models. The methodology entails four distinct stages consisting of the exploration, analysis, classification of the data and explanation (Wright, 1982). The first stage of the interpretative-theoretical

methodology involves the exploration or investigation of data sources which establishes the particular area of investigation and the issue or phenomenon under study is delimited and defined. The data base appropriate to the issue is also defined in stage one. This stage corresponds to Dubin's phase of isolating units in theory building and Reynolds' exploratory phase. The second stage of the methodology provides an analysis of the data through a description of the context, conditions and relationships. The analysis stage requires empirical methods and criteria to serve as guidelines in identifying the elements. In the third stage, classification of the phenomena or set of data that emerge from the analysis is undertaken. The intent of this stage is to present the results of the analysis in an understandable form. In Dubin's schema, the specification of laws and the establishment of boundaries are the second and third phases. Both methods use essentially the same process of establishing a general but broad scheme or conception through the first three phases. For Reynolds the description phase corresponds and includes generalizations. It is at the end of this stage that the investigator is able to discern the emerging theory.

The fourth and final stage in the methodology is the explanation stage (de Groot, 1976), comparable to the description of "system states" which Dubin (1978) includes as the last phase in the theory building schema. Reynolds

also includes an explanation phase. At this stage, the findings are explained, accompanied by a theoretical explanation of the relationships among the elements found in the data. A model of the findings can be included in the explanation.

While models have shortcomings, they do make contributions. Dubin (1978) views the model as a means of understanding a particular area within specified boundaries. Consequently other phenomena which contribute to the outcomes may be excluded. However, he adds that the excluded variables will not hinder understanding. Hage (1972) adds his observation that "typological arrangements tend to exclude in the process of being exhaustive" (p. 115). The simplification procedures and the focus on broad relationships among variables prevent models from generating precise predictions. Rather, models contribute by developing an understanding of the relationships among the concepts in the model. Abell (1971) sees model building as "a systematic endeavour to relate...concepts into sets of interrelated propositions" (p. 1).

De Groot (1976) recommends the interpretative-theoretical methodology as one that is scientifically acceptable and appropriate for the "interpretation and theoretical evaluation of an existing, closed set of findings " (p. 309). These findings may be from a variety of sources of a varied nature. Materials used in the data

might consist of "systematically recorded phenomena, observations and 'measured' results...factual data (and theories)" (p. 42) collected or produced by the investigator or by others.

De Groot (1976) describes this approach as attractive but highly difficult because of the dangers of subjectivity and contamination. To avoid these problems de Groot presents guidelines and controls which assist the investigator in maintaining objectivity and clarity. The stages, together with their accompanying guidelines, are presented in what follows.

The interpretative-theoretical method incorporates the phases outlined by Reynolds (1971) and Dubin (1978) and is the methodology used in this study. The objectives and processes in each phase are described below.

Interpretative-Theoretical Methodology

Stage One: Exploration

Research questions.

This stage presents the "theoretical framework" (de Groot, 1976, p. 39), the research questions and the data base or "factual underpinnings" (p. 40) used during the study. The thesis focuses on a comprehensive theoretical explanation of how the policy process can be integrated with the practice of core curriculum policy-making.

To provide a comprehensive theoretical explanation of the application of the policy process to core curriculum

policy-making, it is necessary to examine how the policy process functions, the components of the policy process and the relationships among the components in the policy process. The literature relevant to these aspects of the policy process is the policy literature which contains policy theory. Policy theory is examined using the following research questions, developed in response to literature found in the theoretical framework in the first chapter:

1. How does the policy process function?
2. What are the elements in the policy process?
3. What are the relationships among the elements in the policy process?

The review of the core curriculum literature suggested two additional questions that are important to the theoretical explanation of the policy process as it relates to the core curriculum policy process. The questions are as follows:

4. Are there elements unique to the curriculum policy process?
5. How is the policy process affected by these elements?

Using the interpretative-theoretical methodology, the thesis focused on these five questions to gather the data necessary to develop a theoretical explanation of the policy process as it relates to the core curriculum policy process.

The five questions pose the framework for the selection of the data base from the literature. Information for the first three questions is found in the exploration of policy literature related to the theoretical foundations of the policy process. Question four requires an analysis of literature in the curriculum policy area. The final question combines the literature of policy theory and curriculum policy.

Criteria for selecting literature to review included a consideration of the time period as well as the contribution the material could make to the study. For purposes of this thesis, a source is considered if it addresses at least one of the five questions. Literature between the years 1975 and 1985 is included in the study, the ten year period preceding the start of the investigation. Literature published in those years contains both recent information and conventional knowledge about the curriculum policy process and so is considered an appropriate timeframe in which to search for data for the study. A review of the period 1985 to 1988 did not reveal literature which added any new information to the data obtained in the original timeframe.

Date sources.

The literature included in the study is considered as either a major data source or as a minor data source. To be a major data source, the material must address at least one

of the five research questions. Minor data sources are those that provide further clarification to a major data source or question. For example, the data source may answer one of the research questions, but have an earlier publication date than 1975. Or the data source may not speak directly to one of the research questions but may be a reference noted as a support for a concept discussed in a major data source.

Criteria for major data sources are as follows:

1. literature published between 1975 and 1985,
2. theoretical studies, descriptive analyses, or empirical studies,
3. material that addresses policy-making as a process,
4. material describing the interrelationships between the components of the policy-making process and the curriculum area,
5. material which examines the curriculum policy-making process.

The criteria established for selection of major data sources recognize the varied nature of the literature available for analysis. Criteria broad enough to capture the relevant sources were established at the outset of the study.

Sample.

Major data sources in this investigation comprise the sample for the study. It is essential to describe how the

sample is selected to determine the generalizability of the theoretical model later.

In this study, major data sources were identified through personal and computer searches. The searches used several combinations of descriptors as follows:

1. primary descriptor "policy" with "theory" as the secondary descriptor,
2. primary descriptor "theory" with "policy" as the secondary descriptor,
3. primary descriptor "curriculum" with secondary descriptors of "policy," "theory," " theories," "hypothesis-testing," "policy-making," "policy-formation."

The searches were completed at the University of Ottawa using the Computer Search Service and in Saskatchewan by the Provincial Library Computer Search Service. The data bases included in the computer searches are:

1. Social Sciences Citation Index,
2. Sociological Abstracts,
3. Research in Education,
4. Current Index to Journals in Education,
5. Public Affairs Information Service Bulletin,
6. Management Contents,
7. Data Courier,
8. Dissertation Abstracts International,
9. American Doctoral Dissertations,
10. Comprehensive Dissertation Index.

Personal searches of major data sources include the following:

1. textbooks related to policy theory and curriculum policy,
2. reports from conferences and institutions which compiled results of discussions about curriculum policy-making.

Minor data sources consist of articles that clarify the relationships or elements of the policy process. These materials may be of a more practical applied nature than the major data sources, and may not answer any of the research questions specifically.

Stage Two: Analysis

The analysis stage presents a systematic description of the data sources. This stage requires a systematically designed procedure to compare data sources. De Groot (1976) is explicit about the need for objectivity in the descriptive phase.

This investigation analyzes the major data sources by identifying processes involved, elements in the process, relationships, and the effects of key elements on the process. The outcome of this analysis is an integrative perspective of the major data sources with answers to the five questions posed at the outset.

Stage Three: Classification

This stage focuses on the development of categories or a typology of data. The main purpose of this stage is to organize and clarify the data. The function of the categories is "to organize a range of phenomena in a coherent, but above all, useful way" (Posner & Strike, 1976, p. 667). The literature indicates that there are any number of ways to organize and classify data (Hage, 1972; Reynolds, 1971). In order to determine the usefulness of a particular classification system, it was necessary to consult the literature.

From the literature, several criteria arose for determining the adequacy of the categories utilized in this study. The factors are described as follows:

1. exhaustiveness (de Groot, 1976; Holsti, 1969; Moore, McCann & McCann, 1985; Reynolds, 1971),
2. significance (Beardsley, 1966; de Groot, 1976; Kaplan, 1964; Moore, et al., 1985),
3. mutual exclusiveness (Halpin, 1958; Holsti, 1969; Moore, et al., 1985; Reynolds, 1971),
4. purposeful (Holsti, 1969; Kaplan, 1964; Mouly, 1978; Reynolds, 1971),
5. reflection of empirical evidence (de Groot, 1976; Halpin, 1958; Posner & Strike, 1976),
6. provision of meaning or understanding (Halpin, 1958; Reynolds, 1971; Rickman, 1967),

7. logical consistency (de Groot, 1976; Posner & Strike, 1976; Moore, et. al., 1985),
8. generative power (Halpin, 1958).

During the classification stage, de Groot indicates that it is possible to use an independent judge or external reader to ensure that the categories developed are valid in light of the criteria described above. The involvement of an independent judge provides an opportunity for critical discussion of the adequacy of the categories and a validity check for the researcher.

The classification stage provides the transition from the descriptive stage to the final stage. The first two stages furnish the descriptive data from which certain categories emerge and give rise to the elements which will comprise the theoretical model of the final stage. The categories were developed to answer the five research questions:

1. How does the policy process function?
2. What are the elements in the policy process?
3. What are the relationships among the elements in the policy process?
4. Are there elements unique to the curriculum policy-making process?
5. How is the policy process affected by these elements?

Stage Four: Explanation

The fourth stage includes the interpretation and evaluation of the findings and the theoretical evaluation of the set of findings (de Groot, 1976). The strength of the explanation lies in the adequacy of the categories and in the method selected to communicate meaning and understanding. This study develops a theoretical model to assist in understanding the theoretical interrelationships among the concepts of curriculum policy-making.

Various types of models are described in the literature. Kaplan (1964) notes that there are physical, semantic, formal and interpretive models. Black (1962) writes of scale models, analogue models, mathematical models and theoretical models. Caws (1974) describes operational, representational and explanatory models. Belth (1969) identifies scale or representational models, analogues, mathematical and theoretical models.

Models are simulations of reality and may not match the actual causal process that produces the data (Reynolds, 1971). Theory, on the other hand, may describe the actual processes that cause a phenomenon in concrete settings (Reynolds, 1971). It appears that models alone are not theories, but are part of the process which may lead to theory development or knowledge expansion (Travers, 1969).

Theoretical models seem to follow a developmental view of thinking and are useful in explaining a new aspect of

experience (Belth, 1969). By combining a comparable domain with the new, unknown domain, theoretical models translate the information from the known domain into the domain which is not understood. Belth supports this view and states that models facilitate examination of events or concepts which would otherwise be beyond us. They make explanations possible, or they offer explanations, and thus they are the basis of interpretation. (Belth, 1969, p. 91)

Models may oversimplify by neglecting what is essential for understanding but, on the other hand, may provide a "sufficiently good approximation to be of considerable scientific worth" (Kaplan, 1964, p. 283).

This thesis develops a model which is explanatory and theoretical. The theoretical model provides the two types of knowledge described by Kaplan (1964). The first type, extension, expands the existing theory of the policy process to include consideration of curriculum policy-making. The second type, intension, provides more understanding of the curriculum policy-making process itself by clarifying the unique elements of the process and by showing how these elements interact in the process of making curriculum policy. Both extension and intension are accomplished through an examination of the two types of data sources in relation to the five research questions.

Summary

This chapter presents the interpretative-theoretical methodology used in the investigation. The description outlines four distinct phases of exploration, analysis, categorization and explanation. It includes the systematic procedures used in each phase.

In addition, the chapter discusses the identification of data sources for the study and the nature of the major and minor data sources. Criteria for assessing the adequacy of the categories for use in model building are also described.

The following chapter presents the exploration phase of the study. In it, the major data sources are identified and described in some detail. Information from the major data sources is further analyzed and classified in the second phase of the investigation in Chapter Four.

CHAPTER THREE

Exploration

The preceding chapter contains a description of the interpretative-theoretical methodology used in this study. The four requisite phases of exploration, description, classification and categorization were presented. In this chapter, the initial phase of exploration identifies the major data sources and describes the responses to the five research questions prepared for this phase.

The questions are as follows:

1. How does the policy process function?
2. What are the elements in the policy process?
3. What are the relationships among the elements?
4. Are there elements unique to the curriculum policy process?
5. How is the policy process affected by these elements?

Identification of Major Data Sources

Criteria for the identification of major data sources are outlined in the previous chapter. These criteria include the following:

1. literature published between 1975 and 1985,
2. theoretical studies, descriptive analyses or empirical studies,
3. material that addresses policy-making as a process,
4. material that describes the interrelationships between the components of the policy-making process and the curriculum area.
5. material which examines the curriculum policy-making process.

The major data sources for this thesis are presented in Figure 3. Each entry identifies the author(s), the date of publication, the title, the nature of the data and the source of the data. The entries appear in chronological order by year and in alphabetical order within each year. This method of presentation of the major data sources seems to be an expedient way of organizing the lengthy list. For the explanation phase of the interpretative-theoretical methodology, the goal is to describe the phenomena under investigation and to provide a broad data base which permits systematic classification. Following Figure 3, the major data sources are described in relation to the research questions. Analysis of the data occurs in the second phase of the study.

Figure 3: Major Data Sources

Author	Date	Title	Nature of Data	Source of Data
Adelman, L., Stewart, T. & Hammond, K.	1975	A case history of the application of social judgment theory to policy formulation	Empirical base	Case study
Mann, D.	1975	Policy Decision-making Education	Theoretical & practical	Textbook in Education
Van Meter, D. & Van Horn, C.	1975	The policy implementation process	Conceptual framework	Article
Dahl, R.	1976	Modern Political Analysis	Theoretical perspective	Classic political science textbook
Mazzoni, T. & Campbell	1976	Influentials in state policy-making for the public schools	Empirical base	Comparative study
Ratsoy, E.	1976	Policy making in educational organizations	Theoretical & personal perspective	Article
Thompson, J.	1976	Policy making in American Public Education	Theoretical & personal perspective	Textbook in Education
Kirst, M. & Walker, D.	1977	An analysis of curriculum policy making	Literature review	Review article
Tersine, R. & Cross, E.	1977	Towards a theory of policy: a conceptual model approach	Theoretical	Article
Worth, W.	1977	Perspectives on policy formation: an administrator's view	Personal perspective	Article
Boyd, W.	1978	Changing politics of curriculum policy-making for American schools	Literature review & interpretation	Review article

Figure 3 (contd): Major Data Sources

Author	Date	Title	Nature of Data	Source of Data
Edwards, G. & Sharkansky, I.	1978	The Policy Predicament: Making and Implementing Public Policy	Personal synthesis	Textbook
Stokey, E. & Zeckhauser, R.	1978	A Primer for Policy Analysis	Personal perspectives	Textbook
Anderson, J.	1979	Public Policy-Making	Theoretical & practical perspective	Textbook
Carson, A.	1979	Experts and the control of the curriculum	Personal perspective	Article
Doern, B. & Aucoin, P.	1979	Public Policy in Canada: Organization, Process and Management	Theoretical & practical perspective	Edited book
Dror, Y.	1979	From management sciences to policy sciences	Theoretical framework	Article
Frohock, F.	1979	Public Policy: Scope and Logic	Theoretical & personal perspective	Textbook
Pollitt, C., Lewis, L., Negro, J. & Patten, J.	1979	Public Policy in Theory and Practice	Personal perspectives	Edited textbook
Vickers, G.	1979	Policy-making in local government	Applied perspective	Article
Hughes, A.	1980	Curriculum 1980: the centralization of authority	Personal perspective	Article
Lawton, D.	1980a	The Politics of the School Curriculum	Personal perspective	Textbook
Lindblom, C.	1980	The Policy-Making Process	Personal perspective	Book

Figure 3 (contd): Major Data Sources

Author	Date	Title	Nature of Data	Source of Data
Roald, J.	1980	Private sector influences on curriculum making: the case of educational foundations as interest groups	Personal perspective	Article
Tonkins, G.	1980	Foreign influences on curriculum policy making and development: historical and contemporary perspective	Historical perspective	Article
Dye, T.	1981	Understanding Public Policy	Personal perspective	Textbook in Political Science
Rist, R.	1981	On the utility of ethnographic research for the policy process	Personal perspective	Article
Smithson, A.	1981	Curriculum policy-making at the school level: two approaches	Logical analysis	Rebuttal article
Peters, G.	1982	American Public Policy: Process and Performance	Theoretical & practical perspective	Textbook
Brewer, G. & de Leon, P.	1983	The Foundations of Policy Analysis	Theoretical perspective	Textbook
Gerston, L.	1983	Making Public Policy: From Conflict to Resolution	Practical perspective	Textbook
Short, E.	1983b	Authority and governance in curriculum development: a policy analysis in the United States context	Political analysis	Article
Feir, R.	1984	Curriculum politics: approaching 1984	Descriptive analysis	Paper

Figure 3 (contd): Major Data Sources

Author	Date	Title	Nature of Data	Source of Data
Helms, L., Hahn, C. & Engel, R.	1984	Curriculum reform: applications from organization theory	Case study	Article
Jones, C.	1984	An Introduction to the Public Policy	Personal perspective	Textbook
Linder, S. & Peters, C.	1984	From social theory to policy design	Applied theory	Article
Unruh, G. & Unruh, A.	1984	Curriculum Development: Problems, Processes, and Progress	Personal perspective	Textbook
Orpwood, G.	1985	The reflective deliberator: case study of curriculum policymaking	Case study curriculum	Article

1975 Data Sources

Adelman, Stewart and Hammond (1975) present the results of a study designed to elicit empirical support for the use of social judgment theory in formulating policy. Social judgment theory provides a theoretical framework which describes how policy-makers use cognitive systems to describe the policy environment as they perceive it. Different priorities are selected by individual policy-makers because each policy-maker perceives the environment and its variables differently. The basis of the study is to demonstrate how differences can be resolved using judgmental aids to formulate policy.

Cognitive differences are common among policy-makers because the variables observed are often interdependent and the environment somewhat unreliable. Consequently, individual conclusions about the policy context and data are vulnerable to various interpretations. The authors conclude that often policy-makers reach different judgments about conclusions drawn from the data, the appropriate policy to recommend, and how to implement the particular policy. In social judgment theory, the cognitive systems of policy-makers are described by a model representing the cognitive parameters of the participants.

The parameters include weights, function forms, organizational principles and consistency. Weights refer to the relative importance which policy-makers assign to information. The function forms can be linear or non-linear between the information and the particular policy-maker's judgment. Each individual policy-maker uses different organizational principles to combine information into a judgment. Consistency refers to the degree to which the same circumstances yield the same judgments. Social judgment theory says that policy differences can be explained in relation to these cognitive parameters.

Theorists have proceeded to use computer graphics technology to resolve policy differences. The computer system displays both a statistical and pictorial representation where policy agreement and disagreement

exist. In combination with input-output analysis which examines goal priorities and their implications, three phases were used. The subjects in Adelman's et al. study were members of an educational research institute concerned with curriculum development. The subjects were attempting to formulate an organizational policy regarding evaluation of institute projects. Though discussions had taken place participants had not been able to agree on evaluation priorities.

In resolving the differences in priorities among the participants, the methodology employed by the researchers analyzed the policy preferences using the cognitive parameters of each participant. Policies were grouped by a cluster analysis to reveal four distinct but consistent policies. The second phase of the methodology employed the use of computer graphics technology to arrive at a compromise policy on which all could agree. Although two sessions were held to attempt to reach a policy compromise, participants did not arrive at a satisfactory conclusion. The second phase had indicated that disagreement was the result of differences between a theoretical orientation regarding what evaluation should entail and a reality orientation of what evaluation could entail.

A third and final phase using input-output analysis was introduced to overcome the impasse of the second phase. Input-output analysis permitted the researcher to consider

goal priorities apart from how they would be achieved. By separating goals of evaluation (outputs) from inputs necessary to achieve the goals, it was possible to arrive at a satisfactory compromise policy. The study then showed how the goals could be achieved. Participants felt that the compromise policy was appropriate and feasible.

The study demonstrated empirically that there are cognitive differences among policy-makers and that the three-phase approach can resolve these differences. The social judgment theory coupled with computer graphics technology and input-output analysis did obtain agreement on a policy and means to implement the policy by carefully displaying the cognitive differences among policy-makers.

Mann (1975) takes a broader view and focuses on policy as a middle "stratum" existing between macro-societal problems such as race relations, national security or economic growth and operational problems of day-to-day tasks of managing classrooms, school or school divisions. The policy level demands much attention because of its complexity of factors and relationships.

For purposes of clarification, Mann discusses five characteristics of policy problems of public character, consequentiality, complexity, uncertainty, and differing interests.

The public character of policy problems means that the issue is one that affects public behaviour and is

appropriate for government action. In agreement with Adelman et al. (1975), Mann says controversy and conflict usually accompany any discussion of a public policy issue. The second characteristic, consequentiality, involves the importance of the problem and its impact on people. Intensity of the impact as well as the number of people concerned determines whether the issue is a public policy problem. Complexity, the third characteristic implies an intricate web of "economic, political, psychological, social psychological, and moral components" (p. 13) which interact as a veritable labyrinth for analysis and action. This characteristic appears to encompass the cognitive differences noted by Adelman et al. The fourth characteristic, uncertainty, is a result of the complexity and magnitude of public policy problems. Uncertainty is reinforced by the longevity of complex problems, and limited resources needed to act in a future which cannot be seen with much clarity. Finally, the characteristic of differing interests indicates the variety of views prevalent in a heterogeneous and democratic society.

The five characteristics of the policy level have implications for the policy-making process. Mann describes the policy-making process as "an activity designed to cope with those problems" (p. 17). One of the consequences which follows from the description of the policy level is that policy-making is forced into the public arena. As soon as

an issue becomes a matter of public concern, it is frequently accompanied by conflict and controversy which in turn invites public scrutiny. In educational policy-making, there is an hierarchical sharing of responsibility. As each level of the hierarchy participates in the policy-making process, there is increased opportunity for public participation.

Another consequence of the policy process is that the policy-making activity is value-laden and may involve value conflicts. In selecting a certain direction or policy, the decision-maker discloses particular values. In addition, the policy situation demands that both political considerations and technical position be taken into account. Because education is a profession there is certain empirical evidence which will affect the decision-maker. This technical information will be considered along with the political views of certain groups involved in the discussion. Mann concludes that "policy-making must accommodate both democratic and meritocratic expectations" (p. 19).

In their presentation Van Meter and Van Horn (1975) concentrate on one component of the policy process, the policy implementation phase. It is defined as "those actions by public and private individuals (or groups) that are directed at the achievement of objectives set forth in prior policy decisions" (p. 447). The definition includes

both one-time efforts and continuing efforts at achieving the changes implied in policy decisions.

The authors argue that because implementation is generic to complex organizations, it is imperative that policy implementation be better understood. To accomplish this, they propose to develop a theoretical framework. Three bodies of literature are used as a basis for the theoretical perspective put forward in the paper. These include the following:

1. organization theory and practice which receive primary attention,
2. the impact of public policy, especially in the area of judicial decisions,
3. studies of intergovernmental relations.

Using the literature, Van Meter and Van Horn frame their theoretical perspective. The implementation process begins with the decision about the goals and objectives of the policy itself and will vary as the nature of the policy varies. Policies can be classified by two characteristics: first, by the amount of change involved and, second, by the extent to which participants agree on the goals.

The first characteristic, degree of change involved, suggests that "incremental changes are more likely to engender a positive response than will drastic ones" (p. 458). The second characteristic, high or low goal consensus, seems to indicate that where there is more

consensus, there may be less resistance to the implementation of the policy. Other factors, however, also impinge on the implementation but are not discussed in any depth in the paper.

The authors diagram the dimensions of policy affecting implementation according to the degree of change and the level of consensus. For them, the majority of policies are either in the major change/low consensus or the minor change/high consensus categories. They conclude that "the probability of effective implementation will depend--in part--on the type of policy" and that the "specific factors contributing to the realization or non-realization of the program objectives will vary from one policy type to another" (p. 461).

Further, the article contains a model of the policy implementation process. Six variables and their relationships are described in the model. These are presented in what follows.

1. Policy standards and objectives. Standards and objectives provide concrete performance standards against which the policy implementation can be measured.

2. Policy resources. To facilitate the implementation of policies, appropriate resources such as funding or incentives are provided to participants.

3. Interorganizational communication and enforcement activities. Clarity of communication in and between the

originating organization and the recipient organizations is necessary. Enforcement activities may include technical advice and assistance or rely on either positive or negative sanctions to induce participation and cooperation.

4. Characteristics of the implementing agencies.

These may include both the formal structural features of organizations as well as the informal characteristics of personnel.

5. Economic, social and political conditions. These may have a profound effect on the implementation of policies.

6. Disposition of implementors. Each of the foregoing variables will be affected by the implementors' cognition of the policy, the direction of their response toward it and the intensity of the response.

In summary, the authors see the implementation as a phase of the policy process. Within the implementation model described, there are linkages between the components which may ultimately affect the implementation. For purposes of the present study, however, the interactive effect on implementation is left for others to review.

Figure 4 presents a synopsis of the information contained in each of the major data sources of 1975. The information is presented in relation to each of the five research questions described in the second chapter. Similar figures appear following the exploration of data sources in

the subsequent years, 1976 to 1985. Data from the figures is the basis for the analysis and classification phases of the interpretative-theoretical methodology. These phases are presented in Chapter Four.

Figure 4: Summary of 1975 Data Sources in Relation to Research Questions

Questions	Adelman, Stewart Hammond	Mann	Van Meter & Van Horn
1. Operation of the policy process	*Selection of priorities based on unique perception of the environment	*Middle stratum activity dealing with problems found between macro-societal difficulties and operational, daily tasks	*Action to achieve objectives
2. Elements of the policy process	*Policy-makers *Cognitive systems *Policy environment	*Values *People *Interests	*Implementation *Standards *Resources *Interorganizational communication *Enforcement *Implementing agencies *Environment *Actors
3. Relationship among the elements of the policy process	*Policy-maker forms personal judgment	*Complexity *Uncertainty *Public	*Amount and degree of consensus affects implementation
4. Elements unique to curriculum policy-making	*Applies to curriculum evaluation policy with no adjustment	*Hierarchical sharing of responsibility *Professional data	No comment
5. Impact of curriculum elements on policy process	No comment	*Increased public participation *Consider technical information *Controversy and conflict	No comment

1976 Data Sources

In his book, Dahl (1976) defines policy as "a bridge between what one thinks will be if one does not act and what one believes ought to be" (p. 140). The policy process for Dahl is an attempt to select the best alternative to reach a particular goal. This process involves both empirical analysis and normative analysis.

The selection of a particular alternative is made more difficult for two reasons, according to Dahl. First of all, the policy-maker or decision-maker may not have the empirical or factual evidence upon which to base the selection. Secondly, the normative data are uncertain and do not serve to clarify the values upon which a decision might be made. These inevitable uncertainties, Dahl says, can be dealt with through certain "strategies of inquiry" (p. 140) which will enhance the decision-making process. Dahl describes two strategies useful in selecting policies. These include strategies of pure science and holistic strategies.

Strategies of pure science are presently viewed as including factual or empirical elements. Applied to an empirical science of politics, this approach implies that ends, goals or values are beyond consideration. Dahl points out that the issue is a complex one because procedures for an empirical science of politics are not available. For example, measurement of political phenomena is undergoing a

shift from the use of qualitative data to including quantitative data as well. With more sophisticated measurement techniques, quantitative data can be used for causal analysis and provide for more efficient analysis of data. Unlike natural sciences, political choices will depend upon both the qualitative information and the quantifiable data for decision-making purposes. Dahl points out that political choices almost always involve values or standards which present a certain amount of uncertainty.

Holistic strategies attempt to counteract the uncertainty by advocating a thorough review process before a choice is made. Sometimes described as "perfect rationality," the holistic approach is a process involving the six steps of (1) recognizing the problem, (2) clarifying the goals, (3) listing all the alternatives, (4) investigating all consequences, (5) comparing and (6) selecting the policy which is most compatible with the goals.

Though appealing in theory, Dahl asserts that this process is unattainable in practice. Critics of the process have indicated that the steps are rarely used as described because decisions must be made, even when the data are not available in the time frame provided.

A subset of holistic strategies are described by Dahl as strategies of limited rationality. The incrementalist strategy is one which involves small changes and multiple

decisions over a period of time and move toward a goal. These strategies opt for a series of steps and reflect the usual practice in a world lacking in perfect rationality.

Experimental strategies offer another alternative in a world fraught with uncertainty. By attempting a small-scale trial of critical decisions, the approach attempts to supply implications of the policy choice before the large scale undertaking. This approach also has its limits and could not be used as Dahl indicates in foreign policy choices.

Because none of the strategies provide a sure way to make the best policy decisions, Dahl concludes that an imaginative search is necessary to achieve a better alternative to policy decision-making.

In contrast to Dahl's approach, Mazzoni and Campbell (1976) examine educational policy systems to determine who influences policy-making. The comparative study uses background data and issue analysis to ascertain the influentials in educational policy. Their systems-theory approach places interest groups in six categories consisting of the state governor's office, legislature, state board of education, chief state school officer, state courts and educational interest groups. The study analyzes the four functional stages of issue definition, proposal formulation, support mobilization and decision enactment to ascertain relationships among the key actors.

The authors describe influence as the dynamic in the pattern of actor relationships to perform functions, overcome conflicts, and reach decisions. Policy-making influence is seen as "the ability of an actor in a policy system to select, modify or obtain its decision outputs" (p. 4). Analysis of the data from 12 states indicates that organized educator groups are among the most influential when legislative decisions are considered. The governor and the governor's office is influential mainly in the basic fiscal policy arena while state boards of education are of marginal importance. The chief state school officer is often though not always influential in the legislative decisions but usually is influential in the educational agency arena.

In his paper, Ratsoy (1976) discusses internal and external environments as they relate to educational policy-making, particularly within school systems. The discussion draws from literature in the areas of public policy and organizational effectiveness.

Educational policy is defined by Ratsoy as "whatever boards in the field of education choose to do or not do" (p. 1), a definition which follows that of Dye (1981) who writes in the area of public policy. Just as Dahl does, this view of policy-making links it closely with decision-making to provide clear directions for action within the organizational structures. Policy, Ratsoy maintains, is

influenced by the internal and external context in which the school system is located. Context or environment impacts in various ways upon the system by either enhancing the rate of change or inhibiting change.

The external environment consists of either general factors or factors specific to particular systems. Ratsoy discusses eight environmental conditions as shown in Figure 5. Each of the eight external conditions has a particular impact on the policy process to either encourage or prevent change. The impact will depend on the setting and nature of the external conditions. For example, fluctuation in the demographic condition will at times lead to a policy of closing schools with low enrollments, while, at other times, new schools will be constructed in response to growing communities.

Figure 5: Ratsoy's Environmental Conditions and their Effects

External Conditions	Effect/Factors
1. Political	Political pressures to change
2. Legal	Laws & regulations affect and limit change
3. Economic	Related to political conditions
4. Demographic	Number, age, sex of pupils, increase or decrease in enrolment
5. Ecological	Urban/rural settings, climate, geography, social organizations
6. Cultural & Social	Socio/economic levels, language/ethnic groups
7. Technological	Rational behaviour Organize, supervise Degree of uncertainty affecting clarity of goals, procedures and results

Ratsoy discusses the internal, environmental factors of professional and non-professional personnel. From a study which observed nursing professionals and non-professionals, Ratsoy concludes that policies and regulations are affected by the training and background of personnel. The conclusion offered is that professional personnel function with a higher degree of satisfaction when less prescriptive and restrictive policies affect their work.

The effect of external and internal environmental conditions on policy-making in school systems may vary from other settings and organizations according to Ratsoy. He cautions that though policy-making aims at enhancing the achievement of goals in school systems, care must be taken not to transfer processes from other settings to school systems. To achieve goals, policy must establish guidelines and stability in the organization. However, the policy-making process needs accurate information and a sensitivity of perspective to provide certainty of increased effectiveness.

While Ratsoy focuses on internal and external factors that affect policy-making, Thompson (1976) presents a conceptual scheme which he uses to analyze educational policy-making in the United States. He begins his discussion with an explanation of the traditional view of educational policy-making. In Thompson's opinion, this traditional perspective fails to explain the dynamics of

modern educational policy-making. Emanating from Max Weber's organizational theory, past policy-making in schools occurred within a traditional organizational hierarchy. Organizational theory presented policy-making in a legal framework. Policies were made by elected representatives on school boards. Authority was then delegated to the superintendent to administer and implement the policy. A clear separation was made between policy-making and administration of the policy.

The traditional organizational model excludes both the dynamic processes of policy-making and the environmental variables which Thompson says affect policies. Because of the three levels of government in American education, the former theories did little to clarify the relationships among the federal, state and local governments. The new conceptual scheme that Thompson proposes attempts to describe the variables associated with the American federal system.

Thompson sees the school as a social system in order to identify the variables and describe their interaction in educational policy-making. He categorizes the multiple factors which influence the most important educational policy areas. Thompson identifies economic factors, social and cultural factors, political and legal factors, and social-psychological factors. The complexity of policy-making is emphasized in the presentation. Thompson points

out that differences in one of the factors will affect any of the other factors. This interaction and variability will, in turn, affect the educational policies.

In addition, educational policies themselves developed within a particular social system, the school, will affect other systems in the political, economic, social, and cultural realms. Both internal and external factors may affect the policy-making processes within the educational environment.

In developing his model to describe the structure and interrelationships in educational policy-making, Thompson next establishes boundaries within the educational system. Four policy arenas are identified in the model and consist of local, state, federal and regional arenas. These are arranged as a multiple-structure universe which include the socioeconomic-cultural factors which interact in the policy process. All factors, participants, interactions and linkages within the system and external to the system are represented.

Thompson defines policy-making as "the sum of the processes in which all the parties in, and related to, a social system shape the goals of the system" (p. 31). The processes included in the definition are those that "link the various parties together and facilitate their adjustments to each other and to the environmental forces affecting them" (p. 31). Thompson uses a modified systems

model as the basis for presenting the policy-making processes. The systems framework includes inputs, the conversion process that transforms inputs into outputs, and the outputs. He describes the conversion process as the "interaction of various cultural, structural, and situational factors" (p. 31). An interplay of various cultural, structural and situational factors affects the decisions and policies in community governments which includes schools. Thompson provides the following description of these three factors.

1. Structural factors are those long-term situations and unchanging components in the community. These include things such as the characteristics of the population, types of established organizations and legal structure.

2. Cultural factors are the values, norms and cultural beliefs of citizens in the community environment.

3. Situational factors are any issues or current concerns that will affect decisions and policies at any given time. (pp. 31-32).

In the making of policies, schools use four "adaptive" processes. These processes are used at each level of government for educational policy-making. The adaptive processes include identification, bargaining, legal-bureaucratic mechanisms and coercive mechanisms.

Identification is difficult to use as an adaptive process because of conflicting community goals. The process

calls for developing a common sense of identity to reduce conflicts and to encourage a sense of oneness. With a movement toward a heterogeneous rather than homogeneous society, identification becomes less possible.

Bargaining is essentially a process involving an exchange. It is used widely to obtain solutions where there are conflicting views. Compromise is often the result.

Legal bureaucratic mechanisms are those means of adapting which involve legal authority. These mechanisms can be used only when the legal or bureaucratic authority is upheld by the groups involved.

Coercive mechanisms are adaptive processes which result in a forced choice. Strikes or demonstrations are examples of coercive tactics.

Thompson says that the selection of the adaptive process depends on "(1) the policy-makers perception of the environmental challenges or problems that are called to act on and (2) the nature of social interaction between policy-makers and various segments of the community." (p. 34)

The data from the 1976 studies are presented in Figure 6.

Figure 6: Summary of 1976 Data Sources in Relation to Research Questions

Questions	Dahl	Mazzoni & Campbell
1. Operation of the policy process	*Selection of best alternative to reach a particular goal	*An interactive process which converts inputs into outputs
2. Elements of the policy process	*Decision-making which includes *empirical elements *normative elements	*Decisions *Actors *governor & staff *legislature *state board of education *chief state school officer *state courts *educational interest groups
3. Relationship among the elements of the policy	*Analysis of quantitative and qualitative data	*Dynamic interaction among actors
4. Elements unique to the curriculum policy-making process	No comment	*Educational policy gives direction to curriculum innovation
5. Impact of curriculum elements on the policy process	No comment	*Account for professional input

Figure 6 (Contd.): Summary of 1976 Data Sources

Questions	Ratsoy	Thompson
1. Operation of the policy process	*Choice of action or inaction	*Sum of the processes in which all parties shape the goals of the system
2. Elements of the policy process	*Internal conditions *professional *nonprofessional *External conditions *political *legal *economic *demographic *ecological *cultural and social *technological	*Factors *Economic *Social/cultural *Political/legal *Social/psychological *Internal/external *Government *local *state *federal *regional
3. Relationship among the elements of the policy process	*Conditions impinge on the organization and affect choice of action	*Dynamic interaction
4. Elements unique to the curriculum policy-making process	*Nature of the profession *training *background	*Adaptive processes *identification *bargaining *legal-bureaucratic *coercive
5. Impact of curriculum elements on policy process	*Information and perspective varies with the professional and affects the policy choice	*Selection depends on environmental factors and social interaction

1977 Data Sources

Perhaps one of the first comprehensive examinations of curriculum policy-making is the article by Kirst and Walker, published in 1971, and reissued in Bellack and Kliebard's book, Curriculum and Evaluation, 1977. The article is included as a 1977 data source. Curriculum policy is seen

as a guide to action and the process used in developing the guide is labelled "the curriculum policy-making process." The authors use formal studies, conventional wisdom and even speculation in their exploration of the curriculum policy-making process.

While various value bases affect the selection of curriculum content, Kirst and Walker indicate that the solution to the ensuing conflict is simply to delegate decision-making to an individual or group to use expert professional judgment. Decision-making is Lindblom and Braybrooke's (1963) disjointed incrementalism which is an informal process that restricts and adjusts goals and directions to make piece-meal changes.

The political interaction in the actual policy-making process emanates, in the authors' view, from the national, state and local levels. Private, professional and governmental influences impinge on curriculum policy-making. Among these, no one agency seems to have had the upper hand in formulating policy. The impact that any one influence has seems to fluctuate depending on the context. But Kirst and Walker send a warning that recalls the repercussions of a large scale emergency such as Sputnik on educational policy-making. A contribution made in this article is the presentation of the distinctive features of curriculum policy-making. Usually curriculum policy is the concern of states or local boards of education. But the implementation

of the policy depends on the support of teachers and other agencies or organizations which are very interested in having a part in policy-making. Several barriers to policy implementation are part of the education system. These include educational goals which are long term, general, and often ambiguous because of the time needed to see results and the lack of certainty about students' future requirements. Policy-making is also affected by the lack of knowledge about the phenomena of schooling. Though Kirst and Walker acknowledge the shortcomings of the curriculum policy-making process, they predict an increase in demands for participation in a more systematic process.

Tersine and Cross (1977) move beyond a framework and present a "general policy cornucopia" (p. 26) in their attempt to develop a conceptual model of the policy process appropriate to a general audience of policy-makers rather than to a specific management theory. Their purpose is to move toward a meta-theory of policy by contributing a conceptual model applicable in various areas of management and business.

To produce the meta-model, Tersine and Cross use an eclectic process of model building which takes into account the level of detail required, the selection of entities, functions of entities, and the relationships among the entities. For their purpose, the authors choose to focus on entities and their functions and to pay little attention to

the relationships among entities or among functions. The model emanating from their activity is conical with a concentric ring format. A two-dimensional perspective shows the model as an inverted triangle with ten layers, while the three-dimensional view from above presents a cone of ten concentric circles. The author's assume that the functions are iterative and overlap though the model does not demonstrate these relationships.

Ten rings, numbered consecutively from the outer to the inner rings follow a somewhat chronological sequence as far as the entities and functions are concerned. Everything beyond the core is considered the external environment. Inside the core, the outer rings represent the environment within which the business or organization exists, the inner rings contain the functions of the organization, and the central ring symbolizes the interaction between the organization and its environment. Each of the ten rings contains an aspect of the policy process. Tersine and Cross selected the following elements to represent the policy process and interpreted them as follows:

1. people--organizations, nations and systems governing or controlling actions,
2. roles people play--interactions and relationships between/among individuals and/or groups,
3. objectives--broad and general goals to be attained,

4. internal and external constraints--limitations which restrain an organization's strategies,
5. strategies--supports in achieving objectives and first derivation of objectives,
6. plans--second derivative of objectives and implementing objectives,
7. design--creative function related to plans
8. activation and organization--decision made to implement and start up phase,
9. operations--performance of actual plans,
10. exchanges--completion and delivery of product.

The model is based upon a systems approach to the policy process where "inputs must be converted efficiently and effectively into outputs" (p. 30). Although the model might be viewed as "simple and naive" (p. 30), it is an attempt to advance the understanding of all the entities or elements involved in the process.

Worth's (1977) article clarifies the relationship between policy formation and educational research. Some suggestions to improve the link between research and policy formation are offered. The author presents an administrator's perspective which is based on experience and intuition, though supported by the literature.

To begin, Worth describes three theories explaining why research is not used in policy formation. The first cluster of theories is classified as knowledge-specific theories.

These viewpoints express the idea that research is not used in policy formation because the research information is limited by the amount of data it can provide, by the methodologies which can be used in gathering the information and by the attributes of the researchers themselves. The solution to overcome the limitations calls for using a variety of methods, investigation of multi-sources and considering the findings from a practical viewpoint.

The second group of theories, the two-communities view, explains non-utilization as differences between the values and language of researchers and policy-makers. To overcome this barrier, it is suggested that trust and confidence between the two groups be improved by including researchers in the policy-making process.

The third and final collection of theories is known as the constraint theories. In this cluster, the policy-maker is required to look beyond the research context to consider the environment which includes social and political feasibility and time constraints. Researchers could overcome this difficulty by becoming more sensitive to social and political concerns and recognizing the time pressure on policy-makers.

Each of the three viewpoints points out that research could be more valuable to the policy-maker if situational and political variables were taken into account. Worth indicates that research is often used to contain further

change or as an "instrument of power and political positioning" (p. 16) to demonstrate in a symbolic way that there is something being done or to buy time.

Even though Worth recognizes that research is used in policy formation, he indicates that two major factors influence the use of research. Time in office and orientation to research in his view impinge on the use of research. The first, time in office, affects both the quality and quantity of the way research is used. When an administration is new to office, Worth says it requires information to make necessary policy changes. After some time in office, however, an administration is more likely to use research for containment and to decrease reliance on research findings.

At the same time, each administration will have a personal perspective or orientation to research. How a policy-maker uses the research data seems to be dependent upon the use of either internal logic or external logic. Internal logic is associated with the gathering, processing, and analysis of information in diagnosing a problem while external logic focuses on the political, ideological and administrative concerns. Worth describes three orientations prevalent among administrators. The first is a clinical orientation which uses both the internal and external logic. The second is an academic orientation centred on the internal processes, and the third is an advocacy orientation

where political and social concerns are prominent. The clinically-oriented administrators appear to use research most frequently in policy formation.

Worth presents three implications for research in future policy formation following from his review of the non-utilization of research. The increased use of a political model emerges as the first implication because the rational model rarely reflects the actual policy-making context. Policy-making in a political model combines conflict management and consensus building. In this scenario, Worth says that the researcher must deal with the ambiguity and bargaining which are part of the political process. Worth cautions that the researcher must attempt to bring more rationality to the educational policy-making context.

The second implication is that research must be expanded and refined in policy formation to include identification of problems, the analysis of likely solutions and the evaluation of results. In addition research could be used to communicate the nature of the problem so that all participants in the policy-making process share a common view of the situation.

Finally Worth indicates that the situational-political perspective may improve the policy-maker's and the researcher's understanding of the environment. By recognizing his own perspective, the administrator can

select the appropriate approaches and information to guide policy formation.

Worth concludes that it is essential to consider and accommodate both situational and political concerns when functioning in the policy formation arena.

Figure 7 presents a summary of the data gleaned from the 1977 data sources. The information is arranged in response to the five research questions which arose from the literature and were first presented in Chapter Two.

Figure 7: Summary of 1977 Data Sources in Relation to Research Questions

Questions	Kirst & Walker	Tersine & Cross	Worth
1. Operation of the policy process	*A process of making guides for action	*Iterative process with overlap among functions	*Process part of political framework
2. Elements of the policy process	*Values *Decisions *Influences *legislative *executive *administrative *bureaucratic *professional *private	*People *Roles *Objectives *Constraints *Strategies *Plans *Design *Decision *Operations *Delivery	*Environment *social *political *Values *Decision-making *Time *Information
3. Relationship among elements of the policy process	*Vie for participation	No comment	*Impinge on problem identification, analysis of alternatives and evaluation of results

Figure 7 (Contd.): Summary of 1977 Data Sources in Relation to Research Questions

Questions	Kirst & Walker	Tersine & Cross	Worth
4. Elements unique to curriculum policy-making process	*Goals *long term *ambiguous *general *Phenomena of schooling little understood	No comment	*Administrator in education has unique social and political perspective
5. Impact of curriculum elements on policy process	*Prevent implementation	No comment	*Affects use of data in policy selection

1978 Data Sources

Curriculum policy-making is a political process which aims at either maintaining or changing society according to Boyd (1978). In his article, he reviews past and recent attempts to resolve the tensions which result from the political nature of curriculum policy-making.

Two early but ineffective solutions are described. The first, the principle of local control, recognized the similar value structures of smaller, homogeneous units. Conflict arose, however, when state and national organizations gained more control and influence over curriculum issues. Urbanization and the more pluralistic nature of society infringed on the homogeneous values of local groups, eroding the principle of local decision-making. The second, "the one best system" (p. 580) attempted to resolve the tension by depoliticizing

curriculum concerns. An industrial model of nonpartisan governance encouraged the use of technical expertise to make curriculum and governance decisions in the public interest. But competing values and the increasingly pluralistic nature of American society challenged this nonpartisan solution to a complex problem.

Boyd asserts that curriculum becomes a political issue when significant change is underway and questions arise about the "adequacy or appropriateness of existing curriculum" (p. 582). In general though Boyd agrees with Kirst and Walker (1977) who suggest that curriculum policy-making occurs on an incremental basis. Elboim-Dror (1970) is also cited by Boyd as another analyst who sees decision-making in education as incremental. Curriculum decisions are no less affected by this approach. With the context becoming more complex, more societal expectations are heaped upon schools, decision-making becomes more complicated and incremental.

Boyd, however, makes the point that there have been frequent innovations in curriculum policy-making over time. These are explained by Kirst and Walker (1977) as the result of societal crises. This suggests to Boyd the importance of understanding the politics during crisis policy-making because he conjectures this might mean that these crisis policies would change only incrementally until the next crisis occurs. This decision-making process in Boyd's view

seems inadequate for accomplishing the challenges and tasks education faces. He argues that education has a strategy for meeting the demands and goals of education more successfully. He associates the approach with the "professionalization of reform" (p. 584) and explains that while it encourages nonincremental policy-making, it constrains policy innovation and changes policy initiatives. Understanding of contemporary curriculum policy-making, says Boyd, requires an examination of all curriculum policy-making in light of the policy-making system's response to pressures for both societal change and maintenance.

Boyd presents an historical overview of the role of the American public schools in the conflict between social control and social reform. He sets the stage by showing the tension between the ideal of equality and the fact of inequality in American society. The public school, once viewed as the key to social improvement, is now viewed with pessimism because the establishment remains and bureaucracies persist in resisting reform. Boyd suggests that the public school has often been in the middle of the control reform continuum during times of social stress.

To trace the historical nature of curriculum politics, Boyd presents three historical phases. During the first or pre-civil war period, the landed gentry and church leaders dominated with an emphasis on a non-utilitarian curriculum to maintain the stratified social system. The classical

curriculum persisted until the post-civil war period when new groups of entrepreneurs and immigrants challenged the prevailing class structure. Several avenues to higher learning came to be accepted as new educational doctrine under reformists such as John Dewey provided for more equality of educational opportunity and a productive social life. Here Boyd interjects that the business-state coalition had a powerful impact on the type of curriculum and schools which are today's legacy of the second era. The third and final phase is the contemporary one in which the deprived professionals and rebellious groups in society demanded a more responsive educational system. Compensatory education supported the "potential doctrine" (p. 587) of fulfilling the human potential of the disadvantaged.

Boyd sees this final period as one which reflects the influence of professional "reformers" intent on modifying the incremental approach to educational change. He cites Moynihan who argues that reform had become institutionalized by mid-century with support from a professional middle class determined to advance their liberal activist ideology and their own careers. This "professionalization of reform" (p. 589) has become a dynamic force in policy-making with the controversial aspect of little political accountability. Curriculum reforms such as the addition of sex education and the theory of evolution to science curriculum are examples of professional decisions influencing curriculum policy. In

Moynihan's view the reformers represent the view of a coalition of minorities rather than the mainstream of Americans. Success depends upon the skill of the professionals to avoid controversy and interorganizational networks which distribute new materials.

Constraints exist which mitigate against policy innovation. Boyd feels that understanding these constraints will clarify curriculum politics and policy-making. He assumes that all constraints are related to maintenance needs of society, communities, organizations, and individuals. Six categories describing the pressures for stability are presented as follows:

1. Nondecision-making. Potential issues and alternatives are either not recognized or not discussed openly.

2. Zone of tolerance, vulnerability, and conflict avoidance. The zone of tolerance is the range in which educational leaders are able to exercise professional leadership. The zone is bounded by the bias of the local community, the predominant values and expectations of the schools. The zone varies depending upon the type and location of the community, the issue or policy question.

3. Noninstruction. Boyd contends that there is evidence that course content in some situations excludes certain issues to avoid controversy. Sometimes conservative teachers are recruited to preserve the status quo.

4. Politics of controversy and nonpublication.

Controversy can be used to prevent curriculum innovation because both politicians and bureaucrats will withdraw the controversial material or policy. Publishers also tend to avoid controversial material. This prior censorship restrains innovation and dissemination of new ideas.

5. Noncompliance and nonimplementation. Policy-making is cyclical and includes policy implementation. The loose nature of the educational setting and the political structure in governments leads to little change even when there is agreement with the innovation. Even accountability schemes, such as testing and competency-based instruction, lack impact.

6. Nonsupport. When financial resources, materials or expertise are lacking, policy initiatives will flounder.

Curriculum politics can also be understood in light of the changing structure of authority over curriculum policy-making. Boyd says that the nature of the structure affects the extent of incrementalism in curriculum policy-making. Boyd draws upon van Geel for a summary of the changes. Four major influences have shifted authority from local school districts in the United States to senior levels of government. First, there seems to be more state involvement in determining school programs. Second, both state and federal courts seem to be taking on a more significant role in influencing school programs. Third, the federal

government has increased its involvement. Fourth, teachers' unions influence school programs in collective bargaining.

The movement to a more centralized decision-making structure has other implications. More involvement by more individuals and groups requires more time and adds complexity to the process. With three levels of authority, there is a complex hierarchy with more veto points. Citizen participation is decreased while professional determination is enhanced. All of this leads to less innovation and more incremental policy-making.

Edwards and Sharkansky (1978) select an approach to policy-making that differs from other studies but complements what has usually been labelled the analytic approach. They focus on general principles of policy-making to show the inadequacies of both the populist and rational approaches to policy-making. It is their view that policy-making is centred in decision rules which support the policy-maker in sorting through the complexity to make incremental change.

The major decision rule used by policy-makers is incrementalism. Using this process the policy-maker can sift through limited options to make policies which improve rather than solve problems. Using incrementalism the policy-maker continuously remakes the policy and remains close to what is both politically and economically feasible. Other decision rules, such as precedent can be used.

Indeed, innovation may also be necessary at times, depending on circumstances. But the policy-maker opts for incrementalism to cope with the ever-increasing complexity of the process and context.

Contrasting with Edwards and Sharkansky, the goal of Stokey and Zeckhauser's (1978) book is to introduce principles of policy analysis which the authors describe as a rational approach to decision-making. Stokey and Zeckhauser stress that decisions ought to make use of analytic methods from a variety of sources so that the decision-maker capitalizes on the best techniques available from disciplines or research. Through understanding and predicting what will actually happen in the real world the decision-maker is better able to formulate policy that will address the issue at hand. The writers say that this is essential to policy formulation. They see policy analysis as a discipline that functions within the political and economic system rather than a means of changing the system.

The policy process using the rational approach recommended by Stokey and Zeckhauser is an iterative one. The policy-maker continually moves back and forth in the process as new information or techniques are introduced to the problem. To assist in this iterative process they offer a framework to guide the analysis and to ensure that the analysis is on track.

The framework consists of five steps which may be altered by the analyst if another configuration is more suitable. The five steps echo the rational comprehensive model and include establishing the context, displaying the alternatives, predicting consequences, valuing the outcomes and making the choice.

Stokey and Zeckhauser note that the process is not a neat or smooth one. Rather it can be messy and at times confusing. The framework is offered as a means of guiding the process to ensure a rational and more orderly means of proceeding. At times the analysis will begin or end at different points in the process depending on the specific task or request. Though the problems of the real world do not necessarily fit this neat pattern, the authors recommend using the approach to encourage clear thinking and good judgment.

Figure 8 contains a summary of the 1978 data in response to the five research questions.

Figure 8: Summary of 1978 Data Sources in Relation to Research Questions

Questions	Boyd	Edwards & Sharkansky	Stokey & Zeckhauser
1. Operation of the policy process	*A cyclical process of incremental changes in a political context	*Decision-making process	*Iterative process
2. Elements of the policy process	*Politics *Professionalism *Constraints *Interest groups *Social reform *Decisions *Implementation *Authority structure *layers of government *courts	*Political feasibility *Economic feasibility *Public opinion *Political influence *Rational steps *identify problem *set agenda *set goals *review options & information *assess alternatives *Decision-making *incremental	*Establish context *Display alternatives *Predict consequences *Value outcome *Make choice
3. Relationship among the elements policy process	*Interaction *Restraint on innovation	*Rely on decision rules in face of complexity & complicated factors	*Interactive *Messy
4. Elements unique to curriculum policy-making process	*Professionals *Minority interest groups *Layers of government *Tensions between social control and social reform *Centralization	No comment	No comment
5. Impact of curriculum elements on policy process	*Tensions constrain change and lead to continued incremental change *Constraints mitigate against reform *More complexity *Decreased parental participation	No comment	No comment

1979 Data Sources

The second chapter of Anderson's (1979) textbook Public Policy-making, summarizes his perspective on the process of policy-making in the context of policy analysis. His aim is the explication of the complexities of public policy formation. To begin he recommends that a more precise definition of policy be adopted to aid his resolve to have a more systematic analysis of policy and its formation. It is his intention that this new definition clearly state the "essential characteristics" of policy. After some initial discussion of other definitions of policy, Anderson offers his own--"A purposive course of action followed by an actor or set of actors in dealing with a problem or matter of concern" (p. 3). Anderson emphasizes that this definition of policy does two important things. First it centers on what is actually done in contrast to what might have been intended. Secondly, the definition draws a distinction between policy and decision.

Anderson applies his definition to public policy which he describes as policies formed by governmental bodies or officials. Several observations are made by Anderson in relation to his view of public policy. These include the following statements:

1. Policies are goal directed and purposeful rather than random behaviour.

2. Policies follow patterns or related courses of action rather than isolated, unrelated activities.
3. Policies are what governments actually carry out or enforce rather than what they propose or intend.
4. Policies may be either positive or negative in that action or no action may be the result of a decision. Positive policy action is grounded in law and may be legitimately enforced.

To assist in our understanding public policy as action Anderson presents the following categories for consideration:

1. Policy demands. These are demands that are made on public officials by people within either the public or private domain. The demands may be for positive action or the reverse to solve some problem.

2. Policy decisions. These decisions are differentiated from routine decisions which are part of established policy. Here the decision is focused on giving direction and substance to new policies through statutes, executive orders, rules or judgments on the law.

3. Policy statements. These are formal renderings of the policy and may be issued in a variety of forms-statutes, decrees, rules, regulations, opinions, speeches or press statements.

4. Policy outputs. Outputs are those obvious behaviours which indicate what the government has done to carry out the policy decisions and statements.

5. Policy outcomes. These are the actual effects, either intended or unintended, for the public, resulting from the government's action.

Anderson asks the question "Why study public policy?" which to him is the same as asking "Why engage in policy analysis?" (p. 6). His responses are offered from three perspectives--scientific, professional, and political.

1. Scientific reasons. The study of public policy will assist in gathering information about the reasons for the policy, how the policy is developed, and what the results of the particular policy are. The result is a better understanding of the political system and the social context. As a dependent variable, policy helps us consider the political and environmental elements that influence the policy content. Policy as an independent variable focuses on the effect of policy on the political context and environment.

2. Professional reasons. Though there is not agreement among political scientists, Anderson indicates that it is thought by some that the information gathered by political scientists can be useful in resolving practical social problems.

3. Political reasons. The study of public policy may be seen as a means of assisting governments to select the policies that will best achieve the appropriate societal goals. This assumes that political scientists are not "value free".

Anderson also discusses the role and nature of decision-making in the policy process. Decision-making is clearly placed as a sub-component of the policy process by Anderson when he says that "decision-making involves the choice of an alternative from among a series of competing alternatives" (p. 9). This differentiates the decision-making from the action of the policy which Anderson includes in his earlier definition of policy. To him policy-making is a "pattern of action, extending over time and involving many decisions" (p. 9).

Anderson makes a special note of the need to consider the values of the decision-maker when studying the policy-making process. The values consist of the following:

1. Political values. Policy alternatives are seen in terms of a political advantage and decisions are made based on reaching the goals of particular groups.

2. Organizational values. The concern here is to maintain or extend a power base within an agency or organization. Policy decisions are used to ensure that the survival of the organization is maintained or promoted.

3. Personal values. These values are aimed at enhancing the individual's personal worth or wealth. Decisions would ensure that a person's reputation would be protected or benefitted.

4. Policy values. These values would lead the policy decision-maker to select the decision that would ensure the public good, one that is morally correct and proper.

5. Ideological values. These are sets of values that guide the decision-makers in pursuing the accepted and related values of the particular nation or culture.

Anderson sees the policy process as "a sequential pattern of action involving a number of functional categories of activity that can be analytically distinguished" (p. 23). The five functions follow.

1. Policy formation. The problem is examined and defined to determine the nature and to ensure that it is in the public domain. The procedure for placing it on the government agenda is also determined.

2. Formulation. Several alternatives for dealing with the problem are explored by appropriate actors.

3. Adoption. The specific policy proposal is presented to the appropriate decision-maker and the procedures for accepting the policy are followed.

4. Implementation. The process of implementation determines who is affected by the policy, and how the policy will be put into effect. The policy is enacted.

5. Evaluation. The impact of the policy is assessed to determine the results and to modify the policy if necessary. Anderson says that the policy process is a political one and that the process described above must be understood from that perspective. His framework has some advantages as far as he is concerned because he says that the process is frequently a sequential one but that this process can be modified if need be. With its obvious attention to the interaction between the categories he says that the framework is dynamic and encourages easy comparisons of policy-making in other countries.

Carson (1979) has a more specific focus in his article regarding control of the curriculum. In contrast to the neo-Platonic view that experts should control the decision-making in the curriculum, Carson argues that teachers are the best decision-makers. He supports this assertion by showing that educational decisions are practical, rational choices and "as such are action prescriptions" (p. 135). Experts, especially institutional experts, often lack the contextual knowledge necessary in making decisions. In addition, the experts are best able to make judgments about internal standards, principles and theories of disciplines using the exceptional knowledge that they possess. Curriculum decisions are not of this type and are best made by those who share a framework of concepts related to the context.

The role of the expert becomes that of a participant in the decision-making process rather than a controller. The expert is free to explore alternatives and justifications in the fields of knowledge. By providing the "justifying principles," the expert offers the guidance to the process as a participant.

Teachers, on the other hand, have the understanding of context within which the curriculum decisions must function. The practical nature of the decisions suit the teacher's professional training and contextual situation. They are able to use the justifications offered by the experts to make the appropriate curriculum decisions.

Doern and Aucoin (1979) describe and analyze the structures and processes of Canadian public policy by focussing on the government of Canada. They see the Canadian public policy process as a plurality of closely interlocked processes which encompass different but related values, governing instruments and contacts between the executive-bureaucratic areas and other political arenas. Unlike the American policy context with the executive, legislative and judicial triad, the Canadian policy process centres on the dual aspects of the executive-bureaucratic element, on the one hand, and the remaining political elements on the other.

This collection of edited works by political scientists and economists, examines the central processes of the

Canadian public policy process involved in the struggle between the current state of affairs and the forces of change. Public policy seems to be determined by ideas or ideologies, interests, and institutions. Policy-making includes the interlocking processes of priority-setting, economic and management considerations, the expenditure-budgetary process, the regulating process and finally federal-provincial processes.

In his article, Dror (1979) describes the inadequacies of the management sciences in complex decision-making issues that face policy-makers in today's world. He makes the case that the policy sciences are better able to take the complexities into account than the approach advocated in the management sciences. However, Dror takes pains to delineate the steps that the policy sciences must also take to improve the policy analysis methods important to the policy process.

Though Dror sees limitations in the management sciences, he does admit that there are three major contributions that they have made to improve decision-making. The first is the "systems" view of looking at problems and issues from a broad perspective. Secondly, the use of the cost-benefit framework to examine the alternatives to find the best possible solution has helped overcome the incremental approach to decision-making. And thirdly, the rational selection of the appropriate choice based on the systematic comparison of outcomes which is

possible because of the many techniques available to make the rational choice. This success has lead management scientists to attempt to handle the more complex social issues that face decision-makers in all countries. Dror is quick to point out the inadequacies of the management science field in handling complex problems for the following reasons:

1. The "institutional contexts" of the problem as well as the policy-making process and the receiving agency which must implement the policy are not considered.
2. The inability to consider the political requirements of such things as consensus seeking and team building.
3. The lack of attention to "irrational" phenomena such as ideology, charisma, and unconventional life styles.
4. The lack of concern for the value issues and assumptions underlying the analysis.
5. The limitation of looking for existing or accessible solutions and not seeking new or radical alternatives.
6. The requirement that alternatives be predictable rather than uncertain.

7. The need to quantify the main variables eliminates the use of the behavioral sciences or the solution of complex social problems.
8. The avoidance of strategies that use attitudes related to risk and time in preference to "maximin or minimax" strategy choices.

Dror does concede that not all management sciences have all of these limitations but he feels that the studies of what he calls "real issues" indicate that the inadequacies do exist. His criticisms recall those cited above in relation to the rational comprehensive theory of decision-making.

Dror summarizes the two major weaknesses of the management sciences approach when dealing with complex social issues as the

inability to design and identify preferable policies on complex, non-quantifiable, politics-laden issues and the nearly complete neglect of the metapolicy level, that is of policies on how to make policy. (p. 273)

Dror proposes that the solution to these two shortcomings is the use of policy analysis as the methodology which could be used to deal with complex social issues and assist with megapolicy concerns. Policy analysis according to Dror will incorporate the following into the management sciences structure:

1. investigation of the implicit values, assumptions and alternative strategies,
2. review of the political variables,
3. consideration of broader and more complex issues,
4. concentration on new policy alternatives,
5. understanding of social phenomena,
6. assessment of the processes and limits of the analysis procedures.

This list of additions Dror feels requires a "conceptual set" (p. 274) which contains the important facets of policy analysis, plus its methodology, and the means for creating policy alternatives. The set will connect the policy design with the technologies of policy analysis in such a way as to have a dynamic impact on both. As Dror says,

Progress in policy analysis technology--which comes in part, from present management sciences--should stimulate changes in concept and even design; changes in design result in new concepts and search for new technologies; and changes in concepts require revisions in design and transformations of technology. (p.274)

In the article, Dror uses five concepts to discuss the idea of policy analysis. The concepts of megapolicies, value sensitivity, operational code assumptions, political feasibility and policy analysis networks aim at overcoming

the limitations of the management sciences. Megapolicies are master policies that would establish the guidelines for developing specific policies. Value sensitivity increases attention to complex value problems by including information from an expanded base. Operational code assumptions or inter-actor relations seek to understand and be able to predict the behaviour of participants more accurately. Political feasibility examines the interrelationship among actors, policy alternatives and the policy area. Policy analysis networks organize all the important information gathered during the analysis to show subdivisions and their interdependencies.

Dror maintains that the policy-making system must be improved overall. Improving single policy issues is of little help in Dror's opinion unless there is an effort to combine several of the improvements for a significant impact. Dror offers several reasons for his position. The first point he makes is that the improvements resulting from policy analysis require that the system become more creative and open than is now the case by reducing constraints and improving the decision-making patterns. Secondly, he emphasizes the interdependence of the policy-making system and the need to adjust the system as a whole rather than by modifying single policies. Finally, Dror says that because of the iterative nature of the policy system, it is more cost effective to change the entire system than to make the

small adjustments to one policy. These three reasons make a case Dror feels for the long term improvement of the policy-making system.

Management sciences has contributed the systems approach to the policy-making process and Dror agrees that this approach is an appropriate one for policy-making. Through the systems approach Dror sees that it is possible to connect a multitude of components as well as link with other systems in the environment. He cautions though that it is not possible to display the policy system in any detailed model because of its complexity. Thus the policy-making system that Dror envisages is a "very simple general systems model" (p. 281).

Dror offers three conclusions about improving the policy-making system. The first is that the complex nature of the system implies that "different combinations of a variety of improvements may be equally useful in achieving equivalent changes in the quality of policy making" (p. 281). This is an optimistic view because Dror sees the possibility of more creative and open thinking in the policy system. The second conclusion is less encouraging because of the view that changes must reach a certain threshold before impacting on the system as a whole. However, the last conclusion seems to say that the aggregate effect of small and incremental changes may be able to effect system change by reaching the threshold level that is necessary.

Dror says that the management sciences, combined with the behavioral sciences which include political science and public administration is a first step to improving the policy-making system. But this is insufficient because there is inadequate information and development in these two areas. He suggests further research and activity.

Dror divides scientific knowledge into three areas which include knowledge concerned with control in the sense of regulating the environment, knowledge related to the control of society and individuals and knowledge about the controls themselves which Dror calls "meta-control" (p. 284). While he sees that the first area is the most advanced, he is concerned that the remaining two require more development because the knowledge of the control of the social system is in Dror's view the policy-making system. He strongly advocates the further development of the policy sciences approach to enhance the policy-making system.

Innovations that will enhance the policy sciences approach are summarized by Dror. He presents the following as the main changes that should occur:

1. improvement of methods, knowledge and systems to enhance the macro control system,
2. integration of relevant disciplines to improve the information and techniques available to the policy-making system,

3. bridge the gap between the "pure" and "applied" research to test the theory in the real world setting,
4. accept both tacit and experiential knowledge in the policy process,
5. develop a theory of values to encourage sensitivity to commitments and cultural differences,
6. account for both the past and the future in the process,
7. prepare policy scientists to participate in the policy process,
8. value the systematic body of knowledge while searching for ways to incorporate the extra-rational processes.

Dror concludes with his vision of the policy sciences becoming the solution to the "most backward of all human institutions and habits--policy-making and decision-making--far beyond what is possible by management sciences" (p. 290). He sees some progress in evidence and urges that more support be given to encourage further development.

Frohock (1979) echoes some of Dror's ideas, especially when he discusses the policy system. Frohock sets the public-policy process in the context of politics and politicians. He outlines three types of political actions which include 1) power or control, 2) bargaining or exchange, and 3) gaming. Public policy roughly corresponds

to these three types of action. Frohock defines public policy as "a patterned attempt either to resolve or manage political disputes or to provide rational incentives to secure agreed-upon goals" (p. 12). The definition intends that policy deal with either material goods or ethical issues. Frohock's view of the policy process is as a system of actions over time but cautions that it is a mistake to assume a **single** policy system. He offers a further clarification of policy when he describes it as "an interaction of interdependent actions occurring over time and tending to persist in the face of stress from the environment of policy-making" (p. 16). The systems model of the policy system is offered as an alternative which emphasizes the process nature of the policy while maintaining a broad view or generality of the process.

Several cautions are in order when using the systems model. Although the model depicts a smooth continuum of the actions during the policy-making process, the actual process is often fraught with uneven and disconnected activity. Secondly, the general way the model depicts the activity aids in the understanding of the process but misses the real events and details of the actual example. Difficulty in interpretation arises when attempts are made to connect the real event with the model.

Frohock assumes that all policies are the result of decisions by political actors so that decision-making is

seen as an element of the policy process. Two major models of decision-making are offered: 1) the classical rational model and 2) the disjointed incremental model. A third, the mixed scanning model, is suggested as an alternative that uses both models when appropriate depending on the differing conditions of social policy. Actors in the decision-making are drawn from either interest groups or elites. Interest groups share attitudes and make claims on other groups in the system while elites emanate from the ruling section of society and are seen as socially superior.

In the book edited by Pollitt, Lewis, Negro and Patten (1979), they have attempted to present a balanced view of policy as a process by including both theory and practice related to the policy studies area. The book is divided into three distinct sections to include all the main parts of the policy process. They name these stages or parts as policy formulation, implementation and evaluation. Together these stages form the policy cycle. Though the editors have organized their material under the three parts, they hasten to clarify that they do not see the policy cycle as distinct and neat stages. Rather they see these as means to sort information and not necessarily representative of the way the policy process functions in the real world. They acknowledge that the political and administrative context has an impact on what happens in

the policy process and that it is not always apparent where one part of the cycle starts and another begins. The process may not be as sequential or as rational as the description implies.

The term "policy-making" is defined here to include policy formulation, implementation, feedback and evaluation. Policy is seen as more than just " a continuous process of decisions and activities" (p. viii). For these editors, public policy is developed within "organizational structures" of a "specific legal type" (p. viii). They do point out that the literature is showing that public policy is often a result of partnerships between the state and various interest groups. Further they say that policy sets general directions for future activity rather than setting out specific instructions to follow. Finally they indicate that public policy is for the most part aimed at the general interest of society as a whole though political motives can sometimes be discerned.

Vickers (1979) summarizes his personal approach to policy-making in an article in the above book. To do so he uses the local government as the model from which to draw examples to clarify policy analysis and policy-making. He feels that local government is a more likely area where the real functions can be seen in operation because it combines the necessary attention to surviving

and growing with the need to respond to the requirements of the particular environment. He sees that local governments pay due attention to renewing the resources on which they are dependent and give appropriate service to maintain the standards which their constituents expect. Though this is not always an easy task, the important function in the process is to reach consensus on a policy that is "sufficiently coherent to realize one of all the possible combinations of achievement, sufficiently flexible to allow rival claims a renewed hearing, and sufficiently controlled to keep within the total resources available" (p. 74). Vickers feels that the process of seeking a consensus is the same whether it occurs at the national or the local level.

He adds a second point to the first of consensus-seeking when he indicates how difficult it is to consider all the possible solutions and to calculate the benefits of each before deciding which is the best alternative. Vickers seems to think that policy-makers often select one criterion for determining success rather than using several criteria. He does not think that it is possible to make a rational choice among all the choices given the way rationality is defined today. Instead Vickers seems to be saying that the solution to a problem is derived from the definition of success that the policy-maker has selected before the solution is chosen. In this way the

relative importance of the costs and benefits which follow can be determined. He seems to indicate that costs and benefits cannot be the source of determining the "best" solution but are what follow from the definition.

Rather than diminishing rational policy analysis, Vickers says that it is essential. He presents lessons that policy-makers can learn from an analysis such as the Buchanan report which studied the problem of urban traffic congestion and found that the difficulty was not really roads and traffic but towns and their activities. From the process of that analysis Vickers provides a number of "lessons" which identify the following:

1. the simplest relevant number of interconnected variables,
2. the smallest number of essential values,
3. the constraints limiting the policy-maker's powers,
4. points of diminishing or increasing return,
5. elements of risk and uncertainty,
6. relevant time relations.

Vickers states that the identification of these activities will not necessarily provide the one best answer but it may indicate that there is only one answer possible. It might also help the policy-maker see whether there are any alternatives to the problem.

Vickers deals with the value context of policy-making. He feels that the policy context is filled with values and norms that the policy-maker must take into account when considering the problem. The policy-maker must differentiate between the tacit or specific standards in the situation and the explicit or abstract general qualities which are used to argue for the standards. Vickers makes the point that these differences are often overlooked in the policy-making process. But at the same time he feels that it is important to see the difference. The example that Vickers provides to differentiate between the tacit and the explicit is that of the indoor water and sanitation standards in Britain today. The standard for indoor water arose out of the tacit need for improving the clean water supply and removing the sewage from the urban areas. However the explicit standard for all housing to comply with the regulations may be traced to the rise of the status symbol of running water and the disparity between rich and poor.

Vickers describes the role of the official in the policy process. He sees the official not merely as once described as the executor of the elected leader's policy but as an equal in the execution and monitoring of the policy. In addition, Vickers says the official is also an adviser in the policy process, while also acting occasionally as a systems analyst, an innovator and a

Figure 9: Summary of 1979 Data Sources in Relation to Research Questions

Questions	Anderson	Carson	Doern and Aucoin
1. Operation of the policy process	*Sequential, purposive pattern of action	*Principle to guide action	*Plurality of interlocking processes
2. Elements of the policy process	*Functional categories: *Policy agenda *Formulation *Adoption *Implementation *Evaluation	*Involves experts and teachers *Contextual knowledge *Selection of principles	*Ideas, ideologies *Interests *Institutions *Priority setting & planning *Formulation *Decision-making *Evaluation
3. Relationship among elements of policy process	*Interaction among categories *Dynamic but flexible *Affected by politics & environmental factors	*Interaction between experts and teachers	*Interactive *Interlocking *Tension between status quo and change
4. Elements unique to curriculum policy-making process	No comment	*Experts provide justifying principles *Experts offer guidance	No comment
5. Impact of curriculum elements on policy process	No comment	*Teachers are included as decision-makers	No comment

conservator. When the official interacts with both the public and the elected leader, he acts as a two-way communicator and as a receiver of information. In his own field the official is a professional who has the standards and skills of the major body.

The multiple roles that Vickers describes for the public official are important in the policy process. He seems to feel that the roles must be recognized by the

Figure 9 (Contd.): Summary of 1979 Data Sources in Relation to Research Questions

Questions	Dror	Frohock	Pollitt, Lewis, Negro, Patten	Vickers
1. Operation of the policy process	*A complex system portrayed by a simple systems model	*A system of interdependent actions over time	*A cycle which includes three stages	*A consensus-seeking process aimed at successfully resolving a problem
2. Elements of the policy process	*Actors *Politics *Values *Policy *Related issues & systems *Decision-making *Tacit & experiential knowledge *Rational and extra-rational processes	*Decision-making *classical, rational model *disjointed, incremental model *mixed scanning *Actors *interest groups *elites *Politics	*Formulation *Implementation *Feedback and evaluation *organizational structures *Interest groups *State *Political motives	*Environment *Value context *tacit standards *explicit standards *Professionals *Elected representatives
3. Relationship among elements of policy process	*Interdependence *Iterative	*Interactions aimed at one of: *power or control *bargaining or exchange *gaming	*Interacting stages *Elements affected by context	*Interaction
4. Elements unique to curriculum policy-making process	No comment	No comment	No comment	No comment
5. Impact of curriculum elements on policy process	No comment	No comment	No comment	No comment

elected group as well as the public administrators' group. This is necessary in his view because of the increasing responsibility that the official will have over time. Figure 9 presents the information from the 1979 data sources.

1980 Data Sources

Curriculum decision-making and policy-making were the themes at a conference in Canada in 1980. Several papers from the conference provide data about the curriculum policy-making process.

Hughes (1980) elaborates on the notion that curriculum decision-making in Canada is more and more controlled by political ministers and officials in their departments of education. This centralization appears to Hughes to be an overt political power play to overcome what the politicians view as a curriculum crisis which needs resolution.

In his paper Hughes cites instances from politicians' speeches and reports which uphold his contention that curriculum authority is becoming more centralized. Quotations of Ontario, British Columbia, Alberta and Quebec ministers of education state that curriculum content needs to be controlled, curriculum-making is too decentralized, government must have a strong role in determining content and certain curriculum areas should be mandatory for students. A report of the Council of Ministers of Education Canada also reflects this national mood of centralization.

What is interesting to note, Hughes says, is that this move to centralization is the normal state of affairs while the decentralization of the 60's and 70's was somewhat unusual. Canadian curriculum policy-making has traditionally been centralized at the provincial level. Hughes goes on to explore the effects of centralization of authority on curriculum-making processes and the nature of curriculum itself. Van Geels' analysis of the American trend toward a more complex, legalized and bureaucratized curriculum policy-making system is helpful, Hughes says, in understanding the Canadian situation. Provincial curriculum processes appear to reflect the type of complex system van Geel found in the United States. Senior policy committees advise the ministers and in turn provide direction to the curriculum development process. This is the usual pattern, although the titles of committees and functions vary slightly. In most provinces, the committees are representative of major educational organizations, including the ministry/department of education, the teachers' federation, the trustees' group, school administrators, faculties of education, the public and, at times, the students.

Hughes sees this system as an indication of "increased emphasis on the demarcation and delineation of roles and responsibilities" (p. 24) so that everyone involved exercises full legal authority. Where necessary, new

statutes and regulations are added to support more firm control. The increase in the number of participants, the complex division of responsibilities and increased legal authority all add up to increased time in the decision-making process. While there may be some short-term benefits from this more complex system, Hughes warns against assuming that top down policy-making will have a positive effect at the classroom level. The curriculum implementation studies indicate that nonimplementation is common. Hughes predicts that increasing the centralization of authority could lead to "an ever increasing narrowing and centralizing of authority into an educational black-hole" (p.26) as more compliance is encouraged.

This strategy of centralizing authority is as Hughes describes, linked to power and control. Control or prescription of content is seen to be a means of control over classroom behaviour. The end result is presumably aimed at "better performance" of schools. While Hughes is sympathetic to improving curriculum content, he feels that centralization and reductionist approaches will make only minimal gains in improving schools because curricular phenomena are unpredictable and must be treated in a probabilistic rather than deterministic manner.

The nature and state of current curriculum theory is such that we can only guess and observe results. Perfect prediction is not possible at this time. Neither

specificity nor prescription of curriculum content can ensure an predictable outcome. Hughes feels that curriculum plans "cannot signify anything more than a possibility or a potential" (p. 28). Life and meaning are added by teachers and students. He concludes by encouraging the potential of curriculum documents but discouraging a reductionist or prescriptive orientation which would detract from students' learning experiences.

Lawton (1980a) in the United Kingdom as did Hughes in Canada, focuses on the question of who controls the curriculum, but narrows his discussion to secondary schools. Lawton contends that this question becomes important when controversy about curriculum content arises. The controversy he feels is a political one which reflects two related problems, one of distribution of knowledge in society and the second, of the decision-making involved.

Lawton's book explores the meaning of politics associated with the question of curriculum control by reviewing the development of secondary education in Britain. The discussion traces the four major periods of change in secondary education which include the tripartite system, the school organization era, the curriculum content debate and the purpose of education.

Tripartite system. The tripartite system spans the period of time from 1944 to approximately 1950 and included a debate between housing students based on ability in

separate schools, and designing comprehensive schools to accommodate all students.

School organization. By about 1950 the debate "shifted to questions of grouping and school organization" (p. 1). Vertical or horizontal groupings or streaming, setting or banding or mixed ability groupings were options in the discussion about structure within the comprehensive schools.

Curriculum content. By 1965, the topic evolved into more fundamental questions of curriculum content. Educators raised the idea of transmission of a common culture through the curriculum.

Purpose of education. Lawton expresses the view that these three previous periods of debate had obscured the fundamental and ideological problems about the nature of education. Though discussions after 1969 appeared to be about comprehensive schools, it is his opinion that there were two areas of conflict:

1. whether schools should concentrate on an elite few or on the majority,

2. whether the purpose of education was to develop individuals or socialize children to fit into the existing social structures.

Party politics were not the dividing line in the discussion of the purposes of education. Lawton explains that the Labour Party itself was divided on the issue because many saw grammar schools as the stairway to

opportunity for bright working class children. These "elitists" encouraged selection and streaming so that the "able" would be successful and unhindered by the less-gifted.

For convenience sake, Lawton labels one group in the Labour Party egalitarians who advocate a worthwhile curriculum for all students. The other group fall into the elitist category because of a desire to select the most able for a superior academic curriculum. This latter group follow from the Fabian Society policy at the turn of the century of rationalizing selection for purpose of economic and social efficiency.

The elitist group emphasized that education had as its purpose, the improvement of society rather than to improve the lives of individuals. Sidney Webb of the Fabian Society supported the separation of elementary and secondary schools as well as a scholarship package to help bright but poor students to progress through the secondary school. Content of the curriculum was also an issue in these early debates with the Labour and Conservative parties.

Related to the above debates, Lawton says is the more recent dispute between egalitarians and elitists concerning the word "meritocratic." In a meritocracy, education is dependent upon the level of intelligence and effort. The able "merit" a superior education and subsequent position in

life. Efficiency is more important than humanity if meritocracy is taken to the extreme.

One question that arises out of this view is whether the curriculum for the brightest should be different in content and form from that for the majority of students. A second question which Lawton raises is whether a curriculum for all students should have common elements.

In the situation where the elitist view prevails, Lawton says it is important to decide which students make up the groups as well as what the curriculum would be for each. These decisions he feels are political because the first decides who has control over access to knowledge and the second reinforces the first by giving relative status to knowledge in dividing it between the curriculum for the bright and the majority.

A common curriculum decision, avoids dividing students into categories but demands decisions about the content. Lawton argues for the common curriculum maintaining that by separating students into two groups, those in the majority group are essentially always playing "catch-up" with the bright group. Such differentiation impedes educational opportunities. Separation occurs not only on an intellectual basis but also socially and culturally. By having a common experience students would interact in a common culture and help to unify society. Because students are required to attend school, the state has an obligation

to declare the advantages to the children participating in the system. Benefits from a common curriculum can be displayed through an analysis of the knowledge and skills needed by students in society and the link to the curriculum.

Lawton continues the discussion and concentrates on the important cultural question of what content is of most worth coupled with the political question of who does the choosing of the content. He dismisses the sociological argument that claims curriculum control is a bourgeois influence. Lawton sees the question as more complex and prefers to analyze "who makes the decisions in our society about the organization, the content and the planning of the curriculum" (p. 7).

In the United Kingdom a familiar response is that teachers are the decision-makers where curriculum content is concerned. Lawton says English and Welsh teachers do have some autonomy but that it is often over exaggerated. Even secondary teachers' freedom to select content is now being questioned in spite of being legalized as recently as 1945.

The national system of education with three parties participating in a "triangle of power" (p. 7) consists of the central authority, the local authority and the teachers. Lawton points out that the control of curriculum shifts from time to time among the three partners.

In the description of each partner's role in curriculum decision-making Lawton makes the following points:

1. Department of Education and Science (DES). This body has little control over curriculum since the 1944 Education Act does not specify a secondary curriculum nor even mention the word. In 1977 the Green Paper on Education, however, does hint at the need for a central influence on secondary curriculum. In fact Lawton indicates that the HMIs (Her Majesty's Inspectors) might be seen as enforcers if the act were to change.

2. Local Education Authorities (LEAs). The responsibility of the LEAs is to interpret legislation and carry out the business of education. There is some confusion about the relationship between DES and LEAs but technically the LEAs are responsible for the curriculum. Recently there has been criticism of the LEAs for failing to exert more control over the control rather than leaving the decisions to head teachers.

3. Teachers. Teachers in any system do have a great deal of control over the curriculum. In both England and Wales, this group has more power to decide about curriculum content than most teachers in any other system. With teachers' unions and professional organizations so well organized, there is a strong political influence for teacher autonomy.

Lawton sees a new demand for accountability challenging teacher control of curriculum and demanding all partners in education to show "value for money" (p. 11). He sees accountability as a neutral term and differentiates between highly desirable accountability and ill-conceived mischievous accountability. The latter type he feels occurs in some American types of evaluation.

In summary, Lawton says there is a struggle for control and influence of the secondary curriculum. The major feature in the struggle is the shift in the dominant metaphor from partnership to accountability, where partnership represents satisfaction and trust to accountability which indicates dissatisfaction and distrust.

Lindblom's (1980) book brings the focus back to the policy-making process. His description presents the process as an untidy and complex one which has neither beginning nor end with uncertain boundaries as well. The complexity is derived from the political context in which the participants struggle for authority and power. Understanding policy-making implies understanding all of political life and activity.

The scientific, analytic approach and the democratic, political approach each create tension in the policy process. Lindblom combines these two approaches to overcome tension and improve the process. Rather than depending on either exclusively, Lindblom recommends the partisan

analytic approach in which analysis becomes a support or an instrument of control in the interaction between the participants in the process.

The combined approach fits the mixed scanning model of decision-making noted earlier. Lindblom attempts to use partisan analysis, as he calls it, to sort out the participant's values which are present. The analytical aspect brings the strengths from the rational model to the policy process.

The interconnections in the policy process reflect the struggle for power and control. This "play of power" (p. 43) is more complex than simple interaction. Various participants, from elite groups to ordinary citizens and special interest groups interact in a political system governed by rules. Control results mainly from persuasion or an exchange of favours. Mutual control and mutual adjustment form a political bargaining process and result in special organization and coordination. Specialized roles for participants are necessary. Policy-makers are "those participants in the play of power with authority over policy" (p.52). Authority, the basis for policy-making, depends on participant obedience of the controls and standing rules. While systems theory ignores these complex interactions and deals with the environmental forces, Lindblom acknowledges that the forces of power and authority affect the policy process.

In his article, Roald (1980) looks at a specific influence on curriculum as he explores the role of educational foundations in the formation of curriculum policy in Canada. He raises questions related to the pattern of influence on curriculum that private foundations might have. Using interest group theory as the context for investigation, Roald offers some general comments about interest group theory's usefulness in analyzing the roles of private sector influences.

To begin Roald presents a general overview about the politics of curriculum-making and the policy processes involved. Though he acknowledges that little is known about how policy processes function, he points out that they are complex. Numerous groups are involved in the curriculum policy-making process. Roald differentiates the "internal sector" (p. 120) of teachers, teachers' federations, curriculum supervisors and ministry consultation from external sector groups including foundations, voluntary bodies, public associations, commercial organizations, and non-educational government departments.

The description of how influence is practiced is less clear than the identification of the groups involved. Because curriculum policy-making occurs in a political economy, Roald feels that the processes are "complicated by an interplay of power and prestige of a sponsoring group" (p. 121) and between any groups involved. Regional

variations are common with various focal points or tiers in policy determination in individual provinces. Roald argues that curriculum-making in Canada is a political enterprise though this is not always recognized by curriculum-makers. This oversight may be a result of subtle external sector influence.

Using interest group theory, Roald shows how two foundations, The Canadian Foundation for Economic Education (CFEE) and the Canadian Studies Foundation (CSF) qualify as interest groups in curriculum-making in Canada. Each foundation has a curricular mission which is public and addressed to the solution of specific problems. While foundations in the United States have had a strong impact on curriculum-making through applying vast resources toward research, projects and initiatives, the two Canadian foundations have limited funding which seems to be aimed at more subtle and indirect influence. Projects are more focussed on teacher-based activities, sponsoring of inservice workshops and producing curriculum support materials.

Rather than direct influence on curriculum policy-making as seems to be the case in the United States, the Canadian foundations tend to demonstrate how their values are essential to curriculum and provide appropriate supporting materials and documents. This type of indirect influence is aimed at influencing the adoption of the

respective foundation's ideas by the internal sector. "Influence" networks are established to integrate the ideas and materials throughout the various layers of the policy-making process in each province. Based on this analysis, Roald rejects the interest-group theory approach as a more valid interpretation of curriculum policy-making than others. Consultation or lobbying seem to take second place to the more subtle co-optation model of Canadian foundations.

Yet another writer explores a particular influence on curriculum policy. Tomkins (1980) presents a brief and impressionistic discussion of foreign influences on curriculum and curriculum policy-making in Canada. His chronological approach is appropriate because he feels that "the systematic, historical study of curriculum development in Canada is hardly beginning" (p. 128). At the outset, Tomkins defines "curriculum" as "the ostensible or official curriculum as embodied in the courses of study purportedly taught and learned in schools" (p. 128). Curriculum policy is described "as a set of uniform and consistent operational principles guiding the determination of what is taught and learned in schools" (p. 128).

The sources of foreign influence over the last three hundred years on curriculum policy have emanated from Britain, France and the United States. Tomkins shows how the British imperial curriculum affected curriculum in

anglophone Canada prior to 1950 while the francophone portion was under the influence of France and the clergy. American influence became more prevalent after 1950 in both cultures because of social conditions and the professionalization of educators in American graduate schools. Tomkins concludes that over time curriculum in Canada has reflected the "international mainstream" (p. 129). The special character of two major cultures sets Canadian education apart from the three foreign influences. Cultural conflict has given rise to a curriculum conflict of what should be taught in the schools.

In francophone Canada, the Jesuits with their highly centralized curriculum led to the early establishment of central control. English Canada developed a similar approach with the British curriculum influence. Once the British controlled Quebec politically, there was a strong French resistance to an anglicized and secularized education system. Although the early nineteenth century brought some liberal thinking to New France from revolutionary France, after 1840 the church control of education persisted for over one hundred years. In the 1960's American, British and French ideas filtered into Quebec also through returning graduate students.

The British influence is most obvious in Ontario with Egerton Ryerson's tenure as superintendent of schools between 1846 and 1876. Replacing foreign (American)

textbooks with British material began the tradition of the British imperial curriculum which persisted until the 1950's. During the intervening one hundred years, American progressive ideas had some, but limited impact on the curriculum policy followed in anglophone Canada. Social change in the form of industrialization and urbanization brought new ideas into school programs in the form of practical education after Confederation. The new education approach included manual training, domestic science and agriculture during the early 1900's. Experts from Britain brought American ideas to Canada but the conservative nature of British curriculum persisted over American "superficiality." Tomkins states that the British influence prevented the growth of social sciences in Canada which then impeded the study of education. This reduced the interest in educational policy. As a result, Canadian education had little of its own direction in the face of foreign influence during the expansion and modernization era of the 1960's.

American influence, though present earlier because of similar societal changes and context, has had its strongest effect, according to Tomkins, since the 1960's. The rise of social tensions, the civil rights movement, francophone nationalism, native demands and "third force mosaic groups" (p. 136) paralleled the American environment where cultural pluralism demanded curriculum change. Canada, unlike its American neighbor, however, did not develop its own

particular response, but rather, imported American materials and projects to ameliorate the tensions. In Tomkin's view, the use of American models and strategies would have been more useful.

Out of this direct American influence came the demands for more Canadian content which resulted in the Canadian Studies movement. Canadian curriculum though, Tomkins observes, still consisted of a "traditional dependent and derivative character" (p. 136).

As the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) concluded in 1976, Canada lacks a Canadian rationale and philosophy which can serve as a basis for educational policy. Rather, the OECD report indicates that models in American, British and French education, adapted to Canadian conditions influence the Canadian pragmatic approach to educational reform.

Tomkins concludes his discussion of foreign influence on curriculum policy-making with the observation that curriculum stability in Canadian classrooms and schools will likely prevail over the current influences of American rhetoric.

Figure 10: Summary of 1980 Data Sources in Relation to Research Questions

Questions	Hughes	Lawton	Lindblom	Roald	Tonkins
1. Operation of the policy process	*Top-down system	*Control of curriculum	*Complex, unending process with uncertain boundaries	*Complex process	*Uniform operational principles guide and determine what is taught
2. Elements of policy process	*Elected representatives *Government officials *Politics *Decision-making	*Power triangle *DES *LEAs *Teachers *Politics *Decision-making	*Participants *elite group *specialized *Analysis *Interaction *Politics *Authority/ Power	*Groups *internal *external *Political economy *Power	*Cultures *British *French *American
3. Relationship among the elements of policy process	*Centralized control *Reductionist approach	*Power shifts from one part of triangle to another	*Complex interaction *Play of power *Mutual control *Mutual adjustment	*Complex influence	*Blending of cultural influences
4. Elements unique to curriculum policy-making process	*Curriculum content *Professionals *Students *State of curriculum theory *lacks predictive power	*Curriculum content	No comment	*Private foundations *CFEE *CSF	*Curriculum content
5. Impact of curriculum elements on policy process	*Non-implementation	*Shift from partnership to accountability	No comment	*Indirect influence *Cooptation	*Lack of clear Canadian rationale and philosophy

1981 Data Sources

In his popular textbook about public policy, Dye (1981) defines policy simply as "whatever governments choose to do or not to do" (p. 1). His approach as a political scientist is to describe, analyze and explain public policy with a view to understanding the institutions and structures of government and the political behaviours and processes associated with policy-making. His definition and approach have had wide influence.

The second chapter in the book presents the various models now in use to develop and understand policy-making. It begins with a description of what a model is. Dye defines a model as "a simplified representation of some aspect of the real world" (p. 19). The study of public policy uses conceptual models or word models to help clarify public policy and politics.

Dye discusses the various models and approaches presented in the theoretical framework. He observes that, although the models vary with unique views of political decisions, each contributes to an understanding of different aspects of public policy. Policies in reality, combine aspects of several models.

The eight models as Dye presents them are summarized in Figure 11. In comparing the models, Dye's view that policies result from a combination of models seems to follow. For example, the systems model reflects how various

elements in the process interrelate; it does not show how decisions are made. To obtain that information, the process model is useful. Though Dye does not include it here, the "mixed scanning" model would result if both the rational and incremental models were used in formulating a specific policy. Dye's description of the political models are useful in understanding various aspects of the policy process.

Figure 11: Summary of Political Models in Dye

Model	Effects	Limitations
1. Institutional	*Legitimate policy *Imply universality *Monopolize coercion	*Institutional change does not necessarily result in policy change
2. Process	*Study activities associated with making decisions	*Effect of process on content unknown
3. Group	*Influence policy	*Checks and balances countervail pressures
4. Elite	*Uphold mass welfare	*Preferences and values of elite most important
5. Rational	*Select most efficient policy	*Requires comprehensive information
6. Incremental	*Recognize limitations of rational model	*Accomplishes only limited change
7. Game	*Assist in conflict situations	*An analytical tool rather than a practical guide
8. Systems	*Reflects interrelationship elements	*Obscures how decisions are made

Rist (1981) introduces another perspective in his article by exploring the question of what role research plays in the policy process. In reaching the answer to this question, Rist discusses the complexity of the policy process itself. He expresses the view that the new methods of policy research have not necessarily improved the way research is conducted nor how research results are interpreted. Rather the so-called improvements may have increased both the complexity and complications in examining policy issues and alternative solutions.

Because Rist sees policy-making as "a multidimensional and multi-faceted task" (p. 486), he feels that research is one of many information sources. Though it is not clear how research interacts with other factors, Rist lists several factors which also contribute to the policy-making process. He includes special interest groups, administrative goals, agency priorities and the individual aspirations of the policy-maker as possible contributors. Nevertheless, Rist feels that policy research is both important and necessary to the policy-making process.

Rist maintains that qualitative research assists by 1) restricting the definition of the problem, 2) isolating change levers and 3) identifying unexpected results of policy decisions. Each of these contributions is presented in some detail.

Problem definition.

Because quantitative research assumes a thorough understanding of a particular context or group, the researcher can assist the policy-maker with knowledge that reflects the many sides of the issue which need to be considered. As the policy is put together, the nuances of the real setting can be taken into account.

Secondly, the qualitative research adds a needed "validity check" (p. 489) to any statistical data which the policy-maker may consider in formulating a policy. Rist introduces the concept of "conceptual bias" (p. 489) as an example of the impact that cultural understanding can have on defining a problem. Qualitative research can clarify the data with a reality check so that the proposed policy intervention addresses the problem more accurately than statistics alone might allow.

Levers.

Formative evaluations can assist the policy-maker in deciding how to allocate resources to overcome the problem at hand. Qualitative researchers can participate in these evaluations and can contribute information which helps make decisions about which levers of change are more suited to an appropriate solution

Rist contrasts the contribution of qualitative research with that of quantitative research. The latter he calls "hit and run social science" (p. 490) because there is

little or no understanding of why or how a result may have occurred. On the other hand, the qualitative researcher provides data from systematic and on-site observations and is seen as a promising alternative. Rist points out that qualitative research has methods now that enable the researcher to provide data from multiple sites at the same time. This development will enhance the contribution that qualitative research can make to policy-making.

Unintended consequences.

Rist acknowledges the difficulty of anticipating how the group or setting will accept the intended policy intervention. To overcome this problem, Rist says it is important to understand the beliefs and values of those involved and to identify leaders who would provide support in implementing the policy. Without such involvement, it is likely that changes would not take place. Qualitative research is helpful in being able to identify people or groups who assist the policy-maker in incorporating the change into the existing program. Rist recommends using qualitative research to involve people who will influence the recipient group.

Finally the qualitative researcher is valuable in the policy process because of the confidence and trust that can be established in the policy context. Information is more readily available and accurate observations of the

environmental climate will provide more useful data to the policy-maker.

Rist concludes by reminding the reader that qualitative research can inform the policy process, but it does not control the process. Its contribution lies in reducing the subjectivity and uncertainty which Rist feels can never be entirely overcome. Because the policy process is incremental and iterative, Rist says the qualitative research efforts can contribute by increasing the understanding of complex social problems.

Smithson (1981) shifts the focus back to curriculum policy-making. He argues in his paper that curriculum policy should be in the hands of "governing bodies" of schools rather than under the control of heads. Smithson traces the mandate to the Education Act of 1944 in the United Kingdom which required schools to have governors or managers to set the general direction of the curriculum in the schools. Heads on the other hand were to manage the school and carry out the instructions of the policy-making governors.

The article is written in response to Barrow who maintained that the head should be responsible for the school's curriculum policy. Smithson spends some time in the article refuting the arguments that Barrow used to substantiate his view. The second part of the article is most pertinent for purposes of this discussion.

Consequently, attention will focus on the arguments that Smithson presents to support his view that governing bodies should be responsible for curriculum policy.

In the Taylor Report of 1977 the Committee of Enquiry into the Management and Government of Schools reports that governors have very little influence on what is taught or how it is taught in schools. It appears from the report that the heads and teachers determine the curriculum content and methods. Smithson says that the heads generally assume the right to make all the curriculum decisions in an authoritarian manner though some are attempting to introduce some democracy into the decision-making process. Smithson indicates that the head may have a legal right to use his powers to make the curriculum decision but may lack the qualifications to do so. Smithson wonders what qualifies the head to use the powers he has at his disposal to decide single-handedly on the curriculum policy.

The major objection that Smithson raises to the view that the head make the curriculum policy is that technical expertise does not guarantee policy expertise. To give experts the mandate to make all curriculum policy assumes that technical competence enables the expert to make appropriate policy decisions. Smithson argues that technical competence, if present, is not sufficient to qualify for making the policy decisions that must be made in schools. In addition, the head may lack the technical

competence for making even the technical decisions that must be made. Further training cannot ensure that the head will develop the necessary competence. Others in the situation (teachers, parents, governors) may have the necessary professional expertise and policy-making competence to make better curriculum decisions.

A second objection to the one-person policy process emanates from the position that a group discussion and decision may have more hope of better results. In a democracy, participation in the decision-making process minimizes the error and reduces the possibility of corrupt practices. Even the head is democratically appointed and has some responsibility to ensure that the democratic process is upheld. Because lay persons and staff make other decisions in democratic life, Smithson makes the point that they too have the ability to participate in the curriculum policy process. While there is need to provide checks and balances in the decision-making process, participation encourages the grass roots involvement that is part of the democratic process.

Smithson criticizes Barrow's use of the Platonic question of "who should rule?" or in this case "who should decide?" when he introduces the idea of minimizing the "possibility of poor policy decisions" (p. 220). The point here is that the competence of the head may influence the quality of the policy decisions but the authority vested in

the head may preclude the involvement of others in the decision-making. Without the democratic process of group decisions the head can in effect override the staff consensus. It is Smithson's view that all interested parties be equally represented in the decision-making to overcome the temptation of autocratic policy-making. Local Education Authorities, teaching staff, parents, and the members of the local community have an interest in curriculum decision-making.

The Taylor Report mentioned above supports the "democratic mode of curriculum policy-making" (p. 226) which Smithson proposes in opposition to Barrow's authoritarian head. A key component of the report is the participation of interested groups in the policy process. Smithson concludes by encouraging the involvement of the "interested and affected groups" (p. 226) in making the policies that effect curriculum directions.

Figure 12: Summary of 1981 Data Sources in Relation to Research Questions

Questions	Dye	Rist	Smithson
1. Operation of the policy process	*Government action or inaction	*Incremental, iterative process	*Decisions that affect curriculum direction
2. Elements of the policy process	*Institutions, processes & behaviours *Social & economic conditions	*Special interest groups *Individual aspirations *Research *define problem *isolate change levers *identify unintended results	*Policy expertise *Participants *Interest groups
3. Relationship among elements of policy process	*Linkages among elements *Political activity	*Interaction with social structure *Research reduces subjectivity and uncertainty	*Discussion affects quality of decisions
4. Elements unique to curriculum policy-making process	No comment	No comment	*Technical expertise
5. Impact of curriculum elements on the policy process	No comment	No comment	*Increased and democratic participation

1982 Data Sources

An American textbook by Peters describes public policy processes. He defines public policy as "the sum of the activities of governments, whether acting directly or through agents, as it has an influence on the lives of citizens" (p. 4). The policy process seems to have three aspects consisting of choices, outputs and impact. This view of the process recalls the systems approach in which

the interaction among the policy components is viewed as complex but is not explained. Peters acknowledges that the characteristics of the political and socioeconomic environment do influence the policy choice and ultimate impact. Five forces interact and affect the policy formation. The forces include 1) conservative beliefs, 2) citizen participation, 3) pragmatism, 4) level and distribution of wealth and rate of economic growth, 5) and role in world leadership.

To make policy, Peters says that the problem must be defined and become part of the government agenda. Selection of agenda items is affected by the arena of participants which might include competing groups, power elites or pressure groups. The nature of the problem itself will also bear on whether it is selected for government action. Once the problem is defined and becomes part of the government's agenda, policy will be formulated either by traditional or habitual processes. Policy will be implemented either by threats or persuasion. Finally budget allocation will support or hinder the policy impact. Peters includes policy evaluation and change as the final stage in the policy process.

Figure 13 presents the information from the 1982 data sources.

Figure 13: Summary of 1982 Data Source in Relation to Research Questions

Questions	Peters
1. Operation of the policy process	*Government activities which influence the lives of citizens
2. Elements of the policy process	*Stages *set agenda *formulate policy *allocate budget *implement *evaluate *Choices *Outputs *Impact *Political/Social environment
3. Relationship among the elements of the policy process	*Interaction among stages
4. Elements unique to the curriculum policy-making process	No comment
5. Impact of curriculum elements on the policy process	No comment

1983 Data Sources

Brewer and de Leon (1983) present a policy sciences approach to policy analysis and the policy-making process in their comprehensive textbook. Rather than a discipline base, Brewer and de Leon build on Lasswell's ideas and use human values as the focal point. Society itself is the source of problems for analysis in their view as opposed to the "theoretical inquiries of the scientific disciplines" (p. 6). Through the involvement of various human perspectives Brewer and de Leon agree that not only will

humankind benefit from better policies but also the policy processes responsible for arriving at a satisfactory solution to a particular problem will be improved.

The essential features of the policy approach include "ideas of problem-oriented, multimethod, comprehensive and human-centered inquiry leading to purposeful action" (p. 7). Although the approach is complex and not foolproof, the authors present policy sciences as an "opportunity" and a process to guide the understanding and thinking about policy problems.

Six basic phases comprise the policy process used to analyze problems and support the decision-making/formulation of a solution or policy. The six phases include:

1. initiation which is the recognition or identification of the problem,
2. estimation involves the determination of the risks, costs and benefits of every option evolving from the problem,
3. selection implies that a choice from among the options will be made,
4. implementation follows through with execution of the selection,
5. evaluation assesses the success of the selection and implementation,
6. termination adjusts or eliminates the policies and programs which are dysfunctional or unnecessary.

Each of the six phases contain subcomponents which enable the policy-maker to progress through the process. The phases recall the rational comprehensive model of decision making while employing Lasswell's (1971) functional processes to the policy problem.

In contrast, Gerston's (1983) textbook takes a political viewpoint in an attempt to sort out the relationship between the governments in the United States and politics. Making policy, Gerston says, is a dynamic process which is affected by people, events and political institutions in unpredictable ways. Understanding the components of the policy-making process assists in explaining modern government and the flow of political life. He sees policy-making as a concept, as a process, and as a source of political change. Gerston relies on Lindblom's (1980) view of policy-making as a process springing from "a continuum of events, with a beginning that is hard to pinpoint and an end that is rarely permanent" (p. 5).

Gerston singles out three ingredients central to an overview of the public policy process. These include issues which are selected for the government's policy agenda, the institutions which formulate and implement the policy and the levels of government which participate in the process. He feels that these three ingredients are key to the complexities of policy-making. Impinging on these ingredients are the controversies emanating from social,

economic and technological issues of the American domestic scene.

Short (1983b) moves to the curriculum context with an analysis of the American situation. In his article, he asserts that the chaos in curriculum is due largely to disorders related to the authority and governance structure in curriculum development in the United States today. The focus is an examination of the state of the structure of curriculum control. Initially Short reviews the present situation with an analysis of the changes that have occurred during the last twenty years. He assesses these shifts in structure through the use of six criteria for adequacy of a workable curriculum control structure. Short concludes with the changes that are implied from his review that would remedy the problems in the current structure of curriculum authority and governance.

Though the final responsibility for curriculum policy-making and development still remains with a local board of education, the parameters for exercising the role have changed. While the state statutes continue to provide the authority for local boards to develop curriculum policy, additional mandates have evolved over time. Short summarizes four of these mandates as follows:

1. Federal court actions. Federal court decisions in the area of constitutional rights have established limits and principles that boards must take into account when

making curriculum policy. Areas such as language needs of nonEnglish speakers, programs for special needs students and cultural studies are affected by these court decisions.

2. Federal legislation and funding. Curriculum policy is affected when boards apply for funding from the federal government and must agree to conform to certain criteria. Funding for certain types of programs, such as environmental education or desegregation planning is available under certain conditions. Authorization for certain types of curriculum development projects is also dependent on following certain criteria. This type of congressional regulation affects the scope and nature of curriculum policy in any jurisdiction.

3. State court actions. The interpretations of state constitutional mandates for education and the resolution of conflicts between the legislative and the executive functions of the state and the local board combine to shift control from the local authority to the central agency. For example the school financing issue that arose recently in the states of New York and California resulted in the state taking actions that ultimately reduced the power of the local boards. In turn, the local board is now obliged to follow the state mandate in the financing issue.

4. Contracts of professional employees. Bargaining agents for teachers have included provisions in union contracts that directly impinge on curriculum policy-

matters. These include the size of classes, hours of duty, time and resources for curriculum work and the guidelines for participation in curriculum policy-making and development. The increasing demand of students and parents to be involved in curriculum policy-making has led to court resolution of disputes. Subsequent decisions influence the curriculum practice.

Short concludes that curriculum policy-making is now a shared responsibility and is not solely vested in the realm of the local board of education. However, it is Short's view that the various mandates do come together at the local level where the final decisions about student programs are made. Though authority is divested among three levels of government-federal, state and local-and issues from the all three branches of judicial, executive and legislative-there is also pressure from nongovernmental agencies and groups to influence the curriculum process. As a result, the control of curriculum policy and development has shifted to a more "centralized, bureaucratized, legalized, and diversified" (p. 197) system.

Short summarizes the research that describes and assesses the changes in the way curriculum is controlled. His description includes several major points which are taken from the literature. The first is the view that changes in the social and political values related to education in the 1950's and 60's encouraged congress to

become involved in the encouragement of excellence in education at a time when the nation as a whole was looking for improvement in curriculum and programs. The curriculum project approach provided funding for new curricula in the sciences, mathematics, foreign languages and later in areas such as English. The intervention in curriculum by the federal government was in Short's view an indirect one. Local authority was still central to the process. The adoption rate was quite high, though, as was evident later, the program had little effect in the classrooms.

Coupled with the funding mandate was a coalition of educational experts who influenced Congress by persuasive argument that the intervention of curriculum projects would have little or no effect on the control the local authority held over curriculum. These experts recommended the *research and development model* as the appropriate procedure to use in curriculum projects on a national scale. Short points out that these experts were not the front line experts who spoke from experience in the implementation of curriculum; rather they favored "methods technically designed to produce results" (p. 198). This group set a precedent for later "experts" to include their favorite programs in the schools with federal funds. These later additions came as a result of equal rights demands which were prevalent during the 1970's and did not necessarily get a positive response at the local level.

A third influence on the change in structure seems to be the three values that Short says "the public traditionally expects government to balance" (p. 199). The values of representativeness, technical competence, and leadership appear to have influenced the shift in the authority and governance of curriculum over the last two decades. How the public viewed the balance or a need for change in the arrangement of authority influenced the shift from local control to a shared responsibility. Historical influences and public opinion were responsible for the shifts. From the 1950's to the 1970's the public supported the increased leadership of Congress with its indirect approach of funding and the direct approach of the judicial branches of the federal and state governments. Technical competence became important during the 1950's and 1960's. Diverse representation was a demand during the 1960's and 1970's. Short's brief review of the research ends with his assertion that it is difficult to ascertain what the future holds regarding curriculum in the 1980's.

The final section of the article discusses the policy implications of the research and conclusions. Short takes as his task the examination of the formal characteristics and consequences of current structures to control curriculum policy and development. Rather than analyze the policies or curriculum results, Short summarizes analyses of the technical structure itself. These analyses are based on the

purpose and functions the structures are expected to serve. The purpose and function focus on rationalizing opposing curricular ends as carefully as possible and on giving appropriate guidelines for ensuring curriculum implementation. Criteria for evaluating the adequacy of the structure of curriculum control are extracted from the purpose and function above. Both strengths and weaknesses are apparent in the shared authority pattern which has emerged.

Short makes use of expert analyses in the literature to derive his criteria for assessing the adequacy of the structure of the curriculum control. These criteria are generalizations of "criticisms expressed" by expert analysts about shared control. There are six criteria noted in the article. The criteria state that an adequate structure of curriculum control

1. "has jurisdiction over a domain of activity that is clearly curricular in intent and function" (p. 201).

Short indicates that mixed messages are conveyed in the mandates of the various agencies who participate in the decision-making regarding schooling. The mandates often combine political and social goals aimed at achieving extraeducational goals. It is Short's belief that the "essence of schooling is the development of understandings, skills, beliefs, and attitudes in individual students" (p.

201). These ends are achieved by encouraging internal changes rather than imposing external rules which are often part of the other types of goals. Mandates that combine educational and other goals cannot be expected to succeed. Structures which exceed the purpose and function of the curriculum ends should, according to Short, be given more limited jurisdiction.

2. "has its legislative, executive, and judicial powers systematically and compatibly allocated to its various component levels and units" (p. 201).

With the gradual introduction of the various mandates at the three levels of government, the existing structures did not change but remained in effect. This has resulted in conflicting directions to the local boards of education when the new mandate contradicted the former which is in effect at the state or local level. Practical difficulties are often resolved informally but the potential for continuing conflict continues. Short asserts that the breakdown in authority must be overcome by delegating exclusive power to the appropriate level or branch of government.

3. "relies on a thorough and viable system of interactive communication to keep its curricular decisions and actions grounded in reality and responsive to the commonweal" (p. 202).

The communication networks of a shared curriculum governance has had both positive and negative results.

Short says that on the positive side more cosmopolitan values such as equal educational opportunity have been realized. But the losers in the shift have been parents because they have lost their voice in making curriculum decisions. Special interest groups vie for support of special or even regular programs. Even educators have been ignored in the decision-making process because of political or other interests. There is a need for more open communication within the politics of curriculum control but Short acknowledges the difficulty of creating a fair and open structure.

4. "issues only those mandates capable of being carried out within available financial resources and other administrative parameters" (p. 202).

Failure by the respective body to provide adequate support or funding for initiatives has frequently resulted in limited or no implementation of the particular program. Assumptions about adequate resources and structures to carry out the program have led to instances where the goals have not been achieved. Short seems to be concluding that the various levels of government participating in the governance of curriculum lack the necessary knowledge about the finances, organization, administration and operation of educational institutions. When a new mandate calls for change or additions to the curriculum, the originator needs to recognize that adequate resources are also important to

the educational institution to carry out the mandate. In addition the initiator must understand that other levels of government have some responsibility for the recipient organization. Short's solution for this problem is to restructure the authority relationships within the entire curriculum control system. However, understanding system constraints and reasonable financial provision for implementing programs, may also assist in resolving the difficulty.

5. "is able to assure compliance with its mandates through formal, effective, accountability procedures" (p. 203).

To overcome the problem of noncompliance with mandates from the various levels, Short argues that only mandates which are possible to control should be given so that it is not necessary to use ineffective threats or inducements to comply. Most important is that each level in the governance structure must have the necessary powers and resources to control the area of responsibility to ensure compliance. Too often Short says the lowest level of the structure is required to oversee the compliance and the overlapping of the layers of responsibility make this difficult if not impossible. Two suggestions for change are offered: either give each level authority appropriate powers to ensure compliance control or use the existing structure to strengthen the administrative/accountability structure of

the local boards and states. The result would be fewer federal mandates.

6. "prescribes a minimum of specific, uniform regulations governing the implementation of its mandates" (p. 203).

Many mandates issuing from various sources has resulted in a substantial increase in bureaucratic red tape with the result that valuable resources are wasted and mandates go unfulfilled. Local circumstances are often not taken into account when prescriptions are drafted so that the results are inappropriate to the particular setting. Short suggests more flexible implementation procedures to overcome these problems.

Short advocates several policy changes to meet the above criteria. First he wants to restore authority over the curriculum to states and boards of education though this might be politically unacceptable. If the first change is not possible, the authority and governance structure of curriculum should be changed to meet the criteria mentioned above. Then he recommends that control be limited to the various actors so that together they constitute a workable system. Next he wants to initiate litigation on arbitrary or conflicting authority as a move toward restructuring and to convene an intergovernmental conference to clarify appropriate powers for each level in the structure. Finally he says that more studies of curriculum policy-making

processes and problems in shared governance should be undertaken. He concludes that failure to follow these recommendations will only allow the current state of confusion to continue.

Figure 14: Summary of 1983 Data Sources in Relation to Research Questions

Questions	Brewer and de Leon	Gerston	Short
1. Operation of the policy process	*Complex process of: 1. initiation 2. estimation 3. selection 4. implementation 5. evaluation 6. termination	*A concept, a process and a source of political change	*Shared responsibility
2. Elements of the policy process	*Problem context *environment *time constraints *individuals *Objectives *normative *political *Analysis *Judgment *Decision-making *Politics *Resources	*Issues *social *economic *technological *Institutions *Federalism *Actors *Politics	*Federal/state court *Federal legislation and funding *Professionals and their contracts *Values *social *political
3. Relationship among elements of the policy process	*Interaction among phases *Iterative	*Combination of decisions, commitments, and actions	*Interactive communication *Uneven influence *Unclear roles
4. Elements unique to curriculum policy-making process	No comment	No comment	*Educational experts
5. Impact of curriculum elements on the policy process	No comment	No comment	*Parents have less voice in process *Limited implementation

1984 Data Sources

Feir (1984) sets the curriculum policy-making process in the context of economic and sociopolitical considerations. The myth that education, particularly that curriculum decisions are apolitical, is one that Feir says must be overcome by educators. To be effective in the curriculum policy arena, Feir indicates that "educational professionals who wish to influence the development of curriculum policy would be more effective by disavowing the myth" (p. 3) of education as apolitical.

The study examines the curriculum policy activity in 50 states and analyzes the curriculum activity using several political system measures. These include political culture, education centralization, scope of government, a welfare-education dimension, interparty competition, interest group strength, legislative professionalism, and the power of governors. Curriculum policy activity included program definition, student achievement testing, personnel training and certification, and resource allocation.

Most states were involved in some curriculum policy activity but the nature of the activity varied. At least 15 states had activity in all four of the areas of curriculum policy development. Although not conclusive, Feir found that governors were key actors in those states that had a high level of professionalism in the legislatures. This occurred in eight states. Another 21 states had

legislatures as the key actors in curriculum policy-making. Feir concludes that considerable research remains to be done in curriculum policy development.

In their case study of the policy revision process in a university setting, Helms, Hahn and Engel (1984) apply organizational theory to the curriculum policy-making process. The authors make the point that the educational administration field has utilized the concepts and approaches of organizational theory but the curriculum development area has not. The formal revision of the curriculum in a college of liberal arts and sciences at a university is examined using an analytical framework derived from organizational theory.

The conceptual framework selected is the "garbage can" model which seems, according to the authors, to accommodate the various factors associated with the curriculum policy and decision-making process. The "garbage can" model has certain characteristics that can be used to analyze the decision-making process that occurs in curriculum revision. Helms, Hahn and Engel present the characteristics of the model as found in Cohen and March (1974) and March and Olsen (1976) as follows:

1. "flight and oversight" which explains that important problems are avoided or overlooked but rarely decided by resolutions,

2. "sensitivity to load" which says that more problems lead to increased problem solving or flight and oversight but reduce the number of substantive decisions,
3. "tracking" explains the tandem movement of decision-makers and problems among choices which results in similar but unresolved results,
4. "efficiency" explains the problem activity, latency and decision times,
5. "interaction" says that decisions seem unpredictable because of their dependence on timing and the activity of the participants,
6. "queuing" explains that certain factors influence the order in which decisions are made,
7. "failure" explains that the failures occur usually among the most or least important choices.

Following the description of the model, the writers describe the nature of university organizations as seen by March and Olsen (1976). The first quality relates to the status concerns that surround participation in university decision-making. With the egalitarian perspective of universities, status is carefully protected by participation in those decisions that might affect the loss of status. Because status is more affected by deletion than by addition, curriculum revision is often of an incremental nature. More participation occurs when there are decisions

to be made about redistribution of curriculum. Secondly, educational policy-making is seen as a mutual self-help activity by faculty members. Curriculum change becomes a bargaining activity to ensure that status is retained. Finally, educational policy discussions centre on university requirements rather than on the public statements of student needs.

A combination of the features of the model and the characteristics of university decision-making provide the framework that is used to analyze curriculum policy-making. The authors deemphasize the rational aspects of process and focus more on the changing mixes of content, problem, solutions, actors and timing as they are affected by the structures and biases in the decision process. The result is the deemphasis on cause/effect analysis and the provision of alternative explanations and strategies.

The methodology was a case study approach which collected data from a number of sources and included minutes and institutional policy statements, news accounts, interviews of policy-makers, personal accounts and notes and analysis of the backgrounds of participants in the review process.

In the case study, the authors present a chronological overview of the background to the curriculum revision. The overview consists of information from 1944 to 1980. The Educational Policy Committee, established by a new dean in

1977 used an Ad Hoc Committee to review the general education program.

The analysis explored the application of the concepts to the understanding of the substance of curriculum revision. The data are taken from the beginning stages of the Ad Hoc Committee policy revision. Four aspects of the policy revision process were analyzed including 1) the chronological events in which the recommendations for revision were made and the pattern of decision-making was described, 2) a description of participants' backgrounds, experiences and philosophy of curriculum, 3) the linkage between participants and process in the organizational context of decision-making in the "garbage can" model, and 4) the estimate of the magnitude and form of the proposed change.

The analysis of the data resulted in several observations. The goals of the curriculum were discussed but no decision regarding goals was recorded. It appeared that the idea of a framework for curriculum decision-making was dropped. The decision-making style included the three patterns of resolution, oversight and flight. Early decisions when the load was light were made by resolution. Two of four decisions involving important changes were also made by resolution. But two of three decisions involving major changes used the flight and oversight approach. In addition two of the early decisions did not survive

adoption. The frequency of decisions increased toward the end of the process but the use of flight and oversight also increased.

The potential for conflict increased in relation to the length of time the problem was unresolved. Participation by the committee members may have influenced how the issue was viewed in the long run. The level of participation seemed to be equal when decisions were reached by either resolution or flight but decisions by oversight seemed to have less participation. The issues with the most change associated with them seemed to have relatively less participation. The patterns of the participation and attention seemed to be influenced by external and procedural factors. Though some of the decisions appeared to be unpredictable, these were really responses to structural and environmental conditions. Other factors such as timing and queuing affected the decision-making when, for example, an external influence in the form of a note from the university president asked for consideration of particular course, international studies, to be considered in the program. This type of late arrival in the last minute rush to complete the revision left no time for discussion and led to the use of oversight.

The selection of participants was based on the criterion of long-term service to the institution. This type of selection seemed to indicate to the writers that a conservative low risk-taking group made up the members of

the Ad Hoc Committee. They point out also that there is some evidence that a predisposition to stability usually results in incremental or marginal change. The writers saw an additional factor emerging in the analysis. The factor was a shared belief system or "policy-map...[which] consists of a series of predispositions to limit focus and attention to certain types of problems, to maintain certain values as primary, and to consider only certain explanations as acceptable" (p. 56).

The policy-map is explained as a link between the individual, the policy-making process and the institutional context. The map contains the institutional core values which restrict the policy choices to those that fit the parameters. In the case study, the data gathered from the interviews seemed to indicate that there was a common map for curriculum among the participants. The agreement about procedures was clearer than were the goals of curriculum and resulted in a similar interpretation of the purposes of a liberal arts education. The concept of a policy-map seems to emphasize the importance of how participants are selected for decision-making in the policy process. Continuity in the process is enhanced by adding the procedural and normative limits of the policy-map. The idea of a policy-map seems to extend the Cohen and March (1974) description of "experience as theory" because "common experience may develop common cognitive approaches or expectations about

goals and thereby serve an integrating role in the garbage can of organizational decision-making" (p. 56).

In this case study, the curriculum revision seemed to be accomplished through both incremental change and deliberate reform. The results were affected by the common policy-maps and experiences of the participants. Both status and log rolling enhanced the values and reduced the threats to the institution during the deliberations. Just as March and Olsen (1976) saw goal development and policy as independent, the study indicated that goals were not articulated. But the participants had common beliefs and values which facilitated the process of curriculum revision though the change was limited both in form and substance.

Jones (1984) too favors a process approach to the study of public policy. He defines key terms associated with the policy process and introduces the basic elements of an analysis framework. He takes the position that the "substance" of issues (the nature of the problems and how they can be solved) is really a means of studying "process."

Using a dictionary definition, Jones defines "process" as "a series of actions or operations definitely conducing to an end" (p. 25). Though processes are common to all forms of social behaviour, Jones describes three process approaches used in political science. The first is the traditional interest in institutional processes which focus on aspects associated with political institutions. The

second, group processes, analyzes participation while the third, policy processes, looks at how public problems are dealt with in government.

Each of the processes, Jones feels, contributes to an understanding of the others. While each process attempts to describe and analyze reality, information obscured by one process may be uncovered by another. Jones prefers the policy process but recognizes that the other two can contribute or clarify what may be obscured or unnoticed in the policy-process approach, particularly in the political or decision-making system.

Jones discusses his own framework for analysis of the policy process. Because his interest is in the politics of the policy process, Jones depends on Lasswell's (1971) seven "how" questions which are based upon the functional activities of intelligence, recommendation, prescription, invocation, application, appraisal, and termination. Jones proposes a map or guide to give direction and to help identify elements in the policy process. The framework is offered as a heuristic device which contributes to an understanding of the policy process.

In the framework Jones transforms the activities of the policy process into government categories which result in various products. The first cluster of functional activities of problem definition, aggregation, organization, representation and agenda setting deal with bringing the

problems to government and result in products such as problems, demands, access or priorities. The next group, formulation, legitimation and budgeting result in government action through proposals, programs or budgets. The third category of implementation has government dealing with the action and has various results including services or control. Finally, evaluation and adjustment/termination combine for a review of the program by government with differing results.

Jones cautions that the framework may not necessarily reflect the actual sequence of events. Activities may overlap or not occur. No criteria are provided to move from one activity to the next. Problems may originate from either the private or public domain and participants will vary depending on the problem or activity.

Four types of actors or participants are involved in the policy process. Jones lists these as the rationalists, technicians, incrementalists, and reformists. Rationalists are the analysts or planners who use the rational-comprehensive, decision-making theory and often fail to acknowledge the limits of their approach. Technicians are the experts involved in complex policy-making who use their training to help attain the policy goals. Politicians are the incrementalists according to Jones and want to make little or no change consistent with incremental theory. The

reformists, on the other hand, are the lobby or interest groups who actively demand substantial change.

It is Jones' view that because of the striking differences among the four groups of policy actors, each group is often highly critical of the others. Over time, each group has had influence in government policy-making. Jones feels that the 1950's encouraged the incrementalist approach, the 1960's and 1970's the reformist process while the rationalist perspective has been ascendent during the late 1970's and early 1980's. However, he acknowledges that every era is characterized by a mix of actors in institutions and groups, so that each faction deals with the others at some point. Over time, there seems to be a melding of perspectives.

Jones acknowledges the impact of personal perspectives on the policy process. Individual analysts take a certain approach to issues and decision-making. Each approach has its own limitations and realities. The various actors will influence the type of decision-making that occurs during the policy process. This, combined with the nature of the particular policy problem or issue, leads to a highly relative and pluralistic decision-making system. Jones suggests that the system may be self-correcting over time, but in the short term, it favors those who have adequate resources to demand attention. Jones concludes that the policy process is ongoing. Though adjustments will be made

constantly to an issue, it will reappear in various forms over time, once it has been identified as an area requiring attention. Because of the interesting way that people, methods, resources, proposals and support will combine, the policy process is seldom in a state of closure.

Linder and Peters (1984) reject the way that governments make public policy by trial and error rather than by an appropriate or effective design. This approach has been labelled the "garbage can " model to describe the way decisions are put into a garbage can and decision-makers decide which pieces to retrieve and when to retrieve the particular bit. It appears that the model does little to assist in predicting the results of such choices.

Suggestions for improving the decision-making and policy-making processes are discussed by Linder and Peters. They suggest that two options for improvement are available for consideration: (1) use social theory more explicitly in making public policy, especially macro-level social theory as a means to guide the direction or (2) develop a better understanding of policy-making and the policy process itself without an agreement on a social paradigm. The writers quickly dismiss the first option because of the difficulty of reaching an agreement on the particular social theory that would provide the framework for policy-making and the need to comprehend all characteristics of the particular theory before taking any action. Rather they advocate the

approach that accepts policy analysis as the distinctive avenue to social problems. This approach will permit the policy analyst to move toward a theory of policy design which will better deal with the increasingly complex and interdependent world that policy-makers are faced with.

Policy design has its roots in the design sciences where the idea of applying principles from the process of design to social problems originated. Removing the process of design from the item that was to be designed enabled designers to use other techniques from operations research, engineering problem solving and computer assistance. Simon's contribution to the design approach was the logic of the design process and "the hierarchical structure of problems and strategies for their decomposition" (p. 240). Other writers have contributed to the understanding of the design approach by "systematizing the process of policy formation to overcome both policy-maker's biases and the preferences of most analysts for ex post evaluation" (p. 240). Linder and Peters agree that policy-making has paid little attention to design training with the result that alternatives in policy-making have been generated by intuition rather than by systematic attention to appropriate alternatives. They feel that policy-making needs a model of causation, a model of evaluation and a model of interventions to improve its contributions in a very complex and interdependent world. The three models would be part of

an overall theory of policy design that would assist policy-makers in policy formulation.

The model of causation would assist the policy-maker in understanding causes. The analyst would associate certain outcomes in a society with certain initial states. The example offered by the authors is that disease results from germs. Alternative models of causation may also be given as a result of different world outlooks. For example, the idea that disease is a result of evil thoughts or an imbalance of humors in the body may be thought of as the causes.

Using the model of evaluation, the analyst could outline the outcomes of the policy process into a set of normative premises about the policy and the society. The premises could be broad (such as justice) or they could be more policy specific (such as efficiency).

The model of interventions would help the decision-maker to know when to intervene in the ongoing social and economic processes to achieve a particular result. The analyst would be guided in the selection of the locus and form of intervention to use.

Linder and Peters also discuss the difficulties associated with their move to a more comprehensive view of policy-making in the post-industrial world. They describe two features of the politics in industrial/post industrial states that may make their comprehensive approach difficult. The first concern is the sectorization of policy-making in

which different sectors are semi-autonomous and each has its own set of actors, issues and concepts. While this type of policy-making has disadvantages, it also has the advantage of achieving more consensus within its context and is less politicized in its policy-making though it confines difficult decisions to a narrow framework in which everyone agrees on problems if not the solutions.

The second concern is somewhat related to the first in that there is increasing demand for participation in decision-making because it is seen as an end in itself as well as a means of influencing how public resources are distributed. Consequently policy-making has become more a matter of bargaining and negotiation than of imposition and control. Further, Linder and Peters say that the policy process has become somewhat less tidy because of the democratic participation but in the authors' view, the literature tends to support the policy-making approach that encourages the search for a consensus through negotiation. They cite studies of western democracies where the policy style appears to favour the bargaining and negotiation system. The conclusion seems to be that the use of a macro-theory approach would tend to centralize the policy and decision-making in such a way as to make it unacceptable to the "decentralizing trends seen in contemporary politics" (p. 242). However, they do make the point that there are two sides to the debate about the need of governments to

take the views of the electorate and the prevailing sentiments into account when making policies. The one side says that contemporary governments have substantial power to make decisions that run counter to the views of the populace; however, the counter position says that this is not possible as a policy basis, but occurs occasionally.

Linder and Peters argue that macro-theory has not been helpful in developing either economic or social policy because of problems with the scale. The difficulty appears to be the "tradeoff between precision and inclusiveness" (p.245). In using macro-theory precision decreases when all the aspects of the issue are considered. Appropriate tools or instruments to deal with the complex array of items to be considered further erodes the ability of the macro-theory approach to maintain the precision as well as the inclusiveness necessary for effective policy-making. The choice between a micro-level approach and a macro-level approach seems to be the "implicit choice between alternative mixes of precision and inclusiveness" (p. 245). Linder and Peters offer a "middle ground" approach which is the "intersection of micro and macro approaches" (p.246). They feel that this is the way to satisfy the design theory notions of causality, evaluation and instruments.

The authors acknowledge evaluation as an essential component of policy-making in the policy process. Certain problems arise when evaluation is regarded in a theoretical

sense to accommodate basic values, according to Linder and Peters. When macro theories are represented using the three dimensions of values, instruments and causes on a figure, the authors show that macro theories do not retain both the precision and the inclusiveness necessary for policy design. Rather than dealing with fundamental values, the authors suggest that effective policies focus on instrumental values which assists in recognizing and defining the problem. In this way, the goal and the means of attaining that goal can better be described. That task is the major undertaking of the policy designer who will leave the decision-making to the decision-maker about the appropriate solution to the problem. Because of the poor quality of evaluation theory, the focus on instrumental values is more effective than the use of fundamental values.

Linder and Peters feel that there is a basic problem with the way in which solutions to problems are generated and selected. They lament the lack of understanding of whether the particular solution will be a success or not. Rather than searching for innovative strategies, they say that policy designers are using known strategies even when they are only partially appropriate. The problem seems to lie in the way strategies are developed rather than in a dearth of solutions. Linder and Peters seem to be saying that there is no "adequate guide for choosing what methods of intervention would be most appropriate" (p. 251). What

is missing is the application of analytic skills to the creation of more alternative solutions. This would in the authors' view enable the analyst to predict the outcome of the particular strategy and to plan for an effective implementation.

The development of a theory of interventions would enable the analyst to assign the appropriate strategy to a problem. The theory would assist by encouraging the analyst to generate and compare strategies to make the best selection. The theory would encourage the creation of innovative strategies. A theoretical approach would have aim to (1) make the role of design central to the solving policy problems and (2) broaden our understanding of what is possible in alternative strategies.

Policy design would consider the elements of causation, evaluation and intervention. Because of the complex nature of the world in which policy-must be formulated, Linder and Peters provide some further guidelines.

Characteristics of problems. These should be described in terms of attributes or categories that will be helpful in designing interventions. The following are suggested by the writers.

1. Scale which clarifies whether the policy requires some threshold size for success. These policies differ from those that can be handled incrementally.

2. Collective consumption goods which have particular features that must be accounted for in the policy process.
3. Certainty which says that certain factors are present and will influence the policy to some degree.
4. Predictability which indicates whether the event can be predicted or not.
5. Independence which indicates the degree to the policy will be affected by outside forces.

Characteristics of goals. Goals are not well understood in the policy process according to Linder and Peters. They identify value-laden goals (e.g. justice, equity) and the operational goals such as "economic criteria used to justify governmental intervention into the economy" (p. 255). By giving attention to the way in which goals are established, they indicate that policy-makers would attempt to modify goals as well as clarify them. In this way the range of alternatives can be considered in light of the goals identified.

Characteristics of instruments. A theory of policy design will certainly consist of a list of characteristics of instruments. Linder and Peters have modified a list prepared by Hall to include descriptors used to evaluate policy instruments.

Linder and Peters consider this article as a rudimentary attempt to develop a more theoretical approach to policy-making to overcome what they see as "almost random interventions [that] characterize contemporary policy-making" (p. 257). They argue for the inclusion of causation, evaluation, and instrumentation in the theory of policy design to provide a more efficient means for making public policy than the macro-theory approach which awaits more effective macro-level social theories.

The next data source is a relatively new American textbook by Unruh and Unruh (1984) which contains a section devoted entirely to the complex variables which impinge upon curriculum decision-making. The authors take the position that special expertise, political awareness and dialogue are necessary to clarify curriculum purposes and to resolve value conflicts. They note that the change from a consensus to a conflict model sharply marks the political nature of curriculum decision-making. The context includes professional educators, governmental agencies, educational organizations and interest groups who influence the selection of values in curriculum.

Though the authors do not specifically discuss policy-making, the focus on decision-making reflects a trend in curriculum textbooks towards recognition of the politics of curriculum activity. Further, they present a discussion of spheres of power in the United States which encompass the

Figure 15: Summary of 1984 Data Sources in Relation to Research Questions

Questions	Feir	Helms, Hahn, & Engel	Jones	Linder & Peters	Unruh & Unruh
1. Operation of the policy process	*A process	*Decision-making process	*Ongoing process of a series of functional	*Comprehensive process requiring improved policy design	*Complex political process
2. Elements of the policy process	*Economics *Politics *Social context *Key actors	*Content *Problems *Solutions *Actors *Timing *Institutional context	*Politics *Resources *Participants *rationalists *technicians *instrumentalists *reformists	*Social/economic processes *Politics *Sectorization of contexts & actors	*Power groups *federal govt. *courts *state legislatures *local boards *interest groups *Other actors *administrators *curriculum specialists *teachers *parents *students
3. Relationship among elements of policy process	*Interact in a political context	*Shared belief system links individual with policy process & institutional context	*Interrelated *Overlapping *Not necessarily sequential	*Interdependent	*Interaction *Conflict
4. Elements unique to curriculum policy-making	*Educators ignore politics	*Policy-map of curriculum content	No comment	No comment	*School boards and educators formulate policy
5. Impact of curriculum elements on policy process	*Educators less effective	*Limits change in policy process	No comment	No comment	*More communication necessary to permit participation

federal government, the courts, state legislatures, local boards of education, the ultraconservative groups, and professional reform advocates. These groups plus the more familiar participants of school administrators, curriculum specialists, teachers, students and parents, all demand a part in the decision-making process. Unruh and Unruh advise that educational leaders must agree on the aim of education and then provide viable solutions to educational problems. Curriculum decision-making is part of the process which would establish general directions to overcome difficulties.

Figure 15 presents a summary of the information gleaned from the 1984 data sources. The information is organized on the basis of the five research questions.

1985 Data Sources

A Canadian curriculum research project undertaken by Orpwood (1985) describes the role of deliberation in curriculum policy-making. Orpwood defines curriculum as a type of policy which encompasses rules, plans or guides about what is to be taught in certain settings. He seems to include all curriculum guidelines, syllabuses and programmes which may emanate at the national, state or local level. Commercially-prepared curriculum materials (textbooks, for example) are considered as policy options and become policy only after a decision to use them is made. In this definition of curriculum as policy, Orpwood makes a distinction often obscured by the term "curriculum

development." The deliberation associated with the making of curriculum policy refers to the particular process in which there is "verbal interchange that is carried on, usually by a group, with the intent that some kind of curriculum plan, policy or programme will emerge" (p. 293).

In the study, Orpwood and a colleague were participant-observers during the deliberations of a two-tiered committee structure in an Ontario school division. The task of the committees was to draft and recommend policy options for a science programme. After eleven hours of meeting time and seven meetings, the committees made their recommendations to the school board who approved the programme for implementation. Orpwood's purpose was to conduct an empirical study and develop a conceptualization of the deliberations of curriculum policy-making based on the data. Using Kaplan's (1964) reconstructed logic as a way to view the practice of curriculum making, Orpwood describes two aspects of curriculum policy. The first is the rational content through which curriculum policy must communicate information such as content and objectives, and the second is the political impact which must stimulate teachers' commitment to action. The deliberations surrounding curriculum policy-making must have two functions. One is to develop a defensible conclusion to the practical reasoning which results in the rational content. The other is to

develop a consensual resolution to a political problem. These functions occur simultaneously in practice.

Orpwood combines the rational and political dimensions in a framework for analysis of the deliberative process. The rational dimension illustrates the logical relationship among the facts or beliefs, the normative principles and the conclusions. The political dimension demonstrates the dynamic interaction of the political debate and weighs the considerations. Elements of deliberation may be analyzed using the scheme. In the first stage, any contributions are gathered and tested for relevance. The relevant contributions become considerations and are part of further deliberations. The second stage weighs considerations to determine reasons to take a particular action. The final stage of conclusions indicate that the practical argument is completed and the political problem is resolved.

Orpwood feels this framework is useful to assist curriculum policy-makers in analyzing deliberations. The analysis may be helpful in modifying and improving the process of curriculum policy-making.

Figure 16: Summary of 1985 Data Sources in Relation to Research Questions

Questions	Orpwood
1. Operation of policy process	*A deliberative process
2. Elements of policy process	*Participants *curriculum leader *teachers *school board *Rational dimension *Political dimension *Deliberations
3. Relationship among elements of policy process	*Rational and political dimensions interact
4. Elements unique to curriculum policy-making	*Combination of reason and will
5. Impact of curriculum elements on policy process	*Curriculum plan emerges

Summary

Chapter Three explores the 38 major data sources and presents the information gleaned from the data sources in relation to the five research questions. The summaries of the data obtained through the exploration phase of the interpretative-theoretical methodology are displayed by year in figures following verbal descriptions of the data sources. The fourth chapter of this study analyzes and classifies the information obtained in the first phase of the methodology.

CHAPTER FOUR

Analysis and Classification

Chapter Four contains the analysis and classification phases of the interpretative-theoretical methodology. The analysis phase methodically juxtaposes information gleaned from major data sources in response to the five research questions asked in the exploration phase of the study. Responses to the following research questions appear in the first portion of this chapter.

1. How does the policy process function?
2. What are the elements in the policy process?
3. What are the relationships among the elements in the policy process?
4. Are there elements unique to the curriculum policy process?
5. How is the policy process affected by these elements?

The answers are subdivided into sections corresponding to each question.

The second portion of the chapter consists of the classification of the data obtained through the systematic analysis of the major data sources. The third phase of the interpretative-theoretical methodology organizes and

clarifies thoughts about the policy-making process which is under investigation. During this phase the information from the major data sources in educational and curriculum policy-making is integrated with the data from the policy process sources. The categories resulting from the classification phase provide the components of the integrative model which emerges. Subsections in the second part of the chapter follow the research question framework.

Figure 17: Major Data Sources by Type and Year

Year	Policy Type	
	Public	Educational or Curriculum Policy
1985	0	1
1984	2	3
1983	2	1
1982	1	0
1981	2	1
1980	1	4
1979	6	1
1978	2	1
1977	1	2
1976	1	3
1975	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	20	18

Overview of the Major Data Sources

The thesis analyzed 38 major data sources. The data sources subdivide into two main types. The first consists of the sources related to public policy in general, while the second type contains sources related to education or curriculum policy. Public policy-related sources numbered 20. Of the remaining 18 sources, only 13 specifically mentioned curriculum policy while five addressed educational policy. The years 1979 and 1980 produced the largest number of sources for public policy respectively. The number of curriculum policy sources is approximately one-third of the total sources.

Analysis of Data Related to the Research Questions

Major sources were analyzed using each of the five research questions as the framework for analysis. The information gathered from the analysis of the major data sources is presented in the figures which follow. Answers to the questions consist of a number of variables. The frequencies of each variable were tabulated for each study which contained the particular variable.

It is recognized that the frequency of assertion is not necessarily related to the importance of the assertion in the data (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). The frequency may indicate the relative weight of the variable in the data.

The Operation of the Policy Process

Public policy-making appears to be a complex political process, which is influenced by both internal and external factors. Core curriculum policy-making, a distinct class of the public policy process, seems to be affected by parallel factors within the educational context and within the larger community. Public policy-making addresses social problems and interests of society while core curriculum policy-making seems aimed at either maintaining society as it is or at changing social patterns through curriculum. In both policy processes, bargaining and negotiation appear essential in reaching consensus.

The dynamic nature of the policy process connotes multiple actions and activities which may be repeated throughout the process. This iterative quality introduces an adaptive element to the process. As policy is developed, the varied environmental factors seem to force changes both in the process itself and in the nature of policy product. The democratic characteristic of public policy also appears to encourage adaptation as various participants and interest groups add their contributions to the process. Contextual factors such as authority structures, culture, morals, socio-psychological orientations, economics, time constraints, and ideologies seem to impinge on the public policy process and add to its complexity.

The person directly responsible for the policy-making, the policy-maker, assumes the responsibility for deciding on the general direction of the particular policy. Rationality appears to be of limited help in making decisions in any policy process. Most policy is incremental in nature and curriculum policy-making seems to be no exception. While quantitative data and research are useful to the policy-maker, both normative and qualitative information appear essential because the policy process is so value-laden. The policy-maker as well as the other participants, legislators, officials, school administrators, teachers, parents and community interest groups, all bring biases and cognitive orientations to the process. It appears that core curriculum policy-makers need to incorporate the rational, the normative, and the qualitative information in making curriculum policy decisions.

The policy-making process is frequently explained in discrete stages for purposes of clarity, but the data sources caution that there is overlap among the stages. Terminology and organization vary among the data sources. There may be as many as six stages in the schema, beginning with a problem definition phase during which the issue is clarified and put on the policy-maker's agenda. For the core curriculum policy-maker, the issue of what comprises a core curriculum might arise at different levels, for example, in a provincial department of education or at a

school division level. The next phase involves considering policy alternatives which may be politically feasible. The curriculum policy-maker will review the alternatives in light of empirical, normative, and qualitative data. The third phase, policy selection, occurs when the policy-maker decides on the general direction and selects a specific policy. The fourth phase involves the implementation of the policy, while the fifth phase examines and evaluates the impact of the policy. The final and sixth phase makes adjustments or terminates the policy as a result of the information gathered in the evaluation phase. Core curriculum policy-makers may benefit from the help this type of description affords. Figure 18 presents the descriptive statements of the function of the policy process along with the frequency of the description in the major data sources. Statements appear in alphabetical order and are derived from the 38 data sources in relation to the first of the five research questions.

Figure 18: Analysis of Major Data Sources Related to the Function of the Policy Process

Descriptive Statements	Frequency
1. Actions and activities are part of the policy process.	35
2. Authority structures affect the curriculum policy-making process.	8
3. Bargaining and negotiation are favoured in the policy style of western democracies.	2
4. Centralized control of curriculum policy-making is increasing.	4

5. Cognitive differences of policy-makers influence the policy process. 6
6. Cultural bias impinges on policy. 2
7. Curriculum policy is affected by foreign influences. 1
8. Curriculum policy-making is a deliberative process. 1
9. Curriculum policy-making is a political process aimed at either maintaining or changing society. 5
10. Decision-making is a subcomponent of the policy process. 13
11. Experiences of participants affect the policy process. 1
12. Experimental strategies have limited usefulness in the policy process. 1
13. Functions in the policy process may overlap. 2
14. Implementation is part of the policy process. 15
15. Internal and external factors affect the policy process. 4
16. Multiple levels of authority add complexity to the policy process. 3
17. Policy is incremental in nature. 5
18. Policy-making is a political process. 20
19. Policy-making is complex. 15
20. Policy-making is goal-oriented. 4
21. Policy-making is influenced by key actors. 5
22. Policy-making addresses social problems. 8
23. Policy-making is a dynamic process. 2
24. Policy-making is an adaptive process. 1
25. Policy-making is a democratic process. 7
26. Policy-making is an iterative process. 5
27. Policy-making is governed by rules. 2
28. Policy-making is usually concerned with the general interests of society. 1
29. Policy-making is value-laden. 19
30. Psychological and moral components affect the policy process. 1

31. Rationality is of limited usefulness to the policy process.	6
32. Seeking consensus is an important function in the policy process.	2
33. Social factors influence policy-making.	9
34. The environmental context impacts on the policy process.	4
35. The policy process may benefit from qualitative and quantitative information	2
36. The policy process consists of multiple stages.	13
37. The policy process follows patterns.	2
38. The policy process functions as a system.	6
39. The policy process is an untidy, uneven activity.	2
40. The policy process is fraught with uncertainties.	3
41. The policy process sets general directions.	2
42. Time constraints impinge on the policy process.	1
43. Various interest groups are involved in the policy process.	5

Elements of the Policy Process

An analysis of the major data sources in relation to the second research question identified 83 elements or components in the policy process. Figure 19 below displays an alphabetical list of elements and their frequency in the data sources. On examination, it is evident that these elements are not necessarily separate and distinct. It is more appropriate to cluster or group some of the elements in the classification phase of the interpretative-theoretical methodology.

Figure 19: Analysis of the Major Data Sources in Relation to the Elements of the Policy Process

Elements of the Policy Process	Frequency
1. Authority structure	2
2. Budget allocation	2
3. Chief state school official	2
4. Cognitive systems	1
5. Constraints	2
6. Culture	3
7. Curriculum content	1
8. Curriculum specialists	2
9. Decision-making strategies	13
10. Deliberations	1
11. Demographics	1
12. Design of policy	1
13. Ecology	1
14. Economics	7
15. Educational interest groups	2
16. Elite groups	2
17. Enforcement	1
18. Environment	6
19. Extra-rational processes	1
20. Federal courts	3
21. Federal government	8
22. Federalism	1

23. Functional categories	9
24. Governors and staff	2
25. Ideologies	1
26. Implementation	5
27. Implementing agencies	1
28. Incremental change	1
29. Individual aspirations	1
30. Information	1
31. Institutions	4
32. Instrumentalists	1
33. Interaction	1
34. Interests	2
35. Internal and external conditions	3
26. Interorganizational communication	1
37. Judgment	1
38. Legal concerns	2
39. Local school divisions	6
40. Nonprofessionals	1
41. Organizational structure	2
42. Parents	1
43. People	11
44. Plans	1
46. Policy expertise	1
47. Policy objectives	2
48. Policy-makers	1
49. Political and economic feasibility	1

50. Politics	19
51. Power	2
52. Private interest groups	7
53. Problems	1
54. Professionals	8
55. Psychological considerations	1
56. Public opinion	1
57. Rational steps	3
58. Rationalists	1
59. Reformists	1
60. Regional government	1
61. Related issues and systems	1
62. Research	1
63. Resources	3
64. Roles of participants	1
65. Sectorization of contexts and actors	1
66. Selection of principles	1
67. Social conditions	9
68. Social reform	1
69. Solutions	1
70. Specialized groups	1
71. Standards	1
72. State courts	4
73. State governments	5
74. State governors and staff	2
75. Strategies	1

76. Students	1
77. Tacit and experiential knowledge	1
78. Tacit and explicit standards	2
79. Teachers and principals	6
80. Technicians	1
81. Technology	2
82. Time considerations	3
83. Values	8

Relationships among the Elements of the Policy Process in the Major Data Sources

The policy process, as indicated above, is a cyclical pattern consisting of up to six phases. Each phase focuses on a discrete activity but may overlap with any of the other phases during the process. The data sources consistently caution that the process is neither simple nor tidy, nor uniformly sequential. One major data source identifies elements in the policy process but does not discuss interrelationships among the components. Twenty-seven data sources note interrelationships but only 20 describe the nature of the relationships. The major data sources provide summative statements which are general in nature, but are useful in understanding the relationships among the elements in the policy process. The summative statements are presented in Figure 20 below. These statements are important in the classification phase of the interpretative-

theoretical methodology because they affect the decisions about the categories and influence the nature of the theoretical model in the explanation stage.

Figure 20: Summative Statements of Relationships among Elements of the Policy Process in Major Data Sources

Relationship among the Elements in the Policy Process

1. A policy-maker's personal perspective influences the choice of the policy.
2. A six-phase model simplifies the policy process and exhibits the linkages among the phases.
3. Both quantitative and qualitative data assist in choosing policies.
4. Canadian public policy consists of a plurality of closely interlocked activities, which include conflicts, bargaining and accountability.
5. Changes in curriculum policy may be a result of varied strategies, system actors, and functional relationships.
6. Control of curriculum policy-making is shifting from a partnership among the central authority, the local authority, and the classroom teacher to a more complex pattern of accountability.
7. Curriculum decision-making must accommodate increased political activity, shared responsibility with its publics and more participants in the policy process.
8. Curriculum policy decisions are reached through a complex bargaining process and may be explained as effects of shared belief systems.
9. Curriculum policy development requires clarification of roles and authority to make decisions in the shared governance model.

10. Curriculum policy in Canada reflects the influences of the American, British and French cultures.
11. Curriculum policy-making is a political act which labours under severe constraint while responding to increased participation in the process.
12. Democratic participation improves the quality of curriculum policy-making.
13. Educational policy-making is influenced by a multitude of societal variables and in turn affects other social systems.
14. Experts provide justifying principles which teachers use to make practical curriculum decisions.
15. External interest groups may influence curriculum policy determination.
16. Facts and values are inseparably related in policy-making.
17. Key actors in education vary with the context.
18. Little emphasis can be given to the relationships among entities in a model of the policy process when focusing on entities and their functions.
19. National or regional agencies affect state and local curriculum policy-making by establishing minimum standards, by generating curricular alternatives, and by demanding curriculum change.
20. Policy is a product of complex interactions between a large number of components in a policy-making system.
21. Policy-making combines power and rationality in a process of formulation, implementation, feedback and evaluation over time.
22. Policy-making operates in a complex, value-laden, social context and must respond to political influence and technical merit.
23. Policy-making relies on decision rules in the face of complexity and complicated factors.
24. Political processes impact on the content of policy.

25. Qualitative research makes an important and necessary contribution to the policy process in reducing uncertainty and subjectivity.
26. Situational factors and personal orientations determine the impact of research on policy formation.
27. The amount and degree of consensus in policy-making affects the policy implementation.
28. The deliberative process combines the rational and the political dimensions in formulating curriculum policy.
29. The five parts of the policy process overlap, but provide an organized, structured framework for proceeding.
30. The functional categories interact but usually flow in a sequential pattern in the policy process.
31. The internal and external conditions which impinge on the organization affect the policy choice.
32. The policy cycle operates at three levels of choices, outputs, and impact while progressing through specific stages.
33. The policy process combines decisions with commitment and action.
34. The policy process requires a more effective and efficient design to improve the way difficult problems are addressed.
35. The policy process is characterized by highly relative and pluralistic decision-making and tends to be an unintegrated circuitous process.
36. The policy-making process is a complex interaction in the play of power which seeks mutual control and adjustment among the participants.
37. The systems approach to policy-making obscures the often uneven nature of the process and the specifics of actual practice.

38. There is an increasing tendency to concentrate control of curriculum policy in the central political authority in Canadian provinces.

Note: all frequencies are 1.

Elements Unique to Curriculum Policy-Making

As indicated earlier, there are 18 major data sources which specifically address educational or curriculum policy-making. These sources yielded 22 elements which the respective data sources suggested are unique to curriculum policy-making. There seems to be some overlap between these elements and the elements listed previously in relation to the policy process. Decisions about the placement of these elements in relationship to the policy elements will be made in the classification phase of the interpretative-theoretical methodology.

Figure 21: Elements Unique to Curriculum Policy-Making as Identified by Major Data Sources

Elements	Frequency
1. A combination of reason and will	1
2. Adaptive processes	1
3. Centralization of authority	1
4. Curriculum content	4
5. Curriculum theory lacks predictive power	1
6. Educational experts	1
7. Educational policy	1

8. Educators ignore politics	1
9. Experts provide justifying principles and guidance	3
10. Goals are long-term, ambiguous and general	1
11. Layers of government	1
12. Minority interest groups	1
13. Nature of profession (training and background)	1
14. Private foundations	1
15. Professional information	3
16. Professionals	2
17. School boards and educators formulate policy	1
18. Sharing of responsibility	1
19. Students	1
20. Technical expertise	1
21. Tensions between social control and social reform	1
22. Unique social and political perspective of educational administrator	1

Impact of the Elements Unique to Curriculum Policy-Making on the Policy Process

The summative statements regarding the impact of the factors unique to curriculum policy-making on the policy process are shown in Figure 22 below. The analysis of the data sources indicate that there is some overlap between these elements and their impact on policy-making and the elements and the functioning of the generic policy process. Several elements are unique, however. These include the

impact of the professional educator's viewpoint on policy-making, the ambiguous nature of educational goals and schooling, and disregard for the political aspect of policy-making. The statements also suggest an increase in tension related to the struggle between maintaining or changing society. The next phase of the interpretative-theoretical methodology classifies these statements to bring together the information gleaned from all the major data sources. The classification phase integrates the data related to the five research questions which is then used to develop the model.

Figure 22: Impact of the Elements Unique to Curriculum Policy-Making on the Policy Process

Summative Statements

1. Centralized control of the curriculum content moves the policy process from one of partnership to conflict and accountability.
2. Cultural influences may prevent a clear articulation of a Canadian perspective in policy-making.
3. Curriculum policy results from a deliberative process which combines the rational and the political dimensions.
4. Growing public participation coupled with the professional viewpoint increase the level of controversy and conflict in the policy process.
5. Increased complexity and tension constrain change and result in incremental decision-making while limiting parent participation in policy-making.

6. Increasing the involvement of all levels of government may limit policy implementation and decrease parental participation.
7. More communication among the power groups and other actors will increase involvement in the policy process.
8. Participation by private foundations has an indirect influence on policy-making and may result in some adaptation of original policy.
9. Policy choices are directly affected by the information and personal perspective the professional educator brings to the policy process.
10. Policy selection is dependent upon environmental factors and social interaction.
11. Teachers are part of the decision-making in the policy process.
12. The administrator's perspective will affect how information is used in making decisions in the policy process.
13. The ambiguous nature of educational goals and the limited understanding of the schooling phenomena are barriers to curriculum policy implementation.
14. The policy process must accommodate the professional educator's contribution in making curriculum decisions.
15. The shared belief systems among educators may limit the amount of change possible and narrow the policy choice.
16. When educators ignore politics, they are less effective in the policy process.
17. When professional expertise is coupled with other participants' views, the policy process involves more actors in a democratic manner.

Note: All frequencies are 1.

Classification

The classification phase of the interpretative-theoretical methodology places the data obtained during the systematic analysis into categories. These categories organize the aggregated data into the components employed in developing the model. The research questions provide the framework during the classification process. Each subsection corresponds to one of the five research questions.

In carrying out the classification, three independent judges sorted the data from the analysis stage. Sorting criteria described in Chapter Two were used throughout the classification process as a screen. These criteria include exhaustiveness, significance, mutual exclusiveness, purpose, empirical evidence, meaning and logical consistency. The data were recorded on index cards and then sorted into broad categories. In successive sortings the categories were modified to satisfy the sorting criteria. Critical discussion between the researcher and judges resulted in consensus regarding the placement of the data into specific categories.

The Operation of the Policy Process

Examination of the policy process in the major data sources reveals that there are several functions which may occur over time. The number of functions ranges between three (formulation, implementation, feedback/evaluation) and

six (initiation, estimation, selection, implementation, evaluation, termination) which may be classified into six distinct categories using the criteria for developing categories. The categories include the policy agenda, policy alternatives, policy selection, policy implementation, policy evaluation and policy termination.

Each of the functional categories may be considered a stage in the policy process. The process appears to be complex and dynamic with movement possible in either a forward or reverse direction. The pattern appears sequential, but may actually be uneven and uncertain with stops and starts not unusual. Activity in the policy process may begin in the initial stage of policy agenda but is not necessarily confined to it as a starting point.

The six stages appear to overlap as an issue is taken through the process. Stage one, policy agenda, defines the problem and sets the process in motion to resolve the issue through policy development. The policy problem may arise within the policy-making environment or outside the context. Once the issue is accepted as an item on the policy agenda, it may require either adjustment of an existing policy or it may move to stage two where policy alternatives are generated.

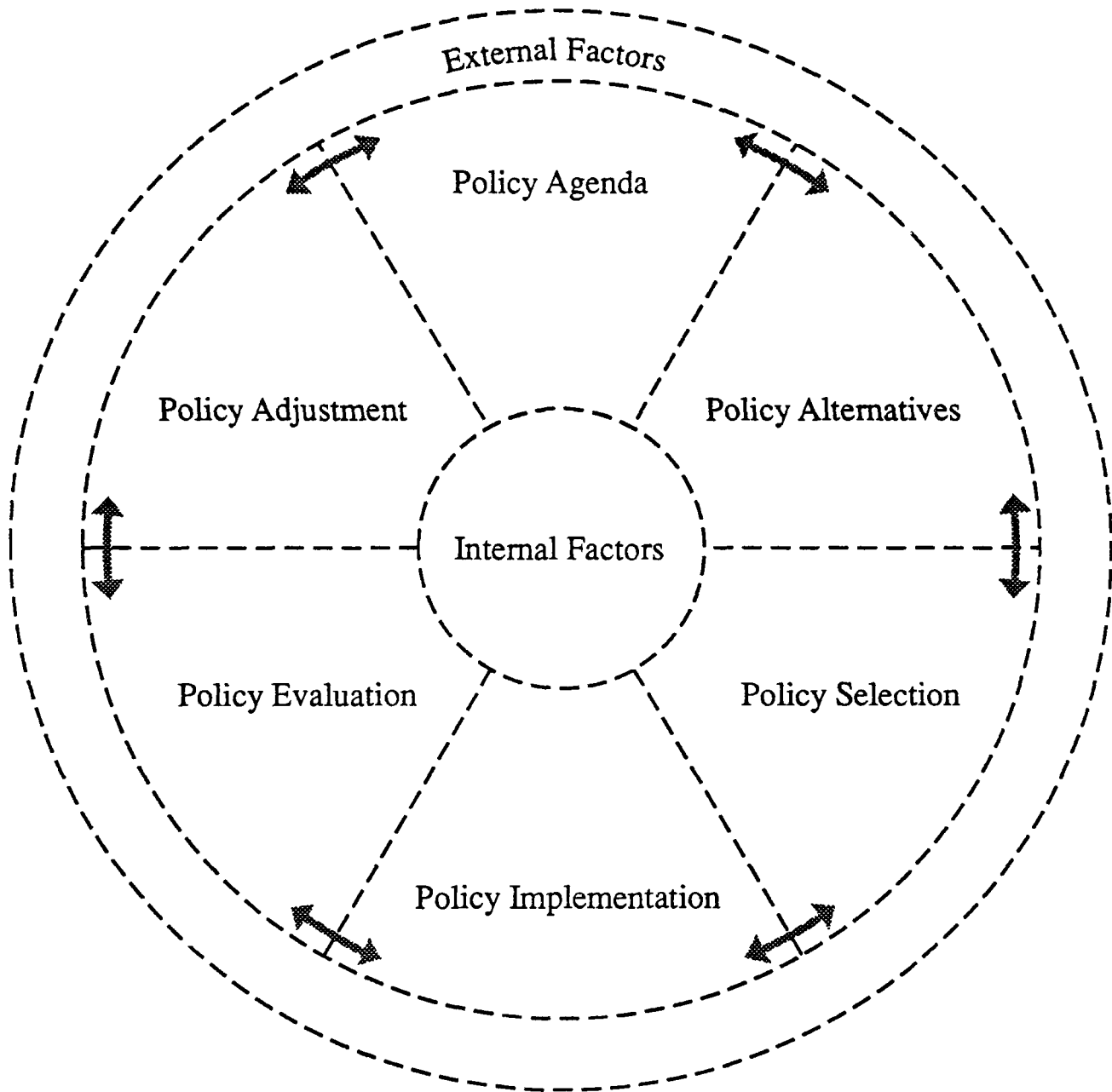
In stage two, alternative policy directions are developed for consideration. The range and number of alternatives seem to vary. Activity may cease at this point

or move forward. Stage three, policy selection, is affected by the complex array of factors which impinge on the process. A choice made at this point in the cycle affects the subsequent stages in the policy process.

Policy implementation, the fourth stage, puts the policy into effect in the context. Decisions about resources and strategies for implementation seem to be part of this stage. The fifth stage, policy evaluation, may follow to judge the impact of the policy direction on the original problem. The sixth stage, policy adjustment, is a possible next step in which minor or major changes can be made in the policy direction. The iterative nature of the functions in the process permits a general description only.

During the process a multitude of factors impinge on the policy-maker. This adds further complexity and constraint on the process. Internal factors which may intervene include psychological differences of the policy-maker and the participants, the variety of key actors, moral considerations and social conditions and relevant information. External factors also intrude on the process and may consist of cultural bias, specialized interest groups, the environment itself, time, various goals, foreign influences, society and other systems. These factors may influence the nature of the policy definition, the types of policy alternatives generated, the selection of the policy direction, the strategies for implementing the policy as

Figure 23: Functions of the Policy Process



well as the direction the policy cycle moves during the deliberations. Figure 23 illustrates how the policy process functions and is affected by the internal and external factors. This framework provides a structure for the categories developed in the classification of the information related to the subsequent research questions.

Elements of the Policy Process

Eighty-three elements of the policy process emerged in the analysis of the major data sources (Figure 19). In the classification phase, the elements are categorized to bring order and clarity to a large number of items. Division into categories can result in a number of logical possibilities. The classification of the 83 elements involved sorting the components on index cards so that all elements were accommodated within the set of categories. Classification was based on a single characteristic for each category. Subcategories emerged when certain elements were clearly subordinate in a principle category. Criteria for developing criteria, described in Chapter Two, were utilized during classification. These include exhaustiveness, significance, mutual exclusiveness, purpose, empirical evidence, meaning and logical consistency. Five categories of people, institutions, decision-making strategies, explicit variables and implicit variables emerge from the data. Each of the categories is described in separate subsections.

People. Sixteen of the elements identified in the major data sources relate to the category of people. The category is further divided into two subcategories of people internal to the policy process and those external to the policy process. The internal subcategory consists of three distinct clusters of people. One cluster appears to be people who are associated with government. In this cluster, there are those people who are elected as governors or premiers, Ministers of Education or Chief State School Officials, and those who are appointed officials or bureaucrats who support elected people.

A second cluster of internal people are those associated with education. These include teachers, principals, curriculum specialists, parents and students. The final cluster consists of policy-makers who are the key actors in the policy process and may be drawn from either the government or education clusters. Policy-makers are subdivided into rationalists, technicians, instrumentalists and reformists.

The people category has four distinct clusters. Three, consisting of government people, education people, and policy people, group under internal factors in the policy process. Of the governmental people, the elected representatives (governors/premiers, ministers of education) figure prominently in the public policy process at the state

or provincial level. Appointees (officials or bureaucrats) participate in policy initiatives at the discretion of elected representatives to develop and carry out the policy mandate.

The education cluster includes teachers, principals, and the curriculum specialists. Policy related to education or curriculum may be more likely to involve these three types of people in the deliberations. Each seems to bring a professional perspective to the policy discussion.

There are two other types mentioned by the data sources--parents and students. Parents have been part of curriculum decisions in the past when school boards were first established in Canada and the United States. As the trend toward professionalism in education grew, parents were less involved. More recently, parents have demanded a voice in setting curriculum directions because of the public discussion about the quality of education and the debate about core curriculum. Students, on the other hand, have had little opportunity to take an active role of curriculum policy-making. Rather, their involvement has been of a passive nature, in piloting a particular program or responding to questionnaires about curriculum content. Still, as ultimate recipients of curriculum decisions, students can be considered under the "people" category and part of the policy process.

The third cluster internal to the policy process consists of policy-makers. These people seem to serve a specific role in the policy process in focussing on the selection of the policy alternative. Several orientations are used to describe the policy-makers. The rationalist orientation is one which seems to value a comprehensive approach to making policy and may overlook limitations to the approach of considering all alternatives before deciding on the policy direction. The technical orientation appears to take a narrow view of the process by applying specific, expert techniques to the problem. The incrementalist approach seems a more conservative orientation which makes little change through a bargaining process. Finally, the reformist orientation attempts to make sweeping changes in an uncompromising fashion.

Only one subcategory, groups, appears in the external subsection of the category of people. The subcategory is comprised of various groups who impinge on the policy-making process at a distance. These are first, elite groups who are considered to have the wealth and influence to make an impact on policy-makers. Second, are the specialized groups who may have a particular goal to accomplish through any policy decision that is made. The third type of group, educational interest groups, are those who are often organized at a provincial or state level and may include teacher and professional associations, teachers' unions,

school trustee associations, administrator associations or parent-teacher associations. This group seems particularly influential when the context is less urbanised, less industrialized and less wealthy.

The category of people emerges from a classification of elements found in the major data sources. Three internal subcategories (government, education and policy-makers) and one external subcategory (groups) make up the category of people in the policy process. Figure 24 summarizes the category of people.

Figure 24: The Category of People

People

Internal		External	
Government	Education	Policy-makers	Groups
*elected	*teachers	*rationalists	*elites
*governors/ premiers	*principals	*technicians	*specialized
*ministers of education	*curriculum	*instrumentalists	*educational
*appointed	*specialists	*reformists	*professional
*officials	*parents		*associations
*bureaucrats	*students		

Institutions. The second category, institutions, appears in the classification of the elements of the policy process. When the subcategories are divided into internal and external factors, three subcategories appear in the internal section and one in the external section.

The federal institutions are the first subcategory in the internal section. The federal government system and the federal courts are elements in the policy process. Aspects of the federal government which are considered in the data are the nature of authority, power, influence, budget allocation, division of labour, curriculum and course development and legislation. Federal courts make decisions which shape policy decisions at all governmental levels.

The provincial or state government, the second category, formalizes policy through legislation, establishment of minimum standards, persuasion, budget incentives, coercion, bargaining and negotiation. There is interaction among all branches of the provincial-level government as well as between provincial government and provincial courts which also influence policy through decisions. The regional or local government, the third subcategory level consists of municipal councils who may levy taxes and school boards which are ultimately responsible for implementing policy. The nature of the loosely-linked local system may affect the delivery of the policy.

Outside the policy process are several external agencies. Organizations such as accreditation agencies and publishing firms may influence curriculum policy. Accrediting agencies may introduce certain standards or measures while textbook publishers make decisions about

content which may influence local school division curriculum policy. Figure 25 presents the category of institutions.

Figure 25: The Category of Institutions

Institutions			
Internal		External	
Federal	State/Provincial	Regional	External Agencies
*executive	*legislative	*municipal	*accrediting agencies
*bureaucratic	*bureaucratic	*school boards	*publishing organizations
*judicial	*judicial		

Decision-making strategies. This category consists of decision-making strategies which may be used in the policy process as well as outside the process. There are four subcategories of rational decision-making, incremental decision-making, a combination of the first two subcategories, mixed decision-making, and extra-rational decision-making.

The four decision-making strategies which are found in the major data sources as elements in the policy process parallel those described earlier in the literature review. Rational decision-making corresponds to the rational comprehensive model which seems to be useful as a guide to making decisions. The incremental strategy, earlier described as the disjointed incremental model, is a political approach to making small but steady change. The mixed strategy or mixed scanning model, combines the first

two strategies to permit participation in the decision-making and to encourage some change. The extra-rational strategy appears to be the organized anarchy or "garbage can" model of decision-making which accommodates the multiple variables present in the decision context.

Figure 26: The Category of Decision-Making Strategies

Decision-making Strategies			
Internal/External			
Rational	Incremental	Mixed	Extra-rational

In the strategies category, the following conditions seem to affect the choice of a strategy--the politics of the situation, the amount of change desired, control, power, interaction among participants, research, objectives, problems, or issues, the empirical or normative data available.

Implicit variables. Implicit variables compose the fourth category. The subcategories are ideologies, values, standards, psychological considerations, knowledge and experience. Most data sources considered these variables as part of the policy process. Because these variables are of a tacit rather than explicit nature, the term "implicit" is applied. Implicit variables appear to affect both the internal context of the policy process as well as the

external. In curriculum policy-making, each of these variables might be manifested in the selection of policy direction by the policy-maker, institutions, individuals or groups.

Explicit variables. Explicit variables are those which the data sources specifically identify as impinging on the policy process. These variables include politics, economics, legal concerns, ecology, social considerations, culture, research, technology, demography, and time. These variables may constrain the policy process at times. While these explicit variables may be either internal or external factors there are several explicit variables mentioned by the data sources which seem to be external to the policy process. These include public opinion, related issues and other systems which operate in the policy environment.

Relationships Among the Elements of the Policy Process

Examination and classification of the major data sources reveals that more is known about the public policy process in a general sense than about curriculum policy-making specifically. The major data sources consistently indicate that the policy process is a complex one in which all the elements interact. How the interaction occurs is not always clearly described. Several sources use the systems approach to bring some order to the process. Other sources, however, criticize the systems view because it

Figure 27: The Categories of Implicit and Explicit Variables

Implicit Variables	Explicit Variables
Internal / External *Ideologies *Values *Standards *Psychological considerations *Knowledge *Experience	Internal / External *Politics *Economics *Legal concerns *Ecology *Social considerations *Culture *Time *Technology *Research *Demography *Related systems *Related issues *Public opinion

obscures what actually happens in practice. Still others use functional categories to describe discrete activities. Again several sources point out the limitations of this approach as it focuses on the separate pieces of the process and fails to see the policy cycle as a whole.

The data sources appear to agree that some structure is necessary to provide a framework for understanding the policy process. Various structures are proposed and consist of at least three phases to as many as six. Regardless of the structure, most sources indicate that internal and external forces impinge on the development of a policy throughout the process. The tension between the use of a rational approach to the policy process and the impact of values on the process results in a recognition of the need

for both qualitative and quantitative information in the process.

Elements Unique to Curriculum Policy-Making

The fourth research question elicits those elements which the major data sources suggest are unique to the curriculum policy process. Twenty-two elements are identified in the analysis of the major data sources. On examination, these elements appear in most instances to overlap with elements identified in the policy process. Terminology varies somewhat with two elements combined at times. However, there seem to be some distinct differences. The elements are discussed under the five categories of people, institutions, decision-making strategies and implicit and explicit variables.

People. In classifying the elements unique to the curriculum policy process, five elements appear to cluster under the category of people. Students, experts, minority interest groups, educational administrators and private foundations satisfy the criteria to be included under the category of "people." Several elements (students, experts, educational administrators) fit into the education cluster which is internal to the policy process. Other elements (minority interest groups and private foundations) cluster with the educational groups, external to the policy process. Figure 28 displays an integration of the elements unique to curriculum policy-making in the category of people.

Figure 28: The Combined Category of People

People

	Internal		External
Government	Education	Policy-makers	Groups
*elected	*teachers	*rationalists	*elites
*governors/ premiers	*principals	*technicians	*specialists
*ministers of education	*curriculum specialists	*instrumentalists	*educational
*appointed	*parents	*reformists	*private
*officials	*students		*minority
*bureaucrats	*educational administrators		*professional
	*experts		*associations

Institutions. Under the category of institutions, the elements of layers of government and school boards are included in the earlier classification. No additions are necessary to Figure 25.

Decision-making strategies. Two elements (adaptive processes and a combination of reason and will) seem to satisfy the criteria to become part of the decision-making strategies. The adaptive processes element appears to suit the incremental strategies subcategory with its constant adjustments. The second element, combining reason and will, seems to fit the mixed decision-making subcategory in its combination of the rational and political dimensions. No additions are necessary to Figure 26.

Implicit variables. Several elements suggested as unique to the curriculum policy process appear to be

implicit variables. These (professional information, nature of the profession, professional perspectives, technical expertise and disregard for politics) can be classified under the category of implicit variables. The values cluster subsumes the disregard for politics, while professional expertise is added to the category to account for the other elements. Figure 29 displays the category of implicit variables with the addition.

Figure 29: The Combined Category of Implicit Variables

Implicit Variables
Internal / External *Ideologies *Values *Standards *Psychological considerations *Knowledge *Experience *Professional expertise

Explicit Variables. Several elements appear to be part of the explicit variables category. These include the sharing of responsibility, centralized authority, and tensions between social control and social reform. These become part of the politics and social considerations elements which appear previously in Figure 27.

Curriculum. One further category appears when the elements unique to curriculum policy-making are considered. The curriculum category seems to be central to the

curriculum policy-making process. Several data sources indicate that curriculum content, curriculum theory, curriculum philosophy and curriculum goals will influence curriculum policy-making. The additional category of curriculum is displayed in Figure 30.

Figure 30: The Category of Curriculum

Curriculum
<hr/> Internal / External *Philosophy *Goals *Content *Theory <hr/>

Impact of the Elements Unique to Curriculum Policy Making

Though there seems to be limited data concerning the curriculum policy-making process, the analysis and classification of the data reveal that the curriculum elements result in some trends. The first trend seems to be the centralization of authority at the state or provincial level. Some sources indicate that this is actually the normal pattern which was lost and that with recent demands for curriculum change, the governance of curriculum is shifting back to the state or provincial level. With the move toward centralized control of the curriculum policy process, there seems to be less of a partnership paradigm and more of an accountability paradigm. This seems to

result in increased tension and complexity in curriculum policy-making. Other government levels demand roles in setting curriculum direction. The federal level of government may have certain goals and the local school boards may be reluctant to relinquish their policy-making role. Added to this, federal and provincial court decisions may further complicate the process.

A second trend, increased demands for participation in the curriculum policy process, seems to emanate from the public, parents and other groups. Increased communication among interested factions seems to increase participation. With more control by government, there may be less opportunity for these demands to be met. Increased participation complicates policy-making according to some data sources, while less participation seems to threaten the quality of the discussions and policy decisions. Other sources indicate that policy implementation may be enhanced through consensus and communication. If participation is discouraged, the result may be limited or no implementation of the curriculum policy. Participation seems essential to the deliberative process which produces a curriculum policy.

A third trend seems to be that educators themselves are becoming more aware of the political nature of curriculum policy-making. Increased awareness appears to have several results. One result is the involvement of professionals in the policy process. The policy choice seems to be

influenced by both the information available and the perspectives of professionals. Professionals, however, share a set of beliefs which may constrain the amount of policy change. More bargaining and negotiation may be necessary to resolve the differences between the central authority, the professionals and other participating groups.

The fourth trend which appears is the recognition of the ambiguous nature of educational goals and the lack of knowledge about schooling. These factors may inhibit meaningful change in curriculum policy.

The final trend seems to be the increased complexity of the curriculum policy process. This trend also appears to limit the change made through the curriculum policy process.

Elements identified as unique to curriculum policy-making appear to affect the policy process in several ways. Categories and their effects will be discussed in the following chapter.

Summary

In Chapter Four two phases of the interpretative-theoretical methodology are described. The first portion presents a descriptive analysis of the major data sources related to the five research questions of the study. The second portion describes the classification phase of the methodology. The categories and relationships presented in this portion are the basis on which the theoretical model is constructed in the final phase of the investigation.

Chapter Five presents the explanatory phase of the interpretative-theoretical methodology. This phase of the research culminates in the presentation of a theoretical integrative model of core curriculum policy-making.

CHAPTER FIVE

Explanation and Presentation of the Model

This chapter presents the explanatory phase of the interpretative-theoretical methodology. A theoretical-integrative model of core curriculum policy-making incorporates the categories of data which emanated from the exploration, analysis and classification of the information obtained from the major data sources in response to the five research questions.

The model simulates the activities throughout the policy cycle and demonstrates the six stages of the core curriculum policy process identified earlier in the classification phase of the methodology. The six phases of policy agenda, policy alternatives, policy selection, policy implementation, policy evaluation and policy adjustment provide the organizing structure for building the model. Each phase is presented in one of the first six sections of the chapter. The final section of the chapter describes the model as a whole.

Policy Agenda Stage

Before a problem or issue becomes part of a decision-maker's agenda, it must be of sufficient magnitude to warrant attention. Curriculum content, especially what

should constitute the core of the curriculum content for students in elementary and secondary schools is such an issue. Figure 31 simulates the first stage of the curriculum policy process.

The question of what all students should learn in the kindergarten through grade twelve (K-12) system may emanate from within the educational context or from outside. External groups consisting of elites, specialized or educational groups may raise the problem for consideration through institutions which may be internal or external to the problem. For example, questioning the content in a textbook marketed by an external publishing organization might draw the attention of provincial politicians. Or vocal minority groups lobbying elected representatives may also raise political interest in the particular topic. Internal groups (teachers, principals, curriculum specialists, administrators) may introduce new subject content into curriculum plans which may lead parents to ask about appropriateness. The interplay between groups and institutions increases the likelihood of the issue becoming a policy agenda item.

Implicit variables, such as values and ideologies, standards and experience, further complicate the problem because of the diverse nature of each, both internally and externally. The explicit variables, the political, socio-

economic and cultural, also intervene on the internal considerations as well as the external factors.

Depending on the nature of the issue, it may be recognized at any of the respective levels--local school, school division, region, state/province, or federal level. The recent move to centralized decision-making about curriculum content brings the question of what students should learn to the state or provincial level. Here both politicians and bureaucrats will become involved in further defining the problem. Politicians, on the one hand, will be concerned that their respective constituencies be consulted for opinions. Bureaucrats, on the other hand, may feel that professionals should have opportunity to discuss the issue. The implicit and explicit variables at work in the process moderate the deliberations to some degree as the issue is clarified. Bargaining and negotiation strategies are useful techniques in bringing some consensus to the problem definition.

In education an incremental decision-making approach is often favoured with the extra-rational model offering explanations of the impact of contextual variables. In the first stage of policy agenda, however, a more rational approach is feasible, because of the centralized nature of deciding what students should learn. The problem may be defined using a combination of the rational approach to provide some structure to the process and the participatory

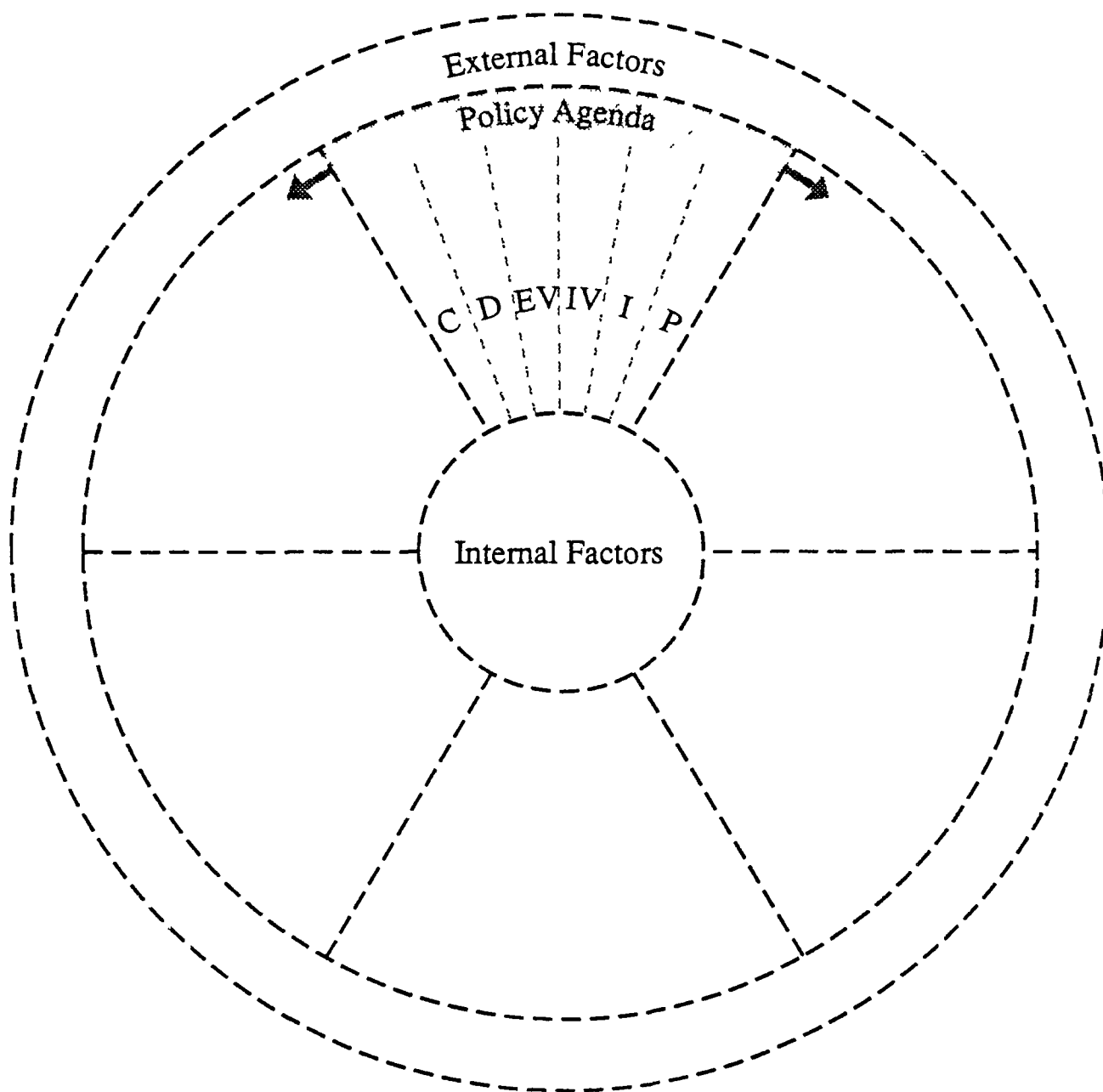
model (mixed scanning) to involve professionals and other groups in deciding on the precise problem. Implicit variables will impinge on the deliberations in the form of values, standards and background of participants. The explicit variables such as time constraints and economics will also affect the process and will be influenced in turn by external, explicit variables such as public opinion. When the problem of core curriculum has been defined, the policy-maker has several options. One option is to cease activity altogether. Another option is to move forward in the policy cycle or to return the problem to the policy adjustment stage. The nature of the problem definition during the policy agenda stage determines the direction of the movement. Minor change in what constitutes the core curriculum requires adjustment only while major change moves the problem to the second stage of policy alternatives.

Figure 31 displays the policy agenda stage of the core curriculum policy process.

Policy Alternatives Stage

In the second stage of the core curriculum policy process, some deliberation must occur to generate the alternatives related to the problem of what constitutes a core curriculum. The discussion will be affected by all of the internal and external factors in the environment and must therefore incorporate strategies to account for the

Figure 31: The Policy Agenda Stage of the Core Curriculum Policy-Making Process



Key:

C = Curriculum

D = Decision-making Strategies

EV = Explicit Variables

IV = Implicit Variables

I = Institutions

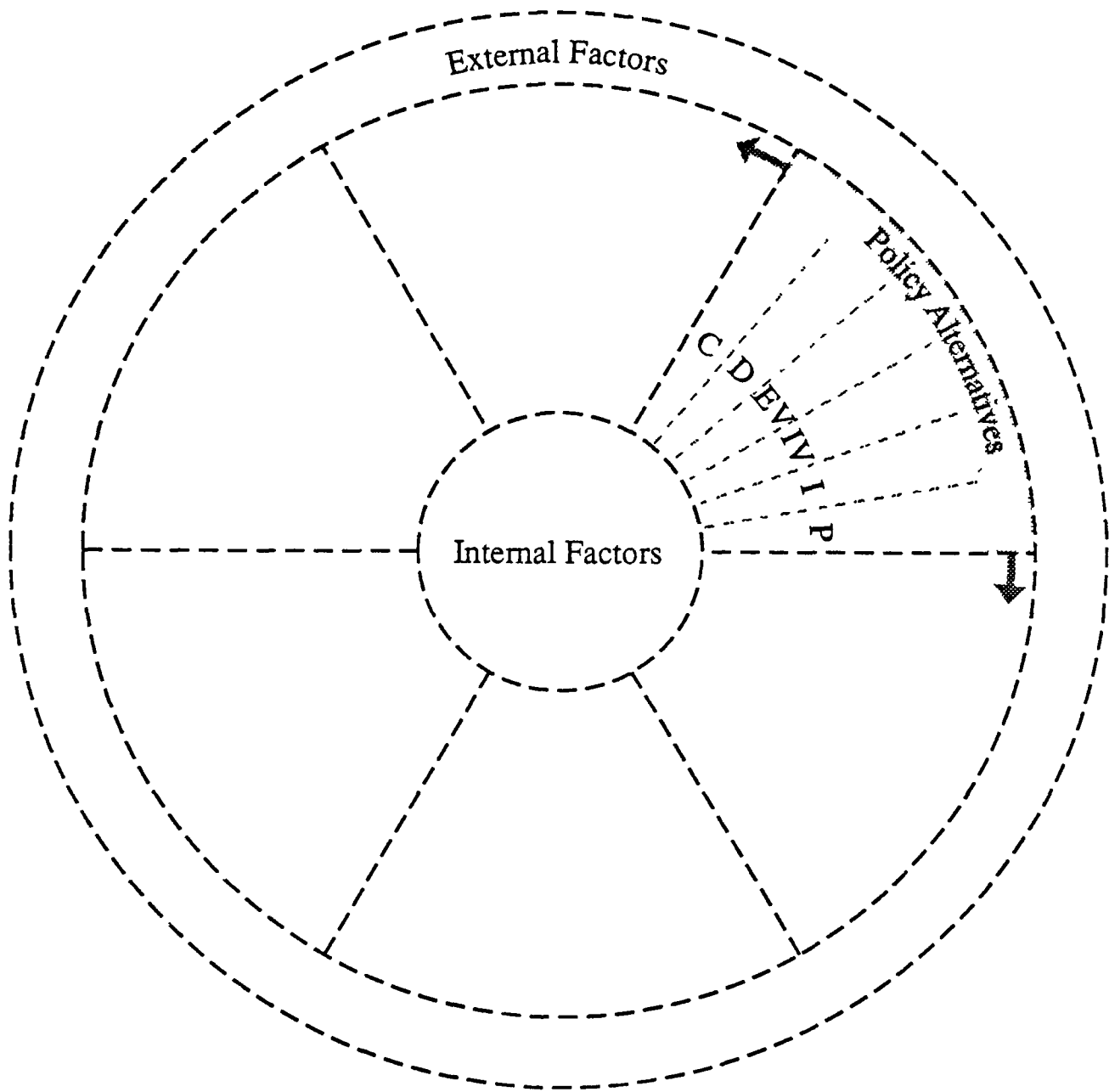
P = People

contextual forces. In addition the people, institutions, the curriculum, and the attendant implicit/explicit variables will impinge on the strategies. Selection of the decision-making strategy is made at this point to accommodate all the forces at work.

The rational approach though appealing logically is not feasible because it is difficult to consider all the possible alternatives which the variables and categories suggest. The incremental strategy is frequently the choice because the amount of change generated is usually more manageable for the individuals and groups involved. Because of the complex nature of the problem of core curriculum, the extra-rational approach, organized anarchy, offers a complementary strategy to accommodate the many variables which impinge on the process. The approaches in combination provide opportunity for various interest groups to achieve their goals while accommodating the ambiguity that is typical in educational problems.

The incremental strategy or political model allows for bargaining among the various actors and interest groups and institutions, though the implicit variables of values and ideologies impinge on the process from within the context and beyond. Conflict about the philosophy, goals and content of curriculum enter into the generating of alternatives. Viewpoints vary among groups and alternatives reflect the competing interests represented in the process.

Figure 32: The Policy Alternatives Stage of the Core Curriculum Policy-Making Process



Key:

C = Curriculum

D = Decision-making Strategies

EV = Explicit Variables

IV = Implicit Variables

I = Institutions

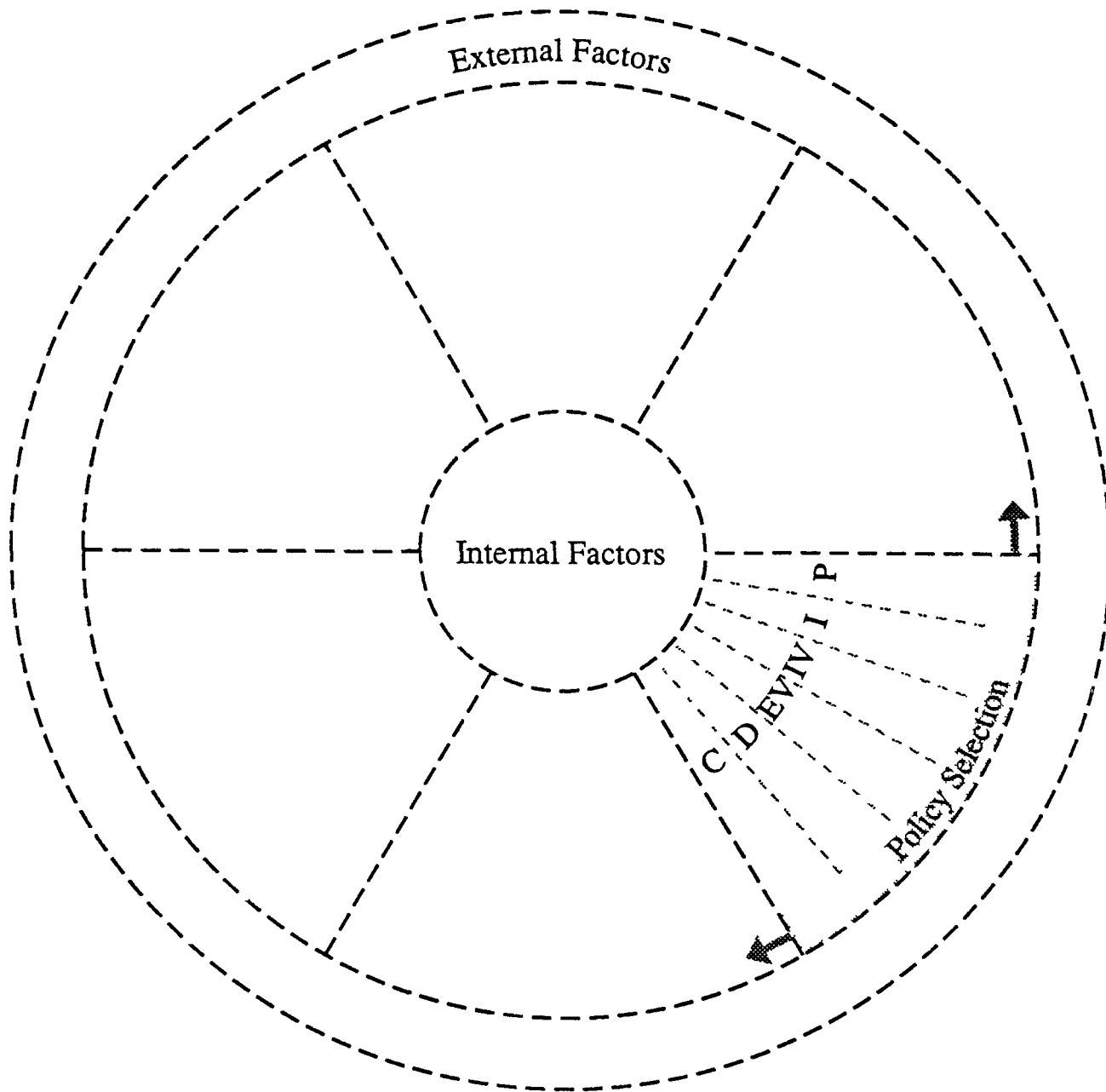
P = People

Organized anarchy explains the episodic and segmented nature of the process. Ambiguity of the varying goals, the uncertain nature of curriculum theory and the perplexing number of institutional and individual participants result in a haphazard structure. Though disorderly, alternatives may be formulated for consideration in the next stage of policy selection.

Policy Selection Stage

In this stage a decision about the nature of the core curriculum is made. The alternatives generated in the second stage are considered. The implicit and explicit variables must be taken into account in the selection of the policy alternative. Groups, both internally and externally will expect that their opinions will be recognized in the selection. Individuals will want their professional judgments respected in the selection of the policy alternative. The policy-maker's personal orientation will impinge on the decision made in this stage. Political ideologies and private values will affect which alternative the policy-maker chooses as the core curriculum policy. Institutional pressures (federal, state/provincial or regional) will also impinge on the policy-maker's selection. Deliberation continues at this stage among key participants. The incremental, political approach will narrow the alternatives to a manageable number, particularly those that

Figure 33: The Policy Selection Stage of the Core Curriculum Policy-Making Process



Key:	C = Curriculum	IV = Implicit Variables
	D = Decision-making Strategies	I = Institutions
	EV = Explicit Variables	P = People

are the result of bargaining and negotiation among external groups (elites, specialized groups and educational associations) or internal participants (teachers, principals, curriculum specialists, educational administrators). Rationality is important for the group participants in selecting the appropriate policy.

The actual choice of a core curriculum policy from among the alternatives may not necessarily reflect the rational process expected. Rather the selection may be made as a result of several variables or factors converging. The organized anarchy decision process may result in a choice being made which does not necessarily match the original problem. The core curriculum policy may instead reflect a combination of variables that might be described as inspired. The loosely-coupled nature of educational settings encourages the less-rational decision process. Once the policy selection is made, policy implementation should but may not always follow.

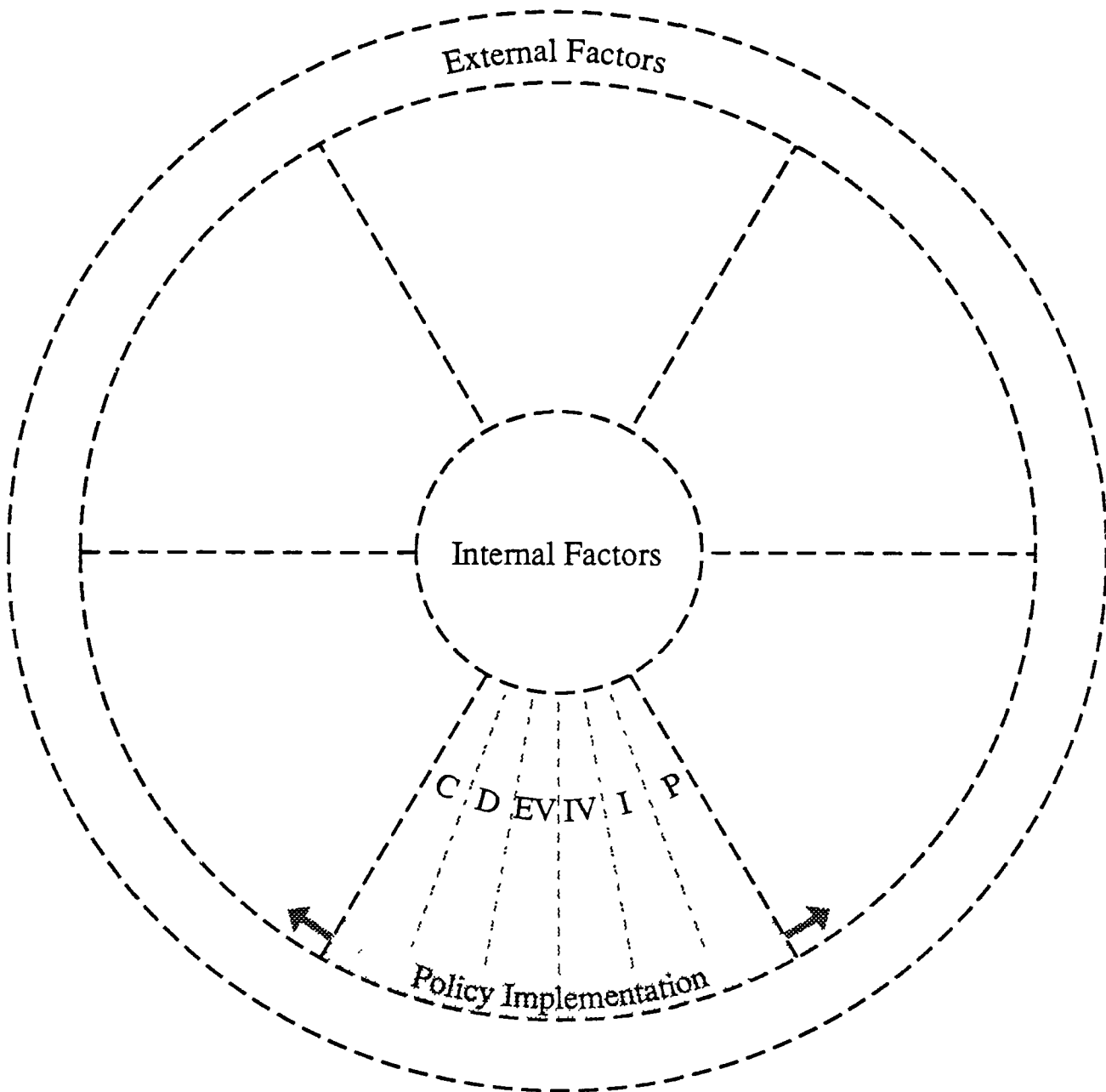
Policy Implementation Stage

The fourth stage of the core curriculum policy process, policy implementation, involves putting the core curriculum policy into effect. Policy implementation is affected by the amount of change involved as well as the level of consensus among the implementors regarding the change. A core curriculum policy which is incremental rather than a drastic change is more likely to be implemented by the

recipients (teachers, principals, students, parents, educational administrators). Where there is high agreement among the internal recipients or external interest groups about the core curriculum policy, there will be less resistance to its implementation. Explicit variables (politics, economics, social conditions or legal concerns) will affect the level of implementation of the core curriculum policy. Implicit variables (values, standards, knowledge, experience) will impinge on the recipients of the core curriculum policy and affect their level of acceptance or agreement. The implementors' understanding of the policy will be reflected in the direction and intensity of their responses to the policy. A high degree of agreement with the policy direction of the core curriculum as far as philosophy, goals and content are concerned will result in a more positive and stronger commitment to its implementation.

The consensus level is partially determined during the earlier stages of deliberation when the problem of core curriculum is defined, the alternatives are generated and the policy is selected. The interaction among the stages of the core curriculum policy process will affect the commitment to policy implementation. Policy evaluation may follow the implementation stage.

Figure 34: The Policy Implementation Stage of the Core Curriculum Policy-Making Process



Key:

C = Curriculum

D = Decision-making Strategies

EV = Explicit Variables

IV = Implicit Variables

I = Institutions

P = People

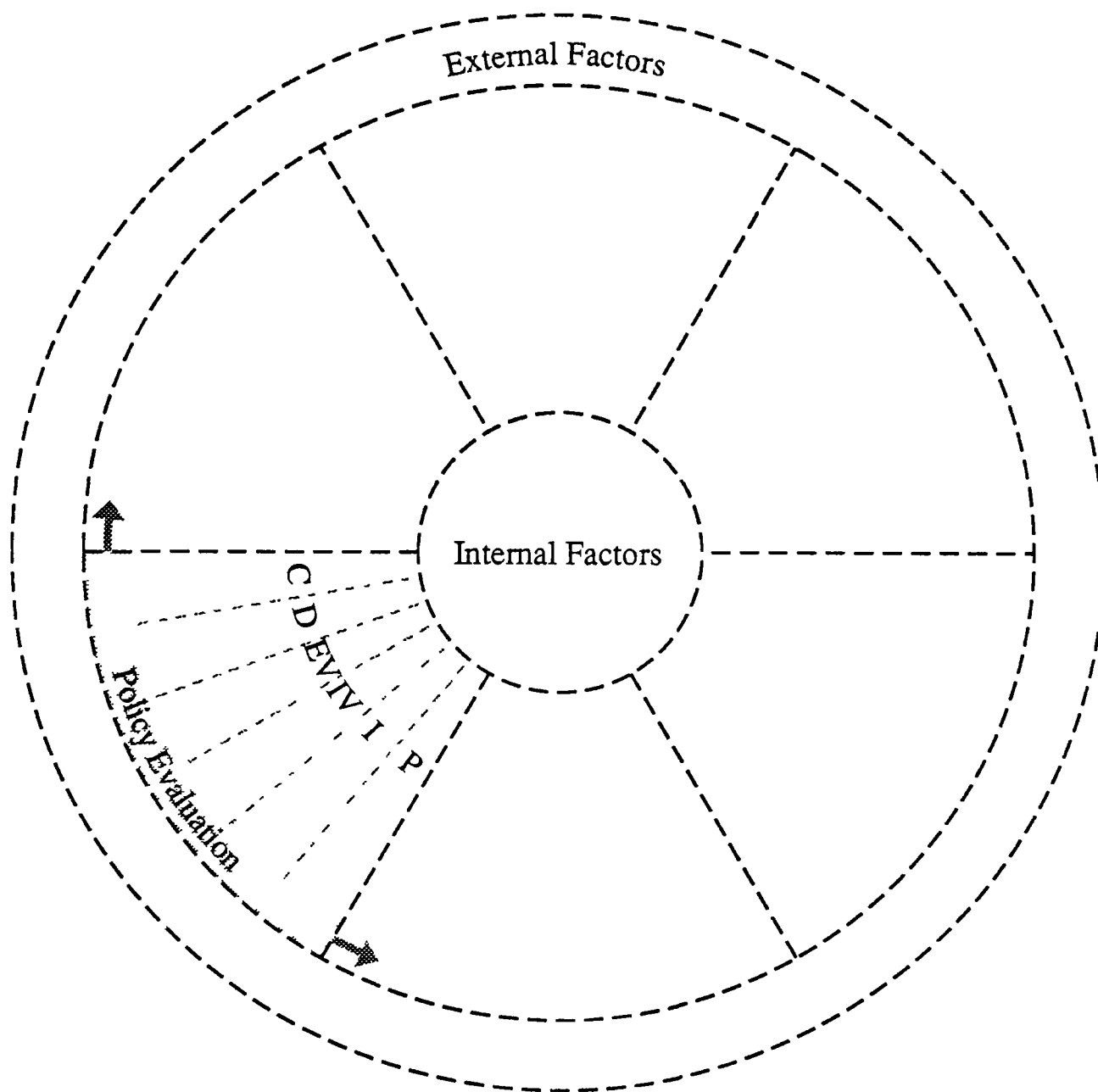
Policy Evaluation Stage

The policy evaluation stage assesses the actual effects of the core curriculum policy. The effects include both intended and unintended results. The consequences of the policy may affect those internal to the process (elected and appointed officials, teachers, principals, administrators, curriculum specialists, parents and students) as well as those external groups who have an interest or stake in the policy. The institutions, federal, provincial or regional and external agencies (accrediting agencies, textbook publishers) may be influenced by the core curriculum policy. The nature of curriculum itself will undergo some change as a result of the policy. The policy evaluation examines all of these, and judges the kind of impact the core curriculum policy has on each. The original goals of the policy may serve as the standard or measure of the impact. Following the evaluation stage, policy adjustment may occur.

Policy Adjustment Stage

In policy adjustment, the core curriculum policy may be modified or terminated. The former is more likely than the latter. Educational policy is often incremental so that major change is less frequent. Termination of policy rarely occurs because of the drastic nature of this type of change. Slight revision may occur after evaluation.

Figure 35: The Policy Evaluation Stage of the Core Curriculum Policy-Making Process



Key: C = Curriculum
D = Decision-making Strategies
EV = Explicit Variables

IV = Implicit Variables
I = Institutions
P = People

This stage will be affected by the levels of government involvement (federal, state, provincial or regional), the number of actors (elected, appointed, educators, parents, students or external groups) and the explicit or implicit variables which come into play. The decision-making strategy here is likely to be a political, incremental one with little or minor change. If major change were warranted, the activity would move into the problem definition stage to continue the cycle of the core curriculum policy process.

Composite Model

The theoretical-integrative model of the core curriculum policy-making process is shown as a whole in Figure 37. It is a circular model representing the iterative, cyclical nature of the interactions among the categories and the stages of the policy process. The model consists of six interrelated stages--policy agenda, policy alternatives, policy selection, policy implementation, policy evaluation and policy adjustment--which are explained above. The stages represent an iterative process of policy development over time. At each stage decisions are made which influence the progress of the policy development. Movement through the cycle may be clockwise or counter-clockwise, depending on the decisions reached at each stage. Activity may begin or end at any point in the cycle.

In the decision-making literature, four decision-making models emerge. These models reflect approaches to dealing with curriculum decisions by using a rational strategy, a political, incremental scheme, a combination of the rational and political approaches to encourage participation, or an extra-rational system which accounts for a variety of variables. The composite model of core curriculum policy-making can utilize any of these decision-making models. The selection of the decision-making strategy will be influenced by the ideology of the policy-maker or other key participants in formulating the core curriculum policy.

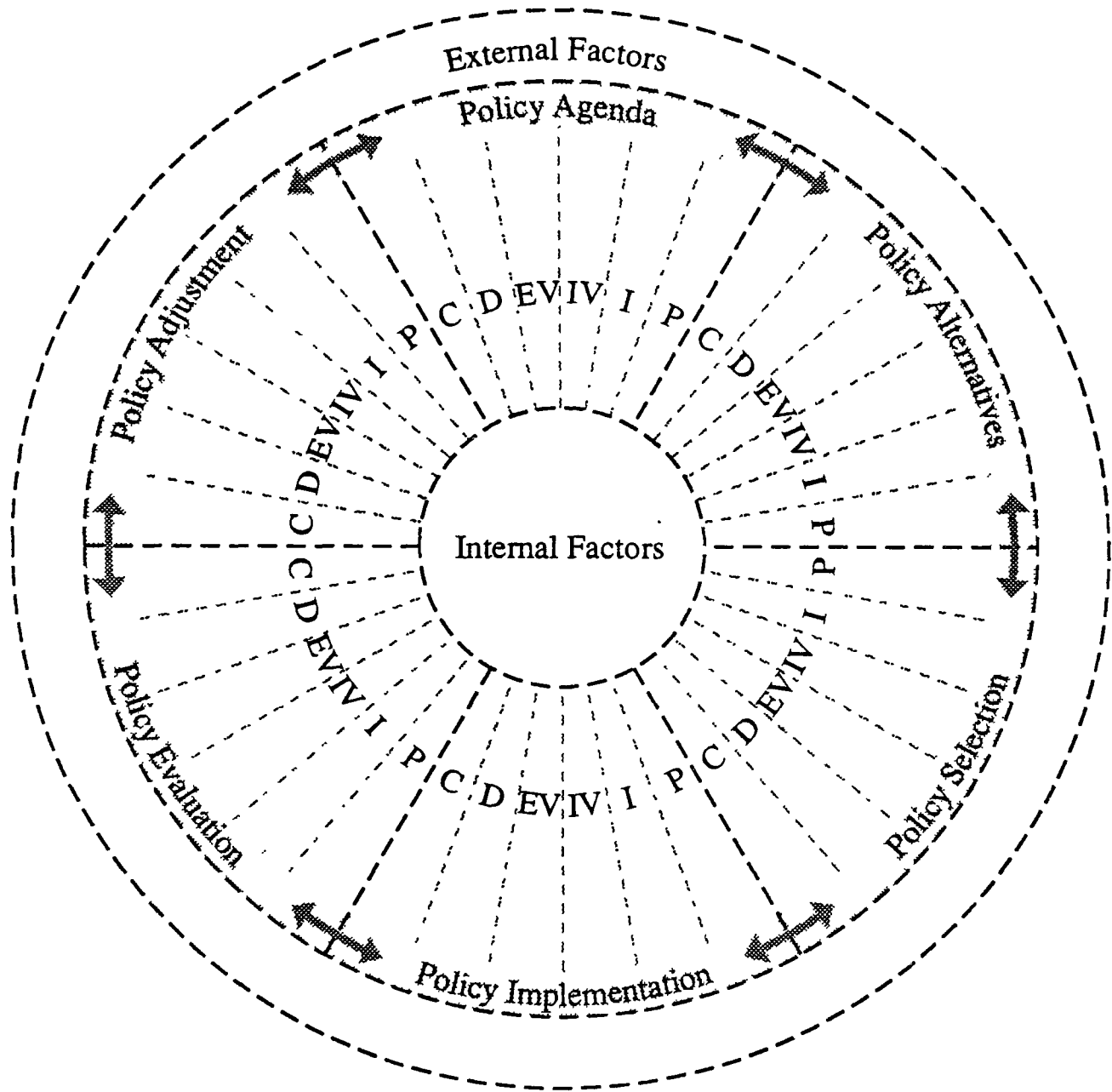
The dotted lines in the model indicate the interactive nature of the stages and categories in the policy process. The inside circle represents internal factors consisting of the six categories. The categories radiate through each of the segments representing the stages to the outside circle. The outer circle illustrates the external factors of each of the six categories.

The model simulates a process which occurs over a period of time to develop a core curriculum policy. Each of the six segments which represent the six stages of the process are shown as equal in size to indicate that there is no one stage of more significance than any other. The amount of time spent at each stage may vary, depending on the decision strategy being used and on other forces which may intervene. The particular situation will affect the

amount of time taken for deliberation at each stage when the internal and external forces such as the number of people, groups and agencies involved, the levels of government participating or taking the leadership, the values, standards, knowledge and experience of participants, and socio-political elements are all considered. The time needed to define the problem in stage one depends on the level of government which takes on the issue of what students should learn in a core curriculum. The use of a rational decision-making strategy will exclude many participants but will be more efficient in defining the policy problem. At the provincial level, there is a more centralized approach to defining the problem but the knowledge and experience of the decision-makers will influence how clearly and efficiently the problem is defined.

At the second stage of generating policy alternatives, the decision strategy selected by the provincial policy-makers will affect the amount of time required to develop policy alternatives. For example, a political incremental strategy will involve more educators, experts, parents, and interest groups in the process. A range of ideologies, backgrounds, knowledge and attitudes among the participants will generate more diverse alternatives. Consequently, the third stage of policy selection requires time to sort through the alternatives and decide on the core curriculum

Figure 37: Model of the Core Curriculum Policy-Making Process



Key: C = Curriculum
 D = Decision-making Strategies
 EV = Explicit Variables
 IV = Implicit Variables
 I = Institutions
 P = People

policy. The method of selection, the number of participants, the diversity of the views, all impinge on the selection time.

In a similar way, the external and internal forces exert pressure and influence the amount of time required to plan and implement the policy of core curriculum. The nature of the core curriculum policy will interact with the implementors and their situation to affect the amount of time necessary for implementation.

The policy evaluation and policy adjustment phases follow. Again the time involved in moving through these stages depends on the expertise of the evaluators and the decision-making approach the policy-maker selects to arrive at the decision to adjust or retain the original core curriculum policy.

At any point in the cycle, the direction of movement may stop or reverse. More time is necessary in the cycle as a whole when the policy-maker curtails activity temporarily or changes direction. The impact of decisions made at each stage on teachers, administrators, parents and interest groups influences the policy-maker's plans to move forward in the process or to return to a previous stage.

Summary

The composite model completes the interpretative-theoretical methodology utilized in the study. The purpose of the research was to develop a theoretical-integrative

model to guide the core curriculum policy-making process. Five research questions emanating from the historical background of core curriculum and the theoretical framework were investigated in the exploration, analysis and classification phases of the study. The model represents answers to these five questions. The following is a discussion of the answers to the questions as depicted in the model.

"How does the policy process function?" is the first research question. The answer from the 38 major data sources is that the policy process is an iterative, cyclical process which continues through the six stages of policy agenda, policy alternatives, policy selection, policy implementation, policy evaluation and policy adjustment. The stages are represented as pie-shaped pieces of the circular model. The arrows suggest the forward or reverse movement that is possible. Dotted lines throughout the model indicate the interactive nature of the stages and the factors.

"What are the elements of the policy-process?" is the second research question. In response, 83 different elements were listed as possible elements in the policy process in the analysis phase of the study. In the third phase of classification, these elements were organized into six categories consisting of the curriculum, decision-making strategies, explicit variables, implicit variables,

institutions and people. Every category is part of each stage of the policy process. The dotted lines between the segments of the categories suggest the interaction among the categories within the stages.

"What are the relationships among the elements in the policy process?" is the third question. The major data sources reveal that curriculum policy-making is a complex process with complicated interrelationships among the elements. A major influence on the policy process is the value system of the policy-maker and other individuals or groups who participate. The degree of consensus at each stage of the policy process affects progress through the cycle. The type of decision-making strategy selected by the policy-maker during a particular stage of the process influences how the numerous variables impact on the deliberations, the directions, and the outcome of the process. Overall, the interaction among the elements influence activity in each stage and result in an iterative, continuous process over time. The interaction and iterative nature of the interrelationships are depicted by the dotted lines and the arrows which show a flow of activity forward, or reversed, in the model.

The fourth question "Are there elements unique to the curriculum policy process?" results in a listing of 22 different elements which could be considered as unique to curriculum policy-making. These elements related to

education in general, and curriculum policy-making specifically. They are subsumed in the categories shown at each stage of the model.

In answering the fifth question--"How is the policy process affected by these elements?"--it is necessary to reexamine the elements of the policy process which emerged in response to the second research question and to classify the elements of the curriculum policy-making process to determine if these two groups of elements vary. The classification of the elements unique to the curriculum policy process indicates that most of the elements are subcategories of the five categories of decision-making strategies, explicit and implicit variables, institutions and people which emerged in response to the second research question. One category, the curriculum, appeared as a unique category. It is apparent that the phenomena related to curriculum policy-making varies somewhat from other policy processes because of the professional nature of the elements. The subcategories and category are included in the model as influences at each stage of the core curriculum policy process.

In the development of a model, the interpretative-theoretical methodology is a rigorous, systematic procedure. It restricts the analysis, classification and explanation of the data to information gleaned from the major data sources selected according to criteria set out in Chapter Two.

Chapter Six presents the contributions that the model makes to the understanding of the core curriculum policy process and discusses suggestions for further research as well as implications for educational practice.

CHAPTER SIX

Summary and Conclusions

This chapter presents a summary of the study and related conclusions. The first section of the chapter contains a review of the study. This is followed by a discussion of the contributions that the composite model makes to the understanding of core curriculum policy-making. The third section of the chapter presents implications of the theoretical-integrative model for educational research. In the fourth section, the application of the model to practice is discussed. The final portion of the chapter states the general conclusions of the study.

Review of the Study

Curriculum policy-making in general, and core curriculum policy-making in particular is a phenomenon which is little understood and often overlooked in the literature. The renewed interest in core curriculum as a direction to follow in developing a required curriculum raises the issue of how to formulate a core curriculum policy that will answer the question of what all students should learn and guide the subsequent development of curriculum documents. A review of the literature regarding core curriculum revealed a lengthy history of attempts to develop and implement a

core curriculum. The literature review indicated that there was a dearth of information related to core curriculum policy-making.

The phenomenon of core curriculum policy making is neither conceptualized in the literature nor understood from a theoretical perspective. Studies related to curriculum policy-making found in the literature fail to provide a theoretical view describing the stages of the core curriculum policy process or the factors which affect the development of curriculum policy. Contemporary demands for resolving the problem of what students should learn necessitate clarity and understanding of the core curriculum policy process. Therefore, the purpose of the study was to develop a theoretical-integrative model of core curriculum policy-making which combines what is known about the policy process with studies of curriculum policy-making in a theoretical framework to guide the core curriculum policy process.

The investigation focused on the development of an integrative model of the core curriculum policy process based on the findings of 38 studies of the policy process. The interpretative-theoretical methodology utilized in the study demands rigour and careful deliberation throughout the four separate but sequential phases. In the first phase of exploration, the methodology establishes the framework of the study and poses the research questions which guide the

activity in the subsequent phases. The five research questions arise from a consideration of the policy and core curriculum literature. The exploration phase also prescribes specific criteria for selecting data sources in the investigation and describes the studies.

The second phase, analysis, systematically compares the major data sources. The research questions established in the exploration phase serve as the framework to guide the analysis of the studies. The data base resulting from the analysis provides information for the classification phase which follows. In the classification, the data base is methodically organized into categories which assist in clarifying thought about the phenomenon under investigation. Categories are developed using pre-established criteria.

The final phase of explanation, presents the conceptualization of the theoretical relationships in the construction of a theoretical-integrative model of the core curriculum policy process. The model and the explanation furnish answers to the five research questions posed in the exploration phase of the study. The five questions are as follows:

1. How does the policy process function?
2. What are the elements in the policy process?
3. What are the relationships among the elements in the policy process?

4. Are there elements unique to the curriculum policy process?
5. How is the policy process affected by these elements?

The study concludes that the core curriculum policy process consists of six stages of policy agenda, policy alternatives, policy selection, policy implementation, policy evaluation and policy adjustment. The development of a core curriculum policy does not necessarily follow the sequence of the six stages because of the iterative nature of the process. The process is complete when a core curriculum problem is defined and passes through all of the stages. Not all core curriculum policy-making will complete the full cycle. The process is complex and somewhat uncertain because of the variables which impinge on it.

Six categories of elements of the core curriculum policy-making emanate from the analysis and classification phases in the study. These categories include the curriculum, decision-making strategies, explicit and implicit variables, institutions and people. These elements interact both as internal and external factors during the core curriculum policy process. The process is seen also as a decision-making process which, in turn, is influenced by the elements within each of the other five categories. Decisions at each stage affect the forward or reverse momentum of the policy process.

The study demonstrates that the core curriculum policy process is influenced by both the external and internal factors. The factors affect the policy process in terms of the nature of the factors and the number of factors impinging on the process over time. The nature and number of these factors modify the process of core curriculum policy-making, the quality of the core curriculum policy, and the magnitude of change the policy represents. Core curriculum policy-making reflects the complex nature of the effect of these factors on the process by favouring an incremental, political strategy in deciding on policy and plans.

Contributions of the Study

The purpose in building a model is usually to extend understanding of a phenomenon or to clarify the relationships among phenomena. The theoretical-integrative model of core curriculum policy-making developed in this study enhances the understanding of the core curriculum policy process in the following ways. The model:

1. presents a theoretical model of core curriculum policy-making by combining elements of policy theory with curriculum policy-making,
2. demonstrates interrelationships among the elements of policy process throughout the entire cycle,
3. illustrates the interactive nature of the stages of the curriculum policy process,

4. shows the importance of considering both qualitative and quantitative information in curriculum policy-making,
5. indicates that the selection of a particular decision-making strategy is dependent upon other elements in the core curriculum policy process,
6. synthesizes the complex nature of core curriculum policy-making in a more understandable representation than has been available previously,
7. clarifies the policy process for curriculum policy-makers,
8. represents a starting point in developing models about core curriculum policy-making,
9. suggests links between the curriculum policy-making process and the curriculum development process,
10. uses a broad data base to develop a model of the core curriculum policy process,
11. and recognizes the uncertain nature of the core curriculum policy process.

Implications for Curriculum Research

The theoretical-integrative model of core curriculum policy-making developed in this study is both descriptive and explanatory. The model presents an overview of the core curriculum policy-making process which can be used to reflect on the practice of making curriculum policy. Although the model demonstrates interaction and complex

relationships, by its nature, a theoretical model lacks predictive power.

Research questions which arise from a consideration of the model to enhance its predictive power are as follows:

1. Is there an advantageous time in which to initiate the core curriculum policy process?
2. Which participants are key to successful development and implementation of a core curriculum policy?
3. Which decision strategies are more successful in developing an effective core curriculum policy?
4. What are the characteristics of the internal factors which enhance the core curriculum policy process or deter the process?
5. What are the characteristics of the external factors which enhance the core curriculum policy process or deter the process?
6. What is the nature of the core curriculum policy which leads to effective implementation?
7. Do implicit variables influence the core curriculum policy process more or less than explicit variables?
8. Is the core curriculum policy process affected by the level of government which takes responsibility for policy-making?

9. How is the time to develop a core curriculum policy affected by the internal and external factors?
10. Does the decision-making strategy vary with the level of government in core curriculum policy-making?
11. At which point in the core curriculum policy process is curriculum development triggered?

Implications for Practice

The theoretical-integrative model of core curriculum policy-making was developed from the descriptions of the policy process and curriculum policy-making. While the model cannot be used in a normative manner, it is useful in understanding the factors and relationships which may occur in developing a core curriculum policy. It suggests several questions to consider when the issue of a core curriculum arises. These are as follows:

1. Who is raising the issue of what students should learn in the school?
2. Where does the responsibility for core curriculum lie?
3. Which level of government accepts the problem for resolution?
4. Who should be involved in formulating the core curriculum policy?
5. What is the role of professional educators in developing a core curriculum policy?

6. How are external groups affected by the core curriculum policy?
7. What will be the effect of the core curriculum policy on the existing curriculum? On teachers? On administrators? On parents? On students? On curriculum specialists?
8. Is there support for a core curriculum policy within the educational context? Beyond the educational context?
9. What are the decision strategies that the policy-makers have used in the past?
10. Which decision strategies will be used in the core curriculum policy process?
11. What degree of change is implied by the core curriculum policy?
12. Which pattern of policy-making will be used in developing a core curriculum policy?
13. Have other patterns been used to develop related curriculum policy in the past?
14. What length of time is needed to develop the core curriculum policy?

Conclusion

This study develops a theoretical-integrative model of core curriculum policy-making which presents one perspective of the operation of the core curriculum policy process. The formulation of curriculum policy has often been obscured by

the focus on the curriculum development process. Previous attempts to develop and implement core curriculum seem to have ignored the policy-making stage. Little information is available in the literature related to core curriculum policy-making, although policy-making is recognized as an important initial step in determining what students should learn. The theoretical-integrative model contributes an understanding of the core curriculum policy process.

The interpretative-theoretical methodology employed in the study requires a systematic examination of a group of data sources which are selected in accordance with strict criteria. The deliberate exploration, analysis and classification of the data establishes a theoretical framework for understanding broad relationships among the variables. As a result, the model conceptualizes and interprets the core curriculum policy process from what is provided in the data. A first attempt to capture what is known about the core curriculum policy process, the model is a beginning in a long line of endeavours to understand and formalize a theory of core curriculum policy-making.

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