A Scoping Review on the Hidden Curriculum in Education

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Abstract:

This article provides a systematic overview of constituting elements of the hidden curriculum in education: norms reproduced in the social context, group roles and behaviors, media for norm transmission; their effects on individuals and society, and various coping strategies. A scoping review was conducted, analyzing 23 articles based on defined categories. The literature reveals different reproduced norms (e.g., conformity, temporal rhythmizing), roles with specific attributes (e.g., teacher power, student recognition), and media for norm transmission (e.g., teaching materials, routines and rituals). Effects of the hidden curriculum occur on individual and societal levels, with various coping strategies identified.

Keywords: hidden curriculum, norms, roles, social reproduction, scoping review

1. Introduction

For educational success in general and for everyday school and classroom work in particular, not only is the explicit content codified in curricula relevant, but also inexplicit aspects such as norms, values, or ideologies, which are learned and reproduced within institutionalized educational processes, matter. As Crowley (2021) notes, a curriculum is never neutral; rather, it always reflects or embodies ideological positions. This circumstance was recognized early on in educational research (e.g., Jackson, 1968; Zinnecker, 1975), and Bernfeld (1973) notes in this regard that the school system appears to have effects that extend beyond the actual instruction and content explicitly codified in the curriculum.

As Crowley (2021) notes in reference to Apple (1979), Giroux and Purpel (1983), and Jackson (1968), the hidden curriculum emerges from the rules, routines, and structures that shape the typical practices of everyday school experiences. In this regard, the hidden curriculum in schools refers to both ordinary and extraordinary aspects of education, which in certain cases maintain a certain hegemony for certain students. It plays a crucial role in maintaining unequal distributions of power through explicit and implicit means in areas such as social, economic, political, and cultural reproduction. Kandzora (1996) notes that research on the hidden curriculum points to school socialization processes that are not explicitly identified in curricular specifications, but which have qualitative significance for the learning experiences and personality development of children and adolescents. This involves both social functionality, which is concealed in many forms in the structures, processes, organizational forms of schools, and a certain autonomy and momentum of the institution itself. Important dimensions of such schooling and socialization effects are, for example, the internalization of the hierarchy of the school organization, the object status of learners, the orientation of learning toward evaluation on the basis of formal performance criteria, the adaptation to external expectations, and the internalization of bureaucratized procedures.

In the past decades, the hidden curriculum has repeatedly been the subject of different approaches to educational theorizing, which range, for example, from structural-functional theory (e.g., Fend, 1989; Parsons, 1959) to conflict theory (e.g., Bourdieu, 1977) to the new sociology of education (e.g., Apple, 1979; Bernstein, 1977), and to the neo-Marxist theory of education (e.g., Giroux & Penna, 1979). As different as the various theoretical approaches may be in their respective modeling and basic paradigmatic assumptions, it is possible to identify, on the one hand, social recognition, equal opportunity, equality, awareness of implicit values and norms, and critical thinking as general value categories in the discussion about the hidden curriculum and, on the other hand, elementary definitional categories or components that are inherent to the respective theories. Such definitional categories are (a) the norms that are reproduced through the hidden curriculum in the social context; (b) group roles, role attributes, and role-specific behaviors of the actors; (c) media for transmission of and compliance with norms; (d) effects of the hidden curriculum on individuals and society; and (e) individual, group, and institutional strategies for coping with the mechanisms and effects of the hidden curriculum.

Since normative aspects are not only constitutive for processes in society as a whole, but also, as described above, significantly determine educational processes and thus individual learning and life opportunities, our article aims to provide a systematic overview of the aforementioned constituent

elements. Against this background, the following research questions are posed, which will be answered on the basis of a scoping review:

- What group or social norms are thematized within contributions to the hidden curriculum?

- What social roles are reproduced through the hidden curriculum?

- What carriers or media facilitate the transmission and maintenance of norms and social mechanisms reproduced through the hidden curriculum?

- What impacts can the hidden curriculum and its social mechanisms have on individuals and society?

- How and on which levels do learners copy with mechanisms and effects of the hidden curriculum ?

In order to answer the research questions above, we discuss in section 2 the method of the scoping review and describe the procedure of the systematic literature search, selection, and coding. We summarize the results for each category in the third section, before concluding the paper with some concluding thoughts (section 4).

2. Method of the Scoping Review

A literature review was chosen as the methodological approach, whereby we follow the approach of the scoping review. Munn et al. (2022, p. 950) provide the following concise general definition of the chosen methodological approach: "Scoping reviews are a type of evidence synthesis that aims to systematically identify and map the breadth of evidence available on a particular topic, field, concept, or issue, often irrespective of source (ie, primary research, reviews, non-empirical evidence) within or across particular contexts. Scoping reviews can clarify key concepts/definitions in the literature and identify key characteristics or factors related to a concept, including those related to methodological research." The main purposes of a scoping review are to provide an orientation on the state of the research literature on a given topic, to help clarify concepts and identify corresponding conceptual features, to make statements about the available evidence, and to identify knowledge and research gaps (conceptual and empirical) (Munn et al., 2018; Tricco et al., 2018; von Elm et al., 2019). A key difference from systematic literature reviews (see Page et al., 2021) is that scoping reviews provide an overview of a field of research regardless of the methodological approach of the included studies (von Elm et al., 2019). In the following sections, the search strategy and data sources, the inclusion and exclusion criteria, the literature selection, and the coding of the contributions are described in more detail.

2.1 Search strategy and data sources

The criteria-based literature search was conducted between December 2022 and March 2023, accessing the following databases: EBSCOhost, ERIC, Medline, Teacher Reference Center, PSYNDEX, and Fachportal Pädagogik (German educational science database). The following terms

and their respective combinations were used as search terms in the context of the database search (for simplification, only the English-language terms are mentioned below: the German-language terms were used analogously): hidden curriculum, latent curriculum, silent curriculum, norms, values, implicit teacher expectation, student achievement, grades, neo-Marxist analysis, structural-functional theory, new sociology of education, conflict theory, socialization, school, teacher, students, teacher-student relationships, and power dynamics. An example of a keyword combination including Boolean operators which was used to search in EBSCOhost is as follows: (implicit teacher expectation OR norms OR values) AND (student achievement OR grades) AND (hidden curriculum) NOT (college). Additional searches were conducted using the snowball method and internet search engines (e.g., Google Scholar) if references to other relevant sources were found in the identified articles.

2.2 Inclusion and exclusion criteria

The literature search and selection followed clearly defined inclusion and exclusion criteria. Inclusion criteria for the literature selection were the following. (1) Primary and secondary school students: preschool children were not excluded per se since this is where the first contacts with school or secondary socialization can be located. (2) There were no restrictions regarding the year of publication, as the scientific discussion on the hidden curriculum peaked especially in the 1960s and 1970s (Brandmayr, 2015). (3) There were also no restrictions on the type of publication or study, as content of interest to our categorization could be found in both theoretical-conceptual and empirical articles. (4) The language of publication was limited to German and English-language contributions.

Exclusion criteria for the literature selection were the following. (1) Contributions dealing with aspects of the hidden curriculum in kindergarten or tertiary education (universities, further education). (2) Contributions dealing with very specific domains, such as medical education, which mostly takes place outside primary and secondary education anyway. (3) Contributions from the field of special education, in which, for example, clinically relevant samples (e.g., children diagnosed with ADHD or Asperger's syndrome) are addressed. (5) Contributions that did not contain information relevant to at least one of the categories of interest (group or social norms, group roles and role attributes, media for transmission of and compliance with norms, effects of the hidden curriculum, coping with mechanisms and effects of the hidden curriculum) were also excluded.

2.3 Literature selection

Figure 1 shows the flow diagram illustrating the search strategy and study selection (Page et al., 2021). The initial search via databases and registries resulted in 267 records; after the exclusion of 20 duplicates, the titles and abstracts of 247 records were screened, as a result of which 128 records could be excluded. Of the remaining 119 articles, 38 were not available even through intensive searching, resulting in the detailed screening of a total of 81 articles. Of these, 62 contributions were excluded because at least one of the above inclusion criteria was not met or at least one of the above exclusion criteria was present. The initial search via other methods initially identified 22 basically relevant records, of which four were not available even after intensive search and 14 contributions had to be excluded on the basis of content criteria. Thus, the four remaining contributions and the 19

contributions that were identified via databases and registers make a total of 23 contributions that were included in the scoping review.
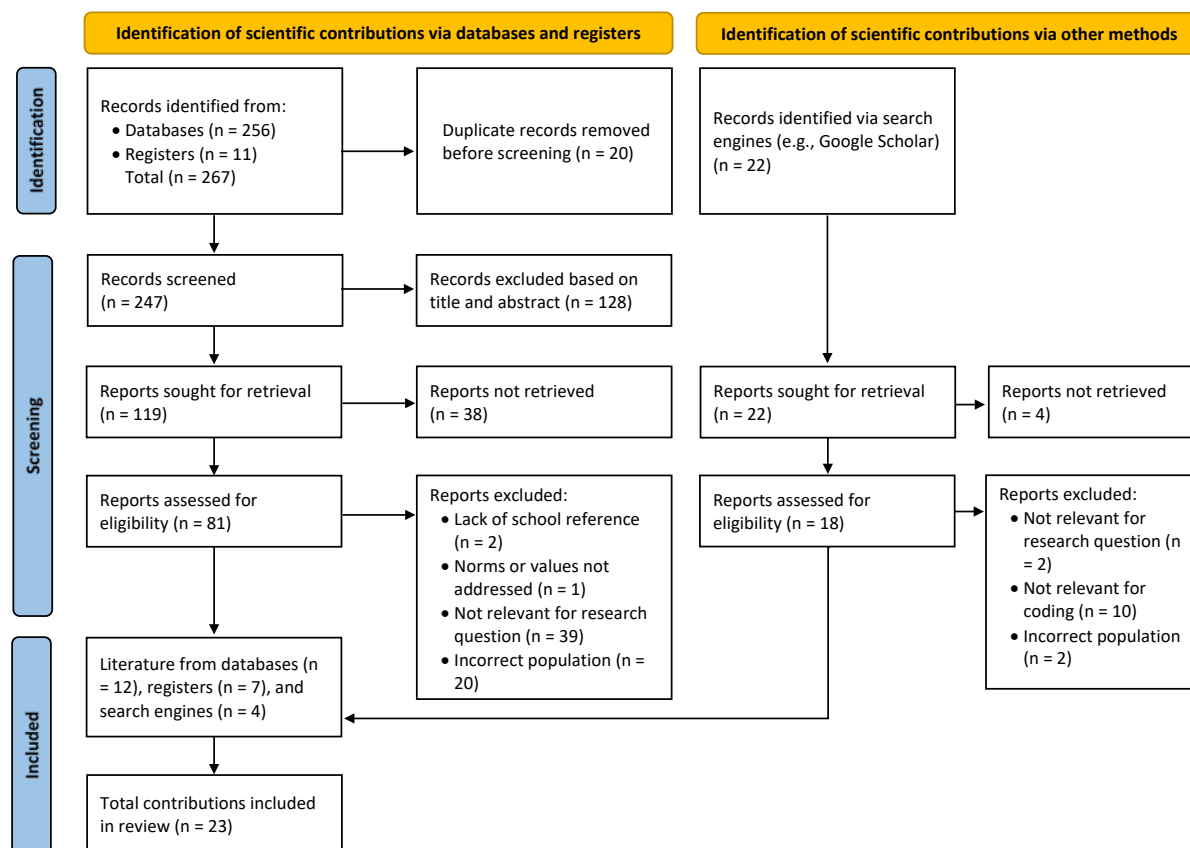

Figure 1. Flow Diagram of Search Strategy and Study Selection (adapted from Page et al., 2021)

Table 1 contains information on the 23 included contributions. With regard to years of publication, eleven articles were published up to the year 1990, three between the years 2001 and 2010, and nine articles from the year 2011 onwards. In total, two chapters in edited volumes, nineteen journal articles, one conference paper, and one monograph were included in the literature corpus (Table 1). Thirteen articles were theoretical-conceptual contributions, seven were identified as qualitative research (e.g., ethnographic studies, interviews, observations, textbook analyses), two as quantitative research (e.g., questionnaire studies), and one as a mixed methods study. The countries in which the empirical studies were conducted include Denmark, Germany, Indonesia, Jordan, Mexico, Sweden, Turkey, the UK, and the USA. Regarding the samples investigated in the empirical studies, they range from sixteen to 9,297 pupils and from one to 428 teachers. Furthermore, textbooks were used as research objects in two studies. Regarding the type of school, five studies were conducted in primary schools and five in secondary schools.

Table 1. Overview of the Included Contributions

No.	Year	Authors	Title	Publication type	Type of contribution	Sample	Country	School, grade
1	2012	Acar	Hidden curriculum contributing to social production-reproduction in a math classroom	Journal article	Qualitative research	Pupils (N=20), teacher (N=1)	USA	PS, 4th gr.[4]
2	2017	Al.qomoul & Al.roud	Impact of hidden curriculum on ethical and aesthetic values of sixth graders in Tafila Directorate of education	Journal article	Quantitative research	Pupils (N=120)	Jordan	PS, 6th gr.
3	1971	Apple	The hidden curriculum and the nature of conflict	Journal article	Theoretical-conceptual	—	—	—
4	1979	Apple	What correspondence theories of the hidden curriculum miss	Journal article	Theoretical-conceptual	—	—	—
5	1983	Apple & Beyer	Social evaluation of curriculum	Journal article	Theoretical-conceptual	—	—	—
6	1987	Assor & Gordon	The implicit learning theory of hidden-curriculum research	Journal article	Theoretical-conceptual	—	—	—
7	2015	Brandmayr	The hidden mechanisms in political education: On the relation between school structure and knowledge on the example of the "base-concept"	Journal article	Theoretical-conceptual	—	—	—
8	2006	Cotton	Teaching controversial environmental issues: Neutrality and balance in the reality of the classroom	Journal article	Qualitative research	Teachers (N=3)	UK	SS, stud. aged 16–18 years
9	1968	Dreeben	On what is learned in school	Monograph	Theoretical-conceptual	—	—	—
10	1989	Fend	"Pedagogical programs" and their effectiveness. The example of reinterpretation of school norms and expectations in the age group[1]	Chapter in edited volume	Quantitative research	Pupils (N=9,297)[2]	Germany	SS, 6th, 8th, 9th gr.
11	1985	Fingerle	From Parsons to Fend – Structural-functional school theories[1]	Journal article	Theoretical-conceptual	—	—	—
12	2013	García & De Lissovoy	Doing school time: The hidden curriculum goes to prison	Journal article	Theoretical-conceptual	—	—	—
13	1978	Giroux	Developing educational programs: Overcoming the hidden curriculum	Journal article	Theoretical-conceptual	—	—	—
14	1981	Giroux	Schooling and the myth of objectivity: Stalking the politics of the hidden curriculum	Journal article	Theoretical-conceptual	—	—	—
15	1979	Giroux & Penna	Social education in the classroom: The dynamics of the hidden curriculum	Journal article	Theoretical-conceptual	—	—	—
16	1985	Hannay	Cultural reproduction via the hidden curriculum	Conference paper	Qualitative research	Pupils (N=30)	USA	SS, 10th gr.
17	2018	Munk & Agergaard	Listening to students' silences – A case study examining students' participation and non-participation in physical education	Journal article	Qualitative research	Pupils (N=16)	Denmark	SS, 7th gr.
18	2013	Rahman	Belonging and learning to belong in school: The implications of the hidden curriculum for indigenous students	Journal article	Theoretical-conceptual	—	—	—
19	2021	Sánchez Aguilar	Gender representation in EFL textbooks in basic education in Mexico	Journal article	Qualitative research	Textbooks (N=3)	Mexico	PS
20	2009	Sari & Doğanay	Hidden curriculum on gaining the value of respect for human dignity: A qualitative study in two elementary schools in Adana	Journal article	Mixed methods research	Pupils (2,254/16), teachers (428/10)[3]	Turkey	PS, 4th to 7th gr.
21	2015	Schmidt	Hidden curriculum revisited	Chapter in edited volume	Theoretical-conceptual	—	—	—
22	2008	Thornberg	'It's not fair!' – Voicing pupils' criticisms of school rules	Journal article	Qualitative research	Pupils (N=141), teachers (N=13)	Sweden	PS, pre-school class, 2nd and 5th gr.
23	2020	Yumarnamto et al.	Identity and imagined communities in English textbooks illustrations	Journal article	Qualitative research	Textbooks (N=3)	Indonesia	SS, 10th to 12th gr.

Note. [1] The original German-language titles have been translated into English for the overview. [2] Fend (1989) reports results of a secondary data analysis. The primary data survey is described in Helmke (1983, p. 70f.). [3] Quantitative study: 2,254 pupils, 428 teachers; Qualitative study: 16 pupils, 10 teachers. [4] PS = Primary school, SS = Secondary school, gr. = grade

2.4 Coding of the contributions

In order to answer the research questions on the basis of the identified scientific contributions, the contributions were analyzed with regard to their content. Relevant information was coded according to an inductively-deductively developed category system (Mayring, 2000), which is presented in Table 2. In addition to the main categories described below, Table 2 includes corresponding subcategories including content definition and illustrative example statements from the coded literature. The coding of the contributions was conducted using the software MAXQDA (2022 version), whereby the consistency of the content-related interpretations and categorizations was considered via consensual validation by both authors.

For the content analysis of the included contributions, we use as a basis the following main categories corresponding to our research questions mentioned in section 1, which in turn can be subdivided into the subcategories shown in Table 2:

Group norms. Firstly, it should be noted that the terms 'norm' and 'values' are used in a wide variety of (justificatory) contexts, can refer to a wide variety of subject areas (e.g., actions, objects), and can have different functions (e.g., legitimizing desirable situations, sanctioning undesirable ones), which is why it is difficult to identify uniform or even generally binding definitions of these terms (Heid, 2006). In the social science sense, norms are usually defined as shared belief systems that are effective even in the absence of codified legislation (Habermas, 1968). Norms are closely related to values, although values are more abstract than norms, which are legitimized by values. Norms have the purpose of setting behavioral expectations toward other individuals in a society; they serve to consolidate and maintain social order and enable interpersonal interactions, but at the same time they constrain individual action through expected and universal behavior (Sperlich & Geyer, 2018). In group constellations, such as school classes, individual group members usually internalize the underlying value system and try to act according to it, in which case we speak of norm-conforming behavior (Nijstad & Van Knippenberg, 2014; Turner, 1991). Group norms can be prescriptive or descriptive in nature. Prescriptive norms have a prescriptive character and define what 'should be', whereas descriptive norms simply describe the behavior that exists and can be observed (Luhmann, 1969; Nijstad & Van Knippenberg, 2014). Furthermore, it should be noted that social norms are relative in nature and depend, among other things, on the age group being considered in each case. Fend (1989, p. 189) describes it as a "cultural conflict between society's conception of normality and the counter conception of the youth phase." Here, the respective conceptions of norms sometimes diverge widely: where, for example, a sense of community, social closeness, unconditional acceptance, meaningfulness, and hedonism are important for young people, an individualistic performance orientation, the instrumentality of the learning content for the professional career, asceticism, duty, an unconditional will to perform, competitive behavior, and an instrumental way of coping with life are expected from (performance) society, its institutions, and its actors.

Group roles and role attributes. Norms, in the sense of behavioral expectations, pertain to the individuals acting in a social context. The individuals concerned have a specific position or role in the social arrangement. In the context of a school, the role of a student exists, as does its complementary opposite, the role of a teacher. Expectations associated with a role consist of the role-holder's

expectations of himself or herself and the expectations that other stakeholders have of the roles in question (Dahrendorf, 1958/2010; Nijstad & Van Knippenberg, 2014; Scherr, 2013).

Media for transmission of and compliance with norms. In addition to social norms per se and group roles and role attributes, there are both material and immaterial or social aspects, objects, or structural elements to consider that promote the transmission of norms in the classroom and their maintenance (e.g., Giroux & Penna, 1979).

Effects of the hidden curriculum. It can be assumed that the hidden curriculum and the associated reproduced norms, as well as the media for transmission of and compliance with norms, have an impact on the individuals concerned as well as on society, which is why the two subcategories mentioned are differentiated and coded accordingly (e.g., Fend, 1989; Garcia & De Lissovoy, 2013).

Coping with mechanisms and effects of the hidden curriculum. Finally, one can question the coping measures that actors can take in order to counteract or prevent dysfunctional developments associated with the hidden curriculum. Corresponding measures can be assigned to the level of the institution, the individual level, or the group level, and can range from individual coping efforts up to the de-tabooing and disclosure of norms, thus making them accessible to the class or school's internal discourse (Habermas, 1988).

Table 2. Categories of the Systematic Text Analysis

Main category	Subcategory	Category description	Example statement
Group norms	Universalism	All students within a class structure are evaluated according to the same objective standard (Dreeben, 1968; Fend, 2008).	"At the same time, they [students] experience that they are treated by others (teachers and classmates) not as special individuals, but as members of the same age-homogeneous group who all have to meet the same requirements" (Schmidt, 2015, p. 125; translated TK).
	Specificity	Personal characteristics of students should not influence the evaluation of performance. The performance assessment must relate to specific behavior (Dreeben, 1968; Fend, 2008).	"[...] the characteristics and concerns that should be included within the range, whether broad or narrow, are those considered relevant in terms of the activities in which the persons in question are involved" (Dreeben, 1968, p. 75).
	Achievement	Specific behavior and/or virtues such as diligence, discipline, order, ambition, or motivation, which are recognized as achievements. Personal success is measured by general social standards; the goals are often externally motivated (Dreeben, 1968; Fend, 2008; Lechleiter, 2016; Schwartz & Sagiv, 1995). Education for the willingness to perform sensu Heid (1992).	"[...] knowledge is appreciated for its instrumental market value" (Giroux & Penna, 1979, p. 24).
	Independence	Independence, acting on one's own responsibility, and emphasizing individuality; in an extreme case, egoism (Dreeben, 1968; Fend, 2008).	"In most traditional classrooms, students work in an isolated and independent fashion. This is usually rationalized by educators on the grounds that it fosters independence. In part, this is true, but it fosters a type of independence that precludes the development of social relationships among age peers and adults that promote opportunities to share and work in an interdependent fashion society" (Giroux & Penna, 1979, p. 38).
	Conformity	Conformity of one's own ideas to majority opinions and behaviors and the sometimes unquestioned internalization of norms and conventions (Treiber, 1994). Restrictions on actions that violate social conventions (Lechleiter, 2016; Schwartz & Sagiv, 1995).	"Instead of preparing students to enter the society with skills that will allow them to reflect critically upon and intervene in the world in order to change it, schools act as conservative forces which, for the most part, socialize students to conform to the status quo" (Giroux & Penna, 1979, p. 32).
	Rivalry and competition	Students compete for limited classroom resources (e.g., good grades and attention) and compare themselves to classmates (Fend, 2008).	"Performance expectations are intensifying into increasing pressure to succeed, and the social relationships among classmates are strained by increasing competition." (Fend, 1989, p. 189; translated TK)
	Temporal rhythmization	Structural characteristics of schools favor behavior aimed at synchronization and adherence to strict time constraints (e.g., number and duration of lessons, breaks). This includes external	"Events in the classroom are governed by a rigid time schedule imposed by a system of bells and reinforced by cues from teachers while the class is in session. Instruction and, hopefully, some formal learning usually begins and ends because it is the correct predetermined time, not because a

		structural moments as well as process-immanent time structures (Dreyer, 2008; Sembill & Dreyer, 2009).	cognitive process has been stimulated into action" (Giroux & Penna, 1979, p. 35).
Group roles and role attributes	Teachers' power and influence	Power structures and social roles are clearly distributed in the classroom and are generally not called into question. Teachers have higher status and more authority and can exert influence on students and the distribution of resources through their power to legitimize and sanction (Helsper, 2004).	"Consequently, the power and authority of the teacher and the work ethic were accepted as components of a fair educational exchange" (Hannay, 1985, pp. 30–31).
	Pupils' passivity	Student acceptance of hierarchical structures. Students accept their passive role in the class system and react rather than acting proactively (Sembill et al., 2002).	"The particular, then, included the passive acceptance of the power and authority, social stratification, and the work ethic" (Hannay, 1985, p. 7).
	Pupils' need for recognition	Students seek affirmation from the teacher in order to feel socially recognized and valued. The teacher can assert power and influence through his or her role as a central reference person (Schrodt et al., 2008).	"Praise and power in the classroom are inextricably connected to one another. While students may find themselves in a position occasionally in which they can evaluate each other, the unquestioned source of praise and reproof is the teacher" (Giroux & Penna, 1979, p. 31).
	Pupils' need for belonging	Students seek social affiliation, they are afraid of being socially excluded, and they may develop inauthentic behaviors to signal interest and affiliation to the teacher (e.g., looking interested) (Schrodt et al., 2008).	"In particular, the socially less respected students appeared to be torn between the expectations of the interviewer and the expectations of the most dominant and socially respected students in the class, between sharing their experiences of participation and refraining from praising the curriculum change" (Munk & Agergaard, 2018, p. 381).
Media for transmission of and compliance with norms	Teachers via feedback	Evaluations by the teacher in the form of verbal expressions but also non-verbal behavior in the classroom through gestures and facial expressions which express praise or criticism (e.g., Acar, 2012; Assor & Gordon, 1987; Giroux, 1978).	"Rewards are extrinsic, and all social interactions between teachers and students are mediated by hierarchically organized structures" (Giroux & Penna, 1979, p. 31).
	Teachers via attitudes and beliefs	Attitudes, positions, habits, beliefs, and ideologies that are communicated verbally or non-verbally by teachers in the classroom, whether intended or not (e.g., Hannay, 1985; Giroux & Penna, 1979).	"Whilst it is commonly stated that no teaching is value-free, teachers may be unaware of the ways in which their own attitudes and values are manifested and transmitted through their teaching practices" (Cotton, 2006, p. 238).
	Teaching materials and media	Any teaching materials (e.g., textbooks, worksheets) and media used in the teaching process that subliminally communicate certain views and attitudes (e.g., Apple, 1971; Yumarnamto et al., 2020).	"Social studies materials such as this [...] can contribute to the reinforcing and tacit teaching of certain dominant basic assumptions and, hence, a pro-consensus and anti-dissension belief structure" (Apple, 1971, p. 35).

	Teaching subject	Subject-related content that subliminally communicates certain views and attitudes (e.g., Apple, 1971; Giroux & Penna, 1979; Hannay, 1985).	"But before any study of classroom social relations is put forth, it must be made clear that the content of what is taught in social studies classes plays a vital role in the political socialization of students" (Giroux & Penna, 1979, p. 29).
	Social relationships	Influences of peer relationships and relationships between students and teachers on individual behavior, which may be associated with group-related symptoms, such as exerting pressure on those who think differently (Janis, 1991).	"Students through their daily personal and group experiences learned to accept the dictates of others" (Hannay, 1985, p. 7).
	Routines and rituals	Formalized and often unreflective internalized and routinized procedures and behaviors (e.g., standing up when teacher enters the room) (von Kopp, 2001; Wellendorf, 1979; Zimmermann, 2003).	"The hidden curriculum is essentially the process of socialization that takes place in the school as students are exposed to the routines and rituals that structure classroom culture" (Garcia & De Lissovoy, 2013, p. 51).
Effects of the hidden curriculum	Individual level	Effects on individuals, especially students. These can be negative effects (e.g., psychological consequences) as well as positive effects (e.g., on those who benefit from the hidden curriculum) (e.g., Dreeben, 1968; Fend, 1989).	"Thus, this system of norms contains two threats: first, potential self-deprecation if appropriate performance cannot be achieved, and second, potential social isolation if the individualistic competitive orientation with its socially differentiating impetus is followed unabated. The prototypes of endangerment are thus the depressed and the ambitious but isolated student" (Fend, 1989, p. 190, citing Dreeben, 1968, and Parsons, 1959; translated TK).
	Societal level	Effects on the society. These can be negative effects as well as positive effects (e.g., Apple, 1971; Garcia & De Lissovoy, 2013; Giroux & Penna, 1979).	"Thus, the hidden curriculum replicates social conditions of precarity under the gaze of the accountability regime" (Garcia & De Lissovoy, 2013, p. 65).
Coping with mechanisms and effects of the hidden curriculum	Individual level	Individual strategies students use to cope with the mechanisms and effects of the hidden curriculum (Moos, 1988).	"[...] students would develop cognitive mechanisms that allow them to reject contradictory and disturbing inputs from the school's hidden curriculum. These mechanisms would include operations such as [...] causal attributions that change the value of inputs [...] and limiting the value of the contradictory inputs to a very specific context (lack of generalization)" (Assor & Gordon, 1987, pp. 337–338).
	Group level	Group-related strategies and interventions against unintended mechanisms and effects of the hidden curriculum, such as the de-tabooization and disclosure of corresponding implicit mechanisms (e.g., Cotton, 2006; Fend, 1989; Giroux, 1978).	"With controversial issues, students need to be taught to examine critically the information they are given and the attitudes or values that have led to its production, and this requires teachers to be acutely aware of the beliefs and attitudes that underlie their own teaching" (Cotton, 2006, p. 238).

Institutional level	Strategies and countermeasures at the level of the institution, which include, for example, the framework conditions of the school or legally binding and prescribed structures (Dreeben, 1968; Giroux, 1978; Sari & Doganay, 2009).	"What is needed to move beyond these positions is a view of the hidden curriculum that encompasses all the ideological instances of the schooling process that 'silently' structure and reproduce hegemonic assumptions and practices" (Giroux, 1981, p. 301).

3. Findings

In the following, we summarize the results of the literature review based on the categories listed in Table 2. As an advance organizer and for better orientation, a category overview in the form of a word cloud is provided in Figure 2. The text sizes shown in the figure represent the prominence with which the individual content categories are represented or discussed in the articles reviewed.
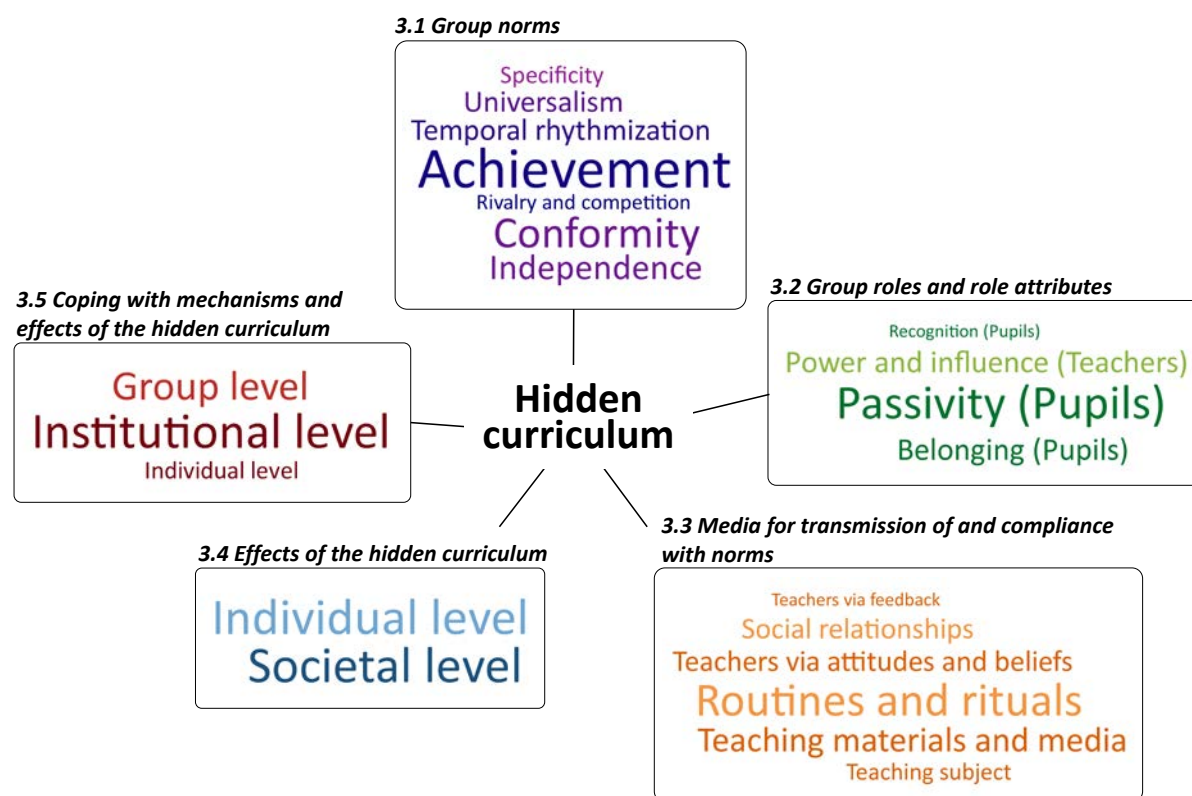

Figure 2. Overview of the Categories in the Presentation of Results

3.1 Group norms

3.1.1 Universalism

School as a social institution influences the development of children and adolescents because they are treated as members of an age homogeneous group and have to fulfill the same requirements (Schmidt, 2015). In contrast to family socialization, where children are treated as special individuals, in school students learn the norm of universalism and accept being treated as members of categories or groups (Dreeben, 1968). The structural patterns of school, such as performance assessment, also serve as a selection process, but this is veiled by the hidden curriculum. The school tacitly enforces a particular culture as the general standard of assessment (Brandmayr, 2015; Fingerle, 2008; see also Parsons, 1968).

3.1.2 Specificity

The school offers opportunities for the development of the norm of specificity through its organizational structure. The size and heterogeneity of the student group increases the number and diversity of social contacts, though these are usually more fleeting and less intense than in family relationships. Moreover, students form specific relationships with teachers over the course of their schooling, which become increasingly differentiated as subject specialization and the number of students increase. The norm of specificity here refers to the scope of one person's interest in another, which may be limited to relevant characteristics and interests or may be broader. In the context of performance evaluation, the personal characteristics of students must not influence performance evaluation. The performance evaluation must relate to a specific behavior (Dreeben, 1968; Fingerle, 2008).

3.1.3 Achievement

The group norm of achievement can be characterized in terms of different facets. Firstly, the literature points to a dominance of externally motivated effort. Students are thus rewarded for exhibiting discipline, subordination, intellectually oriented behavior, and hard work, independent of intrinsic motivation (Giroux & Penna, 1979; see also Bowles & Gintis, 1976). These qualities are rewarded independent of any effect on academic achievement. The rewards remain external because students think that school grades are analogous to work on the job and must meet external standards (Hannay, 1985). Intrinsically motivated learning takes on secondary importance compared to the student's ability to demonstrate proficiency on an externally set test. The valuation of acquired knowledge and skills lies in its instrumental value in the competitive market (Garcia & De Lissovoy, 2013; Giroux & Penna, 1979).

Secondly, achievement is evaluated as the pure result of personal effort. The normative system in school establishes a standard of evaluation for all students based on individual performance. Success or failure is considered to be the result of personal effort and personal achievement and is described in socially comparative terms. Students accept this premise and accordingly try to perform their tasks as well as possible (Dreeben, 1968; Fend, 1989; see also Parsons, 1959).

Thirdly, there is the internalization of external performance expectations and the associated recognition of personal failure when externally set standards are not met. Students differentiate themselves over time based on their performance in various tasks, most of which require symbolic skills (Dreeben, 1968). Assessment standards do not only apply in the classroom and are not limited to cognitive domains. Identification with the teacher and ongoing assessment processes lead students to orient themselves to and align their behavior with predetermined standards (Dreeben, 1968; Fingerle, 2008). Not only do teachers evaluate cognitive performance, but other behaviors, too, are incorporated into performance evaluations (Fend, 1989; Fingerle, 2008; Giroux, 1978). Students learn in the course of school socialization to attribute responsibility for their failures to themselves and see themselves as inadequate for higher intellectual pursuits (Fend, 1989; Fingerle, 2008; see also Parsons, 1968). School can thus be described as a place that uses "symbolic violence" to reproduce society and social relations (Brandmayr, 2015, p. 149).

3.1.4 Independence

Within the norm of independence, students in school learn to complete tasks on their own and take responsibility for their institutionalized or domesticated learning (Acar, 2012). Independence can imply feelings of competence and autonomy for some students, but for others it can imply a heavy burden of responsibility and their own incompetence (Dreeben, 1968). Teachers expect students to work independently, which can foster independence but may limit the development of social relationships among peers and adults (Dreeben, 1968; Fingerle, 2008; Schmidt, 2015). In the classroom setting, seating arrangements can lead students to learn to be quiet and isolate themselves from others. They learn to be isolated within a group, which limits sharing information and speaking with others (Giroux & Penna, 1979; Giroux, 1978; see also Jackson, 1968).

3.1.5 Conformity

Within the context of the norm of conformity, schools have a socializing effect and help students learn to conform to social norms and expectations. Schools are places where hierarchies and status differences emerge. Students who perform well while demonstrating conformity to the school's assumptions of conformity gain prestige (Dreeben, 1968; Fend, 1989). The school system also has an impact on students' personality development. Some studies suggest that the school fosters intellectual conformity in its most 'successful' students, rather than developing critical and creative intellectual qualities (Giroux, 1978). The school system thus also reflects and reproduces the existing power relations and social structures of society. Students are prepared for a role as employees and are taught to conform to the existing order rather than to critically question or actively change it (Apple, 1971; Apple & Beyer, 1983; Giroux & Penna, 1979; Hannay, 1985; Jackson, 1968).

3.1.6 Rivalry and competition

With regard to the norm of rivalry and competition, the contributions reviewed indicate that the school as an institution has the function of creating equal opportunities for all students and that students should learn skills that make them competitive in post-industrial society by focusing on achievement and individual profiling. However, it is questioned whether schools can meet these requirements and whether the skills learned can actually lead to social mobility (Dreeben, 1968; Fend, 1989; Hannay, 1985). As a result, individual pressure to perform increases and social relationships are negatively strained by competitive situations between students (Fend, 1989; Giroux & Penna, 1979).

3.1.7 Temporal rhythmization

In the context of the norm of temporal rhythmization, the articles reviewed address the contribution of the school system to the restriction of students' temporal freedom and self-determination. The rigid schedule and teachers' control over students suppress initiative and spontaneity in students' thoughts and actions. Instead, time in school is often used to work through the curriculum as efficiently as possible and prepare students for standard tests (Giroux, 1978; Giroux & Penna, 1979). In the process, economic norms such as punctuality, neatness, and compliance are also taught (Apple, 1979). Fixation on schedules and standardization of information also limit opportunities for authentic learning and

demoralize students. The school system thus reproduces social hierarchies and promotes conformity to the working conditions of the precarious labor market (Garcia & De Lissovoy, 2013).

3.2 Group roles and role attributes

3.2.1 Teachers' power and influence

The literature reviewed first provides information on the teacher's role and the associated attributes of power and influence. Both teachers and principals have the authority to set rules and make decisions that must be accepted by students (Hannay, 1985; Thornberg, 2008). Classroom activities are based on the assignment of tasks by the teacher, who provides all students with comparable requirements. Grades can serve as a vehicle for enforcing teacher norms and beliefs in this regard. Students thus learn in school to evaluate and treat individuals based on their social position rather than their individual identity. Furthermore, they learn that those in positions of power often have the right to make both rational and arbitrary rules that they themselves do not necessarily have to follow (Dreeben, 1968). Students learn in this way to accept authority and rules and to navigate a hierarchical system (Giroux, 1978; 1981).

3.2.2 Pupils' passivity

With regard to the role of students, passivity is prominently addressed in the literature reviewed. Some authors emphasize that students are prepared by school for a role of subordination to authority figures (e.g., Garcia & De Lissovoy, 2013; Hannay, 1985), while others point out that students also learn how hierarchies function in society (e.g., Apple, 1971). Students sometimes unquestioningly accept authority, social hierarchies, and the prescribed work habits. They are taught how to deal with authority and hierarchies and are less encouraged to voice their own opinions and question prevailing norms (Garcia & De Lissovoy, 2013; Giroux, 1978; Giroux & Penna, 1979; Hannay, 1985). Although this type of learning may be necessary for the functioning of the social system, it is worrisome for a democratic society because students are taught not to question authority in its various manifestations (Hannay, 1985). However, some students oppose the expected norms and attitudes in school. In such cases, students may not only act passively in school, but also actively act creatively, which often contradicts school and work expectations (Apple, 1971).

3.2.3 Pupils' need for recognition

Another attribute of the student role is the need for recognition. Here, the identification of students with the teacher has a motivating character. Associated with this is the extent to which the students want to impress the teacher, or not, in order to gain recognition through their behavior (Fingerle, 2008; see also Parsons, 1968). Students are expected to follow the rules of communication, to show proper manners, to listen and not speak when the teacher is speaking, to ask for help from the teacher when needed, and to ask permission before walking around the classroom (Rahman, 2013). Praise and power are inextricably linked in this regard, as teachers are the undisputed source of authority and power in the classroom (Giroux, 1978; Giroux & Penna, 1979).

3.2.4 Pupils' need for belonging

The third major attribute of the student role is the need for belonging. The literature provides information that the social popularity of students is not necessarily related to their performance in school, but can also be characterized by behavior that does not conform to the norms, and oppositional behavior toward authority (Fend, 1989; Munk & Agergaard, 2018). Students who are successful in school have usually learned to 'play the game' well and understand the hidden rules of school culture that are not explicitly taught but emerge through educational experience (Rahman, 2013). There may also be conflicts between the institutional rules of the school and students' desire for recognition and prestige, which can be satisfied either in accordance with or at a distance from those rules (Fend, 1989; Giroux, 1978).

3.3 Media for transmission of and compliance with norms

3.3.1 Feedback of teachers

As a medium for transmission and compliance with norms, the literature reviewed indicates that the teacher is involved through the use of feedback. Teachers use rewards to motivate students, and rewards and sanctions are an important means for teachers to influence both academic and non-academic student behavior. The literature reviewed illustrates that the hidden curriculum and how teachers use rewards and sanctions can have a major impact on students' attitudes, behaviors, and values (Giroux, 1978; Giroux & Penna, 1979). It is emphasized that teachers' authority is exercised not only through overt sanctions, but also through the way they reproduce social relationships and values. This can have effects on students and influence how they position themselves in society and how they see themselves (Acar, 2012; Assor & Gordon, 1987).

3.3.2 Attitudes and beliefs of teachers

The literature reviewed provides indications that the role of the teacher in the transmission of norms, values, and attitudes is often underestimated and that the hidden curriculum is shaped by teacher interactions and behaviors and the organization of the school environment. Teachers unconsciously convey their own norms, values, and attitudes through their teaching and educational behaviors, which in turn has an impact on students (Cotton, 2006). Corresponding views can be considered part of the hidden curriculum, which is determined by the teachers' attitudes and behaviors rather than a formal curriculum. This includes teachers' expectations of students in terms of their learning and behavior in school (Acar, 2012; Al.qomoul & Al.roud, 2017; Hannay, 1985; Rahman, 2013). Moreover, the way knowledge is selected, organized, and presented represents a priori assumptions of the teacher about its value and legitimacy (Giroux & Penna, 1979).

3.3.3 Teaching materials and media

Teachers have a significant influence on the way lessons are organized and structured, including the selection of teaching materials and media (e.g., textbooks, videos). This, in turn, contributes to the reproduction of norms, conventions, and values that can, for example, reproduce and reinforce specific

role conceptions or culture-specific ideas and perspectives, stereotypes, and ideologies (Acar, 2012; Aguilar, 2021; Al.qomoul & Al.roud, 2017; Apple, 1971; Yumarnamto et al., 2020).

3.3.4 Teaching subject

Another facet of the transmission of norms, values, and conventions is the subject content and its perspectival presentation. Some of the literature reviewed criticizes the way history is written and presented, for example, which is sometimes one-sided (Apple, 1971; Hannay, 1985). For example, it is pointed out that students in social studies are taught a consensus theory of science that does not adequately reflect the seriousness of controversy and disagreement in scientific discourse (Apple, 1971). It is also emphasized that what is taught in social studies plays an important role in the political socialization of students and that curriculum developers should focus on a sociopolitical perspective that concentrates on the relationship between education and justice (Giroux & Penna, 1979).

3.3.5 Social relationships

Furthermore, norms are conveyed and transmitted through social relationships. Social relationships in schools are characterized not only by teacher-student relationships, but also by relationships among students, which can be infused with power and hierarchy dynamics (Hannay, 1985). The literature reviewed provides evidence that the structure and hierarchy of the group, and a student's position within that group, can have a major impact on how they behave and what courses of action are available to them. It is indicated that pressure to conform socially and fear of negative evaluation by peers may cause students to adjust their behavior and statements or to withdraw altogether (Giroux, 1978; Giroux & Penna, 1979; Hannay, 1985; Munk & Agergaard, 2018). In such threat situations, students may become more closely aligned through norms of solidarity and may level individual differences (Fend, 1989).

3.3.6 Routines and rituals

The hidden curriculum is transmitted and maintained through various factors such as routine practices and rituals, rules and regulations, power and authority relationships, interaction patterns, and cultural practices. It is pointed out that the hidden curriculum is not necessarily consciously controlled, but rather a consequence of everyday (unconscious) school practices, which have a powerful effect on students as they are socialized through their daily interaction with routines and rituals in school. In the process, they learn which rules and behaviors are acceptable and which are not. This often occurs through the transmission of norms, values, and attitudes that are not explicitly taught but are conveyed through daily exposure to school rules and rituals (Acar, 2012; Apple, 1971; Garcia & De Lissovoy, 2013; Hannay, 1985; Thornberg, 2008; see also Schimmel, 2003).

3.4 Effects of the hidden curriculum

3.4.1 Individual level

The normative system in schools poses at least two major threats at the individual level: potential self-deprecation if performance cannot be achieved, and potential social isolation if competitive pressures become too strong (Dreeben, 1968; Fend, 1989; see also Apple, 1971 and Parsons, 1959). Under conditions of high normative congruence, achievement-related failures may have greater significance for students' self-evaluation. In lower secondary schools, the internalization of school expectations may be less relevant because the degrees are weighted less, allowing students to cope with their psychological problems more by reducing the importance of school expectations. This is more difficult in high school because of the greater recognition of school certificates. However, high school is more identity threatening when students cannot meet high expectations. Successful achievement in school, while an important experience for students can also lead to psychological problems, especially when it comes to balancing individual success with being equal in the peer group (Fend, 1989; see also Specht & Fend, 1979).

3.4.2 Societal level

Regarding the effects of the hidden curriculum at the societal level, the literature reviewed reveals that it serves to prepare students for a capitalist labor market in a neo-liberalist influenced post-Fordist society characterized by uncertainty, constant change, pressure to be flexible and to adapt, and sometimes precarious work conditions (Garcia & De Lissovoy, 2013; see also Marazzi, 2011). The hidden curriculum thus replicates social conditions of uncertainty and control from the perspective of the accountability regime (Garcia & De Lissovoy, 2013), while also revealing that teachers' working conditions are often themselves characterized by uncertainty and external control. Students are prepared to be obedient and to submit to the conditions of a precarious work life (Apple, 1971, 1979; Giroux & Penna, 1979).

3.5 Coping with the mechanisms and effects of the hidden curriculum

3.5.1 Individual level

With regard to coping with the corresponding effects of the hidden curriculum, the literature reviewed points to different options at the individual level, which can be divided into the categories of emotion-oriented, problem-oriented, and appraisal-oriented (cognitive) coping. With regard to emotion-oriented coping, Dreeben (1968) points out, students who perform poorly in school are forced to participate in activities that will lead them to failure. This experience of failure leads students to develop strategies to maintain their personal self-esteem. Failure is a particularly difficult condition, however, because it requires recognition that the principle of achievement, to which failure itself is partly attributable, is a legitimate principle upon which to base one's actions. In industrial societies, where many aspects of public life are based on performance principles, situations that force people to live with personal failure are ubiquitous.

In terms of problem-oriented coping, it is emphasized that it is important to understand the latent assumptions and values that shape educational culture and how they can influence the reproduction or transformation of social structures. The literature also points to the need to provide students with the political and conceptual tools to deal with the complex reality with which they are faced (Apple, 1971). In terms of practical implications, it is emphasized that teachers should question and examine the cultural influences that shape their work and how they affect the interests of students and society as a whole (Giroux, 1981).

Furthermore, the literature points to possibilities of appraisal-oriented coping. According to this view, students will reject the school's hidden instructional program when they are exposed to contradictory, out-of-school influences that simultaneously have high reward value. To protect the cognitive structures constructed by out-of-school influences, students develop cognitive mechanisms such as selective attention or classification of information to reject contradictory inputs from the school's hidden curriculum (Assor & Gordon, 1987; see also Greenwald, 1980).

3.5.2 Group level

The literature reviewed also points to different ways of dealing with the mechanisms and effects of the hidden curriculum at the classroom or group level. With regard to the design of concrete teaching arrangements, a positive group dynamic should be emphasized and cooperation should be encouraged in order to reduce social differences and foster social competencies (Fend, 1989; see also Specht & Fend, 1979). Group work and self-determined learning can be an effective method to enable students to learn from each other. In this context, it seems generally important that students learn to question information critically and to analyze and evaluate the underlying values and attitudes together with the teacher in a discursive-dialogical mode of communication. Teachers should be aware that their own beliefs and attitudes can influence the way they convey information and knowledge to students and reflect on this in an appropriately professional manner (Cotton, 2006; Giroux, 1978; 1981; Giroux & Penna, 1979).

3.5.3 Institutional level

Finally, the literature suggests ways to deal with the usually negatively accentuated effects of the hidden curriculum at the institutional level, especially in terms of the educational system and school culture. These include the training of administrators and teachers in democratic values, the development of a school culture based on respect for human dignity, and the introduction of alternative forms of classroom instruction and performance assessment that are appropriate for students with different backgrounds and abilities (Dreeben, 1968; Giroux, 1978; Sari & Doganay, 2009). Another important point is the open, de-tabooed and, if necessary, institutionalized critique of the hidden curriculum and underlying norms, conventions, values, and ideologies that are reproduced by the structures of the school system and the teaching methods (Giroux, 1981). Also, a school and classroom culture in which teachers minimize extrinsic rewards and allow students to control the external conditions of their learning and make decisions independently may be conducive to minimizing negative effects of the hidden curriculum (Giroux, 1978; Giroux & Penna, 1979).

4. Summary and Conclusions

Although the studies under review originate from different times and emerge in different scientific paradigmatic contexts, our literature review provides a rich summary of research on the hidden curriculum. To the best of our knowledge, we have tried to compile an exhaustive selection of relevant literature and, in particular, empirical contributions in line with our search strategy. One of the main findings of our study in terms of the particular research methodology used shows that there is a lack of solid empirical studies on the hidden curriculum. Against this background, our study can also be seen as a starting point for further empirical research, for example by developing interview questions for qualitative studies or items for standardized questionnaire studies from our category system. The content-related results with regard to the constituting elements of the hidden curriculum can be summarized as follows. In terms of a functionalist perspective the literature reviewed provides evidence that social norms condition roles, role attributes, and role-related behavior, but at the same time are themselves reproduced by them (for example, through role behavior that conforms to norms). Persons in certain social roles use media to transmit and comply with norms, which can be material objects (e.g., cultural artifacts such as textbooks) and/or immaterial characteristics (e.g., means of communication in social interaction). Corresponding transmission media refer to certain roles and role attributes (e.g., class-specific occupational representations in textbooks), thus shaping, enabling, or limiting certain norms, which, in turn, require corresponding media in order to exist functionally in social practice. In terms of an ontological perspective, we first note that different stratifications are involved in what we have called conditions and mechanisms of the hidden curriculum. As our literature review shows, the individual, the group (e.g., school class or peer group), the institution (e.g., school), and society are all influenced by the conditions and mechanisms of the hidden curriculum. This can manifest itself, for example, in the fact that individuals behave in a certain way or evaluate facts in a certain way depending on their respective roles and the norms that apply in a group, or that certain conventions apply within institutions and are reproduced through certain media. On the other hand, each individual ontological stratification in its own way enables the conditions and mechanisms of the hidden curriculum described above, just as forms of dealing with and coping with the mechanisms and effects of the hidden curriculum come into play in each stratification.

To illustrate this point, a number of the papers included in this review criticize what has come to be called neo-liberalist ideology and its effects (e.g., Apple, 1971, 1979; Garcia & De Lissovoy, 2013; Giroux & Penna, 1979; Hannay, 1985; Marazzi, 2011). According to Mudge (2008), neo-liberalism as an economic, political, social—one could also say overall societal—ideology has an intellectual, a political, and a bureaucratic facet, the latter being characterized in particular by liberalization, deregulation, privatization, depoliticization, and monetarism. Norms and values associated with the aforementioned ideological concepts find their way into general institutional educational and work goals and into the definition of what are nowadays called transversal competencies and demanded from individuals (e.g., acceptance of individual planning uncertainty, readiness for constant change and flexible adaptation to changing occupational conditions, employability in the sense of marketing oneself in the labor market; e.g., Garcia & De Lissovoy, 2013; Marazzi, 2011; Münch, 2018, 2020; Pongratz, 1987; Voß & Pongratz, 1998). Corresponding educational and work goals, in turn, ultimately

determine what is taught and learned in the general and vocational school system via the relevant explicit and implicit curricula (e.g., LeCompte, 1978). Moreover, in addition to the acquisition of factual knowledge and concrete skills, these goals condition the acquisition of normative or moral views and ideas (e.g., Beck et al., 1996; Lempert, 1981, 1998; see also the concept of normalizing power according to Foucault, 1975/2021). At the level of concrete workplaces, neo-liberalist influenced norms and values in terms of indirect control concepts become apparent in the fact, for example, that management tasks are consistently assigned to employees at all hierarchical levels, individual responsibility for one's own contribution to the company's purpose is emphasized, and the requirement to legitimize one's own employment through the achievement of company-determined goals is made clear (Krause et al., 2012; Mustafić et al., 2021; Peters, 2011). In corresponding forms of business practice, the granting of self-determined participation is determined less by respect for the autonomy of the addressees of any kind of requirements than by business management rationales. Freedom of decision and action, and the assumption of responsibility for one's own decisions and actions, are not granted here, but rather imposed for economic reasons. Analogous to managerial practice, demanding and promoting self-determined participation can in principle also aim at perfecting heteronomy in educational practice (Heid, 2005; Heid et al., 2023).

Both the employment system and the education system are the results, objects, and goals of political action. Both systems, as well as their interconnection, must be justified by argumentative justification, social legitimization, and political will-building. There is no hierarchical relationship between the two systems since they derive their justification from the same premises. Concepts or practices that propose a hierarchy cannot be justified theoretically; rather, they are ideological in nature (Heid, 1977). According to LeCompte (1978), in order to prepare people for the above-mentioned working conditions, the school assumes a central role through a hidden curriculum as, among other things, normative concepts of authority, standardization, work, performance, time, and order are taught. However, schools could also live up to their role in the democratization process. In this context, people would have to be supported in developing the ability to address claims to validity that have become problematic discursively and as objectively and knowledgeably as possible, and to examine their justification. This would be linked to the goal of justifying actions in the light of valid norms or the validity of norms in the light of principles worthy of recognition (see Habermas, 1984, 1988).

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