

A CASE STUDY OF CURRICULUM CONTROVERSY:

**THE VIRGINIA STANDARDS OF LEARNING FOR
HISTORY AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES**

by

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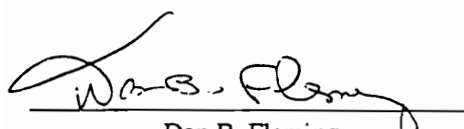
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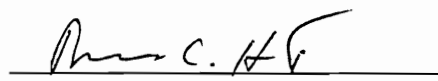
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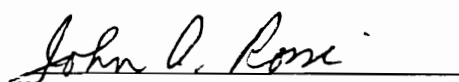
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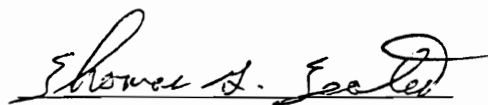
Curriculum and Instruction


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Abstract

Curriculum-making is a political exercise in which various groups in a society struggle over whose knowledge and values will be perpetuated through the school curriculum. As such, curriculum-making sometimes creates controversy. Controversy often accompanies the development of social studies curriculum because the purpose of social studies education is the preparation of the young for citizenship. Individuals disagree over what characteristics define the good citizen, as well as what knowledge and skills are necessary for effective citizenship. This study examines the political dimensions of social studies curriculum-making in the controversy surrounding the development of the Virginia Standards of Learning for History and the Social Sciences.

Using historical and qualitative methodology, the researcher collected and analyzed data from public documents, meetings of the Virginia Board of Education and its Advisory and Editing Committees, news articles, and transcripts from semi-structured interviews with eight key participants in the development of the social studies Standards of Learning. Analyses of these data sources showed that two primary groups struggled over control of the process of developing the standards, Governor Allen's education team and the professional social studies community under the leadership of the Virginia Consortium of Social Studies Specialists and College Educators. A third important force in the debate was the Virginia Board of Education, from which a small group of its members authored the final standards document.

Further, this study showed two contextual influences on the Virginia social studies standards. The first was the Reagan rhetoric on academic crisis and educational reform through the establishment of tougher academic standards based on the traditional curriculum. The second was the recent controversy in Virginia over outcomes-based education. These two contextual influences combined to create a distrust of professional expertise.

Three reciprocally related themes emerged from the data. Participants used power, rhetoric, and ideology to define the boundaries of the debate, control the process, name who could participate, and determine the outcome of the development process. Disagreements between the two major sides in the debate involved ideological differences over the nature of knowledge and learning and the nature of social studies education. There were also ideological differences among major participants over social issues like civil rights, gender issues, religion, and religious conflicts.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

*Who controls the past controls the future.
Who controls the present controls the past.*

George Orwell,
1984

In an era of growing political, social and economic conservatism during the 1980s and 1990s, concerns over the adequacy of public schooling prompted the publication of four major reports on the quality of schooling and provided the impetus for a number of national and state reform initiatives. On the national level these reform initiatives took the form of National Education Goals (America 2000/Goals 2000) and a number of national standards projects in the academic disciplines. On the state level, the calls for reforms created outcomes-based education plans, curricular frameworks and academic standards projects. One such state initiative, the revision of the Virginia Standards of Learning for social studies, is the subject of this study.

Purpose of the Study

Curriculum-making is by nature a political activity as various interests in a society seek to define what is important enough to pass on to the young (Posner, 1992; Kliebard, 1986; Apple, 1990). In doing so, a society defines the nature of knowledge, and assigns to some knowledge a greater value than to other knowledge. In defining which knowledge is to be valued, and therefore, worthy of inclusion in the school curriculum, a society defines its own values and seeks to influence its future by attempting to pass those values on to its young (Kliebard and Franklin, 1983; Kliebard, 1986; Apple, 1990; Posner, 1992).

As was true with the national standards projects (American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1993; National Council of Teachers of Mathematics, 1989; National Council for the Social Studies, 1994; National Center for History in the Schools, 1994, Geography Education Standards Project, 1993), the development of Standards of Learning for the public schools of the Commonwealth of Virginia was not technically an exercise in curriculum making. Virginia's standards, rather, were to be the criteria under which individual achievement, and local school effectiveness, might be measured. Like the national standards projects, the Virginia Board of Education's Standards of Learning were yardsticks by which excellence might be defined (Al-Rubaily, 1990); and excellence was a significant rallying cry for the critics of American education in the 1980s and 1990s.

Yet, in significant ways, the writing of standards for social studies in Virginia was actually an exercise in curriculum-making. In selecting what standards to include, the Virginia Board of Education was making content selections and establishing the scope and sequence of that content for social studies instruction in the state. The Board was determining, then, what knowledge was of most value, what concepts to use to group that content and, for the most part, the sequence in which it would be taught. They were functioning as curriculum-makers.

The standards developed in Virginia assume the role of curriculum in another important way. The Board announced its intentions from the outset of the project to write standards which would serve as the basis for the development of assessment instruments. Governor George Allen announced in his State of the Commonwealth address in January of 1995 that the Standards of Learning would carry the "force of regulations", and that the state would "measure student performance against those standards through regular testing" (Turner, 1995a). As will be shown later, the Board emphasized the need for measurable standards throughout the development process and made obvious efforts

during that process to write standards in such a way that test developers would know what to assess. If the Board uses those assessments to judge the effectiveness of local school divisions and to assign consequences for divisions whose students do not perform well on those assessments, as it stated during the development process that it would do, the content standards would become a de facto curriculum, the "tested curriculum" (Posner, 1992). Local divisions might take various approaches to teaching the standards, but the standards themselves, tied to consequential assessment, determined what *must* be taught. The content decisions left to school divisions were simply what else *might* be taught. For these reasons, the process of developing the Standards of Learning in Virginia was treated by this study as an exercise in curriculum-making, and the questions asked were those related to the controversial act of making a curriculum.

All curriculum controversies involve, at some level, questions of value. When those questions of value reach the deepest level of belief, they become ideological questions. The controversy over the Standards of Learning for Social Studies in Virginia could be a part of traditional value controversies over curriculum in the history of American schooling, or it could be an evolution of those controversies.

Understanding that curriculum making is, in itself, a political act, this study sought to describe and analyze the controversy surrounding the development of curriculum standards in social studies for the Commonwealth of Virginia. In doing so, this study sought to answer the following questions:

Why did the development of curriculum standards in Virginia generate controversy?

What were the significant issues in the controversy over the standards and how were they fought?

Who played key roles in the development of the standards?

Importance of the Study

Virginia's early efforts to respond to the national educational reform movement of the 1980s and 1990s resulted in a politically unpopular outcomes-based education plan which was never implemented. The second stage of reform in Virginia produced content standards coupled with a plan to develop assessments based on those standards. Through these Standards of Learning, particularly in social studies, Virginia rejected educational experimentation and reinforced a traditional conception of history and several related social science disciplines. That this state, a leader in the adoption of the expanding horizons elementary social studies curriculum in the 1930s, decided, in June of 1995, to repudiate it as a curriculum organization for social studies is one reason why this is a significant topic to study.

Its significance, however, stretches beyond the borders of Virginia. If the revision of the Standards of Learning is a part of a larger political struggle over conservative social ideologies, the issues and the nature of the outcome are important to parents, students, teachers, and community members across the country as district after district responds to the calls for educational reform.

As such, other curriculum decision-makers at the state and local levels engaged in similar processes and in similar contexts can use this study to identify and understand the issues of the debate in Virginia. Understanding what the issues are and the bases of those issues can help other curriculum builders better understand the treacherous waters of the struggle over curriculum, and can assist citizens in forming reasonable decisions about what social studies education should be and what it should attempt to accomplish.

A review of the literature reveals that there are other studies of the influence of ideological forces. Referred to alternatively as the New Right (Kincheloe, 1983; Mobley

1987), the traditionalist movement (Pines, 1982) or the orthodox forces (Hunter, 1991), other studies describe conservative influences on school curriculum. There is also an earlier study of curriculum-making in Virginia in the late 1950s and early 1960s, a study that looks at the development of curriculum units on the free enterprise system and on communism for twelfth grade government students (Peters, 1977). In that study Peters discovered the powerful influence of political and economic elites in initiating curriculum change and determining the content to be taught. She also discovered that the State Department of Education, seeking to avoid criticism from business and political leaders, reacted to outside pressures rather than serving as a leader in making curriculum changes. In the process, teachers were largely excluded from curriculum design decisions. Virginia's revision of the social studies standards in 1994 and 1995 shares a number of common characteristics with Peters' study, including the influence of powerful elites, the near exclusion of classroom teachers, and the avoidance of leadership on the part of the Virginia Department of Education.

This study will place the Virginia controversy within its historical and political contexts, explore the controversies it generated, and describe how those controversies were resolved. In the process, this study will extend the literature on understanding the political dimensions of curriculum-making, on community opposition to public schools, and on curriculum controversies.

What happened in Virginia also shares common characteristics with other curriculum controversies and curriculum development efforts in which powerful economic and religious conservatives attempted to influence the public school curriculum. What happened in Virginia in this study is not a recent phenomenon, and, in many significant ways, not particularly unique. This study is an extension of the existing literature on understanding the political dimensions of curriculum making.

CHAPTER TWO

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This survey of the literature attempts to establish a base for understanding issues related to the context of developing Standards of Learning for social studies in Virginia and various ways in which to understand and interpret the meaning of curriculum controversies. To understand the political context in which the standards were developed, this review also examines the national educational reform movement, including the educational agenda of the Reagan era; the establishment of national educational goals and the national standards projects; and the recent reform movements in social studies. To provide a basis for interpreting the controversy over the standards, it also reviews various explanations of the meaning of curriculum controversies, and describes the emergence of the New Right in educational controversies. Each of these topics relates to the context in which the standards were developed in Virginia, based on the premise that curriculum, which seeks ultimately to shape the society, is actually a reflection of that society.

Understanding the Context

Kliebard and Franklin (1983) contend that the philosophical framework of a curriculum is shaped by a number of contextual factors including societal change, the influence of powerful elites, political upheavals, demographic shifts, a change in economic conditions, changes in the nature and size of the school population, the dedication and energy of interested individuals or of special interest groups, and the strength of tradition. To understand why a society takes a particular approach to curriculum-making, one needs to examine those contextual factors which may have helped shape it.

Contexts shape curriculum primarily because contexts help determine which values emerge as dominant; curriculum is an expression of dominant societal values. For example, following a period of massive influxes of "new immigrants" from southern and eastern Europe in the late 1800s and early 1900s, Americans were overwhelmed by the cultural diversity that these immigrants created. Their fear was evident in the first laws restricting European immigration in American history, laws which gave preference to immigrants from northern and western Europe and sought to limit all others. The curriculum-makers, influenced by dominant belief systems formulated the problem as disintegration of the culture. Cultural unity, then, became a dominant value, a value enacted in schools by placing more emphasis on the role of schools in Americanizing the new immigrants and creating good and loyal citizens (Butts, 1978). Schools were important in attempts to "save" the culture.

Butts (1978) refers to this effort as the push toward cohesion and cites compulsory attendance laws, a standardized curriculum (taught only in English), public displays of loyalty, an emphasis on the self-made man and a nationalistic, exalted portrayal of the American story as examples of this push (Butts, 1978). The context created fear, which in turn, allowed the values of self-preservation and unquestioned loyalty to become dominant. To understand the curricula of an era, then, requires a consideration of the contexts in which they were developed. By the same token, a consideration of contexts is also necessary in order to understand Virginia's controversies over the social studies standards.

The National Reform Movement

A convergence of political, economic, social, demographic and religious trends set the stage for the nationwide reform movement of the 1980s and 1990s. Beginning with

the 1973 Arab oil embargo, most Americans, who were raised to believe that America had more natural resources than she could ever reasonably deplete, suddenly realized that an era of critical shortages might occur in their lifetimes. It was, for those who lived through it, a sober awakening. The seventies also marked a serious shrinking of economic opportunity, not previously experienced by the largest segment of the population, the baby-boomers. The bad news was followed by more bad news - increasing crime and violence in the society, the expansion of the drug culture into "nice" neighborhoods, growing racial and ethnic conflict, and increased cultural diversity as the realities of the new immigration began to touch mainstream America. A combination of these problems began to raise concerns about the quality of life, not just in the urban centers, but also in suburban and rural America. And then came the worst news of all. America's traditional dominance of world trade was seriously threatened. Japanese and West German products snapped up markets traditionally controlled by American industry. Americans looked forward to a future not nearly so bright as they had anticipated. The fear such predictions generated was real, and as it had in the past, that fear created a climate that fueled a conservative political movement.

And as they have in the past, Americans looked for some place to affix the blame for the state of the nation and its uneasy future. The schools provided an easy target as they had during the post-Sputnik era (Nelson, 1993). Business and community leaders (Glazer, 1984) reasoned that America's trade imbalances could be blamed on the poor quality of the work force and product developers. These human resources were inadequate, it was suggested, because they had been poorly educated. Federal funding of educational reform during the 1950s and 1960s had been money poorly spent and poorly managed, they concluded; it was time to hold schools accountable for the products they produced (Finn, 1983).

There was already growing discontent with the competencies of the graduates of American public schooling (Finn, 1983; Glazer, 1984). Finn (1983) describes this discontent as an "impatience with trendy innovations and flabby practice" (p. 15). Though hardly a neutral use of language, that discontent supported the contentions of an emerging conservative religious movement that American public schools were in serious trouble, and, consequently, so was the society. It is significant that at the same time, televangelism was emerging as a powerful cultural force which attacked the public schools as "godless" and ineffectual. The concerns about the nation's economy only fed a sense of discontent over the status of public education in America. Those leaders who saw a relationship between Japan's emerging economic power, her strong family structures and her tough, academic educational system, seemed to make sense to a great number of Americans (Glazer, 1984).

Gallup Polls of the late 1970s and early 1980s showed a dissatisfaction with public schools in general in America, even though non-minority and non-poor parents seemed satisfied with their local schools (Clark and Astuto, 1988). This general feeling that American education was troubled became a politically important issue for the Reagan administration (Clark, and Astuto, 1988). Rather than "exposing" the failures of public schools, the Reagan administration deftly identified education as an area of public concern and used that concern to the President's political advantage (Clark, and Astuto, 1988).

The Reagan Administration's Policy on Education

The conservative revolution that brought Reagan to power had as its emphases widespread budget reductions, except in matters of national defense, the dismantling of the social welfare structure of the previous few decades, a devolution of authority from Washington to the state capitals, an emphasis on free marketplace competition and

economic incentives (Clark and Astuto, 1988), and the revival of an idealized traditionalism (Botstein, 1988). This agenda provided the basis of the administration's education policy. Federal funding for education, counting for inflation, decreased (Clark and Astuto, 1988), as the national government moved to absolve itself of the actual power over **and responsibility for education**. Governors and state legislatures seized the opportunities created by that shift of power over educational policy (Clark and Astuto, 1988).

The Reagan administration also placed a major emphasis on the introduction of the forces of the free marketplace to education. The national government championed school vouchers as a way to force public schools to compete for students and awards for excellence to individual schools as a way of introducing competition within the public school system (Clark and Astuto, 1988). Incentives, too, were touted as the way to revitalize America's teaching corps as the Reagan administration endorsed merit pay and career ladders for teachers (Clark and Astuto, 1988).

Framing this debate over educational policy was the Reagan administration's education team, which included Terrel Bell and William Bennett, each of whom served as Secretary of Education in the Reagan era, and Chester E. Finn, Jr., Undersecretary of Education. Also important was Lynne Cheney, head of the National Endowment for the Humanities. Using the Department of Education's research staff, headed by Chester Finn, Bennett successfully argued that excellence and rigor could be achieved without additional federal funding and for educational "renewal through restoration" (Botstein, 1988, p. 6) of a traditional curriculum.

It was in the area of restoring a traditional curriculum that the Reagan educational reforms most directly affected the social studies. The Reagan team advocated the rejection of social studies in favor of more traditional history and geography. The

underlying assumption of this argument was that social studies had actually replaced traditional history and geography instruction in school, an assumption that Hertzberg (1981) challenged. Arguing for the elimination of social studies in the schools in favor of history and geography, Chester Finn (1988) wrote, "The great dismal swamp of today's school curriculum is not reading, or writing... It is social studies" (p. 15).

What was it about social studies that the Reagan team abhorred? In addition to the belief that social studies had replaced history and geography, and thus, created citizens ignorant of the nation's heritage, Barth (1993) identified these issues: multiculturalism, globalism, and diversity. Multiculturalism, the critics felt, encouraged Americans to see themselves as hyphenated Americans, and thus contributed to national disunity. Globalism, sometimes referred to by critics as "one-worldism" impinged on national sovereignty, while diversity challenged the Eurocentric version of American culture. Finn (1988) stated, "Our vision of America is one nation, indivisible - not splintered by language, or race, or ethnic fragmentation" (p. 16). What they wanted, Barth (1993) contended, was "a return to the pre-social-studies-era nineteenth-century form of Eurocentric citizenship education where value-laden content was stressed and an uncritical passion for democracy was taught" (p. 62). Thus, the Reagan administration provided the ideology in the form of free market competition and traditional curriculum content. The administration and the national reform reports encouraged the unquestioned assumption of crisis and failure in American education that fueled the education reform movement of the 1980s and 1990s.

The National Reform Reports and the Assumption of Crisis

In 1983, just before Reagan's successful bid for re-election, four major reports on education (*A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform*, sponsored by the

National Commission on Excellence in Education; *Action for Excellence: A Comprehensive Plan to Improve our Schools*, sponsored by The Education Commission of the States Task Force on Education for Economic Growth; *Making the Grade: The Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on Federal Elementary and Secondary Education Policy*, sponsored by the Twentieth Century Fund; and *High School: A Report on Secondary Education in America*, sponsored by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching), focused on the quality of American elementary and secondary schooling and, together, found it lacking (Glazer, 1984; Passow, 1988; Peterson, 1985; Barger, 1987) Of the four, *A Nation at Risk*, produced by a task force put together by Secretary of Education, Terrel Bell (Bracey, 1991), became the most widely known. It described American schooling using language that characterized schools as being in a state of crisis and invoked military metaphors (Barger, 1987, p.2; Shanker, 1984). It began, for example, by stating,

the educational foundations of our society are presently being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our very future as a Nation and a people... . If an unfriendly foreign power had attempted to impose on America the mediocre educational performance that exists today, we might well have viewed it as an act of war (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983, p.5).

Because statements such as these appealed to the sense of drama in citizens, they were frequently quoted in the media, increasing the widespread perception that the country was in a state of national emergency. *A Nation at Risk*, for example, further stated, "Our once unchallenged preeminence in commerce, industry, science and technological innovation is being overtaken throughout the world" (Glazer, 1984, p. 310).

The other national reports agreed with *A Nation at Risk* that American schoolchildren were being poorly educated and that the lack of quality in education carried negative economic implications. *Action for Excellence*, for example, stated that over the

previous twenty years Japan's industrial growth was four times that of the United States, and linked that harsh economic reality to the fact that Japan had placed great emphasis on education since World War II (Shanker, 1984). All recommended similar solutions, including improving the quality and status of the nation's teaching force, addressing the **inequities in** educational programs, and, most importantly, raising the academic **expectations for students** (Barger, 1987; Al-Rubaily, 1990). The mood of the reports was clear, namely that schools were failing, and making them better would mean "defining more sharply the traditional *content* (italics original) of education, imposing it as a requirement and teaching it by traditional means" (Glazer, 1984, p. 309).

Another View of Crisis

Bracey (1991), a critic of the reform reports, referred to them as "the big lie"(p. 106). Citing rising high school graduation rates, declining dropout rates, rising or stable standardized test scores, and contextual factors that make educational comparisons across national boundaries impossible, he argued that the "tide of mediocrity" identified by the National Commission on Excellence in Education simply did not exist. Bracey (1991) also argued that the task force had been fed misinformation about both the levels of spending and the levels of academic achievement, as well as predictions about future economic needs, and that the task force uncritically accepted such distorted information. By accepting such information as reality, they also legitimated the sense of crisis in American education.

According to Peterson (1985), the reform reports not only ignored cross-cultural contexts, but also contextual factors in America that contribute to problems in schools, things like drug and alcohol abuse in the larger society, one-parent families, and declining economic opportunities even for the able graduates. Also notably missing from the reports

was the "language of human development, creativity, and differentiation of educational approaches adapted to student differences" (Glazer, 1984, p. 309), language that had formed an important core of the educational reforms of the 1960s and 1970s.

Nevertheless, the national reports asserted that American education was in crisis and that, unless the tide was turned, the nation's future was imperiled. Each called for strengthening the academic program. Such calls for curriculum reform were often coupled in the national reports with the term "excellence", and excellence required some standard against which to measure student achievement (Al-Rubaily, 1990). Thus, the stage was set for the national reform initiatives and for the standards movement.

A Different Time

The national reform movement of the 1980s and 1990s was considerably different from the educational reforms of the late 1950s and the 1960s when the federal government made its first major investment of resources in improving elementary and secondary schools. In the post-Sputnik era of the late 1950s and the 1960s, the federal government's emphasis was on the identification and education of the gifted, whose potential contributions in technology and science could help America prevail in the Cold War. Initial federal involvement, through the National Defense Education Act, targeted projects in science and mathematics curriculum. The primary emphasis was on inputs, as in curriculum and materials development and their dissemination into school districts. Using this federal funding for materials and curriculum design projects, the reform movement emphasized new conceptions of the academic subjects, including the "structure of the disciplines" approach to curriculum organization, and alternatives to traditional instructional delivery. Only later, when other disciplines were able to argue successfully

that one could also be gifted in the humanities, were federal monies made available for curriculum projects outside of science and mathematics.

In the middle to late 1960s, as a part of the War on Poverty, the national government used funding projects to address a quite different concern, that is, the issue of educational equity. Through compensatory programs, particularly for minority students, disadvantaged populations, and students with special needs, the national government attempted to address the needs of those traditionally poorly served by public education.

In contrast, the reform movement of the 1980s and 1990s focused on educational outcomes, on standards of excellence, and placed the primary burden for financing reform on states and localities rather than on the federal government. The emphasis, then, was on the outcomes of education and raising educational standards, not on increased funding and educational equity. The clear message was that schools would simply have to do a better job with available resources.

The First Response

Reactions to the "crisis" in American education took a number of forms. On the state level, initial reactions included variations of outcomes-based education (OBE). It should be noted that OBE is a broad term applied to various reform initiatives, rather than to a precise set of educational initiatives. Three general premises served as foundations for most OBE plans. The first and most important premise was the belief that student learning could not be measured by time spent in class, number of years of school attended or Carnegie units accumulated. Instead, proponents of OBE argued that educational effectiveness should be measured by the knowledge, skills, and attitudes that resulted from schooling. One designed school programs, then, by stating the outcomes first, and secondly by determining how to assess those outcomes. A second premise of OBE was

that all students could learn if given sufficient time, a proposition characterized as "mastery learning". Finally, advocates of OBE were concerned about the ability of students to transfer and generalize those knowledge, skills and attitudes to new contexts (Chion-Kenney, 1994b; Spady, 1994; Zlatos, 1993).

These assumptions captured the attention of many in the national business community who were concerned about the ability of workers to solve problems, work creatively and adapt to new work organizations, including the work team concept associated with successful Japanese businesses and industry. The newest educational fad was well under way, as many as 24 states had either begun to develop, or had already enacted OBE plans by 1993 (Zlatos, 1993, p. 13). Based on the belief that the public schools should help shape the productive citizen of the future, these OBE plans began by trying to define what the adult product of schooling should become as a result of schooling in ways that were not limited merely to academic competence.

Among those plans was one developed by Pennsylvania. The Pennsylvania plan was based on six common core goals of public education: "self-worth, information and thinking skills, learning independently and collaboratively, adaptability to change, ethical judgment, and honesty, responsibility and tolerance" (Zlatos, 1993, p. 13). Designed at the top levels of the state's educational bureaucracy, Virginia's version of OBE asked what students should become as a result of schooling and identified seven life roles that should be outcomes of education. Those roles were: fulfilled individual, supportive person, life-long learner, expressive contributor, quality worker, informed citizen, and environmental steward. Even more importantly, both the Virginia and the Pennsylvania plans bore a striking resemblance to the questions posed and the answers given in the Cardinal Principles Report of 1918. The Cardinal Principles Report had defined the main goals of education as health, command of fundamental processes, worthy home membership,

vocation, citizenship, worthy use of leisure and ethical character (Hertzberg, 1981), omitting, according to Richard Hofstadter (1962) "the development of intellectual capacity" and "the mastery of secondary academic subject matter" (p. 335).

Many citizens, dissatisfied with the OBE plans, raised the same kinds of objections.

OBE plans ran into almost immediate opposition, much, though not all of it from a political force known as the New Right. as will be described later in this review. William Bennett, Reagan's Secretary of Education, stated, for example,

increasingly OBE is applied to the realm of behavior and social attitudes-becoming in effect, a Trojan Horse for social engineering, an elementary and secondary school version of the kind of "politically-correct" thinking that has infested our colleges and universities (Chion-Kenney, 1994b, p. 13).

Criticisms in Virginia mirrored those in other parts of the country. OBE was characterized as being "fuzzy" and too concerned with self-esteem at the expense of academic achievement. Critics charged that the emphasis on mastery learning and mixed-ability grouping held back faster learners (Schlafly, 1994). Authentic assessment came under attack on two points. Opponents saw standardized, norm-referenced testing as the only way by which a particular school could be measured against other schools. Thus, altering traditional forms of assessment could allow schools to water down both the curriculum and assessments and hide their deficiencies. Secondly, opponents objected to alternative assessments that allowed schools to discover children's attitudes and information about their families (Schlafly, 1994). The New Right, in particular, launched scathing attacks against OBE. According to Zlatos (1993), the critics "won the war of words-often by spreading rumors and half-truths." (p. 12). Within a short period of time, those states who were working on OBE plans, including Virginia, quickly abandoned them.

The National Education Goals

The major response of the national government to the "crisis" took the form of six goals (*America 2000*) established at a National Education Summit in 1989. Two of those original national education goals bear some significance for this study. They include:

All students will leave grades 4, 8, and 12 having demonstrated competency in challenging subject matter including English, mathematics, science, history, and geography; and every school in America will ensure that all students learn to use their minds well, so they may be prepared for responsible citizenship, further learning, and productive employment in our modern economy.

Every adult American will be literate and will possess the knowledge and skills necessary to compete in a global economy and exercise the rights and responsibilities of citizenship (National Education Goals Panel [NEGP], 1993, p.3).

In 1994, Congress officially adopted the national education goals, but expanded them.

The first goal listed above was amended to read:

All students will leave grades 4, 8, and 12 having demonstrated competency over challenging subject matter including English, mathematics, science, *foreign languages, civics and government, economics, arts*, (italics added) history, and geography, and every school in America will ensure that all students learn to use their minds well, so they may be prepared for responsible citizenship, further learning, and productive employment in our *Nation's* (italics added) modern economy (NEGP, 1994, p. 13).

One should note two significant differences in this goal as amended by the 1994 Congress. First, the list of core curriculum subjects was expanded. For a curriculum area not to be mentioned in the national education goals could carry some important implications. It could mean that the discipline was no longer considered a part of the core curriculum, and schools across the nation could limit the amount of time and resources they were willing to devote to the "non-essential" subjects. Thus, for subjects usually denoted as "electives", as in the case of art and the foreign languages, to be omitted from the national

goals put their programs at greater risk across the country. In the original goals, the social studies were defined as history and geography. The revised goal added civics (and government) as well as economics to that definition. By avoiding the term, social studies, courses like sociology, psychology and anthropology were omitted altogether. Nor does the listing of social studies courses in *Goals 2000* imply any integration of disciplines in the field. Secondly, one should note that the word "Nation's" was added to the last sentence, a subtle change in emphasis away from the concept of global economic interdependence.

Finally, a goal was added by the 1994 Congress to encourage parental involvement. It read

Every school will promote partnerships that will increase parental involvement and participation in promoting the social, emotional, and academic growth of children (NEGP, 1994, p. 13).

This goal, in light of the current emphasis on the family in American politics and on the omission of the community in designing educational reforms in previous decades, made it clear that parents would have important roles to play in the schooling of their children.

In addition to establishing goals, the national government also authorized a National Education Goals Panel, and charged it with the responsibility of monitoring and reporting progress toward these goals. The National Education Goals Panel was also made responsible for certifying voluntary national standards projects, to be developed by various "professional subject-matter associations, consortiums, or university-based groups" (Massell and Kirst, 1994, p. 107).

The Standards Movement

In passing the *Goals 2000: Educate America Act* in 1994, Congress also expanded the concept of content standards to include performance and "opportunity-to-learn standards". Opportunity-to-learn standards, which address issues related to the resources provided to schools and funding equity issues, have been, and continue to be, controversial in the reform movement, primarily because they put school divisions at risk for an increasing number of educational disparity suits (Massell and Kirst, 1994) and because they were reminiscent of earlier efforts on the part of the national government to establish expensive and bureaucratically complex compensatory education programs.

In addition, the states raised concerns about whether such standards can be used by the federal government to interfere with state control of public education. (Massell and Kirst, 1994). In fact, the very notion of national content standards and yet-to-be-developed national assessments implied a move toward a national curriculum. Any national curriculum, voluntary or not, raised the issue of the traditional tension in American history between centralization and localism. In fact, Massell and Kirst (1994) stated, "Only a decade ago it was taboo to use the words 'standards' or 'curriculum' in the context of the federal government and national-level policies" (p. 107). Yet, since the national government first supported the idea of voluntary national standards, most core curriculum areas assembled writing teams and attempted to define what students should know and be able to do upon completion of certain levels of schooling. Various subject areas in social studies, as well as the major professional organization in the field, the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS), joined the standards movement. In social studies, history, geography, and civics standards projects had federal financial support; the NCSS standards project did not. Unexamined in the push to write curriculum standards, however, were two underlying assumptions, namely that everything taught in

schools was capable of quantification and subsequent measurement, and that there was a body of core knowledge and skills that everyone should know (Bracey, 1993).

The Reform Legacy in Virginia

Virginians had not been immune to the rhetoric of educational excellence, the assumptions of educational crisis, or the usefulness of educational reform as a political issue. In the Virginia gubernatorial race in 1993, the State Department of Education's outcomes-based education initiative was an important political issue. It was so powerful an issue that the sitting governor, Douglas Wilder, withdrew all state support for it and ordered the Department of Education to abandon the project in September of 1993. George Allen, the Republican candidate for Governor, made opposition to OBE and support for high academic standards an important issue in his campaign.

Once elected, Governor Allen appointed a Commission on Government Reform to make policy recommendations. This commission published a summary of its recommendations on November 10, 1994, a little more than ten months after Governor Allen took office. Among its recommendations on education were the following:

that the Governor reiterate his previous statements that outcomes-based education was dead in Virginia,

that the state carefully consider whether or not it would participate in Goals 2000,

that the State Department of Education develop better models for parental involvement in schools,

that the state was in "desperate need to expeditiously handle the inadequate teacher" (Commission on Government Reform, Nov. 10, 1994, p. 39),

that the state review and study the continuing contract for teachers and lengthen the probationary period before awarding such contracts, and

that the state consider lengthening the school day, emphasize traditional academics and end all social promotion (Commission on Government Reform, Nov. 10, 1994).

Finally, this Commission made four separate favorable recommendations on various school choice alternatives, including tuition tax credits and experiments with privatization of some public schools.

The Governor apparently paid attention to this Commission's recommendations. He took a stand against allowing Virginia to participate in the *Goals 2000* funding initiatives from the federal government, arguing that such monies would have strings attached and interfere with the state's right to control its own schools. In May of 1994, the Governor established, by Executive Order Number 94, a 49-member Commission on Champion Schools. Among the members of this Commission were state Senators and Delegates, several members of the State Board of Education and people who were active leaders in conservative organizations. Among the latter were Onalee McGraw, formerly of the Heritage Foundation and author of literature on secular humanism and its abuses of the rights of religious parents, and some of the vocal critics of OBE in Virginia including Lillian Tuttle of Academics First. In establishing the Commission on Champion Schools, the governor stated, "For the past four years in Virginia, education reform efforts have been adrift, lacking a solid, academic vision. Instead, past efforts have focused on attitudinal outcomes and self-esteem" (Governor's Office Press Release, May 24, 1994, p.1). The reform efforts of the past four years was a reference to the former OBE initiative. In justifying the establishment of the Commission, Governor Allen called on the evidence of massive school failure, citing a report from the National Education Commission that teaching time spent on the basic skills had decreased to 41% of the average school day (p. 2). He charged this Commission to make recommendations for achieving the following goals:

establishing higher standards of academic excellence,
instituting achievement testing for accountability,
creating excellence through the encouragement of competition and cooperation,
enhancing the learning environment by curbing school violence and drug abuse,
increasing student learning through the use of innovative technology,
empowering parents and students as consumers of education by providing greater
choice in education,
evaluating funding sources and allocations to ensure access to high-quality
education throughout Virginia, and
calling on local communities to develop new approaches to raise the level of
student achievement (Office of the Governor, Executive Order Number
94, pp. 1,2).

The Commission on Champion Schools issued its Interim Report on November 29, 1994, nineteen days after the Commission on Government Reform's report. The issues addressed in the Champion Schools' Interim Report included academic standards and testing, educational alternatives, school safety and discipline, student support services, particularly guidance and counseling, educational funding, parental and community involvement, school administration, and professional standards for teaching (Governor's Commission on Champion Schools, November 29, 1994). Stating that "the Governor gave the Commission no more important mission than the establishment of rigorous, specific and measurable academic standards" (p. i), the Commission on Champion Schools echoed the rhetoric of the Reagan administration. Like the national reform debate, the Virginia Commission accepted the assumption that the Commonwealth's schools were failing academically, and blamed professional educators for that failure. It called for tough academic standards and subsequent "cost-effective, objective student academic testing to ensure accountability" (p. 2) of schools. It recommended that those schools which performed well on the tests be released from some state regulations, while those who failed to perform well be closely monitored and assisted by the State Department of Education (Governor's Commission on Champion Schools, November 29, 1994).

While the Commission addressed academic standards and testing first in its report, the largest section of the report, indicative of its importance in the considerations of the Commission, was the section on recommendations concerning various educational alternatives to public schools. Included in this section were detailed descriptions of the provisions of potential legislation allowing for the establishment of charter schools. Among the recommendations was that such schools should have the power to establish "reasonable admission requirements" (p. 6), in compliance with federal regulations. Also among the recommendations was that these schools should be able to employ non-certified teachers (p. 7). Thus, in important ways, the reform effort in Virginia in 1994 and 1995 was linked to the national rhetoric on the academic failures of public schools and to similar solutions to those problems, including tougher standards and school choice.

The Social Studies and the Standards Movement: Reform Reports and National Standards Projects

During the 1980s a number of groups were at work attempting to identify the characteristics (not standards) of model programs in social studies and making recommendations concerning curricular frameworks. These reports attempted to lead curriculum-development efforts across the country by defining the major emerging trends in social studies education. Five of those reports are worthy of mention here. They include *Guidelines for Geography Education: Elementary and Secondary Schools* (1984), produced by the National Council for Geographic Education, the Association of American Geographers, and the Joint Committee on Geographic Education; *Charting a Course: Social Studies in the 21st Century* (1989), produced by the National Commission on Social Studies in the Schools; *Building a History Curriculum* (1988), produced by the Bradley Commission, and its sequel, *Historical Literacy: The Case for History in*

American Education (1989); and *Lessons from History: Essential Understandings and Historical Perspectives Students Should Acquire* (1992) produced by the National Center for History in the Schools (Jenzer, 1992).

What each of these projects shared in common was an admonition against superficial content coverage in the social sciences. Each sought to help curriculum developers make "responsible" (Jenzer, 1992) content choices. *Charting a Course* placed special emphasis on making content choices in social studies, recommending that curriculum developers choose depth of understanding over breadth of coverage. It stated, "Redundant, superficial coverage should be replaced with carefully articulated in-depth studies" (Jenzer, 1992, p. 35) and

The core of knowledge to be incorporated in the instructional program at every level must be selective enough to provide time for extended in-depth study..." (Jenzer, 1992, p. 36).

Three of the reports recommended that instruction in the social studies disciplines be organized around essential unifying themes. *Lessons from History*, for example, identified four essential historical themes:

the changing character of human societies;
the economic and technological development of societies;
people's understanding of themselves and their place in the universe and
different societies' representations of these beliefs; and
political theories and organizations (Jenzer, 1992, p. 34).

The Bradley Commission report, *Building a History Curriculum*, listed six essential themes:

conflict and cooperation;
comparative history and major developments;
patterns of social and political interaction;
civilization, cultural diffusion, and innovation;
human interaction with the environment; and
values, beliefs, political ideas, and institutions (Jenzer, 1992, p. 34-35).

While identifying themes and concepts rather than specific pieces of content information, each of these reports took a discipline-specific, rather than integrated, approach to social studies education. For example, the reports of both the National Center for History in the Schools and the Bradley Commission saw history as the primary discipline in social studies. The Bradley Commission recommended the blending of geography with history, and the incorporation of content from other disciplines, but its principal definition of social studies was history education. In grades seven through twelve, this commission recommended four years of history instruction (Patrick, 1990). They also recommended the rejection of the traditional expanding horizons framework for elementary social studies in favor of a more history-centered curriculum (Maxim, 1995).

Charting a Course likewise rejected the expanding horizons approach in elementary curriculum. In addition, *Charting a Course* recommended that history and geography be the core of the social studies curriculum with concepts from the other social sciences integrated into that core (Patrick, 1990). Thus, each defined social studies as a related cluster of specific disciplines. By way of contrast, the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) in 1993 adopted the following definition of social studies:

Social studies is the integrated study of the social sciences and humanities to promote civic competence. Within the school program, social studies provides coordinated, systematic study drawing upon such disciplines as anthropology, archeology, economics, geography, history, law, philosophy, political science, psychology, religion, and sociology..." (National Council for the Social Studies, [NCSS], 1994, p. vii).

This tension between integrated and discipline-specific or discipline-centered approaches to curriculum in social studies has been the subject of a debate throughout the century. Just as it was present in the alternative definitions of the field used by the curriculum reports and the National Council for the Social Studies, so was it also evident in the social studies standards projects.

The issue of fragmentation or integration of knowledge was a major problem with the standards movement in social studies. Content standards were developed by four separate task forces in four separate disciplines, history, civics, economics, and geography. Because social studies as an integrated field of study was omitted from both definitions of Goal 3 of the National Education Goals, the NCSS financed its own standards development project. Ladson-Billings (1994) characterized the development of the various standards projects in the social studies and its related disciplines as contentious "turf battles" (p. 405) as, not surprisingly, the social studies professionals failed to achieve any internal consensus over the relationship between social studies and its core disciplines. She charged, for example, that the four core discipline projects criticized the NCSS project as lacking in academic rigor and substance (p. 405), and that representatives from these core discipline projects raised questions about the viability of social studies in general (p. 405).

According to Donald Schneider who headed that NCSS development task force, the purpose was to develop standards that "integrate history and then social science to promote civic competence" (Schneider, 1994, p.5). This project sought to address the concern that the standards movement would narrow the definition of the social studies so that one or two of the disciplines might dominate the field. The NCSS project, seeking curriculum integration, organized the content base around the following ten thematic strands:

- culture,
- time, continuity, and change,
- people, places, and environments,
- individual development and identity,
- individuals, groups, and institutions,
- power, authority, and governance,
- production, distribution, and consumption,
- science, technology, and society,
- global connections, and

civic ideals and practices. (NCSS, 1994, p. x-xii).

Conceptually, the social studies standards were to serve as an umbrella under which local school divisions could design curricula in line with the separate discipline standards projects. Using a complex metaphor to describe how the projects might all relate to each other, the NCSS Task Force described the relationship between social studies and the separate disciplines as that of an orchestra's musical score where a number of instruments had parts to play, but also where from time to time one instrument would become dominant (NCSS, 1994, p. ix).

This complex, and in many respects, unworkable framework for local curriculum development efforts was symptomatic of a second problem of the social studies standards movement, namely that of too many standards at the classroom level. This "formidable array of benchmarks" (NCSS, 1994, p. 6) did little to solve the overloaded curriculum typical of social studies courses, the same content coverage concerns addressed in the earlier social studies curriculum reports. Of particular concern were the difficulties elementary teachers would face in trying to make content choices with multiple standards projects.

Understanding the Debate over Social Studies

The Nature of Social Studies

Making decisions about what content to include and what to exclude has been a chronic problem in the field, complicated by opposing definitions of social studies and differing opinions about the purpose of social studies instruction. In fact, there has been controversy among educators and within the larger community over the meaning of social studies education since the introduction of the term "social studies" over seventy years ago

(Hertzberg, 1981; Lybarger, 1991). Hertzberg (1981) placed the disagreement within a framework of four different definitions of social studies: social studies as simplified and generalized social science courses; social studies as a fusion of the content of the related disciplines revolving around societal needs or student interests (p. 2); social studies as so inclusive that nearly any school subject can be classified as "social study"; and social studies as separate social science disciplines with an emphasis on their distinct investigative and organizing methodologies (p. 3).

Although there appeared to be surface agreement about the general purpose of social studies education, i.e., education for citizenship, what social studies educators and the society as a whole failed to agree upon was what knowledge, skills, and attitudes best achieve that purpose (Barr, Barth Shermis, 1978). Barr, Barth and Shermis in a 1978 publication, The Nature of Social Studies, offered a more useful framework for understanding the nature of the controversy over defining social studies. They argued that there were three distinct traditions in social studies education: citizenship transmission, social studies as social science, and reflective inquiry. Each tradition advocated a different definition of citizenship and, therefore, dictated a different curriculum. These traditions will be described briefly in the sections that follow.

Social Studies as Citizenship Transmission

The oldest and most prevalent tradition in the social studies is that of citizenship transmission. Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1978) define the essence of social studies as citizenship transmission as the "inculcation of what is considered the most desirable knowledge, values, and skills assumed necessary for the survival of the culture" (p.19). It usually appears in a conservative form and aims, therefore, at cultural reproduction as opposed to cultural change. A good citizen is defined, then, as "one who conforms to

certain accepted practices, holds particular beliefs, is loyal to certain values, participates in certain activities and conforms to norms which are often local in character" (p.21). In the citizenship transmission tradition, the teacher carefully selects the curriculum content, teaches it to students, and interprets it so that students know what to think and how to feel about it. The concern is with both the cognitive and affective domains of knowledge. Among the core values often embedded in a citizenship transmission curriculum are equality, respect for the dignity and worth of the individual, obeying laws, voting, respect for authority, honesty, and the puritan ethic (Barr, Barth and Shermis, 1978), although any pre-determined set of values could be embedded.

A citizenship transmission curriculum emphasizes content knowledge, a content drawn primarily from history, usually organized chronologically and selected to transmit specific values. The emphasis is on coverage at the expense of depth of understanding. The history is also often characterized by omissions, distortions, and over-simplifications. Other disciplines, when they are taught, are often connected to and taught through the history content. Because the transmission of pre-determined values is a paramount goal, there is usually not much concern about the fact that the student soon forgets much of the detail; it is the generalizations and the feelings transmitted with the content details that are important.

Social Studies as Social Science

In the late nineteenth century scholars in the various social science disciplines, particularly in the new history movement, began to advocate that students be taught the methods of social science inquiry as a way to form reasoned opinions in preparation for their citizenship role. Typical of this tradition is Edgar Wesley's 1937 definition of social studies as "the social sciences simplified for pedagogical purposes" (Hertzberg, 1981).

The idea gained prominence in the structure-of-the-disciplines movement of the 1950s and 1960s. The social science tradition defines citizenship in relationship to one's ability to apply the skills of the social scientist, using the methods and tools of scientific inquiry to draw logical conclusions. Students are taught to think like social scientists, to examine primary evidence, judge its reliability, form generalizations and test them, and defend positions based on logical argument.

The core assumption of this tradition is that logical decision-making divorced from passion is a requisite skill of the good citizen. Scientific objectivity is a premium value. Unlike the reflective inquiry tradition which assumes that decisions are made on the basis of valuing and reasoning, the social science tradition emphasizes logic in decision-making, and de-emphasizes valuing except for the value of objectivity and withholding judgment until after an examination of the data. It assumes, in other words that reasoning and valuing can be separate from one another.

Fullinwider (1991) explains the distinction between social studies and social science in this way. He argues that the commonsensical picture of the social world is one in which people and their deeds are described in a special language, what he calls the "language of beliefs and desire, hope and fear, purpose and intention" (p. 19). To the social scientist, he argues this language cannot be considered real knowledge because real knowledge is communicated in behavioral and operational terms. Values and purposes have to become quantifiable responses and meanings have to be made concrete so that they can be measured (p.19).

The value conflicts that face the citizen as decision-maker, where they are recognized by the social scientist, are adjudicated in much the same way as conflicts are resolved in a court of law, on the basis on logical argument. Curricula based on this tradition expose students to primary source material and raw data and teach them the

methodology of scientific reasoning in the belief that the future citizen can generalize and transfer those skills to contemporary issues.

Like the cultural transmission tradition, the social science tradition often approaches the social studies as separate disciplines rather than as a unified field (Hertzberg, 1981). The core assumption of social science, in fact, is that each discipline has a somewhat unique way of formulating and attempting to answer questions, a unique way of discovering, analyzing and organizing knowledge (Barr, Barth and Shermis, 1978). Furthermore, in each field, the approach to knowledge development is steeped in the "scientific" tradition. In fact, history is considered by many social scientists to be one of the humanities rather than as a social science (Hertzberg, 1981; Barzun and Graff, 1992) because of the inherent demand that historical data be interpreted and the recognition that historical interpretation is shaped by the political and social contexts of the historians who write it.

Social studies as Reflective Inquiry

According to Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1978), social studies as reflective inquiry defines good citizenship as the ability to make "rational, considered, and well thought-out decisions" (p.26). In the tradition of John Dewey, reasoning and valuing are inextricably linked so that the ability to make rational decisions requires not only relevant data, but also the ability to examine problems for their inherent value conflicts and to clarify one's own values before coming to a conclusion about potential courses of action. A basic premise of reflective inquiry is that the teacher does not seek to inculcate a preconceived system of norms or values. Another basic premise of this tradition is that mastery of the current knowledge base leaves one ill-equipped to deal with contemporary and future public issues. Social studies taught in this tradition often blurs discipline boundaries and

treats the related disciplines as a unified field of study (Hertzberg, 1981). Choices about what content knowledge to include are based on what knowledge the student uses, or in other words, what knowledge is necessary to unravel a difficult problem, expose the values in conflict, consider the consequences of various courses of action, and make a considered decision. Taken one step further, social studies as reflective inquiry can become education for social action, or social reconstruction.

In fact, Saxe (1992) argues that this was the original purpose for social studies. While a number of writers (Hertzberg, 1981; Lybarger, 1991) contend that to some degree social studies evolved from the traditional history, geography, and civics courses of the nineteenth century schools, Saxe contends that it originated in the social welfare movement of the 1880s when social welfare activists began to use the data from the social science disciplines to attack social problems. Thus, the original purpose of social studies was to equip the citizen to take social action. He argues that social studies was introduced in the school curriculum, following the report of the 1916 Committee on the Social Studies, a subcommittee of the National Education Association's Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, as a way to "cultivate reflective citizens" (p.260) in the context of the social and economic problems created by the three transformative forces of industrialization, urbanization, and massive immigration (p. 260). Thus, social studies education was originally defined as something one *does*, as opposed to something one *learns* (p. 269).

Curriculum designed in this tradition centers around real, often morally ambiguous public issues, the examination of values underlying such issues, and the processes of decision-making. The basic assumption of this approach is that students will acquire the ability to expose and confront the values in conflict, make decisions based on their examination of the problem and generalize that ability to other problems a citizen might

confront. The two most common curricula approaches identified with this tradition are those designed by Oliver and Shaver (1966) in Teaching Public Issues in the High School and Hunt and Metcalf (1968) in Teaching High School Social Studies. Both approaches recognize the central role that values play in making public decisions, and each emphasizes the importance of teaching students to confront and examine controversial issues. Both approaches also recognize that individuals hold values that may, in certain circumstances, conflict with each other and address the concern of how one resolves such value conflicts.

The most serious weakness of the Barr, Barth and Shermis framework is its unquestioning assumption that only one of the traditions, cultural transmission, seeks to inculcate a preconceived set of values. Social studies as reflective inquiry, however, values a particular methodology of decision-making which accommodates ambiguity and multiple-perspectives and seeks to inspire social action. This value is transmitted via the curriculum. The same is true with the social studies as social science tradition. The values of objective inquiry, impartial observation and logical decision-making are embedded. Barr, Barth and Shermis leave the question of whether or not people can be objective in framing questions, selecting sources and methods, gathering and analyzing data and drawing conclusions largely unexamined. A second weakness is that the Barr, Barth and Shermis framework argues that "good" social studies instruction adopts one of the positions in toto. They contend that to teach social studies as cultural transmission, while at the same time, encouraging reflective inquiry, does neither well and leaves students confused (Barr, Barth and Shermis, 1978).

Yet, this framework is extremely helpful in explaining how reasonable people may agree that the purpose of social studies in schooling is to prepare the young to assume their citizenship roles in a democratic society and disagree so vehemently and completely over the content and organization of a social studies curriculum and its supporting

materials. The point of disagreement revolves around two issues. First, how does one define good citizenship? Is the good citizen more unquestioningly loyal to or reflectively critical of his government? Does citizenship imply a sense of social responsibility? Secondly, can one divorce decision-making from valuing? Can the good citizen make rational decisions based on the investigation of problems and the collection and analysis of data without interference from the affective domain? On these points, both of which are values issues, educators and the larger community have failed to reach any lasting consensus. The result is that since the Committee on the Social Studies of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education first formally introduced the term "social studies" as a part of the secondary school curriculum, there have been "ongoing debates over the nature, scope and definition of the field" (Lybarger, 1991, p. 9). The debate in Virginia over the social studies Standards of Learning raises similar questions of the nature of social studies and the definition of the good citizen.

Other Views

Hertzberg (1981) in Social Studies Reform, 1880-1980, a curriculum history of the field, suggests that the convergence of the sweeping movement known as Progressivism, and the attempts to transform the traditional history and geography curriculum into social studies provides the locus of the controversy over the meaning of social studies. Using dual definitions of "social efficiency", she identifies two opposite poles of progressivism in education. One school of thought, led by David Snedden, defined social efficiency as a form of social control:

Snedden conceived of all schools as unparalleled instruments of social control, hierarchically organized, scientifically managed, offering separate education for "producers" ("the rank and file"), who were to receive a vocational education, and "consumers", who were to receive Snedden's version of a liberal education (p. 17).

Snedden's social efficiency also relied heavily on the belief that education could be scientifically organized, using specific measurable objectives, and scientifically administered.

John Dewey, Hertzberg contends, represented the polar opposite. Seeking to build the open, democratic society, he defined social efficiency as

nothing less than the socialization of the mind which is actively concerned in making experiences more communicable; in breaking down the barriers of social stratification which make individuals impervious to the interests of others (Dewey in Democracy and Education, quoted in Hertzberg, p. 18).

Disagreements over the nature of social studies, Hertzberg contends, can be seen as points on a continuum between the two definitions of social efficiency. Between the opposites lie various points, so that any one point is actually be a blending of ingredients from the two poles. Like Progressivism itself, alternatively interpreted as a conservative movement by the middle class aimed at preventing more radical social reforms in the period following the Second Industrial Revolution and as an economic, social and political reform movement aimed as correcting some of the abuses of the "Age of Robber Barons", social studies reformers represented contradictory forces.

And therein lies the confusion over the nature of social studies. If Hertzberg is right that social studies perspectives lie somewhere on the same continuum between these two poles and that they represent some form of blending of the poles, then each perspective suffers from internal conflict. The contradictory purposes of using social studies to school orderly citizens to fulfill specific social roles and, thus, to provide social stability, and, at the same time, of using schooling in general, and the social studies in particular, to build a democratic, worthy society and to break down social stratification,

means that social studies is schizophrenic. It suffers from the burden of attempting to serve contradictory goals, making internal coherence difficult, if not impossible.

Interpreting Curricular Controversies

Barzun and Graff (1992) warn against the tendency to find single-cause explanations of historical events. The writer of history, in an attempt to impose order on historical data has the unenviable job of finding pattern in the events. In doing so the historian selects which parts of a story to write based on the pattern s/he "discovers". Pattern-making is, in itself, a form of simplification which is based on, and at the same time, creates, selective perception. When that perception tends to the single-cause, it flattens and distorts the picture (Barzun and Graff, 1992). For that reason, this review of the literature will examine a number of ways of understanding curriculum controversies.

In *Three Currents of American Curriculum Thought*, Kliebard (1985) quotes Aristotle as follows:

At present, opinion is divided about the subjects of education. All do not take the same view about what should be learned by the young, either with a view to plain goodness or with a view to the best life possible; nor is opinion clear whether education should be directed mainly to the understanding, or mainly to moral character. If we look at actual practice, the result is sadly confusing; it throws no light on the problem whether the proper studies to be followed are those which are useful in life, or those which make for goodness, or those which advance the bounds of knowledge. Each sort of study receives some votes in its favor (p.32).

The question of what should comprise the course of study has continued to plague educators. Curriculum controversy is a fact of public life as different interests seek to impose their own definitions on what knowledge, skills and attitudes are most worthwhile and, therefore, suitable for inclusion in the curriculum.

Interpretive Frameworks

Kliebard and Franklin (1983) identify two major interpretive frameworks that have dominated curriculum histories since the mid-1960s. One school, dominated by political liberals, sees curriculum documents as the product of consensus among competing social groups. Curriculum, then, is the result of practical political compromise. A second school, dominated by political radicals, emphasizes conflict over compromise. They see curriculum as evolving into a powerful instrument of social control and the reproduction of social inequality (Giroux, 1988; Apple, 1990). The critical theorists, for example, emphasizing conflict over compromise in understanding curricular controversies, argue that the act of selecting curricular content is both political and ideological, wherein the dominant groups of a society seek to define what knowledge and whose knowledge are of most worth. Schools and their structures, rules, and curricula are the means by which these dominant groups reproduce their cultural hegemony (Giroux, 1988; Apple, 1990). Further, they argue, schools control meaning and, therefore, cultural legitimacy for the dominant groups in a society. As mentioned earlier, though, one should take care with any interpretive framework that forces examination of a phenomenon into an either-or, single explanation. Such frameworks serve to reduce complexity rather than elaborate understanding (Kliebard and Franklin, 1983; Barzun and Graff, 1992).

The literature presents a number of ways to attempt to understand the meaning of curriculum controversies. Posner contends that all curricula are developed in response to a problem where the curriculum developers make "technical, economic and political decisions guided and constrained by their own personal belief systems" (p.35) which affect both how they formulate the problem and how they respond to it. To understand a curriculum or a curriculum controversy, therefore, it is necessary to understand the context in which it was developed.

that all students could learn if given sufficient time, a proposition characterized as "mastery learning". Finally, advocates of OBE were concerned about the ability of students to transfer and generalize those knowledge, skills and attitudes to new contexts (Chion-Kenney, 1994b; Spady, 1994; Zlatos, 1993).

These assumptions captured the attention of many in the national business community who were concerned about the ability of workers to solve problems, work creatively and adapt to new work organizations, including the work team concept associated with successful Japanese businesses and industry. The newest educational fad was well under way; as many as 24 states had either begun to develop, or had already enacted OBE plans by 1993 (Zlatos, 1993, p. 13). Based on the belief that the public schools should help shape the productive citizen of the future, these OBE plans began by trying to define what the adult product of schooling should become as a result of schooling in ways that were not limited merely to academic competence.

Among those plans was one developed by Pennsylvania. The Pennsylvania plan was based on six common core goals of public education: "self-worth; information and thinking skills, learning independently and collaboratively, adaptability to change, ethical judgment, and honesty, responsibility and tolerance" (Zlatos, 1993, p. 13). Designed at the top levels of the state's educational bureaucracy, Virginia's version of OBE asked what students should become as a result of schooling and identified seven life roles that should be outcomes of education. Those roles were: fulfilled individual, supportive person, life-long learner, expressive contributor, quality worker, informed citizen, and environmental steward. Even more importantly, both the Virginia and the Pennsylvania plans bore a striking resemblance to the questions posed and the answers given in the Cardinal Principles Report of 1918. The Cardinal Principles Report had defined the main goals of education as health, command of fundamental processes, worthy home membership,

vocation, citizenship, worthy use of leisure and ethical character (Hertzberg, 1981), omitting, according to Richard Hofstadter (1962) "the development of intellectual capacity" and "the mastery of secondary academic subject matter" (p. 335).

Many citizens, dissatisfied with the OBE plans, raised the same kinds of objections.

OBE plans ran into almost immediate opposition, much, though not all of it from a political force known as the New Right. as will be described later in this review. William Bennett, Reagan's Secretary of Education, stated, for example,

increasingly OBE is applied to the realm of behavior and social attitudes-becoming in effect, a Trojan Horse for social engineering, an elementary and secondary school version of the kind of "politically-correct" thinking that has infested our colleges and universities (Chion-Kenney, 1994b, p. 13).

Criticisms in Virginia mirrored those in other parts of the country. OBE was characterized as being "fuzzy" and too concerned with self-esteem at the expense of academic achievement. Critics charged that the emphasis on mastery learning and mixed-ability grouping held back faster learners (Schlafly, 1994). Authentic assessment came under attack on two points. Opponents saw standardized, norm-referenced testing as the only way by which a particular school could be measured against other schools. Thus, altering traditional forms of assessment could allow schools to water down both the curriculum and assessments and hide their deficiencies. Secondly, opponents objected to alternative assessments that allowed schools to discover children's attitudes and information about their families (Schlafly, 1994). The New Right, in particular, launched scathing attacks against OBE. According to Zlatos (1993), the critics "won the war of words-often by spreading rumors and half-truths." (p. 12). Within a short period of time, those states who were working on OBE plans, including Virginia, quickly abandoned them.

The National Education Goals

The major response of the national government to the "crisis" took the form of six goals (*America 2000*) established at a National Education Summit in 1989. Two of those original national education goals bear some significance for this study. They include:

All students will leave grades 4, 8, and 12 having demonstrated competency in challenging subject matter including English, mathematics, science, history, and geography; and every school in America will ensure that all students learn to use their minds well, so they may be prepared for responsible citizenship, further learning, and productive employment in our modern economy.

Every adult American will be literate and will possess the knowledge and skills necessary to compete in a global economy and exercise the rights and responsibilities of citizenship (National Education Goals Panel [NEGP], 1993, p.3).

In 1994, Congress officially adopted the national education goals, but expanded them.

The first goal listed above was amended to read:

All students will leave grades 4, 8, and 12 having demonstrated competency over challenging subject matter including English, mathematics, science, *foreign languages, civics and government, economics, arts*, (italics added) history, and geography, and every school in America will ensure that all students learn to use their minds well, so they may be prepared for responsible citizenship, further learning, and productive employment in our *Nation's* (italics added) modern economy (NEGP, 1994, p. 13).

One should note two significant differences in this goal as amended by the 1994 Congress. First, the list of core curriculum subjects was expanded. For a curriculum area not to be mentioned in the national education goals could carry some important implications. It could mean that the discipline was no longer considered a part of the core curriculum, and schools across the nation could limit the amount of time and resources they were willing to devote to the "non-essential" subjects. Thus, for subjects usually denoted as "electives", as in the case of art and the foreign languages, to be omitted from the national

goals put their programs at greater risk across the country. In the original goals, the social studies were defined as history and geography. The revised goal added civics (and government) as well as economics to that definition. By avoiding the term, social studies, courses like sociology, psychology and anthropology were omitted altogether. Nor does the listing of social studies courses in *Goals 2000* imply any integration of disciplines in the field. Secondly, one should note that the word "Nation's" was added to the last sentence, a subtle change in emphasis away from the concept of global economic interdependence.

Finally, a goal was added by the 1994 Congress to encourage parental involvement. It read

Every school will promote partnerships that will increase parental involvement and participation in promoting the social, emotional, and academic growth of children (NEGP, 1994, p. 13).

This goal, in light of the current emphasis on the family in American politics and on the omission of the community in designing educational reforms in previous decades, made it clear that parents would have important roles to play in the schooling of their children.

In addition to establishing goals, the national government also authorized a National Education Goals Panel, and charged it with the responsibility of monitoring and reporting progress toward these goals. The National Education Goals Panel was also made responsible for certifying voluntary national standards projects, to be developed by various "professional subject-matter associations, consortiums, or university-based groups" (Massell and Kirst, 1994, p. 107).

The Standards Movement

In passing the *Goals 2000: Educate America Act* in 1994, Congress also expanded the concept of content standards to include performance and "opportunity-to-learn standards". Opportunity-to-learn standards, which address issues related to the resources provided to schools and funding equity issues, have been, and continue to be, controversial in the reform movement, primarily because they put school divisions at risk for an increasing number of educational disparity suits (Massell and Kirst, 1994) and because they were reminiscent of earlier efforts on the part of the national government to establish expensive and bureaucratically complex compensatory education programs.

In addition, the states raised concerns about whether such standards can be used by the federal government to interfere with state control of public education. (Massell and Kirst, 1994). In fact, the very notion of national content standards and yet-to-be-developed national assessments implied a move toward a national curriculum. Any national curriculum, voluntary or not, raised the issue of the traditional tension in American history between centralization and localism. In fact, Massell and Kirst (1994) stated, "Only a decade ago it was taboo to use the words 'standards' or 'curriculum' in the context of the federal government and national-level policies" (p. 107). Yet, since the national government first supported the idea of voluntary national standards, most core curriculum areas assembled writing teams and attempted to define what students should know and be able to do upon completion of certain levels of schooling. Various subject areas in social studies, as well as the major professional organization in the field, the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS), joined the standards movement. In social studies, history, geography, and civics standards projects had federal financial support; the NCSS standards project did not. Unexamined in the push to write curriculum standards, however, were two underlying assumptions, namely that everything taught in

schools was capable of quantification and subsequent measurement, and that there was a body of core knowledge and skills that everyone should know (Bracey, 1993).

The Reform Legacy in Virginia

Virginians had not been immune to the rhetoric of educational excellence, the assumptions of educational crisis, or the usefulness of educational reform as a political issue. In the Virginia gubernatorial race in 1993, the State Department of Education's outcomes-based education initiative was an important political issue. It was so powerful an issue that the sitting governor, Douglas Wilder, withdrew all state support for it and ordered the Department of Education to abandon the project in September of 1993. George Allen, the Republican candidate for Governor, made opposition to OBE and support for high academic standards an important issue in his campaign.

Once elected, Governor Allen appointed a Commission on Government Reform to make policy recommendations. This commission published a summary of its recommendations on November 10, 1994, a little more than ten months after Governor Allen took office. Among its recommendations on education were the following:

that the Governor reiterate his previous statements that outcomes-based education was dead in Virginia,

that the state carefully consider whether or not it would participate in Goals 2000,

that the State Department of Education develop better models for parental involvement in schools,

that the state was in "desperate need to expeditiously handle the inadequate teacher" (Commission on Government Reform, Nov. 10, 1994, p. 39),

that the state review and study the continuing contract for teachers and lengthen the probationary period before awarding such contracts, and

that the state consider lengthening the school day, emphasize traditional academics and end all social promotion (Commission on Government Reform, Nov. 10, 1994).

Finally, this Commission made four separate favorable recommendations on various school choice alternatives, including tuition tax credits and experiments with privatization of some public schools.

The Governor apparently paid attention to this Commission's recommendations. He took a stand against allowing Virginia to participate in the *Goals 2000* funding initiatives from the federal government, arguing that such monies would have strings attached and interfere with the state's right to control its own schools. In May of 1994, the Governor established, by Executive Order Number 94, a 49-member Commission on Champion Schools. Among the members of this Commission were state Senators and Delegates, several members of the State Board of Education and people who were active leaders in conservative organizations. Among the latter were Onalee McGraw, formerly of the Heritage Foundation and author of literature on secular humanism and its abuses of the rights of religious parents, and some of the vocal critics of OBE in Virginia including Lillian Tuttle of Academics First. In establishing the Commission on Champion Schools, the governor stated, "For the past four years in Virginia, education reform efforts have been adrift, lacking a solid, academic vision. Instead, past efforts have focused on attitudinal outcomes and self-esteem" (Governor's Office Press Release, May 24, 1994, p.1). The reform efforts of the past four years was a reference to the former OBE initiative. In justifying the establishment of the Commission, Governor Allen called on the evidence of massive school failure, citing a report from the National Education Commission that teaching time spent on the basic skills had decreased to 41% of the average school day (p. 2). He charged this Commission to make recommendations for achieving the following goals:

establishing higher standards of academic excellence,
instituting achievement testing for accountability,
creating excellence through the encouragement of competition and cooperation,
enhancing the learning environment by curbing school violence and drug abuse,
increasing student learning through the use of innovative technology,
empowering parents and students as consumers of education by providing greater
choice in education,
evaluating funding sources and allocations to ensure access to high-quality
education throughout Virginia, and
calling on local communities to develop new approaches to raise the level of
student achievement (Office of the Governor, Executive Order Number
94, pp.1,2).

The Commission on Champion Schools issued its Interim Report on November 29, 1994, nineteen days after the Commission on Government Reform's report. The issues addressed in the Champion Schools' Interim Report included academic standards and testing, educational alternatives, school safety and discipline, student support services, particularly guidance and counseling, educational funding, parental and community involvement, school administration, and professional standards for teaching (Governor's Commission on Champion Schools, November 29, 1994). Stating that "the Governor gave the Commission no more important mission than the establishment of rigorous, specific and measurable academic standards" (p. i), the Commission on Champion Schools echoed the rhetoric of the Reagan administration. Like the national reform debate, the Virginia Commission accepted the assumption that the Commonwealth's schools were failing academically, and blamed professional educators for that failure. It called for tough academic standards and subsequent "cost-effective, objective student academic testing to ensure accountability" (p. 2) of schools. It recommended that those schools which performed well on the tests be released from some state regulations, while those who failed to perform well be closely monitored and assisted by the State Department of Education (Governor's Commission on Champion Schools, November 29, 1994).

While the Commission addressed academic standards and testing first in its report, the largest section of the report, indicative of its importance in the considerations of the Commission, was the section on recommendations concerning various educational alternatives to public schools. Included in this section were detailed descriptions of the provisions of potential legislation allowing for the establishment of charter schools. Among the recommendations was that such schools should have the power to establish "reasonable admission requirements" (p. 6), in compliance with federal regulations. Also among the recommendations was that these schools should be able to employ non-certified teachers (p. 7). Thus, in important ways, the reform effort in Virginia in 1994 and 1995 was linked to the national rhetoric on the academic failures of public schools and to similar solutions to those problems, including tougher standards and school choice.

The Social Studies and the Standards Movement: Reform Reports and National Standards Projects

During the 1980s a number of groups were at work attempting to identify the characteristics (not standards) of model programs in social studies and making recommendations concerning curricular frameworks. These reports attempted to lead curriculum-development efforts across the country by defining the major emerging trends in social studies education. Five of those reports are worthy of mention here. They include *Guidelines for Geography Education: Elementary and Secondary Schools* (1984), produced by the National Council for Geographic Education, the Association of American Geographers, and the Joint Committee on Geographic Education; *Charting a Course: Social Studies in the 21st Century* (1989), produced by the National Commission on Social Studies in the Schools; *Building a History Curriculum* (1988), produced by the Bradley Commission, and its sequel, *Historical Literacy: The Case for History in*

American Education (1989); and *Lessons from History: Essential Understandings and Historical Perspectives Students Should Acquire* (1992) produced by the National Center for History in the Schools (Jenzer, 1992).

What each of these projects shared in common was an admonition against superficial content coverage in the social sciences. Each sought to help curriculum developers make "responsible" (Jenzer, 1992) content choices. *Charting a Course* placed special emphasis on making content choices in social studies, recommending that curriculum developers choose depth of understanding over breadth of coverage. It stated, "Redundant, superficial coverage should be replaced with carefully articulated in-depth studies" (Jenzer, 1992, p. 35) and

The core of knowledge to be incorporated in the instructional program at every level must be selective enough to provide time for extended in-depth study..." (Jenzer, 1992, p. 36).

Three of the reports recommended that instruction in the social studies disciplines be organized around essential unifying themes. *Lessons from History*, for example, identified four essential historical themes:

the changing character of human societies;
the economic and technological development of societies;
people's understanding of themselves and their place in the universe and
different societies' representations of these beliefs; and
political theories and organizations (Jenzer, 1992, p. 34).

The Bradley Commission report, *Building a History Curriculum*, listed six essential themes:

conflict and cooperation;
comparative history and major developments;
patterns of social and political interaction;
civilization, cultural diffusion, and innovation;
human interaction with the environment; and
values, beliefs, political ideas, and institutions (Jenzer, 1992, p. 34-35).

While identifying themes and concepts rather than specific pieces of content information, each of these reports took a discipline-specific, rather than integrated, approach to social studies education. For example, the reports of both the National Center for History in the Schools and the Bradley Commission saw history as the primary discipline in social studies. The Bradley Commission recommended the blending of geography with history, and the incorporation of content from other disciplines, but its principal definition of social studies was history education. In grades seven through twelve, this commission recommended four years of history instruction (Patrick, 1990). They also recommended the rejection of the traditional expanding horizons framework for elementary social studies in favor of a more history-centered curriculum (Maxim, 1995).

Charting a Course likewise rejected the expanding horizons approach in elementary curriculum. In addition, *Charting a Course* recommended that history and geography be the core of the social studies curriculum with concepts from the other social sciences integrated into that core (Patrick, 1990). Thus, each defined social studies as a related cluster of specific disciplines. By way of contrast, the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) in 1993 adopted the following definition of social studies:

Social studies is the integrated study of the social sciences and humanities to promote civic competence. Within the school program, social studies provides coordinated, systematic study drawing upon such disciplines as anthropology, archeology, economics, geography, history, law, philosophy, political science, psychology, religion, and sociology..." (National Council for the Social Studies, [NCSS], 1994, p. vii).

This tension between integrated and discipline-specific or discipline-centered approaches to curriculum in social studies has been the subject of a debate throughout the century. Just as it was present in the alternative definitions of the field used by the curriculum reports and the National Council for the Social Studies, so was it also evident in the social studies standards projects.

The issue of fragmentation or integration of knowledge was a major problem with the standards movement in social studies. Content standards were developed by four separate task forces in four separate disciplines, history, civics, economics, and geography. Because social studies as an integrated field of study was omitted from both definitions of Goal 3 of the National Education Goals, the NCSS financed its own standards development project. Ladson-Billings (1994) characterized the development of the various standards projects in the social studies and its related disciplines as contentious "turf battles" (p. 405) as, not surprisingly, the social studies professionals failed to achieve any internal consensus over the relationship between social studies and its core disciplines. She charged, for example, that the four core discipline projects criticized the NCSS project as lacking in academic rigor and substance (p. 405), and that representatives from these core discipline projects raised questions about the viability of social studies in general (p. 405).

According to Donald Schneider who headed that NCSS development task force, the purpose was to develop standards that "integrate history and then social science to promote civic competence" (Schneider, 1994, p.5). This project sought to address the concern that the standards movement would narrow the definition of the social studies so that one or two of the disciplines might dominate the field. The NCSS project, seeking curriculum integration, organized the content base around the following ten thematic strands:

- culture,
- time, continuity, and change,
- people, places, and environments,
- individual development and identity,
- individuals, groups, and institutions,
- power, authority, and governance,
- production, distribution, and consumption,
- science, technology, and society,
- global connections, and

civic ideals and practices. (NCSS, 1994, p. x-xii).

Conceptually, the social studies standards were to serve as an umbrella under which local school divisions could design curricula in line with the separate discipline standards projects. Using a complex metaphor to describe how the projects might all relate to each other, the NCSS Task Force described the relationship between social studies and the separate disciplines as that of an orchestra's musical score where a number of instruments had parts to play, but also where from time to time one instrument would become dominant (NCSS, 1994, p. ix).

This complex, and in many respects, unworkable framework for local curriculum development efforts was symptomatic of a second problem of the social studies standards movement, namely that of too many standards at the classroom level. This "formidable array of benchmarks" (NCSS, 1994, p. 6) did little to solve the overloaded curriculum typical of social studies courses, the same content coverage concerns addressed in the earlier social studies curriculum reports. Of particular concern were the difficulties elementary teachers would face in trying to make content choices with multiple standards projects.

Understanding the Debate over Social Studies

The Nature of Social Studies

Making decisions about what content to include and what to exclude has been a chronic problem in the field, complicated by opposing definitions of social studies and differing opinions about the purpose of social studies instruction. In fact, there has been controversy among educators and within the larger community over the meaning of social studies education since the introduction of the term "social studies" over seventy years ago

(Hertzberg, 1981; Lybarger, 1991). Hertzberg (1981) placed the disagreement within a framework of four different definitions of social studies: social studies as simplified and generalized social science courses; social studies as a fusion of the content of the related disciplines revolving around societal needs or student interests (p. 2); social studies as so inclusive that nearly any school subject can be classified as "social study"; and social studies as separate social science disciplines with an emphasis on their distinct investigative and organizing methodologies (p. 3).

Although there appeared to be surface agreement about the general purpose of social studies education, i.e., education for citizenship, what social studies educators and the society as a whole failed to agree upon was what knowledge, skills, and attitudes best achieve that purpose (Barr, Barth Shermis, 1978). Barr, Barth and Shermis in a 1978 publication, The Nature of Social Studies, offered a more useful framework for understanding the nature of the controversy over defining social studies. They argued that there were three distinct traditions in social studies education: citizenship transmission, social studies as social science, and reflective inquiry. Each tradition advocated a different definition of citizenship and, therefore, dictated a different curriculum. These traditions will be described briefly in the sections that follow.

Social Studies as Citizenship Transmission

The oldest and most prevalent tradition in the social studies is that of citizenship transmission. Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1978) define the essence of social studies as citizenship transmission as the "inculcation of what is considered the most desirable knowledge, values, and skills assumed necessary for the survival of the culture" (p.19). It usually appears in a conservative form and aims, therefore, at cultural reproduction as opposed to cultural change. A good citizen is defined, then, as "one who conforms to

certain accepted practices, holds particular beliefs, is loyal to certain values, participates in certain activities and conforms to norms which are often local in character" (p.21). In the citizenship transmission tradition, the teacher carefully selects the curriculum content, teaches it to students, and interprets it so that students know what to think and how to feel about it. The concern is with both the cognitive and affective domains of knowledge. Among the core values often embedded in a citizenship transmission curriculum are equality, respect for the dignity and worth of the individual, obeying laws, voting, respect for authority, honesty, and the puritan ethic (Barr, Barth and Shermis, 1978), although any pre-determined set of values could be embedded.

A citizenship transmission curriculum emphasizes content knowledge, a content drawn primarily from history, usually organized chronologically and selected to transmit specific values. The emphasis is on coverage at the expense of depth of understanding. The history is also often characterized by omissions, distortions, and over-simplifications. Other disciplines, when they are taught, are often connected to and taught through the history content. Because the transmission of pre-determined values is a paramount goal, there is usually not much concern about the fact that the student soon forgets much of the detail; it is the generalizations and the feelings transmitted with the content details that are important.

Social Studies as Social Science

In the late nineteenth century scholars in the various social science disciplines, particularly in the new history movement, began to advocate that students be taught the methods of social science inquiry as a way to form reasoned opinions in preparation for their citizenship role. Typical of this tradition is Edgar Wesley's 1937 definition of social studies as "the social sciences simplified for pedagogical purposes" (Hertzberg, 1981).

The idea gained prominence in the structure-of-the-disciplines movement of the 1950s and 1960s. The social science tradition defines citizenship in relationship to one's ability to apply the skills of the social scientist, using the methods and tools of scientific inquiry to draw logical conclusions. Students are taught to think like social scientists, to examine primary evidence, judge its reliability, form generalizations and test them, and defend positions based on logical argument.

The core assumption of this tradition is that logical decision-making divorced from passion is a requisite skill of the good citizen. Scientific objectivity is a premium value. Unlike the reflective inquiry tradition which assumes that decisions are made on the basis of valuing and reasoning, the social science tradition emphasizes logic in decision-making, and de-emphasizes valuing except for the value of objectivity and withholding judgment until after an examination of the data. It assumes, in other words that reasoning and valuing can be separate from one another.

Fullinwider (1991) explains the distinction between social studies and social science in this way. He argues that the commonsensical picture of the social world is one in which people and their deeds are described in a special language, what he calls the "language of beliefs and desire, hope and fear, purpose and intention" (p. 19). To the social scientist, he argues this language cannot be considered real knowledge because real knowledge is communicated in behavioral and operational terms. Values and purposes have to become quantifiable responses and meanings have to be made concrete so that they can be measured (p.19).

The value conflicts that face the citizen as decision-maker, where they are recognized by the social scientist, are adjudicated in much the same way as conflicts are resolved in a court of law, on the basis on logical argument. Curricula based on this tradition expose students to primary source material and raw data and teach them the

methodology of scientific reasoning in the belief that the future citizen can generalize and transfer those skills to contemporary issues.

Like the cultural transmission tradition, the social science tradition often approaches the social studies as separate disciplines rather than as a unified field (Hertzberg, 1981). The core assumption of social science, in fact, is that each discipline has a somewhat unique way of formulating and attempting to answer questions, a unique way of discovering, analyzing and organizing knowledge (Barr, Barth and Shermis, 1978). Furthermore, in each field, the approach to knowledge development is steeped in the "scientific" tradition. In fact, history is considered by many social scientists to be one of the humanities rather than as a social science (Hertzberg, 1981; Barzun and Graff, 1992) because of the inherent demand that historical data be interpreted and the recognition that historical interpretation is shaped by the political and social contexts of the historians who write it.

Social studies as Reflective Inquiry

According to Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1978), social studies as reflective inquiry defines good citizenship as the ability to make "rational, considered, and well thought-out decisions" (p.26). In the tradition of John Dewey, reasoning and valuing are inextricably linked so that the ability to make rational decisions requires not only relevant data, but also the ability to examine problems for their inherent value conflicts and to clarify one's own values before coming to a conclusion about potential courses of action. A basic premise of reflective inquiry is that the teacher does not seek to inculcate a preconceived system of norms or values. Another basic premise of this tradition is that mastery of the current knowledge base leaves one ill-equipped to deal with contemporary and future public issues. Social studies taught in this tradition often blurs discipline boundaries and

treats the related disciplines as a unified field of study (Hertzberg, 1981). Choices about what content knowledge to include are based on what knowledge the student uses, or in other words, what knowledge is necessary to unravel a difficult problem, expose the values in conflict, consider the consequences of various courses of action, and make a considered decision. Taken one step further, social studies as reflective inquiry can become education for social action, or social reconstruction.

In fact, Saxe (1992) argues that this was the original purpose for social studies. While a number of writers (Hertzberg, 1981; Lybarger, 1991) contend that to some degree social studies evolved from the traditional history, geography, and civics courses of the nineteenth century schools, Saxe contends that it originated in the social welfare movement of the 1880s when social welfare activists began to use the data from the social science disciplines to attack social problems. Thus, the original purpose of social studies was to equip the citizen to take social action. He argues that social studies was introduced in the school curriculum, following the report of the 1916 Committee on the Social Studies, a subcommittee of the National Education Association's Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, as a way to "cultivate reflective citizens" (p.260) in the context of the social and economic problems created by the three transformative forces of industrialization, urbanization, and massive immigration (p. 260). Thus, social studies education was originally defined as something one *does*, as opposed to something one *learns* (p. 269).

Curriculum designed in this tradition centers around real, often morally ambiguous public issues, the examination of values underlying such issues, and the processes of decision-making. The basic assumption of this approach is that students will acquire the ability to expose and confront the values in conflict, make decisions based on their examination of the problem and generalize that ability to other problems a citizen might

confront. The two most common curricula approaches identified with this tradition are those designed by Oliver and Shaver (1966) in Teaching Public Issues in the High School and Hunt and Metcalf (1968) in Teaching High School Social Studies. Both approaches recognize the central role that values play in making public decisions, and each emphasizes the importance of teaching students to confront and examine controversial issues. Both approaches also recognize that individuals hold values that may, in certain circumstances, conflict with each other and address the concern of how one resolves such value conflicts.

The most serious weakness of the Barr, Barth and Shermis framework is its unquestioning assumption that only one of the traditions, cultural transmission, seeks to inculcate a preconceived set of values. Social studies as reflective inquiry, however, values a particular methodology of decision-making which accommodates ambiguity and multiple-perspectives and seeks to inspire social action. This value is transmitted via the curriculum. The same is true with the social studies as social science tradition. The values of objective inquiry, impartial observation and logical decision-making are embedded. Barr, Barth and Shermis leave the question of whether or not people can be objective in framing questions, selecting sources and methods, gathering and analyzing data and drawing conclusions largely unexamined. A second weakness is that the Barr, Barth and Shermis framework argues that "good" social studies instruction adopts one of the positions in toto. They contend that to teach social studies as cultural transmission, while at the same time, encouraging reflective inquiry, does neither well and leaves students confused (Barr, Barth and Shermis, 1978).

Yet, this framework is extremely helpful in explaining how reasonable people may agree that the purpose of social studies in schooling is to prepare the young to assume their citizenship roles in a democratic society and disagree so vehemently and completely over the content and organization of a social studies curriculum and its supporting

materials. The point of disagreement revolves around two issues. First, how does one define good citizenship? Is the good citizen more unquestioningly loyal to or reflectively critical of his government? Does citizenship imply a sense of social responsibility? Secondly, can one divorce decision-making from valuing? Can the good citizen make rational decisions based on the investigation of problems and the collection and analysis of data without interference from the affective domain? On these points, both of which are values issues, educators and the larger community have failed to reach any lasting consensus. The result is that since the Committee on the Social Studies of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education first formally introduced the term "social studies" as a part of the secondary school curriculum, there have been "ongoing debates over the nature, scope and definition of the field" (Lybarger, 1991, p. 9). The debate in Virginia over the social studies Standards of Learning raises similar questions of the nature of social studies and the definition of the good citizen.

Other Views

Hertzberg (1981) in Social Studies Reform, 1880-1980, a curriculum history of the field, suggests that the convergence of the sweeping movement known as Progressivism, and the attempts to transform the traditional history and geography curriculum into social studies provides the locus of the controversy over the meaning of social studies. Using dual definitions of "social efficiency", she identifies two opposite poles of progressivism in education. One school of thought, led by David Snedden, defined social efficiency as a form of social control:

Snedden conceived of all schools as unparalleled instruments of social control, hierarchically organized, scientifically managed, offering separate education for "producers" ("the rank and file"), who were to receive a vocational education, and "consumers", who were to receive Snedden's version of a liberal education (p.17).

Snedden's social efficiency also relied heavily on the belief that education could be scientifically organized, using specific measurable objectives, and scientifically administered.

John Dewey, Hertzberg contends, represented the polar opposite. Seeking to build the open, democratic society, he defined social efficiency as

nothing less than the socialization of the mind which is actively concerned in making experiences more communicable; in breaking down the barriers of social stratification which make individuals impervious to the interests of others (Dewey in Democracy and Education, quoted in Hertzberg, p. 18).

Disagreements over the nature of social studies, Hertzberg contends, can be seen as points on a continuum between the two definitions of social efficiency. Between the opposites lie various points, so that any one point is actually be a blending of ingredients from the two poles. Like Progressivism itself, alternatively interpreted as a conservative movement by the middle class aimed at preventing more radical social reforms in the period following the Second Industrial Revolution and as an economic, social and political reform movement aimed as correcting some of the abuses of the "Age of Robber Barons", social studies reformers represented contradictory forces.

And therein lies the confusion over the nature of social studies. If Hertzberg is right that social studies perspectives lie somewhere on the same continuum between these two poles and that they represent some form of blending of the poles, then each perspective suffers from internal conflict. The contradictory purposes of using social studies to school orderly citizens to fulfill specific social roles and, thus, to provide social stability, and, at the same time, of using schooling in general, and the social studies in particular, to build a democratic, worthy society and to break down social stratification,

means that social studies is schizophrenic. It suffers from the burden of attempting to serve contradictory goals, making internal coherence difficult, if not impossible.

Interpreting Curricular Controversies

Barzun and Graff (1992) warn against the tendency to find single-cause explanations of historical events. The writer of history, in an attempt to impose order on historical data has the unenviable job of finding pattern in the events. In doing so the historian selects which parts of a story to write based on the pattern s/he "discovers". Pattern-making is, in itself, a form of simplification which is based on, and at the same time, creates, selective perception. When that perception tends to the single-cause, it flattens and distorts the picture (Barzun and Graff, 1992). For that reason, this review of the literature will examine a number of ways of understanding curriculum controversies.

In *Three Currents of American Curriculum Thought*, Kliebard (1985) quotes Aristotle as follows:

At present, opinion is divided about the subjects of education. All do not take the same view about what should be learned by the young, either with a view to plain goodness or with a view to the best life possible; nor is opinion clear whether education should be directed mainly to the understanding, or mainly to moral character. If we look at actual practice, the result is sadly confusing; it throws no light on the problem whether the proper studies to be followed are those which are useful in life, or those which make for goodness, or those which advance the bounds of knowledge. Each sort of study receives some votes in its favor (p.32).

The question of what should comprise the course of study has continued to plague educators. Curriculum controversy is a fact of public life as different interests seek to impose their own definitions on what knowledge, skills and attitudes are most worthwhile and, therefore, suitable for inclusion in the curriculum.

Interpretive Frameworks

Kliebard and Franklin (1983) identify two major interpretive frameworks that have dominated curriculum histories since the mid-1960s. One school, dominated by political liberals, sees curriculum documents as the product of consensus among competing social groups. Curriculum, then, is the result of practical political compromise. A second school, dominated by political radicals, emphasizes conflict over compromise. They see curriculum as evolving into a powerful instrument of social control and the reproduction of social inequality (Giroux, 1988; Apple, 1990). The critical theorists, for example, emphasizing conflict over compromise in understanding curricular controversies, argue that the act of selecting curricular content is both political and ideological, wherein the dominant groups of a society seek to define what knowledge and whose knowledge are of most worth. Schools and their structures, rules, and curricula are the means by which these dominant groups reproduce their cultural hegemony (Giroux, 1988; Apple, 1990). Further, they argue, schools control meaning and, therefore, cultural legitimacy for the dominant groups in a society. As mentioned earlier, though, one should take care with any interpretive framework that forces examination of a phenomenon into an either-or, single explanation. Such frameworks serve to reduce complexity rather than elaborate understanding (Kliebard and Franklin, 1983; Barzun and Graff, 1992).

The literature presents a number of ways to attempt to understand the meaning of curriculum controversies. Posner contends that all curricula are developed in response to a problem where the curriculum developers make "technical, economic and political decisions guided and constrained by their own personal belief systems" (p.35) which affect both how they formulate the problem and how they respond to it. To understand a curriculum or a curriculum controversy, therefore, it is necessary to understand the context in which it was developed.

Posner's Perspectives

The context in which a curriculum is developed, then, affects first how the society defines the problems and secondly how it designs curricula aimed at solving those problems. Posner (1992) identifies five major theoretical perspectives, traditional, experiential, structure-of-the-disciplines, behavioral, and cognitive, each asking different central questions, that provide some insight in identifying the dominant values operating within a particular context. Traditional curricula, for example, represent responses to the central question, "What are the most important aspects of our *cultural heritage* (italics original) that should be preserved" (p. 47). Once this "accumulated wisdom of 'the race'" (Posner, p. 48) is identified, the curriculum is designed in such a way as to make it available to all children. Each of the other four theoretical perspectives identified by Posner represents in some degree a reaction to the traditional curriculum (Posner, p. 50).

The first major reaction came in the early twentieth century with the experiential perspective. Influenced by the growing body of knowledge from psychology and formulating the problem as the passivity of the traditional curriculum, the narrowness of its definition of education, and its inadequacy for preparing children to live in the new century (Posner, p. 51), the experientialists asked, "What *experiences* (italics original) will lead to the healthy growth of the individual" (p. 47).

A second response to the traditional curriculum is the structure-of-the-disciplines perspective and its central question, "What is the *structure of the disciplines* (italics original) of knowledge" (Posner, p. 47). Here, curriculum developers identify the problem with traditional curriculum as its view of knowledge as static and disconnected. Faced with an explosion of the knowledge base in each of the disciplines and a gap between scholarship and the content of school curricula, schools could not hope to teach children

all they would need to know. Rather, education should aim at developing in each child the "modes of inquiry"(Posner, p.60) represented by the disciplines. A student who understands from active inquiry how different disciplines organize and discover knowledge would be better equipped to become a self-directed learner and to generalize and transfer what he had learned.

Another response to the traditional curriculum, the behavioral perspective, formulates the problem in terms of educational outcomes. Here curriculum is organized around the central question, "At the completion of the curriculum, what should the learners be able to do" (Posner, p. 47) and approaches curriculum development as a technical endeavor that engages curriculum experts to identify educational goals and the conditions of learning by which those goals can be achieved.

Finally, the cognitivists are concerned about rote learning at the expense of understanding and thinking and view knowledge as constructed by the learner based on previous knowledge. They formulate the problem as an incongruence between curriculum planning and learning theory. They pose the question, "How can people learn to *make sense* of the world and *think* (italics original) more productively and creatively" (Posner, p. 47).

The Posner definitions of theoretical perspectives are helpful in examining the contextual nature of curriculum-making and in explicating the underlying assumptions of a particular curriculum. One should note, however, that Posner (1992) contends that seldom are curricula "pure". More often a curriculum represents a combination of two or more perspectives. This, in itself, is evidence that curricula decisions are political ones as diverse interest groups seek to influence questions of cultural value.

Curriculum History as Dominant Currents

Kliebard (1986) in The Struggle for the American Curriculum, a history of curriculum in American schooling, supports the thesis that curriculum-making is a political activity and also Posner's contention that a curriculum seldom represents an overwhelming victory by one perspective over the others, but rather, is more often an amalgamation of beliefs. Kliebard interprets the history of the curriculum in the twentieth century as a struggle among five competing perspectives, namely the traditional humanists, represented in the early twentieth century by Charles Eliot and William Torrey Harris; the social efficiency advocates like David Snedden; the child development proponents like G. Stanley Hall and William Kilpatrick; the social reconstructionists represented by Harold Rugg and George Counts and the life adjustment educators, whom he contends combine social efficiency, social reconstruction and child development. Social efficiency, child development, social reconstruction and life adjustment are each a different reaction to the traditional humanist curriculum. Kliebard uses the metaphor of "currents in a stream" to assert that throughout the twentieth century these curriculum currents have co-existed. At some times and under certain contexts, one current will emerge as dominant for a while, but not dominant enough to eliminate completely the influence of the other currents. When the political climate, the context, changes, a non-dominant current will become stronger and dominate for a time. Dominance is determined by the community's response to the existing political, social, and economic contexts. Those contexts, themselves, have been shaped in some measure by the existing dominant curriculum current. It is important, however, to remember that what is debated among education elites, is not necessarily what is enacted in schools. Despite on-going debates over curricula approaches and curriculum reform movements, the traditional curriculum in the classroom, the curriculum-in-use, has been remarkably resilient (Hertzberg, 1981).

One should note that Kliebard agrees with Posner that dominance of one perspective does not mean a clear cut victory of one curriculum theory over the others. Any curriculum is more likely to represent some degree of compromise among advocates of the competing perspectives as the political process operates to broker the interests of various groups. Kliebard and Posner both see amalgamation as characteristic of curriculum-making (Kliebard, 1985; Posner, 1992).

Curriculum Controversy as Cultural Warfare

To James Davison Hunter, a professor of sociology and religious studies at the University of Virginia, the accepted wisdom that school curricula represent brokered compromises between competing interest groups in a society is no longer applicable in contemporary American society. In his 1991 book, Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America, Hunter attempts to understand the cultural realignments in contemporary American society.

Hunter contends that there are deep ideological divisions, bi-polar in nature, operating in the culture. The two poles consist of the impulse toward orthodoxy and the impulse toward progressivism and are caused by a basic disagreement over the source of moral authority and the nature of truth. Those who tend toward orthodoxy locate the source of moral authority in divine revelation, in a source removed from human reason or intelligence. Not all adherents of orthodoxy are religious, but they, nonetheless, locate moral authority outside the individual experience. Pines (1982), in Back to Basics: The Traditionalist Movement that is Sweeping Grass-Roots America, a publication supported by the American Enterprise Institute, also describes the neo-conservative intelligensia as not necessarily being aligned with religious fundamentalism. He states

Religion as an institution and a belief system subordinating the individual to

a Supreme Being is very highly esteemed by conservative thinkers-though not all are devoutly religious. They believe that society requires the sense of morality and the sharply defined notions of right and wrong central to religions anchored in the Judeo-Christian teachings (p. 248).

Those who tend toward progressivism derive moral authority from subjective personal experience or from empirical evidence. "All individuals ground their views of the world within some conception of moral authority" (Hunter, p. 119), and that conception provides the lens through which all human experience is filtered (Hunter, p. 118).

For the forces of orthodoxy, knowledge is static, revealed, and given to children by adults. For the progressive forces, knowledge is constructed from experience, evolving, contextual and, therefore, relative. One discovers truth by insight and previous experiences, the progressive forces believe; one person's truth is not the same as another's. At the heart of the conflict between the two sides is faith in absolute sources of truth and morality or faith in the powers of human reason and interpretation.

These divisions in American society are not new. Hunter contends that they originate in America's diversity and lie under the surface through most of the nation's history. They emerge as powerful political forces, however, when it appears that one side is amassing great political power. He traces their emergence in contemporary America to the re-alignments caused by the perceived "secularization" of mainline religious denominations, when the forces of progressivism resymbolized traditional religious doctrines in an attempt to make them more relevant to contemporary society (Hunter, 1991).

Because the world view of each side represents for its adherents sacred, exalted truth, Hunter characterizes the conflict between the two as a "mutual moral estrangement" (Hunter, p. 129), making compromise between the two on important issues impossible. The fact that the conflict is cultural rather than political, in itself, precludes compromise (Hunter, 1991). So deep is the division that neither side can understand the language of

the other or comprehend its deepest values. The other view of morality and truth is nothing short of heresy, and is treated as such. In fact, Hunter argues that the nation has lost a common sense of identity.

In such a context neither side can win over its cultural opponents. One wins the cultural war by using a polarizing rhetoric, a rhetoric of fear, to appeal to those with more moderate views who lie somewhere between the two poles to declare for one side or the other. One wins by capturing the instruments and institutions of power and using that power to define the common culture; one wins by claiming the hearts and minds of the young. James Dobson, leader of Focus on the Family, a Christian Right organization states, "We are in a civil war of values and the prize to the victor is the next generation" (Hunter, p. 64). Robert Simonds, leader of the National Association of Christian Educators and of Citizens for Excellence in Education, agrees and characterizes the cultural wars over schooling this way

The battle is for the heart and mind and the soul of every man, woman, and especially child in America... . The combatants are "secular humanism" and "Christianity". Atheism, in the cloak of an acceptable "humanitarian" religious philosophy has been subtly introduced into the traditional Christian American Culture through the public school system. The battle is for the minds of our youth. (Hunter, 1991, p. 201).

Sara Diamond, who analyzes the agenda and growing influence of the New Right, also uses the metaphor of war to describe the conflict over schools. She states, "The right to determine how and by whom the minds of children are molded is the most valued prize in the tug of war between the Christian Right and secular society" (Kaplan, May 1994, p. K2).

Each side seeks to appropriate the common national symbols as its own in order to legitimate its views. The object of the conflict, or war, in Hunter's words is "domination

of one cultural and moral ethos over all others" (p. 42). Each side seeks to define the American culture, its history, and its deepest values (Hunter, 1991; Apple, 1990).

What Hunter describes as the impulse toward orthodoxy, Apple (1990) interprets as a combination of "neo-conservative, 'economic modernizers' and new right groups" who "have sought to build a new consensus around their own principles" (p. xii) which he defines as a union of "free market ethic and populist politics" (p. xii). For Apple (1990), a critical theorist, economic and cultural elites have more sinister and concealed motives than Hunter would allow. These elites, says Apple (1990) seek to maintain their dominance in the society by designing school curricula that serve to reinforce structural inequality in the society, educating the children of the wealthy differently than other children. Children are educated for particular adult roles in an unequal social order. These economic and cultural elites also seek to ensure social stability by imposing their own value systems on children and by emphasizing the need for social order. In this process, the history of dissent and critical examinations of the abuses of the society are purposely ignored (Apple, 1990; Giroux, 1988).

According to Hunter (1991) education is a critical field of conflict on which the culture war is waged because schools are primary institutions of cultural reproduction and because the acceptable definition of the family and its obligations to its children are significant issues in the culture war and in the relationship between schools and parents. Schooling is also a significant battlefield in the culture war because values affect every educational decision from textbooks to curriculum design, from tracking decisions to the discussion of contemporary issues. Much of education, states Arons, "touches upon conscience, worldview, and the basic beliefs that are central to each person's definition of reality" (p. 358).

According to Hunter, the primary issue in the conflict over education is the contention on the part of the forces of orthodoxy that schools have been inculcating in students the doctrines of a state religion, "secular humanism". Secular humanism, as they define it, with its emphasis on the powers of human reason, represents an assault on their basic cultural values, primarily their belief in a transcendent source of moral authority. Evangelist Tim LaHaye sees the situation this way: "When God was expelled from the schools, and moral relativism began to reign supreme, one could perceive the beginning of the chaos that pervades today's public education" (LaHaye, 1980, p. 43).

The forces of orthodoxy also object to the tendency of some classrooms to emphasize the relative nature of knowledge and the emphasis in some self-esteem programs on independent reasoning. To the forces of orthodoxy, the schools promote the agenda of the forces of progressivism. Government schools, therefore, hold their children captive and force a value system on them that violates the religious values and the religious freedoms of the family.

To some extent, Arons' discussion of the growing controversies over the content of school curricula, textbooks, and library materials echoes Hunter's description of the ideological nature of the debate. Arons characterizes contemporary censorship struggles and curriculum debates over issues like "contests between Genesis and evolution; the presentation of gender roles in reading texts; the roles of authority, patriotism, spirituality, and critical thinking in civics courses; and the basic value decisions that give significance to schooling and meaning to life" (p. 360) as "ideological"(p. 360), often engaging "the intense passions that most people reserve for issues of conscience and basic beliefs" (p. 360). It is at these deepest levels of belief, that the disputes become cultural conflicts.

Social studies, in particular, represents for some of the orthodox forces, an assault on family rights and religious convictions. In an attempt to protect the rights of religious

minorities, including those of the non-religious who took their objections to prescribed school prayer to the Supreme Court and won, schools have tended to enforce a silence on the discussion of religious issues in public institutions, and especially in schools. In fact, Carter (1993), in The Culture of Disbelief, argues that while the American culture permits ritualistic, meaningless admissions of faith, at the same time it treats the public discussion of personal, meaningful religious belief as fanaticism. Critics charge that social studies textbooks often ignore or de-emphasize the role of religion in the nation's history (Hunter, 1991). They also content that many social studies materials present a biased and too-critical picture of American and Western history. In Back to the Basics, Pines (1992) states the orthodox position this way,

Revisionists seem determined to demonstrate that the U.S. has been a demonic force from its earliest days. In their works, the Founding Fathers become racists, while the heroic conquering of the West and opening of the frontier are "unmasked" as exercises in genocide - comparable, presumably, with Nazi Germany's Final Solution (p. 25).

For the forces of orthodoxy, America is a Christian nation, whose founding is linked to divine will and whose foundational principles are derived from biblical principles. Freedom for the orthodox forces means self-government with an emphasis on economic self-determination and free enterprise. Justice, as in the Judeo-Christian tradition, means moral righteousness (Hunter, 1991). Social studies textbooks and social studies programs do not reflect, they believe, these "truths", place too much emphasis on what is wrong with America, and provide further proof that children in the schools are prisoners of secular humanism.

The forces of orthodoxy also want schools to teach that gender differences and traditional gender roles are biological and not just products of socialization. The women's rights movement threatens the traditional patriarchal family structure, which is essential to

the preservation of the family, they believe. They want schools to teach that the only natural family structure is the traditional one and that homosexuality is a perversion.

Also at issue is the emphasis in schools on America's diversity and on multicultural studies. The forces of orthodoxy believe that the common culture requires an emphasis on unity and assimilation, on America's origins in the Western European civilizations. Multicultural and ethnocentric studies teach children to appreciate other value systems, values that violate the belief systems of the culturally orthodox.

Though Hunter is not an educational historian nor an expert in curriculum studies, nonetheless, his thesis is important to this study. If he is correct, and America is presently engaged in the culture war he describes, that war will have profound implications for those who attempt to design curriculum and to those who write curriculum histories of this era. What his thesis implies is that curriculum during this era cannot be seen as an amalgamation of differing political beliefs, or even as attempts by the various forces to find an acceptable political compromise. If Hunter's analysis of contemporary American society is accurate, what he adds to those who study curriculum struggle is an understanding of the depth of feelings of the cultural divide. If he is correct, curriculum struggles will be waged vehemently and relentless as one would fight a holy war.

The Emergence of the "New Right"

Hunter defines the forces of orthodoxy as fundamentalist Christians and Jews as well as more secular conservatives who may wince at the more extremist pronouncements of fundamentalist ministers, but nonetheless share many of their beliefs about the state of morality in the nation and the "evils" of public schools (Hunter, 1991). These secular conservatives, consequently, share much of the political agenda of the religious right.

Included in this coalition would also be many taxpayer and senior citizen groups (Arocha, 1993).

Pines (1982), in Back to Basics: The Traditionalist Movement that is Sweeping Grass-Roots America, a book that extols the virtues of this movement, chooses to use the term "traditionalist" rather than conservative or "New Right." He uses "New Right" primarily to mean the fundamentalist Protestant part of the coalition. But, he too recognizes it as a broader coalition than what is commonly referred to as the "conservatives". He contends that the difference between the old conservative political wing and the new traditionalist movement (in which he includes the fundamentalist Protestants) is that the former was too willing to compromise with other political groups where the latter stands on principle and refuses to compromise (Pines, 1982). This is precisely the point of the Hunter thesis, that is, that because the ideological belief systems are so deeply held, one cannot comprehend other ways of seeing, and certainly cannot compromise with them.

Kincheloe, likewise, uses the term "New Right" to mean an uneasy alliance between fundamentalist religious forces and political conservatives. For the purposes of this study, the term, "New Right" will be used to mean this combination of forces, both secular and religious, who seek to impose on school curriculum a sense of absolute truth and morality and an unquestioning traditional knowledge base.

Sex education and textbook controversies are often the sparks that cause local groups to form, but it is fear of "secular humanism" and academic achievement deficits that fuel them, with the aid of national organizations which provide literature and advice on how to attack local schooling. It was also outcomes-based education plans that made the New Right a national movement in debates over schooling. Kaplan (May 1994) states

The arrival in force of outcomes-based education (OBE) could not have come at a better time for the new Christian Right... The products of well-intentioned reformers in state government, some versions of OBE were read by critics and by large chunks of the public as a cornucopia of value-laden curricula, affective concepts run amok, and institutional boundary-crossing (p. K6).

Because outcomes-based education plans often encompass all that the New Right abhors in public schooling, they provide the opportunity for these groups to launch broader attacks against what they see as the absolute failures of public schools and against government sponsored religion in the form of secular humanism. It should be noted that the New Right has attached the label "outcomes-based education" to almost any kind of educational reform, including, site-based management, co-operative learning, individualized education, thematic teaching, authentic assessment and team-teaching, among others (Chion-Kenney, 1994a).

The Issues

Within the context of the cultural war and the attempts by each side to define the meaning of the nation's identity and control its future, it is not hard to imagine some issues in this debate, as in the calls from the New Right for an emphasis in school curricula on a traditional knowledge base and a de-emphasis on affective objectives. There are other issues, however, that are surprising, like those surrounding the controversy over environmentalism. The issues of this debate will be described to some extent in reference to the national debate over outcomes-based education, for it is here that the major culture workers make public statements. The same issues, however, carry over into other more localized educational controversies, as they have in Virginia's recent debate over the Standards of Learning (SOLs). For the most part, these are issues of concern to social studies educators because of the value-laden nature of social studies curriculum and

instruction and because the New Right defines certain areas as closed to public discussion in schools which many social studies educators consider to be legitimate and important parts of the curriculum.

The one overriding issue for the New Right is its firmly held belief that public schools are infested by secular humanism, which they define as a religion by virtue of its emphasis on human reason as a source of moral authority. Park (1995) argues, however, that secular humanism cannot be precisely defined and states, "the conspiracy theory of secular humanism is fiction written, directed and produced by leaders of the New Right" (p. 350). "Oh, they don't call it humanism," counters Rev. Timothy LaHaye, "they call it democracy, but they mean humanism in all its atheistic and amoral depravity" (Park, 1995, p. 350).

Charges of Secular Humanism

Mobley writes that "secular humanism appears to be a new code word for communism in the vocabulary of conservative leaders" (Mobley, 1987, p. 68). But, "trying to define secular humanism is like trying to nail Jell-O to a tree," states Barbara Parker of People for the American Way (Mobley, 1987, p. 69). Two questions need to be answered: Is humanism a religion? Does it infect public schools?

The original Humanist Manifesto, written in 1933 and signed by, among others, John Dewey, defined humanism as a religion. It stated

Today man's larger understanding of the universe, his scientific achievements, and his deeper appreciation of brotherhood, have created a situation which requires a new statement of the means and purposes of religion (The New Humanist, 1933, p. 1).

It then continued, listing the tenets of the new religion, emphasizing that human intelligence and reason were the best hope for building a just society. Among those were: that the universe was not created, that man evolved from nature, that the individual is molded by the culture, that a "socialized and cooperative economic order must be established" (Humanist Manifesto I, p. 3), that the "religious forms and ideas of our fathers [are] no longer adequate" (Humanist Manifesto I, p. 4) and that man "alone is responsible for the realization of the world of his dreams" (Humanist Manifesto I, p. 4). The second Humanist Manifesto, written in 1973, further fueled the anger of religious conservatives by stating, among other things that

moral values derive their source from human experience (The Humanist, Sept.-Oct, 1973, p.6),

we believe...that traditional dogmatic or authoritarian religions that place revelation, God, ritual, or creed above human needs and experience do a disservice to the human species (p. 5),

promises of immortal salvation or fear of eternal damnation are both illusory and harmful (p. 6),

we reject all religious, ideological or moral codes that denigrate the individual, suppress freedom, dull intellect, dehumanize personality (p.6),

we believe that intolerant attitudes, often cultivated by orthodox religions and puritanical cultures unduly repress sexual conduct (p. 6),

the state should encourage maximum freedom for different moral, political, religious, and social values in society (p. 7),

we deplore the division of human kind on nationalistic grounds (p. 7), and

we, thus, reaffirm a commitment to the building of world community. (p. 8).

It is easy to see how such doctrines inflame those who tend toward orthodoxy. Such statements, unarguably, represent clear repudiations of the basic value systems of the New Right. But, are they the doctrines of public schools?

The New Right contends that these doctrines passed into public schools through the students of John Dewey, who trained public school teachers, who created a humanistic educational establishment which then produced more teachers with humanistic philosophies, who taught them in classrooms (Mobley, 1987, p. 72). A fundamentalist minister gave the following examples of secular humanist practices in public schools, stating that those schools:

Brainwashed children by using role-playing techniques; turned little boys into homosexuals by teaching them to cook; taught students to think too much with inquiry/ discovery lesson; produced amoral "godless" behavior with values clarification lessons; increased teenage pregnancy with sex education; stimulated political subversion by using realistic contemporary literature in the classroom; encouraged girls to participate as equals in the work world, which would destroy the family; emphasized global/international education, which supported peace over war and this was "unchristian" (Mobley, 1987, p. 65).

Mobley (1987) reports that surveys conducted by Primack and Aspey suggest that the threat of secular humanism is exaggerated by the New Right. Quoting Primack and Aspey in "The Roots of Humanism", an article published in the December 1980 Educational Leadership, Mobley writes, "Every serious survey we have done of strong beliefs held indicates that the people associated with education --school board members, administrators, teachers--are all quite conservative in most matters and particularly religious matters' " (Mobley, 1987, p. 74).

How then, does the perception persist that schools promote secular humanism?

The source of this conviction may lie, first in the propensity of schools to avoid discussions of religious matters following the Supreme Court rulings on the separation of church and state. So strongly have many schools sought to avoid violations of the

separation that textbooks and curriculum materials avoid significant mention of religious belief in America. Hunter contends that, "religion in American life and history has received rather short shrift in public school history and social science textbooks" (Hunter, p. 204). New Right advocates argue that such exclusion of an important element of the cultural life of a nation is evidence that the schools promote non-religion. Secondly, school textbooks, curriculum materials, and education organizations promote the teaching of tolerance, tolerance of other people, of other races, and of other belief systems. Tolerance of other values, of other belief systems is an anathema to the New Right, and further evidence that the schools are infested by secular humanists. These factors alone, however, are insufficient proof that schools intentionally teach secular humanism. There is danger in attaching such broad, imprecise labels; there is also much to be gained in terms of voter appeal when one is waging a cultural war.

Secular Humanism, Political Correctness and Academic Rigor

Because secular humanism is defined so vaguely, nearly any school practice can be cited as an example of what it is. The primary concern for advocates of the New Right, however, is that by teaching values and attitudes as seemingly innocuous as tolerance and respect, and skills like critical thinking, schools are co-opting the rights and responsibilities of parents. These attitudes, they contend, serve to advance a "politically-correct", left wing agenda. Robert Simonds, characterizes what he perceives as the liberal agenda of the public school curriculum as the "irrational influence of left-wing educational radicals whose agenda is a socialist, anti-Christian diatribe designed to denigrate all religions, but especially Christianity" (Simonds, 1993, p. 19). In fact, more extreme elements of this New Right coalition see government schools as engaging in a "vast plot involving abortionists, zero population growth, secular humanists and planned parenthood" to

promote genocide as a way to control population growth by making "abortion, contraception, homosexuality, suicide and sterilization" more accessible (Kincheloe, 1983, p. 13). Pat Robertson of the Christian Coalition uses *Man: A Course of Study* (MACOS), to support claims like these (Kincheloe, 1983, p. 13). MACOS was a curriculum developed in the early 1960s to teach fundamental organizing concepts in sociology and anthropology related to the how animals and humans acculturate their young. This curriculum, designed by university scholars in cognitive psychology and anthropology for elementary school children, was, according to Posner (1992) "one of the most controversial curricula ever developed" because of "conflicts in values between the developers and conservative members of the community" (p. 30). It was never widely implemented because of the controversy surrounding it, and because of that same controversy, the national government, through the National Science Foundation "backed away from curriculum development and dissemination for several years" (p. 30). Even thirty years later MACOS continues to serve as an alarming example for the New Right of the dangerous values taught by public schools. Even more extremist are charges by other New Right advocates that schools actively promote New Ageism and occultism, particularly through self-esteem programs and the incorporation of legends and stories into the curriculum (Jones, 1995).

What are the specific issues by which the New Right believes that schools seek to inculcate attitudes that promote secular humanism and a politically correct liberal agenda? The primary ones related to social studies education are:

- multiculturalism,
- globalism, (referred to by opponents as "one-worldism"),
- the acceptance of alternative lifestyles as legitimate,
- open-mindedness and tolerance for diversity,
- the critical examination of American history and society,
- values clarification,

the study of psychology and the use of its principles in teaching, population control, environmentalism, gender issues, and the discussion of nuclear policy (Park, 1985; Mobley, 1987; Arocha, 1993; Simonds, 1993; Chion-Kenney, 1994b; LaHaye, 1994, Schlafly, 1994).

Several of these issues emerged in the national debate over the National History Standards Project. Chief among them were charges by critics that the standards were excessively politically correct and multicultural (Nash and Dunn, 1995, p. 5) and that they denigrated American and Western European civilization. The Gablers, whose Education Research Analysts, Inc. examines textbooks for secular humanist, anti-family, and anti-American content identify the following categories of objectionable content:

attacks on values, distorted content, negative thinking, violence, academic unexcellence, isms fostered (communism, socialism, internationalism), invasion of privacy, behavioral modification, humanism, occult and other religions encouraged, and other important educational aspects (Mobley, 1987, p. 84).

Always tied to critiques of public schooling by the New Right is the perceived de-emphasis on academic content in schools. Repeatedly they charge that American public school children are academically inferior to those of other nations, citing most frequently standardized test scores and national reports about the failures of American schools. They blame this decline in test scores on the fact that schools have, in their opinion, "dumbed-down the curriculum." In fact, the New Right's primary critique of OBE plans is that they supposedly emphasize the affective domains and de-emphasize the content knowledge base. To remedy this situation, they argue, schools must return to an emphasis on the basics and drop all efforts to mold student values and attitudes.

The most prominent New Right group on educational issues, Citizens for Excellence in Education, has as the first priority on its agenda, the return of "academic excellence in schools" (Simonds, 1993, p.20). Ralph Reed, Jr. of the Christian Coalition

lists as one of the tenets of his organization, "We believe curriculum must return to the basics. The 3R's have been whittled away by values clarification, multiculturalism, human sexuality courses and outcomes-based education" (Reed, 1993, p.18). He further suggests that the "one simple standard that should govern curricular decisions is: Will it help students learn to read, write, and perform basic math skills" (Reed, 1993, p. 18).

Among social studies educators, particularly those who see social studies as education for active citizenship, these positions are, at the least, short-sighted and unwise. While it does not speak for all social studies educators, nonetheless, the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) is the largest professional organization in the field. Its recently released National Standards project, Expectations of Excellence, identifies, among the ten thematic strands of a social studies curriculum, the following:

Social studies programs should include experiences that provide for the study of culture and cultural diversity (National Council for the Social Studies [NCSS], 1994, p.21),

Social studies programs should include experiences that provide for the study of global connections and interdependence (p. 29), and

Social studies programs should include experiences that provide for the study of the ideals, principles, and practices of citizenship in a democratic society (p.30).

Included in those democratic values are freedom of inquiry and the responsibilities to be tolerant, to respect the rights of others and to work for the common good (NCSS, 1994, p. 152). These are attitudes and values that cause some concern to members of the New Right, for they believe that such values can be used to support a liberal political agenda.

There are also issues related to instructional practices that divide the combatants in the school-related cultural wars. Pines writes,

The chic theories of the late 1960s delighted in denouncing schools for an authoritarianism which allegedly destroyed pupils' budding creativity. What was needed, counseled these theorists, is to replace the traditional teacher-dominated

learning process with a "student-centered" classroom in which teachers treat students as peers....As for the curriculum, that too must be thoroughly revamped to stress "creative learning" opportunities in which expression came to replace thinking and knowing. (p.102-103).

He goes on to state, "The theories have failed and American society is paying the price for allowing such pedagogical folly" (p. 103). It should be noted that the unquestioned assumption of Pines' statement is that the reforms advocated among educational thinkers were actually implemented in classrooms, and with enough strength to create the kinds of academic failures for which they are blamed. According to Pines the Back to the Basics movement grew out of parental concern over academic achievement. He credits this "grass-roots" movement with having the good sense to ignore the educational experts (Pines, 1982).

In recent years, some educators have promoted co-operative learning, mastery learning, mixed-ability grouping and various forms of authentic assessment. Critics from the New Right charge that co-operative learning, for example, "bans all competition and rewards for achievement" (Schlafly, 1994, p. 26). Mixed-ability grouping and mastery learning seek to make schools "egalitarian" by holding back faster learners until others catch up (Schlafly, 1994, p. 26). Authentic assessment comes under attack on two points. First, opponents see standardized, norm-referenced testing as the only way by which a particular school might be measured against other schools. Altering traditional forms of assessment, they argue, provides a means by which educators might dumb-down testing and hide their deficiencies from parents. Secondly, Schlafly and others fear that authentic assessment provides educators with a way to discover children's attitudes and information about their families, and therefore, represents an invasion of privacy (Schlafly, 1994). Her organization, Eagle Forum, distributes a letter to parents listing events from which they

should demand that their children be excused. Those events include autobiography assignments, log books, diaries, and personal journals (Bridgman, 1985).

These issues championed by the New Right are being endorsed by many who would not willingly associate themselves with some of the more extreme spokespersons of this movement. The issues, however, are being raised in a particular social and political context, one that believes that schools, in large part, are failing to educate America's children.

Summary

This review of the literature has focused on five themes related to understanding the controversy surrounding the development of the Virginia Standards of Learning for Social Studies. Of these five themes, the first three attempt to place the Virginia controversy over social studies standards in its political and cultural context, while the last two are related to exploring alternative explanations of curriculum controversy in social studies.

The first theme of this review of the literature was the "crisis mentality" under which the Virginia standards were developed, a mentality that asserted that there were systematic failures in American public education. This mentality, fueled by the Reagan administration and the national reform reports, created the rhetoric of excellence, a rhetoric that demanded standards by which the academic achievement of American students and the quality of their schools might be measured. That same rhetoric resulted in the establishment of national education goals, national standards projects, and state reform initiatives. Virginia's response to that rhetoric was curriculum standards in the social studies.

This review also focused on the response to the crisis on the national level in the form of national education goals and standards projects, for they, too, helped establish the context in which Virginia developed her standards in social studies. Their emphasis on excellence, while ignoring issues of equity, and their top-down approach to identifying curriculum standards is significant in understanding Virginia's efforts. The national standards projects in social studies were also significant in that they failed to resolve long-standing tensions between social studies and its component disciplines.

In attempting to understand the curriculum controversy in Virginia over social studies, this review also examined two other themes: the nature and purpose of social studies and alternative frameworks for interpreting controversies over social studies education. Before this study can understand why there was controversy over the standards in Virginia, it must first ground those understandings in alternative definitions of the purposes of social studies and explanations of social studies curricular controversies. These themes are critical in determining whether the controversy over curriculum standards for social studies in Virginia is a case of a relatively new phenomenon or just a continuation of an on-going debate over the meaning of social studies education and its purposes in the school curriculum.

The final theme of this review of the literature was the emergence of a conservative ideological and political movement, one that wed traditional conservative beliefs with religious conservatism. Educational crisis in a less conservative political climate could have, and probably would have, demanded different solutions. Instead, the political climate rejected attempts to reform America's schools through educational innovations, including outcomes-based education initiatives. Rather than look to educational innovation, influential conservative spokespersons called for a return to

traditional curricula and pedagogy, a greater emphasis on cultural unity, and academic competition.

This review of the literature, then, has sought to offer alternative explanations and understandings of curricular controversies in social studies and to place the Virginia controversy in its political and cultural context.

CHAPTER THREE

PLAN OF THE STUDY

Methodology

This study seeks to describe and analyze the controversy over the Virginia Standards of Learning for social studies. It attempts to discover the reasons for the controversy by identifying the key participants and significant educational and cultural issues of that controversy. The researcher's interest in this study began with the question of whether or not this controversy was an example of the culture war described by Hunter (1991). Further involvement in the project and the literature review began to reshape the question to open up space for alternative explanations of this controversy. The researcher then began to search the literature for alternative explanations of what seemed to be happening in Virginia. This search of the literature occurred before the actual data gathering phase of this project, so that the researcher entered the project with various explanations of curriculum controversy in mind.

This study was conducted using the skills and methods of two qualitative research traditions, history and ethnography. In fact, until near the end of the study, the researcher constantly questioned whether she was writing history or ethnography, believing that the story had to be told using one or the other of the traditions. Finally, she decided that the question created a false dichotomy. This is, in essence, the history of a contemporary event, one that seeks to understand the controversy within its particular context, using the words of actual participants. The researcher then searched through those words, in the form of interviews with major participants, actual meeting transcripts, field notes, documents, and newspaper accounts in order to identify central themes emerging from the

data itself, in the ethnographic tradition. Thus, this study is both an historian's and an ethnographer's account of the process for developing the Virginia Standards of Learning.

Overview of Qualitative Methodology

When social and educational researchers debate over the value of quantitative or qualitative research, extremist voices argue that no qualitative research can be taken seriously, that it is irrevocably tainted by researcher bias, that its conclusions are invalid because it lacks instrumental control, and that if such conclusions could be valid, they could not be generalized because of the absence of sampling control (Reichardt and Cook, 1979; Lincoln and Guba, 1986). Extremists of the qualitative camp charge that the **positivist paradigm** of quantitative research, especially in the social sciences, is fundamentally flawed by assuming that an objective social truth exists or by ignoring the influence of context on human interactions (Reichardt and Cook, 1979; Lincoln and Guba, 1986). Qualitative researchers contend that generalization of findings from case to case depends on the matching of sending and receiving contexts (Lincoln and Guba, 1986), and that the value of qualitative research lies in its abilities to challenge "taken for granted" assumptions (Silverman, 1994). Reichardt and Cook (1979) trace the fiercest of debates between staunch advocates of either tradition to a difference in paradigms, where one bases one's decisions about methodology on a particular view of the nature of knowledge and truth. One paradigm sees knowledge and truth as stable, objective reality, while the other sees knowledge and truth as contextual, allowing for the construction of multiple meanings and truths. Reichardt and Cook (1979), argue, however, that the researcher should choose a particular research methodology based on the purpose of the research, in other words, on the questions posed. They further contend that the two families of research compliment each other so that, in a single study, a researcher might borrow

methods from each of the traditions. Silverman (1994), too, avoids entering heated debates over the appropriateness of one methodology over another, arguing that the two research traditions are neither true nor false, but rather useful or not useful.

This researcher adopts Silverman's view and contends that for this study, qualitative research methodology is most useful. The questions posed here demand the examination of cultural beliefs and attitudes for which qualitative research is appropriate. This research paradigm is also sensitive to and values context. Because this study begins with the assumption of contextual influences on the controversy over the development of the standards for social studies, qualitative research is more useful.

The key participants in this controversy are public figures who have personal and professional reputations to protect. Because humans construct themselves in public situations based on responses to social contexts and on a legitimate desire to control the public persona, this research requires a methodology that allows analysis and inference from text. Qualitative methodology is suited for such research problems.

It also avoids the search for a single nomothetic truth. Rather, it assumes that knowledge and truth are subjective, constructed from context by social actors. In doing so, it allows informants to participate in the act of analyzing and constructing meaning. It values multiple perspectives and complexity. Research that searches for cultural beliefs must, by definition, allow space for subjective and multiple truths. The possibility of allowing voices in the controversy to speak to each other as well as to those who wish to understand this controversy requires the use of qualitative research.

This researcher seeks to discover what informants know or believe about the educational issues in the controversy over social studies standards. Qualitative methodology is suitable for this task because it allows the researcher to collect data in natural (as opposed to experimental) settings, settings in which the researcher can "overtly

and covertly" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1993, p. 2) participate in the event under study, "watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions; in fact, collecting whatever data are available to throw light on issues with which he or she is concerned" (p.2). The value of a qualitative study rests with the quality of data collection and its subsequent analysis, the richness of description, and the attention the researcher pays to the trustworthiness of inferential findings. Based on these assumptions, the researcher conducted this study within the qualitative research tradition.

It has been argued by qualitative researchers that a primary purpose of this tradition is to allow grounded theory to emerge from the data (Spradley, 1980), that, indeed, qualitative methodology is a way to escape the scientific empiricism of Western cultural traditions and the unquestioned assumptions it allows. Spradley (1980) contends that one value of grounded theory is that it opens space for one to question cultural assumptions. Others, however, contend that qualitative research can begin with a theoretical framework so long as the researcher is cognizant that such a framework provides a lens through which research data is filtered (Silverman, 1994). Silverman describes the qualitative researcher as sometimes entering the field with a theoretical framework, but warns that doing so requires that the researcher be vigilant and open to other possibilities. As often happens, consciously or not, the researcher in the early stages of field observation begins to develop assumptions which can affect the quality of data collection in that such assumptions provide a lens through which data is filtered. This research began with assumptions about why the development of social studies standards was controversial, but early curriculum readings began to challenge those assumptions. Various explanations could be examined through data from public documents and transcripts from field observations. They could also be examined through interview transcripts so long as the interview questions avoided imposing a particular explanation.

Boundaries of the Study

The development of a curriculum standards in social studies for the Commonwealth of Virginia is rich in potential for research, with a number of questions which could be pursued so that focusing this study is a difficult task. Because the researcher faced constraints of both time and resources, it was necessary to establish boundaries for this project.

The first boundaries were those imposed by the questions the researcher asked. This study seeks to understand the controversy over the standards through its significant issues and the relationship of that controversy to the perspectives of the key participants.

Secondly, this study is bounded by time. The process of developing standards in social studies in Virginia began in May of 1994 when the Virginia Department of Education contracted with Newport News Public Schools to serve as the Lead School Division in revising the standards. The actual development of the standards document ended in July of 1995 when the Board of Education published the standards. During the process of developing the standards, the groups of people involved changed frequently, both in size and in composition, and the leadership function passed from the Lead School Division to the Governor's Commission on Champion Schools, and finally, to the Board of Education. That process can be described as occurring in the following stages:

Stage 1: The Lead School Division in control (June 1994-October 1994),

Stage 2: The Commission on Champion Schools in control (October 1994-January 1995),

Stage 3: The January Draft and public hearings (January 1995-March 1995), and

Stage 4: The Board of Education in control (April 1995-July 1995).

Because the final stage produced documents largely independent of the early efforts at writing standards, the primary focus of this examination will be on the period

from May 1995 through July of 1995 when the Board of Education took control of the development process. In conjunction with its appointed Advisory Committee, it produced the final document. This time frame also omits any examination of the General Assembly's reception of the final standards, the implementation of the standards, and any final decisions on the issue of assessment and the development of assessment instruments.

Data Collection

Overview and Orientation to the Project

The researcher began with an interest in this project in January of 1995. That interest developed out of a case study she had done on a social studies curriculum controversy in a school division in Virginia. As a part of that project, she did extensive reading on the issues and influences of the New Right on public school curriculum. She also began to read newspaper accounts of the standards development process and information on the Commission on Champion Schools, appointed by Governor George Allen to make policy recommendations in the area of education. This orientation to the project helped formulate a series of questions about what was occurring during the development of social studies standards.

In late January of 1995, the State Department of Education published a draft of the standards and scheduled public hearings. The researcher did an analysis of that draft and attended one of the public hearings on the January draft. It was at this point that the researcher decided to pursue this topic for her dissertation project. She began to search the literature on curriculum controversy and on the New Right. The actual collection of data began with the amassing of newspaper accounts and public documents concerning the standards.

Silverman (1994) identifies four major methods of qualitative research: observation, analysis of texts and documents, interviews, and audio or audio-visual recording of events and transcription of those recordings (p. 89). This study utilizes all four of those methods.

Field Observation

In April of 1995, the researcher attended and took extensive notes of a two-day meeting of the Virginia Consortium of Social Studies Specialists and College Educators (VCSSSCE) at which professional opposition to the January draft of the standards was the major topic of discussion. She also attended a hearing on the standards held by the General Assembly committees on education. In May, June and July of 1995 the researcher conducted field observations of four of the five sessions of the Board of Education's task force on revising the standards. During these task force meetings, she attended general sessions, one session of the civics standards subcommittee, and four sessions of the history task force. She made the decision to concentrate on the history task force because she considered history to be the focus of much of the controversy over the January draft and because three members of the Board of Education joined that task force. In addition, the researcher conducted a field observation of the session at which the Board of Education debated, amended, and gave approval to the standards contingent upon further editing by a group of four Board members. The researcher also conducted observations of this Editing Committee. She either took field notes of these proceedings or audiotaped them, or both.

Hammersley and Atkinson (1993), report four possible roles the researcher may adopt in the process of field observations. Those roles describe the relative degree of involvement or detachment between the researcher and those he or she studies. They

include: complete participant, participant-as-observer, observer-as-participant, or complete observer (p. 93). During most of the field observations for this study, the researcher assumed the role of complete observer in frontstage public meetings. During the meeting of the VCSSSCE and one meeting of the history task force, the researcher assumed the role of observer-as-participant. The decisions to assume these roles was a conscious one, based primarily on consideration of how her involvement might affect her access to critical interviews, particularly interviews with members of the Board of Education. The researcher reasoned that to have assumed an active role in some of these situations, could have made some members of the Board categorize her with one of the factions and made them less willing to agree to be interviewed. The researcher assumed that it was necessary to appear relatively non-partisan in the task force discussions. The researcher does, however, have a working and personal relationship with several educators on the task force, and that relationship was known to other key participants. This means, the researcher believes, that members of the Board did not see her as completely impartial. During the course of this study, for example, she was denied an interview with Michelle Easton and David Wheat. The researcher believes that both of these key participants identified her with educators from Virginia Tech, and thus, aligned with one side in the debate.

Because of a working relationship with key participants from the education community, the researcher had access to backstage conversations about the standards and about the work of the task force. In these conversations, in which she actively engaged, she assumed the role of observer-as-participant. She does not know to what extent her opinions about the work-in-progress may have influenced those who did actively participate.

Collection of Documents

In a literate society, documents are a crucial source of research information (Barzun and Graff, 1992; Silverman, 1994). They serve as a means by which public agencies, in this case, the State Board of Education and the Virginia Department of Education, legitimate their actions (Silverman, 1994). They are, what Barzun and Graff (1992) refer to as intentional evidence, and those who produce them are well aware that they will become part of the public record. They are also social products (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1993), written in a particular social context for specific purposes. As intentional evidence, public documents require more than a surface reading to be useful research tools. The researcher needs to examine them in light of their purpose, their intended audience, what they include as well as what they omit, and the power relationships they represent (Barzun and Graff, 1992; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1993; Silverman, 1994).

Throughout the process of field observation, the researcher collected documents, primarily drafts of the standards, working papers, and news articles. Additionally, she collected documents kept by Richard Weber, head of the Lead School Division Team and a participant in several stages of the development process; Helen Rolfe, Director of Instruction and Professional Development for the Virginia Education Association and a frequent observer at meetings of the Board of Education and its task force meetings; and Melanie Biermann and Dan Fleming, task force members. Not all of these documents were relevant to the research questions posed by this study.

Interviews

Interviews are an important data collection method in qualitative research, but interpreting and analyzing such data are problematic. One must first recognize that no

interview is untouched by human bias, for both the interviewer and the informant enact personal agendas during the interview, while at the same time reacting to the agenda of the other. The interviewer, for example, in the act of selecting topics to discuss and following up responses to some topics and not to others, communicates to the informant what information is of most value (Silverman, 1994). The informant then seeks to supply that information, so that the conversation is a scripted occurrence rather than a natural one (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1993). Secondly, informants have a human desire to portray themselves in the best possible light, to rationalize their behavior, and therefore, engage in the act of constructing public personas (Silverman, 1994). Finally, it is fairly common for one individual to hold sincere, yet, contradictory beliefs (Hunt and Metcalf, 1968) so that how one responds to an interview probe in one setting may be entirely different from how one responds to the same query in a different context.

Silverman (1994) describes the philosophical debates among qualitative researchers over how to treat interview data. Does one accept as "fact" the responses informants give in interviews, or how does one treat the "truth" of such data? To argue that interview responses must be taken as fact assumes an objective truth rather than subjective truths. To avoid the assumptions of positivism, some qualitative researchers argue that the value of the interview is in analyzing the social context in which it occurred and the inherent power relationships of that context. Others argue that not to accept interview responses as valid and true is to deny informants voice, to disenfranchise them in the study and to impose researcher truths on the data. The researcher adopts the position that there are multiple truths in this investigation, each informant constructing his or her own truth of what happened and why. To recognize and value those multiple truths, each account will be viewed as "neither naive nor an apology for behavior, but must be taken as an informed statement by the person whose experiences are under investigation" (p.108).

The purpose of the interviews will be to examine how informants make sense of this controversy and to get an insider's account of this controversial process.

Based on the field observations, the researcher identified the following as key participants because of their positions as official leaders, the relative degree of power they wielded in those public meetings, and the extent to which they assumed a leadership role for one of the factions in the debate:

Lillian Tuttle, Michelle Easton, and Alan Wurtzel, members of the Virginia Board of Education, the Advisory Committee's subcommittee on history and the final Editing Committee,

James Jones, Chairman of the Virginia Board of Education, and a member of the final Editing Committee,

William Boshier, State Superintendent of Instruction,

Delegate James H. Dillard, II, ranking Republican member of the Education Committee of the Virginia House of Delegates and chairman of the Board's Advisory Committee subcommittee on civics,

Judy Ganzert, Social Studies Education Specialist in Henrico County, a member of the April revision team, chairperson of the Advisory Committee's history subcommittee and its writing team, and a member of the final Editing Committee,

Dan Fleming, Professor Emeritus of Education at Virginia Tech, a member of the Advisory Committee's subcommittee on history, and a frequent critic of the developing standards, and

David Wheat, a member of the Commission on Champion Schools who played a significant role in writing the January standards. He also served on the Board's Advisory Committee and was an unofficial advisor to members of the Board during the final stage of developing the standards.

The researcher requested interviews with each of these key participants. Despite frequent requests, Michelle Easton and David Wheat declined to be interviewed. The

conclusions this study makes about their beliefs and the roles they played in this process are based on tapes of official meetings, newspaper accounts, and information gathered from other participants.

These interviews were semi-structured, meaning that the researcher prepared a list of open-ended questions to provide focus for the interviews. An interview frame is included in the appendix. The researcher recognized the value of active listening and the necessity of allowing informants a degree of direction of the conversation. So, interviews did not precisely follow the interview frame. The researcher followed other topics as they came up in the interviews. Each interview lasted approximately one to one and one-half hours.

Recording and Transcription

The researcher audio-recorded two of the field observations. She also recorded all interviews, turning off the recorder when one informant requested it be turned off. No information from this private conversation was used in the study. Each respondent gave either written or verbal consent to be interviewed and acknowledged that he or she understood that no effort would be made to disguise identities. The recordings were transcribed and used as a part of the data analysis of this study. Silverman (1994) points to the value of transcribed recordings as a technique of qualitative research. He argues that these transcriptions allow for multiple codings and disaggregation of data.

Ethical Considerations

The researcher has reviewed the Ethical Standards of the American Educational Research Association and requirements of the Virginia Tech Internal Review Board for Research Involving Human Subjects. In compliance with these standards, she submitted a

proposal to the Virginia Tech Internal Review Board requesting permission to conduct this study under the conditions cited in this methodology section. A copy of the Informed Consent form for informants in this study is included in the appendix of this document.

Data Analysis

This study sought to discover why the development of the standards for social studies was controversial by identifying the significant educational and cultural issues of the controversy, and how those issues were managed by the key participants. Because of the nature of the questions, data analysis centered around identifying the persistent educational and cultural issues and the beliefs of the major participants about those issues. In addition, the data analysis concentrated on the perceptions of the controversy by those who were involved in it.

Because of the sheer magnitude of data collected in any qualitative study, the researcher must find a way to organize and manage that data. The following techniques, recommended by Miles and Huberman (1984), Hammersley and Atkinson (1993), and Silverman (1994) were used to help organize the data for analysis:

1. All documents used in the study were catalogued and briefly described.
2. All field observations, transcriptions and key documents were coded, using marginal notes, and concentrating on issues, tactics, beliefs, and perceptions of the controversy.
3. These data sources were then indexed by their codes to assist with retrieval.
4. The data was disaggregated and categorized to search for significant themes and linkages based on the coding.
5. The researcher repeated the process of disaggregating and categorizing the data.
6. Based on the disaggregation and categorization, the researcher kept analytic memos in which she recorded developing inferences and conclusions.

Trustworthiness of Findings

Potential Sources of Researcher Bias

The researcher is an experienced classroom teacher, having taught in an elementary school for five years, and in two high schools for seventeen years, before beginning her studies full-time at Virginia Tech. During most of her professional career, she was a social studies teacher whose area of concentration was American History and American Studies. As a social studies educator, she has strong biases about the purposes of social studies. These biases include a preference for integrated social studies programs that emphasize decision-making and critical thinking skills and that value tolerance and respect for other people.

Having come of age during the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s, the researcher considers herself to be politically liberal and usually identifies with the Democratic Party. She also believes that it is the responsibility of a good society to protect minority rights against an abusive majority. She believes that organized government has a responsibility to protect individual liberty and property rights, but when those two responsibilities are in conflict, she generally gives preference to the protection of individual liberty.

She is concerned by what she sees as the growing racial, ethnic and cultural intolerance in the society. She has strong concerns about the growing propensity to employ a polarizing, intolerant and extremist rhetoric in the political arena. She considers such rhetoric to be dangerous to the well-being of the human community.

She has ambivalent feelings about the growth of religious fundamentalism in the society. She values the separation of church and state because she believes that only by separating the two can the society protect freedom of worship. She believes, therefore,

that any attempt at multiple establishment in a culturally and religiously diverse society is impossible because it demands that government certify particular beliefs as a legitimate religion. She does not believe, however, that the condition of being religious should bar one from active participation in the political arena or in attempts to shape the public agenda. Though she believes that fundamentalism is an intolerant and divisive force in the society, she understands the grievances of fundamentalist religions who charge that secularism and complete separation violate their own freedom of conscience. She also understands their claim that they have often been an abused minority group in secular society. She comes from the mainline Protestant tradition, considers religion to be a personal matter, and is currently a member of the United Methodist Church, though she is not active in that church.

These are personal biases that have the potential of contaminating perception and data analysis. To protect against such contamination, the researcher is required to openly admit such biases to the reader and be actively reflective about the conclusions she draws from the data. The researcher will use informant responses to her conclusions and peer-debriefing to help protect against her own biases.

The researcher further confesses an uneasiness about the fact that two members of her committee participated in the drafting of the Virginia Standards of Learning for Social Studies and bring their own biases to this project. One of those committee members, Dan Fleming, has been identified as a significant critic of various drafts of the standards. The researcher used a number of verification methods, described in the next section, as a way to control for these potential biases.

Methods of Verification of Findings

Of significant concern to qualitative researchers is the question of how to deal with the researcher's personal perceptions and biases from the selection of questions, to the recording of data, to the search for pattern, and finally to the drawing of inferences and conclusions. The literature reviewed on this research methodology (Miles and Huberman, 1984; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1993; Silverman, 1994; Spradley, 1980; Lincoln and Guba, 1985) suggests techniques by which a researcher might begin to contain, but not eradicate, those biases. This study employed a number of those methods, including:

1. theoretical triangulation of data,
2. triangulation of data sources,
3. the analysis of negative cases,
4. respondent validation, and
5. peer de-briefing.

Theoretical triangulation as described by Hammersley and Atkinson (1993) required that the researcher read the data with multiple hypotheses and explanations in mind, thus, providing multiple interpretive lenses. Repetition of the process of coding and disaggregating of the data allowed the researcher to do this. In fact, the first codings and disaggregations proved largely unusable in the final data analysis, except that they did increase the researcher's familiarity with the data. This increased familiarity with the data was invaluable in helping the researcher step back far enough from the problem to see larger themes emerge. This first disaggregation, then, led the researcher to look for a second interpretive framework that was much broader and more useful. Repeated data codings identified power, rhetoric and ideology as the primary themes in this study.

Additional analysis based on the questions, who used power, how, and for what purposes, showed the emergence of categories of power. Beginning with a list of thirteen different categories, the researcher found that some categories tended to bleed into each

other, making coding difficult. She, therefore, had to refine and collapse the list of categories of power in order for them to be useful.

When the same categories were used to analyze interview data, they proved to be inadequate to describe that data. The researcher, in looking for reasons why, concluded that interviews are unlikely to show an informant frequently using power; rather the informants more often used the interviews to describe someone else using power. It was in the Editing Committee, that the data showed the most extensive uses of power, in part, because that meeting was longer than the Board meeting, and because Board members were struggling against educators, more than against each other. An initial frequency count of categories in the Board meeting and Editing Committee transcripts produced the following results:

Board Meeting

	Ea	Ha	Jo	Pe	Tu	Wu	Bo	Ca	Ga	McB	We	Wy	Tot
coercive power	1	0	0	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
definitional power	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	6
labeling power	10	2	1	6	8	13	0	1	4	0	2	2	49
power of conviction	10	2	1	2	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	19
power of expertise	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2

Ea: Easton; Ha: Harris; Jo: Jones; Pe: Pennino; Tu: Tuttle; Wu: Wurtzel; Bo: Boshier; Ca: Carmichael; Ga: Ganzert; McB: McBee; We: Weber; Wy: Wymer

Editing Committee

	Ea	Ha	Jo	Tu	Wu	Bo	Ca	Ga	McB	Wym	Tot
coercive power	7	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	15
definitional power	0	3	3	14	0	2	0	4	0	1	27
labeling power	34	1	2	15	16	0	0	2	0	0	70
power of conviction	19	3	2	15	1	0	0	0	0	0	40
power of expertise	4	0	0	3	0	1	0	2	1	0	11

Ea: Easton; Ha: Harris; Jo: Jones; Pe: Pennino; Tu: Tuttle; Wu: Wurtzel; Bo: Boshier; Ca: Carmichael; Ga: Ganzert; McB: McBee; We: Weber; Wy: Wymer

What was remarkable about the frequency count was the fact that across all speakers, the most frequently used power was that of labeling. This led the researcher to the preliminary conclusion that rhetoric was a primary theme in this data. Secondly, the researcher noted that Easton used the power of conviction most frequently at the Board meeting; in the Editing Committee, she and Tuttle most frequently used the power of conviction, suggesting the presence of ideological beliefs.

The frequency count further showed the relative power relationships among members of the Board and representatives of the professional education community. In all cases, educators exercised less power than did members of the Board, based on the coded transcripts. The frequency counts were not treated as conclusive by the researcher, but rather as a means to develop a framework, which could then be tested using larger segments of transcripts and interviews. In later analysis, the researcher found even that the categorization of types of power was not extremely useful. It led to some preliminary conclusions about relative amounts of power and the relationships between power, the use of rhetoric and ideology, but beyond that, was largely discarded in the final analysis stages.

It was from these preliminary analyses, that the researcher identified the central themes of the data, power, rhetoric and ideology. It was also from these preliminary findings that the researcher identified a central political conflict in the data, the conflict over whether or not educators would have an important role to play in developing the

standards. Thus an analytical framework emerged from the data. The issues which filled in the details of that framework also emerged from the data. Frequency counts of word usage helped to identify the significant issues, as did the degree to which those issues dominated discussions in the Board meetings and in the meetings of the Editing Committee.

Triangulating data sources allows the researcher to check inferences from one source of data against other sources. This study used triangulation as a method of verification, both through the triangulation of meeting transcripts with interviews, and in the verification of inferences from one interview to another.

The study also used the analysis of negative cases as a verification technique, both of preliminary inferences and of conclusions. Much of the analysis of negative cases in the preliminary stages of data analysis was done informally. The researcher stated preliminary conclusions and then examined the data for evidence to dispel those conclusions. In the process a preliminary framework, one that viewed the case as an example of cultural warfare, was discarded. In later analysis, however, the framework became, again, a part of the final conclusions, though not the most significant part of those conclusions. A rather startling negative case in the data was a statement in the Tuttle interview that the Commission on Champion Schools had not written the January draft of the standards. This statement could not be verified from other interviews, and the researcher had to find a way to explain the discrepancy (see Chapter Four).

Other discrepancies could be explained by the desire of participants to present a favorable "public persona". The researcher found in numerous cases, that informants were recasting events and their own participation in those events, and justifying their actions. In analyzing the interviews, for example, the researcher coded based on a list of "voices" that emerged from the data. Based on these codings, Tuttle used "the voice of justification or

interpretation" in nearly 30% of her identifiable voices; Boshier used the same voice in 34.2% of his recognizable voices, while Ganzert used it only in only 7.3% of her voices and Dillard used it in only 5.4% of his identifiable voices. The researcher tried to explain the differences in these assumptions of the voice of justification, and concluded that Dillard and Ganzert identified the researcher as a fellow educator who would understand their motivations. Tuttle, understandably, assumed an educator would not necessarily understand her motivations and had, therefore, to explain her actions. Boshier, likewise, would likely feel that social studies educators were not pleased with the Department of Education's efforts in this controversy, and felt the need to explain his actions and motivations.

The researcher did not expect it to be possible to account for all instances of conflict between data sources, nor to account for discrepancies between the data and the final conclusions. The researcher explained these discrepancies on the premise that human motivations are complex and sometimes internally inconsistent. Any study will be unlikely to understand completely that complexity or to discover and account for all inconsistencies. Human informants, especially those who occupy public positions, understandably will not reveal all they believe or assume about any event. The researcher generally relied on the rule of "a preponderance of evidence" and on rationality in identifying the conclusions of this study.

Once preliminary conclusions were drawn, the researcher contacted informants, allowed them to comment on the conclusions, and recorded their comments. The researcher also consulted with two peers who were familiar with qualitative research and asked each to verify separate codings of the data. Those verifications showed a convergence of 65%. The researcher expected to find a closer relationship between her codings and those of her peers. She explained the differences by the fact that she was a

great deal more familiar with the data, and she defined the categories and may have understood category definitions better than she communicated them to her peers. As a result her data had more detailed codings, within sentences and even within lines. Her peers, on the other hand, were more likely to code larger speeches. Finally, the researcher spoke repeatedly with her advisor about emerging conclusions in this study.

A final concern about the verification of conclusions in this study involved that fact that Dan Fleming was both a participant in the study and also a member of the researcher's dissertation committee. Fleming was an important critic of the January draft and of the process by which the standards were developed. He was actively engaged in backstage and frontstage roles from January, when the Commission on Champion Schools draft of the standards was released through the summer when the Board issued the final version of the standards. Concerns about the degree to which his opinions might effect the data analysis stage of this study, therefore, led the researcher to exclude him from review of preliminary conclusions of the study. While the researcher presented other committee members with preliminary drafts of the analysis and conclusions sections, and sought feedback and critiques, she did not share any drafts with Fleming until after the data analysis was completed. His analysis of this process, then, impacted the conclusions of this study only through his interview and through other conversations during the process itself. In none of these informal conversations did either he or the researcher broach the subject of the data analysis.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS

*All the world's a stage,
And all the men and women merely players.
They have their exits and their entrances,
And one man in his time plays many parts.
Shakespeare,
As You Like It*

Introduction to Power, Rhetoric, and Ideology

Three primary themes emerged from the data in this study, the presence and use of unequal distributions of power, the use of rhetoric, and the presence of ideological beliefs in the struggle over the standards. Further data analyses showed these three themes to be reciprocally related to each other, in that rhetoric and ideology were used to bolster one's power in the struggle over the standards, and those in power were able to make their rhetoric and ideology predominant. Additionally, participants in this event used rhetoric to promote their own ideological beliefs and to attack the beliefs of their opponents. Though it might not be particularly unusual to identify rhetoric as a theme in a study of a political process, the researcher was somewhat surprised by the level and extensiveness of that rhetoric.

For the purpose of this analysis, power was defined as having authority over others or being able to influence their actions. That power was both official and unofficial. Rhetoric was defined as the skillful use of language to label groups, ideas, and actions as "good" or "bad" in order to advance one's own agenda. Ideology referred to a deep-seated set of core beliefs, through which participants appeared to interpret the political, economic, and social world. Using Hunter's (1991) description of ideology, the researcher

identified as ideological those beliefs which appeared to be closely related to each other and which seemed to serve as a basis for interpreting external events and other perspectives. Simply put, ideology appeared to form a system for stating what the world is or what it ought to be.

The researcher discovered two primary groups of people who struggled against each other for control over the Virginia Standards of Learning for social studies, the Allen team and the professional education community. A third powerful force in the struggle was the Virginia Board of Education, on which two leaders of the Allen team sat. The Allen team held more power than did the education community through most of that struggle, but they could not completely dominate the process because of the intervention of the Board. Both sides in this struggle engaged in the use of labeling to characterize opposing positions. Those opposing positions showed sharp differences between the way the two groups viewed the nature of knowledge and the social world.

Introduction to the Conflict

This study will describe and analyze the final stages of the struggle over the Virginia standards for social studies, beginning in May of 1995 when the Virginia Board of Education established an Advisory Committee to draft recommendations for those standards, and ending in July when the final version of those standards were edited, published and sent out to Virginia's school divisions. Those events from May through July, though, represented the final act of a drama that had begun a year earlier. In order for those who read this study, identified here as the audience, to understand the relationships among power, rhetoric and ideology in the last act and the role each theme played in determining the final outcome, it is necessary to provide a brief synopsis of the events that led to the final conflict between the education community and the Allen

education team. For that reason, this analysis begins with a description of and commentary on the struggle as it built through the first two acts of the play.

The Play

This drama occurred in three acts, each of which was defined by who held political control over the development of the standards. In Act I (May 1994-October 1994), Newport News Public Schools served as the Lead School Division responsible for revising the Virginia standards in social studies. In Act II (October 1994-April 1995), the Governor's Commission on Champion Schools controlled the revision of the standards. In Act III (April 1995-July 1995), the Virginia Board of Education took control of the standards development process. Act III is further divided into four scenes, the Board's Advisory Committee, the meeting of the history subcommittee of that Advisory Committee, the Board meeting at which the standards were conditionally adopted, and the Editing Committee meeting.

The Setting:

The Importance of Context

This story occurred in an atmosphere of acceptance of the belief that the public schools were in academic crisis and a widespread distrust of professional expertise in education. To large measure that atmosphere was a vestige of the Reagan administration's education agenda.. As described in the literature review, the Reagan team sought to

de-professionalize education by attempting to dismantle the U.S. Department of Education and by encouraging more lay control over curriculum and schooling decisions, repudiate reform initiatives from the professional community by calling for "renewal through restoration" (Botstein, 1988 p. 6) of the traditional academic curriculum,

replace the rhetoric on educational equity with a rhetoric on excellence and academic standards tied to assessments as accountability measures, and promote the de-construction of public school systems through support for tax-supported private schooling initiatives.

The rhetoric of the Reagan administration flourished in a conservative political environment and passed into the "common-sense" assumptions (Apple, 1993) of much of the lay public.

A second contextual influence in this setting was the Virginia Department of Education's previous outcomes-based education initiative. As the literature review of this study indicated, the state's Department of Education was wounded by the controversy over outcomes-based education. The controversy served as a useful political issue in George Allen's gubernatorial race. Once elected, Allen created a Commission on Champion Schools and charged it with the responsibility to study the educational crisis in the state, without questioning whether or not such a crisis existed, and to make recommendations to solve that crisis. His charge to that Commission (see literature review) reflected an acceptance of the Reagan diagnosis of educational crisis and the Reagan "prescription" for school reform. This Commission, and some of its members, played a vital and directive role in the development of Virginia's Standards of Learning. For example, Lillian Tuttle, a Chesterfield County parent, first gained state recognition as a critic of public schooling when her organization, Academics First, became a vocal opponent of the state's outcomes-based education plan. From that position, she was appointed by Allen, first to the Commission on Champion Schools where she chaired the Academic Standards and Testing subcommittee, and then to the State Board of Education. In both of these official positions, she was a major player in this production.

The Cast

Any drama has its players. Some of those play starring roles, some supportive roles, and some play only minor parts. The same is true of this drama. Listed in alphabetical order, the starring and supportive roles in this drama were played by:

- Melanie Biermann, Assistant Professor of Education at Virginia Tech, immediate past president of the Virginia Consortium of Social Studies Specialists and College Educators, and a member of the Advisory Committee and of its history subcommittee;
- William Boshier, Virginia's State Superintendent of Instruction, appointed by George Allen, Virginia's Republican Governor;
- The Commission on Champion Schools, an advisory group appointed by Governor George Allen to make recommendations on the state's education policy;
- Harvey Carmichael, social studies specialist for the Virginia Department of Education;
- Delegate James H. Dillard, II, former social studies teacher and curriculum supervisor in Fairfax County, member of the Virginia House of Delegates and of its committee on education, and member of the Advisory Committee;
- Michelle Easton, Director of the Clare Boothe Luce Policy Institute, former official of the Reagan administration in the U.S. Department of Education in charge of private education, member of the Governor's Commission on Champion Schools, and an Allen appointee to the Virginia Board of Education;
- Dan Fleming, Professor Emeritus of Education from Virginia Tech, a member of the Advisory Committee and its history subcommittee, and a member of the Virginia Consortium of Social Studies Specialists and College Educators;
- Judy Ganzert, social studies educational specialist for Henrico County where she had worked for Boshier when he was the Superintendent of Schools for Henrico, former president of the Virginia Consortium of Social Studies Specialists and College Educators, chair of the history and civics committee for the April draft, a member of the Advisory Committee, and chair of its history subcommittee;
- Rayford Harris, former education professor and a member of the Virginia Board of Education;
- James Jones, a lawyer from Bristol, former member of the Virginia Senate, and Chairman of the Virginia Board of Education;
- Robin McBee, Director of the Virginia Institute for Law and Citizenship Studies and a member of the Advisory Committee;

Martha Pennino, a member of the Virginia Board of Education;
Diane Ravitch, college professor, former Undersecretary of Education for the Bush administration, and advisor to Tuttle, Easton and Wurtzel;
Lillian Tuttle, founder of Academics First, a grassroots organization in opposition to Virginia's outcomes-based education initiative, member of the Governor's Commission on Champion Schools, chair of the Commission's subcommittee on Academic Standards and Testing, and an Allen appointee to the Virginia Board of Education;
The Virginia Consortium of Social Studies Specialists and College Educators, a professional organization representing curriculum specialists and college educators from around the state;
Lee Ware, teacher from Powhatan County and member of the Commission on Champion Schools;
Dick Weber, social studies supervisor from Newport News and head of the Lead School Division social studies standards team;
David Wheat, social studies teacher from Botetourt County, member of the Academic Standards and Testing subcommittee of the Governor's Commission on Champion Schools, and frequent advisor to Tuttle, Easton and Wurtzel;
Alan Wurtzel, a lawyer from Washington, D.C., and member of the Virginia Board of Education; and
David Wymer, social studies supervisor for Roanoke County; a member of the Newport News team and of the Advisory Committee.

There were also a number of other players in this drama who wandered in and out of the process. Jerry Moore, for example, a professor of social studies education at the University of Virginia, was involved only briefly in the beginning of the process when he did a skills analysis on an early draft of the standards. Then he reappeared at the General Assembly hearings toward the middle of the process, and finally, at the Advisory Committee, late in the process, so that it seemed that he walked on and off stage, wandering in and out of the process. Others like Rabbi Berman appeared for only part of one day. Some other participants, like Mary Bicouvaris, a former recipient of a national Teacher of the Year award, appeared and then left because they objected to the way the process was developing (R. Weber, personal communication, July 7, 1995). Others simply wandered in briefly to see what was going on.

Significantly absent from the main cast of characters were other organizations in the professional community, like the Virginia Education Association and organizations of school superintendents and school principals. The Virginia Education Association was present during the social studies debate, but not as a major participant.

Act I:

The Lead School Division Revises the Standards :

(May 1994-October 1994)

This drama opened with the Virginia Department of Education's abdication of the leadership role in revising the Standards of Learning. This abdication of leadership, in part, allowed the Department some measure of political protection in the curriculum wars that were to come. Critics of the standards could not focus their attacks on the Department, and the Department could avoid the fiercest parts of the struggle. Secondly, if the Department played a supportive role in advancing parts of the Governor's education agenda, it might escape further damage. As the curtain opened on this production, the Department had elected not to play the lead role, but rather, to hover near the wings, directing, but not participating, in the main action.

Arguing that standards developed at the local level had a greater chance of garnering public support, the Department contracted out to Lead School Divisions the responsibility of managing the development process. Newport News Public Schools won the contract to lead the development of the social studies standards. Included in the contract were the Department's criteria for the standards, that they should be "rigorous", "measurable through assessment of student achievement", and "concise and jargon-free" (W.C. Boshier, correspondence, May 18, 1994). These criteria for developing the standards were significant in that it was here that the word "rigor" officially entered the

agenda. It was here, also, that the Department announced the intention to assess student progress against the standards. Also included in the contract was a timeline for the process that required that the standards be presented to the Department in October of 1994. The Department would review the standards to assure that they met the contracted criteria, and then present them for review by the Board of Education. According to this original timeline, the Board would conduct public hearings, after which it would vote on whether or not to approve the standards by March of 1995. The Department's original timeline gave no indication that the Governor's Commission on Champion Schools would play any role in writing or in approving standards.

The Department also provided Newport News with a list of interested parties who should be involved in the development process. Included on this list were school divisions who had expressed a desire to be involved, professional and business organizations, and organizations and individuals who had been vocal critics of the Common Core of Learning. Included on this list of critics were organizations like Academics First, headed by Lillian Tuttle; the Family Foundation, an organization with ties to conservative religious groups; and the Virginia Eagle Forum, an organization associated with Phyllis Shafly's Eagle Forum.

Based on the Department's list, Newport News invited over 60 participants to a two-day conference to discuss issues related to social studies education and to standards revision. In the opening act of this script, then, there was wide opportunity for participation by professional educators. Most of those educators, however, were not classroom teachers. Weber stated that although Newport News had suggested that school divisions send classroom teachers to the conference, most sent curriculum specialists and supervisors. This was the group who produced the first version of the Standards of Learning, the September draft.

In the meantime, the Commission on Champion Schools, an organization described by Boshier as working "outside the Department of Education and through the Secretary" of Education's office (W.C. Boshier, personal communication, January 3, 1996), was writing its interim report to the Governor on the status of Virginia's schools and its recommendations on education policy in the Commonwealth. Among the Commission's recommendations were that the state develop high academic standards, make them regulations, and tie them to consequential assessment. Also included in its recommendations was that the General Assembly enact legislation enabling the establishment of charter schools in the Commonwealth.

Lillian Tuttle was a member of the Commission on Champion Schools and chairperson of its Academic Standards and Testing subcommittee. Tuttle was also an advocate of the Core Knowledge Foundation's cultural literacy curriculum. Early in the standards development process, she characterized expanding horizons as non-academic, therefore, non-rigorous, and made the label stick. She used articles critical of expanding horizons, most notably, articles authored by Diane Ravitch and Kieran Egan, to assert that expanding horizons was neither developmentally appropriate for children, nor academic. In her collection of articles on social studies education, she ignored bodies of scholarship on essential learnings and understandings in social studies and on learning theory. This selected expertise, used to lobby members of the Commission, gave her position a great deal of influence with that body. She, further, convinced members of the Commission that when educators used the term "developmentally appropriate" they were really advocating expanding horizons.

I had seen the Core Knowledge... . Using some of the research that John Holdren and E.D. Hirsch had put together as well as some of the others, Diane Ravitch and Charlotte Crabtree, we were able to say, "Yes. It's possible to build this body of knowledge in the elementary grades for children" so that when you

got to the middle and high school grades the kids could move a lot further and a lot faster than they had ...

Our whole desire was to pull back. To go down into the elementary schools to begin to lay that foundation...(L. Tuttle, personal communication, December 18, 1995).

Advocating curriculum shoveldown, Tuttle won support on the subcommittee for content-specific, discipline-based standards organized around a traditional academic curriculum. The emphasis on expanding horizons and curriculum shoveldown decreased the importance of the standards for the secondary grades. At this point, the two groups, the Newport News standards team and the Commission on Champion Schools, were working independently of each other.

Bosher, as Vice Chairman of the Commission on Champion Schools, realized the important political role of the Commission. He was, likewise, aware that the Commission was developing a conception of the standards that was quite different from that of the Lead School Division. Based on these realizations and concerned that the Board of Education would end up with two conflicting versions of the standards to consider (W.C. Bosher, personal communication, January 3, 1996), he decided to bring the Commission into the Department-sponsored standards development effort, a decision he described later as being "one of the errors that I clearly may have made" (W.C. Bosher, personal communication, January 3, 1996). He sent the Newport News team a second timeline, after the Newport News conference had met (R. Weber, personal communication, July 7, 1995), one that indicated that the standards they were developing would first be reviewed by the Commission on Champion Schools before being presented to the Board of Education. The Newport News team was now writing standards for review by an entirely different group, and that fact set the stage for the first major controversy of this production.

At the end of Act I, this script introduced a pivotal conflict, the struggle between educators and the Commission over who would determine the content of the standards. Boshier informed the Newport News team of concerns the Commission had expressed during earlier reviews of the math and science standards drafts. In an attempt to avoid similar criticisms of the social studies standards, Weber, the leader of the Newport News team, and some of the team's writing committee, quickly re-wrote the September draft, editing out program descriptions and other potential targets of criticism (R. Weber, personal communication, July 7, 1995). This rewrite was the October draft of the standards.

The Columbus Day "Disaster"

But the Commission on Champion Schools had copies of the September draft. They had, in fact, scheduled a meeting on Columbus Day, October 10, 1994, with the Newport News team to discuss that draft, a meeting that was described by several participants as a "disaster". Arriving at the appointed hour, the Lead School Division team found the doors of the James Monroe Building locked for the Columbus Day holiday. Once admitted to the building, the Commission kept the Newport News team waiting for over an hour beyond the stated meeting time, leaving some members of the team unsettled, and others angry (R. Weber, personal communication, July 7, 1995). Once the team was allowed in the room, members of the Commission attacked the September draft, chided the Newport News team for switching drafts on them, and disagreed among themselves as to what they expected the standards to be. Intended or not, this incident left the Lead School Division team upset (R. Weber, personal communication, July 7, 1995) and vulnerable.

Tuttle explained the confusion this way. The Commission, she stated, had worked hard to reach some consensus among themselves, but one member of the Commission had been absent from several of the meetings and was unaware of any consensus of opinion. That one member raised questions which created confusion among other Commission members. Tuttle reported being embarrassed and frustrated by the fiasco, played out in front of the Newport News team (L. Tuttle, personal communication, December 18, 1995). Adding to the confusion was the fact that the Newport News team came to the meeting with an alternative draft. Members of the Commission, on the other hand, had expected to discuss the September draft, and were unhappy with being presented with a different version. Tuttle described their reaction.

In fact two members on my committee were just livid. One of them blew his stack because he said, "This is a moving target you're asking us to work with." (L. Tuttle, personal communication, December 18, 1995).

Meanwhile, Weber reported having his own problems with the original conference participants. Having claimed some ownership in the September draft, participants complained that the October draft was a subversion of the process and failed to represent their sentiments. Weber was in the position of being repudiated by the members of his own team, while at the same time, at a loss as to what the Commission on Champion Schools expected in the standards (R. Weber, personal communication, July 7, 1995). He knew that no standards document would go before the Board of Education without having first been reviewed by the Commission; he understood the political power the Commission held. Thus, at the end of Act I, Weber was caught between two major antagonists, the Commission on Champion Schools and the professional community. In the process, the Commission had appropriated the task of developing content standards.

Introducing the Issues

In Act I, the audience had a glimpse of the developing controversy over Virginia's social studies standards. The primary cause of that controversy was, at this point, the rejection by members of the Allen team of expanding horizons in favor of a cultural literacy approach as an appropriate scope and sequence for elementary social studies. At this point, all the audience knew was that the Allen team saw expanding horizons as non-rigorous, but they did not yet know how that team defined rigor.

A second, but related issue, had also been introduced, and that was the power struggle over who would determine the content of the standards. The script, as yet, gave only hints of why the Commission wanted to appropriate the development process, but at this point, the audience had no clear indication of how teachers reacted to that appropriation.

The audience had also already identified some of the key players in this drama. The Department of Education first attempted to avoid a significant role by contracting out the development of the standards; then, it seemed to reverse course. By bringing the Commission into the process, the Department had set the scene for the core power struggle in this drama. The Lead School Division also played an important role in the first Act. Whether or not it would continue to be a significant player was open to question by the end of the act. The Commission on Champion Schools, and one of its important members, Lillian Tuttle, were also introduced in this act, and the audience might reasonably expect that they would also play a significant role in the acts to follow.

Power, Rhetoric, and Ideology

The opening act of this drama introduced the audience to the conflict over who would control the development of Virginia's social studies standards. That struggle was

fought in this act, and in fact, throughout the remainder of the drama, through the use of power, rhetoric and ideology.

The power relationships between the two major antagonists determined, ultimately, who won the struggle over control of the development process. One saw, at the beginning of the process, for example, an unequal power relationship between the Allen educational team, represented by the Commission on Champion Schools, and the Department of Education. Already weakened by the controversy over the previous superintendent's outcomes-based education initiative, the Department was poorly positioned to fight another contentious battle over curriculum standards. It chose, instead, to pass the responsibility on to local school divisions.

There was also an unequal power relationship between the Commission on Champion Schools and the Lead School Division, a situation brought to front stage by Boshers's decision to bring the Commission into the standards development process by allowing them a review of any standards before they were sent to the Board. When he did so, he allowed the Commission enormous power. In essence, what his action meant was that the Commission now had the power to define what acceptable standards would be. He also made the Lead School Division vulnerable to the dictates of the Commission, since they now operated under the Commission's direction rather than under the direction of the Department or the Board of Education.

The Columbus Day "disaster" demonstrated the Commission's subtle use of power. By making the Lead School Division wait, attacking the September draft and Weber's attempts to introduce an October draft, and openly disagreeing with each other in the meeting with the Lead School Division, the Commission, in effect, left the Newport News team unsettled and unsure of what to do next. Whether or not the use of coercive power

was intentional on the part of the Commission, it had an effect on the Newport News team.

Early in this act, too, the audience began to see the role that rhetoric played in this drama, and began to understand the reciprocal relationship between rhetoric and power. Governor Allen's charge to the Commission demonstrated the endurance of the Reagan rhetoric on educational crisis and excellence through high standards tied to accountability, and support for alternatives to public schooling. The definition of "expanding horizons" as the antithesis of "rigor" was a significant issue in this debate. Early on, Tuttle used rhetoric to declare that "expanding horizons" was non-rigorous, and non-academic. She defined "rigor" as cultural literacy. Playing on the rhetoric of excellence inherited from the Reagan administration, she defined Virginia's schools as academic failures and cultural literacy as the cure for those failures. Cultural literacy represented William Bennett's advocacy of a return of the traditional academic curriculum as a means to reform schools.

The rhetoric was linked to the power of expertise, as in her selective use of articles on social studies. Her official position on the Commission, and later on the Board, gave her a platform from which to define the problem and the solution, and label alternative conceptions of social studies as non-academic. She also defined the use of "developmentally appropriate" on the part of the education community, arguing that when educators used "developmentally appropriate", they actually meant expanding horizons. That definition, combined with the labeling of expanding horizons as non-rigorous, had a powerful effect on this debate. Thus rhetoric and power were reciprocally linked. Official power allowed her rhetoric to flourish, and the use of that rhetoric increased her influence over the process.

There is also an ideological connection to the use of the rhetoric of academic failures and excellence. Reminiscent of Hunter's (1991) description of the depth of

ideological beliefs, such beliefs define one's way of seeing the world so that alternative conceptions of truth and knowledge make no sense. So convinced was Tuttle that Virginia's schools were in crisis, that academic and rigorous meant concrete and traditional knowledge, that children learn by absorbing knowledge passed on to them by adults, and that higher academic content-specific standards were the solution, that she was unable to understand, or even hear, alternative definitions of expanding horizons.

Educators, stunned by the turn of events at the Columbus Day "disaster", were beginning to understand, to some extent, the degree of power the Commission held over the standards. What the Commission would do with that power, though, was unknown at this point.

Act II

The Commission on Champion Schools in Charge

(October 1994-April 1995)

As a result of the Columbus Day "disaster", Weber was at a loss as to what to do next. Weber turned to members of the Virginia Consortium of Social Studies Specialists and College Educators (VCSSSCE), an organization that had been critical of both the process to this point and of the October draft, and who had requested that they be invited into the process. He asked this organization to send representatives to Richmond to assist with drafting a new version of the standards, and they accepted his offer. Ganzert described that frenzied and chaotic session.

In one day, they invited people to come to the department, I don't know if it was a one day or two day period, to work on that document. As educators were reviewing the document, there were members of the Champion Schools Commission either in their homes and other places in the state or upstairs on the 24th, 25th floor and ...the work ...the teachers were doing was being faxed back

and forth and being reviewed by these Champion Schools Commission people and they were being told either this was or was not acceptable. (J. Ganzert, personal communication, December 18, 1995).

Weber played the role of "official contact person" between the two groups, shuffling the VCSSSCE work to the Commission. The result of the VCSSSCE representatives' attempt to develop standards was the November draft, described by a member of the Commission on Champion Schools as being, "clearly unacceptable to our committee" (D. Wheat, correspondence, November 30, 1994). Sylvia Kraemer, a member of the Commission attacked the VCSSSCE draft for promoting a "one-world ideology", and "platitudes" better suited for the "Young Democrats club" (Education should not lurch right. Daily Progress, Charlottesville, March 6, 1995). The members of the VCSSSCE were likewise unhappy with the process itself which allowed little time for reflection on purposes and goals or for developing any shared understandings among participants. They were also critical of the role being played by the Commission on Champion Schools.

While Newport News was still nominally in charge at this point, the Commission on Champion Schools set out to develop its own set of standards. Working in December, the Commission produced the January draft. In response to criticisms from the education community about being left out of the process, Tuttle later reported that the Commission itself produced no standards.

Tuttle: We never wrote any Standards by the way. I think that's the greatest untold story. The Champion Schools Commission never wrote the first Standard. A couple of folks on the Commission would have liked to, but that was not our role.

Fore: Who did?

Tuttle: Educators. Every one of them teachers. There, um, and I can't even give you all of their names. (L. Tuttle, personal communication, December 18, 1995).

Bosher appeared to partially agree with her assertion. "At no point in time," he stated, "did the school division charged with the leadership leave this process" (W.C.Bosher, personal communication, January 3, 1995).

Others intimately involved in the process disagreed. Wurtzel stated that the Commission "materially changed" the social studies standards, "not for the better" (A. Wurtzel, personal communication, January 24, 1996). Jones agreed with Wurtzel. The Academic Standards and Testing subcommittee of the Commission on Champion Schools, of which Tuttle was chair, Jones stated,

did considerable rewriting of the product. In fact, essentially rewrote it... It was apparent that that was done by a few people on the committee (*meaning the Academic Standards and Testing Subcommittee*) (J. Jones, personal communication, January 22, 1996).

The disagreement over who actually rewrote the standards revolved around the issue of who represented the education community. Tuttle's statement that only teachers did the writing was questioned by others who were inside this process. It was true that two members of the Commission, David Wheat and Lee Ware, were experienced secondary teachers and that they played significant roles in writing the January draft. A newspaper from Newport News reported that the January draft was written by Wheat, Weber and two officials from the Department of Education (Shawgo, R., January 29, 1995). Tuttle stated,

This time last year we were meeting with the writing team in history. Lee Ware came in, I believe, to work with them a couple of days during the month of December. ...

Lee worked together with them probably in the early part of December or right up to Thanksgiving. He had to go back to teaching in the classroom. David Wheat agreed to come in for a few days and sit and work with them. ...

I sat in there while they were doing it.

I know that Harvey Carmichael was there. Jim Heywood (*both staff members of the Department of Education*) was trying to head up the final editing.

David Wheat came down. By that time we had gotten quite a bit of information from Diane Ravitch,...some of the articles that we had saying yes, the focus really became on expanding horizons in the, in the elementary grades

David said in the history revision group, "We need to have an elementary teacher look at these." And he said, "Isn't there anyone inside this building?" and I said, "Well, yeah. Linda is one." (*Linda was an elementary teacher working on the language arts standards revision team*) so, and to make a long story short, we asked her to come down as a freebie and see what you think (L. Tuttle, personal communication, December 18, 1995).

It seemed, then, that Weber, beginning to trust Tuttle's articles on expanding horizons, cooperated with the Commission in writing the January draft, as did staff members at the Department of Education (R. Weber, personal communication, July 7, 1995; L. Tuttle, personal communication, December 18, 1995). Describing the process of producing the January draft, Tuttle stated,

So at this point now everyone is, everyone is talking brand new ideas, and that includes people from Newport News. They're beginning to think, "I'm not in a straight jacket that has to follow the 1988 pattern (*meaning expanding horizons*) any more.." So there was a little bit of an excitement I think even, even within, but there was a lot of energy. David Wheat did come in. Ah, Dick Weber was certainly agreeable to putting content in there (L. Tuttle, personal communication, December 18, 1995).

Thus, Tuttle had won converts to her position. As chair of the Academic Standards and Testing subcommittee of the Commission on Champion Schools, the panel that would decide what standards to recommend to the Governor, and thus, to the Board, Tuttle had reinforced her definition of a central issue in writing the standards. The debate would be about whether or not to abandon expanding horizons in favor of "academic content".

There appeared to be no one in a position of power to challenge her contention that the expanding horizons organization of elementary social studies lacked content.

Weber, as the chief spokesperson for the education community at this point, could have challenged her assumption about expanding horizons, and the contention that it was a central question in the debate. He did not (R. Weber, personal communication, July 7, 1995). Instead, he adopted Tuttle's position on the issue, based on her use of the power of expertise to supply him with supporting information.

There was evidence from faxes from this period that David Wheat played a major role in writing the January draft. It is also clear from interviews with both Weber and Tuttle that no elementary teachers were involved in drafting the January standards. While Weber and Wheat were connected to the education community, neither was active in social studies professional organizations, nor did they represent majority opinion in that community, as later events indicated.

The Board of Education, without officially endorsing the January draft, sent it out for public comment. It scheduled ten public meetings throughout the state to receive comments and concerns on the standards. In the background, the Virginia Consortium of Social Studies Specialists and College Educators, the Virginia Education Association, Dan Fleming, and Delegate James H. Dillard, II, a Republican member of the Virginia General Assembly and former social studies teacher and curriculum supervisor, began to rally public support against the January standards.

In the March public hearings, the January standards were overwhelmingly condemned by educators, representatives of Parent Teachers' Associations and officials of local school boards. At the public hearing at Falls Church High School, for example, the Washington Post reported that opponents outnumbered supporters by a 2 to 1 ratio (Hsu, March 20, 1995). According to an unpublished summary of comments distributed during the Advisory Committee meetings by the Board of Education, 47% of the comments at the public hearings charged that the January draft was developmentally inappropriate for

primary children, and 18% charged that it relied on rote memorization of disconnected facts at the expense of thinking and learning skills. Critics also charged that the standards required the mastery of content far from the experiences of young children. Typical of many of the comments was one made by Linda O'Konek, an assistant principal in Norfolk, who stated, "The proposed standards are an embarrassment of poorly articulated, developmentally inappropriate statements of little learning which incorporate few of the recent trends in educational research". Further, she charged, that they were a "blueprint for failure" (staff, Martinsville Bulletin, March 28, 1995). More importantly, teachers charged that the standards written by educators had been substantially rewritten by Allen supporters, and that in the process, the Commission on Champion Schools had politicized the standards development process. It was clear that the January standards lacked support from large portions of the professional community.

Supporters of the standards also spoke at the public meetings, and in many areas carried signs and wore "Say Yes to Academics" buttons calling for a back-to-the-basics curriculum. At the Roanoke public hearing, members of conservative Protestant religious groups passed out flyers and religious newspapers supporting the standards. Michelle Easton, a member of the Commission, and by now, an Allen appointee to the Board of Education, responded to the overwhelming criticisms of the standards at the public hearings this way:

Apart from those on the payrolls of public school systems and the teacher unions, the great majority supported the changes (Urbanski, April 6, 1995).

Newspaper accounts of the public hearings from around the state do not support her contention that a majority of those who attended the public hearings supported the January draft of the standards (Hsu, March 30, 1995).

In response to the public hearings, Weber, claiming authority from the Board, put together a revision team in April of 1995 to attempt to find a compromise between earlier educator-produced drafts and the January standards. Even on this team, composed primarily of social studies educators, there was conflict between those who saw history as the primary discipline of social studies and those who wanted a more important place reserved for geography at the secondary level. Judy Ganzert, educational specialist in social studies from Henrico County Public Schools and chair of the revision team's history/civics committee, reported that because of that conflict, the revision team came close to being unable to produce a draft of the standards.

I was told by Dick Weber at that time that we were not to change scope and sequence. That the plan was in place and that we were merely to strengthen the history piece and the civics piece. In April when the four committee chairmen got together at the Department of Education that day, I was very much appalled in the fact that one of the four committee chairmen (meaning Ziegler, who headed the geography group) had completely changed the scope and sequence, and when I questioned that I was told that by Dick Weber, that he had made a promise to this group that they could do that and he would honor that promise. And when I questioned the fact about changing scope and sequence, I was told I was never told what I had been told... . In all honestly I can't say that I'm sorry that the April document got thrown out because I was very angry in April about the process that had occurred between February and April (J. Ganzert, personal communication, December 18, 1995).

Yet the committee did produce the April draft, a document Weber described as an excellent compromise of positions. It was, he thought, a "dynamic" document, a "synthesis" of conflicting positions (R. Weber, personal communication, July 7, 1995).

At the April Board meeting, held in Staunton, Virginia, Boshier refused to endorse the April document, claiming that Weber had no authority to further revise the standards (R. Weber, personal communication, July 7, 1995), that the document was too long, and that the Virginia Consortium of Social Studies Specialists and College Educators had

refused to support it. Weber claimed that the VCSSSCE condemned the April revision without ever having seen the document (R. Weber, personal communication, July 7, 1995).

Lillian Tuttle, likewise, refused to consider the April revision. Countering Weber's contention that the April document represented a response to the public comments, she charged that the revisions had begun before the public hearings were held. "To say that this document is a result of public comment is a sham," she stated (Glass, April 27, 1995, B-2). "These documents were created out of the public process," she claimed. "Professional education interest groups were rewriting behind closed doors." (Bergen, April 27, 1995). At the same April Board meeting, Tuttle presented the Board with articles condemning expanding horizons and calling for the inclusion of more traditional content in the early grades. The January draft, with minor revisions, she claimed could be fixed.

Her use of the power of expertise was apparently convincing to some of the members. Wurtzel commented

Here I have to say the Allen appointees were dead right...over the K-3 standards. The existing social studies standards, the prevailing practice in America is to teach, you know, very little in K-3.

What's it called (pause), expanding horizons.

And to their credit, and I give them great credit, both Lil and, and, I mean Michelle and Lil, but particularly Lil said, "This is not satisfactory. Kids are capable of learning a heck of a lot more and they will enjoy learning and they'll, they'll take to learning and, ...they will love it" (A. Wurtzel, personal communication, January 24, 1996).

Jones, too, was convinced that Tuttle and Easton were right about abandoning expanding horizons.

Certainly the teachers that I heard at those hearings were very concerned

about the expanding horizons idea... . We did not feel that just because a lot of teachers didn't like this, that we couldn't do anything about it.

We read a number of articles and had presentations. Ah, Diane Ravitch.

The argument that most teachers presented in regard to expanding horizons was that young children are not capable of understanding complex historical ideas. And frankly, that missed the point (J. Jones, personal communication, January 22, 1996).

Jones, however, initiated a motion calling for the Board to take control of the project by appointing an Advisory Committee to find a common ground among the warring factions. Board member, Michelle Easton, agreed to the resolution, but stated that the Advisory Committee should "be given direction. The board's got to decide what we want." (Lee, April 27, 1995). Thus, control over the revision passed from the Newport News team to the Commission on Champion Schools, and finally to the Board of Education. Two powerful members of the Board, however, Tuttle and Easton, had also served on the Commission on Champion Schools, so that the influence of this group over the final version of the standards was still present.

Backstage

In the first two acts, the audience had met most of the major frontstage players in this debate and had begun to understand the positions of each of those players in the conflict over who would write the standards and what those standards would be. But there were also events being played out behind the scenes.

Delegate James H. Dillard, II, a member of the Virginia legislature, played an important role in these two acts, behind the scenes. Because much of his work took place off stage, the audience had yet to understand the extent of it. In an aside to the audience, he explained his role during the first two acts.

I got involved pretty much early on when I first started getting phone calls

from social studies educators... . People became very alarmed when, about half way through that process, people from the Board sort of came in there and then just basically took away the whole process from them and proceeded to rewrite That this was no longer the work of the social studies people even though the Department of Education was claiming this was the work not only of the social studies people, but the work of the individual school districts.

I talked to some of them and told them, and gave them, if you will, sort of instructions and play-by-play things on what they ought to do and how they ought to get organized and how they needed to bring people to the public hearings... . I mean, a lot of people were doing this and I was just one of the players involved in this and I talked to a lot of the PTA people and told them that they also needed to get directly involved in this thing and to come to the public hearings and make their voice heard. And we talked again about strategies for them and what they needed to do and who they needed to write.

I talked to, on an individual basis, to as many key people as I could...with members of the education committee...and set up an actual meeting to hear from the people who had concerns...to educate other members of the education committee. I talked directly with Jim Jones, the President of the State Board of Education.

I wrote a letter to the State Board...requesting that a group be assigned to re-evaluate what was done...(J. Dillard, personal communication, January 7, 1996).

As the ranking Republican member of the House Education committee, Delegate Dillard's actions came into direct conflict with those of the Allen education team, and thus, he split with his party's Governor over the standards.

Delegate Dillard's efforts won the education community an opportunity to present their side of the debate to a special hearing of the education committees of both the Virginia Senate and the House of Delegates. Supporters of the January draft of the standards did not have a place on the agenda. This meeting attracted the attention of the media, and prompted complaints by members of the Allen team and Delegate Steve Newman, a Republican from Lynchburg, that the hearings were one-sided and unfair. Dillard explained the reasons for inviting only critics of the standards to speak that day. He contended that the other side had been given the opportunity to present the standards

to the General Assembly in January, and that no critics were invited to participate in that presentation. What he did, he contended, was give the other side a chance to speak to their legislators (J.H. Dillard, II, personal communication, January 17, 1995).

Another character behind the scenes had played a role, particularly in Act II. Dan Fleming, a retired professor of social studies education at Virginia Tech, had been busy lobbying members of the General Assembly, the State Board of Education, staff members of the Department of Education, and contacts in professional organizations to mount opposition to the January draft. He had written and distributed a critique of the January draft and developed an alternative K-3 program. More importantly, he had conducted a letter-writing and telephone campaign to raise opposition to the January draft and had joined the VCSSSCE to protest attempts by the Commission on Champion Schools to write educators out of the development process. He explained parts of this campaign.

Jim Dillard's an important player because the one thing that the State Department of Ed... hates is to have the General Assembly get in the act and my belief was that Jim Dillard was a good ally. He understood social studies. He was very well known to several of us for, almost twenty-five years or more, and so keeping Jim Dillard on board and the General Assembly finger in the door, or foot in the door, was a great asset to us. An so that's one thing I did outside (D. Fleming, personal communication, January 26, 1996).

Fleming had also maintained contact with Board chairman, James Jones, and with the Department of Education's social studies specialist, Harvey Carmichael. In fact, he was providing names of educators who should be considered for the Advisory Committee to Jones and Carmichael. Fleming also kept communications open with Virginia Education Association staff members, sharing information about the standards and his criticisms of those standards.

Expanding the Issues in the Debate

In Act I, the audience witnessed the introduction of two primary issues in the debate over the standards for the social studies, namely, whether expanding horizons was an appropriate framework for elementary social studies or whether the Virginia standards should adopt a cultural literacy approach and who would control the development of those standards. In Act II, both those issues were expanded, and made more complex. At the same time, an additional issue was introduced.

In Act II, the Commission on Champion Schools, declared that expanding horizons was non-academic and no longer appropriate for Virginia's children. They did so by producing the January draft of the standards which was steeped in cultural literacy. The professional community, prompted by its professional organizations, and by the backstage efforts of Dillard and Fleming, reacted vehemently against the Commission's translation of cultural literacy as appropriate for young children. They alerted the media to the coming battle and turned out *en masse* at the March hearings. As a result the debate moved beyond the relatively closed circles of the Commission on Champion Schools and the professional organization and into the public arena. The public attention added a level of complexity to the struggle over the issue of expanding horizons and allowed the audience to glimpse how the struggle was being waged between the two sides.

Another issue, introduced in the first act, was a major concern in the second act. That issue was the question of what role the Commission and the professional community should play in writing the standards. The audience learned the Commission's response to that question when it rejected the November draft, after having previously rejected the September and October drafts, all produced with the involvement of professional educators. The Commission, then, removed the larger professional community and developed its own version of the standards. Here, the issue became complicated,

however, by the acceptable definition of the professional community. Teachers did cooperate with the Commission and were involved with writing the January draft, but they were teachers who were not connected to the professional organizations. They were also selected by the Commission to participate. Thus, the Commission could legitimately claim that educators wrote the January draft, while at the same time getting a document that adopted the assumptions of cultural literacy. Again, the audience saw how the conflict over another issue was being managed on both sides.

Michael Apple, in describing the current conservative attacks on education, an attack propagated in the Reagan rhetoric on educational crisis (see literature review), wrote,

One of the major causes of educational failure is seen to be the supposedly nearly complete control over policy and practice by teachers and other professional educators. (Apple, 1993, p.3).

Such was the case in this drama. The definition of the problem as academic crisis allowed Allen's team to attach some measure of the blame for those deficiencies on the professional community.

Beverly Sgro, Allen's Secretary of Education, defined the problem as academic crisis and implied that educators were to blame in a press release that she sent to newspapers across the state during the debate.

I think it's rather appalling when many of our students don't know the names of states, can't find them on a map, and don't even know the number of justices on the Supreme Court. Sometimes the people closest (to the problem) are the last to see the need for change (Hsu and O'Harrow, March 29, 1995).

Implicit in her statements was the suggestion that educators, "the last to see the need for change", should be omitted from the search for solutions to the crisis.

Indicative of the widespread acceptance of the rhetoric from the 1980s on school failures, less conservative members of the Board of Education also agreed that Virginia's schools **needed** reform, and that reform needed to be higher standards. Alan Wurtzel stated,

I am very much a believer that we need to reform the schools in this country,... that they are not meeting the needs of, of our society and if we don't do better, our country is going to deteriorate... . We need far higher standards. We need to assess those standards. We need, in my judgment, to have some consequences that arise out of failure to meet those standards (A. Wurtzel, personal communication, January 24, 1996).

James Jones, Chairman of the Board of Education, agreed.

The problem is we are still graduating kids that don't have the necessary skills... . Our school system is simply not living up to that challenge. (J. Jones, personal communication, January 22, 1996).

The rhetoric had apparent political appeal. A Roanoke Valley parent, for example, agreed with Sgro's diagnosis of educational crisis and with her assertion that teachers could not be expected to help solve that crisis. Speaking at a public meeting, he stated,

The students **can't** read and write, and all we hear is a big defense of what we have from the VEA (Virginia Education Association). There has been an erosion of standards, and the teachers worry that they will have to go to work (Turner, March 31, 1995).

Alan Wurtzel, a member of the Virginia Board of Education, and an important player in the production of the Virginia social studies standards, witnessed the attempts by two Board members, who were also members of the Commission on Champion Schools, to write Virginia educators out of the process.

The Allen appointees, to be specific, wanted the Board to write the Standards... . I mean Michelle and, and Lil Tuttle... . They didn't want the teachers a part of it. They said, "These people are captives of the system. They don't have an open mind. Our schools are in a terrible shape because their kind of thinking is what had led us to the terrible", ah, these, this is their characterization... "this terrible situation. Kids don't learn anything and they're proponents of the status quo and

they'll never reason with them and you'll never get anywhere. Cut them out and forget that." (A. Wurtzel, personal communication, January 24, 1996).

What Wurtzel described was a central conflict in this drama, the attempt by Governor Allen's political appointees, including members of the Commission on Champion schools, to remove educators from control over curriculum decisions. Labeling the Commonwealth's schools in crisis served to empower these critics of public schools in the debate over who would write the standards and what those standards would be.

Educators recognized the attempts on the part of the Commission on Champion Schools and some members of the Board to write them out of the process.

I know I said it over and over, but it was the overwhelming issue in my mind all summer, was we had to, we had to finish the document. We had to have something that educators had been a part of (J. Ganzert, personal communication, December 18, 1995).

State Superintendent of Schools William Boshier also recognized the frustration the education community felt about attempts to exclude them from the process of developing standards.

I think clearly the teachers with whom I talked felt that the process had been taken from them, that the Champion Schools Commission did not represent the breadth of...thinking that they would hope the professional community would include... . One concern was for the process. Another concern was just blatant trust. I mean those that perceived that the Champion School Commission was...commissioned to foster an ideological position. They didn't need to read or analyze anything to distrust its product (W.C. Boshier, personal communication, January 3, 1996).

The attempt to remove educators from significant influence over the standards, supported by the adoption of the Reagan solutions to the assumed crisis in education, resulted in the omission of other significant issues in this debate, issues that educators, had they had enough power, might have been able to make a part of the reform agenda. Absent from this debate, for example, was any discussion of structural and cultural influences on school achievement, social and economic class divisions within and across

school divisions, learning theory, educational and psychological research on the developmental needs and interests of children, and scholarship from the professional community on what questions should be raised during curriculum development and how that curriculum development should occur. Also absent from the debate were curriculum organizational efforts from the professional social studies community, including the national standards projects. Educators were prevented by unequal power relationships from bringing these issues into the discussion, though they did try to do so.

An additional complication of the same issue, whether or not teachers participated in drafting the January standards, was the fact that there were divisions within the professional community. There were teachers who did not object to the January draft. There were also divisions in the professional community over the relationships between history and geography, as evidenced by the conflict on the April revision team.

Further complicating the debate over expanding horizons and professional involvement was the fact that the General Assembly was becoming interested in the debate. Reacting to the media attention from the public hearings and to the efforts of Dillard and Fleming, the General Assembly's questions about the process caused some alarm for the Board of Education. As Fleming stated, the Board wanted no trouble from the General Assembly.

In the second act, the audience also watched a third, but related issue, beginning to emerge, conflicting definitions of what knowledge, skills and attitudes are necessary for the development of young citizens. Intertwined in the debate over expanding horizons and cultural literacy and the debate over who should control the development of the standards were conflicts over what defined appropriate citizenship education. The Commission, adopting a traditional content-based approach to social studies education, and omitting critical thinking, decision making and other thinking skills was defining the good citizen in

the tradition described by Barr, Barth and Shermis (1978) as citizenship transmission. It was a definition of citizenship aimed at maintaining social order and cultural cohesion. Social studies educators, while not necessarily agreeing among themselves over what the good citizen was (Barr, Barth and Shermis, 1978), nonetheless objected to the narrow definition adopted by the Commission. The citizen, many educators felt, would need thinking skills and the social studies curriculum was the place where those skills should be practiced and taught. Jo Anne Funk, a parent and teacher from Norfolk, for example, stated at the March 17, 1995 public hearing in Norfolk, "We want critical thinking" (Virginia Board of Education. Public Comments on the January Draft, p. 13). Charlene Chappell, representing the VCSSSCE, stated at the same meeting, that the January draft paid "little attention to thinking and communication and participation skills" (p. 16). In a Richmond hearing on March 30, 1995, an unidentified teacher objected to a title change in the social studies standards. The teacher felt that the standards should retain the title "social studies" and defined the purpose of social studies as educating students "to make informed decisions about the world" (p. 51). Many in the professional community did not believe, in other words, that the January version was appropriate preparation for citizenship.

Power, Rhetoric and Ideology

Power was introduced in Act I as an essential theme in the developing conflict between the Commission on Champion Schools and the professional community. The audience learned, for example, that there were unequal power relationships between the Commission and the Department of Education and between the Commission and the Lead School Division. Those unequal power relationships, at Boshers's invitation, allowed the

Commission to appropriate the process from the professional community. In Act II, the audience learned what the Commission did with that opening.

The Commission used a form of coercive power to intimidate the Lead School Division and to reject, out of hand, the VCSSSCE draft. In fact the VCSSSCE, from Ganzert's description, produced its draft, knowing that each section was being sent off to Commission members for validation or rejection. That was a form of intimidation.

A more important power, however, as events developed in Act II was the use of the power of expertise. Tuttle had carefully selected articles to "prove" that expanding horizons was inappropriate, ignoring in the process, other literature on the purposes and goals of social studies and on thoughtful methods of curriculum development, to convince members of the Commission, and educators who were cooperating with that Commission, of the wisdom of the cultural literacy approach. Having adopted that approach, they translated a version of it into the January standards.

The professional community also called on the power of expertise in Act II. Charging that they had been written out of the process by the Commission, they were, in effect, challenging the right of lay groups to play significant roles in curriculum development. They were arguing, actually, that the professional community possessed particular expertise in determining the content of the school curriculum. Their appeal to expertise, however, did not have the same effect on the political environment surrounding the standards as did Tuttle's selective articles on expanding horizons.

The March hearings and the media attention that surrounded them also provided the opportunity for Tuttle's selective expertise to reach the general public where it found some support. News articles that quoted Commission members and editorials written by other Commission members pounded the Ravitch conclusions home.

More importantly, however, Tuttle's use of expert power had begun to affect other members of the Board of Education. By the end of Act II, Tuttle was a member of that Board, with close and repeated access to other members of the Board. She used her selective articles to work on winning their support for her vision of the standards. It worked. She had convinced Jones and Wurtzel, as evidenced by their statements, that the standards would not use the expanding horizons scope and sequence.

Expert power, however, was not sufficient. In order to abandon expanding horizons, the Allen team would have to link it negatively with a lack of excellence. Tuttle did that effectively in this act. In her description of the drafting of the January version, for example, she stated that people were "talking new ideas" (a positive label meaning abandon expanding horizons). Conversely, they were "not in a straight jacket anymore" (a negative label for staying with expanding horizons). And then, she used the most effective label of all when she stated that Weber agreed to "putting some content in there". The labeling, too, had an effect on the larger public community. Expanding horizons, then, meant a lack of content. The label was powerful. Wurtzel stated, the prevailing practice in schools was to "teach very little in K-3" and then, "What's it called, expanding horizons".

It is also significant that the term "developmentally appropriate" was negatively linked with expanding horizons as if the two concepts were synonymous. What it meant was that when educators complained that the January standards were developmentally inappropriate for young children, members of the Board heard "expanding horizons", and discounted what educators were saying. In Jones' words, the Board felt that the education community "missed the point".

Educators, in a way, had missed the point. They had failed to capture the initiative and redefine the debate on rigor, though they did try. They argued, for example that the

memorization of discrete and disconnected facts failed the rigor test, that the mastery of higher-level critical thinking skills was actually much more rigorous. The initiative, however, was lost early in the debate. Educators failed to use the power of expertise as well as Tuttle. They also failed to use the rhetoric to label as effectively, so that when the debate entered the third act, rigor was still perceived by the powerful in this debate, the Board of Education and the Commission on Champion Schools, as the antithesis of the conceptually organized expanding horizons framework.

The rhetoric also affected the lay public. Supporters of the Commission standards arrived at the March public hearings carrying signs urging Virginia to say "Yes to Academics", prompted by organizing efforts on the part of various groups, including the Christian Coalition. The simple characterization of the standards as academic ignored larger and equally important issues, including, among other things, whether the standards met the needs and interests of children, what conception of citizenship they taught, and how they dealt with basic values like tolerance, equality, and fairness. Yet, it is extremely difficult for a citizen to oppose "academics". In this case, the simpler the sound bite, the more effective it could be. Educators largely missed that point, too. They played into Tuttle's hands by speaking about issues like developmental appropriateness and moving from concrete experiences of children toward the abstract. They, thus, let the Allen team define the terms of the debate.

Educators did use negative sound bites, however. The charges to the lay public, to Board members, and to the General Assembly that the Commission had appropriated in the standards process from the professional community and had substantially altered them to advance a particular political ideology, thereby, "politicizing" the process was a powerful accusation. The General Assembly and the Board were sensitive to such charges. So was the Commission. Tuttle took great pains in her interview to dispel the

charge that educators were not involved in the January draft. She, further, reversed the charge and used it as an offensive weapon when she charged that the April document was created undemocratically, or outside the public process by "professional education interest groups". The implication of such a statement was that the January draft had been, on the other hand, created democratically. It had not, but perceptions mattered in this debate.

"Professional" "interest groups" carried negative connotations in Virginia's conservative political environment. So did the condition of being "on the public payroll" or in "teachers unions", labels attached to teachers by Michelle Easton in Act II. The point of this labeling was to portray the education community as the "villains" to the lay public. Power and rhetoric in Act II were used to build support for ideological stances. Those ideological issues in Act II were actually the same as those introduced in Act I of this script. They involved questions like how children best learn, whether knowledge is contextual and conditional or static, how that knowledge should best be organized, what role the lay public and the professional community should play in writing standards, and more importantly, what defines the good citizen. The audience had already seen these issues introduced in the first act, and had seen how power and rhetoric were used to support those issues. In Act II, however, they got a closer view of the management of ideology. In Act III, the players would place ideology under a stronger lens and give the audience a magnified view of the importance of ideological issues in the debate.

At the end of Act II the audience has been introduced to a central conflict, the contest over whether or not the professional community would have an important role to play in developing the social studies standards. The audience has also seen the relationships among power, rhetoric and ideology. Those in power had the advantage. Their rhetoric was powerful because they were powerful. In turn, the effective use of negative and positive labeling has served to bolster their position in the debate. That

rhetoric and their own positions of power have allowed them to force their ideological definition of the problem and its solution into the center of the debate. To do so, they sought to remove educators from the process, and were, for a while, successful. Educators, however, using their own power had demanded, and received, a position in the debate. They had, however, not been able to disconnect expanding horizons and developmentally appropriate from the perception of non-rigorous studies.

Act III

The Board Takes Charge

(May 1995-July 1995)

Scene One: The Advisory Committee

The curtain for the final act of the production of social studies standards opened on May 30, 1995 in a conference room on the first floor of the James Monroe Building in Richmond, Virginia, where the State Board of Education's Advisory Committee on social studies standards assembled for its introductory meeting. After almost a year of standards development, this committee was created by the Board of Education in an attempt to bring closure to a contentious and arduous debate over the content of social studies curriculum in Virginia's elementary and secondary schools.

A collection of hand-picked public school educators, college educators, curriculum specialists, representatives of professional organizations, business leaders, parents, and interested citizens convened at tables arranged in long straight rows. Across the room, occupying seats at the head table were James Jones, Chairman of the State Board of Education, and fellow board members, Lillian Tuttle, Malcolm MacDonald, and Michelle Easton. Joining them at the head table was William Boshier, State Superintendent of

Public Instruction in Virginia. The symbolic message inherent in this gaping divide between committee members and policy makers was not lost on the educators in the room, for much of the controversy of the past year had revolved around what part social studies educators would play in the decision-making over the development of standards for social studies in the state.

In his opening remarks at the beginning of the third act, Board chairman, Jones stated that "in an ideal world, professional educators would be the only ones involved" in writing standards, and that, while that might be true in Europe, in Virginia, "we swim in a political atmosphere." So began the work of the Advisory Committee, on May 30, 1995. This group was charged with resolving the differences over which the critics of education and the education community had fought for over a year, and to produce standards for Board review by the end of June.

Having selected this group, on the advice of educators and Board members, Jones then laid out the procedures under which the group would operate. Against the advice of many educators in the room, Jones had decided that the committee would be divided into four separate groups, one for each of the major discipline areas, history, geography, civics, and economics. Working in these discipline subcommittees, the groups would convene at the end of each day to share their work with each other. A writing team would take the work of the subcommittees and develop the final document. Shutting down an attempt by Melanie Biermann to open a discussion of "structural and definitional" issues, beginning with a definition of what was meant by "standards" and her request that the Department of Education gather recent research on social studies education for the Advisory Committee to use, and Ganzert's call for a mission statement from the start of the committee's deliberations, Jones sent the four separate subcommittees off to formulate their recommendations.

During the work of the Advisory Committee two members of the Board, Tuttle and Easton, again distributed articles by Diane Ravitch and Kieran Egan, this time to Advisory Committee members. They also invited Diane Ravitch to address the entire committee on the issue of expanding horizons and appropriate content for the primary grades. In her presentation, Ravitch argued that the expanding horizons failed to teach young children anything they did not already know, and left children, therefore, ill-equipped to acquire a base of content knowledge. No other guests were invited to the Advisory Committee to present arguments or research on social studies education.

Most of the real action took place in the four subcommittees. Symptomatic of the importance attached by some of the critics of public schools to the content of history instruction, three members of the Board joined the history subcommittee, sat in on their discussions, and in short time, took over those discussions.

Scene Two: The History Committee at Work

Convening in a conference room on the twenty-fifth floor of the Monroe Building the history subcommittee had, unquestionably, the most difficult job of any of the committees because of the nature of the subject matter and because three members of the Board of Education joined that committee.

Judy Ganzert, of Henrico County, was appointed by Jones to chair the history committee. She described efforts by the three Board members to determine the committee's recommendations.

There...were many times when that was very, very clear. I mean that was the picture. It was, even, in sitting in that committee room this summer and the...three members of the Board, the three that I named earlier, who attended virtually every meeting of this subcommittee. Now they were not members of the subcommittee, but as members of the Board, of course, they have the prerogative to attend any subcommittee meeting and to have input. Now they were not voting members of

...the committee which I think upset them. But they did play a dominant role, in the committee because they chose to dominate. They chose to let it be known to the committee what they supported and what they would support, which made it again a very interesting task (J. Ganzert, personal communication, December 18, 1995).

At one point in the proceedings, Tuttle openly challenged Ganzert's authority as chair. That confrontation occurred over the committee's use of earlier versions of the standards produced by educators and rejected by the Commission on Champion School in its January draft. Ganzert explained the confrontation.

The new task force, (*meaning the Advisory Committee*) when you read the resolution, the resolution is very clear that they are to establish Standards of Learning and they may use...any documents, any previous documents or any other documents which will assist them and to me that meant that we were starting from scratch. If we wanted to, if you want to take the good pieces from this document and you want to take the good pieces from that document, fine. We want the best document we can get. Again I was questioned by a Board member in our June meetings when I in leading my committee, I told them, you know, I was asking them for their input and I was allowing them to go back to the September document and one of the Board members questioned me very specifically ...in fact her question to me was, "By what authority do you have to do this?" And she was very angry and very adamant that we were supposed to only be using the January 10th document. We happened to have a copy of the resolution with us. We read the resolution and another Board member who was present in the room stipulated that by all means we had the authority to use any document, that we were simply not just strengthening the January 10 document (J. Ganzert, personal communication, December 18, 1995).

The power relationships on the history committee were evident even in the physical setting of the room. As chair, Ganzert sat at the head of the table, next to a chart board on which she recorded suggestions and agreements from the committee discussions. Tuttle sat at the opposite end of the long table, with Easton on her side. By the end of the first meeting, committee members sitting along each side of the table consistently looked in Tuttle's direction during the deliberations rather than in the direction of Ganzert. At one point, Wurtzel rose from his seat, walked to Ganzert's end of the table, picked up the

marker, and directed the discussions from the chart board. He had, for the time, physically taken control of the group from Ganzert.

Ganzert continued her description of the dominant role the three Board members played on the history committee.

They were very, very strong. They were very, very adamant there was not going to be anyone who was going to put them in a place that would say "Stop."

I think that was part of their intention when they came, or at least for Michelle and Lil, they were two newer members of the Board who had been appointed by Governor Allen and as they came on board I think they saw this very specifically as their charge to ensure what, in their mind, would be stronger academic Standards.

And the committee itself was often very concerned because they felt that they had been charged to make recommendations to the Board and with the Board members seated in the room telling them what they would support, they were essentially not being allowed to make their recommendation, which again put me in a situation, ...I was torn between making the recommendations that you truly want to make, or let's put something down on paper that we know might be supported by the Board and that we can accept.

There was no room to compromise, certainly it was adversarial, certainly it became us against them and there were times when you just simply had to take a break just so that people could go off, collect themselves and then come back (J. Ganzert , personal communication, December 18, 1995).

Ganzert's difficulties were compounded by the fact that the three members of the Board often agreed with each other, particularly about writing content-specific, chronologically organized standards.

Issues in the History Committee

It appeared that for Wurtzel the key objective was to produce standards that were organized chronologically, which he alternatively termed, "logical", "coherent", and "intellectual" standards, and that emphasized America's western traditions. Biermann's proposal, for example, for a thematic organization of world history based on the concept

of studying the world history from a study of the traditions of America's immigrants, he labeled "fragmented" and quickly dismissed. Tuttle also wanted a chronological organization of the history standards.

Tuttle: The one thing that I do like about this arrangement, though is that there's chronology to it.

Wurtzel: Exactly

Tuttle: History, if it is nothing else...is a story to be told, that pulls it together And I think one of the things in asking to have certain things separated out is to go back into concepts rather than chronology...(Editing Committee meeting, July 17, 1996).

Both Tuttle and Easton seemed to resist any attempts to discuss concepts or themes of history, insisting instead that the standards contain "named content" (L. Tuttle, personal communication, December 18, 1995), meaning people, places, events and dates.

During the history committee meetings, Dan Fleming suggested that the standards should focus on the examination of in-depth case studies. Reflecting the emphasis in the social studies reform reports on depth over breadth of coverage, his proposal for a case study approach as a way to avoid content cramming was supported by committee member Rabbi Berman, but never received serious consideration from the members of the Board. Wurtzel consistently argued for "intellectual content" (History Subcommittee meeting, June 14, 1995) coupled with a reminder to the committee that their work would eventually be reviewed by the Board. Remarking to the committee that the Board was not pleased with the process to this point, he stated, "I'm trying to get something I can support to the Board" (History Subcommittee meeting, June 14, 1995). Such reminders, it seemed, served to reaffirm the power of the Board and to push the committee to recommend standards more compatible with the wishes of the three Board members who sat in the committee.

Educators tried to use the subcommittee meetings as a way to combat negative perceptions of the education community that had been a part of the public debate over the January draft of the standards. Melanie Biermann addressed the issue directly. Stating that the questions over the standards had been misframed in the public arena, she asserted that most educators had not been proponents of expanding horizons, calling the whole argument over expanding horizons a "red herring" (History Subcommittee meeting, June 14, 1995). She also countered Wurtzel's argument for intellectual standards, stating that opposition from the education community did not mean that educators were "anti-intellectual" (History Subcommittee meeting, June 14, 1995). Board members did not respond to her comments, thereby closing down discussions of those issues.

A clash over skills objectives occurred in a subcommittee meeting at which none of the Board members were present. The primary antagonists were Dick Weber and Dan Fleming. Fleming argued for the inclusion of skills objectives. Weber countered first with the argument that people paid little attention to skills objectives isolated from content and continued to state that, "The Board doesn't want a bunch of skills objectives" (History Subcommittee meeting, June 21, 1995). Fleming responded, "We should do what we think the standards should be" (History Subcommittee meeting, June 21, 1995), reminding Weber that although two members of the Board did not want skills, Weber had no authority to speak for the entire Board. Fleming forced Weber to back down by threatening to leave the committee, at which point, Weber agreed to add skills objectives. According to Fleming, though, the skills objectives which the subcommittee added to Weber's copy of the standards that day were lost. "Our stuff disappeared. I never saw it." Fleming continued, "He who keeps the records has a lot of power." (D. Fleming, personal communication, January 26, 1996).

A primary concern for geography educators from early in the process was that there be a separate geography course in secondary schools. Don Ziegler, the spokesperson for the geography group, contended that when geography was integrated into history courses, important geographic perspectives were lost. He clashed with Ganzert over this issue during the April revision, and again in the history subcommittee. Aware that the scope and sequence proposed by the history subcommittee would largely determine whether geography would have a separate course at the secondary level, he attended some of the sessions of the history subcommittee. At those sessions, he won Wurtzel's support for a separate geography course, according to Weber, because he used an intellectual argument (R. Weber, personal communication, July 7, 1995). With Wurtzel's support, he prevented the integrated history-geography organization that Ganzert supported.

On schedule, the history subcommittee presented its work to the full committee, as did other groups. Whether or not that committee ever reached a consensus on what to recommend to the full committee, however, is difficult to determine, primarily because participants kept wandering in and out of the subcommittee meetings. People joined who were not assigned; others who were assigned to the committee simply quit.

The time constraints forced much of the development of proposals for the committee's recommendations to be done at night, and largely individually, as members took on the assignment to work with various grade levels on their own and bring their suggestions back to the whole group. At any rate, there was a collection of suggestions and standards to be forwarded to a writing group.

Even the organization of the writing committee appeared to be chaotic. Fleming described how the composition of the writing team was decided.

So my role was interesting because when we got down to the end of the whole thing we were called together again in a small meeting upstairs, when they, this is, I think the 21st, and there was, Mr. Wurtzel, Senator Jones, Harvey Carmichael, Dick Weber and myself and, Jerry Moore (*a professor of social studies education at the University of Virginia*). And Senator Jones said, "What are we going to do now?" He said, "... Jerry you and Dan can put this in shape." ...and I said, "No, I don't want to do that." and Jerry was sort of saying nothing. I said, "I think if, since you've organized by the chairmen, you might as well have the chairmen. Go back to the Chairmen and do this" (D. Fleming, personal communication, January 26, 1996).

It was decided, therefore, that the four subcommittee chairs would form a writing committee to produce the Advisory Committee's draft of the standards. That draft would be presented to the Board at its June 29th meeting.

Scene Three: The Board Meeting

Seated at a table on the first floor of the James Monroe Building were the four members of the Advisory Committee's writing team, Judy Ganzert, chair of the history subcommittee; Robin McBee, co-chair of the civics subcommittee; Elizabeth Volard, chair of the economics subcommittee; and David Wymer, chair of the geography subcommittee; flanked by William Bosher, Harvey Carmichael, and Dick Weber. The Board of Education sat at a table on a raised platform. Here the writing team officially presented a version of the standards to the Board for consideration. Actually, this team had drafted a earlier version of the standards, which they had submitted, unofficially, to members of the Board for review. Individual members of the Board had made substantial changes to that version of the standards, including a change in the title from Standards of Learning for Social Studies to Standards of Learning for History and the Social Sciences, reflected an aversion on the part of some members of the Board for integrated social studies instruction. The Board members had then returned the draft to the writing team. The team drafted a revised version, which it presented to the full Board for review on June 29,

1995. In this revised version the writing team had not objected to the title change.

Absent from this meeting were Board members Decker and Nelson, neither of whom were Allen appointees. Had they been present, many of the close votes on this afternoon might conceivably have produced different outcomes. Jones recognized that possibility when he remarked to Nelson, who was on a speaker phone, "We appreciate your listening in and we wish you had been here to cast these important votes" (Board meeting, June 29, 1995).

The Board spent most of this meeting discussing two primary points. The first of those was a motion by Wurtzel that the Board approve the standards in principle, subject to further revision by a four-member Board Editing Committee. Thus, the Board would not actually vote on the final version of the standards. The second was a series of ideological discussions which revealed sharp divisions on the Board.

As the meeting opened, educators affirmed their support for the revised version of the standards, stating that they had discussed revisions suggested by Board members, and in the spirit of compromise and out of a desire to finish the process, had decided that they were issues over which the educators had been willing to compromise. To a person, they characterized their revised version as a compromise document and expressed their support for it.

Ganzert: It's been very hard, but I think that this document represents what a lot of people have poured their sweat into and feel good about at this point (Board meeting, June 29, 1995).

McBee: Without feeling like I've had to sacrifice my professional integrity in any major way, we have come up with a document that ...meets what ...the civics committee wanted, in large part, not completely, not every little thing that everyone wanted, but most of what they wanted (Board meeting, June 29, 1995).

Carmichael, in the one of the few times he spoke during the Advisory Committee process, stated,

I can't remember when we brought together a diverse group of individuals, such as the task force, people with tremendous education but differing views on how that education should be promoted, especially for social studies, to bring together a group who could battle their way through their differences and ultimately reach the point of a document that you were presented last week. The comments that we received on Monday and Tuesday (*meaning comments from individual Board members*)..., I think, strengthen this document. I thought it was fantastic (Board meeting, June 29, 1995).

Wymer directly addressed the issue of previous exclusions of educators from the process.

I think that over the last 4 to 6 weeks that the Board's direction and with their assistance, that we have re-developed a sense of confidence amongst members of the professional community that their concerns are being addressed. Because regardless of what standards we develop, if we lose the confidence and trust of those teachers who are going to be asked to implement these standards, if they don't do it with conviction and enthusiasm, then we have failed what the standards are about (Board meeting, June 29, 1995).

The public affirmations on the part of profession educators about the degree of compromise and consensus in the revised version, however, quickly became inconsequential. Wurtzel, arguing that the standards were "only two or three yards away from the touchdown", introduced his motion that

The social studies Standards of Learning be revised according to the draft dated June 29, 1995 under the name of History and Social Science Standards of Learning for Virginia, that a committee of four members of the Board of Education be appointed by the President of the Board to...make changes to the revised version of the standards provided that any such changes do not substantially change the revision's fundamental nature and that at least three members of the committee agree to such changes (Board meeting, June 29, 1995).

Easton immediately seconded the motion, stating, "I've had it for 18 hours now. I have read it all. I have made notes on every page. It's very, very close, but there are some

issues that I want to make" (Board meeting, June 29, 1995). Tuttle added her support, also, to the motion.

I would say that there are little things in there that I don't think any of us particularly want to see in the headlines. And I do, I would fully support Mr. Wurtzel's motion. I think we are, we're almost to the finish line, and I would hate to see us stop before the finish line (Board meeting, June 29, 1995).

The Board spent considerable time discussing Wurtzel's motion. Harris and Pennino supported an unsuccessful attempt to make the Editing Committee a five-member group, and thus, a majority of the nine-member Board. Wurtzel, Jones, Easton and Tuttle had previously formed an agreement whereby the four of them would serve on the Editing Committee, and that no changes would be made without the consent of at least three of the four. They, therefore, contended that the Editing Committee would represent the Board fairly, with two Democrats and two Republicans. Board member, Pennino, was also particularly concerned that an Editing Committee would be revising standards which the full Board would not review. To satisfy her concerns, Wurtzel amended the motion to include more specific limits on the authority of the Editing Committee. The amended resolution stated,

a committee of four members of the Board to be appointed by the President of the Board with final authority to make editorial changes, provided that any such changes are limited to changes to reflect historical accuracy and clarity, worthsmithing and editing, and organizational integrity (Board meeting, June 29, 1995).

As subsequent discussions indicated, the different members had varying interpretations of the limits of the Editing Committee's authority. Easton offered in a later discussion, that the Editing Committee could add social movements to the document to provide ideological balance. Pennino vehemently objected, threatening to withdraw her support

for the motion. The uneasy consensus held only because the Board resolved some of the differences over ideological issues before adjourning the meeting.

Ideological disagreements were a second major component of the Board's discussion of the revised standards. Pennino questioned why standards written by the Advisory Committee writing team addressing the status of women and children in the middle ages, responses of major religious faiths to recent challenges, religious wars, and environmental protectionism had been deleted from the standards. On each of the issues, Ganzert, responding for the writing team, answered that such standards had been deleted at the specific request of a member of the Board. That member was Michelle Easton. Easton had also struck a part of the introduction to the civics component of the standards that had emphasized educating students for responsible and informed citizenship.

In the case of responses of religious faiths to recent challenges, religious wars, and environmentalism, Easton stated that she felt such standards were redundant, that those issues were addressed under other standards in other grades. Pennino objected, stating that other issues were included several times.

Now up until this point religion has been mentioned and the influence of religion has been mentioned in the various grades. I numbered it eight times. And then you get to religious wars, it was struck (Board meeting, June 29, 1995).

On the civics introduction, Easton stated that she had struck it because "it was, I just thought, it was extraordinarily long ...and didn't really add a lot....I think the shorter and more concise you make it, the better" (Board meeting, June 29, 1995). On the issue of the status of women and children, Easton stated,

the tendency in modern history, and we saw this in some of the National History Standards that were so controversial...and condemned by the U.S. Senate 99 to 1, the tendency to take 1990 standards about men and women and children and apply those to civilizations of a thousand years ago and say, "What was wrong with these people?" and without looking at the historical context of the time, without looking at the main basis for human activity at the time which was the Scriptures,

and so there's a real concern about applying present day standards to ancient history and ancient civilization in a really obtuse and, I know you'll help me out here Lil, but in a way that is inappropriate and it doesn't teach our children anything about ancient history (Board meeting, June 29, 1995).

Tuttle responded to her call for assistance, joining her argument against the standard and arguing that there were other times in history when the status of women and children changed. It was in those periods, she argued when the standards should address the issue. Wurtzel agreed with Tuttle and Easton and Pennino's motion failed. This event foreshadowed the rest of the afternoon. Tuttle and Easton spoke with one voice. When Wurtzel, who was not an Allen appointee, cast his vote with them, they prevailed. The writing team, then, needed only to listen for Wurtzel's position to know the outcome of the vote on any revision.

The only significant issue on which Wurtzel disagreed with Easton was on the relative importance of civil rights in the standards. Even then, he began by arguing that it was covered in other standards, but switched positions during the debate.

Harris originally raised the issue, questioning why seven different standards on four different grade levels addressing civil rights had been deleted. Wurtzel's response was that they were covered under larger standards. Boshier, however, asked Harris directly,

Do you see an erosion in the recommendations or do you feel like it is covered in other places?

Easton: I think it is (Board meeting, June 29, 1995).

Harris disagreed with Easton. He responded to the argument that civil rights was covered in other standards by stating, "It's slicing down an idea without wanting to face the issue" (Board meeting, June 29, 1995). By this time, Wurtzel appeared to agree with Harris' arguments. Easton, then, took another tact.

Easton: I thought it was incomplete. There are a number of other movements that I would certainly add there, but it made it so long that I wasn't sure what we gained by having all If you want to talk about movements like that there's a number that I would be suggesting.

Someone asked her for examples.

Easton: Well, you talk about the tax protest movement, the property rights movement, the Second Amendment movement, ...religious rights is a serious movement. I mean we've got all sorts of movements that are very influential in America that deserve mention...

Jones called the bluff, asking, "The gay rights movement?"

Easton: I don't think so. So that's what I saw there....an incomplete list....

Easton: I'd be willing to put it back in if you add these additional movements (Board meeting, June 29, 1995).

Pennino joined the debate.

Pennino: No, I do not. ...I circled this I think that it is very important that if we cross it, it sends the wrong message. And perception is very important (Board meeting, June 29, 1995).

Tuttle supported Easton.

Tuttle: Civil rights is covered in the new 6.7. It's covered in "The student will describe the post-war economic boom and the economic and social transformation..."

Harris: ...What page?

Tuttle: New 6.7 one page back. And civil rights ..is directly under...Cold War...

Jones: Isn't what we want to do is make sure that the civil rights movement in terms of racial segregation holds a special place, I think, regardless of ideology, in historical study and that's, I think that's, I agree with what Professor Harris is talking (about) (Board meeting, June 29, 1995).

Easton continued her argument that the civil rights movement could not be emphasized in the standards when other movements were omitted. She argued that other movements were necessary to give the standards balance.

Easton: Still I think that the Right to Life movement is the civil rights movement of our time. And I think another one for example would be the Second Amendment movement, the right , the right to keep arms. Surely that has been, throughout the history of our country has been prominent. And what could be more prominent now. Every sixth grader has watched on the news while this has been discussed over and over and over. That's a major movement in America. And has been.

Harris; I'm not trying to play Point-Counterpoint. I'm just saying I think ...this statement is important. And it ...

Easton: And I'm saying there's movements and there's movements. And if we're going to put it in, let's put in variety (Board meeting, June 29, 1995).

Wurtzel resolved the impasse with a compromise that the standards address no movements after 1975, include in them reference to religious movements and limit the women's rights movement to women's suffrage. The compromise appealed to Tuttle and Easton. Agreeing to the compromise, Tuttle stated,

and women's suffrage is good. 6.4 is the women's rights movement which has women's suffrage in it as well, because there are certain words that are red flags to various people (Board meeting, June 29, 1995).

Ideological issues, then, played a significant role in the Board's discussion of the revised standards. The majority of the comments made by Easton, Pennino, and Tuttle at the Board meeting were directed at the ideological issues identified earlier. Easton's only other comments were ones made in support of Wurtzel's motion; Pennino's other comments, for the most part, were directed at concerns over the authority of the Editing Committee; Tuttle also addressed support for Wurtzel's motion, the elimination of skills objectives from the document and made two comments about assessment. The Board's

discussion of those ideological issues revealed sharp divisions among its members. Tuttle and Easton were successful, except on the issue of civil rights, because they had Wurtzel's support. Harris, however, did win a major victory on preserving a special place for civil rights in the standards.

Scene Four: The Editing Committee

The Editing Committee, composed of Jones, Wurtzel, Tuttle and Easton, met on July 17, 1995. Tuttle saw the committee and its purpose this way:

We were so close to it that we felt if we could just continue and do the fine tuning of it that we would accomplish the Standards that we needed to without involving too many people (L. Tuttle, personal communication, December 18, 1995).

But there were people other than the Board's Editing Committee involved. Joining them were members of the writing team, including Ganzert, McBee and Wymer. Volard, who could not be present sent James Tucker, a banker who had also sat on the economics subcommittee. Board member, Rayford Harris was also present. Though not an official member of the Editing Committee, Harris joined its discussions, most frequently challenging the changes made in civil rights standards, and whether or not the Editing Committee was exceeding its authority based on the Board's resolution. By the time the Editing Committee convened, Wurtzel and Easton had already prepared major revisions of the standards and had faxed those revisions to Ganzert the night before the meeting.

Ganzert had emerged during the process as the chief spokesperson for the education community, largely because Boshier knew and respected her. She had also won Wurtzel's respect. In his interview, he made particular mention of her. "Judy Ganzert did a terrific job", he stated. Tuttle also understood Ganzert's role. "Judy Ganzert, I think, became our contact" with the educators (L. Tuttle, personal communication, December 18, 1995).

Ganzert took the Wurtzel and Easton revisions and conferred with the other members of the writing team. That team then produced a list of suggested amendments to Wurtzel and Easton's revisions which they brought to the Editing Committee meeting.

Wurtzel played a significant role. The transcript of this meeting showed that he dominated most of the discussions. Part of this dominance was related to the fact that he and Easton had authored the revisions, and he was presenting them to the committee.

Tuttle volunteered to serve as the recorder for the Editing Committee.

Lil Tuttle at that time was actually keying all of these things into her word processor at home and so she was the one who actually had control of the disk as to what was being typed into the document (J. Ganzert, personal communication, December 18, 1995).

Charged by the Board with the job of making non-substantial amendments to the document, the Editing Committee met for one long session on July 17, 1995. A good deal of the discussion at this meeting did revolve around editorial issues, topics like the formatting of the document, punctuation changes, and syntax. But, typical of the rest of the process, they also spent a considerable amount of time discussing substantive issues over which there was disagreement among members of the Board and between individual Board members and the educators.

Issues in the Editing Committee

Among the major issues discussed in the Editing Committee were the amount of content in the standards and the specificity of that content, the degree of local flexibility in implementing the standards, and the authority of the committee to make substantial changes to the standards under the Board's resolution. Easton and Tuttle supported specific and detailed content coverage. Jones countered with questions about what might be reasonable to expect. When the committee began to discuss Wurtzel and Easton's

revisions of the sixth grade standards, a debate began which carried over into the discussion of the seventh grade revision. The debate began when Wurtzel offered a revision of a standard on the six grade level that included significant additions of content. Harris and Jones reacted.

Wurtzel: It's just a quick, the rise of fascism, Nazism, communism

Someone: Um-hum

Wurtzel: in (inaudible), Japanese plans for a Pacific empire and its invasion of China, Manchuria, and much of Southeast Asia. I mean the plans weren't as planned. The plan that resulted in the invasion.

Harris: Is that what we adopted?

Wurtzel: The next bullet

Easton: China, Manchuria and what?

Wurtzel: I'll get to you in a minute. Let me just read the... The next one instead of aggression in Europe and the Pacific, I would say, Hitler's plan to build to build a Third Reich and his invasion of Europe and Western Europe, the failure of appeasement, the Holocaust and its consequences, the major battles of World War II and the reasons for Allied victory and the post-war problems including Russian domination of Eastern Europe, the occupation of Germany and Japan, the Marshall Plan, the collapse of the British Empire and the emergence of nationalism in Africa and

Easton: And you wouldn't give me...(Laughter) I want to ask you for

Wurtzel: Just put some specifics

Jones: I'm, I'm with you but, but that's too much.

Harris: That's too much (some simultaneous chatter).

Wurtzel: The bullets I think will make a lot of difference.

Harris: That would come under curriculum (Editing Committee, July 17, 1995).

Jones and Harris also reacted to substantial revisions that Wurtzel and Easton had made to the seventh grade standards.

Wurtzel: I thought 7.9 could use some simplifying,

Someone: By combining or

Wurtzel: By, by adding three, three areas, India, China, and Japan. In the case of India, talk about the development of civilization in India with particular reference to the caste system, Hinduism, and the Moslem invasion, the development of civilization in China with particular reference to Confucianism, Taoism, the Great Wall, Buddhism and the Tang Dynasty, and in Japan, the development of civilization in reference to Shintoism, Buddhism and the Chinese influence.

Joining in the discussion, Harris asked,

This is a one year course, right? (Laughter)

Jones: That's a problem that I, I mean, I just, this is so full of stuff. I mean

Easton: That's part of our purpose for it, too.

Jones: Well, I know, but we don't want to uh, uh, hurt ourselves by

Easton: Well, **what do you want to cut?** (Editing Committee, July 17, 1995).

Tuttle joined the debate, ignoring the concerns about amount of content and defining the issue as specificity. She linked specificity to the Board's intention to produce assessments tied to the standards, arguing that to be fair, the Board had to develop content-specific standards.

Tuttle: Well, there's a big difference. In this document (*meaning Wurtzel and Easton's edits*) we, everybody knows what's expected and in this document (*the one presented to the Board by the Advisory Committee writing team*) it's so vague you could drive a truck through it and that frightens me. It frightens me for the kids who we are sending out there who are going to be expected to know something they may have never heard of before. It frustrates me for the teachers who think they are teaching something and then get the assessment package that relates to something entirely differently. Her kids or his kids don't do well and that

lands in the teacher's lap. That's not fair either (Editing Committee, July 17, 1995).

The implication in the phrase that the students sent out from school were "going to be expected to know something they may have never heard of before", was that schools have been ineffective, and that rigorous standards would correct the problem. The debate continued for some time.

Easton: I mean a good textbook is going to cover that.

Tuttle: And remember that.

Jones: I don't see how, how is a seventh grade teacher going to look at that? I mean what's she going to spend, one day on that?

Tuttle: She's got 150 hours. Think about it in those terms. She's got roughly a minimum of 150 to lay out all this (Editing Committee, July 17, 1995).

Jones was still not convinced that the standard was a realistic expectation. Easton, then, tried another tactic.

Easton: This is the basic non-western stuff that everyone is crying for. You don't want to kill that one.

Jones: No, I don't. But I, I, but I don't want, I mean if we are so unrealistic, frankly, that nothing gets done then we won't have accomplished our purpose (Editing Committee, July 17, 1995).

Easton, then, returned to the argument for rigor, implying that schools had misplaced their priorities.

But the bottom line is really the exercise to focus the time and attention of the school on the academics. But it's true. This is tough. A lot of it is tough. And that's the design. But if it's too, too much, well then let's cut some out (Editing Committee, July 17, 1995).

Though Easton had offered to cut some of the content, the argument continued, suggesting that for Jones, the issue of content cramming was broader than one seventh grade standard, or even to the standards of one grade level.

Jones:....If we have expectations like this we'll never get anywhere with the assessments. I mean we won't be able to assess these things because they'll be so unrealistically high that, you know, you know for four civilizations and nine or ten different factors.. (Editing Committee, July 17, 1995).

Again, Easton phrased the response as one of improving schooling by increasing academic rigor.

Easton: They might even have to do homework and outside of class reading and library research.

Jones: I, I'm all for that, I just don't, I mean, we can, you know, we could

Tuttle: What do you want to get rid of?

Harris: Put yourself in the teacher's place writing lesson plans. Weekly lesson plans (Editing Committee, July 17, 1995).

Harris, then, as he repeatedly did during this meeting, raised the question of the authority of the committee under the Board's resolution.

Harris: I'm just wondering whether or not the resolution of the Board, and looking at it, if there's too much revision. The consideration that he talked about.

Easton: This is within the scope of organizational integrity, historical accuracy...I feel it is within the Board's resolution. But I mean if you all want to cut it...I like it (Editing Committee, July 17, 1995).

For Ganzert, a school division curriculum specialist, a major issue for consideration was the degree of flexibility allowed to school divisions under the standards.

Ganzert: The question then is are standards the curriculum outline or is the curriculum the curriculum outline. And I think we brought that question up earlier at the beginning, that this is an organizational framework and not a curriculum

design and this particular course and some of the others at the secondary level begin to (resemble)...a curriculum design rather than a framework of standards.

Tuttle: I don't disagree with that and yet I think there are certain things with these changes the Board is going to take on itself the right...of testing the students and **there are going to be consequences either to the school or the kids or both. Then everybody needs to have,...that means having these standards a lot more comprehensive than they have been in the past. I think it's totally and completely unfair for a state agency to figure whether it's this Board or a later Board or anyone else to say you're going to be tested but we're not going to explain to you what the test is on. We're going to hold you accountable for something but you don't really know what it is until you get the first test. That's not fair** (Editing Committee, July 17, 1995).

Delivered in the voice of reason and fairness, Tuttle's speech was a demonstration of the power of the Board to assign consequences to school divisions whose students did not perform well on tests designed on these standards. She had redefined the issue as the level of specificity, rather than as whether or not the standards represented a reasonable expectation for seventh grade students. Ignored here, as in the whole of Act III was the distinction between curriculum standards and curriculum objectives. In spite of the fact that educators had raised the issue in the opening scenes of Act III, the Board did not address the issue. The Board also never resolved the tension between specificity and local flexibility, though the issue did enter the discussions as it had here.

Tuttle, though, had not completely ignored Jones' concern about what a reasonable expectation was. To counter his arguments, she and Easton turned to the power of expertise, even including a document, the National History Standards, which they had negatively labeled in the Board meeting as a controversial and inappropriate model for the Virginia standards.

Jones: Except they wouldn't have enough time, I mean, I don't see how they could fit this into a year. I really don't.

Tuttle: I think I would disagree with you. If you look at the national

Easton: They're pretty specific

Tuttle: Those national ...are absolutely specific and yet we have all praised those for their, for their comprehensiveness, and I think we should. And

Jones: I, I tell you unless you could show me that there is some school, you know, private or public, in our Commonwealth that is, that has a, a seventh or eighth grade course that is as extensive as this, I mean, I don't see how it could be done.

Easton: The idea is to push much harder than ever before

Tuttle: You want to hear something that's really funny. Get Joy Hakim's book.

Easton: That's third grade level, right?

Tuttle: (inaudible) I'm sorry I didn't bring it with me today, but two of these standards could be written off in about a seven page (section)....Now, folks we aren't talking about a college level, in-depth thing. But we are talking about coverage... .

Wurtzel: The problem to me, I think I'm beginning to agree that we've got too much in there. 7.2 and 7.3 cover eleven different civilizations in those two standards (Editing Committee, July 17, 1995).

In response, Easton returned to the power of expertise.

Easton: I think, looking at 7.2, I mean, E.D. Hirsch did this in first grade in his book (Editing Committee, July 17, 1995).

Wurtzel, however, had been convinced by Jones' argument. Saving a special place for Greece and Rome, he began to suggest cuts.

There were also ideological issues in contention during the Editing Committee meeting, and as was true at the July 29th Board meeting, members of the Board disagreed with each other. Among those ideological issues were the degree of emphasis on civil rights, the treatment of religion in the standards, the balance between scarcity and supply and demand in the economics standards, the government's tax policies, and the issue of

whether or not schools should teach students how identification with an affinity group might affect a person's perspective on issues.

Harris, as he had at the Board meeting, raised the civil rights issue. Wurtzel argued that civil rights was covered under other standards. As she had at the Board meeting's discussion of the issue of civil rights, Easton took the offensive by trying to add other movements under civil rights.

Harris: Somebody's been manipulating this one, it seems like to me. We had talked about that.

Wurtzel: What's your prob? What do you want to suggest?

Harris: Well we talked about segregation, desegregation, the Civil Rights, Women's Movement.

Wurtzel: It's all in here. 6.7, now, the Civil Rights Movement. Will describe economic, political and social consequences in the United States since World War II with emphasis on, the first thing is the Civil Rights Movement.

Easton: And I do have one I want us to add here as a bullet. You don't think so?

Jones: O.K. Is that, Rayford do you have a

Harris: No, it's just in there, but its just not, you know. We spoke specifically about segregation and desegregation... .

Ganzert: There's two different places

Wurtzel: But we talk about Jim Crow in the prev, in the earlier one, right?

Ganzert: There's two different places where the Civil Rights Movement comes up in this document and that's 6.7 and 6.11. One specifically is describing the economic and social transformation and... .

Wurtzel: Brown v. Board of Education and its impact on...civil rights activity, meaning to desegregate on public accommodation, transportation, housing and employment, voting rights legislation, Cogill v. ...and the impact of political participation and representation and affirmative action. I think it's in depth now at eleventh grade.

Jones: But it does take out, I think, we could have some considerable discussion of this, the 6.14, about the analysis of historical development of rights and responsibilities with emphasis on individual freedom through the study of segregation, desegregation and civil rights and immigrant groups here in the United States. Now, you suggest we take that out and say, see below, but there really isn't any...

Easton: What do you want to put for...

Someone: The whole thing

Easton: Add more on, on that bullet? I've got a bullet I want to add, too.

Wurtzel: I just think it's a question of overloading. I mean it's not that I'm objecting to it. It's covered. If you want to bring out, take out the civil rights movement under 6.7 and make it, you've got the civil rights movement, the changing role of women in America, the social, economic and political transformation of the United States with respect to those two points. It's just another way of saying the same thing.

Jones: What if we say though the segregation, desegregation, or segregation and the Civil Rights Movement.

Wurtzel: Fine (Editing Committee, July 17, 1995).

As was true throughout the public meetings of the Board, Easton's concern was that conservative issues receive as much emphasis in the standards as traditionally liberal issues. She, for example, argued that the standards placed too great an emphasis on scarcity as an economic concept. She wanted scarcity balanced with an equal treatment of the concept of supply and demand. In two speeches she made on the issue, she used negative labels, such as in "quotas" and "diving up scarce resources" and positive labels, like "our wonderful system" and "dynamic" to advance her argument. That argument was borrowed from the neo-conservative arguments against environmentalism.

I have a little concern about the dominance of the word 'scarcity'....throughout the standards. Not that I object to teaching the notion of scarcity as an economic concept. But there's a

number of standards, for example...where it seems to be the number one concept. And I'd like to see a little bit more, to me scarcity is a subset of supply and demand. Scarcity is an important concept. But it comes out of the function of demand. And I'd like to see at a minimum, I'd like to see supply and demand as a term in these standards along with scarcity. Because to me it's a more important term to describe our economic system...not that scarcity doesn't exist. But sometimes scarcity is not the most important thing. I would argue that in most cases it's not. So, maybe if we could just talk about it conceptually. I didn't see ...supply and demand in here. I saw a lot of scarcity.

I object to a singular focus when and I know actually some of the textbooks do this and some of the economists do emphasize it over supply and demand. But I would argue that when you teach scarcity first without the concept of supply and demand you reach different conclusions. An example somebody gave me was when America's lamps were lit with whale oil there was a scarcity of whale oil and some people wanted to have quotas and start diving up that whale oil because there was a scarcity. But guess what, there was a demand for light in our lamps in America so they came up with kerosene. Then guess what. There was a scarcity of kerosene and people wanted to divvy that up. But guess what. Our wonderful system encouraged people. Electric lights and then nuclear and solar and all that. I'm just saying by focusing so much on scarcity and I think we do in a couple of these standards, we risk missing, you know, looking at our whole system as more dynamic. Not a static system. You know, the pie is this big and "Oh what are we going to do when we run out of pie." I think the beauty of our system is the dynamic of it. So again, I don't disagree with teaching scarcity, but as a subset of something larger (Editing Committee, July 17, 1995).

Easton also wanted the standards to include a discussion of the taxing policies of the government and their impact on the economy of the nation.

One of the things that we don't ever mention in here is...the impact of tax cuts... a specific mention of the incredible consequences of cutting taxes based in part on things that touch everyone's lives, you know, President Carter's Misery Index, both inflation, unemployment and what was the third one, and the three lowest periods of that Misery Index in the (presidencies of)...Coolidge, Kennedy and Reagan. And many historians feel that they are

directly related to large cuts in taxes. And we don't really mention that in here. I ..have a feeling that that might be something that would enrich these standards and make them more historically accurate.

Jones: I just wonder if that is a, ...while I appreciate your view on that, I wonder if that is more of a...controversial than historical

Easton: Do you think? But I mean it's a historical fact that when it was done there was tremendous economic growth. Maybe it's not important enough to mention in there, although we've got the Sears Roebuck catalogue and it's funny, I mean (Editing Committee, July 17, 1995).

The deliberate choice of the words "enrich" and "historical accuracy" was a use of positive labeling to achieve her objective. It was difficult for a member of this committee to be opposed to rich and historically accurate standards. Her belief that tax cuts stimulate economic growth reflected the Reagan economic policies.

Another issue for her was religion. While she generally objected to standards discussing religious wars or religious conflicts, she did want the standards to include the importance of religion in American history. She explained that issue in the following speech.

I just think we are historically remiss not to mention religious movements during this period. And I suggest the bullet will be "the growth of organized religious activism." One of the things that really pushed me to mention it again was Lil out of her voluminous files a Lynne Cheney book about other national tests. This is England and Wales. A high school final test. "Why was evangelical Protestantism so important a force in American life and what effect did it have on that period." And I think religious movements here in America, both black and white, some of it's covered under Civil Rights, but to leave that out of here, to me, I just have to make the pitch again that we consider putting a bullet in here about the growth of organized religious activism because I think it was such an important force in American life here during this time and even the English and the Brits have it in their finals we ought to have something in our standards about it (Editing Committee, July 17, 1995).

Easton's mention of Lynne Cheney was an example of the use of expertise, while the reference to national tests used by other countries reminded committee members of the comparisons of American students against those in other developed nations prevalent during the Reagan era. When Jones responded to her speech by suggesting that the standards might already be overloaded, she countered with the suggestion that she would be willing to find something to take out so that this topic could be added.

A major confrontation during the committee meeting between Tuttle and Ganzert also involved an ideological issue. In a lengthy discussion over the removal of a standard aimed at teaching students to understand the development of historical perspective, Ganzert pushed for the reinstatement the standard.

Ganzert: I think the question is ... "the student will recognize and debate different points of view and identify influences on these views such as nationalism, race, religion, ethnicity, and economic ...issues". You're saying, Alan, that is in the new 6.11?

Wurtzel: Yes, "develop skills of discussion, debate and persuasive writing in the context of evaluating the historical situations...such as different historical perspectives, immigrants and multi-generational Americans, workers and owners, inner-city residents and suburbanites, blacks and whites, Depression Era Americans and baby boomers" (Editing Committee, July 17, 1995).

Ganzert argued that something important had been omitted in the revised standard. Tuttle first questioned why, asserting that the two standards meant the same thing. When educators continued to argue the point, Tuttle asked,

What is the point of this standard? Is the point of this standard to have the argument or is the point of the standard to teach skills of debate, and if so, then it shouldn't matter what you're debating so long as you learn how to debate. Is that not true?

Then, she changed the terms of the debate to imply that the educators' standard sought to influence students to adopt a particular point of view.

Tuttle: Again, I think it goes back to what is the purpose of it. Is it to have them change their own personal views?

Finally, she countered,

You're absolutely right, it is two different things. But the one thing that this Board wanted for students to learn to do was to have the skills to be able to communicate in such a way as to state a position, and debate that position, no matter what that position... This is the one that I want to be the standard because if they, if my children can begin to understand how to debate, they will do so by gathering as much information as they possibly can, stating their position, and that's what I'm looking for as the standard (Editing Committee, July 17, 1995).

When the argument that the standards aimed at the same objective and the reasoned argument for the skills of debate failed to convince educators to back down, Tuttle exerted coercion, "the one thing that this Board wanted...", followed by, "This is the one that I want to be the standard". In this case, educators were able to convince Wurtzel that the two standards were different; Jones also agreed, and the two standards remained in the document.

At the end of the day, the committee had not discussed any of the standards beyond the seventh grade. As it had throughout much of the process, the emphasis on expanding horizons had defined the debate so that middle and secondary school standards received proportionately less attention beyond the lengthy discussions in the Advisory subcommittees on course sequences. Wurtzel suggested to Jones that an even smaller group finish the editing. Easton volunteered to help him edit over the phone. Wurtzel agreed, but stated, "And I'd like Judy to be part of that" (Editing Committee, July 17, 1995). Tuttle was also involved because she was in charge of the computer disk.

I think at that one last midnight call when Judy was on the phone, Alan did all of the talking and I just transcribed (L. Tuttle, personal communication, December 18, 1995).

Much of the work was done over the telephone. Ganzert described the end of that process.

I called Alan Wurtzel one night about 6:00 o'clock. He said, "Oh, I really do, we should have sent you a copy of these changes. I'll fax it to you." I got it the next morning about eleven at work. I came home that night, about 6:00 o'clock I was about ready to sit down and read the document. Alan called, wanted to know if there was, if, what I had thought of it. I told him I was about to (read it)... He said, "Please do so now because what we make, the changes we make tonight are final. This is supposed to go in. I have until 11:00 o'clock tonight and this is supposed to go to press and this is what's going to happen tomorrow." I read through the document. Found several items which, personally, I felt had gone against the wishes of the Committee and what were some of the agreements that we had made two weeks prior. I talked to Alan about several of them. He agreed with a few and thought we needed to talk this over with Lil Tuttle. Lil Tuttle at that time was actually keying all of these things into her word processor at home and so she was the one who actually had control of the disk as to what was being typed into the document. So I guess it was after 11:00 o'clock that night, we had a conference call between Lil Tuttle, Alan Wurtzel and myself and Alan spoke to Lil in favor of several of the things that I had recommended. He also pointed out several of the things that I had pointed out to him. They made some changes; some changes they did not. Um, (long pause) it's my understanding that the document was also sent to David Wheat for David to make some changes in and David did (J. Ganzert, personal communication, December 18, 1995).

Backstage Roles

While the actors on stage were negotiating and writing standards, there were those backstage who had tremendous influence in the process. Ganzert, in the previous excerpt described part of the role played by David Wheat.

Throughout this drama Wheat had appeared on stage, and had often been influential backstage. Officially, he was on stage as a member of the Commission

on Champion Schools where he helped produce the January draft. He was also officially on stage as a member of the Advisory Committee. But, he had also been influential backstage, acting as an advisor throughout the process to Tuttle, Easton, and later Wurtzel.

Tuttle: David Wheat was very, very much involved and he also participated in the Advisory Board, too... .

Toward the end I know David had helped Michelle and me at the end in those last few days when we were trying to clean it up. He was a tremendous help to me and to Michelle and I think even Alan Wurtzel called him a number of times (L. Tuttle, personal communication, December 18, 1995).

Wurtzel confirmed Tuttle's account.

At the end of the day it got down, frankly, to David Wheat, Michelle and myself taking the last draft, polishing it, revising it. I guess Lil Tuttle was part of that too, but primarily Michelle and (unable to transcribe), ah, revising it, polishing it, getting David Wheat's input, because I think he's a very smart and capable social studies teacher. And then giving it back to the teachers, all by fax in a relative short period of time to get input from Judy Ganzert and the other half a dozen. (A. Wurtzel, personal communication, January 24, 1996).

There were others involved, too. Ganzert had tried to keep some educators informed in the last stages, but there was not always enough time. She was in contact with Fleming, but, because of the limited time she had with the final version, Fleming did not get his copy until after the standards went to press. She had, though, throughout the process discussed strategy with Fleming, Dillard and Biermann (D. Fleming, personal communication, January 26, 1996).

Power, Rhetoric and Ideology

As they have in previous acts, power, rhetoric and ideology were important themes in the third act of this drama. Here the audience, through the use of meeting transcripts and personal interview statements, was allowed the opportunity to view these themes in clearer focus.

Power relationships here were dominated by the Board of Education acting as the official policy making board of Virginia's schools. The Board held, and used, proportionately greater power in Act III than did the professional education community, so that while educators had won the right at the end of Act II to play a part in developing Virginia's social studies standards, they actually possessed limited power in the debate.

More specifically, several members of the Board dominated Act III. Tuttle and Easton, in particular, asserted tremendous power in Act III, defining many of the ideological issues in contention and using labeling rhetoric to determine the outcome of those issues. Wurtzel, also, played a starring role in this act, by virtue of the fact that Tuttle and Easton needed his support to enact their agenda. When Wurtzel allied with the Allen appointees they won; when he did not, they lost.

Educators held little power, except when Wurtzel agreed with them. The relative powerlessness of the education community was obvious throughout Act III. For example, they were prevented in the opening scene from raising conceptual issues about the purposes and goals of social studies or the appropriate methods to develop curriculum. They were also unable to convince Jones that the discussions should not occur in four separate discipline committees. Had the committee structure represented the integration of the disciplines the resulting standards might have been quite different.

More importantly, the history subcommittee charged with making recommendations to the Board, was taken over by members of the Board. Tuttle, Easton

and Wurtzel joined that committee, dominated the discussions, and even, physically took control of the deliberations at times. There were other forms of dominance in the history subcommittee also. Board members, in difficult discussions, reminded committee members of their power to approve or reject recommendations from the committee, stating in several cases that it was their desire to get recommendations from the committee that they could support on the Board. Ganzert poignantly described the dilemma such dominance created for committee members when she stated that she was torn between recommending what she thought was right and recommending what she knew Board members would support. Board members chose to dominate in Scene Two because there were ideological issues related to history that they wanted to control. They wanted a chronologically organized, content-based set of standards that treated knowledge as static and revealed.

Power relationships also determined that individual Board members could take the Advisory Committee's writing team recommendations and edit them before the "official" report of that committee was presented to the Board. It was, frankly, an assertion of control over the process. Other Board members, however, successfully challenged some of those edits. It was also in this Board meeting that the audience witnessed ideological divisions on the Board, divisions over issues that addressed members' beliefs about American society and culture. As was true throughout Act III, Wurtzel's vote on those ideological issues was the determining factor, providing further evidence of the key role that he played in Act III.

The most blatant use of power, however, in Act III was the decision by the Board to turn the standards over to a four-member Board Editing Committee, and to allow, in effect, that committee to make substantial changes, couched in harmless phrases like "wordsmithing", "organizational integrity", and "clarity". Significant in Wurtzel's editing

motion was the fact that the final version of the standards would not come back to the full Board for review. This gave that Editing Committee the authority to essentially author the final version of the standards.

Educators sat as non-voting members of that committee, symbolic of their relative powerlessness in Act III. Their presence had two major effects. First, it gave legitimacy to the fact that the final version was edited by a committee. The perception it gave to outsiders was that educators had a voice in the final standards. Secondly, it did allow educators to raise objections to the revisions, and when their arguments appealed to Wurtzel, they had some influence. In the case of the civil rights issue, Board member Harris, who was also unofficially present, raised the issue and educators supported it. They got Wurtzel's support only because Harris reminded the committee of its limited authority under the Board's resolution and because Jones agreed both with the question of authority and with the importance of civil rights in the standards. The dominance of four members of the Board throughout Act III meant, ultimately, that those members took the Advisory Committee draft, which had been edited by the whole Board, and substantially revised it. The final version of the standards was produced by those four members of the Board. Tuttle, who controlled the computer disk on which the Editing Committee revisions were made was in a powerful position. Judy Ganzert, representing the education community, saw the final version of the Editing Committee revisions late at night, only a few hours before they went to press (J. Ganzert, personal communication, December 18, 1995). Ganzert had no time to share those revisions with other members of the education community before the standards were to be published.

Rhetoric, too, was an important theme in Act III, and, as it was earlier, was reciprocally related to power and to ideology. Negative and positive labeling was a significant influence throughout Act III. Those labels were no longer used to define

expanding horizons as non-rigorous study because that issue had already been decided. In Act III labeling was used to advance particular ideological views on social issues and to define the boundaries between rigor and "reasonable expectations".

Particular views of the social world were significant issues of debate in Act III, and labeling was a primary tactic to promote a particular conception of American society and culture in the standards. For the most part, Easton and Tuttle were the primary users of labels in the act. Easton attacked civil rights, women's rights, religious conflicts and environmentalism often as "redundant" or subsumed under larger standards, arguing instead for "concise" and "shorter" standards. She accused the standards of falling in the same trap of "presentism" as had the National History Standards which, she reminded the Board, were "so controversial" and "condemned by the U.S. Senate 99 to 1"(Board meeting, June 29, 1995), both of which were negative labels and attempts to create guilt by association. Easton argued that scarcity dominated supply and demand in the standards, supporting her ideology with positive labels like "our wonderful system" and "dynamic". Negative labels, like "quotas" and "diviing up" condemned an emphasis on scarcity.

Labeling was an important part of her attack, but so was the tactic of coercing support for her views by threatening to "add a bullet". Arguing that other social movements were also good and important to American history, she supported adding, among other things, a property rights movement, a tax protest movement, a Second Amendment movement and the Right-to-Life movement, asserting that they would "balance" the standards. The logic she used here is that people in a responsible public position could not oppose political "balance" as an important element of a social studies curriculum.

Jones, Tuttle and Wurtzel also used labeling to advance their views of the standards. Wurtzel labeled the Advisory Committee drafts as "illogical", "fragmented", and "inconsistent". He supported "intellectual content", which Tuttle further defined as "named content" and "specific".

Jones reacted to Wurtzel's revisions as "too much stuff", setting off one of the longest discussions of the Editing Committee. Easton and Tuttle challenged his view of what was "unreasonable" with a redefinition of rigor as "specificity" based on the "right" of the Board to dictate assessments that had "consequences for schools" and for students. They resurrected that charge of academic failure in arguing that the intent of the standards was to be "tough", to "focus the attention" of schools on academics. Easton also challenged "unreasonable expectations" with arguments that specific standards included the "non-western stuff that everyone is crying for", a negative characterization of an opposing ideology used to support her own view.

Finally, Act III presented the audience with a closer view of the role of social ideology in the debate. Ideological issues like gender rights, discrimination against minority groups, property rights, environmental protectionism, and America's western cultural heritage divide the forces of progressivism and the forces of orthodoxy in Hunter's (1991) descriptions of a contemporary culture war, so that elements of a cultural divide were a part of the Virginia debate. In Act III, these issues played a major role. The audience watched a divided Board struggle over these issues and saw the relationship between power and ideology as they, like the education community, waited to see what Wurtzel's position on each issue would be. A number of the ideological views of the New Right were present, then, in the debate during Act III, and coincided in Tuttle and Easton with their views on the nature of learning and of knowledge. The audience could predict with some regularity after the early volleys at the Board meeting where Tuttle and Easton

would stand on those social issues. Their educational philosophies and social philosophies were wedded.

In Acts I and II the audience saw the emergence of power, rhetoric, and ideology as significant themes in this drama, and was introduced to a central conflict over control of the process of developing the standards. When the struggle between the professional community and the Commission on Champion Schools threatened to reach an impasse and prevent the development of standards, and when the General Assembly, encouraged by Dillard and Fleming, began to take an active interest in the debate, the Board of Education stepped in to try to bring closure to the process. The Board also ensured that educators would have a part to play in Act III. In Act III, using transcripts from the Board meeting and the Editing Committee, the audience was allowed a closer view of the intensity of the debate, how the antagonists used power, rhetoric and ideology to wage that struggle and, ultimately, the climax of the conflict between the professional community and the Allen team.

Epilogue

The researcher believes in the value of informant response in qualitative studies. She did contact the respondents and provide them with a synopsis of how their roles were described in this study. She also gave each an outline of the major conclusions of this study. This, however, was done late in the process, and not all informants responded. The researcher speculates that, for some of them, there may have been a desire to put this process behind them and move on to other concerns. The researcher, however, does not know whether the time factor prevented them from responding.

From the comments of those who did respond, only one seriously challenged the major conclusions of this study. Tuttle felt that the study employed a rhetoric of its own,

neatly categorizing the participants into two opposing camps, the Allen team and the education community. She felt that educators fell on both sides of the debate as did members of the Commission on Champion Schools. By describing the political dimensions of curriculum-making, it was Tuttle's impression that this study was nothing more than another political exercise and was an oversimplification of the issues of the debate.

Tuttle agreed, however, that the focal disagreement in the whole debate was the conception of knowledge as static and revealed or contextual and personal. The whole exercise of developing the standards, she stated, was an effort to identify a defined body of knowledge to be passed on to children. She stated that there was no consensus in the education community over what that body of knowledge should be. She saw the Editing Committee's work as that of finding compromise between alternative definitions of the body of knowledge that would be included in the standards. Thirdly, Tuttle reiterated her belief that American schools were indeed in crisis. She felt that the researcher assumed that no crisis existed and challenged that assumption.

Wurtzel, though he thought the study was thorough and did not challenge its major conclusions, did challenge some of the emphases in the conclusions. He felt that the study failed to reflect accurately the Board of Education's response to the OBE plans developed by the Department of Education. He stated that the Board had attempted to pull the Department's OBE plan more back toward the center of the political spectrum, and in fact, did make major modifications in its focus, but that, by that time, Governor Wilder had decided to withdraw support for OBE. He also stated that the Board served the same function with the January draft of the standards. The Commission on Champion Schools had gone too far, he believed, and the Board's intervention pulled their plan back toward the center of the political spectrum. Wurtzel further argued that the Standards of

Learning developed during this process were not so different from the Board's conception of OBE, in that both sought to raise academic expectations and to tie them to assessments. Both also started curriculum development by defining first what outcomes the society should expect as a result of schooling. Wurtzel felt, in other words, that this study placed too much emphasis on OBE as a contextual influence on the standards development process.

Wurtzel also argued that this study overemphasized Tuttle's role in developing the standards in social studies. Tuttle agreed with Wurtzel. Wurtzel cited Tuttle's two major contributions to the standards development process as insisting on the inclusion of phonics in the English standards and the exclusion of expanding horizons from the social studies standards. Tuttle felt that Wurtzel's role was underemphasized, stating that he did most of the writing in the Editing Committee. Wurtzel further argued with the researcher's claim that he "chose" Ganzert as a representative of the education community. He stated that Boshier chose Ganzert when she was appointed to head the history subcommittee.

Jones argued that, as a member of the Board of Education, he was convinced of the need for academic standards as a means of structural reform in Virginia's schools before the Allen election. He further objected to the mention in this study of the influence of religious conservatives, pointing out that, in fact, many religious conservatives object to statewide standards because they impose state authority on local schools. Jones also argued that the emphasis on concrete knowledge in the standards was a reaction to the education community's use of educational jargon. The push by the Board to develop jargon-free standards, he thought, was underemphasized in this study.

Delegate Dillard suggested that this study failed to give adequate attention to the role of the Parent Teachers' Association, its local affiliates, and other parent organizations in the opposition to the January draft. He argued that they, too, were important in

lobbying the General Assembly to get the Board to reopen the process after the release of the January draft.

To use this space to argue with informant responses, the researcher believes, would, in effect de-value those responses. For that reason, the impressions of those who participated in this debate will be left as they were stated.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study began with questions about why the development of standards for the social studies in Virginia created such controversy, what the significant issues were in that controversy, how those issues were resolved and who played important roles in the development of those standards. It also sought to describe the process by which the standards were developed and to place the controversy within a framework for understanding curriculum controversies. For reasons of coherence, this section will begin by first answering the last question.

The Key Players

The Allen Team

The two groups of antagonists in this debate have previously been described as the Allen team and the professional education community. While Governor George Allen set the debate over the standards in motion, it was his team of political appointees who fought the battle. For the Allen team, by far the most significant player was Lillian Tuttle. Tuttle occupied important positions, both as a member of the Commission on Champion Schools and as a member of the Board of Education. She was, therefore, able to play a major role in directing both the process and the content of the standards. Because she made effective use of selected articles and of the power of labeling, she emerged as an even more influential player in the drama surrounding the writing of the standards. She, more than

anyone else in Virginia, defined what the debate over the standards would be. Early in the process she identified expanding horizons as a culprit for low academic achievement in schools and the Core Knowledge Foundation's cultural literacy approach as the solution. She, then, used selective articles to win adherents to her position, in the process labeling educators who spoke in support of developmental appropriateness as being part of the problem with Virginia's schools. According to Wurtzel, in fact, Tuttle and Easton wanted to cut teachers out of the process of developing the standards (A. Wurtzel, personal communication, January 24, 1996).

In addition to standards based on cultural literacy, Tuttle advocated consequential assessments based on those standards as a way to reform Virginia's schools. That emphasis on testing served two purposes. First, it allowed for specificity, "named content", based on traditional approaches to become a central objective. Thus, the standards were to be written so that objective kinds of assessments could be derived from them. Secondly, the emphasis on designing tests based on the standards eliminated serious consideration of more complex assessments based on critical thinking or standards addressing affective goals. The fact that the standards would be linked to objective forms of assessment supported Tuttle's vision of what the standards should be.

Michelle Easton, an Allen appointee to the Commission on Champion Schools and to the Board, also played a major role in the standards development process. More than anyone else, the data indicates that she was the major ideologue (R. Weber, personal communication, July 7, 1995) in the debate, speaking forcefully for rigorous standards and consequential assessments. But, equally as important, Easton was a crusader on socially conservative issues. The data also shows a consistent alliance between Tuttle and Easton. They did not, in any of the meeting transcripts, disagree with each other. In addition,

Tuttle made no response to a prompting in the interview session to characterize Easton's position.

One of the factors influencing the final outcome of Virginia's experience was the existence of the Commission of Champion Schools. The Commission, of which Tuttle, Easton, Ware and Wheat were all members, had a significant influence over the process and the content of the standards. As Ganzert described it, the "Champion Schools Commission really allowed a whole philosophy a lot of time to balloon and blossom." (J. Ganzert, personal communication, December 18, 1995). That philosophy, introduced into the debate by Tuttle and reflected in the January draft, essentially set the course for the final version of the standards. The Commission was able to have that kind of influence, even after the January version had been rejected by the Board, because two of their members served on the Board and because two others, Ware and Wheat, became advisors to Board members in Act III.

William Boshier, as Allen's State Superintendent of Schools, also played a major role in this debate, more often for what he did not do than for what he did. He did officially introduce the criteria of rigorous, measurable, academic standards into the debate, but more importantly, he opened the door for the Commission on Champion Schools to take control of the process in Act II. He was not, however, throughout this debate, a champion of the education community during periods of fierce attack by the Allen appointees. Nor did his department respond to calls from some in the education community to gather research on standards projects, on curriculum development, on learning theory, and on social studies education in general. As State Superintendent who, in essence works for the Board of Education, it seemed that Boshier had a desire to keep his Department above the conflict. It could also be that he agreed with the underlying

assumptions made by the Allen team about the conditions of education in the state and the remedies they supported.

Harvey Carmichael, the Department's social studies expert, like his boss, Boshier, largely remained out of the fray over the standards. He served as a kind of coordinator, observing the Newport News process, sitting in as the Commission developed its own version of the standards, keeping in contact with Weber, and collecting names for nomination to the Advisory Committee. During the crucial week of the Advisory Committee work, Ganzert who was intimately involved throughout Act III, described Carmichael's role as "clerk".

Harvey Carmichael who is the...head social studies specialist at the Department of Education, ...his role was somewhat limited. ...I don't know whether that's because he was told what his role was to be or rather he simply felt this is the way his role was supposed to be, but basically Harvey served ...to put things down on paper. He served to listen. He very seldom...I'm trying to think if I heard him at all, but very seldom attempted to persuade any group to accept any particular Standard or philosophy or direction. ...In fact there were several times when we were in small committee where his comment was, "I'm going to write down whatever you tell me." So his role, I...basically would say was clerical (J. Ganzert, personal communication, December 18, 1995).

Carmichael's role supports the speculation that the Department, acting in a politically sensitive situation, decided not to lead.

The Professional Community

The Virginia Consortium of Social Studies Specialists and College Educators led the professional community's efforts during this debate. As an organization of the leadership in social studies education, its members played significant roles in this event. It was first to object to the Lead School Division team's October draft, produced a draft of its own, was instrumental in the lobbying effort that created concern over the standards with members of the General Assembly, and worked through its members to get educators

to attend and speak out at the March hearings. It should be noted, however, that the membership of this organization did not unanimously agree with the role the organization's leaders played in the debate.

The VCSSSCE was also important in the debate because some of its members played significant individual roles in the debate. Judy Ganzert, member and former president of the VCSSSCE, more than any other single educator, emerged as a spokesperson for the education community. That role may have been determined by her previous working relationship with Bosher. She held important leadership positions both in the April revision efforts and on the Advisory Committee. On that Advisory Committee, she was a lead player throughout the third act, chairing the history subcommittee, serving on the writing team, and speaking for other educators during the Editing Committee phase.

Dan Fleming, also a member of the VCSSSCE, played an important role beginning in January. Usually his role was backstage where he initiated lobbying efforts, wrote editorial columns and position papers, and maintained contact with the Virginia Education Association as it observed and commented on the development of the social studies standards. Fleming also played a role as a member of the Advisory Committee and its history subcommittee where he came into direct conflict with some members of the Board and with Dick Weber. On the Advisory Committee, he consistently raised issues about how the standards treated skills and about how the state would fund the implementation of the standards. All three of the Board members mention Fleming's opposition in their interviews. That mentioning of Fleming's opposition could mean either that they saw him an important leader of the opposition, or that they were cognizant of the professional connection between Fleming and the researcher. Other VCSSSCE members were mentioned in Chapter Four, including Melanie Biermann, who was the president of that

organization when the debate began, Robin McBee, and David Wymer, all of whom served on the Advisory Committee.

Dick Weber, who was not a member of the VCSSSCE, and was largely unknown to the members of that organization before the debate began (M. Biermann, personal communication, April 3, 1996), played an important role at the beginning of the process when he led the Lead School Division Team and invited the VCSSSCE to produce a draft in November. Even after the process was taken away from the Lead School Division team, he remained a part of it. He was involved in authoring the January standards, he attempted to resolve the differences between the VCSSSCE and the Commission by organizing the April revision efforts, he served on the Advisory Committee, and he attempted to help write part of its recommendations to the Board. He was also present when the Advisory Committee presented its recommendations to the Board.

Don Ziegler played a limited, but important, role in the process, in that as a spokesperson for geographers, he was able to convince Board members of the importance of a separate geography course on the secondary level. He clashed with Ganzert over this issue both in the April revision team, where he won Weber's support, and in the history subcommittee, where he won Wurtzel's support. The data showed no other significant involvement from Ziegler in the standards.

The Board Members

Besides Tuttle and Easton, several other members of the Board played significant roles in the standards process. Wurtzel and Jones played major roles through much of Act III. Harris also played a limited, but significant role, as did Pennino.

Alan Wurtzel's was the swing vote during the Board meeting and on the Editing Committee. When Tuttle and Easton had his support, as they often did, their position

prevailed. When they did not, they lost. The data indicates that Wurtzel agreed with Tuttle and Easton on the issue of academic deficiencies in Virginia's schools, on the inappropriateness of expanding horizons at the elementary level, on the need for "named content", on chronologically organized courses rather than thematic approaches, and on the importance of ideological balance in the standards. He supported Ziegler, according to Weber, because Ziegler presented an "intellectual" argument for geography (R. Weber, personal communication, July 7, 1995). He, likewise, refused to support Biermann's proposal for a conceptually organized world history course, because the organization was not chronological, and therefore, made no sense to him.

Wurtzel's significance to the outcome of this debate can be verified by his support for Tuttle and Easton in many of the discussions of the Board meeting and the Editing Committee. He also authored the motion that allowed a four-member Editing Committee of the Board to essentially rewrite the standards. During that revision process, he and Easton appeared, in the data, to be the primary authors of the proposals presented in the Editing Committee.

Though the researcher speculates that his support for Tuttle and Easton on a number of significant issues in this debate was related to a philosophical agreement with them on the nature of knowledge and the conditions of America's schools, it is also possible that he allied with them in order to get their support on his own proposal for computer literacy standards throughout the Virginia Standards of Learning. This study has not previously discussed those computer skills standards because they were not a major issue of the social studies debate, yet they were important to Wurtzel, as indicated by a speech he made during the Editing Committee session. The data indicates that Wurtzel's speech occurred when Easton remarked that although she had supported the inclusion of the computer skills standards, she was concerned about the cost. Wurtzel

replied with a brief speech about the importance of computer literacy for workers in the next century. It could be that the importance of support from Tuttle and Easton on the inclusion of computer literacy skills in the standards led Wurtzel to support them during much of the debate. But, a more likely explanation is that he was in philosophical agreement with them on the debate's core assumptions about the status of education and the means to improve it.

James Jones was chairman of the Board of Education during this process. As did Wurtzel, Jones agreed with Tuttle and Easton about the inappropriateness of expanding horizons as a curriculum organization, having been convinced by Tuttle's selective appeal to expert opinion. Jones did not, however, agree with many of Easton and Tuttle's positions on social issues, as indicated in the meeting transcripts. He was also the main non-educator to raise the issue of the boundaries between rigor and unreasonable expectations. There is also evidence from his interview and from the Board transcripts that Jones saw rigorous standards as a way to attack disparities among Virginia school divisions. As a resident of Bristol, in the far western part of the state, the inequity in educational funding for the districts in his part of the state was a significant issue for him.

Jones is a significant player in this drama because he led the Board, and because he officially initiated the move to have the Board take the process away from the Commission on Champion Schools. He had been convinced by educators' reactions to the January draft and by Dillard and Fleming's lobbying efforts that educators had to be brought back into the process.

At the June 29th meeting of the Board, Rayford Harris, in combination with Martha Pennino, challenged the original editing of the Advisory Committee draft by individual members of the Board. The two of them consistently questioned why some Board members had watered down, and even eliminated, some standards on civil rights.

Pennino, further, raised the same issue over standards addressing women, religious conflict, and environmentalism. Though they won few challenges at the Board meeting, they did win an important one. The Board officially restored civil rights standards that had been deleted by Easton.

Harris played an even more significant role at the Editing Committee meeting. Though not officially a member of the committee, he helped educators challenge some of the revisions Wurtzel and Easton had made to the June 29th document, particularly revisions to standards addressing civil rights. His challenges were successful because he reminded Editing Committee members of the support the full Board had given to those standards. He also consistently challenged the magnitude of the revisions Wurtzel and Easton were making by asking whether or not they were within the scope of the Board resolution that authorized the committee to edit.

Others

Delegate Dillard played an important backstage role, using his skills as an experienced legislator to help the education community organize its response to the January draft. Dillard, a Republican with over twenty years of seniority in the House of Delegates, launched an important lobbying campaign in the General Assembly, where his opposition to his own party's leadership was politically risky. Largely because of his efforts, and those of Dan Fleming, the General Assembly took an interest in the actions of the Commission on Champion Schools and the controversy over the January draft. Dillard lobbied Jones and Wurtzel to have the Board take the process away from the Commission and begin again after the March hearings. Further, Dillard spoke against the January draft at the Board's April meeting in Staunton and served on the Board's Advisory Committee, where he chaired the civics subcommittee. Equally important, Dillard set up a hearing with

the education committees of the General Assembly at which opponents of the January version of the standards had an opportunity to voice their concerns. This meeting, like the public hearings, was covered by the media and provided an opportunity for the opposition to publicize its concerns over the January draft.

The fact that Dillard, a long time Republican member of the Virginia General Assembly, was involved in the opposition to the Commission on Champion Schools' January draft, was an important part of the controversy over the standards. Because of his position in the legislature and because neither the Commission on Champion Schools nor the Board of Education, particularly wanted the General Assembly to get involved in the debate over the standards, Dillard served as a powerful opponent of the Commission's standards.

The Controversies

Understanding Controversies Over Curriculum

It is not particularly unusual that this was a contentious debate. Board Chairman James Jones understood the inherent difficulties of developing social studies curricula when he stated, in a remark to educators upon the Board's conditional adoption of the standards for History and the Social Sciences,

You at least have the pleasure of knowing that the one you worked on was really, really tough. And you can just fall off a log and develop math standards, ...but when we're talking about teaching our children what it is we are as a country and a state, then it goes to the basic beliefs that we have about society (Board meeting, June 29, 1995).

In that remark, Jones recognized what curriculum historians and social studies curriculum developers have long known, that curriculum-making is a political exercise where various

groups seek to influence which knowledge and values will be counted as important enough to pass on to the young (Kliebard and Franklin, 1983). As such, curriculum-making is sometimes controversial.

That controversy is likely to increase when the curriculum under development is social studies, because social studies is ultimately about the basic values and beliefs of a society. As Barr, Barth and Shermis (1978) and Hertzberg (1981) point out, that controversy is further complicated by the differing definitions of what social studies is and what its goals should be. Questions of "should" are grounded in value determinations and values issues are often controversial. The controversy in Virginia was further complicated by the political context in which the standards development process occurred.

Understanding the Context

The Reagan Influence

Though Ronald Reagan left office seven years before Virginia began developing the social studies standards, his educational agenda was a significant part of this drama. The same conservative revolution, led by economic conservatives in alliance with the religious right, that brought Reagan to power in 1980, made George Allen Governor of Virginia in 1994. The Allen administration appropriated the Reagan rhetoric on educational crisis and the Reagan solutions to that crisis in the form of rigorous academic standards and assessments based on those standards by which schools might be held accountable. In social studies, the Reagan educational team labeled integrated social studies as non-academic, defined history and geography as the core disciplines, advocated the abandonment of the expanding horizons curriculum framework in favor of more history in the early grades, rejected any thematic or conceptual curriculum organization,

decreed that an emphasis on critical thinking skills was not appropriate social studies instruction, and declared that history paid too much attention to "politically-correct" liberal causes, and, therefore, demanded more ideological balance in the treatment of history.

Further, the emphasis on excellence in the Reagan agenda de-emphasized any consideration of questions of educational equity. Based on Glazer's (1984) analysis of the national education reform reports, the emphasis on excellence drowned out any "language of human development, creativity, and differentiation of educational approaches adapted to student differences" (p. 309). Through the Allen educational team, represented by the Commission on Champion Schools; Beverly Sgro, the chairman of that Commission; William Boshier, the Allen-appointed State Superintendent of Instruction and Vice-Chairman of the Commission; and Lillian Tuttle and Michelle Easton, members of the Commission, and later of the State Board of Education, the Reagan agenda passed into the debate over the social studies standards in Virginia. Of these members of the Allen education team, Tuttle and Easton played the most important roles in making that Reagan agenda a central part of the debate over the standards.

Other members of the Board, particularly Jones and Wurtzel, were not Allen-appointees, but nonetheless, adopted the assumptions of educational crisis and the Reagan solution to that crisis, the desire for more rigorous academic standards. They, too, saw Virginia schools as failing and feared for the negative economic implications of that failure. Having won Jones and Wurtzel's support on the first two assumptions, the Allen team was positioned to enact the Reagan agenda in the social studies standards.

In addition to philosophical connections to the Reagan educational agenda, there were direct connections between Virginia's experience and officials of the Reagan administration. Michelle Easton who figured so prominently in Virginia's debate, had

served the Reagan administration in the United States Department of Education. She headed a section in that department that dealt with private schooling. Diane Ravitch, an Undersecretary of Department of Education during the Bush presidency, was also a powerful influence in Virginia's debate. She consulted with Board members Tuttle, Easton and Wurtzel. Her articles critical of expanding horizons were distributed by Tuttle to members of the Commission and to Board members, and she came to Virginia, at the request of Tuttle and Easton, to address the Advisory Committee. Lynne Cheney, the head of the National Endowment for the Humanities during Reagan's tenure and outspoken critic of the National History Standards, was also connected to the Virginia debate. She wrote an article in the Washington Post praising the January draft of the standards and was cited as an expert by Easton during the Editing Committee debate.

Finally, the Reagan influence in the Virginia debate was evident in the desire by some members of the Allen team to label the educational community as responsible for the educational crisis and incapable of finding solutions to the failures of schools. The Reagan team argued that in spite of federal and state funding for schools and for reform initiatives, schools were failing to provide taxpayers a return on their investment. The solution lay, not in increasing support for schools, but in encouraging excellence in the education community through the introduction of free marketplace incentives and competition. If public schools were unable to educate America's children, then government-sponsored private schooling might provide incentives for public schools to do a better job. The implication of this reasoning was that the education community had nothing but untested experimentation to offer, and, therefore, America should look elsewhere for real school reform. Those assumptions were evident in Virginia in the Commission of Champion Schools report which paid considerable attention to recommending legislation to allow charter schooling in Virginia. In fact, the Allen administration attempted to get such

legislation through the General Assembly. The implication of the emphasis on charter schooling was that the professional education bureaucracy was incompetent and that alternative forms of schooling would be necessary to reform Virginia's schools. That desire to cut educators out of the process of reforming Virginia's schools was also evident in public statements and interview responses from some of the participants.

The Reagan influence on the standards development process is evident in the definition of the problem, the naming of who should, or rather, should not, be involved in solving that problem and the determination of what issues might legitimately be considered a part of the debate. Coupled with the Reagan influence on the standards was another more immediate contextual influence, the recent OBE controversy in Virginia.

The OBE Influence

The assumption that the professional education community had no reasonable solutions to the assumed crisis in Virginia's schools was, quite frankly, a reasonable assumption, in a commonsensical kind of way, based on Virginia's most recent statewide reform initiative. Under the leadership of the Dr. Joseph Spagnola, the Department of Education had developed a comprehensive outcomes-based education plan without any significant involvement of classroom teachers or of the lay community. When the plan met with resistance, the Department continued to move ahead. The result was the incubation of a good deal of ill-will in the Commonwealth against the Department of Education, and by association, against the professional community, in spite of the fact that the Department had lacked significant support for its OBE initiative from much of the professional community.

In fact, across the nation, wherever OBE plans were developed, they engendered controversy for two main reasons. Most lay people never understood them because OBE

plans simply spoke a language about schooling that was beyond the prior experiences of most citizens. They were, therefore, suspect from the beginning. Secondly, strong national conservative religious organizations rallied opposition to OBE. Objecting to their philosophical foundations, their view of the nature of knowledge and of the developmental needs of children, and their emphases on affective goals, which many religious organizations saw as institutional boundary crossing, national groups tied to conservative religious organizations mounted campaigns against OBE across the nation. These organizations developed a network of local and state organizations through which they were able to position themselves for concerted and broader attacks against public schools. It is no small coincidence that one of those national organizations, the Christian Coalition, is headquartered in Virginia. Nor is it inconsequential that Tuttle mentioned this network in her interview. During the OBE controversy in Virginia, the Family Foundation provided organizational support and information for local groups critical of public schools, including Tuttle's own Academics First.

Tuttle: Then the Family Foundation in Northern Virginia was also getting calls apparently from their membership. They were becoming concerned and so by word of mouth it, it just more or less spread.

But one day in May of 1993, there was a building in Henrico, an office building. I can't even remember where it was now, the Family Foundation apparently arranged to have their folks meet who were all over the state, who were concerned about this anyway, and invited anyone else who they knew. . . or that anyone else knew to come and it was on that day that a lot of information, a lot of documentation on the Common Core of Learning was exchanged ...as well as just names and addresses. . (L. Tuttle, personal communication, December 18, 1995).

Virginia's OBE controversy provides an important contextual influence on the debate over social studies standards. From OBE, the professional education community inherited a suspicion of its research base and its reform initiatives. That suspicion fed the

inclination of some of the Allen team to write educators out of the process of developing standards. Secondly, what many saw as the affective focus of Virginia's OBE plan provided the foundation for the insistence on the part of some members of the Board that the new standards be solid content and that behaviors and attitudes had no place in the new standards. Thirdly, by the time Virginia was ready to revise her existing standards, the critics of public schooling and of reform initiatives from the professional community were politically strong.

Based on the importance Kliebard and Franklin (1983) afford to context in curriculum change, then, this study concludes that contextual factors like a national rhetoric on academic failures, rigor, and accountability, state factors like the unsuccessful attempt to develop a statewide OBE initiative, the election of a socially conservative Governor, the influence of powerful elites in the form of the Commission on Champion Schools and the Board of Education, the dedication of interested individuals like Tuttle and Easton, and the strength of tradition had important influences on establishing the climate in which the standards for social studies were developed. That climate determined what issues would be raised, and therefore, what answers would be appear reasonable.

The Significant Issues

There were two kinds of issues in this debate, both of which addressed levels of ideological belief. The first was a difference in basic beliefs about knowledge and about how children best learn. These differences were evident in discussions over what content to include in the standards and how that content should be organized. The debates, for example, over chronological versus conceptual or thematic organization and the emphasis on the traditional content base in social studies demonstrated ideological divisions over the nature of knowledge. For the Allen team, Wurtzel, and Jones, knowledge was static and

revealed, a predetermined body of traditional content that adults gave to children. It was "named content", steeped in tradition, and unchanging. It was what Hirsch called "cultural literacy". That knowledge, they thought, should only be logically organized chronologically. To the Allen team and to Wurtzel and Jones, expanding horizons came to represent the opposite of logical and chronological organization, largely because the Allen team labeled it as the antithesis of rigor. It was, in other words, symbolic of another conception of knowledge.

While the debate over expanding horizons symbolized the ideological debate over the nature of knowledge, there were other issues also at stake, most notably the definition of rigor and the impact of the Allen plan to tie consequential assessments to the standards. Having successfully used its power and rhetoric to define the problem as academic deficiencies in Virginia schoolchildren and to suggest that the educators were ineffective, the Allen team offered its own solutions to the crisis. If schools were to be improved across the Commonwealth, the Allen team argued, the Board would have to require rigorous, and content-specific, academic standards, borrowing from William Bennett's proposals for the restoration of traditional academic content (see literature review).

Easton, in describing what some members of the Board wanted in the standards, stated,

We want it to be hard. We want it to take tremendous amounts of time and effort. We want them to know something when they get out of this grade. (Editing Committee, July 17, 1995).

The most outspoken proponent of this solution in Virginia was Lillian Tuttle.

Using the propaganda technique described as the "bandwagon" effect, Tuttle stated, "Everybody understood that solid content was needed.... We needed to feed the kids solid food" (L. Tuttle, personal communication, December 8, 1995). In her interview, Tuttle used a number of descriptors to define what she meant by solid food. It meant, among other things, "an objective, defined body of knowledge", "named content", "a specific

event or specific date", "the facts of history", "more discipline-based", and "solid content, historical content" (L. Tuttle, personal communication, December 8, 1995).

The second issue had to do with assessment. The Allen team argued that the Standards of Learning should be linked to statewide assessments. Boshier initiated the discussion of assessment during the standards process with his original criteria for the development of the standards.

I mean the thing that I wanted to hold to from a leadership vantage point was they needed to be measurable (W.C. Boshier, personal communication, January 3, 1996).

Wurtzel explained the importance of the assessment issue this way,

Just add higher standards, we haven't accomplished anything. The kids are not achieving the standards we have today...change the standards and then go on to assessments and consequences, professional development and a lot of other things. And that's ...absolutely critical (Board meeting, June 29, 1995).

Wurtzel also described the feelings of Tuttle and Easton on the issue of assessment.

They want a test, I mean a, the more conservative members of the Board...a test every year. I mean not just three, five, seven, nine and eleven, which in my judgment is too many to begin with, but every single year they want a test. They might have a test every week, I guess, to see whether the kids are, or every month, whether the kids have mastered that (A. Wurtzel, personal communication, January 24, 1996).

The assessment plank was an important piece in the story because it set the stage for degree of specificity that the Allen team wanted in the standards, so that assessment propelled the movement toward specific content standards. Tuttle explained the agenda,

There's got to be something in each one of these standards that an assessor will look at and know that he needs to test on because nothing would be worse than to have the standards writers mean one thing by them, to have the teacher in the classroom or the curriculum specialist think that that's something else and set up a whole curriculum to teach something else and then to have the assessor come

along and create a test that tests on something that nobody was talking about (L. Tuttle, personal communication, December 18, 1995).

We do need specifics in this content so that we make sure the students are studying, the teachers are teaching and the assessors are assessing basically the same...information (Board meeting, June 29, 1995).

We wanted them to be in plain English so that there was no confusion about it and we wanted them to be testable by the least favorite, but nevertheless, most common means of statewide testing and that was the multiple choice. Let's have enough content in there and make it solidly academic so that those kinds of tests could be created (L. Tuttle, personal communication, December 18, 1995).

If the assessment issue dictated specificity in the standards, concrete standards also excluded other issues, particularly issues like thinking skills and affective goals that concerned many in the education community. Dan Fleming linked the issues of content specificity and assessment in a position paper on the standards.

If the SOLs were to be written to serve as a basis for objective tests, this means that items most easily measured at the least expense might outweigh items that could only be measured by alternative forms of assessment over a period of time. Writing skills and participation can't be measured on an objective test, nor can moral values and practices of good citizenship. Questions for high level critical thinking skills are more difficult to write.

It appears that the new SOLs are geared more to meeting a limited criteria of measurement by objective tests. Objectives dealing with participation, writing, decision-making, problem-solving and a number of higher level critical thinking skills are weak or missing (D. Fleming, personal communication, January 26, 1996).

Affective goals, too, were beyond the scope of objective testing, and thus, were disallowed by the rhetoric on rigor and consequential assessment. Boshier described the problem this way,

On one hand all of us would expect to teach young people respect. How to work with one another. How to resolve conflict without a stick or a gun. Not to steal. Not to curse. And yet if you talk about teaching values, that can be perceived as affective and soft and non-academic. So the way I have come to peace with that is that, ah, I want schools to be caring, nurturing environments...but I know that I

can't measure that...and if, and if society continues to ask me to be accountable for things that I can't measure, then I'm never going to win that race (W.C. Boshier, personal communication, January 3, 1996).

Explaining part of the controversy between educators and the Allen team, Ganzert stated, "It goes back again to values and attitudes or just regurgitation of facts" (J. Ganzert, personal communication, December 18, 1995). By insisting on specific, objective, traditional content in the standards, linked to statewide testing based on those standards, the Allen team effectively precluded discussions of thinking skills and affective goals.

For leaders in the educational community in this debate, knowledge was more conditional and contextual, requiring that students develop the ability to inquire and to think critically about knowledge sources. The debates over understanding how one's associations might influence one's perspective on controversial issues, the efforts to organize content conceptually or thematically to emphasize connections between pieces of knowledge, the emphasis educators placed on the importance of skills, particularly critical thinking skills in this debate were all evidence of an ideological view of knowledge as evolving and subject to context.

There were also ideological differences in conflicting views of the social world in this drama. Educators and other Board members clashed with the Allen team on some of the same issues that Hunter (1991) identified as significant in the opposition of the Christian Right to public schooling. He described the Christian Right as being concerned over a number of schooling and curriculum issues, including

- gender issues and the women's movement,
- multicultural education and its effect on America's traditional western culture,
- an emphasis on past discrimination against racial and ethnic minorities,
- an emphasis on critical thinking and encouraging children to question outside sources of knowledge,
- an emphasis on "politically-correct" issues usually identified with liberal political philosophies,
- environmentalism,
- the de-emphasis of the role of religion in American history and public life, and

a too-critical examination of America's past.

Each of these issues was present in the Virginia debate, most often raised by Easton. The transcripts also showed that when Easton raised these issues, Tuttle usually backed her. For these two, then, the debate over the standards involved an ideological view of the social world that was connected to the concerns of the Christian Right.

At the beginning of this study, the researcher expected to find a close tie between the debate over the Virginia standards and the influence of the Christian Right. The data, however, showed little direct contact between major participants and conservative Christian movements, except for Tuttle's mention of the Family Foundation and the involvement of representatives from some of these groups in the Lead School Division team. In fact, during a history subcommittee meeting, a spectator, representing a conservative Christian fundamentalist group rose at the beginning of a break, made a short speech encouraging the committee members to include America's Christian foundations in the standards, and passed out a flyer for an upcoming event at which a speaker would prove that America was founded on Protestant Christianity. Tuttle and Easton, as well, as the rest of the committee ignored him, gathered some of their belongings, and left the room.

While there are few direct connections with the religious right, the influence of that political force was a factor, though not an important one, in this debate. A number of the ideological social issues that were a part of Easton's agenda were connected to important schooling issues for the religious right. The Commission on Champion Schools' attention to alternative solutions to public schools is an important issue for the religious right. Christian Coalition members spoke at the hearings on the January draft, and Tuttle mentioned a brief contact with the Family Foundation during the OBE controversy in Virginia.

The data suggests in this case that Virginia's controversy over the standards for social studies was not an example of the culture wars described by Hunter (1991), in spite of the fact that many of the issues he identified were a part of this struggle, and the fact that a polarizing political rhetoric was a significant part of the debate. Hunter argued that on deep-seated cultural beliefs opposing sides were unable to compromise. Rather, the data indicates that there was room for compromise in the Virginia debate, and that, in fact, that there were some important compromises, including the protection of a special place for civil rights in the standards and the inclusion of a standard on the effects of culture groups on one's perspective on political and historical issues. The existence of compromise on important issues supports the contention that curriculum represents an amalgamation of competing interests and values, and, therefore, that Kliebard and Franklin's (1983) thesis is a better explanation of the debate over social studies standards in Virginia in 1994 and 1995.

The Struggle

The three primary themes in this study, power, rhetoric, and ideology, indicate how the antagonists waged their battle over control of the process and the content of the standards.

Ideology

The ideological stances described in the previous section divided the participants into two warring camps, neither willing or able to concede that the other raised legitimate issues. One ideology, that of the Allen team, prevailed largely because its torchbearers possessed more power than did the education community, because it spoke to the commonsensical assumptions of other members of the Board and of Virginia's voters. In such an environment who could sensibly challenge the prevailing rhetoric on academic

crisis and the need for excellence? The responses of educators to the debate were framed within the broad definition of the problem supplied by the Allen team. Thus, except for a brief time when they used their political influence to win a place in the process, educators conducted this struggle from a defensive position. Educators were seldom able to take the offensive and when they did, as in the professional community's reaction to the January draft, they were unable to hold on to the offensive position. That defensive position was dictated by the popular appeal of the ideology of the opposition and their effective use of rhetoric.

Rhetoric

The use of rhetoric to express one's view of education and of the social world and to characterize other positions was an important theme in this debate. In fact, the use of positive and negative labels was prevalent throughout the debate, and were used by both sides. Tuttle and Easton were particular adept at labeling in public meetings, and Tuttle used labeling frequently during her interview. This use of labeling could be an indication of either the depth of their feelings about particular issues (Hunter, 1991) or of political astuteness or both.

The education community also employed the tactic of labeling one's opponents as they did when they challenged the Commission on Champion Schools and accused them of politicizing the process. Tuttle, in her interview, proved to be particularly sensitive to the use of labeling by the education community about the Commission on Champion Schools' appropriation of the process from the education community. For most of this debate, however, educators were simply unable to coin the kinds of effective negative sound bites that their opponents used.

While labeling was seen by Hunter (1991) as an indication of ideological forces at work in a contemporary culture war, a more likely explanation for the use of labeling in this debate is that it is an effective tactic in the contemporary political environment for advancing one's arguments. Americans are so conditioned by quick sound bites from the mass media, quips that prevent closer examination of underlying issues and values, that labeling has become a characteristic of American political discourse. An important element in effective labeling is to attach labels as frequently as one can to indicate what is "good" and what is "bad". One, then, should not have been surprised to see the prevalence of labeling in this debate.

Power

Ideological stances and rhetorical labeling were tools in the debate, and were connected to the third theme in this study, power. Power determined whose ideology and rhetoric would dominate, while, at the same time, ideology and rhetoric served to further strengthen those in positions of power. The outcome of the struggle over standards and who would write them depended upon the fact that the Allen team had more power to define the issues, name who would participate, control the process, and, finally, determine the outcome.

The Allen team used their positions of power to attempt to eliminate the influence of the professional community in this debate. They were not entirely successful. By the same token, in representing the professional community, educational leaders neglected to include any significant involvement by classroom teachers. This struggle was between elites on both sides. The only important involvement from most classroom teachers was to turn out at the March hearings in protest of the January standards. Two classroom teachers, though, did have significant involvement in the standards process, David Wheat

and Lee Ware, both of whom were members of the Commission and Champion Schools and involved in writing the January draft. Wheat, in addition, was significantly involved in advising Tuttle, Easton and Wurtzel during Act III.

The unequal distribution of power between members of the Allen team, in concert with other members of the Board of Education, and the education community, then, was made even more inequitable by the effective use of rhetoric and by the ideological stances of each side.

The questions posed in this study, by implication, asked whether or not Virginia's experience was unique. The answer is that controversy over social studies might well have been expected. What was significant in this event, however, was the importance of power, ideology and rhetoric in the debate and the central role played by the struggle for power between professional educators and the lay community. What else is significant is the role played by the Commission on Champion Schools and its Academic Standards and Testing subcommittee, of which Lillian Tuttle was the chair. This study provides a glimpse of the power and influence one individual, Tuttle, can have in influencing curriculum change.

The Lessons Learned in Virginia

This case study of the development of standards in social studies in Virginia should be of use to other communities and states struggling over the definition of the purposes and goals of social studies education. It adds to the literature on curriculum studies by emphasizing the significance of political and social contexts on curriculum debates. For those in both the education and lay communities who adopt a commonsensical kind of assumption that educational issues should be divorced from politics, this case should provide a startling example of just how intertwined educational issues are with the political

culture. All schooling decisions involve, at some level, political considerations.

Curriculum debates, in particular, provide a lens through which citizens might examine the implications of distributions of power and their influence over whose knowledge becomes a part of the school curriculum.

Further, curriculum decisions are shaped by the political contexts in which they are made, so that curriculum is a reflection of the culture. At the same time schooling is used by various forces in a society to shape a culture. That relationship between context and curriculum was evident in this case, the conservative culture dictating what the debate would be about and what solutions might be deemed acceptable in that debate. The school curriculum is also a tool through which the powerful forces of any culture seek to influence the future.

In addition to outlining the importance of power relationships in the determination of curriculum, the data in this case demonstrates the reciprocal relationship between power, rhetoric and ideology. Emerging early in the analysis process, these three themes were major emphases in each of the data sources.

Other communities and other states could learn from Virginia's experience. Of particular significance is Virginia's debate was the question of who defined the problem the curriculum sought to solve, and how they legitimated that definition throughout the debate. Also of importance is the implication of such definitions on the competency of the professional community.

Additionally, the professional community needs to be aware of the fact that critics of public schooling have legitimate concerns and issues that have to be addressed. For a number of years, many might argue, the education community paid too little attention to parental concerns. Educators have often approached parents and community members from a posture of assumed expertise, have listened to complaints, and then, often

dismissed them. Often when school districts have sought parental involvement in curriculum design projects, they have invited a small number of parents to sit in on educator-dominated committees, making many parents feel ill-at-ease, and thus, limiting their contributions. In this case, and in other curriculum debates across the nation, the lay community has put the educational professionals on notice that they will no longer be ignored in discussions about the purposes and goals of schooling or the effectiveness of public education.

Shortcomings of the Study

The researcher believes that this study suffers because she was unable to get interviews with David Wheat and Michelle Easton. Both played significant roles in this drama. Wheat, for example, was involved from October until the end of the process, often working behind the scenes. A number of respondents mentioned him as a major contributor, from being a major author of the January draft to serving as a close advisor to the four Board members during the final authoring and editing of the standards. Despite repeated requests, he refused to be interviewed. This study, as a result, did not present a complete picture of the influence he had in the process.

Michelle Easton emerged in Act III as a major champion for conservative social issues. She also was a primary influence on the Editing Committee's version of the standards. Her importance to this process was evident in the transcripts and the interviews that provided much of the data for Act III. Like Wheat, however, the fact that the researcher was unable to interview Easton means that the description of her role in this drama may well be incomplete. Had someone else researched this process, someone not closely tied to the social studies community or to Virginia Tech, both Easton and Wheat may have been willing to provide interviews.

Topics for Further Study

This study has examined the politics of curriculum-making in Virginia and described the contextual factors that affected one social studies curriculum debate. In the process, the researcher found the education community to be largely powerless to define the debate and affect the outcome of this political struggle. In fact, this study shows that educators were, in effect, closed out of important conversations. There is a need to further explore why educators are so powerless. The researcher believes that the potential reasons for the relative powerlessness of the professional community are complex. In this case, however, the researcher speculates that educators failed to understand the implications of letting someone else define the boundaries of the debate. They, in other words, lost the initiative in the beginning and did not understand that they had done so until it was too late. There is a need to know whether or not the same is true in similar controversies in other states and communities.

Secondly, the researcher speculates that the education community, for years, has undervalued the input of parents and community members in issues that involved the education of their children. Educators have largely failed to involve the lay community in substantive conversations about the purposes and goals of the community's schools, and of social studies education, in particular. In a way, the researcher believes, educators helped create the political context that shaped Virginia's debate. Future research projects should explore these speculations.

In addition, there is a need for someone to explore why more classroom teachers were not involved in this debate, except to turn out at the public meetings. Why, for example, when given the opportunity to re-enter the debate, did the social studies

leadership not turn to classroom teachers and find ways to bring them into these discussions?

There is also a need to know why education is so important an ideological and political issue for social conservatives, as it was in this controversy, and for social liberals. What particular topics are of primary concern for these individuals and for their organizations? There is literature on these issues, but the researcher believes that additional study is necessary in order to more fully understand their concerns and motivations. That study needs to be done by someone not as closely connected with the education establishment as this researcher, someone whose own motivations and sense of fairness would be less suspect.

On a more local level, there is a need in Virginia for research into the implementation process of the standards to determine how they affect local flexibility in curriculum design, and what, if anything, they add to Virginia's understanding of the disparity in achievement among Virginia's school districts. Secondly, there is a need, as the new standards are being implemented, for the professional community to work to broaden the definition of the purposes of social studies education by attending to the treatment of critical thinking and participation skills in Virginia's schools.

Summary

In 1994 and 1995 Virginia engaged in a contentious debate over the purposes and goals of social studies education, and, in the process, redefined social studies in the elementary school. While secondary standards were also developed in this process, the emphasis of the debate was on the organization and content of social studies in the elementary grades. This study sought to describe and analyze that debate, focusing on the

reasons for the controversy, the issues of that controversy and the key players in the debate.

Using research methods borrowed from both the qualitative and the historical research traditions, the researcher placed the controversy in its political and social contexts, described the significant issues in the debate, and, in the process, identified three reciprocally related themes in the debate, power, rhetoric and ideology. When the curtain closed on Act III, some of the issues in the debate were still unresolved, particularly those issues related to implementation and to the power relationship between the Virginia Board of Education and the local school divisions. This debate, then, is, as of yet, far from finished..

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APPENDIX

**VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE
AND STATE UNIVERSITY**

**Informed Consent of Participants
of Investigative Projects**

Title of Project: A Case Study of Curriculum Controversy: The Virginia Standards of Learning for History and the Social Sciences

Investigators: Linda C. Fore, graduate student
Melanie J. Biermann, chair of the student's doctoral committee

Purpose of the Research:

You are invited to participate in a study that will examine the controversy over the development of curriculum standards for the social studies in Virginia. This study seeks to discover why this process was controversial and to identify the significant issues of that controversy. It also seeks to find out how the Virginia controversy fits into larger contemporary and historical controversies over social studies curriculum. Approximately ten people will be interviewed for this project.

Procedures:

You will be asked to participate in an interview that will last approximately one to one and one-half hours. The interview will be semi-structured and will take place at a mutually agreed upon and convenient location. It will be audiotaped. Transcriptions of these interviews, as well as recordings of public meetings of the Board of Education, meetings of the history standards task force subcommittee, meetings of the Board's editing subcommittee, and public documents related to the standards will provide the data for this study and will be analyzed by the researcher.

Benefits and Risks:

You will not be compensated for participating in this research, nor does this project guarantee any direct benefit to you. Your participation, however, will be of great value in attempting to understand the controversy over the Virginia Standards of Learning for History and the Social Sciences. You played a significant role in developing those standards which have an impact on social studies curriculum design across the state. You can provide an insider's view of this event, and, therefore, your participation in this research is important to the quality of the project.

The researcher will present her conclusions from this project to you for your analysis and comments. Your comments on those conclusions will become a part of the final project.

Extent of Anonymity and Confidentiality

Because you are a public official, appointed by the Governor of Virginia, by local school divisions, or by public colleges and universities, your identity will not be disguised in the transcripts, nor in any subsequent papers written from this project.

Freedom to Withdraw

You are free to withdraw from this study at any time without penalty by contacting:

Linda Fore, Principal Investigator	540-772-3047
Melanie Biermann, Faculty Committee Chair	540-231-5537
Ernest Stout, Chair, Institutional Review Board	540-231-9359

Approval of Research

This research project has been approved, as required, by the Institutional Review Board for Research Involving Human Subjects at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University and by the Department of Teaching and Learning of the College of Education.

Subject's Responsibilities

In agreeing to participate in this project, you are agreeing to a one to one and one-half hour informal, tape-recorded interview.

Permission

I have read and understand the Informed Consent and conditions of this project. I have had all my questions answered. I hereby acknowledge the above and give my voluntary consent for participation in this project.

If I participate, I may withdraw at any time without penalty. I have been given a copy of this form for reference.

Your Signature

Date

Researcher's Signature

Interview Frame

Could you describe (or characterize) the Virginia Standards of Learning for social studies?

How would you explain the controversy over the standards for social studies?

What do you think they do well?

If you could amend or alter them, what kinds of things would you do?

How would you compare them with other standards in other states?

How would you compare them to the national standards projects in social studies?

How would you compare them to the 1989 Virginia standards?

What do you think social studies education should be?

How would you describe your role in writing the standards?

What were your priorities?

What or who influenced you?

Could you describe the state of education in Virginia?

Could you describe the state of social studies education in Virginia.?

What values, if any, should be taught in social studies classes? Why?

Would you describe your background?

In your opinion what were the critical points in the process?

How could the process have produced a different outcome?

Who would you identify as key participants?

Linda Compton Fore
6065 Oriole Lane
Roanoke, Virginia 24018

Education

Ph.D.

Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, VA
Major: Curriculum and Instruction with an emphasis on
Social Studies Education

M.A.Ed.

Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, VA, 1993
Major: Curriculum and Instruction

B.S.

Longwood College, Farmville, VA, 1970
Major: History and the Social Sciences

Professional Licenses

Collegiate Professional Certificate from the Commonwealth of Virginia with
endorsements in History and the Social Studies (7-12), and
Elementary Education (4-7)

Professional Experience

Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Division of Curriculum and
Instruction, Blacksburg, VA (1993-)

Graduate Assistant (1995-)

- Assisted in the department office with the management of records for graduate students and with administrative tasks, 1995
- Assisted with the coordination of a graduate seminar for post-Masters' students in the Department of Teaching and Learning
- Volunteered as a tutor for students experiencing reading difficulties at Penn Forest Elementary School, 1995
- Assisted with conference planning for the annual meeting of the Virginia Council for the Social Studies, 1995

University Supervisor (1993-1995)

- Supervised student teachers in secondary and middle school social studies, 1993, 1994, 1995

- Assisted with the planning and implementation of social studies methods courses and student teaching seminars, 1993, 1994, 1995
- Assisted with professional development workshops for teachers at Montpelier, Va., 1993, 1994
- Served on Co-ordination Committee for the Joint Master of Arts in Teaching Program (VT/UVA MAP)
- Served as a trainer for graduate teaching assistants across the university, 1994; co-ordinated on-site training sessions, 1995
- Served as the representative from the Division of Curriculum and Instruction on the Graduate Student Assembly, 1994,1995
- Received an Instructional Fee Scholarship 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996

Virginia Commonwealth University

Division of Teacher Education

Richmond, VA (1995-)

Adjunct Instructor

- Planned and implemented a course in elementary and middle school social studies methods

Franklin County Public Schools

Rocky Mount, VA (1976-1993)

Teacher of Social Studies, Franklin County High School

- Designed and implemented curricula in American Studies and American Social Movements
- Taught a variety of social studies courses, including courses designed for special populations and Advanced Placement History
- Co-chaired the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools Self-Study, 1989-1991
- Served on Principal's Advisory Committee, Division Assessment Committee, Challenge 2000 Team, school evaluation committees, and curriculum revision committees
- Planned and conducted workshops for the division and for other school divisions

Halifax County Public Schools

Halifax, VA (1971-1976)

Fifth grade teacher, Cluster Springs Elementary School

- Organized and sponsored a Girl Scout troop

- Served on division curriculum development committees
- Co-chaired Southern Association of Colleges and Schools Self-Study for the first division elementary school to be accredited by the Southern Association
- Served on a school evaluation committee and a division assessment committee
- Served as building representative for the Virginia Education Association

Nottoway County Public Schools

Nottoway, VA (1970-1971)

Teacher of secondary social studies

- Served as a faculty member during the first year of full integration
- Sponsored varsity cheerleaders

Professional Affiliations

National Council/Middle States Council/Virginia Council for the Social Studies
 Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development
 National Association of Social Studies Supervisors
 Virginia Consortium of Social Studies Specialists and College Educators
 Eastern Educational Research Association
 American Association of University Women

Honors and Awards

The Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
 Phi Delta Kappa, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
 Kappa Delta Pi, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
 Who's Who Among America's Teachers, 1990, 1992, 1994
 Who's Who in American Education (in print), 1995
 National Sallie Mae Teacher Tribute Award, 1992

Publications

Fore, L.C. (Spring 1996). Developing standards in social studies: Virginia's experience. Virginia Resolves. 36 (2).

Major Presentations

Biermann, M.J. and Fore, L.C. (October 1993). "Portfolios in the Social Studies Classroom: An Overview". Presented at the annual conference of the Virginia Council for the Social Studies, Alexandria, VA.

Fore, L.C. and Colley, D. (April 1994). "Practical Approaches to Interdisciplinary Study". Presented at the annual conference of the Middle States Council for the Social Studies, Harrisburg, PA.

Biermann, M.J., Fore, L.C. and Colley, D. (November 1994). "Using Local History in Your Classroom". Presented at the annual conference of the National Council for the Social Studies, Phoenix, AZ.

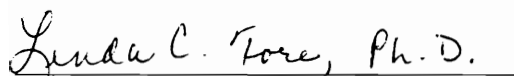
Biermann, M.J., Fore, L.C. and Colley, D. (November 1994). "Student Portfolios in the Social Studies Classroom: An Overview". Presented at the annual conference of the National Council for the Social Studies, Phoenix, AZ.

Biermann, M.J. and Fore, L.C. (March 1995). "Portfolios in Teacher Education". Presented at the annual conference of the Eastern Educational Research Association, Hilton Head, SC.

Fore, L.C. and Colley, D. (October 1995). "Classroom Implementation Session-Virginia Standards of Learning, 9-12". Presented at the annual conference of the Virginia Council for the Social Studies, Roanoke, VA.

Biermann, M.J. and Fore, L.C. (November 1995). "Special Students: Special Strategies". Presented at the annual conference of the National Council for the Social Studies, Chicago, ILL.

Fore, L.C. (February 1996). "Curriculum Conflict as Cultural War: A Case Study". Presented at the annual conference of the Eastern Educational Research Association, Cambridge, MA.


Linda C. Fore, Ph.D.