The Status of the Social, Behavioral and Economic Sciences in State Standards and Related Policy Guidance: A Review of the Evidence

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I. Overview

This paper examines the status of the Social, Behavioral and Economic Sciences (SBE) in state K-12 content standards and related instructional guidance. The current environment may offer an opportune time to investigate and reflect on the role of the SBE disciplines in this venue given the flurry of recent activity to improve state standards. In the past year, 44 states have adopted the new Common Core State Standards in Mathematics and English-Language Arts, and many of them are participating in consortia seeking to develop assessments aligned to these standards. New National Science Education Standards have also been developed. Given these and other initiatives, the SBE disciplines may find an opening to raise their profile within the state policy community.

This paper begins to address the following questions:

- How are the SBE disciplines of Anthropology, Political Science, Economics, History, Sociology and Psychology currently represented in state content standards?
- What disciplinary content is emphasized, and at what level of the K-12 school continuum?
- How are SBE disciplines represented in other key state guidance policies that influence curricular content and instruction?
- What action steps might the SBE community consider at the state level?

Before proceeding, it is useful to reflect on the underlying goals of the standards reform movement and the way it has evolved in the United States. While state governments have constitutional authority over K-12 education, most states did not play a significant role in guiding the content of the school curriculum until the 1980s or early 1990s, preferring instead to delegate such politically sensitive decisions to local district and school authorities. When states did generate guidance, it was typically limited to lists of course requirements or behavioral objectives. Few states prescribed topics within courses or curricula, and guidelines about teaching were even more unusual (Cohen and Spillane 1993).

This began to change in the mid- to late- 1980s, when professional associations like the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics and states like California began to develop content standards to counter the perceived decline in the quality and rigor of curriculum and instruction (Massell and Kirst 1994; Massell 1994). They and others argued that the basic skills era of the 1970s, which sought to assure that students meet minimum levels of competency, had the unintended effect of creating a ceiling rather than a floor in schooling quality (Smith and O'Day 1991; Barnes 2002). Standards guidance was also meant to counteract the "mile-wide and inch deep" American textbook, where publishers sought to satisfy multiple constituencies by covering many topics, no matter how thinly (Tyson 1997). Many states, national professional organizations and

foundations responded to this conceptualization of reform, and thousands of state standards documents have been developed in the ensuing decades.

Many would say that while these efforts did create a lasting and unquestioned role for states in identifying what students should know and be able to do, they did not in fact produced the kind of high quality and rigorous education standards across the states originally envisioned by reformers. Thus the recent National Science Education Standards and the Common Core State Standards (CCSS) are seeking to reinvigorate the effort to leverage high standards across all states. Again, states have been quite responsive to these renewed efforts, making it a potentially opportune time for the SBE community to press for action at the state level.

To make inroads into state standards, though, it is important to understand that there is enormous variation in how states organize, frame, and elaborate these documents. Content standards range in scope and specificity, and are just the first of multiple guidance and policy instruments that states create. Content standards tend to be the most general. Performance standards, some type of curriculum frameworks or instructional resource guides, test blueprints and the like provide more finely detailed information for educators.

Moreover, varied state political cultures and policy traditions generate different combinations of incentives and supports for local educators to implement and follow through on state or federal guidance (Wirt, Mitchell and Marshall, 1988). States differ in how they scaffold or support the use of standards for local educators, for example. Some work to provide and align professional development to their standards while others provide less of these kinds of support (Cohen and Hill 2001). Implementation of standards is also influenced by whether and the degree to which they are linked to such incentives as assessments, school accountability policies, teacher education program accreditation and teacher licensure, regulations governing high school graduation, and more. All of this variation accounts in part for why studies have found uneven implementation of state standards in schools and classrooms or even in district curricula (Porter, Smithson and Osthoff 1994; Porter 2004; Massell, Kirst and Hoppe 1997; Fuhrman 2001)

Thus, in addition to clarifying how SBE disciplines are represented in the content of state standards, this paper uses case studies of four states—Massachusetts, Michigan, Texas and Virginia—to illustrate how state guidance can vary in ways that matter to professionals who seek to assert a more powerful role for those subjects in state policy. This paper will make it clear that developing state content standards are just the first step in creating an interrelated group of policies that are necessary to secure a place in the practice of K-12 schooling.

II. Data Sources

Our review of the role of the SBE disciplines in state policy instruments drew upon existing sources of data and information. We relied heavily on the standards analyses conducted by the Wisconsin Center for Education Research, which has more than 30 years of experience in descriptively coding and evaluating standards, assessments, and other instructional guidance instruments or practices, using a tool called the Survey of Enacted Curriculum (SEC). The SEC tool has been developed for the subjects of Science and Social Studies[1] as well as Mathematics and English Language Arts/Reading. While the purpose of the SEC tool is to examine the degree of alignment between various policies and instructional practices, their taxonomy and coding of state standards documents using subject-matter experts met our own objectives quite well[2].

We conducted our own, broader reviews of education policy in Massachusetts, Michigan, Texas and Virginia to more deeply explore the way SBE subjects and topics were represented in state standards and a larger array of guidance policies. Massachusetts was selected because their standards have been widely heralded as the best or among the best in the nation, and its students currently outperform others in the U.S. on international comparisons (e.g., see Peterson and Hess, 2008; Stern and Stern, 2011). Texas was chosen because it wields power over standards reforms far beyond its own borders. Its version of these reforms was seen as a foundational blueprint for No Child Left Behind (NCLB), and its standards have long been a major influence over materials from the textbook and publishing industry. Like Massachusetts, Michigan adopted the CCSS and is engaged in the assessment consortia responding to them. Finally, Virginia was selected because it created its own standards and standards-based accountability system long before NCLB. Both Texas and Virginia did not adopt the CCSS.

We examined a broader range of standards documents to look for SBE disciplines in these states, drawing upon information made freely available on state websites and on other information, such as data from The College Board on state high school students' participation in SBE-related Advanced Placement exams. Finally, we supplemented these sources with available information on trends in SBE-related disciplines, and scholarly papers.

We begin with our review of the SEC data, refurbished for our purposes here. This provides some insight about the ways and extent to which SBE disciplines were

[1] Some states use the term "Social Sciences" instead of "Social Studies." While recognizing that such differences in terminology have significance in terms of their position to disciplinary knowledge, unless otherwise noted we use Social Studies to indicate both.

[2] The SEC analyses of state standards were conducted by teams of 3 to 5 analysts who typically had advanced degrees in the content area and in all cases a strong familiarity with K-12 curriculum in the relevant subject areas.

represented, and in what grades, in a sample of states. After that we turn to the cases, and conclude with considerations for action by the SBE community.

III. SBE Representation in State Standards: Findings from the Survey of Enacted Curriculum

When this paper was commissioned in September 2011, we requested the use of extant SEC data and analyses to explore whether and how both state Science and Social Studies standards covered the SBE disciplines. We quickly learned, however, that the SEC Science taxonomy did not include SBE disciplines or content[3], focusing instead on such traditional areas as Biology, Physics, and Chemistry (Appendix 1, Table A). Indeed, we found a similar convention in the Science standards of our 4 case study states. So, while the Wisconsin researchers said that they were planning to modify their Science taxonomy based on recent feedback, they were not being asked to include SBE content there (Personal communication, Smithson, September, 14, 2011).

SBE was included in the SEC Social Studies taxonomy. Although it does not consistently use disciplinary terminology, the content areas of the taxonomy are those typically found in the SBE fields. We regrouped their content categories into 7 SBE disciplines, specifically, Anthropology, Economics, Geography, History, Political Science, Psychology and Sociology (Table 1). The SEC breaks the content down into an even more detailed set of subtopics, and also evaluates the performance expectations in the standards.

[3] There were some minor exceptions. The taxonomy includes subtopics on the History of scientific innovations, and issues of diversity, culture and gender in Science.

Table 1
Social, Behavioral and Economic Disciplines in the SEC Social Studies Taxonomy
(SBE Disciplines x SEC Content Category)

Anthro-pology[1]	Economics	Geography	History	Political Science (Civics & Gov't)	Psychology	Sociology
Human Culture	Limited Resources and Choice	Map Skills	State History	Foundations of Gov't	Psychology	Sociology
Innovation and Social Change	How Markets Work	Places and Regions	US History (People, Events and Documents)	Principles of American Democracy		
Multicult-ural Diversity	Economic Systems	Physical Geography	US History (Growth and Develop-ment)	American Constitu-tionalism		
	Economic Interdependence	Human and Cultural Geography	US History (Other Themes)	Political and Civic Engagement		
	Personal Finance	The Uses of Geography	World History (Pre-History)			
			World History (Early Empires and Religions)			
			World History (Emergence of the Global Age)			

Topics from the K-12 Social Studies Taxonomy, Survey of Enacted Curriculum, Wisconsin Center for Education Research

1. The more detailed content categories we included within Anthropology also incorporate topics that other disciplines could claim, especially Sociology. However, since SEC already included Sociology, we did not label it as such here.

Before presenting our findings, readers should be cautious about drawing conclusions about national trends based on the SEC data alone. The necessary focus on Social Studies constrained the number of states we could include, because requests for SEC Social Studies analyses occurred far less often than in the other disciplines. Specifically, 40 U.S. states asked for analyses of their Mathematics standards, while 29 did so in Science and 29 in English Language Arts/Reading.[4] In Social Studies, however, only 8 states requested analyses, including Delaware, Idaho, Indiana, Kansas, Minnesota, Ohio, Oregon, and Wisconsin. SEC reviewed 7 state standards that were available for coding between Summer 2007 and Summer 2008, and 1 in 2009-10.

[4] These figures do not include requests from other countries or publishers, or US states that may have used a generic label for anonymity.

Finally, and importantly, we are limited in what we can surmise about patterns of SBE distribution even within a state because they did not submit all of their Social Studies standards or related guidance documents for analysis. Indiana, for example, requested analysis of only one course standard at the high school level, although it had many other course standards that fall within the Social Studies (and SBE) domains. The SEC only published data on Wisconsin's grade 4 and 8 Social Studies standards, and not its grade 12 standards. And almost every state here organized and structured their standards differently. Delaware and Minnesota presented standards for varying grade-level clusters. Ohio did the same, but only for its Benchmarks and not for its Indicators[5]. The other states submitted separate standards for individual grades or high school courses. Because of this wide variation, the reader should understand the representations of SBE subjects in these standards are illustrative of potential trends not exhaustive or final analyses.

III-A. Aggregate Perspective

To get a general picture of SBE in the documents submitted by these states for SEC review, we first aggregated and averaged the data across all of the standards to see which disciplines were mostly strongly represented in the sample. We follow up with a more detailed examination of the way the disciplines were distributed across the elementary, middle and high school level standards.

The 8 states presented a total of 31 documents for review. Table 2 shows the average percentage of disciplinary content across all of the documents submitted by these states.

Table 2
Average Disciplinary Representation across 31 Social Studies Standards Documents(in percent)

Discipline	*Average*
Anthropology	5.4
Political Science (Civics/Government)	19.9
Economics	17.0
Geography	16.7
History (State/US/World)	27.9
Psychology	0
Sociology	0.3
Social Studies Skills/Problems	12.9

Key: Light Grey=10-19.9%; Darker Grey =20-49.9%; Darkest Grey: 50% or higher

[5] Ohio submitted both to the SEC. Benchmarks are "key checkpoints that monitor progress towards academic content standards," while grade-level Indicators identify "what all students should know and be able to do at each grade level" and align with applicable diagnostic tests (ODE, Social Studies Academic Content Standards, 2002).

Source: Survey of Enacted Curriculum, University of Wisconsin.

When examined in the aggregate, we found that 4 disciplines received concentrated attention in the 31 Social Studies standards submitted by these states: History, Political Science, Economics and Geography. The three History areas (US, World and State) comprised the highest percentage share of these standards (27.9%), followed by Political Science (19.9%), Economics (17.0%) and Geography (16.7%).

The states often relied upon one or more of these disciplines to organize and focus their content, although we found considerable variety in which and how many disciplines they emphasized, how extensively they did so, and where they placed them in the elementary, middle and high school sequence (see Tables 3-6, below). For example, 78% of Ohio's 8th grade indicators were in U.S. History, and half or more of their 7th and 9th grade standards were assigned to World History. By contrast, Indiana and Wisconsin took a more ecumenical approach and apportioned their standards across a broader array of disciplines.

Anthropology made a modest appearance overall, but was included to some degree in the standards of every state in this sample. Of 31 separate standards or course documents, these topics represented about 5.4% of the states' standards, on average. This percentage ranged from a low of .1% in Ohio's Grade 8 indicators to a high of 22% in Wisconsin's grades 4 and 8 standards.

Sociology and Psychology were almost negligible in these 31 standards documents, with a few modest exceptions. SEC analysts identified some Sociology topics in Idaho, Indiana and Minnesota, but only coded Psychology topics in one of Idaho's standards.

III-B. Sequencing of the SBE Disciplines at Elementary, Middle and High School Social Studies Standards

We also arrayed the standards provided by these states at the elementary, middle and high school levels to look for patterns in disciplinary distributions. In almost all of the elementary standards, states gave the most disciplinary focus to Political Science (Civics and Government), Economics and Geography. History was more prominent in the standards at the middle school level than it was in elementary. The high school standards were more idiosyncratic, but as at the elementary and middle school level, content from Anthropology played a small role. Sociology was also a small presence, but was more likely at the high school level. Psychology was nearly absent across standards at all educational levels, at least within these 31 documents.

Elementary School

Seven states requested an analysis of a portion or all of their elementary school standards. Table 3 below displays the percentages of these standards that fell in these SBE disciplines, as coded by experts for the SEC.

Table 3
Elementary School Social Studies Standards: Disciplinary Emphasis by Grade- or Grade-Level Clusters (as percent of standard)

Grade or Grade-level cluster:	Gr K-3		Gr 3-5	Gr 4		Gr 5		Gr 4-5
State:	DE	MN	OH (BM)[1]	IN	WS	IN	OR	DE
Anthropology	1.6	10.9	13.4	3.0	22.0	3.7	2.3	0.4
Political Science (Civics/ Gov't)	29.3	26.7	21.9	11.3	14.3	18.9	27.7	39.2
Economics	26.0	10.0	20.4	20.2	15.7	19.1	22.7	22.4
Geography	27.7	21.1	18.1	22.5	28.3	24.8	24.9	15.5
State History	1.2	3.5	0	22.6	2.2	0.6	3.0	1.6
US History	2.3	8.3	7.7	12.2	4.3	22.7	4.1	4.6
World History	0.0	2.1	0.3	0.3	0.6	1.4	3.4	0.1
Psychology	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Sociology	0.0	4.5	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Social Studies Skills/Problems	11.9	12.8	18.3	8.0	12.7	8.7	12.0	16.3

Key: Light Grey=10-19.9%; Darker Grey =20-49.9%; Darkest Grey: 50% or higher
Source: Survey of Enacted Curriculum, University of Wisconsin.

1. BM: Benchmarks

Across these elementary standards, states gave the most disciplinary attention to 3 subjects: Political Science (Civics and Government), Economics and Geography. Psychology and Sociology were not represented at all in this sample, and History and Anthropology were strong only in a few places.

The grey in the table above indicates areas of higher disciplinary concentration, with the darker greys indicating higher percentages. It shows that there was quite a bit of variation in terms of which disciplines received the most focus (e.g., 20% or more). For example, Indiana's fifth grade standards focused at the 20% level or higher in 2 subjects (Geography and U.S. History), while Oregon's fifth grader standards focused on 3 (Political Science, Economics and Geography).

Interestingly, Indiana was the only state in this sample that gave substantial attention to History; they focused on State and US History in grade 4 and changed to US History more exclusively by grade 5. World History was less the 3.4% in any of these elementary documents.

Wisconsin also stood out for having the strongest focus on Anthropology (22% in grade 4). Approximately one-tenth of the content of Minnesota's K-3 standards and Ohio's 3-5 benchmarks was coded for Anthropology content, but in the 5 other states only very small percentages (.4%-3.7%) of the content was assigned to this subject.

Because of the unusually high percentage of content assigned to Anthropology, we took a deeper look at the subtopics in Anthropology that the SEC coders found (see Appendix I, Table B), as well as a brief examination of Wisconsin's standards documents. SEC coders identified Anthropology subtopics on language and communication; cooperation; conflict and interdependence; social stratification; ethnocentrism; invention and the role of technology. We found that Wisconsin state standards included a Behavioral Sciences strand in their elementary, middle and high school standards. The introduction to the strand explicitly mentioned the disciplines of Anthropology, Sociology and Psychology, but the actual content on these topics is not highly specified.[6]

Middle School

Seven states submitted multiple middle school standards documents. Table 4 below shows the standards that were organized at individual grade levels; Table 5 includes only those states that organized their standards in grade-level clusters.

[6] The Fordham Foundation gave these state standards an "F" rating in part because of their lack of clarity, saying, at one point that "detail is nonexistent."

Table 4
Middle School Social Studies Standards: Disciplinary Emphasis by Grade
(as percent of standard)

Grade:	Gr 6			Gr 7		Gr 8				
State:	KS	IN	OH Ind.[1]	IN	OH Ind.[1]	KS	IN	OH Ind.[1]	OR	WS
Anthropology	7.8	2.7	5.4	6.0	3.6	3.2	2.6	0.1	3.0	21.6
Political Science (Civics/Gov't)	14.0	12.7	16.9	7.1	13.1	13.6	17.6	12.2	21.9	18.1
Economics	14.4	12.8	14.9	19.0	2.9	20.1	19.6	3.0	22.5	15.8
Geography	25.1	25.6	32.3	21.8	12.8	12.6	15.2	0.7	13.5	14.9
State History	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.7	0.0	2.7	3.3
US History	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	36.5	29.8	78.0	19.7	4.8
World History	29.9	28.6	7.3	29.4	54.0	0.1	2.7	0.0	9.3	1.8
Psychology	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Sociology	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Social Studies Skills/ Problems	8.6	16.8	23.3	14.6	13.3	13.6	11.8	6.0	7.5	19.7

Key: Light Grey=10-19.9%; Darker Grey =20-49.9%; Darkest Grey: 50% or higher
Source: Survey of Enacted Curriculum, University of Wisconsin.
1. Ind.: Indicators.

Table 5
Middle School Social Studies Standards: Disciplinary Emphasis by Grade-Level Clusters
(as percent of standard)

Grade-level Cluster:	Gr 6-8		Gr 4-8
State:	DE	OH BM[1]	MN
Anthropology	1.7	6.8	1.9
Political Science (Civics/Gov't)	31.3	9.6	20.3
Economics	20.0	13.6	4.6
Geography	25.7	16.1	21.3
State History	0.5	0.0	9.6
US History	5.3	14.7	15.0
World History	0.7	11.4	13.7
Psychology	0.0	0.0	0.0
Sociology	0.0	0.0	0.0
Social Studies Skills/Problems	14.7	27.8	13.5

Key: Light Grey=10-19.9%; Darker Grey =20-49.9%; Darkest Grey: 50% or higher
Source: Survey of Enacted Curriculum, University of Wisconsin.
1. BM= Benchmarks.

History was more prominent in the standards at the middle school level than it was in elementary. Of the 13 middle school documents submitted for review, 10 of them included a strong focus on History, especially World and US History. World History represented nearly a third to over one-half of the 6th or 7th grade standards in Kansas, Indiana and Ohio; these states shifted their focus to US History in the 8th grade. Noticeably absent in all of these middle school standards, however, was attention to State History.

Geography also represented a significant share of these middle school standards documents. More than 20% of the standards in 6 of the 13 documents were devoted to this subject, and between 10 to 19% of the other states' standards were in this field. Table 4 shows that Geography was given stronger focus in the 6th or 7th grades, but became less prominent by 8th grade.

Economics played a strong role as well. Economics comprised close to or more than one-fifth of the 7th and/or 8th grade standards in Indiana, Kansas and Oregon, and a similar amount in Delaware's 6-8th grade cluster. Between 10-19% of the standards in 6 of the other documents focused on Economics.

Anthropology was modestly represented in most of these middle school documents. As at the elementary level, Psychology and Sociology were not represented at all. Wisconsin again stood out among these states for their substantial focus on Anthropology; SEC analysts coded about one-fifth of their 8th grade standards in this area. Seven of the 13 standards documents contained 3-8% of Anthropology content, and 5 devoted less than 3% of their middle school standards to this area.

<u>High School</u>

At the high school level, it is more difficult to discern any disciplinary distribution patterns because high school courses tend to be organized around one particular subject. Thus, for example, Economics is more likely to be a very high percentage of a state course standard for Economics. In addition, it is important to recall that these states did not submit all of their course standards for SEC analysis, so understanding the extent to which various disciplines are represented at the high school level is more fragmentary. So, for example, while our cases and other data show us that Sociology and Psychology were more likely to be picked up in high school courses, we do not see that here.

Despite these difficulties, we can make a few careful points about the high school standards in this sample (Table 6). Idaho focused more on a single discipline in its American Government and Economics courses than they did in their History courses. Specifically, analysts coded three-quarters of Idaho's American Government course

standards as Political Science content, and a similarly high proportion of Economics content was in the Economics course. By contrast, Idaho's History I course had content from multiple disciplines; while they focused most on US History, it also included substantial attention to Political Science (20.9%), Economics (11.6%) and Geography (10.8%). Idaho's History II course also included multiple disciplines, but less attention to Geography. By comparison, Indiana's US History course, gave attention to only 1 other discipline, Political Science (15.6%). Finally, note that SEC analysts identified a small amount of Sociology content in Idaho's History I and II courses, and in Minnesota's 9-12 standards. In Idaho—the one state with a document coded for Psychology, the subject matter was quite limited; coders found only 1 out of the 13 possible subtopics in this category (see Appendix 1, Table B).

Table 6
High School Social Studies Standards: Disciplinary Emphasis by Grade, Course, or Grade-Level Clusters (as percent of standard)

Grade, Course, or Grade-level Cluster:	Gr 9-12		Courses 9-12					Gr 9	Gr 9-10	Gr 10
State:	DE	MN	ID Am. Govt	ID Econ	ID His-tory I	ID His-tory II	IN US His-tory	OH Ind[1]	OH BM[2]	OR CIM[3]
Anthropology	3.0	5.5	3.7	0.3	8.8	5.8	3.4	2.7	9.0	1.9
Political Science (Civics/Gov't)	11.3	19.0	74.7	6.7	20.9	21.1	15.6	19.6	25.7	19.8
Economics	20.2	15.8	3.3	73.1	11.6	20.4	2.3	9.3	11.9	17.2
Geography	22.5	13.9	3.2	1.8	10.8	7.6	2.0	4.9	12.4	12.7
State History	22.6	0.4	1.3	0.0	3.5	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.0
US History	12.2	19.4	5.6	8.1	27.9	31.9	54.4	0.3	10.8	15.9
World History	0.3	19.7	4.4	2.3	5.9	5.7	9.1	43.8	17.5	19.1
Psychology	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Sociology	0.0	2.3	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Social Studies Skills/Problems	8.0	4.2	3.7	7.1	10.0	6.5	13.3	19.5	12.7	7.5

Key: Light Grey=10-19.9%; Darker Grey =20-49.9%; Darkest Grey: 50% or higher
Source: Survey of Enacted Curriculum, University of Wisconsin.

1. Ind.: Indicators
2. BM: Benchmarks
3. CIM: Certificate of Initial Mastery

III-C. Specific Content and Cognitive Demand

The SEC taxonomy for Social Studies includes 26 separate areas of content (see again, Table I). While we could not reasonably display these content areas for each of the 31 standards documents, we present readers with a snapshot of the kind of information that could be gleaned from such an analysis. We use information from 2 of the states that organized their standards by the same grade-level clusters at the early elementary and high school levels: Delaware and Minnesota. We also examine the way SEC coders assessed the level of cognitive demand in these standards, what some would call thinking skills. SEC used a metric ranging from simple recall and memorization to the more sophisticated and complex task of synthesizing, evaluating and making connections. Since standards reforms in general are intended to leverage more challenging content and higher order thinking skills, the SEC approach to the analysis of cognitive rigor can be insightful.

We begin with a comparative overview of the broad disciplinary differences between these two states, before looking at the more specific content and cognitive demand that they contained.

Chart A compares the disciplinary focus of Delaware and Minnesota at grade cluster K-3 and Chart B compares grade cluster 9-12. About one-quarter of the K-3 standards in both states were in the field of Political Science, but in other disciplines the states were quite different. As a combined subject, History received fairly similar attention in these states' high school standards, but Minnesota emphasized US and World History while Delaware focused almost exclusively on State History.

Chart A
Disciplinary Focus of K-3 Social Studies Standards:
Delaware and Minnesota

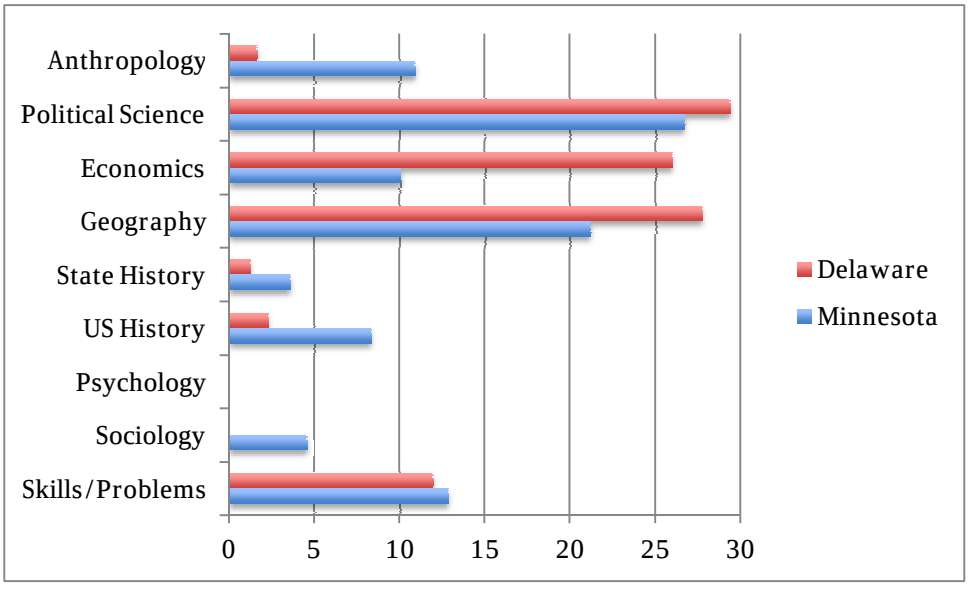
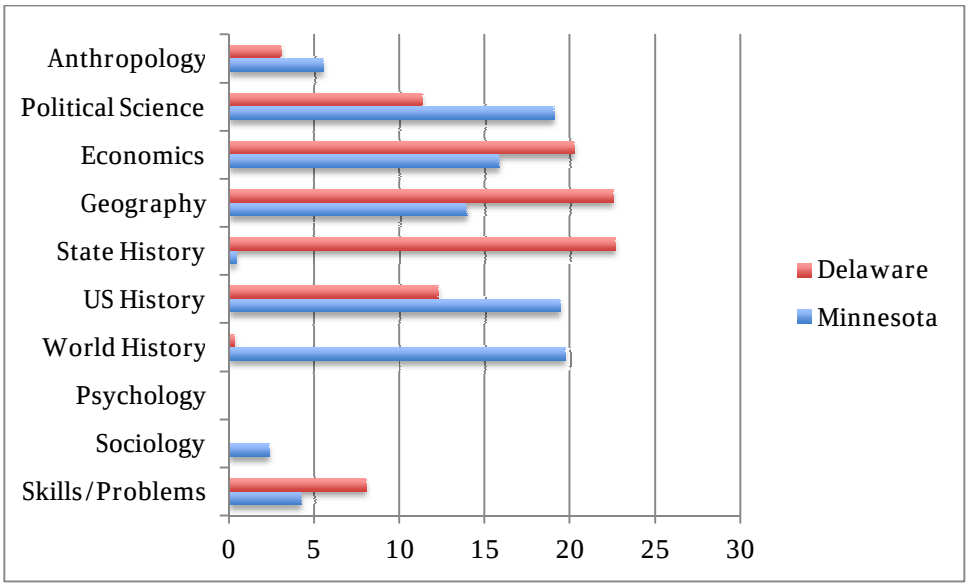


Chart B
Disciplinary Focus of Grade 9-12 Social Studies Standards:
Delaware and Minnesota



Source: Survey of Enacted Curriculum, University of Wisconsin.

In Table 7, we looked deeper at the particular content covered within these discipline areas using the 26 content categories.

We found that even within the same disciplinary areas, the states focused on different content. In the early elementary, Minnesota focused more of its Political Science, History and Geography standards on American Constitutionalism, US History, and Map Skills, respectively, while Delaware gave more attention to Political and Civic Engagement, and very little to History. Where Minnesota emphasized Map Skills in Geography, Delaware focused on Places and Regions, Physical Geography, and Human and Cultural Geography. Delaware also included much more attention on all areas of Economics—Limited Resources and Choice, How Markets Work, Economic Systems, Interdependence, and Personal Finance. Minnesota devoted more space to Anthropology content, specifically, Human Culture and Innovation and Cultural change.

The content of their high school standards was also quite different. For example, Minnesota's 9-12 standards focused more on Political Science overall (19% compared to Delaware's 11%), and on American Constitutionalism and Foundations of Government, in particular. In History, Delaware strongly emphasized State History, while Minnesota included more attention to US History (People, Events and Documents) and World History (especially Early Empires and Religions, and Emergence of the Global Age.) In Economics, Delaware was strong on How Markets Work; Minnesota split their attention between the How Markets Work and Economic Systems. Delaware also focused more on Geography, particularly Map Skills and Physical Geography, than Minnesota, which gave most of its attention to Human and Cultural Geography.

Table 7
Content-Level Analysis of K-3 and 9-12 Social Studies Standards:
Delaware and Minnesota
(in percents)

	K-3 Standards		9-12 Standards	
	DE	MN	DE	MN
ANTHROPOLOGY				
Human Culture	.8	7.1	1.5	3.4
Innovation and Cultural Change	0	3.4	1.0	0.8
Multicultural Diversity	.8	.4	0.5	1.3
POLITICAL SCIENCE				
Foundations of Government	3.9	1	0.8	5.4
Principles of American Democracy	8.2	9.7	3.3	2.8
American Constitutionalism	2.8	8.5	4.9	7.1
Political and Civic Engagement	14.5	7.5	2.2	3.8
ECONOMICS				
Limited Resources and Choice	11.2	4.5	1.2	1.2
How Markets Work	5.8	3.1	10.3	5.2
Economic Systems	2.9	1.6	1.9	5.6
Economic Interdependence (Globalization)	4.8	0	3.6	2.2
Personal Finance	1.2	.9	3.2	1.7
GEOGRAPHY				
Map Skills	6.3	13.3	7.4	1.4
Places and Regions	8.4	4.1	2.0	2.9
Physical Geography	5.8	1.7	6.2	0.1
Human and Cultural Geography	7.1	0.8	4.7	8.4
Human/Environment Interactions	0	0	0.6	0.5
The Uses of Geography	0.1	1.3	1.6	0.6
HISTORY				
State History	1.2	3.5	22.6	0.4
US History				
US History (People, Events, and Documents)	0.9	6.5	6.3	11.8
US History (Growth and Development)	1.3	1.8	3.6	3.5
US History (Other Themes)	0	0	2.3	4.1
World History				
World History (Pre-History)	0	1	0.0	2.0
World History (Early Empires and Religions)	0	.7	0.0	8.5
World History (Emergence of the Global Age)	0	0.4	0.3	9.2
PSYCHOLOGY	0	0	0	0
SOCIOLOGY	0	4.5	0	2.3
SOCIAL STUDY SKILLS/PROBLEMS				
Social Studies Skills	11.9	12.8	7.8	3.1
Social Problems	0	0	1	1.1

Source: Survey of Enacted Curriculum, University of Wisconsin.

Finally, in terms of the levels of cognitive demand, SEC coders assigned the highest percentage of early elementary standards to Level I, recall and memorization (Table 8). While that might be expected for young children, we found that even in grades 9-12, nearly one-third of Delaware's standards were rated at this most basic level.

In these K-3 standards, about one-fifth of both states' standards were at Level II, processing information and investigation. Both also emphasized Level III, demonstrating understanding and applying knowledge, but SEC coders found that Minnesota's standards attended more to analyzing and hypothesizing, Level IV. Almost none of these K-3 standards called for students to synthesize, evaluate or make connections (Level V).

Similarly, in the high school standards, only a very small percentage (up to 2.6%) were at this most challenging level. The majority of the standards in both states included Level III type of expectations. SEC coders rated nearly one-fifth of Minnesota's standards as analysis and hypothesizing (Level IV), again, relatively more than in Delaware.

Table 8
Cognitive Demand in K-3 and 9-12 Social Studies Standards: Delaware and Minnesota (in percents)

	Level I: Recall/ Memorize	Level II: Process Information/ Investigate	Level III: Demonstrate Understand-ing/Apply	Level IV: Analyze/ Hypothesize	Level V: Synthesize/ Evaluate/ Make Connections
DE K-3	40.8	21.7	36.95	0.1	0.4
MN K-3	49.1	22.3	19.7	8.9	0
DE 9-12	30.8	11.8	51.3	4.1	2.0
MN 9-12	16.5	16.3	46.0	18.7	2.6

Key: Light Grey=10-19.9%; Darker Grey =20-49.9%; Darkest Grey: 50% or higher
Source: Survey of Enacted Curriculum, University of Wisconsin.

v

Taken together, the SEC data demonstrates several things about the standards submitted by the 8 states:

1. Social Studies standards were most heavily oriented around History, Geography, Political Science (Civics and Government) and Economics, with some but considerably less attention to Anthropology and Sociology. Psychology was almost completely absent in these standards.
2. The states differed in how much disciplinary content they included from these disciplines; in most documents, 2-3 disciplines represented 20% or more of the content.
3. History received less attention at the elementary level than it did at the middle and high school levels.

4. These state standards documents varied considerably in their grade-level organization. But among those states with similar grade-level structures, we found considerable variation in disciplinary emphasis and the grade levels where the disciplines were most emphasized.
5. In a comparison of 2 states, we found significant differences in disciplinary emphasis, but also in the content areas included in the same disciplines. The levels of cognitive demand were rated higher in one state, but neither gave much attention to the most rigorous thinking skills, even in the grades 9-12 standards.

In the section that follows, we will use the case studies to expand on these findings and probe more deeply into state guidance for SBE. We also bring in information from other sources when available to situate their efforts in possible national trends.

IV. SBE Representation in State Standards and Related Policies: Case Studies

Over the past 20 to 30 years, states' role in providing standards to guide the content of the school curriculum has become well institutionalized, and has steadily expanded to include a wide array of subjects, and a wide array of policies. Here we review the guidance policies of Massachusetts, Michigan, Texas and Virginia, looking for SBE in Social Studies and other state standards, guidance documents, assessment and accountability policies, and graduation requirements.

IV-A. State Standards

In addition to the usual Science, English Language Arts and Reading, Mathematics, and Social Studies, each of the 4 case study states developed standards in the Arts, and Foreign Languages, and other, more varied, domains. Michigan and Massachusetts produced standards in a total of 8 domains, while Virginia had them in 12 and Texas in 13 (Table 9).

Table 9
State Standards in Massachusetts, Michigan, Texas and Virginia (2011)

	Massachusetts	Michigan	Texas	Virginia
English Language Arts and Reading	X	X	X	X
Mathematics	X	X	X	X
Social Studies	X History & Social Science	X	X	X History & Social Science
Science	X Science and Technology/ Engineering	X	X	X
Fine Arts	X	X	X	X
Foreign Languages	X	X World Languages	X Languages Other than English	X
Economics			X Economics with an Emphasis on the Free Enterprise System	X Economics and Personal Finance
Health Education		X	X	X
Physical Education		X	X	X
Career Development		X Career and Employability Skills	X	
College & Career Readiness	*		X	
Vocational Technical Education	X			
Technology		X	X Technology Education	X Computer Technology
English as a Second Language	X		X Spanish Language Arts and ESL	
Drivers Education				X
Family Life				X
Total:	8	10	13	12

Information taken from state Websites. Document titles that deviate from the subject name in the left column are indicated in the cell.

** Although Massachusetts does not have separate CCR standards, it is a partner in the America Diploma Project from Achieve, ACT and SAT, and has sought to align its existing standards to these efforts.*

Our review of state standards in other domains again reinforced the notion that Social Studies documents were the primary repository for SBE disciplines and content. Some SBE topics could be found in state Health standards, but only quite generally. Texas' College and Career Ready standards included a stronger emphasis on higher-level thinking skills and disciplinary goals related to SBE subjects than their other high school standards. Massachusetts and Michigan[7] also adopted the Common Core State Standards (CCSS) in English Language Arts and Mathematics.

It is important to understand that many states anticipate that some of their standards documents, including the CCSS, will be "cross-walked" to other standards by policy designers and local educators. Indeed, as an outgrowth of a College and Career Ready initiative, the stated purpose of the CCSS "English Language Arts in Social Studies, Science, and Technical Subjects" was to supplement, not replace, content standards in these fields in grades 6-12 (CCSS 2010). Similarly, Virginia expected that its Family Life standards would be cross-walked with other parts of the curriculum, and so they did not produce the kind of more elaborate companion documents as they did for other core subjects (see below).

These states' Social Studies standards reflected the general patterns we found in the SEC analyses, specifically that these standards were most oriented around the disciplines of History, Geography, Political Science (Civics and Government) and Economics, and less so on Anthropology, Sociology and Psychology.

And these standards, like those reviewed for SEC, also varied in disciplinary emphasis as well as what content was taught, and where, in the K-12 sequence. These differences reflect a lack of consensus in the Social Studies field more broadly.Indeed, Michigan developers noted that, while they found general national agreement over bringing in History, Geography, Political Science and Economics and turned to several national sources for guidance[8], they found:

[7] Texas state officials did not want to adopt the standards, arguing that they were an unfunded mandate and that the claim to be voluntary was belied by the requirements of Race to the Top. Virginia officials argued that their state standards were of higher quality.

[8] Michigan cited a large number of documents to which they referred for guidance, including: the National Standards for Civics and Government (1994); National Content Standards in Economics (1997); National Geography Standards: Geography for Life, (1994); National Standards for History Basic Education (1996); National Standards for United States History: Exploring the American Experience, (1993); National Standards for World History: Exploring Paths to the Present, (1993); National Assessment Governing Board's U.S. History, Civics, and Economics Frameworks for the 2006 NAEP Assessments, and Geography Framework for the 1994and 2001 NAEP Assessments; and National Council for the Social Studies Expectations of Excellence: Curriculum Standards for Social Studies, (1994).

> *no consensus concerning the appropriate mix of these or the appropriate place of each in the curriculum. Critical questions about the relationship among the content areas or even the relative amount of each area in the standards and eventually in the curriculum have not been resolved. Therefore, one critical challenge is to find ways to make connections within and across content areas* (Michigan Department of Education 2007).

The Michigan developers identified 3 distinct patterns in models that have been used for structuring the scope and sequence of Social Studies content, explaining in part why we saw such variation in the SEC data as well as our case study states in the grade levels that particular subjects or content were taught.

Since Social Studies has become a central site where multiple disciplines come into play, states struggled to decide whether and how extensively to build in distinct disciplinary methods and perspectives. They also differed in which disciplines they privileged and how they integrated other subjects into them. Massachusetts and Michigan decided to use History and Geography as the focal disciplines for coordinating and embedding other subject matter content, whereas History was at the center of Virginia's standards. Contrary to this pattern, Texas revised its 2010 standards so as not give primacy to any 1 discipline; in fact, the State Board of Education struck language that had previously selected Geography and/or History as the central integrating disciplines.[9]

Two of the states—Virginia and Texas—recently expanded their attention to Economics, reflecting a general national trend. Although all 4 cases included an Economics strand in their Social Studies standards, in 2009 Virginia created a separate document to enhance or revise the standards in this discipline. In its 2010 Social Studies standard revisions, the Texas Board of Education emphasized including student knowledge and understanding of capitalism and the free enterprise system. National survey data shows that Economics standards have grown significantly since 1998. At that time, only 28 states included Economics as a strand of a standards document or a standards document in its own right, but by 2009,*all* states included this content. Like Virginia, a majority of states (44) also now include topics on personal finance (Council for Economic Education 2009).

[9] Before the revisions, Geography was the integrating discipline in elementary, and History and Geography was at the high school level. So, for example, at the high school language they struck the following language that had said that its 8 content and skills strands*"are intended to be integrated for instructional purposes ~~with the history and geography strands establishing a sense of time and a sense of place~~."* (Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills, High School 2010, with original strike-throughs).

The Social Studies standards in 3 of the 4 case study sites (Michigan, Massachusetts and Virginia) did not include many topics or disciplinary perspectives from the fields of Anthropology or Sociology, and none in Psychology. When those topics were introduced, it was typically in the context of History or Geography. In Michigan, for example, elementary and middle school Geography strands included topics within human systems and environment and society, such as "the cultural mosaic, culture exchange, cultural change," and by 6th grade forces of cooperation and conflict; gender, race and class; and racism, including the "social construction of race."

Texas was an exception, with high school standards for elective Social Studies courses in both Sociology and Psychology. Another study found that Texas was one of 6 states with Sociology content and performance standards, joining Alabama, Indiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee and Utah (Androit 2007). Although we found no comprehensive studies of state Psychology standards, a brief search showed that in addition to Texas, other states, such as Indiana and Tennessee, also had specific courses standards for high school Psychology courses.

However, as we shall see next, while Psychology and Sociology were infrequent in standards documents themselves, these disciplines were present in other state guidance policies regarding the high school curriculum.

IV-B. Other State Instructional Guidance Policies

As we mentioned at the outset of this paper, standards are just the first of many state documents and policies that can influence educational practices. Studies show that standards alone do not necessarily leverage district, school or teacher action. Most policies require some accompanying incentives or pressure as well as guidance and rich supports to help local implementers make sense of standards (e.g. Spillane 1996; Spillane 2004; Cohen and Hill 2001; Elmore 2002; Grant 2006). States use multiple guidance documents and other policies to elaborate on and reinforce the curricular guidance that standards offer. Understanding these connections is key for those considering how to navigate SBE topics into structures that matter for practice

More Specified Instructional Guidance Materials. The case study states had some combination of more highly specific documents to supplement their standards—curriculum frameworks or guidelines, adopted or recommended instructional materials lists, and test blueprints. For example, in addition to its K-3 and 4-12 History and Social Science standards, Virginia developed companion Curriculum Frameworks to amplify the Standards of Learning by

> *defining the content understandings, knowledge, and skills that are measured by the Standards of Learning assessments. [They help educators]… develop an instructional program…assist teachers in their lesson planning by identifying the essential content understandings, knowledge, and intellectual skills that should*

be the focus of instruction for each standard. Hence, the framework delineates with greater specificity the content that all teachers should teach and all students should learn.

The Virginia World History example below illustrates the greater specificity of a framework item compared to its standard (WH1.2c):

VA STANDARD WHI.2cThe student will demonstrate knowledge of early development of humankind from the Paleolithic Era to the agricultural revolution by c) describing technological and social advancements that gave rise to stable communities
VA FRAMEWORK WHI.2c:

Essential Understandings	Essential Questions	Essential Knowledge	Essential Skills
The beginning of agriculture, including permanent settlements, was a major step in the advance of civilization.	How did the beginning of agriculture and the domestication of animals promote the rise of settled communities?	Societies during the Neolithic Era (New Stone Age) • developed agriculture (domesticated plants) • domesticated animals • used advanced tools • made pottery • developed weaving skills.	Use maps, globes, artifacts, and pictures to analyze the physical and cultural landscapes of the world and interpret the past. (WHI.1b) Analyze trends in human migration and cultural interaction. (WHI.1e)

World History and Geography to 1500 a.d. 2008, VDOE

The state's Enhanced Scope and Sequence further elaborates on the standard to help local educators identify teaching resources aligned to the standards and framework, such as lesson activities, sample handouts and assessment items. Note that the extent of elaboration can also depend on the subject. In Virginia, some standards have no supporting documents, while they developed more grade-level support documents for English Language Arts and Science than Social Studies.

States also recommend or adopt textbooks and other instructional materials that are meant to align with their standards, and provide elaborated detail for teachers' daily instruction. Of our 4 case study states, Texas had the most consequential adoption policy, not only for students and educators in its own state but in the country more broadly. The Texas Board of Education adopts textbooks and other material for the entire grades K-12 spectrum[10], and dedicates specific funds for their distribution to the

[10] California, by contrast, adopts only for K-8.

48 million Texas school children. Together Texas and 2 other adoption states, Florida and California, represent roughly 25% of the market share, so publishers make certain their materials are geared to those standards. Because these states have such influence on the industry and the books used nationwide, whether and how they include SBE content can be significant—as can their controversies. Texas' 2010 Social Studies standards stirred angry debate and opposition, as state board members inserted statements about the founding fathers' religion, patriotism, and capitalism throughout.

Assessments and Accountability The extent to which the standards are aligned to assessments provide another critical guide to local educators about what to teach and when. When states assess a subject, they create test specifications or blueprints, and often release test items. These become authoritative resources in guiding local curricular choices about what to teach, revealing how the content in standards will be sampled and assessed. Social studies educators may rely more strongly on testing documents since the subject standards often cover such a large terrain of knowledge (Grant 2006, Grant 2008).

Three of the 4 case study states tested SBE through Social Studies content, albeit at different grades. Michigan tested in grades 6, 9 and 11, Texas did so in grades 8, 10-12 and Virginia did so in grades 3, 8, and 9-12. The high school tests in Texas and Virginia are given at the end of a course, and thus administered depending on when the courses are offered. In 2009, Massachusetts suspended its Social Studies testing in grades 5, 10-11 due to fiscal constraints, but was planning to resume them. However, while our sample states did assess in this subject, nationally less than half of the states (21) did so in 2009-10. More states (18) administered these tests in high school (18 states) than in the middle (14) or elementary grades (13) (Blank and Stillman 2010). Although more states have standards and credit requirements for Economics, the number of states assessing this subject declined from 25 in 1998 to 19 in 2009 (Council for Economic Education 2009).

When states assess in a subject, they do not always tie the results to formal, high stakes accountability consequences for students, teachers, schools or districts. Outcomes may simply be reported, or passing rates can be linked to more direct pressures, such as student promotion or teacher evaluations. NCLB raised the pressure considerably on Title I schools failing to make Adequate Yearly Progress, potentially triggering mechanisms for restructuring or even closing a school. Such accountability consequences can impact the nature of instruction and the content of the school curriculum. For example, since Mathematics and English Language Arts are the linchpin of NCLB accountability, some studies have found diminished space for Social Studies in the school curriculum. For example, an survey reported that Social Studies instruction at the elementary level had been dramatically reduced after NCLB: 44% of districts indicated that time for Social Studies had declined. Even more—51%—of districts with "failing schools" reported declines (McMurren 2007).

States like Virginia and Michigan included test results for Social Studies in school-level accreditation policies. Texas and Virginia, and, until recently, Massachusetts, required high school students to pass end-of-course Social Studies exams to earn a regular or specialized diploma. While Michigan students were not required to pass exams for graduation, for a time the state offered students an opportunity to qualify for a scholarship if they scored at the 1 or 2 level on 11th grade social studies exam.[11] Again, however, our states may be an anomaly. One study found that in 2003, only 10 of the 23 states that then tested Social Studies linked results to consequences for students or schools (Grant and Horn 2006, in Grant 2007).

Another incentive for students, and ultimately for schools, to take SBE courses is the ability to receive special recognition or credit for strong performance on Advanced Placement (AP), International Baccalaureate (IB) or similar course-based exams. SBE disciplines entered secondary schooling through such avenues. The College Board, for example, offers SBE-related AP exams in Political Science, Geography, History and Economics, although not currently in Sociology or Anthropology.[12]

All of the case study states encouraged, mandated or at times financially supported the use of such courses. Virginia's Board of Education required its schools to offer some combination of AP, IB, or Cambridge courses, and allowed those courses to count for graduation. The College Board reported that other states, like Indiana, required AP or similar as part of a students' qualification to receive a special academic honors diploma (The College Board 2010). In addition to these incentives, some states have provided financial support to teachers to receive course training for AP or IB (Lerner and Brand 2008).

State data from the College Board is suggestive of how extensive various SBE courses have become at the high school level, at least among college-bound students (Table 10). In Massachusetts, Michigan and Virginia, 6-7% of all AP exams administered in these states were in AP Psychology. Overall, in these disciplines, AP History or Government and Politics exams were the most popular, followed by Psychology and then Economics. (In Texas, however, more students took Economics than Psychology.)

[11] Funding for the scholarship program was rescinded.

[12] The American Sociology Association did develop an AP course in Sociology, but it has not been adopted by The College Board (Androit 2007). The College Board does offer a College-Level Examination Program (CLEP) test in Introductory Sociology, but college credit or advanced standing is not guaranteed, and there is no AP course attached to the CLEP test.

Table 10
SBE Representation on the 2010 Advanced Placement Examinations in Massachusetts, Michigan, Texas, Virginia

	MA	MI	TX	VA
Macro Economics	1.5%	2.1%	4.6%	1.1%
Micro Economics	1.9%	1.4%	0.9%	1.0%
U.S. History	12.6%	10.3%	12.6%	12.5%
World History	1.4%	3.8%	9.5%	5.7%
European History	3.7%	2.2%	0.9%	3.5%
US Government & Politics	3.1%	8.4%	6.6%	12.3%
Comparative Government & Politics	0.2%	0.6%	0.1%	2.0%
Human Geography	0.3%	0.4%	2.5%	2.4%
Psychology	6.0%	7.0%	3.3%	6.8%
Total AP Exams[1]	*73,001*	*72,880*	*325,571*	*123,135*

1. *Total includes both SBE and non-SBE exams.*

Percentages calculated from state-level data provided by The College Board, 2010 Advanced Placement Exams, http://www.collegeboard.com/student/testing/ap/exgrd_sum/2010.html

High School Graduation Requirements. High school course and credit requirements are another instrument of state policy that can impact the extent to which SBE disciplines are represented in the curriculum. As we have seen, states may or may not develop standards guidelines or end-of-course tests for all of these courses, particularly if they are electives; regardless, credit requirements influence what courses are offered.

High school students in all of the case study states had to earn between 2 and 4 credits with some combination of History, Geography, Civics and/or Economics courses to graduate with a standard diploma, although the specific focus and combinations varied (Table 11).

Table 11
High School Graduation Requirements in SBE-Related Disciplines:
Massachusetts, Michigan, Texas and Virginia

Massachusetts[1]	Michigan	Texas	Virginia
American History	U. S. History and Geography	US History (Since 1877)	U.S. and Virginia History
Civics	World History and Geography	US Government World History	U.S. and Virginia Government
	Civics	World Geography	World History and/or Geography
	Economics		Economics[2]

1. *Massachusetts also has a recommended course of study for college and career ready graduates called MassCore that encourages students to take 3 years of history.*
2. *For 9th graders, beginning 2011-12.*

In 2008, 40 states required students to earn credit in Social Studies subjects, most often in Government (31 states) and History (30), followed by Economics (16) and Geography (10) (Stillman and Blank 2008). According to this survey, Oklahoma stood alone in requiring a specific course in Anthropology, although we could not locate a current reference on state websites. In addition to these courses, most states require students to take a certain number of elective courses to earn a diploma. States like Texas, Indiana, and Louisiana specifically refer to electives in Psychology and Sociology, among others.

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The 4 state case studies reinforce some of the findings from the Survey of Enacted Curriculum, but also provide additional insight into state approaches to guidance.

1. SBE disciplinary content is primarily located in the Social Studies field, at least in this sample. We did not find SBE content in these states' Science standards.
2. The states produced a large array of standards, some with highly specified guidance documents that elaborated on the intent and detail of the standards. The extent to which guidance was elaborated depended on the particular subject matter. Some states anticipate that particular standards, like College and Career Ready, would be "cross-walked" to existing content standards. And some core subjects receive differentiated treatment in this regard.
3. Some key challenges in Social Studies development revolved around decisions about how best to integrate multiple disciplines, whether and how to maintain disciplinary methodologies and approaches, and how to create a feasible set of content expectations given the constraints of the school day and year.
4. Although 3 of the 4 state's Social Studies standards did not have strong, if any, coverage of Anthropology, Sociology and Psychology, other policies enabled their appearance in the high school curriculum.

V. Conclusion

Through a range of sources, we have confirmed some central tendencies in the location of the Social, Behavioral and Economic disciplines in state standards and other instructional guidance policies. First and foremost is that the Social Studies standards reviewed here were the main repository for content from the SBE disciplines, especially in the fields of Geography, History, Political Science, and Economics, and to a lesser extent Sociology and Anthropology. Most of these standards did not include content from Psychology, although Texas provided an exception with course standards for high school electives. States had other guidance policies, however, that at the secondary level enabled and in some cases supported room for these underrepresented disciplines.

Importantly, as we noted at the outset and throughout the paper, seeking more formal or broader representation in state standards entails a complex set of challenges and considerations. First, SBE representatives must determine where to locate their efforts in state guidance. In doing so, they must recognize the challenge of finding space in what can be a crowded public policy venue. They must also consider how much to seek a coherent disciplinary approach to their field by developing their own distinct standards, versus inserting disciplinary-related content into Social Studies or other standards documents. Choosing the latter would mean developing a coherent plan for making connections to existing disciplines, as the relative amount and relationship of content in Social Studies curricula are contested. Second, SBE representatives must remember that, in addition to standards documents, other policies, supports, and incentives are salient, interrelated, levers that influence standards' implementation and must be considered. Two additional challenges include finding a balance in the level of specification involved in standards and other guiding documents, as well as deciding on how to operationalize "rigor." We examine each of these issues below.

Location. As a well-accepted location for cross-disciplinary interaction, and as a place where many SBE disciplines are already situated, it is tempting to consider adding other SBE content to Social Studies standards. It would not be unusual to make such a request, since a press to include more content is a regular part of the dynamics of standards development, particularly in the field of Social Studies (Massell 1993; 1994). But, as the variation we found in these standards indicates, states already struggle to cogently and coherently integrate History, Political Science, Economics and Geography as well as other content in Social Studies guidance. Michigan developers reported, for example, that "*one critical challenge is to find ways to make connections within and across content areas*" (Michigan Social Science High School Content Expectations, 2009). The pressure to add more content has long made these standards vulnerable to the charge that they are "chaotic," "muddled," "vague" and "convoluted" (Finn, Petrilli and Vanourek 1998, Stern and Stern 2010; American Federation of Teachers 1999 and American Federation of Teachers 2001). Moreover, the critique that "too much" content can lead to superficial treatment of it due to time limitations is also salient here. To try

to contain the demand for more content there, Virginia cautioned its History and Social Science developers to be mindful of the quantity of content that could reasonably *'be taught and learned effectively in the minimum instructional time prescribed*" (Virginia History and Social Science Standards, 2001 and 2008).

Developing separate standards may be an approach that some of the under-represented SBE disciplines might pursue, although some states already have promulgated quite a large number of distinct standards which they then expect others to "cross-walk," a complicated and difficult task. Again the risk of over crowding school curriculum is possible here.

Alternatively, SBE disciplines could consider expanding their presence in other existing standards, such as Health Education. One of Virginia's Health Education standards, for example, focused on mental well-being and positive interactions with peers, a place where psychological or sociological concepts might be introduced. But making connections to other disciplines and balancing content would be a challenge.

Other Guidance. In any scenario, SBE representatives should remember that standards are just the first of many important supports to guide practice, and that real progress will require careful consideration and substantial investment in those elements as well. SBE's place in official curriculum is reinforced by an array of other policies, ranging from more elaborate and specified guidance, to assessment and accountability, to high school diploma and credit requirements. Recall that although Psychology was barely visible in the standards we reviewed, it was enabled and incentivized by these other guidance policies such as elective requirements and states' supports for AP, IB or other courses that carry their own incentives for students. Further, teacher licensure, teacher education program accreditation, or professional development programs (not discussed here) can also reinforce the curriculum as enacted by teachers when states align the preparation, licensure and in-service development of teachers to their standards, as states like Michigan and Massachusetts have done.

Specification. Finding a balanced approach to the specification of content and guidance is also a crucial, if difficult, step in standards development. For example, a frequent criticism of standards is that many are too vague and ambiguous to guide the development of a challenging curriculum, or to guide teachers' decisions about what to teach or anticipate in terms of testing. On the other hand, with too much detail and specificity about content, standards run the risk of being too prescriptive, or too fact-list oriented, to the detriment of instruction that seeks to move beyond cognitive recall and memorization.

Rigor. Finally, defining, operationalizing, and coming to consensus, on what it means to be "rigorous" is yet another complexity of standards development. In its idealized form, standards-based reform prizes a school curriculum that is challenging and

rigorous. As noted at the outset of this paper, standards reformers argued that the U.S. curriculum in most U.S. classrooms was a mile-wide and an inch deep, watered down by the market logic and interest group pressures that compelled textbook publishers to cover as much material as possible to satisfy the largest number of customers.

One theory of action was that state adoption of challenging standards would mitigate these forces. But that was perhaps too simplistic a diagnosis of the problem, because the pressures to expand content also come from competing understandings of "rigor." In particular, attempts to contain and focus the content of the curriculum have sometimes been viewed as weak and lacking. For example, one of the writers of the Common Core State Standards in Mathematics explained that a key goal was to focus and deepen the teaching of mathematics concepts, which in part entailed eliminating content or pushing it later in the high school career. These changes led to criticism that the math standards did not include the necessary "core content" and thus were not as rigorous as they should be.

There are other, competing perspectives on rigor, too. Some propose that thematic approaches to the curriculum or approaches that focus on the general inculcation of "thinking skills" are not rigorous because they downplay disciplinary methodology and conceptualization, and/or specification of content (e.g. Fordham 2010), arguments that Michigan developers were quite aware of, and tried to address. As these points suggests, the operationalization of "rigor" is contested terrain, and one which the SBE community must also address as they pursue standards initiatives.

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Appendix I

Table A
Survey of Enacted Curriculum Science Taxonomy: Major Coding Categories

Nature of Science	Energy
Science & Technology	Motion & Forces
Science, Health & Environment	Electricity
Measurement & Calculation in Science	Waves
Components of Living Systems	Kinetics and Equilibrium
Biochemistry	Properties of Matter
Botany	Earth Systems
Animal Biology	Astronomy
Human Biology	Meteorology
Genetics	Elements & The Periodic System
Evolution	Chemical Formulas & Reactions
Reproduction & Development	Acids, Bases & Salts
Ecology	Organic Chemistry
	Nuclear Chemistry

Table B
Survey of Enacted Curriculum: Social Studies Subtopics in Psychology, Sociology and Anthropology

Psychology	*Sociology*	*Anthropology*
Scientific Method	Socialization	*Human Culture:*
Behavior (Anti-social, altruistic, obedient, for example	Norms and values	Enculturation
Ethical issues	Conformity and non-conformity	Kinship patterns and descent
Human Development	Sociological research	Social stratification (e.g., caste and class)
Cognitive Development	Cultural diversity	Influence of social class
Moral Development	Group behavior	Subcultures within the dominant culture
Brain Function and Structure	Social groups	Language and communication
Memory and Learning	Deviance	Characteristics of culture
Mental Health (ie Disorders)	Human interaction	Contributions
Personality	Cultural patterns	Cooperation, conflict, and

		interdependence
Perceptions and attitudes	Social institutions (eg. Religious, educational, familial, economical, political)	Belief system
Heredity	Stereotypes	Individual identity
Identity	Social structure	*Innovation and Cultural Change:*
	Collective behavior	Invention and the role of technology
	Social problems	Individual will and social influence
	Social movements	Cultural diffusion
	Conflict resolution	Adaptation
	Cultural assimilation	Acculturation
	Cultural preservation	Assimilation
		Extinction
		Multicultural Diversity:
		Ethnocentrism and cultural relativity
		Race, ethnicity, and religion
		Pluralism
		Diversity
		Gender