

Social Studies Within and Across Borders: Exploring the Transfer of Ideas in Time and Space

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Abstract

This paper analyzes how general trends in American social studies curriculum ideas have made their way into British Columbia's (BC) social studies program over the last century. The findings explore how some concepts travel across international borders and the impact that local social, political and economic contexts play in influencing which ideas are integrated into curricula and which aren't. BC presents an interesting case study of globalization: local educational officials have often been open to curriculum change as they have understood BC to be a knowledge economy. The paper also comments on the impact that social, economic and political contexts and policy developers may play in relation to curricular change.

Keywords: history of social studies, curriculum reform

The History of Social Studies

During the nineteenth century, curriculum reform accompanied the expansion of public schooling in several nations. In the United States, a number of committees met at the end of the century to frame humanities education (Jorgensen, 2012; Ravitch, 2003; Saxe, 2003; Watras, 2003). These committees articulated the importance of history education. Continued social, economic, and political change led to more calls for school reform in the early years of the twentieth century.

Consequently, the American Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education of the National Educational Association (NEA) established, among other committees with the purpose of updating aims for schools, the Committee on Social Studies. Its members were variously influenced by contemporary thought on progressivism and social efficiency. They released the 1913 Preliminary Statement, the 1915 Civics Education Report and the 1916 Social Studies in Secondary Education report (Jorgensen, 2012; Nelson, 1994). The latter was an influential document as its recommendations served as the basis for the establishment of social studies in schools. The 1915 document illustrated the close connections between social studies and citizenship education that have continued down to the present in the "progressivist" (meliorist) version of social studies. Indeed, the 1916 report argued that citizenship education was the aim of social studies: "More specifically, the Social Studies of the American high school should have for their conscious and constant purpose the cultivation of the good citizen" (Nelson, 1994, p. 17).

The report conceptualized social studies in a fluid and flexible way, as the study of history and the social sciences with the aim of developing good citizens. Problem-based learning was included in the program, along with newly recommended courses in Community Civics and Problems of Democracy (an issues-based civics course). As the program was presented in an open manner and could be interpreted in varied ways, social studies has been subject to continued debate as to its meaning and purpose. Curriculum developments and reforms, further, have been implemented in an uneven and fragmented manner (Barton, 2009; Fallace, 2009; Watras, 2009) over the twentieth century (Broom, 2007a, 2008; Crocco, 2003; Evans, 2004; Ravitch, 2003; Saxe, 2003; Watras, 2003). While many national studies have deepened understanding of this complex course, few international studies exist comparing the conceptions, history, and trends of social studies at macro and micro levels in two nations. This paper addresses this dearth in knowledge through an international collaboration.

Overview

This paper presents a historical and comparative discussion of social studies policy and social studies curriculum reform in the United States and Canada (specifically, British Columbia [BC]). This comparison explores how educational philosophies and concepts have travelled across spaces and borders in particular social, political, and economic local conditions. In particular, the authors argue that the history of BC's social studies guides (at the level of curriculum documents) correlates with many American trends, whether meliorist/progressive, discipline-based, back-to-basics, or neo-conservative, and that these trends are generally connected to particular social, economic and political conditions. The authors do not consider how these ideas were implemented in teachers' practice or actual schools. The findings are focused on illustrating how general curriculum trends unfolded within one specific location and explore the associations between social, political and economic factors and curriculum reform. This work is particularly vital in an age when globalization forces are reshaping cultures and contexts, ideological battles are strong, and nations are being characterized as "knowledge based" (Hargreaves, 2002).

Contextual Terms and Perspective

During the research study, the investigators considered some key, contemporary forces that generally influence the movement of ideas and the context of social studies today, such as *globalization* (the open and fluid movement of ideas and products across space [Beck, 1999]), *knowledge societies* (nations which emphasize knowledge as an essential component of economic growth [Hargreaves, 2002]), and differing *ideological*, or political *positions*. These varying ideologies include: *neoconservatism* (which focuses on freedom, nationalism and traditional values), *neoliberalism* (which focuses on the free market), and *neomarxism* (which focuses on class differences, equity, social community and social justice) [Lauder, Brown, Dillabough, & Halsey, 2006]. The forces of globalization and varied ideologies play out within local spaces (at the level of educational policy development) that may be conceptualized as knowledge societies in unique ways. These forces interact with local social, economic, and political contexts to shape the manner in which social studies curriculum reform occurs.

Data Sources

The researchers analyzed primary documents including social studies curricula (Department of Education and Ministry of Education, 1930-2005), textbooks, the work of curriculum theorists and social studies associations, journals, such as *B.C. Teacher* (June, 1927-May 1937; November, 1965-November, 1968), *Exploration* (Feb. 1961)-Feb. 1969) and *Canadian Teacher* (November, 1938-June, 1940), archival resources (including Public School Reports, magazines, newspapers and teaching materials), and Government reports (such as Superintendent Reports, 1937-1969; Annual School Reports, 1925-1960) in both nations. BC archival materials were taken from North Vancouver, City of Vancouver, and provincial archives.

Both scholars identified the major historical trends and themes in each locale. They then collaborated in identifying similarities and differences and discussing the significance of the findings, particularly in relation to how educational ideas can cross international borders and influence local curriculum development. They kept the interpretative nature of history and the challenges of avoiding collective myths in mind during their research and writing (Jordanova, 2006).

Limitations of the Study

The US study focused on a general analysis of policy documents providing a “birds-eye” view of general trends. Themes were drawn out and represent abstractions of changes over time. They do not relate to one locale, but rather to ideological positions played out in writing or policy. Individual locations will differ to the extent that the general themes reflected at the national level are found in each place as they interact with local contextual factors. The BC case study is an exploration of the general themes identified in the US and is also subject to local contextual factors, plus others that include differing histories, conditions, and traditions to the US. The authors acknowledge that themes involving “generalizing” that can ignore local variants and that one local context does not fully “represent” general themes or movements. They see value in exploring the intricate connections between the global or general and the local or specific in relation to context, time, and place. They are interested in how ideas move and the implications of such movements for the creation and development of curricula. Further, they acknowledge that “curriculum” itself is a complex term and it is used here in the sense of the mandated or recommended curriculum, as illustrated in government-sponsored curriculum guides (the focus of their study). They understand that the curriculum can be understood in a number of ways (Glatthorn, Carr, & Harris, 1998). Both authors acknowledge that curriculum reform involves both continuity and change, that curriculum reform is multifaceted and complex and that recommendations often find their way into curriculum documents in partial ways (Barton, 2009; Fallace, 2009; Watras, 2009). For example, prior studies (Broom, 2007a, 2008) have demonstrated that reform of BC’s curricular documents usually occurred in a piecemeal manner. Over time, curriculum documents came to represent a “tapestry” of curricular approaches (Broom, 2008). Further, both authors acknowledge a gap between curriculum documents as enacted in policy and teachers’ classroom practice; reforms do not always find their way into teaching practice, which may remain focused on more traditional methods such as textbook readings, worksheets, lectures, and tests and quizzes (Evans, 2011a; Tyack & Cuban, 1995).

The aim of the study is to expand our understanding of how educational ideas at the general policy or academic level move through space and time in one specific, case study location. It does not explore changes to teaching practice, or the manner in which policy recommendations were or were not implemented at the local, school level since both of these have been studied elsewhere (Broom, 2011; Barton, 2009; Fallace, 2009; Watras, 2009).

Review of Trends in Social Studies and Key Features/Events in the United States

The history of social studies in the United States has taken place on at least two levels: one embodying rhetoric and theory, the other manifest in actual classroom practice. At the level of educational theory and rhetoric, the history is largely one of competing interest groups struggling over the direction of the curriculum (Kliebard, 1986). Among the groups are traditional historians, advocates of social science and inquiry, social efficiency educators, social meliorists, and social reconstructionists or critical pedagogues (Evans, 2004). Pendulum swings are a regular feature of social studies history. The influence of each group changes slowly over time: toward traditional and discipline-based curricula during conservative times; toward experimentation, child-centered and inquiry or issues-oriented curricula during liberal times (Evans, 2004). At the level of classroom practice, each interest group has had some influence, but the dominant pattern reflects the constancy of relatively traditional practices dominated by textbooks, teacher talk, and recitation (Evans, 2011a; Tyack & Cuban, 1995). The pattern of social studies reform history might be described in four overlapping phases.

Historians professionalized and created the traditional history curriculum in the 1890s (American Historical Association [AHA], 1899). Their program emphasized content-centered traditional history instruction, textbooks, memory and intellect, and had a strong influence from the 1890s to the 1920s and beyond (Evans, 2004; Saxe, 1991).

Progressive educators advocated stronger attention to the needs and interests of the child.ⁱ The ideas of Dewey strongly influenced the hybridized 1916 Report on Social Studies, and a modal pattern of courses was born (Dewey, 1899; Dewey, 1910; U. S. Bureau, 1916; Jorgensen, 2012). Progressive educators advocated child-centered, project-, or problem-centered approaches, exemplified by William Kilpatrick and Harold Rugg (Kilpatrick, 1918; Rugg, 1941) and focused on citizenship education. Conflicts over progressive education emerged in the late 1930s and continued into the 1950s, centered on the Rugg social science program, the teaching of American history, life-adjustment, and progressive education itself (Evans, 2007, Halvorsen, 2012).

Crisis and controversy engulfed progressive education in the 1950s as criticism of schooling and Cold War manpower fears led to a new academic focus (Rudolph, 2002). Sputnik unleashed funds for curriculum reforms in science and math, and later, social studies. The “New Social Studies” championed disciplined inquiry and discovery, with students as junior social scientists, but was superseded in the late 1960s by a “newer” social studies with a focus on social issues and humanistic education. Both reforms inspired controversy and led to the virtual end of funding (Evans, 2011b).

A Nation at Risk and other reports charged that mediocre schools had led to a decline in international economic competitiveness, and resulted in a new reform direction, emphasizing higher academic standards and, gradually, a focus on accountability via business model reforms. In social studies, the revival of history and geography combined with the new accountability emphasis led to more history and geography, a stronger focus on content coverage, and less attention to inquiry and issues (Evans, 2015).

In each case, the social, political, economic, and cultural context played a strong role in giving rise to each succeeding era of reform, as occurred in BC.

Review of Social Studies Trends in BC

Context

In Canada, some demands have been made for a national curriculum or more provincial curriculum collaboration (Canadian Intergovernmental Conference Secretariat [CICS], 2004; Council of Ministers of Education, Canada [CMEC], 1993). While these have not been effective overall as provincial governments assert their authority and priorities, some concepts such as multiculturalism and patriotic education have been pushed at the federal level and have influenced provincial curricula (Di Mascio, 2013). Further, provinces often share curriculum innovations and textbooks thus bringing some curricular similarities across the nation.

Previous work (Broom, 2008; 2011a; 2011b; Clark, 2004) has demonstrated that B.C.’s Ministry of Education has been open to educational reform and that it currently embraces a neoliberal orientation in which schools aim to nurture good workers, and accountability, standards, testing, and choice are embraced. A recent survey of social studies teachers in the province found that teachers identify with progressivist (meliorist) and reconstructionist conceptions of social studies, although these are not necessarily echoed in their teaching practice due to influences such as a standardized exam in grade 11 (Broom, 2012a).

Economic and social trends have influenced educational and curriculum reform over the century, as have particular individuals with access to power (Broom, 2008).

Social Studies Curricula in BC

BC's current curriculum guides (Ministry of Education, 2005a; 2005b) define social studies as the integrated study of the social sciences in order to develop good citizens, a goal that ties into the meliorist conception of social studies. The guides aim to develop values and attitudes including Canadian nationalism and multiculturalism. Content focuses on Canadian history. Teachers are given freedom to develop their lessons and select their approach due to the fluid and open nature of the Prescribed Learning Outcomes (PLOs). Students study ancient civilizations in grade 7, European history in grade 8 and then Canadian history from grades 9 to 11. All students take a standardized exam at the end of grade 11. In grade 12, social studies is split into elective courses that include History 12 (Twentieth Century History), Geography 12 (Physical Geography), and Social Justice 12 (Contemporary social issues).

Overview of Social Studies' History in BC.

In the early 1900s, social changes including industrialization and urbanization in BC led to an increase in the student population. These influences combined with the desire to socialize students and resulted in substantial school restructuring within a social efficiency perspective, which applied business practices to schools (Broom, 2007b; Dunn, 1980). Changes resulted in curriculum reform designed to meet the needs of an increasingly varied student body.

Social studies was first implemented in the province in the 1930s and underwent major revisions in 1967, 1985, and 1997, due to a number of factors including evolving socio-economic conditions and empowered individuals with particular ideological agendas (Broom, 2008; Department of Education, 1930-1968; Ministry of Education, 1985-2005).

1930s/1940s: The First Changes to Social Studies in BC

During the 1930s, BC followed a number of nations and fell into a serious economic recession. At the same time, dramatic social changes included continued urbanization and changing patterns of work. American ideas spread into Canada and influenced educational reform through journals such as *B.C. Teacher* (1927-1937) and *Canadian Teacher* (1938-1940). Demands similar to those in the United States were made for educational reform in order to address a society perceived to be in crisis (Weir, 1933; 1937). Weir, a new Minister of Education (partly educated in the United States and an advocate of contemporary American educational trends), was empowered to initiate substantial educational reforms.

At the beginning of the 1930s, the government released a curriculum guide labelled "social studies" for the first time (Department of Education, 1930). While it described "social studies" in the introduction, its content remained the study of history with a focus on factual learning. A second revision was released in 1936/7 (Department of Education, 1936/7). This Meliorist (progressivist) social studies curriculum guide was framed within the recommendations of the United States Bureau of Education's 1916 report on *The Social Studies in Secondary Education*. The curriculum's introduction advocated progressivism (in the pedagogical sense [Watras, 2009]) including the aim of creating good citizens and active and student-based learning through means such as projects. However, once again, the curriculum content did not align with the stated progressivist aims and remained detailed history study. Progressivism in the administrative, rationalist sense was also advocated (Watras, 2009).

In the 1940s, Canada participated in World War II, and social studies curricula was amended slightly. The content remained the study of history with a focus on developing a pro-democratic attitude in students. Analysis of journal articles ties this to the influence of WWII: war led to the

active attempt to propagate an ideology that supported democracy, the stated aim of the war in much journal literature (Department of Education, 1941).

1950s and 1960s: Reaction and Reform

In the 1950s, society took a more conservative turn and family values were stressed. The development of the Cold War led to fear and to ideological struggle between communism and capitalism. Further, as Cold War rhetoric heated up, an excellent education was argued to be necessary to counteract the perceived Soviet threat (such as Tomkins, 1962). The public, teachers and academics reacted against progressivist educational ideas and demanded educational change. Hilda Neatby, a Canadian scholar, for example, in her book, *So Little For the Mind*, focused her critique on BC's social studies curricula arguing that its progressivist approach did little to develop students' knowledge and learning (Clark, 2004; Neatby, 1953). Calls for change led to the establishment of a Royal Commission that recommended a return to a more "academic" educational program. As a result, social studies curricula were amended. Curriculum content became more traditionalist and stressed detailed historical content study. Progressivist language such as focusing on the individual growth of students and their preparation for social life decreased.

During the 1960s, dramatic social change, political support for educational reform and economic growth led to further calls for curriculum reform (British Columbia, 1960). An innovative approach to social studies education called the New Social Studies was developed in the United States (Evans, 2004). The New Social Studies envisioned students to be social scientists using inquiry-based methods. This approach was brought to BC by social studies professors, such as Drs. Sutherland and Tomkins and advocated in the local social studies journal and at regional conferences by local teachers such as Church and Holt (*Exploration*, 1961-1969). As a result, B.C.'s Department of Education issued a new social studies curriculum in 1968, which adopted Bruner's "structure of the disciplines" approach (Bruner, 1962; Department of Education, 1968). Teachers were encouraged to use a number of textbooks with different interpretations and inquiry-based learning.

More Recent Changes

A practical work focus and an open and experimental (progressivist) orientation was advocated in the 1970s by the Bremer Commission when the left-leaning New Democratic Party [NDP] governed. The Bremer commission was directed by a progressivist; however, its recommendations were not implemented because policy moved right on the political spectrum: by the late 1970s, the desire for "accountability" became more prevalent in the government and among some groups in society such as the business community. Rising economic instability and increasing political conservatism led to changes in government policy, namely, an increasingly right wing and structured focus under the Social Credit party. In the 1980s, this party brought in tougher standards and reintroduced provincial exams. They advocated a number of other conservative means aimed at accountability, leading to protest against "education under siege" (Pedersen & Fleming, 1983).

A more traditionalist, conservative curriculum revision occurred in 1985 (Ministry of Education, 1985). It changed the curriculum from an open exploration of a number of themes with equal attention given to History and Geography (the 1968 revision) and returned the curriculum to a detailed historical study framed within a few general Progressivist statements and supplemented with some new content on Human Rights and "Global Village" rhetoric (these two changes were the result of advocacy [Broom, 2008]).

By the end of the twentieth century, government-mandated educational policies swung between the right (accountability-based) and left (student-centred), depending on which political

party was in power. Curriculum documents became increasingly multilayered and complex, integrating within themselves elements of various philosophies.

The curriculum revision of 1997 (Ministry of Education, 1997a) maintained the same content as earlier guides but focused more attention on citizenship education, which was advocated by some in academia (such as Osborne, 1997). The curriculum guide was multi-layered in the sense of containing competing ideologies: it included a few concepts drawn from critical pedagogy, such as questioning concepts like “power,” in uneasy tension with more controlling language framed within Neoliberalism. Business ideology is apparent in reforms to curriculum documents including accountability contracts, identifying one of the main aims of education as preparing future workers, establishing a standardized social studies 11 exam, increasing support for parental choice, and publishing public rankings of schools based on school exam results (Broom, 2012b). Further, the study of history is being promoted by some scholars at Canadian universities (see the Then/Hier (n.d) website as an example), just as it has been in the United States where history benchmarks have been established (Evans, 2004). In BC, social studies curriculum reform was associated with imported curricular trends and innovations, changing social, political, and economic conditions and deliberate advocacy.

Discussion and Conclusion

General Trends

BC's Ministers of Education and curriculum developers have embraced the concept of British Columbia as a knowledge society, one in which education is valued as a commodity essential to economic success. Consequently, they have regularly embraced educational concepts from overseas (particularly the United States) and integrated them into their curricula, as they have been seen to be innovative. Ministers of Education have stated the importance of education for society and called for BC to be “modern” (Superintendent's Reports, 1937-1969). The value placed on integrating new educational approaches and concepts illustrates the value ascribed to learning and “knowledge.” It highlights how globalization is actualized in one place through openness to new concepts and demonstrates that concepts/knowledge flow across borders openly when local contexts embrace openness to reform. Yet, at the same time, some amendments to those ideas illustrate that the local environment shapes how global flows are taken up in a place, as illustrated in how Weir integrated progressivism in both the child-centered and social efficiency sense into the 1930s curricula and how local and national calls for more Canadian studies were implemented in the 1970s (Clark, 2004). Currently, Neoliberalism is popular in the Ministry of Education as ministers write of the need for BC schools to “compete” at the global level (Ungerleider & Krieger, 2009).

Similarities between American Trends and BC Guides

As Table 1 summarizes, educational concepts and approaches to BC's social studies curriculum guides over the twentieth century correlate with many American trends. These are generally associated with similar socio-economic and political conditions or factors.

Table 1.
Major Phases of Social Studies Reform in the United States and BC

Dates	United States	British Columbia
1890s-1920s	Traditional History/Social Sciences. Creation of the 1890s History curriculum which focused on content and memorization	History curriculum focused on content and memorization
1916-1950s	Advocacy of child-centred, problem-based learning by individuals such as Dewey, Rugg, and Kilpatrick. Conflicts over orientations, 1930s-1950s	First Social Studies curriculum in 1930 and 1936/7. Includes progressivist language but content remains a detailed study of history. Reaction to progressivism in the 1950s.
1960s	Discipline-based reform. Reaction led to the inquiry based “New Social Studies” and then the humanist, issues-based “Newer” Social Studies	Major revision to Social Studies guides, moving away from progressive-based philosophy to focus on academic disciplines and the social sciences, that is, the American “New Social Studies” program (1968).
2000	Conservative Restoration. Business-modeled reform focused on accountability, standards, content and History	1990s and 2000s revisions include accountability and standards. Decreases focus on content and increases attention to themes/objectives. Some inclusion of critical pedagogy (e.g., Equity). Currently, the curriculum is under revision. The new guide focuses on History. Attention to history is also occurring through the active work of a number of Canadian university professors linked through a history website/network (Then/Hier, n.d).

Many American educational concepts have been integrated into BC curricula. A meliorist (progressivist) orientation to social studies was found in the first guides developed during the 1930s (a time of economic and social upheaval when calls were made for new educational approaches), discipline-based attacks on social studies (Hilda Neatby in Canada in similar form to Arthur Bestor in the United States) occurred in the 1950s (a time of social stability and conservatism), and a Mandarin (the New Social Studies) orientation, which included references to Fenton, Bruner, and NCSS, was found in the 1960s revision (an optimistic time of social change and economic growth). Further, in both nations, skills advocacy occurred in 1980s with back-to-basics (conservative) movements, and currently history is being promoted by some BC scholars, one of which has also developed history “Benchmarks” (Clark, 2004; Seixas, 2004). Neoliberal orientations (accountability, choice, standards) and conservatism (such as the promotion of nationalism) are also apparent.

Educational Trends Correlate with Ideology

The varying orientations to social studies that have appeared in curriculum documents are related to politics and advocacy. That is, new educational concepts (such as the Child Centred Learning focus on citizenship education and The New Social Studies) have been integrated and adapted into curricula as a result of advocacy and/or government support. These concepts are linked to political ideologies that have provided the political context allowing for the adoption of new ideas: child centred learning tends to be associated with the political left; traditionalism and accountability with the political right. During times of perceived social (and/or economic) change, education ministers have often been open to educational change. Economic instability helps to drive educational reform, either through a move to adopt new educational concepts (during the Great Depression) or through reactionary policies (in the 1980s). Thus, progressivist revisions occurred during the 1930s and 1960s, both decades of economic and social change, and more reactionary practices during the 1950s and 1980s, when traditionalism was on the rise. Social change was illustrated in the growing enrolment of students in schools in the early twentieth century, human rights advocacy in the 1960s, negative public reaction to progressivism and fears associated with the Cold War in the 1950s, and social changes associated with increasing pluralism later in the century.

Factors and Conditions Enabling the Transfer of Ideas

Ideas can transfer from one place to another, depending on social, economic and political contexts and deliberate individual advocacy. Conferences and journals spread new ideas, and Western Canadian scholars followed American trends in the twentieth century (*B.C. Teacher*, 1927-1968; Broom, 2008; *Exploration*, 1961-1969). Changes were adopted when (1) individuals with access to political power (2) felt a need to revise social studies guides due to social and economic changes (in eras of change: the Depression of the 1930s and the boom of the 1960s, both of which led to calls for educational reforms) and (3) these individuals looked to local scholars or other nations (particularly the United States) for ideas (Broom, 2008). The transfer of ideas, in other words, “is essentially a social process in which subjectively perceived information about a new idea is communicated” (Rogers, 1995, p. xvii) from individual to individual. For example, many Canadian educational leaders studied in the United States, or were influenced by American ideas through journals and conferences (including Weir in the 1930s; Sutherland and Tomkins in the 1960s [Broom, 2008]). Currently, American scholars, Seixas, Pinar, and Ross, are working at BC universities bringing American ideas related to Historical thinking, curriculum, and issues-based instruction. Seixas’ (2004) historical thinking concepts have influenced the current curriculum revision.

Thus ideas can be seen as fluid elements that exist in open systems and can cross borders. However, local conditions affect how and to what extent ideas are integrated into curricula. People in positions of power are also important.

Differences between the United States and BC

Differences are also found: some federal and provincial level policies, such as developing Canadian nationalism, are also reflected in social studies guides. Further, some movements found in BC guides differ to those found in the United States, such as Character Education in the 1930s, pro-democratic education in the 1940s, Canadian Studies in the 1970s, and the emergence of a new emphasis on Citizenship Education in the 1990s (Clark, 2004; Tomkins, 1986). These exist due to local conditions, perceived needs, and local advocacy (that is also sometimes informed by the study of work occurring in the U.K. and other Commonwealth nations with varying historical traditions).

Local conditions in BC influenced which new imports (or ideas) flourished and which did not and in what form. Surrounding social, economic and political conditions and advocacy have influenced the content and approach to social studies curricula in the province.

Implications for Future Scholarship and Policy Efforts for Social Studies

This paper has traced changes in BC's social studies curricula over this century. It has illustrated how social studies curricula has been amended as a result of social change and advocacy from those with power or access to power in enabling socio-economic conditions, usually during periods of social or economic change (Broom, 2008). Thus, one implication to arise from this study is that social studies advocates with access to political power can help to change curriculum documents (acknowledging the difference between the curriculum-as-a-document and the curriculum-as-taught) when socio-economic conditions are supportive of change, and the revisions made are linked to particular political orientations, for example, when society and the economy are in flux. In order to maximize the connection between curriculum-as-document and curriculum-as-taught, curricular recommendations should be connected to teacher education programs and conferences that provide rationales for, demonstrations of, and samples of the new curriculum.

The second implication is that social studies is a living subject and changing socio-economic conditions can lead to curricular changes (with the acknowledgement that these curricular changes may occur simply in the manner in which content is presented, labeled or organized). Thus, by studying major social trends and considering which political party is in power and what economic conditions are like and what work is occurring in Academia, tentative predictions might be made regarding which changes may find their way into curricula, with careful attention also being given to local conditions and concerns. The first statement provides the possibility that social studies professors may have some influence on social perceptions of what is important through actions in their local environments. Thus, scholars who value citizenship education have been, and can continue to be, involved in emphasizing citizenship education in social studies (Sears & Hughes, 1996). More significant change does require, however, that change of curriculum documents be united with changes in classroom practices, for changing curriculum documents does not necessarily mean that the "grammar" (Evans, 2011a; Tyack and Cuban, 1995) of social studies instructional practice is markedly (or much) changed.

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Endnotes

1. Unless otherwise noted, our use of the term “progressive” refers to the pedagogic progressives influenced by Dewey, Rugg, Kilpatrick and other educational theorists of the first half of the 20th century. We recognize that many historians view the term “progressive” as problematic due to the multiple claims on the mantle of progressivism, with administrators, social efficiency educators, social reconstructionists, and mainstream pedagogues all claiming to be “progressive.”
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