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## Credible Subject Or Callow Intruder? Social Studies in the Secondary School

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### *Abstract:*

*After a chequered history, social studies is now developing a higher profile and greater credibility in secondary schools, the defining factor being its inclusion for national qualifications since 2002. This article links the progress of social studies in New Zealand secondary schools to the three stage subject development model postulated by Layton in England. It is argued that Layton's descriptors of a mature subject have mostly been achieved, despite predictions to the contrary by Openshaw and Archer (1992) and Barr (2000). However, there is still much work to be done to sustain and enhance the status and credibility of the subject.*

**H**ow far has social studies progressed in its bid to gain acceptance and credibility in New Zealand secondary schools? This article links the growth of social studies in secondary schools to the three-stage historical model postulated by Layton in 1972. Layton analysed the development of science in England from the nineteenth century, suggesting a tentative three-stage model for the emergence of school subjects in the secondary school curriculum (cited in Goodson, 1988). His model traced the development and acceptance of a subject discipline from inception to maturity, providing a number of descriptors for each of the three stages.

In the first stage:

The callow intruder stakes a place in the timetable, justifying its presence on grounds such as pertinence and utility. During this stage learners are attracted to the subject because of its bearing on matters of concern to them. The teachers are rarely trained specialists, but

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bring the missionary enthusiasm of pioneers to their task. The dominant criterion is relevance to the needs and interests of the learners.

By stage two, the interim middle stage:

A tradition of scholarly work in the subject is emerging along with a corps of trained specialists from which teachers may be recruited. Students are still attracted to the study, but as much by its reputation and growing academic status as by its relevance to their own problems and concerns. The internal logic and discipline of the subject is becoming increasingly influential on the selection and organisation of subject matter.

The final stage, that of acceptance and maturity, ends on a somewhat negative note:

The teachers now constitute a professional body with established rules and values. The selection of subject matter is determined in large measure by the judgements and practices of the specialist scholars who lead inquiries in the field. Students are initiated into a tradition, their attitudes approaching passivity and resignation, a prelude to disenchantment. (Cited in Goodson, 1988, p. 165)

Openshaw and Archer summarised these three stages using key terms for each stage. In stage one, the subject is regarded as a callow intruder, justified for its utility or relevance to "society". In its second stage, "experts" emerge, and the subject begins to generate its own internal logic. The third stage is characterised by the acquisition of a professional body. Here they added another descriptor – that of "acquisition of university status" (1992, p. 56).

Writing the year before the *New Zealand Curriculum Framework* was published (1993) and two years before the hotly contested writing of the *Social Studies in the New Zealand Curriculum* document began,<sup>1</sup> Openshaw and Archer (1992) argued that New Zealand secondary school social studies had attempted to move into stage two by the 1960s. Barr (2000), writing after the third and final draft of the *Social Studies in the New Zealand Curriculum* document had been mandated, also had confidence that social studies had reached, or was reaching, stage two. Both authors were pessimistic that the subject would ever reach stage three, that this would remain a pipe dream of social studies enthusiasts, although Barr conceded that social studies had moved some distance towards stage three (2000, p. 10). While the fortunes of the small social studies community have waxed and waned over the last one and a half

decades, the introduction of social studies as a subject in the senior school for national qualifications since 2002 is a defining factor in enhancing its credibility and status in secondary schools.

Social studies was conceived as a new subject for the compulsory sector of secondary schools by the Thomas Report published late in 1943 (Department of Education, 1943) but was not implemented as a compulsory core subject until after the publication of the *Regulations* in 1955 (Department of Education, 1955). There have only ever been two mandated documents for social studies – the first was published in 1961 but limited to primary schools (Department of Education, 1961). The second, which covered all curriculum levels, but was only mandatory for Years 9 and 10 of the secondary school, was not published until 1997 (Ministry of Education, 1997). In the intervening 36 years, there were policy documents relating to Years 9 and 10 published in 1977 and 1991 respectively. The progression of social studies within the senior secondary school was largely contingent upon a credentialing system acknowledging the subject. Hunter and Keown claim that this began for social studies with the development of unit standards by the New Zealand Qualifications Authority in 1996, but it was hindered by the changes to the curriculum statements between 1994 and 1997 (2001, p. 64). Very few schools adopted social studies unit standards, and if they did, it was for a very short time. In contrast, a small number of schools implemented sociology unit standards and maintained these until well after the introduction of NCEA social studies in 2002.

Since the publication of articles by Openshaw and Archer (1992) and Barr (2000), the introduction of the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) in 2002 established social studies as a subject eligible for assessment for qualifications in the senior secondary school.<sup>2</sup> For the first time in its sixty year history, the subject had credibility in the national credentialing system. This recent implementation of social studies in the senior secondary school is the key factor in its future growth and acceptance as a “real subject”. The enthusiastic uptake by a small but growing number of social studies specialists may well have a trickle-down effect on the effective teaching of the subject in the junior secondary school, and result in a strengthening of the small community of committed social studies teachers. In 2005, 51 schools were implementing senior social studies in at least one externally assessed achievement standard of the three assessment levels.<sup>3</sup> There are likely to be more schools which offer the internal achievement standards only.

## Development of Social Studies

The remainder of this article traces the development of social studies, following the descriptors put forward by Layton, recognising that not all the descriptors used to trace the development of science in 19th century England will be applicable to social studies in New Zealand in the 21st century. The author’s doctoral research on the implementation of social studies in the senior secondary school, plus personal observations from a long involvement in teaching social studies, provide evidence for many of the arguments.

### *The first stage*

The first descriptor Layton outlines in the following terms:

The callow intruder stakes a place in the timetable, justifying its presence on grounds such as pertinence and utility. (Cited in Goodson, 1988, p. 165)

Social studies was certainly regarded with distrust when introduced into secondary schools in the late 1950s, especially by teachers of the humanities and social sciences such as history, geography and civics (Openshaw & Archer, 1992, p. 50). In the event, civics ceased to remain a secondary subject and became the citizenship focus for social studies.

Various brands, “ ‘an interloper’, ‘a hybrid non-subject’, ‘politically correct nonsense’, ‘not a real subject’ ” (Barr, 2000, p. 6) and “the Cinderella of the curriculum” (Openshaw, 1996, p. 159), to quote just a few, social studies has had more than its share of critics and opponents, both teachers and academics. It was regarded as having less academic rigour than the more established subjects of history and geography, though Openshaw and Archer claim that in fact prior to the Thomas Report neither geographers nor historians in New Zealand were entirely sure about their future role in the education system either. In each case the relative insecurity of the subject discipline governed reactions to the fledgling social studies (1992, p. 50). The integrated nature of the new subject was seen as a weakness. Being taught in the junior secondary school by committed geographers and historians, in the main, social studies tended to become a sort of diluted history or geography for many classes, rather than fulfilling the aims of the new subject. The ongoing tension between history, geography and social studies has been noted (Aitken, 2003, pp. 8-9).<sup>4</sup>

On the other hand, a more positive spin was provided by policy writers, who established social studies as a holistic, integrated, multi-

disciplinary subject which *was* pertinent and useful to students' lives. The theoretical underpinnings of social studies were based on the three traditions or approaches of social studies in the USA – traditions identified by Barr, Barth and Shermis (1977) of social studies being taught as:

- citizenship transmission
- social science
- reflective inquiry.

Chapin (2003) notes that a fourth tradition, that of personal development, was added by Marsh in 1991. More recently, the social criticism/reform/critical pedagogy approach has been added (p. 14).

Barr (1998) combined these traditions to articulate the "twin goals" of social studies – the knowledge of how society operates (social literacy) and developing in students the skills of effective citizenship (p. 108). The position paper published by a group from the University of Waikato (Barr et al., 1997) before the publication of the final version of *Social Studies in the New Zealand Curriculum*, represented the first time a group of social studies educators in New Zealand had examined the international literature on social studies, and put forward a paper that considered its theoretical underpinnings. The New Zealand Curriculum Marautanga Project has developed this work since 2004 by commissioning a further position paper, this one on all the social sciences.

By taking on board the role of what was formerly called civics, social studies has stressed its relevance to society, past, present and future. The focus on people – in groups, communities, and wider society – means that social studies has had close ties to sociology, as well as to political science, anthropology, and the more traditional social sciences. The key concepts of roles, rights and responsibilities of individuals in groups have been a focal point, as has the goal of effective participation as citizens in a democratic society. The twin goals of social studies as stated in the Thomas Report:

- (a) to assist in the development of individuals who are able to take their parts as effective citizens of a democracy; and
- (b) to deepen pupil's understanding of human affairs and to open up wide fields for personal exploration (Department of Education, 1959, p.27);

certainly revealed a commitment to students' lives both as individuals

and within a wider democratic society. The goals of effective, participatory citizenship have remained similar over the sixty year history of social studies, with the aim of the current document being "to enable students to participate in a changing society as informed, confident, responsible citizens" (Ministry of Education, 1997, p. 8).

Aitken believes that there has long been a strong alignment between citizenship and social studies (2005, p. 87). Overseas, the United States has long had a focus on civics, and more recently there have been programmes introduced within social studies syllabuses in western democratic societies mandating citizenship education (e.g., the Discovering Democracy programme in Australia since 1994 (ASSCo, 1994) and the Citizenship Education programme in United Kingdom schools at Key Stage 3 and 4 as a result of the 1998 Crick Report). Barr (2000) argues that while social studies curricula internationally vary from country to country, most are very similar in terms of aims, suggested pedagogy and structure. All have similar general goals related to effective citizenship and generally espouse inquiry learning which incorporates thinking, valuing and decision making (p. 8).

In conclusion, it can be claimed that social studies in New Zealand fully illustrates Layton's first descriptor.

Layton adds a second descriptor as follows:

During this stage learners are attracted to the subject because of its bearing on matters of concern to them. The dominant criterion is relevance to the needs and interests of the learners. (Cited in Goodson, 1988, p. 165)

Until recently, social studies has only been taught in the compulsory sector of the secondary school, so students had little choice. An examination of the exercise books from a fourth form student of Phoebe Meikle, an early proponent of social studies education from Takapuna Grammar School, reveals a fairly traditional mix of history, geography and classics.<sup>5</sup> Meikle (1994) did, however, promote local area studies as an important component of the new social studies proposed by the Thomas Report. The themes of Social Control for Year 9 (Form 3) and Social Change for Year 10 (Form 4) were widely adopted after the publication of the 1977 Syllabus (Department of Education, 1977) but in most social studies classes, lessons were underpinned by the social science parent subject or specialism of the teacher, especially history and geography. It would be difficult to argue that the dominant criterion was relevance to the needs and interests of the learners.

More recently an attempt has been made to consider the needs of the learners more in topic selection. Personal observations reveal many instances of secondary classes engaging in challenging, student-centred learning, debating contemporary issues of global importance. In the junior secondary school especially, issues of social justice and human rights appeal to the sense of fairness in students at this age. In effect, such debate encourages active and effective participation by students in their communities. Berman urges schools to help students “fight their feelings of powerlessness by developing their sense of community and their confidence that they can make a difference in the world” (1990, p. 75). The three social studies processes of inquiry, values exploration and social decision, with the possibility of students taking responsible social action, encourage such participation and empowerment.

Similarly, other western democracies are embracing social constructivism as a means of engaging students in authentic, real life learning experiences, where the teacher is viewed as the collaborator in the learning, rather than the transmitter of wisdom (Scheurman, 1998). Traditionally, civics helped students understand the structures of government in order, supposedly, for them to participate in the future. But Heater (1999) maintains that education for civic literacy, which he terms delayed citizenship, is meaningless for students. Instead, the more meaningful active learning through community participation, which he terms civic participation, is more empowering for students. Similarly, the notion of the “Third Way” as promoted by Giddens, emphasises social inclusion, connectedness and participation (cited in Kirton & Brighouse, 2001). Putnam (2000), writing in relation to the United States, analyses in depth the decline in civic engagement in local communities since a peak in the mid 1960s, and calls for re-engagement with communities. As our understanding of the nature of citizenship is changing, so too is the nature of citizenship education, with a much more hands-on involvement in constructive local action in local communities.

Teachers introducing social studies into the senior secondary school are finding the freedom from rigid prescription gives them scope to tailor their programmes to meet the needs and interests of the learners much more easily than in the more traditional social science subjects. They report students’ enthusiasm for contemporary studies based on social justice issues.<sup>6</sup>

Further, Layton suggests that:

The teachers are rarely trained specialists, but bring the missionary enthusiasm of pioneers to their task. (Cited in Goodson, 1988, p. 165)

Initially teachers of social studies in Forms 3 and 4 (Years 9 and 10) had their first allegiance to their own senior social science subject such as history, geography or economics, and many teachers of junior social studies in fact had no social science background at all. It was often assumed by school administrators that “anybody can teach social studies.” In fact, such teachers did not bring missionary zeal to the teaching of this subject, and it was taught in ways at variance with the syllabus aims and guidelines. The author found that, even for committed teachers, it was difficult to articulate the rather loose goals of social studies. Very little professional development was provided for the new subject for the first fourteen years, and it was not until 1959, when Phoebe Meikle ran a one week course in Feilding, that such support was provided for secondary teachers (Meikle, 1994).

The early policy documents for primary school social studies quite clearly prescribed content to be taught as well as more general goals. The first policy document specifically targeted at secondary social studies was the 1977 syllabus which provided an integrating framework for Forms 1-4 (Years 7-10). For each of the four years, there was a theme and lists of important ideas to be developed. This document was widely adopted and gave clear guidance to teachers of junior social studies. In 1991, a *Handbook for Teachers Forms 3 & 4* also provided guidance for teachers at this level and was widely used, although Aitken noted that it was constrained by the requirement that it be based on the 1977 syllabus (Aitken, 2003, p. 3).<sup>7</sup>

Barr argues that these early documents for secondary school social studies provided a source of content and skills but were very light on theory and goals (personal communication, April 23, 2005). Whilst teachers were keen to accept the guidance they provided, they were still unclear about the true purpose of the subject. Writers were historians and geographers and few, if any, had experience of curriculum design, according to Barr. Chapin (2003), writing about the development of social studies in the United States, regarded the rather “loose” goals as a hindrance in this multidisciplinary subject, in which teachers found more security in teaching to their single discipline strength (p. 14).

The development of a small but growing group of teachers whose primary allegiance is to social studies is finally beginning to emerge in

secondary schools. These are the pioneers in introducing this new subject, often working in isolation as the only teacher of senior social studies in their school. Without text books or previous examination systems and scripts, and lacking the plethora of resources which surround a well-established subject, these teachers are the new missionaries Layton referred to. The creation of the Beacon Schools' Project by the Ministry of Education since 2004 has provided strong support to these enthusiastic teachers.<sup>8</sup> The intention of the project is for them to spread their expertise to other teachers in their schools and to other schools in their communities.

### *The second stage:*

Layton characterises this interim stage as follows:

A tradition of scholarly work in the subject is emerging along with a corps of trained specialists from which teachers may be recruited. (Cited in Goodson, 1988, p. 165)

While the body of research internationally on social studies is not large, in New Zealand it is even smaller. Few would deny that the community of committed social studies educators is tiny. A few authors began publishing in the late 1970s, and this has grown in subsequent decades. In the last two decades, some New Zealand researchers have focused their studies at masters and doctoral level on social studies education. There are strong links with the development of social studies in other western democracies, most notably Australia and the United States.

In terms of publications from the social studies community, initiatives originally came from the regions such as Waikato, where the local association started in the 1960s and produced its own publication, the *Social Studies Observer*, while Auckland produced a magazine called *Changes*. The national journal, the *New Zealand Journal of Social Studies*, commenced publication in 1992, editorship being based at the University of Waikato. There are now moves to require a portion of this journal to be peer reviewed.<sup>9</sup>

At teacher education institutions, social studies for the junior secondary school has long been offered, but has tended to be seen as a "second string" for those teachers who have a strong background in history or geography. Now that such institutions are offering modules on teaching senior social studies, a corps of trained specialists is starting to emerge which can only augur well for the future of the subject.

At this stage, according to Layton:

Students are still attracted to the study, but as much by its reputation and growing academic status as by its relevance to their own problems and concerns. (Cited in Goodson, 1988, p. 165)

Social studies in the junior secondary school has long suffered from being part of the compulsory core curriculum. This lack of choice by students, coupled with a lack of enthusiasm of some teachers who have not had their heart in it, has relegated social studies to a less than popular subject for many students. This low status has been reported in several official reports in recent years.<sup>10</sup>

In those classrooms, however, where teachers have the confidence to debate the issues of the day, and are able to engage in collaborative, social constructivist pedagogical methods, the author noted that students enjoy being challenged about issues that relate to their own lives. The teacher is seen as the collaborator in the learning, not just the facilitator. Moreover, there is the motivation to achieve a national qualification in this subject. This descriptor lends itself to further empirical research, which would be very timely.

In addition, in this second stage, Layton suggests that:

The internal logic and discipline of the subject is becoming increasingly influential on the selection and organisation of subject matter. (Cited in Goodson, 1988, p. 165).

As mentioned previously, New Zealand social studies developed from the three traditions espoused by Barr, Barth and Shermis (1977). Meanwhile, Marsh's fourth tradition, that of personal development, has tended to become encompassed in the health curriculum. Critical thinking, the third tradition, is firmly embedded in the social studies skills processes, as well as in other areas of the curriculum. Throughout its sixty year history, the four "pillars" of social studies learning – knowledge, skills, values and attitudes – first identified in the earlier documents, have been maintained in various ways. While the knowledge is now incorporated into five strands, the skills have been developed into the three social studies processes, one of which is values exploration. Internationally, there are similarities in both the knowledge and skills propounded for this multidisciplinary subject.

As far as social studies skills are concerned, critical social inquiry is now the favoured approach in the USA, the UK and Australia. The three processes of the New Zealand social studies curriculum – inquiry, values exploration and social decision making – work in an interrelated way to

help students examine social issues from a variety of perspectives and to enable them to be in a position to take social action in their communities. The tension between teacher as transmitter of knowledge and teacher as social activist, which Openshaw and Archer (1992) alluded to as first emerging in the 1970s, is re-emerging in some senior social studies classes.<sup>4</sup>

Officials from the Ministry of Education have acknowledged the low level of funding accorded to social studies over the years, compared with that allocated to other subject areas, and are currently acting to address this (Alison Dow, personal communication, December 17, 2004). For example, the Ministry included social studies in both the National Exemplars Project and in the Best Evidence Synthesis contracts. Although it discontinued funding for the Social Studies Online website, hosted on the Ministry Te Kete Ipurangi (TKI) site from December 2003, it is supporting a new social sciences site on the revamped TKI, due to open in 2007. A series of concept booklets, Beacon Schools' Resources and others, will be available on that site. Such initiatives, whether by the Ministry or groups of teachers, serve to reinforce the internal logic and discipline of the subject, provide guidance to teachers on the appropriate selection and organisation of subject matter, and keep them abreast of changes in pedagogy.

### *The final stage*

This is the stage at which, in Layton's terms:

The teachers now constitute a professional body with established rules and values. (Cited in Goodson, 1988, p. 165)

Although social studies was seen to be the latecomer on the scene, it established a professional body somewhat earlier than the historians. The geographers established the New Zealand Board of Geography Teachers (NZBoGT) in 1974, social studies teachers established the Federation of Social Studies Associations (FoSSA) in 1986, and finally the history teachers established the History Education Council in 1990, later to become the New Zealand History Teachers' Association (NZHTA) in 1994. FoSSA has since been renamed the Aotearoa New Zealand Federation of Social Studies Associations (ANZFSSA).

ANZFSSA has had periods of energy and growth, and others of passivity. Primary teachers tend not to be strong supporters, despite the curriculum encompassing Year 1 to Year 13; the other associations such as NZHTA and NZBoGT address only Years 11-13. Most secondary

teachers belong to more than one subject association and have at times had to choose between their subject conferences, which were held separately in widespread locations at the same time.

ANZFSSA has its own website, a waiata, a journal, and has had annual conferences from the late 1980s on throughout the 1990s. While the *New Zealand Journal of Social Studies* has had productive times, it has also languished for want of copy in other years. Similarly, conferences, held annually throughout the 1990s, a period of intense curriculum development, have been held less frequently during the early years of the 21st century.

In November 2003, the Social Sciences Curriculum Facilitator at the Ministry of Education, Sandra Cubitt, called together a number of social science educators in order to commence dialogue on the direction of the new social sciences curriculum statements required as a result of the New Zealand Curriculum Stocktake (Ministry of Education, 2002). For the first time ever, a number of educators, mostly secondary and tertiary, with a smaller representation from the primary sector, came together to discuss common ground and build their identity as one of the eight Essential Learning Areas in the New Zealand Curriculum, as part of the Curriculum Marautanga Project. A number of working parties followed on from this first hui, with the commissioning of papers and the contract for Best Evidence Synthesis. This project has helped grow the community to some extent.

One of the main outcomes of this recent phase of curriculum development, and especially of the November 2003 hui, was the concept of hosting a combined social sciences conference. The inaugural SocCon2005 conference was held in Wellington in September 2005, planned by a committee representing the four major subject associations. Social studies specialists took a lead role in organising this conference, with ANZFSSA activists comprising six of the twelve positions on the planning committee. Perhaps due to their multi-disciplinary approach, these people were keen both to celebrate the identity of social science as one of the eight Essential Learning Areas of the New Zealand Curriculum, as well as to maintain the integrity of individual subject disciplines. A group of social studies enthusiasts from Auckland has taken the initiative in commencing planning for a similar event to be held there in 2007. A downside of this could be that there is not the energy within ANZFSSA to produce Social Studies Conferences in the in-between years. This could well have a negative impact on the strength of ANZFSSA.

An important criterion of this final stage relates to decisions on curriculum content:

The selection of subject matter is determined in large measure by the judgements and practices of the specialist scholars who lead inquiries in the field. (Cited in Goodson, 1988, p. 165)

The establishment of the twin goals of social studies, embracing both the knowledge of how society operates and the skills with which to participate effectively in society, can be traced through the curriculum developments of the 1990s and subsequently. The *knowledge* component is organised via a number of strands, each of which has aims and achievement objectives which stress the importance of conceptual understanding which can be applied in a number of contexts. Hence content is not prescribed. Similarly the three social studies *process* skills allow teachers and students scope to critically examine selected topics. This lack of prescription is seen to be a strength by specialist scholars and by teachers offering senior social studies. Leadership in the social studies community has reinforced the value for teachers of senior social studies of using critical social inquiry to study contemporary social issues.

Openshaw and Archer (1992, p. 56) inserted "acquisition of university status" as a descriptor for a subject achieving maturity. For the more traditional history and geography, the universities have generally had a role in establishing content, and in the past were involved in the setting of the Bursary examinations, abolished in 2003. The absence of social studies as a subject *per se* at university level could be seen to be a disadvantage in that students may not regard it as a subject that will lead them into university study. The relationship between a school subject and its university parent discipline is discussed by Aitken. A school subject develops from, and references itself to, its parent discipline within the university, whilst the nature and meaning of the subject in school is sustained by the discipline beyond the school. In fact, social studies students are able to select from a range of university offerings such as sociology, political science, anthropology, economics, history, geography and social policy. Aitken argues that the consequence of this lack of direct relationship means that social studies "has lacked defining reference points from within (among teachers) and from without (academic disciplines in the universities)" (Aitken, 2003, p. 9).<sup>11</sup>

The improved status of social studies at university level is shown by the recognition it now has as one of the list of subjects approved for acceptance of students into university courses. It does not yet have sufficient students for the Level 4 scholarship examination to be offered in social studies, but this is likely to change as numbers increase (personal communication, NZQA official to author as President, ANZFSSA, December, 2003).

At this final stage, Layton suggests that:

Students are initiated into a tradition, their attitudes approaching passivity and resignation, a prelude to disenchantment. (Cited in Goodson, 1988, p. 165)

While this could be true, especially in the junior secondary school due to the compulsory nature of the subject, it is to be hoped that the enthusiasm engendered by the Beacon Schools teachers and other senior social studies teachers will trickle down to other classes. Schools which offer senior social studies take a wide variety of approaches, from those which offer a mix of unit standards and internally assessed achievement standards to their less academic students, to those which offer a number of achievement standards.

Openshaw and Archer (1992), in summarising Layton's descriptions of each stage, did not include references to students' changing acceptance of subjects during their evolution. Without empirical research on this topic, it is difficult to make such connections to Layton's ideas. The difference for social studies is that now for the first time in its sixty year history, it is a subject not just of compulsion, but also of choice.

## Conclusion

An historical overview will highlight both highs and lows in the development of a subject. The periods of intense activity for secondary school social studies would clearly be the protracted curriculum negotiations of the 1990s which resulted in the 1997 curriculum document, the introduction of senior social studies and aspects of the work involved in the New Zealand Curriculum Marautanga Project. Periods of intense activity are often followed by periods of lesser intensity. Regions tend to have a lull after the hosting of a conference, for example.

The community of social studies enthusiasts is still undeniably small. Many secondary teachers maintain their primary allegiance to their

other social science specialism. "Subjects and disciplines are in constant flux" (Goodson, 1988, p. 165), and this is certainly the case in social studies in New Zealand schools. Social studies teachers are now, however, no longer apologetic, and are starting to identify strongly with social studies as their major subject. This is a cause for optimism.

The defining factor which has precipitated this change and which provides evidence that social studies could be reaching the final stage of Layton's model is the introduction of senior social studies since 2002. The continued growth of this implementation, over all three assessment levels and in a larger number of schools, has the potential to consolidate and expand the community of committed secondary social studies teachers. Taught well in schools by teachers with missionary zeal, it is once again being seen as the "interloper" in some schools, taking away students from the more traditional social science subjects.

Layton's model, derived from a different subject in a different era, may seem inappropriate for tracing the development of social studies over the past sixty years. It does, however, provide a framework and some goal posts against which the subject's progress can be measured. It is to be hoped that the credibility of social studies as a subject discipline which empowers students for effective participation in their communities will continue to grow over the next decades.

#### Notes

1. Three versions of *Social Studies in the New Zealand Curriculum* were produced – 1994 (first draft); 1996 (revised draft); 1997 (final mandated document).
2. Introduced by the New Zealand Qualifications Authority over three successive years – Level 1 in 2002; Level 2 in 2003; Level 3 in 2004.
3. Source: New Zealand Qualifications Authority.
4. Aitken, G. (2003). *Content compulsion and curriculum construction: The case of Essential Learning About New Zealand Society*. Unpublished manuscript, pp. 8-9.
5. Reade, L. (1952). Social studies exercise books, as a student in Phoebe Meikle's class at Takapuna Grammar School, Form 4.
6. Taylor, R. (2003). Research notes for EdD Thesis *Implementation of the values exploration process in the social studies curriculum: What are the "tensions of practice" for senior secondary school teachers?* Palmerston North: Massey University.
7. Aitken, G. (2003), p. 3. Refer Note 4 above.

8. The Beacon Schools' Project, comprising ten schools offering senior social studies, was set up by the Ministry of Education to disseminate good practice, 2004-2005.
9. ANZFSSA AGM Minutes, September 28, 2005.
10. Education Review Office. (2001). *The New Zealand Curriculum: An ERO perspective*. Wellington, ERO; Flockton, L., & Crooks, T. (2001). *Social Studies Assessments Results 2001*. Dunedin: Otago University (National Education Monitoring Programme – NEMP); McGee, C. (2003). *National Sampling Survey Chapter 7: Social Studies Questionnaire*. Wellington: Ministry of Education; Ferguson, S. (2002). *Report on the New Zealand National Curriculum*. Report from the Australian Council for Educational Research, commissioned by the New Zealand Ministry of Education as part of the New Zealand Curriculum Stocktake.
11. Aitken, G. (2003), p. 9. Refer Note 4 above.

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