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ABSTRACT

Over the last 10 years there have been major reforms in education in New Zealand. There were two paths of reform administrative and curricular. This paper deals with curricular reform and charts the attempts to produce a social studies curriculum which would meet the demands of a changing society and represent the interests of a diverse range of stakeholders. Using a model after Pierre Bourdieu of "educational policy as a social field," the paper examines the way that key players (individuals, groups, and institutions) tried to exert some control over the content of the document through various stages of the process. Valuable lessons have been learned along the way. Comments are offered as a way of informing future curriculum processes and products. Contains 4 figures and 58 references. (BT)

The Long and Winding Road: The Development of the New Social Studies Curriculum in New Zealand.

Paper presented to the New Zealand Educational Administration Society Beinnial Conference, Michael Fowler Centre, Wellington
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by

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Abstract

Over the last ten years in New Zealand there have been major reforms in education. There were two paths of reform - administrative and curricular. My paper deals with the latter and charts the attempts to produce a social studies curriculum which would meet the demands of a changing society and represent the interests of a diverse range of stakeholders. Using a model after Bourdieu of 'educational policy as a social field' it examines the way that key players (individuals, groups and institutions) tried to exert some control over the content of the document through various stages of the process. The document took longer than originally intended and valuable lessons have been learnt along the way. I offer my comments as a way of informing future curriculum processes and products.

Introduction.

I have chosen my title to illustrate aspects of my paper.The 'long' acknowledges that the introduction and recognition of a new curriculum area does take time. For example, Goodson, (1988) gives an account of the development of geography which he described as a "protracted, painstakingly and fiercely contested process" taking about 100 years from its emergence in schools to its full acceptance as an academic discipline in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Recognition of social studies in the New Zealand context has taken over 50 years from the 1942 Thomas Report to the publication of the final version of *Social Studies in the New Zealand Curriculum* (1997). It will also have taken from 1961 until 1999 for primary social studies to receive a newly gazetted curriculum document.

The 'winding' makes reference to the shape of the path of development. Using the primary example above it has moved through various phases including separating at the Form 1-4 level in 1977 before re-uniting in 1993 under the social sciences statement in *The New Zealand Curriculum Framework* and gathering strength as it went by extending beyond the compulsory years of schooling. The most circuitous part of the route, from the *National Curriculum Statement* of 1988 to the current document, fits neatly with the theme of this conference - that of reviewing the last ten years of reforms. During this time the path has wound from 'left' to 'right' pulled by competing ideological and political forces and this will be a key focus of this particular paper.

In discussing curriculum I am using this term to mean the formal written provisions, the 'pre-active definition' rather than the 'interactive realisation' (Jackson, 1968, cited in Goodson, 1983) or 'intended' rather than 'operational' (Eisner,1994). I will refer to individual subjects or learning areas as 'curriculum areas' and their formal written guidelines as 'curriculum documents'. In line with this my sources are mainly 'documentary' (policies, commission reports, educational reviews, syllabus statements) rather than 'actual educational practices' and interpretations (Diorio, 1992).

In my study of the social studies curriculum in New Zealand I have found various recurring themes only some of which I will touch on in this paper. These themes are:

-the high value that is placed on control of the content of the curriculum as a way of influencing society and the dissemination of particular sets of values;
-the influences of key individuals on curriculum development in New Zealand;
-the influence of international trends on the changing fortunes of competing groups, individuals and ideologies;
-the differing approaches taken to curriculum development over time and across curriculum boundaries;
-the use of carefully selected language and symbolic representations to infuse supposedly neutral information with an underlying ideology;

-the contentious nature of social studies and its predecessors; and
-the relationship between social studies and the search for New Zealand's identity as a nation.

In this paper I am only able to focus on social studies as a vehicle for the dissemination of competing sets of values, and how groups and individuals sought to influence the development of this curriculum document. My aim is to describe what happened so that we can consider how to improve the process in the future.

Educational policy as a social field.

> "Social policies including education do not exist in a vacuum. Such policies collectively articulate particular views of society and the constitutions of relations within that society." (Shuker, 1987:20)

To provide a mechanism through which I could act as an observer of these relations I have adapted a model from Ladwig (1994) which examines how the holders of power on the 'social field of educational policy' position themselves and exert influence over curriculum development. Using Bourdieu's notions of field, capital and habitus (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977) Ladwig claims that the educational reforms of the 1980s reveal the maturation of educational policy as a social field with its own autonomy and rewards. This allows us, he asserts, to think relationally about human actions which are complex and have multiple interpretations and responses. The following is my adaptation of the key concepts and terms applicable to this model.

A *social field* is in some ways similar to a field of play. Firstly there is a common ground on which the action occurs. This ground has boundaries where entry is blocked by existing holders of power. Within the field players have positions which have both roles to be enacted and status carried with them. These positions, however, can be challenged at any time. There is a network of prescribed actions and objective relations between positions, and the players (be they individuals or institutions) vie for possession of, or influence over, that which is *at stake* (in this case the content of the social studies curriculum and therefore the prescribed view of our nation and world). The field possesses an internal logic and definition of its own which is both created and confirmed by the actions within it. Its continued existence reinforces the belief in the value of the stakes it offers.

How the players are distinguished uses Bourdieu's notion of *capital*. This capital (cultural, social and/or economic) is specific to the field and helps clarify the hierarchically distributed power structure. Ladwig prefers to view capital as attributes, positions and articles rather than the Marxist view of commodities. He insists that like the notion of social fields, capital is developed within "a theoretical objectification of human social practices as they are enacted" (p346).

Not only can we connect the actions of the players in the field but we can connect their actions and status to their place in the wider social structure.The notion of a field helps delineate the terrains of social action, and the recognition of capital helps us understand the logic of the players' strategies to advance or defend but we need to see this in a wider context and to do this Ladwig uses Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*. Habitus is a set of dispositions which are commonly held by members of a social group and these subjectively created attitudes, beliefs and practices bind the members together so that they can identify and communicate with each other. It also allows them to recognise, and be recognised by, outsiders. Ladwig emphasises that the concepts of field, capital and habitus allow us to explore the *multiple* contexts in which social actions simultaneously take place.

This model could be applied to all levels of curriculum development from school-based, through district and state, to national and even international projects, because, regardless of the context, there will be groups vying for control over the process, the product and therefore, the dissemination of their view of the world. Curriculum development is a highly contested and political process. As Lawton observes:

> .... the problem of curriculum planning is ... making the selection of the most important aspects of culture for transmission to the next generation. The crucial cultural question is 'what is worthwhile?' and the crucial political question is 'who makes the selection?' (1980:6)

A setting of the field at a macro-level.

Some examples might make this model of a social field clearer. The first example attempts to show the field of play at a national level. With the arrival of the European colonisers and the consolidation

of their power, the control over the curriculum that is formally transmitted to the next generation shifts from the 'oldtimers' (the Maori) to the 'newcomers' (Lave & Wenge, 1991). If we see control over curriculum as the stakes and those vying for control as the players, the concepts of field, capital and habitus provide a way of describing the battle for power.

Below (Figure 1a) is a representation from an earlier paper (Mutch, 1997b). The first diagram shows the field pre-1840 when a formal system of schooling had yet to be established by the Pakeha, but as they increased in numbers and authority, groups and alliances were already forming to influence the direction of curriculum development.

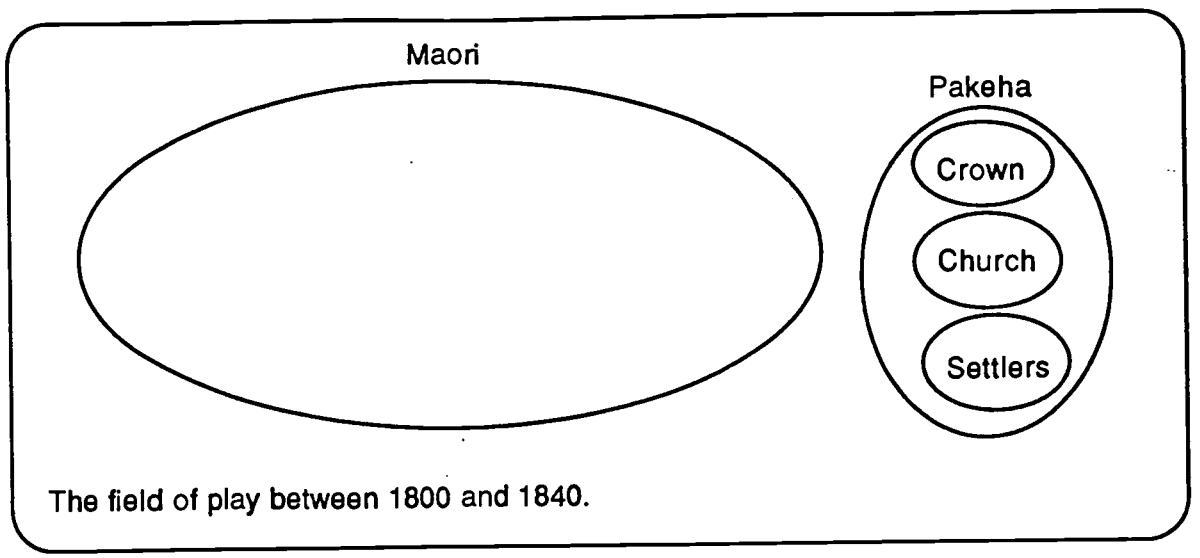

Figure 1a. A setting of the field of play in 18th century New Zealand.

The Maori who had a "complex, efficient education system prior to the arrival of the pakeha colonisers" (Irwin, 1994:338) were beginning to be challenged by the three main groups representing the Pakeha. The cultural capital of the Maori included an extensive oral tradition which elaborated their world view and the notion that all Maori were linked through their ancestors and the land. It taught the values, skills, roles and structures that maintained their way of life. They valued concepts such as education within community life, learning through exposure, an apprenticeship model and lifelong learning. (Irwin,ibid). Power-holders in the field were those with authority and knowledge conferred through right of birth or their place in that tribe's hierarchy, for example, rangatira or tohunga. The Pakeha brought a different set of values. Their social field when overlaid on that of the Maori changed the social, economic and cultural capital that was valued. In accordance with nineteenth century views on race and civilisation the colonisers saw themselves as unquestioningly superior and in a humanitarian and paternalistic way wished to offer the Maori the benefit of their civilisation and religion. Schooling was a primary means of achieving this civilising process. (Simon, 1994). One group of key players was a growing elite class of Pakeha land owners and merchants. Preparing a labouring class, expanding economic opportunities and changing the Maori communal view of land would lead to improved economic capital for them.

They were able to influence another group - the government - as many of their goals were similar. The government needed land for growing numbers of settlers and a labouring class to support economic growth. The government also saw education of the Maori as a form of social control which might divert insurrection and provide universal values of law and order.

The missionaries were the other influential group. Their aim was to win converts. They saw civilisation and Christianity as inextricably linked. They learnt the Maori language and translated the Bible into Maori to ensure their success. They also linked European skills and technologies to 'God's favour' enhancing Christianity as capital to be sought. (Ibid)

The second diagram (Figure 1b) shows how the Pakeha influence over the intended curriculum grew

with firstly, the subsidising of Maori mission schools in 1947 and later, the 1877 Education Act. The Maori, once the only players, now needed to redefine their place in this new field and re-evaluate their social, economic and cultural capital if they were to hold some balance of power but the social and economic capital of the Pakeha was not easy to achieve. It was difficult to penetrate the social networks and hierarchy that had been quickly constructed in the colony. Although some Maori could achieve equivalent economic capital their concept of communal land ownership inhibited them and their taonga and tikanga held little or no value in this habitus.

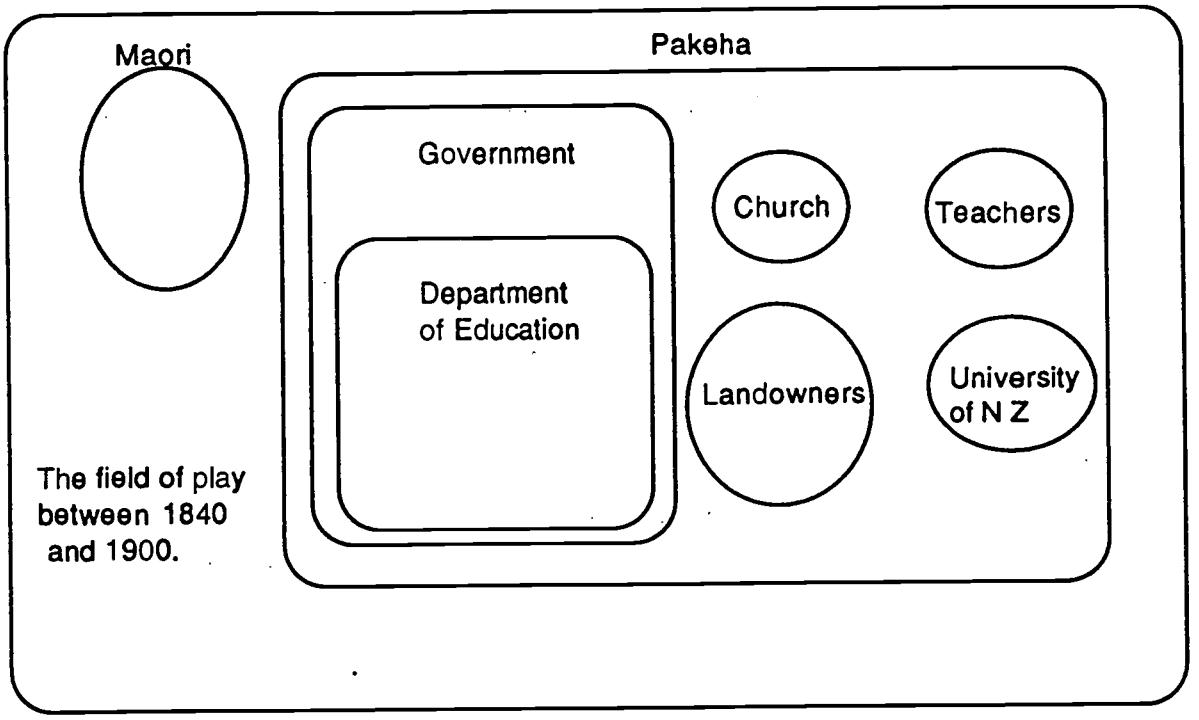

Figure 1b. A later setting of the field of play in 18th century New Zealand.

They did, initially, have more success in gaining access to the trappings of cultural capital. Many contemporary accounts cited by Simon (op cit) tell of the ease with which they gained new skills. Simon concludes:

> Particularly significant about the Maori in this period is the remarkable facility and perseverance they demonstrated, as a previously non-literate people in acquiring the skills of literacy and numeracy. (p 53).

The Maori were to be blocked, however, from achieving any higher goals. They were eventually politically and economically marginalised and by the end of the century were only 4% of the population (Ibid) with dramatically reduced proportion of influence over the direction of curriculum development.

Meanwhile the 1977 Education Act established control of the school curriculum in the hands of the Department of Education and the its school inspectors with the fortunes of the church declining but the vocational wishes of the landowners and business community still holding strong. The establishment of the NZEI was to play a part in the delivery of the primary curriculum and the establishment of the University of New Zealand was to influence the content of the secondary curriculum as its development strengthened throughout the first half of the next century.

A setting at a micro-level.

The second example elaborates more clearly the roles of individuals within a group but the same jockeying for position can be seen. Figure 2 (Mutch, 1997a) is drawn from a case study by Lewis (1980) which focuses on the development of a single curriculum document. Lewis was a key participant in the writing of the *1977 Social Studies Syllabus Guidelines Forms 1-4*. His knowledge of the participants, their roles, their influence (and factors which influenced them), and of the lines of communication and interaction gives us an illuminating insight.

The field of curriculum development at this time was again squarely in the control of the government

and its departmental officers. In the preparation of the Form 1-4 guidelines they set the boundary and limited access by selecting the members of the National Social Studies Syllabus Committee (NSSSC) who would develop the actual document. The committee consisted of approximately fifteen members (variations were due to resignations, availability, use of expert consultants and so on).

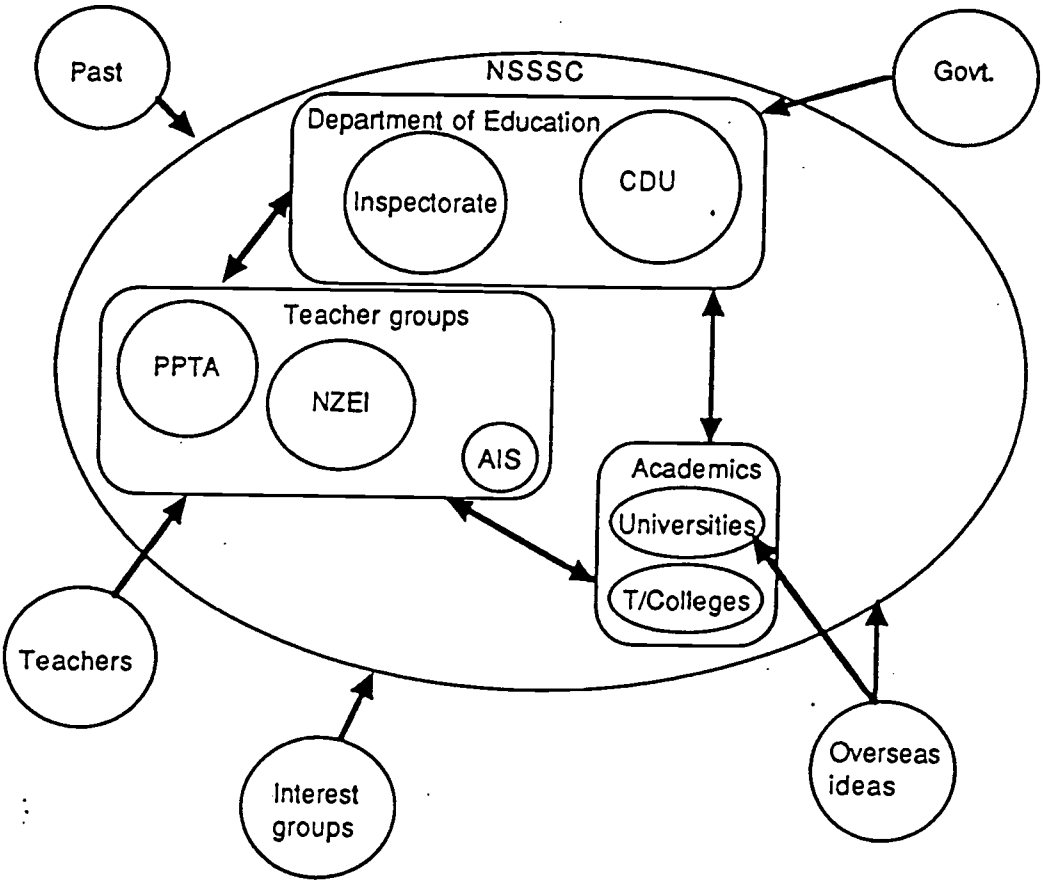

Figure 2. A setting of the field relating to the 1977 Form 1-4 Social Studies Syllabus.

There were three major educational groups represented. The first and most powerful was the Department of Education. This group had two sub-groups, one made up of four school inspectors (two primary and two secondary) and the other three officers from the Curriculum Development Unit. Although slightly smaller in number the curriculum officers kept overall control by acting as the organising committee and appointing one of their number as chairperson. The second group represented teachers through their professional organisations. There were two representatives from the NZEI, two from the PPTA, and one from the AIS (Association of Independent Schools). The final group represented academics, two from teachers colleges and two from universities.

This could appear to an outsider as a fair representation which would allow a free exchange of ideas but there were already forces in play which inhibited equality of participation. Each committee member was allowed access to the field of play by the invitation to join the committee. Within the field they were positioned hierarchically based on their attributes or capital such as historical precedence, assumed knowledge of the task and current status in the wider field of educational policy. At the top were the curriculum officers, followed by the inspectorate, the secondary teacher representatives and the primary teacher representatives with the independent school representative (who was also for a time the only woman) following, and the academics almost marginalised.

Between groups there were perceived differences and within groups there were identifiable factions. "The formation of the NSSSC had brought together a number of organisations, unaccustomed to working together let alone sharing a curriculum task. Traditional stances tended to be maintained, assumptions about each other were often unexamined..." (Lewis, 1980:115).
Each committee member therefore had to struggle to keep or improve his/her position within the field of play. Lewis explains that it took some time before the participants realised that the stakes were not the protection of their own institutional and sectional interests but control over the theory and content of a curriculum that could influence children, and therefore society, through education. This shift in emphasis led to individuals being able to gain status through their personal capital. As the development of the guidelines took nine years the field also experienced the jockeying for position that was caused by the resignation of original members. As new appointments were made the 'newcomers' (Lave and Wenger, op cit) had to establish themselves and their credibility through the capital that they brought with them, sometimes altering the power balance and even changing the direction that the document was to take, while the 'oldtimers' sought to consolidate the power they had accumulated.

Although it was hard to penetrate this field of play the committee was not immune to outside influences. Lewis notes the impact that overseas ideas had on the committee through developments in Great Britain and the United States. He also acknowledges social studies pioneers in New Zealand who influenced trends in social studies teaching and the way in which many of the committee as individuals sought to foster the growth of the subject. As well, the views of practising teachers, Maori interest groups, feminists, religious groups, parent organisations and the business community were all to influence the committee as a whole or through the voices of individual participants.

Representing the model diagrammatically is somewhat difficult because of the dynamic nature of the interactions. The field of play does not remain static, it is constantly being reset as the influence of groups and individuals waxes and wanes but these two examples allow us to picture how the field could have been set at the commencement of Tommorrow's *Schools* and how since then key groups and individuals have fought for a place on the field, defended their position, formed alliances and attempted to discredit those with alternative views.

Prelude to educational reforms.

The 1970s and 1980s in New Zealand were a time of see-sawing changes in public opinion and growing divisions in society. In such times education provides a convenient scapegoat :

> The 1970s, a decade of inflation and zero growth led to the reassessment of education for it did not appear to be delivering the goods. The mounting attack followed similar themes internationally, especially a concern for standards and a call from conservative opinion to go 'back to basics'; a realisation that the floodgates of opportunity had not been opened...; and a belief that school was failing to prepare pupils for the world of work, for industry and commerce, in other words failing to prepare them for adult life. (Dufour, 1982, p 223).

The influence of *The Black Papers on Education* (Cox & Dyson, 1971) and James Callaghan's Ruskin College Speech were felt in New Zealand as the 'New Right' movement penetrated politics here and instigated reviews of education.

National had been in government since 1960 but was defeated in 1972 by Labour whose foreign policies struck a chord with the growing popular culture. The sudden death of the Prime Minister Norman Kirk, the rise in oil prices and the growing trade deficit led to a swing back to National in 1975. Dawn raids on Pacific Island overstayers and anti-Springbok rugby tour demonstrations divided the country. Terms of trade plummeted and inflation soared. The standard of living dropped and unemployment rose. Various strategies to make the country more self sufficient worsened the state of the economy - all leading to a return to Labour in 1984. (Statistics New Zealand, 1995).

> The Muldoon government had come to be perceived by many as epitomising some of the worst features of the capitalist welfare state in which highly centralised forms of public administration had become blatantly and intolerably undemocratic. (Codd, 1990:192)

After winning the 1984 election Labour had to decide how to deal with the economic crisis and to do this they "demolished the structures established by the first Labour Government" in 1935 (Statistics New Zealand, op cit).

Their answer this time was the opposite to that of 1935 - stop dependency and make individuals accountable. Such a change did not happen as quickly as it might sound. Business and other conservative groups had already been working behind the scenes to get their players into key positions where their interests could be served. They believed decreased taxation would allow business to grow so it became important to have key people in a position of influence to foster this notion. At the time health, education and welfare programmes absorbed more than half of all government expenditure. Before both the 1984 and 1987 elections the Treasury (described by Lauder, 1990, as the 'thought-police of the New Right revolution in New Zealand') issued briefing papers to the incoming governments (both Labour) advising them of how this expenditure could be decreased and the economy strengthened. This advice was based on the growing right wing monetarist ideology and so 'Rogernomics' was born. To deal with the economic crisis of the times Finance Minister Roger Douglas rejected the Keynesian approach of the previous decades and set about restructuring the economy.

> "Rogernomics" embraced the monetarist philosophy which held that tight control of the money supply, and therefore of the rate of inflation, would lead to the efficient allocation of resources by the 'invisible hand' of the market.. (Statistics New Zealand, 1995: 41)

Attention then turned to health, education and welfare. State assets were sold, user pays systems were introduced and eventually the Prime Minister himself, David Lange, took over the Education portfolio.

There were two aspects of education under review. One focused on administrative reforms and the other the curriculum. *Administering for Excellence* [The Picot Report] (1988) stated :

> The present structure is overcentralised and made complex by having too many decision points. Effective management practices are lacking... To make progress, radical change is now required... Because the state provides the funds and retains a strong interest in educational outcomes, there must be national objectives and clear responsibilities and goals. (Taskforce to Review Education Administration, 1988: xi)

This clearly spelled the way for decentralisation of administration yet tight control over curriculum and accountability.

The divergent directions of curricular reform.

The Curriculum Review (Committee to Review the Curriculum for Schools,1987) recommended that there should be a new national curriculum for all schools and that the Department of Education should take a major role in getting this underway. Although a 'national' curriculum had long been a feature of New Zealand education, new developments proceeded in a rather ad-hoc way and criticisms emanated from both the political left and right. The left had research to show that girls, Maori and Pacific Island students and students with differing abilities were being disadvantaged (for example, Benton, 1986, Alton-Lee et al, 1987). The right considered that the changing composition of the work force, rapid technological developments, the growth of the service sector and the competitiveness of international markets (Ministry of Education, 1993) needed a more skills based approach. The Department responded issuing a draft *National Curriculum Statement* in 1988. The forces of the right were building in strength even if there were some tensions between autonomy versus central control. Dale (1989) describes these tensions as the 'neo-conservative' force which attempts to prescribe and regulate and the 'neo-liberal' force which wants freedom for the 'market' to dictate direction.

Although a response to a call for curriculum review the *National Curriculum Statement* was still, in actual fact, a document of the humanist liberal ideology which 'focussed on the notion of equality of opportunity' (Peters et al, 1993) and 'with a strong emphasis on school- and community-based planning of the curriculum' (Codd,1991). It reorganised the curriculum into the following areas :

Culture and Heritage;
Language;
Creative and Aesthetic Development;
Mathematics;
Practical Abilities;
Living in Society;
Science, Technology, and the Environment; and
Health and Well-being.

The curriculum principles for 'Aotearoa-New Zealand' were 'focusing on the learner, promoting a sense of cultural identity, promoting equity, achieving balance and coherence and providing for accountability' (Department of Education, 1988). Apart from the focus on accountability the content and language favoured the liberal-progressive view.

However, David Lange, now in control of the Education portfolio focused on administrative reforms and released a 'white paper': *Tomorrows Schools* which moved strongly toward the right. In critiquing the Picot Report and *Tomorrows Schools*, Codd (1991) states:

> It is significant that the Picot Report makes almost no reference to the curriculum... It is if curriculum and administration can exist in isolation from each other... The Picot Report fails to acknowledge that educational administration should be primarily concerned with the production and control of the curriculum and with creating a learning environment conducive to the general aims of education. (p 152)

Peters et al (1993) explain that the government was, in fact, relinquishing 'no-win' areas and consolidating control over vital areas "where losing would have threatened its ability to manage the system at all." (p 260). *Tomorrow's Schools* devolved to schools and their Boards of Trustees the power to make decisions on resources, staffing and administration but control of the curriculum belonged to central bodies such as the Ministry of Education and the Education Review Office.

The curriculum continues its march to the right.

In 1990 there was a change of government. The fourth Labour government, which ironically had proved to be champions of the new right monetarist policies, was replaced by a more moderate sounding National government. Appointments to the Finance, Social Welfare and Education portfolios soon left the country in no doubt that reforms would continue to move in a certain direction.

Lauder (1991) believed that irrespective of which party was in office New Right education policies would be on the agenda and this proved to be so. In 1991 the Education Amendment Act cleared the way for curriculum reforms to follow the administrative reforms of *Tomorrow's Schools*. Lockwood Smith, Minister of Education enthusiastically embraced the increasingly worldwide ideology and propounded ideas from similar reforms in Britain wishing to base the curriculum around the four key areas of English, Mathematics, Science and Technology. Several forces can be seen at work. Firstly, there is the neo-conservative emphasis on the basics, secondly, there is what post-modernists would call the 'modernist domination of the meta-narrative of science' and thirdly, there is the use of 'English' rather than 'Language' highlighting the view which gives superiority to New Zealand's British colonial past over the recognition of the bi-cultural nature of our heritage and the growing multi-cultural nature of our society. The inclusion of Science and Technology also supports the neo-liberal wish to increase our capability to compete on the international scene and gain more control over the 'market'.

In 1991 *The National Curriculum of New Zealand* was released for discussion. In the foreword Lockwood Smith stated:

> It sets national directions for schooling which, I believe, will assist young New Zealanders to achieve success and acquire the essential knowledge, understanding and skills which will enable them to compete in the modern international economy. (Ministry of Education, 1991a)

The ideological shift from the 1988 *National Curriculum Statement* which was a social scientist's delight promoting 'Culture and Heritage' and 'Living in Society' as key areas of study acknowledges that the New Right was gaining ascendancy.

Language was becoming a vital tool in spreading the ideology and the new document was sprinkled with "modern competitive society', 'international standing', 'world of work' and 'future economic well-being' phraseology. The document also contained essential skills, achievement objectives and levels and and a programme of national monitoring. The parallels with the British system are easily

seen and, in fact, freely acknowledged.

Although it was reiterated several times that English, Mathematics, Science and Technology were the 'core' areas the document's actual list of 'essential learning areas' was:

Language;
Mathematics;
Science and the Environment;
Technology;
Social Sciences;
The Arts; and
Physical and Personal Development.

Under the various headings a little more recognition was given to the place of Maori and Pacific Island languages and cultures but nowhere near the central place held in the 1988 document.

If we examine the Social Sciences statement we see that the two key aims are to develop student's 'understanding of society and culture' and 'ability and confidence to participate as responsible and *productive* citizens' (my emphasis). Suggested content is couched in very neutral terms with no recognition of the special place of Maori culture or other current social issues.

Some liberal concessions.

The New Zealand Curriculum Framework Te Anga Marautanga o Aotearoa the policy document that succeeded discussion document showed more liberal concessions. The cover depicted a shell motif which echoed the Maori koru. Each heading was translated into Maori and a section was included on attitudes and values. The four 'core' areas were not mentioned as all seven learning areas were considered 'essential for a broad and balanced curriculum'.

The Social Sciences Tikanga-a-iwi statement had 'confident, informed, and responsible participants' in society as its goal. Again language determined ideological ascendancy. For every 'marketing and trade' and 'individual initiative' statement there were two espousing 'bi-cultural heritage', multi-cultural society' and 'different values and viewpoints'. Compare these two statements on history, the first from the *National Curriculum* and the second from the *Curriculum Framework*.

> Through studies of history, they will learn about heritages - their own and others - and about significant persons, events, and forces which have shaped our world. (Ministry of Education, 1991:13)

> They will examine the events, beliefs, and forces which have shaped our world. They will explore the influences of different groups and individuals on society including the contributions of both women and men. Students will develop their understanding of their own culture and heritage, and those of others. They will study New Zealand histories, including Maori perspectives and will gain an awareness of different interpretations of the past. (Ministry of Education, 1993:14)

Social studies - the first draft.

The Social Sciences statement covered social studies from Years 1-13, history, geography and economics from Years 11-13 and other senior secondary school options such as sociology. The first curriculum document to be prepared for this area was social studies.

Many people would have agreed that new curriculum guidelines were long overdue. The current syllabus for Years 1-6 had been prepared in 1961 (although supporting newsletters had since updated content and methodology). Years 7-10 had a syllabus dating from 1977 although only recently Year 9 and 10 teachers had been trialing a new handbook. There were no guidelines at all for Years 11-13.

In line with current economic models the Ministry let a contract for which there was strong competition. It was won by a joint proposal from the Christchurch and Auckland Colleges of Education. Three co-ordinating writers selected a team of eleven other writers and the writing team produced five working drafts over eight months. Each writer consulted with a reference group and consultation with teachers and lecturers of social studies as well as a range of interested groups and individuals was broad. The Ministry established a review committee to advise on the development and a policy advisory group to report to the Minister.

Limitations were placed upon format and to some extent content. The format needed to be in line with

the other curriculum documents with achievement aims, objectives and levels. There were also five strands which took the main themes from Levels 1 to 8 (Years 1-13) revisiting concepts at each level with increasing sophistication as in Bruner's spiral curriculum (see, for example, Bruner, 1966). In terms of content the strands had already been decided by the policy advisory group and were to be:

Social Organisation and Processes;
Culture and Heritage;
Place and Environment;
Time, Continuity and Change; and
Resources and Economic Activities.

Like the *Curriculum Framework* the social studies draft was 'inclusive' in presentation, language and content. In terms of acknowledging the special place of the Maori perspective each section began with a Maori proverb, Maori words were used regularly throughout the text without translation (although a glossary was provided at the back) and the illustration depicting the relationship between the strands, the cross-strand perspectives and the skills was of woven flax. Social constructionist theorists (for example, Burr, 1995) argue that there is no thought without language. Words are not merely labels that we give to concepts but do themselves provide our way of viewing and making sense of the world. Seen this way they are very powerful tools in shaping our thinking. The language of the New Right has entered the educational discourse as 'client', 'consumer', 'mission statements' and 'outcomes'. In the social studies draft there was a concerted effort to be pro-active in gender and and culture inclusiveness and even to be positively discriminatory, for example in the statement: "ensure that women, men and children are presented in a diverse range of roles" (p 21).

Although the influence of the New Right can be seen in the first draft of the social studies document with its achievement levels and economic thrust it is more left in style and content.

The draft was trialled in selected schools in 1995 and issued widely for further comment before the final version was to be released later that year.

This timeline was extended as teachers in schools became overloaded with new policy and curriculum documents. In December 1995 *Curriculum Development Update 12* (Ministry of Education, 1995) reported on the school trials, the school professional development programme and the submissions.

The trial schools "were positive about the draft curriculum's general structure and principles and welcomed the focus that it gave to social studies within an integrated framework" (Ministry of Education, 1995, p 2), however there were several areas of concern. These included a need for more explicit coverage of New Zealand's European heritage, restructuring the skills component and making the document more concise, specific and accessible. The professional development programme highlighted some interpretative and organisational confusions, and difficulties in teaching values and addressing bi-culturalism.

The submissions also looked at organisational issues (regrouping, extending or clarifying certain parts) and at content. Again the place of Europe and New Zealand's European heritage was raised along with citizenship education, environmental education and the role of current events.

The Education Forum, a group established by the New Zealand Business Roundtable, employed an overseas academic, Dr Geoffrey Partington, to critique the draft and to transmit his findings through publications, the media and strategic meetings. Partington's major criticisms were that the draft was not based on a coherent set of principles, and that the content and methodology outlined were superficial: "it opens the door to triviality on one hand and political correctness on the other", it is "too cavalier about specific knowledge" and provides "no certain lessons of history." (Partington, 1996). Partington felt that the cultural capital to which New Zealand children should aspire should be the lessons of the great civilisations - Greek, Roman and British.

Other supporters of the New Right were also finding useful ammunition in the social studies draft. Richard Prebble when launching his new political party and book used this quote:

> The teachers wanted evidence of the decline in education. I cited the draft social studies curriculum. I explained how it was nothing but a list of politically correct topics without any knowledge base or understanding of how the real world works. Fine... if you want to produce professional uplifters and protesters. But no good if you want to produce productive, thrifty citizens... (Hide, R. quoted in Prebble, 1996:10)

The revised draft.

The Minister of Education asked for the draft to be amended because he saw it as 'one-sided' and said it would give free reign to 'extreme' teachers. A new writer, Sue Douglas, was appointed by the Ministry of Education early in 1996 to simplify and clarify the document.

A section was added on essential knowledge about New Zealand. It included, of course, knowledge of dates, events, land and cultures but also references to the political, legal and economic systems which would satisfy the New Right. In indicating cultures outside our own to study Europe was added and put ahead of the Pacific and Asia. The sample studies were pruned considerably and seemed to have lost their bi- and multi-cultural flavour in choice and language.

A new Minister of Education, Wyatt Creech, was appointed (mainly because of industrial trouble in secondary schools) but his view supported his predecessor's in that the draft was 'too politically correct'. Word leaked out in academic and teaching circles that the draft was not merely being revised but re-written. Strong debates followed between the writer and/or Dr Partington and interested social studies groups. Douglas claimed that she merely followed the guidelines from the Ministry and that these had been carefully prepared following the analysis of submissions with no one group or submission carrying more weight than another. (Douglas, 1996).

In July 1996 the revised draft arrived in schools. It was, as had been suspected, quite a different document to the 1994 draft. Although much of the general philosophy and the strands remained the same the achievement aims and suggested studies were significantly altered.

The most visible change was the symbol used to depict the aims and the strands. Gone was the simple plaited harakeke (flax) rope and in its place were symbols of the New Right ideology illustrated in Figure 3.

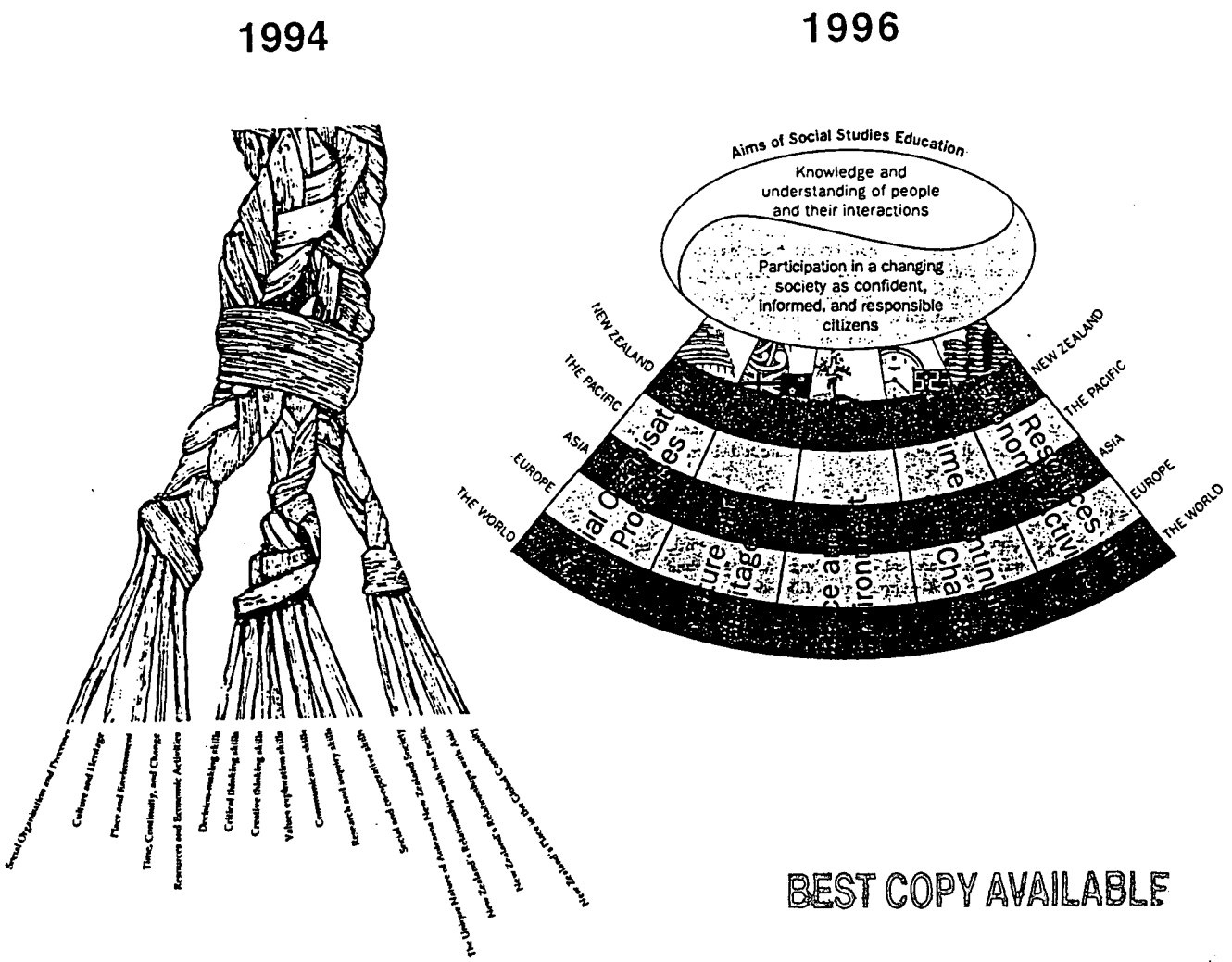

Figure 3. The symbols representing social studies in the 1994 draft and the 1996 revised draft of Social Studies in the New Zealand Curriculum.

To signify Resources and Economic Activities were coins, to signify Time, Continuity and Change were clocks and the Beehive signified Social Organisation and Processes. The single tree representing Place and Environment was a little ambiguous but Culture and Heritage had the New Zealand flag with Union Jack dominant overshadowing a Maori carving (the only recognition of the stated bi-cultural heritage). If one is to 'read' this as a 'text' (Brown and Dowling, 1993) which highlights the cultural capital to be acquired through the social studies curriculum then accumulation of wealth, veneration of the Anglo-european heritage and the skills of efficiency and time management seem to be values to be sought.

The revised draft was released to schools in mid-1996 with the implication that although some comment would be accepted it was virtually fait accompli. Within a short period of time Ministry officials and the Minister became aware of the debate raging and requested specific feedback through several notices in the Education Gazette. They also sent surveys to a sample of schools. The deadline did not allow for much practical application or analysis of the draft in schools as all 'comment' was to be with the Ministry three months after the revised draft was issued.

The debate continued with clear polarisation of opinion in journals, newspapers and magazines including such provocative headlines as: 'Social studies allegedly racist' (Education Review, 24-30 July), 'Social studies curriculum splits teachers' (Education Review, 8-14 August) and 'Social studies curriculum sanitised' (Press, October 16). The following are typical examples. Firstly from the right:

> The great question remains unanswered; the question of what social studies really is... By being "about people" social studies ends by being about everything - and therefore nothing... It is a concocted subject, devised at its beginning some fifty years ago by persons with little accurate knowledge of any of the accepted disciplines, but with an interest in tinkering with pupil's personalities. (Lockstone, 1996:8)

A response from the left:

> There are two views of education in the 1990s. The first holds that in a period of economic change there is a need to bolster the traditions of Western society. Proponents of this view argue that this is best done by teaching systematic courses in established disciplines in order to re-establish the bases of the social order and its values...
>
> The second view shares the concern of the first, but argues that education should provide students with the knowledge and skills to understand the effects of rapid change. This means that students must develop skills of critical thinking and decision making. (Barr, 1996:7).

The final version.

The revised draft was not to be the final version. Criticism of the revised draft seemed to indicate that it had gone too far the other way. Where the first draft was "too broad and open to interpretation" the revised draft was "too specific, and lacking in sequence and coherence" (Ministry of Education, 1997: 2). Where the first draft gave... "not enough direction in the required 'core' knowledge..." and our "British heritage was downplayed" the revised draft was "lacking inclusion of Maori heritage" and gave "a narrow and superficial interpretation of culture" (ibid).

The debates showed that there was still a strong band of social studies enthusiasts and the polarisation of views gave strength to organisations such as the Federation of Social Studies Associations and to institutions such as the colleges of education and universities involved in teacher education. These groups lobbied the Minister and the Ministry through submissions, media releases and personal approaches. They attempted to keep a positive view of social studies before the public and teachers, and tried to maintain pressure on the current holders of power in this social field who would eventually determine the final format and content of the curriculum document.

It was at this stage that the Ministry commissioned a paper to look at what social studies actually meant in New Zealand context and what current New Zealand and international research and scholarship suggested was important. This is the stage that those involved in curriculum policy and development studies call 'situational analysis'. McGee (1997) in his recent book, *Teachers and Curriculum Decision-making* synthesises the work of many writers in this field. They all suggest that the first step is some kind of identification and prioritisation of curriculum issues and needs within the relevant context.

The University of Waikato School of Education (1997) produced a comprehensive paper which looked at the development of social studies in New Zealand, the current issues and research. The view that it took was to be a major influence on the next document which was now the third re-write of *Social Studies in the New Zealand Curriculum*. The team of writers was to include one of the original writers as well as one of the position paper writers.

The document seems to steer a middle course between the extremes of criticism as well as add a new skills dimension. It, of course, will have its critics. By attempting to take cognisance of the variety of viewpoints it may fail to satisfy the major factions involved in the debate. However, after its launch in October 1997 there was almost an audible sigh of relief from teachers that there was, for better or for worse, a final version which would give some long-term stability and coherence to planning and teaching social studies in schools.

Before we leave this document it is interesting that in terms of its use of symbolic language a simple woven mat has been chosen to represent the social strands and processes and to provide backing to other diagrams (Figure 4 below).

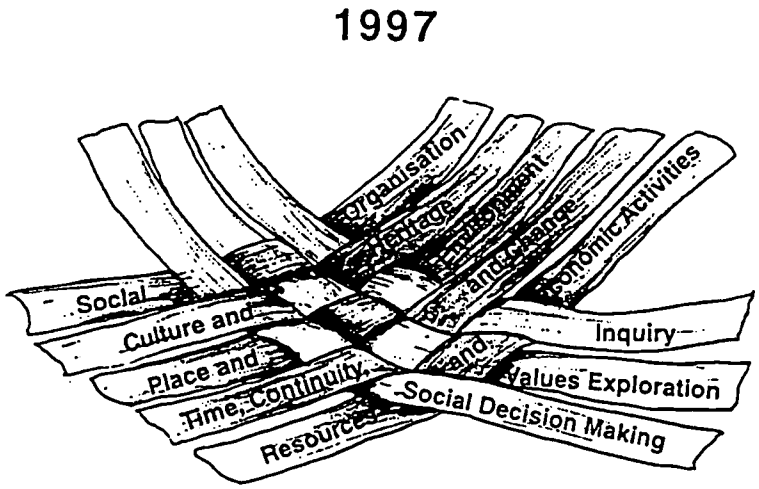

Figure 4. The symbolic representation of strands and processes in 1997 version.

The social field of the nineties.

> In a democratic society one of the means of establishing hegemony is through electoral processes. Elected governments claim mandates to enshrine certain value positions in curriculum and schooling policy. (Grundy et al 1994:111)

Gramsci (1978) proposed the idea of ideological hegemony to explain how ruling classes maintain their dominance by organising popular consensus. Their view of the world is diffused through agencies of ideological control and socialisation into everyday language and thinking. As the 1990s began 'privatisation', 'competition' and 'accountability' were widely used and accepted notions. The New Right had achieved this through a carefully orchestrated campaign to have the general public accept these values as commonsense and irrefutable and wanted to use the schools, via the curriculum, to act as 'agents of socialisation' to continue this process. As Shuker (1987:22) states "An important aspect of hegemony is that it mystifies and conceals existing power relations and social arrangements."

What were the power relations, social arrangements and alliances in the field of educational policy as we entered the nineties? The field was set with two distinct polarisations with the New Right ideology in ascendancy. The government had made use of its statutory powers through parliament by passing acts that allowed the implementation of its policies. The 1989 Education Act and following amendments had abolished the Department of Education and its divisions such as Curriculum Development and set up a stream-lined Ministry of Education to oversee the implementation of educational policy. Bodies such as the Educational Review Office and New Zealand Qualifications Authority (which were independent of the Ministry) were established to ensure that standards of teaching and learning were maintained. The power of the teaching unions was diminished as collective bargaining was discouraged through the Employment Contracts Act. Policy Advisory Groups provided advice for the government on curricular matters. These various

policy advisory groups contained ministry officials and educators but also had strong representation from business interests and New Right political lobby groups.

The extent to which New Right economic ideology had become hegemonic is demonstrated by the fact that even though there was a change of government in 1990 the National government continued where the Labour government had left off.

As the nineties have progressed there is still a polarisation with the government, Treasury, business interests such as the Business Roundtable and conservative educational groups such as the Independent Schools Council, the Principals Federation and the School Trustees Association tending to the right and most teachers and their unions (NZEI and PPTA) and liberal educationalists toward the left. Capital is still strongly related to the habitus and discourse of the New Right.

However as can be seen by charting the path of the social studies curriculum there were strong forces at work to challenge this view of the world and its accompanying values. If one was to draw a diagram to illustrate the path it would wind form 'left' to 'right' as it was pulled this way and that these forces.

The model of educational policy as a social field used in this paper shows curriculum development as a highly contested area. The stakes are the determination of the aspects of New Zealand's culture and heritage to be passed on through the education system. The development of the social studies curriculum of the 1990s highlights this struggle and the strategies used to advance or defend on the field. This model does not have winners and losers, but constant re-settings of the field, entry, exit and re-groupings of players in this on-going contest for curriculum policy control. Regardless of the specific outcomes (in terms of the curriculum documents) the stakes are considered too important by both sides to be relinquished willingly and debates will continue well into the new millennium.

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