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**Methodological transformation
of the curriculum in modern pedagogical practices**

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Key concepts of the study

Curriculum is a set of didactic units (procedural or disciplinary knowledge) to be mastered by students and recorded in various sources (normative and methodological documents), principles and regulations of teaching, which must correspond to the lessons of teachers, as well as teaching practices that are proposed for implementation in theoretical and applied methods of teaching and upbringing; interpretation of didactic units and the principles of teaching in the perception of teachers (the first chapter describes the history of this concept and its possible interpretations; here are the components of the working definition corresponding to the theory of B. Bernstein, within which we conducted an empirical study).

Curriculum levels are a field of curriculum formalization that traditionally includes 3 levels: (1) planned (intended; this level includes philosophical and social premises for the formation of a curriculum, experience available in culture and science in the form of knowledge, practices, research activities, the content of regulatory documents – curricula, educational standards, etc.), (2) implemented; This level includes interpretations of the content of the planned curriculum level directly by teachers and authors of methodological manuals for them, the actual teaching process in the lesson) and (3) achieved (gained; learning experience that happens in the classroom for students and achieved educational results).

The content of education (M.N. Skatkin, I.Ya. Lerner, V.V. Kraevsky) – four components of personal experience, which include the experience of cognitive activity in the form of its results — knowledge; the experience of reproductive activity in the form of methods of its implementation (skills and abilities); the experience of creative activity in the form of problematic situations, cognitive tasks and experience in the implementation of emotional and value relationships. In total, there are five levels of educational content (Krayevsky V.V.), during the transition between which four components undergo transformation ("pedagogization"). The theoretical level includes the philosophical foundations of the study of the subject, cultural experience, and the basics of thinking. The level of the educational subject is the four components of the educational content fixed in regulatory documents and standards, which are transformed as a result of the influence of subjects of state power. The level of educational material is methodological manuals and lesson summaries for teachers, manuals for students, which are transformed based on the interpretations of the educational subject by their authors. The fourth level is what is formalized in the lesson (the content being implemented), which is transformed as a result of the teacher's influence. The fifth level is what "stays" with the student, is mastered by him.

Teaching practices – pedagogical techniques and teaching techniques used by teachers in the classroom; forms of organization of educational interaction in the classroom¹.

¹The study did not involve studying the educational results of students whose lessons were attended, since to determine the power-control ratio between teacher and student in the classroom, according to the theory of B. Bernstein, it is enough to characterize the instrumental side of the learning process.

Pedagogical discourse is an institutional phenomenon reflecting a certain way of thinking/translation and consolidating the regime of power-control over the production of knowledge (B. Bernstein follows the French sociolinguistic school of discursive analysis, primarily M. Foucault). The revealed discrepancies between the levels of the curriculum reflect the phenomenon of the predominance of a certain pedagogical discourse: which ways of thinking are acceptable at a particular level. The concept of power in the context of the study characterizes the source of interpretations and teaching strategies of the teacher (professional position), and the concept of control characterizes the teaching technology (the techniques and methods used to organize educational activities in terms of the relationship between the roles of the teacher and the student – who controls the pace of the lesson, the correctness of answers, etc.).

The code of educational knowledge is a block of related knowledge and/or teaching practices formalized at each level of the curriculum in its corresponding sources (for example, at the planned level of the curriculum, knowledge and practices are formalized in an educational standard that allows you to describe the corresponding code of educational knowledge). The code reflects pedagogical discourse and is formed in the process of recontextualization ("transformation") of knowledge and practices as a result of the influence of subjects of education (the state, authors of manuals, teachers) by structuring and framing. The data used in the study contain characteristics of different codes of educational knowledge, between which there is a struggle for positioning at each level of the curriculum.

Recontextualization is the phenomenon of transformation of the code of educational knowledge as a unit of educational content during the transition from one level of the curriculum to another as a result of the "influence" on it of different subjects of the educational process (scientists, teachers, officials, etc.). Knowledge can be recontextualized directly, understood within the framework of this study as procedural (methodological, methodological) knowledge and disciplinary (subject, factual) knowledge. The principles of the organization of educational interaction, which are assumed in the lessons in accordance with the planned level of the curriculum, expressed in teaching practices, can also be recontextualized.

Methodical transformation is a system of pedagogical techniques and techniques that a teacher uses when designing and implementing educational situations of a lesson (including didactic units and their task-activity embodiment).

Classification is the principle of selecting relevant meanings and didactic units (that is, the choice of which knowledge gets or does not get into school? that is, the question is, who has the power over how knowledge is selected from the entire academic field by isolating the "source of borrowing"?).

Framing (structuring) is a form of knowledge presentation (how are didactic units taught? from what positions? that is, to what extent and how is the knowledge taught controlled by participants in the educational process by searching for an answer to the question, what is the basis for a certain presentation of knowledge?).

Relevance of the research topic

In recent years, there has been an increased discussion in Russia about what and how to teach at school. History teaching occupies a special place in these conversations (1 – see the Comments section). In the rapidly changing conditions of the modern world, the country's leadership, followed by representatives of education, regularly gather for discussions, conferences and round tables, where they try to formulate a new vision of the role and tasks of teaching history in schools for further reform. The most active work on updating the content of education unfolded in 2021-2023 (2 – see the Comments section). Part of this discussion was the development of a unified history textbook, which began to be massively introduced into schools in 2023. Another important innovation was the federal educational program (hereinafter referred to as the FOP), changes in the historical and cultural standard (hereinafter referred to as the ICS) and the development of the concept of a unified content of general education. Finally, in 2024, the President signed a decree on the fundamentals of the state policy of the Russian Federation in the field of historical education². It is possible to record the regulator's desire to produce a new wave of unification and standardization of Russian education. The authors of the current reform expect that thanks to a clear and detailed regulation of what and how to teach in the classroom, it will be possible to project the development of schools in the desired direction. However, the degree of success of the implementation of new ideas remains unclear.

The problem of developing and implementing an ideal curriculum in school life is one of the eternal problems in pedagogy. Radical transformation of the content of general education was carried out in post-Soviet Russia several times, and in each case the dominant role of the driver of changes was assigned to the regulator [Dneprov, 2004]. The previous stage of the reform dates back to 2007-2012. In a short period of time, teams of experts have developed federal state educational standards (hereinafter referred to as the Federal State Educational Standard), which formed the basis for a major reform of general education in Russia. It is important to note that recent articles devoted to understanding this reform demonstrate that everything did not go as smoothly as expected (3 – see the Comments section) [Sidenko, 2012; Kazantseva, 2018]. This example provides grounds for highlighting the essential problem associated with the analysis of the curriculum as a result of the regulator's influence on the educational system.

In our country, the discussion about teaching strategies and principles has a long tradition and is controversial³. By the end of the first third of the 20th century, the structure and content of the entire history course at school, as well as key semantic units and accents related to the tasks of socialist construction and

²Decree of the President of the Russian Federation dated 05/08/2024 No. 314 "On Approval of the Fundamentals of the State Policy of the Russian Federation in the field of historical education". The text of the decree: <http://publication.pravo.gov.ru/document/0001202405080001?index=2> [access mode: 10.05.2024]

³For example: Vagin A.A. Methods of teaching history at school. M., 1972; Strazhev A.I. Methods of teaching history: manual. M., 1964; Dairi N.G. Teaching history in high school: cognitive activity of students and learning effectiveness. M., 1966; Lerner I.Ya. Development of students' thinking in the process of learning history: a manual for teachers. Moscow, 1982; Khlytina O.M. Theory and methodology of teaching history: an educational and methodological complex. Novosibirsk, 2007.

economics, took shape. From this point on, it is possible to discover a consistent development of teaching technology that would allow the implementation of the described concept. In the 1950s and 60s, fundamental research in this field appeared, fixing the problems of the role of teacher and student in the history lesson, the concept of a source in the context of teaching, the classification of methods and techniques for organizing the cognitive process. In the post-war period, Russian didactics outlined a key trend in the transformation of teaching practices - from reproductive tasks to active and problematic forms of learning, to rethinking the student's status in the classroom and relationships with the teacher. A common practice of experimental teaching (70s-90s. supported by a new generation of educational researchers, it allowed to formulate clear, detailed and innovative ideas, confirmed by studying the effectiveness of their application: forms of educational research in history lessons, organization of debates and training in historical argumentation skills, development of student independence, use of a variety of historical sources, etc. Post-Soviet authors continued this tradition taking into account the sharply changing public Context: teaching concepts have become more diverse and come from different educational objectives⁴. Various methodological schools appeared, whose representatives developed unique teaching technologies based on philosophical premises [Zhuravleva, 2009; Zhuravleva, 2011; Strelova, 2022].

The emergence and development of educational standards at the beginning of the XXI century has set a new vector of discussion: modern authors mainly focus on the characteristics of the planned curriculum level (standards, regulations, general education programs) and proceed from the linearity of its transformation during the transition to other levels [Popova, 2016; Tarasova, 2011; Usova, 2007; Khutorskoy, 2012; Sidenko, 2012; Lazebnikova, 2018]. Declarative statements are widespread that everything planned by the state during the educational reform must be implemented, and the key factor determining the content of education is the unified state exam (hereinafter referred to as the Unified State Exam). The development of the discussion exclusively in this direction is especially characteristic of the social sciences and humanities. Experts argue about what should or should not be added to the curriculum [Aleksashkina, 2016; Katsva, 2005; Saplina, 2005; Soboleva, 2015; Sorokin et al., 2017; Vyazemsky, 2017; Kuznetsov, 2008; Fedorov, 2021; Zhuravleva, 2022]. The tradition of laboratory schools and teaching professional communities, which, under the guidance of scientists, introduce new ideas, adjust the proposed teaching technology and formulate the concept of learning, is gradually disappearing.

Modern works convincingly show that pedagogical discussions in Russia, as a rule, boil down to determining the tactics of implementing conventionally approved educational content. Numerous speeches by domestic politicians (4 – see the Comments section) and industry experts relate to regulations, infrastructure, and

⁴For example: Vyazemsky E.E., Strelova O.Y. Methods of teaching history at school: Practice. handbook for teachers. M., 2001; Troitskiy Yu.L., Korchinsky A.V. Workshop "Text: reading strategies" // New philological Bulletin. 2010. No. 4; Aleksashkina L.N. Teaching history at school. From a pedagogical project to practice. Moscow, 2018.

working conditions of teachers, but not to the analysis of the implementation of the content formulated in normative documents in school lessons [Agranovich et al., 2016; Lenskaya, 2008; Pinskaya et al., 2015; Sergeev et al., 2012].

The attention of researchers turns out to be focused on discussing teaching methods and didactic content of the lesson, but in the absence of phenomenological and experimental research in the field of history teaching, the question remains as to what content of education is formalized directly in the classroom, that is, knowledge about school reality, in particular about the realities of the history lesson, is actually a deficit.

Thus, it can be stated that at the moment there is a gap in scientific knowledge about what mechanisms exist for the transformation of the planned curriculum level.

Without clarifying this issue, it is difficult to imagine improving the curriculum.

The degree of elaboration of the research topic

For a long time in post-Soviet Russia, the book by I.D. Frumin remained practically the only work in which school reality was studied in the phenomenological tradition (description of real practices and interactions that are observed directly in the field of existence of the school itself) [Frumin, 1999]. Only recently have new articles begun to appear again, developing the practice of observing lessons [Alekseeva et al., 2019; Sergomanov, 2023]. All of them are directly or indirectly connected with the staff of the Institute of Education "Higher School of Economics Research University" (hereinafter - HSE). In these works, by observing various aspects of school life (communication of participants in the educational process, extracurricular interaction between teachers and students, teaching practices, principles of lesson organization), assumptions are made about hidden educational results and the content of effective teaching practices.

Under the influence of the staff of the HSE Institute of Education, changes in the problems of scientific research in the field of curriculum studies have also become noticeable. At the same time, several traditions are developing, focusing on different aspects of curriculum studies. Some researchers focus on the operationalization of concepts and the development of theoretical foundations for the characteristics of the school curriculum [Sukhanova, 2022; Fedorov, 2023; Avdeenko, 2023]. Some researchers began to pay attention to the hidden curriculum, communication in learning and linguistic features of educational programs [Mishina, 2022; Krainova, 2023]. Other researchers turned to foreign experience to demonstrate the productive potential of using different theories of the curriculum in the context of studying the role of teachers in the educational reform process and methodological features of curriculum design [Zubareva, 2015; Dolgaya, 2018; Gasinets, 2022]. A common problem of these studies is the revision of well-established domestic approaches in the field of analysis of the transformation of the content of education. The traditional emphasis on normative reality, expressed in discussions about the list of facts worth studying at school and how to "convey"

these facts to students, is gradually shifting towards using more complex and diverse sociological, linguistic and phenomenological approaches.

However, these examples are rare exceptions, therefore, it can be argued that the methodology has not been developed and tested in Russian pedagogical science, which allows us to study the mechanisms of transformation of the content of education.

Turning to foreign research demonstrates a different situation. Within the framework of curriculum studies, the study of the process of implementing educational reforms is an extremely popular topic [Ball, 1993; Endeley, 2021; Jackson, 1992]. A curriculum is a very voluminous and broad concept for which there is no single generally accepted definition. Depending on the research, it can be understood as educational standards (goals, ideas, principles, learning outcomes); the amount of knowledge and learning experience that students should have or have had; teaching practices; educational environment, etc⁵.

The variety of approaches to the study of the problem of the content and transformation of the curriculum has led to the formation of many research areas⁶. At different times, the focus of scientists' attention has been focused on different aspects of the educational process: the totality of knowledge and activity experience that are necessary for a successful life and that students should possess, based on the tasks and practices of social development [Dewey, 1902], the system of organizing the educational process [Tyler, 1949], daily interaction between teachers and students during lessons and between them at school [Jackson, 1992], the national Educational standard and its associated curriculum [Akker, 2003]. The researchers identified different aspects of the curriculum: social context (factors influencing the success of students in mastering different types of results), infrastructure (architecture of the educational environment), teachers (professional and value portrait, conditions of preparation and entry into the profession), discursive reality (linguistic structure of the curriculum in the process of its transformation), etc⁷.

The study of the curriculum as a product of education, the effectiveness of which should be measured in school, is associated with the concept of gaps between the levels of the curriculum [Bazhenov, 2022]. The gap between the levels of the curriculum is understood as a discrepancy between the content of procedural or disciplinary knowledge or teaching practices at different levels. Many studies have been devoted to this issue [Ball S., 2011; Perryman J., 2017; Aoki, 1977], as this is one of the key explanations why education reforms are difficult or ineffective. Proponents of this approach fix the formalized content of education (the volume and structure of the knowledge taught in each subject, requirements for teaching practices, etc.) at each of the levels of the curriculum, and then correlate them with

⁵For more information about the definition of the term curriculum, the content of education, knowledge and other key terms of the dissertation, see the first chapter.

⁶<https://infed.org/curriculum-theory-and-practice/>

⁷For more information about the variety of possible problems in the field of curriculum studies and curriculum research methodologies, see the first chapter.

each other. In particular, it has been proven that government controls, textbooks and standards can be focused on different educational outcomes, blurring the key accents to which student education is devoted [Krause, 2021]. The emphasis on the competence approach in the discussion of gaps during the great educational reforms of the turn of the XX–XXI centuries led to the emergence of studies devoted to the observation of lessons from the point of view of the implementation of state requirements for the principles of teaching and selection of educational content. Scientists have demonstrated using lesson observation maps that the regulator's expectations of a radical transformation of education are only partially realized [Galian, 2011; Morais, 2003; Yang, 2016]

Understanding the gaps between curriculum levels is one of the most effective ways to find an answer to the question of what educational content reached a particular lesson at school and why. Many authors are trying to identify the factors contributing to the formation of gaps between the levels of the curriculum. It has been shown that the discrepancy between the planned and implemented curriculum levels may be related to the political context [Smail G., 2017], the rearrangement of priorities due to the peculiarities of external control [Liu Y., Dunne M., 2005], one's own identity [Tao J., Gao X., 2017; Obenchain K. M., 2016], political representations [Sim J. B. Y., Print M., 2009; Wojcik T. G., 2010]. An attempt to explain the emerging gap through the concept of agency is extremely productive [Priestley M., Biesta G., Robinson S., 2015; Pyhältö K., Pietarinen J., Soini T., 2014].

From our point of view, the methodology of the described works allows us to talk more realistically and meaningfully about what the content of education actually looks like at the moment. In most cases, it will involve an appeal to the description of school reality, which brings the foreign tradition closer to Russian researchers of recent years. The desire to identify the real content of education at school determines the logic of the practical problem formulated earlier in the text, limiting the theoretical framework to a phenomenological research approach. The analysis of all levels of the curriculum involves a description of what the content of education is formalized at each of them, as well as how it is transformed during the transition from one level to another, therefore we will not try to explain to what extent and why teachers do not comply with the educational standard. At the moment, there is a shortage of knowledge in Russian didactics about how teachers interpret, select, structure and teach the content of academic disciplines. The focus of our attention is the description of this process of methodical transformation of the curriculum. This is what made us turn to the theory of B. Bernstein [Bernstein, 2008].

Research problem

B. Bernstein identifies recontextualization as a key phenomenon explaining the transformation of knowledge from science to the lesson. Recontextualization occurs at all levels of the curriculum and wherever there are "arenas of struggle" for the content of this knowledge (scientists who select certain approaches to interpreting facts in science; officials and representatives of professional

communities who create a certain list of facts and their explanations for standards and exams; teachers in the classroom using certain ways to demonstrate and study these knowledge) [Bazhenov, 2022]. In fact, the real content of education is formulated through the attitudes and discursive practices of educational actors, primarily teachers, who select and interpret what is recorded at the planned curriculum level directly in the lesson [Maton, 2007; Moore, 2006].

Bernstein's theory makes it possible to theoretically substantiate, develop and test an effective tool for identifying gaps between curriculum levels. Knowledge about the phenomenon of recontextualization allows you to start a meaningful discussion of the curriculum being implemented for evaluating and planning changes in the school. The research path outlined in our work will allow us to formulate a universal tool for analyzing gaps between different levels of the curriculum.

Today, the situation in the field of teaching methods is not so much a dispute "about what is due" as a lack of understanding of what exists (teaching practices and "fixed reality"), which requires a tool that would make it possible to shed light on the situation. That is, *the scientific problem is to identify the mechanisms of transformation of the curriculum in the process of its recontextualization during the transition from level to level*. This work correlates the analysis of domestic pedagogical practices with the global scientific context, demonstrating similar features of the phenomenon of recontextualization on the example of teachers of Russian schools.

Based on the above, *the purpose of the work is to theoretically substantiate, develop and test a methodology for the study of curriculum recontextualization*.

Based on the formulated goal and methodology of B. Bernstein, we propose the following research strategy (*tasks*):

1. Describe the content of the planned, implemented and final levels of the curriculum based on the cultural concept of the content of general education (Krayevsky V.V.).
2. Characterize the pedagogical discourse of the planned, implemented and final levels of the curriculum using the theory of B. Bernstein based on a selected list of practices and knowledge from sources corresponding to each level (for more information, see the section "Research Design").
3. To identify differences in the interpretations of the curriculum and strategies for selecting educational content and pedagogical techniques between teachers of a state (municipal) school based on coding interviews and observations of lessons within the framework of the concept of W. Doyle.
4. Correlate the results of all steps to
 - a. Identify gaps between different levels of the curriculum using the example of a school history course.
 - b. Identify the phenomena of teachers' attitude to the content of education (selection and interpretation strategies) using the example of a Russian school.

5. To formulate what limitations and opportunities the developed methodology provides.

The object of the study is the content and methodology of general education (school curriculum); *the subject* is the methodological transformation of the curriculum in the process of designing the content of education by the teacher and its implementation in the classroom.

Research questions.

1. How is knowledge transformed from the planned level of the curriculum to the attained level?
2. How to trace the recontextualization of the curriculum?
3. How do teachers classify and frame?

Research methodology

The methodology of our research is based on three approaches, each of which allows us to describe and explain one of the stages of knowledge transformation at different levels of the curriculum: the theory of recontextualization (B. Bernstein), the cultural concept of the content of general education (M.N. Skatkin, I.Ya. Lerner, V.V. Kraevsky), the idea of presenting the lesson as a place of content formalization curriculum (U. Doyle).

B. Bernstein's theory of the phenomenon of recontextualization allows us to record and describe the process of transformation of the curriculum at all its levels as a result of the interaction of teachers, students and "voices". The latter are structures of pedagogical discourse that frame and classify the interpretations and teaching strategies of teachers. The sources of "voices" can be regulatory documents, government diagnostics, educational background and professional experience of a teacher.

The classification allows you to find out what knowledge, to what extent and in what form reached the lesson. Framing demonstrates which teaching approaches are implemented in the classroom based on how students' learning is designed.

The cultural concept of the content of general education assumes that its four components pass through the sieve of the state regulator and are transformed from the environment of science (culture) as the sum of the accumulated experience of society in a set of learning outcomes and principles fixed in the standards [Lerner, 1975; Serikov, 2017; Osmolovskaya, 2017]. The authors of the cultural concept identify five levels at which the content of education, consisting of four components, is formalized, and the process of its transformation is characterized through the concept of "pedagogization". The comparison of these concepts with the terms "curriculum" and "recontextualization" indicates their common didactic nature – in both theories, the authors write about the decisive role of the teacher in the process of transforming knowledge and practices during the transition to the school and teaching level. The five levels of educational content described by the authors of the cultural concept correspond to the levels of the curriculum: the level of theory and the academic subject to the planned level of the curriculum, the level of educational

material and the implemented content to the realized level of the curriculum, the level of student results to the achieved level of the curriculum. We believe that, taking into account theoretical and empirical limitations, within the framework of our research, it is possible to fix the terminological similarity of the concepts of "curriculum" and "educational content", "recontextualization" and "pedagogization", "curriculum levels" and "educational content levels". Thus, the cultural concept allowed us to characterize the concept of "knowledge" at all levels of the curriculum through the characterization of its four components.

The consideration of lessons with the help of observation maps is based on the concept of W. Doyle [Doyle, 1992]. His key idea is that the lesson is a place of formalization of the curriculum content, which represents its transformations resulting from the selection of didactic units and teaching strategies of the teacher. This means that by describing the practices of organizing students' learning activities, as well as the discursive practices of teachers, you can use content analysis to get a list of answers to the question of what knowledge and principles of learning "reached" the lesson. The theory of U. Doyle allowed us to record the content of the teaching practices that we described. An important limitation of this approach is to study exclusively the lesson and the learning practices within it.

Thus, the use of the above theoretical concepts allows us to trace the entire path of the curriculum transformation.

Research design

A key step in the process of studying the transformation of the curriculum is to identify and describe the codes of educational knowledge that make up the pedagogical discourse at each level of the curriculum. To do this, supporters of B. Bernstein's theory correlate the content of different levels of the curriculum with each other [Krause, 2021], therefore, we have characterized the content of the four components of the cultural concept at the planned, implemented and achieved levels of the curriculum.

To describe the available cognitive activity experience⁸ were selected several topics from the Russian history course: 1) the reign of Ivan IV, 2) the reign of Peter I, 3) the reign of Alexander III, 4) The Civil War in Russia, 5) culture and way of life of the peoples of Russia of different eras (painting, architecture, sculpture, science, education). These topics are of the greatest interest because there is no consensus in academic science regarding the interpretations of the reigns of the listed sovereigns and periods. Their estimates differ polaristically and vary depending on the epoch. The theme of Russian culture from different eras is highlighted separately, because it significantly illustrates the mechanisms of recontextualization, when each subsequent interpretation generates a new understanding and a gap between the levels of the curriculum. In addition, the variety and abundance of factual material and methodological solutions of colleagues are available to history teachers on the presented topics. Their selection and structuring reflect the basic rules for the

⁸In the context of history at school, the experience of cognitive activity will include assessments and facts on each topic selected by the regulator, the authors of methodological manuals, and teachers.

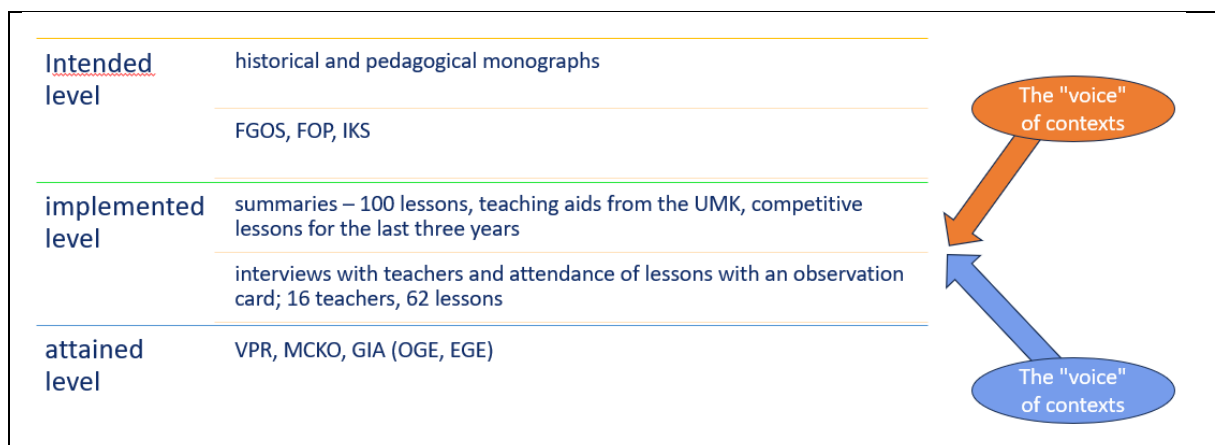
formation of pedagogical discourse, especially when we talk about what exactly is checked in the control papers based on the results of studying the selected topics.

To describe the experience of reproductive activity, we took several skills that are fixed in the national educational standard and are mandatory components of the competence of historical cognition: the establishment of cause-and-effect relationships, definitions of concepts, and the compilation of a historical argument. We have described the content of each skill at the level of an ideal planned curriculum based on pedagogical literature [Talyzina, 1998; Bazhenov, 2022; Ivanova, 2021].

To describe the experience of creative activity, we analyzed what underlies the design of the study of subject content in the classroom: what tasks, problems, and questions are core to the history course and to what extent they correspond to the principles of teaching laid down in the educational standard [Galian, 2011; Morais, 2003; Yang, 2016].

To describe the experience of emotional-value relationships, we characterized the existing opportunities for students to relate to their own values, personal assessment of what is happening in the lesson and the permissibility of different interpretations of the phenomenon or event being studied.

Figure 1. Characteristics of research sources.



In order to identify the content of each of the components of the cultural concept at different levels of the curriculum, it is important to identify sources of legitimization of discourse that allow classifying the code, the so-called "keepers of isolating categories" [Bernstein, 2008]. Figure 1 illustrates the general logic of the study: each level of the curriculum corresponds to its own source and its own data, which allow us to reasonably judge whether what is the content of education presented at this level? At the first stage, we described the codes of educational knowledge at the planned and achieved levels, and then traced how the methodological transformation of these "voices" of the context takes place at the realized level. This procedure allows you to trace from which "voice" knowledge or practice is borrowed, forming the pedagogical discourse of the lesson. Detailed comparative tables in which the collected data are recorded are given in the relevant paragraphs of the study.

The interpretations of the actors of the educational process at the realized level of the curriculum include representations of the "transmitting" discourse about the goals of school education and their own subject, about teaching practices and the expectations of the state regarding the content of education.

From our point of view, these interpretations can be found in what "desirable" guidelines the authors offer when developing methodological manuals. They demonstrate how the teams of authors of educational and methodological complexes interpret the planned content for teachers, which components of the educational content are selected and how they are structured⁹. The lessons given during the Teacher of the Year of Russia competition shed light on the model perception of the selected educational content by teachers themselves – how they assume they need to work to meet the request of the state (history lessons for 2020-2022 were used). Lesson summaries posted on popular teacher websites¹⁰, it demonstrate how individual teachers interpret the content of education – the conditional mainstream of the professional community, within which most teachers reason (100 lessons from professional portals of teachers were studied – 20 of the most popular lessons for each of the topics selected for research). All sources date from 2018-2024¹¹, since it was during this period that control over the school curriculum began to increase (and in particular with regard to history).

The last stage of recontextualization takes place at school. In foreign historiography, the study of recontextualization is necessarily accompanied by an analysis of lessons and interviewing teachers [Sikoyo, 2007; Galian, 2011; Morais, 2003; Yang, 2016; Perryman, 2017]. The role of the teacher in these studies is characterized by how he selects interaction practices that regulate attitudes to meanings (what and why he selected – classification), and the distribution of power in the lesson characterizes structuring (it occurs in the teacher's mind and therefore it is necessary to interview).

Our study included lessons attended by 16 teachers at a Russian public school in a million-plus city. This school is an educational complex that unites eleven buildings, in which teachers work in pre-school, primary, basic and secondary general education programs. The research (taking lessons and conducting interviews) took place from January 2023 to February 2024. It was attended by 16 teachers working at the level of basic general and secondary general education (4 teachers from each building, where there are programs of the appropriate levels of education). The sample includes all areas of academic disciplines based on sciences (philology, mathematics, history, natural sciences). The 16 participants in the study included teachers of Russian language and literature (4), mathematics (4), history

⁹The study examined methodological manuals and over-the-counter developments for all educational and methodological complexes on the subject "History of Russia" in the federal list of textbooks.

¹⁰Used sites and groups: <https://vk.com/club217133794>; https://vk.com/history_teacher_school; <https://vk.com/club19324998>; <https://vk.com/storyafterlessons>; <https://uchitelya.com>; <https://ped-kopilka.ru>; <https://www.lurok.ru/>; <https://infourok.ru/>; <https://nsportal.ru/>; <https://multiurok.ru/>; <https://kopilkaurokov.ru/>.

¹¹With the exception of the methodological manuals for the UMK by E.V. Pchelov, P.V. Lukin, since they were not updated after the appearance of the ICS and the last big change in the requirements for the GIA.

and social studies (3), physics (1), computer science (1), biology (1), geography (1), English (1). Each teacher was analyzed for 3-6 lessons at different stages of the passage of topics from setting goals and learning new things to consolidating what has been learned and summarizing. A total of 62 lessons were attended. It was important for us to study the teaching of a variety of subjects in order to demonstrate the lack of connection between the subject being taught and the mechanisms of curriculum transformation. The above sample is explained by the phenomenological nature of our research. First of all, we sought to describe, fix and propose a typology of teaching practices, as well as using qualitative methods to identify the teaching strategies used, which required extensive interviewing of respondents and in-depth acquaintance with their activities. It seems that a small sample size, which presents different subjects, paths to the profession, professional positions, etc., is relevant for solving the set research tasks.

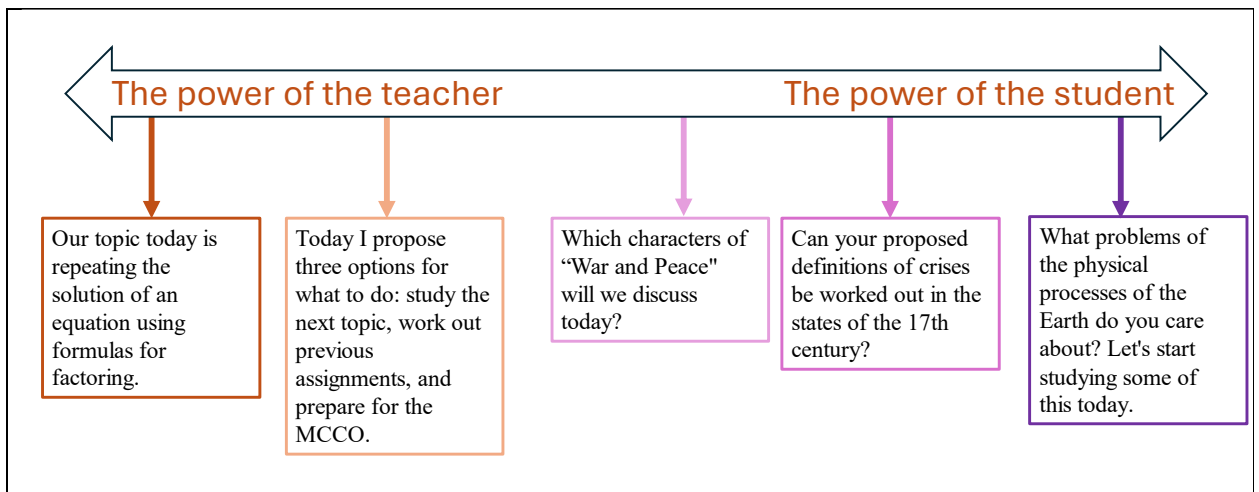
The lesson observation map was compiled within the framework of the tradition of qualitative observations of teaching practices, which is based on studying the context of events in the lesson and trying to find a "frame of understanding" that will decode what meaning is hidden behind certain actions/words in the lessons [Wragg, 2012]. The phenomenological explanation of the connection of teaching practices and discourse with the observed aspects of the lesson is justified by the theory of B. Bernstein¹². Each observation included the preparation of a written report on individual elements of the lesson: "goal setting", "student learning activities", "discussion and discussion in the lesson". The highlighted elements characterize the ratio of the role of the teacher and the student in the lesson from the point of view of control over pedagogical discourse: who determines the purpose of the lesson, opportunities for students to influence the pace of the lesson / forms of interaction, the degree of encouragement of independent statements of students, etc. All the components of the potential transfer of control over the content of the lesson, encoded in these three elements, are key, because they allow you to fix the classification and framing.

Then the content of each element of the lesson, recorded in the form of the teacher's statements¹³, was placed in the range between the opposite modes of "power over the curriculum", where the student's power is on one side and the teacher's power on the other (*Figures 2.1–2.3 show quotes from teachers whose lessons were analyzed during the study*).

Figure 2.1. Goal setting options.

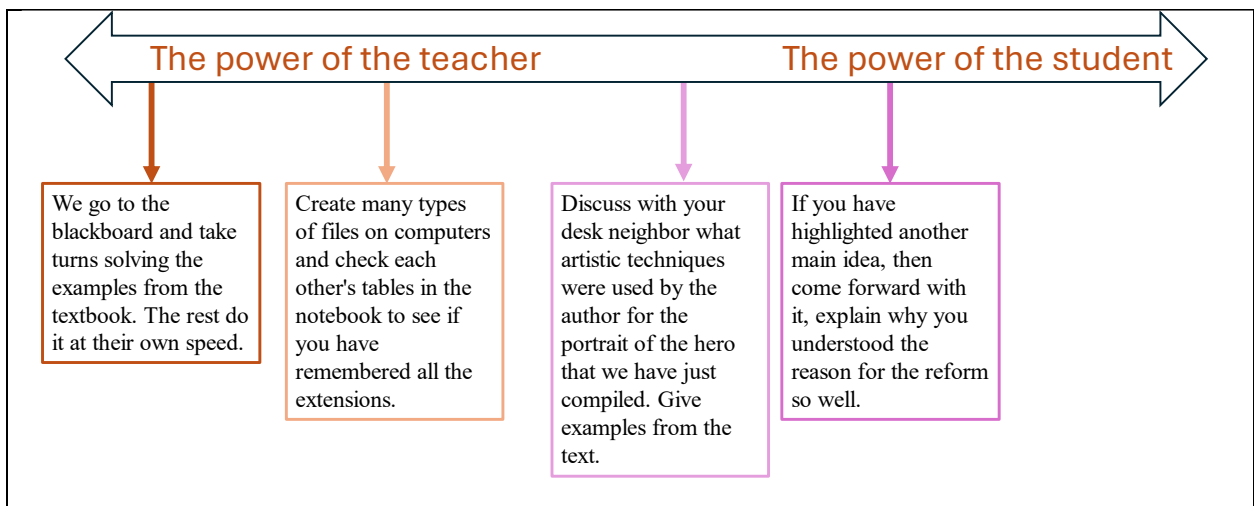
¹²"Challenging contexts are tasks and forms of interaction in the classroom" [Bernstein, 2008].

¹³The text product from the written report on the results of observation, which practically embodies the visible part of the lesson as a place of cultural reproduction, is what the teacher says (expressing the code in the form of words in the lesson) [Bernstein, 2008].



The questions that allowed us to place statements within the described range were compiled on the basis of research conducted within the framework of the theory of B. Bernstein [Bernstein, 2008; Junghyun, 2021; Sikoyo, 2007; Galian, 2011]: at what point in the lesson and what was the opportunity to choose, where and in what could the student show independence, what percentage (part of the lesson) was occupied by the activity of the teacher / student, from which the idea of the lesson is based (the basis for goal setting), who keeps control over the pace of the lesson / the purpose of the lesson / forms the work and interaction of students / types of tasks, through whom and how the discussion is organized, who and how keeps the understanding of the correctness of the tasks and answers performed, how much time is given to students to comprehend and think about the task or question.

Figure 2.2. Options for organizing the development of the studied theory

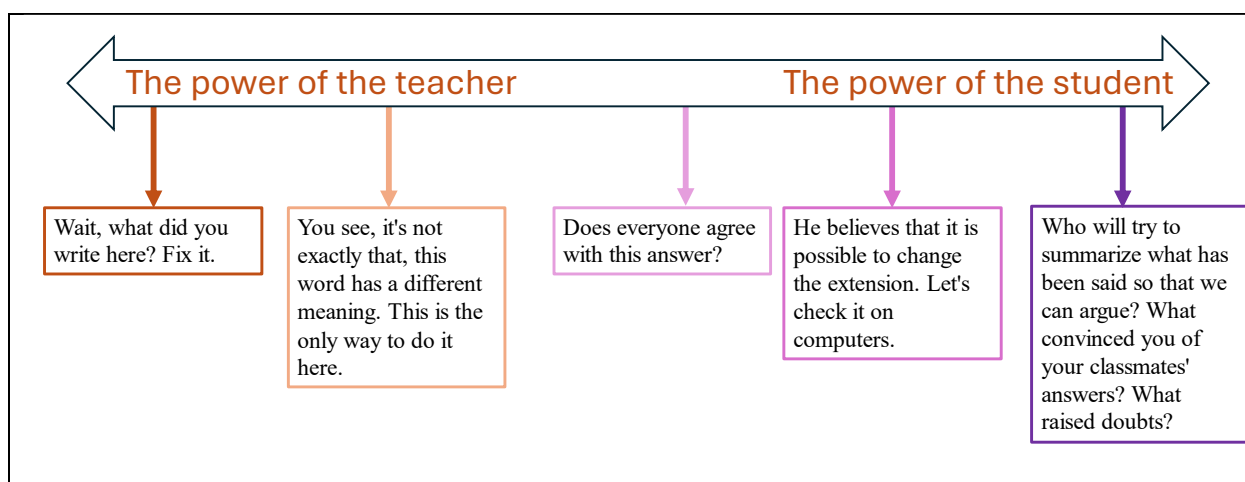


Consideration of the pedagogical discourse formalized in the lessons in line with these issues allowed us to identify the explicit / implicit characteristics of the three basic rules of recontextualization (hierarchical, sequential, normative)¹⁴, which

¹⁴"Visibility here [of structuring and classification codes – author's note.] can be mistaken for reality" [Bernstein, 2008].

allow us to correlate teacher quotations with one of the poles of each observed element of the lesson¹⁵.

Figure 2.3. Discussion organization options.

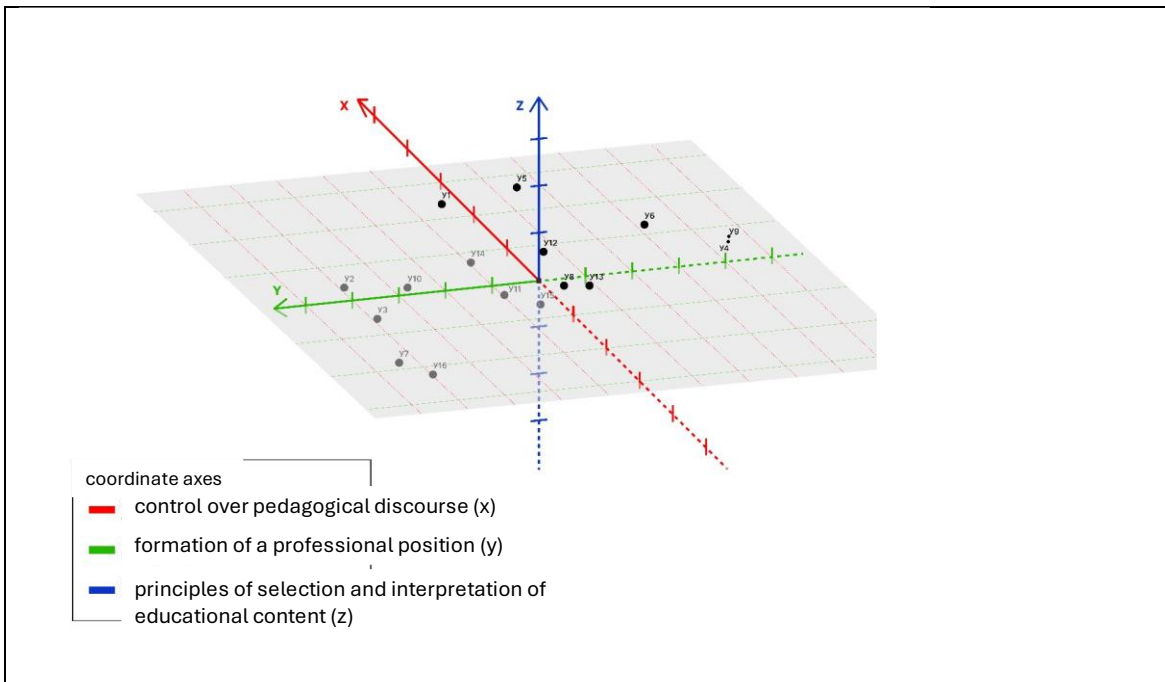


To recognize the "voice" of contexts (which determines the teaching strategies of teachers) that influence classification in the process of recontextualization, we conducted semi-structured interviews with all respondents [Belanovsky, 2001; Kvale, 2003]. The proposed method of in-depth interviews allowed us to see individual interpretations of the planned curriculum, how and why the content is selected, and most importantly, it allowed us to consider in detail the discourses that guide different teachers in different contexts [Busygina, 2022].

The initial framework of the guide was determined by research questions and the theory of B. Bernstein. Based on this, we have formulated large topics for discussion, which were analyzed by foreign colleagues in the phenomenological analysis of schools [Junghyun, 2020; Wright, 2012; Sikoyo, 2007], and then on their basis they have already compiled blocks of questions for the guide: educational and career path in the profession, professional and value attitudes regarding the content of education / the role of teachers and students in the learning process, methodological features of lesson design, reflection on their own teaching practices, barriers and opportunities in the implementation of pedagogical ideas.

Figure 3.1. Types of teachers identified and described as a result of empirical research.

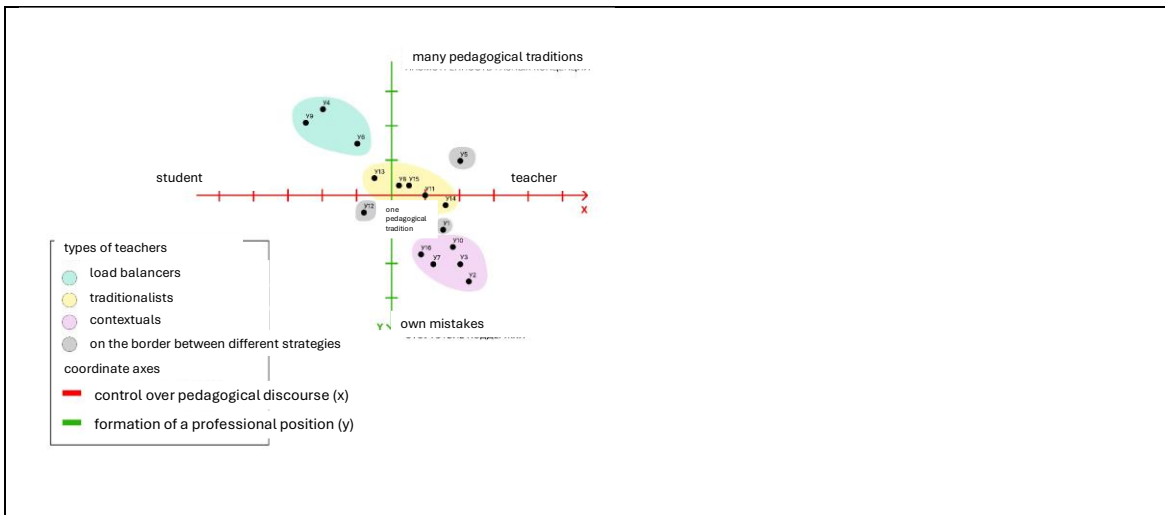
¹⁵For more information about the three rules, see the second chapter of the research.



According to the "thematic principle", we encoded possible answers into several categories in order to then trace the possibility of detecting typological answers between teachers who share similar approaches to teaching, professional attitudes regarding the content of education and the role of the student and teacher in the lesson, with common stages of entering school life. The correlation of close answers into different categories revealed a typology of teachers based on different strategies for selecting educational content (Figure 3.1). With each new interview and subsequent analysis, the categories were supplemented and expanded. Each type characterizes a certain pedagogical discourse, which reflects the power-control ratio in the lesson, the mechanisms of recontextualization and the system of meanings in which the teacher describes himself, his lesson and his teaching methodology (Figures 3.2-3.4 reflect the basic codes associated with different types of teachers).

Each code is illustrated in the corresponding paragraph with quotes from interviews and correlated with conclusions regarding the classification and framing obtained based on observing the lessons of the teachers studied. The assignment of the code was based on the rules of B. Bernstein, which form the pedagogical discourse [Bernstein, 2008].

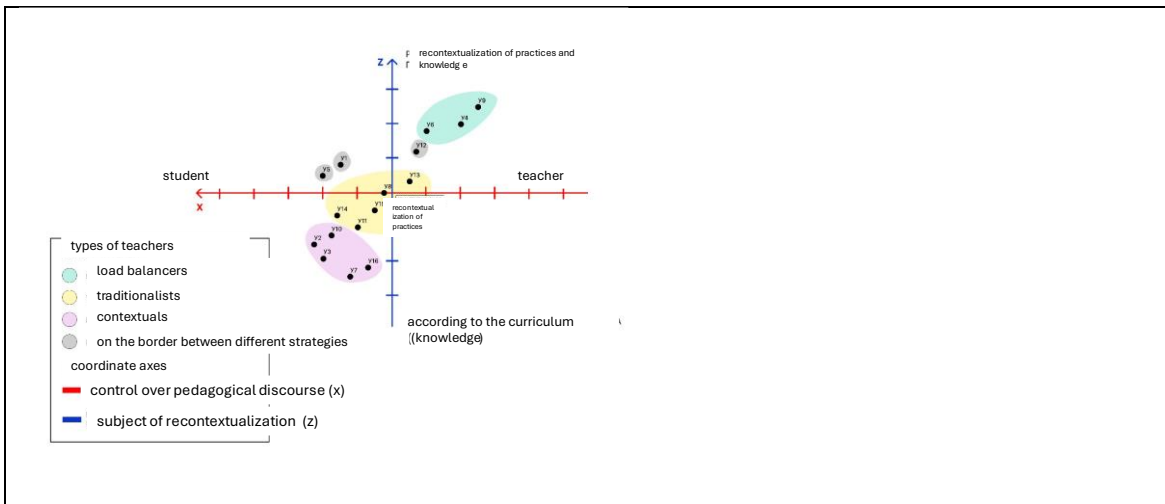
Figure 3.2. Types of teachers based on the extent to which they control the educational activities of students and how their professional position was formed.



As a result of the research, we have identified three types of teachers who differ in the principles of organizing students' educational activities in the classroom; students' opportunities for freedom; an internal motive that keeps them in the profession; a source of professional credo (Figure 3.2).

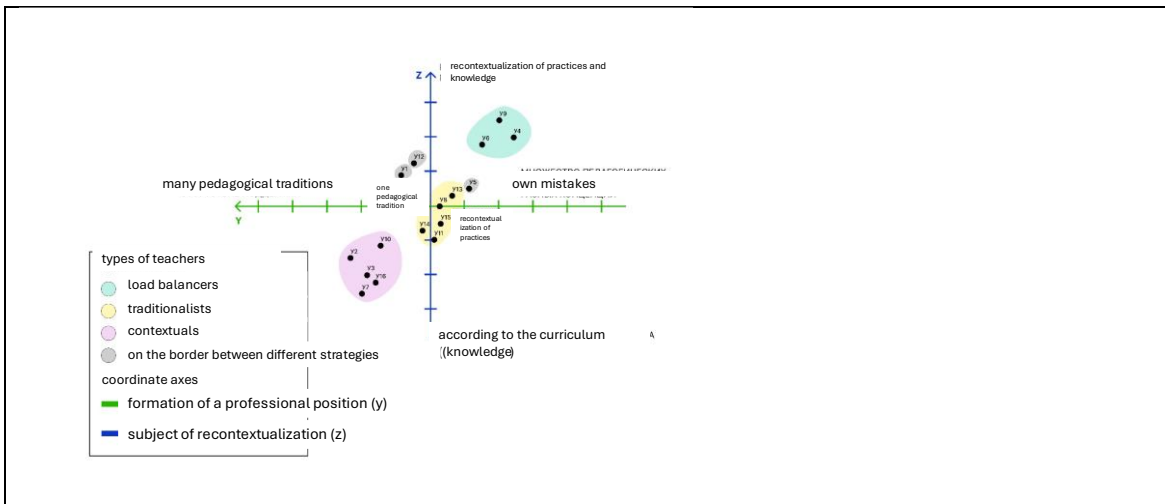
The balancing teacher is familiar with several didactic systems; he believes that a school can perform different educational tasks depending on the needs of the main actors (regulator, students, parents, public associations, business community, etc.). In this regard, teachers of this type try to balance between an abundance of requests and give more freedom of action to students to create conditions in which students begin to influence the pace of the lesson, goal setting and even the selection of cognitive experience. At the beginning of his professional career, a traditionalist teacher was influenced by one pedagogical tradition, which he successfully adopted and continues to implement throughout his career. That is why teachers of this type are intolerant of alternative concepts of education, expect support from the team and talk about the role of students from the perspective of the tradition that they value-share and manifest in their lessons (in particular, this is how supporters of both developmental learning and more dogmatic approaches find themselves in one group at the same time). In the first years of work at school, a contextual teacher finds himself alone with his mistakes without any support, intuitively choosing techniques to overcome them. This leads to the fact that teachers of this type try to fully control all the actions and words of students in the lesson, consistently correcting them towards the correct way of behavior and answers (explicit rules of hierarchy and normative criteria in the lesson).

Figure 3.3. Types of teachers, identified based on the degree of their control over the educational activities of students and the subject of recontextualization in the classroom.



As a result of the study, we found that in the lessons of a balancing teacher, both knowledge and practices (methods, techniques, technologies) are recontextualized due to the desire to find a balance between the capabilities of students, the expectations of parents, the requests of the state and the idea of what can help students at the current moment. As a result, the balancing teacher may even allow students to remove some topics from the curriculum due to lack of interest in them. The roles of students in his lessons are described through a variety of social experiences, and their own failures are reflected as a path to further professional growth. A traditionalist teacher follows the curriculum offered by the regulator, but the structure of the topics studied, their sequence, and the volume of each topic in the general plan of the year may already change depending on the needs of the teacher. The forms of submission of the selected list of knowledge and the ways of studying them depend on the pedagogical tradition shared by them, therefore, in the lessons of teachers who share the ideas of constructivist didactic systems, there will be more opportunities for students to manifest freedom, and in the lessons of supporters of more academic and dogmatic concepts there will be fewer opportunities for students' freedom. In the lesson of a contextual teacher, nothing from textbooks, methodological manuals and state diagnostics is subject to recontextualization (what is missing there is missing both in the teacher's perception and in his lesson; what is present there is reproduced almost verbatim); the idea of following the curriculum prevails, in which only the volume and accents can be adjusted in some cases. Students in interviews with teachers in this group are described through the functions they should perform, as well as the degree of their compliance (how good the students are in their role as students).

Figure 3.4. Types of teachers based on how their professional position was formed and what is being recontextualized in their lessons.



In the process of coding interviews and analyzing lessons, we found that some teachers find themselves on the border between different strategies (Y1, Y5, Y12). In particular, the mathematics teacher (U12) has clear and specific ideas about the tasks of the school, adheres to a single pedagogical concept and repeats several times in interviews how difficult it is for him to communicate with colleagues of other professional beliefs. In addition, he adopted pedagogical views from the only mentor in the process of working at the current school, but already during our study, this respondent began to get acquainted with alternative concepts and rapidly expand the boundaries of his ideas about the possibilities of other didactic systems. This began to influence his lessons, and eventually reflected in the answers during the interview. Such a case (as in the case of U1 and U5) suggests that this typology, on the one hand, can be exhaustive to explain the phenomena of teaching – teachers develop within these three types. However, this thesis requires more serious verification. On the other hand, we have clearly fixed the possibility of changing the teaching strategy during professional life, which means that teachers' beliefs and practices can undergo changes even after the end of professional formation.

The collected data allow us to establish ways of methodical transformation of the curriculum.

Conclusions of the study.

Research question: How is knowledge transformed from the planned curriculum level to the final one?

1. As a result of the study, the widely spread idea among experts was refuted that the four components of the cultural concept of the content of general historical education in the process of recontextualization are linearly reduced to a list of facts that are mandatory for study.
 - a. The content of the cognitive activity experience during the transition from the ideal planned level of the historical curriculum to the other levels weakly correlates with the pluralism of interpretations characteristic of humanitarian knowledge.
 - b. The content of the experience of reproductive activity, the experience of creative activity and the experience of emotional and value relations

during the transition from the ideal planned level of the historical curriculum to the formal planned one remains unchanged, but already at the level of the perceived realized curriculum and the final achieved procedural knowledge and humanitarian arguments used in historical science are replaced by disciplinary knowledge. The study allows us to state that the ways of thinking characteristic of science are developed and tested only at the level of the current implemented curriculum only by those teachers who share the relevant pedagogical tradition (for example, developmental learning) or own its practices.

- c. The content of the experience of creative activity and the experience of emotional and value relations is preserved during the transition from the ideal planned level of the historical curriculum to the formal planned one, but completely disappears during the further transition to the perceived realized and final achieved levels, and at the same time arises at the level. The implementation of these components of the educational content at the level of the current implemented curriculum correlates with which of the three teaching strategies identified in the study the teacher belongs to.

Research question: How do teachers conduct classification and framing?

2. We have refuted the widespread perception of experts about the linear recontextualization of teaching practices, which are simplified from one level of the curriculum to another. In fact, the practices that deviate most from the standard are presented at the level of the perceived implemented curriculum, which demonstrates how teachers perceive the state and public order in the field of education. The strategies of teaching and selecting the content of education, presented at the level of the current implemented curriculum, are the result of the influence of many contexts.
 - a. The formal planned curriculum level, focused on constructivist educational theory, sets a strong classification and weak framing of pedagogical practices, fixing clear and specific requirements for teachers based on system-activity and competence approaches.
 - b. Competitive lessons, teaching aids and teacher's notes are focused exclusively on the lecture format and "reproductive / programmable learning" (repeating the sum of facts from the standard after the teacher), set the norm that reduces all the diversity and potential of teaching strategies. The principles of training laid down in the standard are not being implemented.

Research question: how to trace the recontextualization of the curriculum?

3. The protected research methodology includes the study of 1) the characteristics of the "voices" of the context that form the teacher's pedagogical discourse, which include the planned and final levels of the curriculum, 2) the teacher's path to the profession and his professional formation, 3) professional values and attitudes of the teacher, 4) teaching principles, 5) reflection on one's own activities at school and the applied

practices in the lesson. The characterization of each "voice" is carried out by describing the mechanisms of classification and framing based on a specific set of data: regulatory documents, the content of state diagnostics, interviews, lesson observation.

4. The key indicators of the developed methodology determine the nature of the teacher's teaching strategy: his professional position, the principles of selection and interpretation of the educational content and control over the pedagogical discourse of the lesson.

Theoretical and practical significance of the research results

Within the framework of this study, our focus was on how the transformation of the content of general education in Russian schools takes place: from what is fixed in regulatory documents to the actual implementation in lessons and the development of students. The identification of the mechanisms of such transformation provides a clearer idea of what of the planned educational reform has actually had an impact on educational practices.

Russian researchers have accumulated diverse and extensive experience in methodological discussions and the development of teaching technologies. Today, any teacher can find the necessary teaching techniques and methods in the Soviet and post-Soviet pedagogical tradition. The introduction of new educational standards and educational programs in the 21st century has set a limited vector of theoretical searches, provoking a wave of publications on the formally fixed content of education and the selection of didactic units. Behind these numerous scientific and methodological discussions, the essential problem of the causes of the gap between the levels of the curriculum, characteristic of foreign studies, has been lost.

The developed, theoretically grounded and proven methodology, combining the ideas of the cultural concept of the content of general education, B. Bernstein's theory of pedagogical discourse and W. Doyle's concept of the lesson as a place of formalization of the curriculum, allowed us to discover that recontextualization does not occur linearly in the logic of simplification from the standard to the lesson, as Russian experts suggest. We have seen examples of constructivist pedagogical ideas in regulatory documents, in teacher interviews, and in school lessons. At the same time, the widespread thesis about the huge impact of the USE content on what is happening at school was confirmed, however, the nature of this influence is not as total as it is traditionally described.

The proposed research methodology allows us to trace the recontextualization of the curriculum from a scientific fact to its formalization in a classroom at school. The study presents the results of the first approbation. It has a number of limitations related to the presented sample. The described types of selection of educational content at the level of the implemented curriculum, common among teachers, require rechecking on a larger sample, which would include differences in the types of terrain, the size of the settlement, and the teaching experience of teachers. Perhaps it makes sense to characterize the interregional specifics in the future. In the future, it is also necessary to expand the selection of subjects at other levels of the

curriculum (planned and achieved) – without this, it is hardly possible to draw final conclusions about the transformation of the content of general education in Russia. We also did not address the issue of other levels of education, which require separate studies using the same methodology. Finally, the study of the perceived realized level of the curriculum involves the inclusion in the sample of methodological manuals and extracurricular developments in other subjects, without which the conclusion about the existing convention in the interpretations of teachers regarding the state's request for the experience of cognitive and reproductive activity does not sound completely convincing.

However, the research tool itself turns out to be a productive way to figure out what practitioners and managers should consider when implementing new educational solutions, what methodological manuals should be, and how to implement the new content of general education.

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Comments.

- 1) There are numerous examples of appeals and public discussions, the common place for which is a radical revision of the state order for teaching history at school:
 - a. <https://sfedu.ru/press-center/news/72319>
 - b. <https://www.vedomosti.ru/society/articles/2023/07/14/985275-molodim-politologam-rasskazali-o-uchebnikah>
 - c. <https://rtvi.com/news/nelzya-vpadat-v-kraynosti-eksperty-otsenili-ideyu-nauchit-pervoklassnikov-lyubit-istoriyu/>
 - d. <https://www.vedomosti.ru/society/news/2023/01/13/958971-predstavit-predlozheniya-po-razrabotke-uchebnikov-po-istorii>
 - e. <https://edu.gov.ru/press/5942/glava-gosudarstva-prizval-ukreplyat-suverennuyu-sistemu-obrazovaniya-i-vospitaniya-v-rossii/>
 - f. <https://www.vedomosti.ru/society/articles/2023/08/08/988994-medinskii-i-kravtsov-predstavili-novii-uchebnik-istorii>
 - g. <http://kremlin.ru/events/president/news/69781>
- 2) The two main guides in the public discussion of this area of public policy:
 - a. The website of the unified content of general education (<https://edsoo.ru>) – there are federal work programs on individual subjects, ideological and political justifications for new changes, speeches by key managers on the topic, as well as a designer for planning work programs (in fact, all the subject content of school disciplines is predetermined in it, painted in detail by year in the form of a thematic planning with annotations).
 - b. The development of a unified history textbook with a gradual rejection of diversity and choice: <https://edu.gov.ru/press/7512/uchitelya-polozhitelno-otzyvayutsya-o-novom-edinom-uchebnike-istorii/>.
- 3) Examples of articles or events where the results of educational reforms and the implementation of the Federal State Educational Standard are discussed:
 - a) one of the events of the MMSO-2022 conference: [https://online.mmco-expo.ru/program/fgos-ucheniki-cto-bylo-zaplanirovano-i-cto-okazalos-realizovano](https://online.mmco-expo.ru/program/fgos-ucheniki-cto-bylo-zaplanirovano-i-cto-okazalos-realizovano;); б) A.G. Kasprzhak "Three knives in the back of Russian education": <https://www.mk.ru/social/2018/03/25/tri-nozha-v-spinu-rossiyskogo-obrazovaniya.html>.
- 4) Politicians regularly talk about schools and teachers, but usually only in the context of working conditions, salaries, and the social status of the profession:
 - a. <https://skillbox.ru/media/education/shkola-dolzha-byt-vne-politiki-ekspert-raskritikoval-vvedenie-istorii-s-pervogo-klassa/>
 - b. <https://edu.gov.ru/press/6563/vladimir-putin-vazhno-povysit-obschestvennuyu-znachimost-uchitelskogo-truda/>
 - c. <https://ruobraz.ru/theme/sergey-kravtsov-prestizh-raboty-uchitelya-uvazhenie-k-uchitelyu-samaya-glavnaya-moya-mechta/>
 - d. <https://www.vedomosti.ru/society/articles/2023/05/25/976881-kravtsov-anonsiroval-vozvrashchenie-urokov-truda>

- e. <https://vvolodin.ru/region/intervyu-vyacheslava-volodina-o-povyshenii-zarplat-uchitelyam-i-vracham/>
- f. <https://tass.ru/obschestvo/12577959>