THEORY AND RESEARCH in Social Education

Vol. II  No. 1  December 1974

Ferguson and Friesen  Values Theory and Teaching: The Problem of Autonomy versus Determinism

Turetsky  The Treatment of Black Americans in Primary Grade Textbooks used in New York City Elementary Schools

Fogg  Some Effects of Teaching Adolescents Some Creative, Peaceful Conflict Resolution Approaches

McKeown  A Study of the Attitudinal Effects of Student Responses to Two Levels of Social Science Questions

Pelletti  The Effect of Graphic Roles in Elementary Social Studies Texts on Cognitive Achievement

a journal to stimulate and communicate systematic thinking and research in social education
Statement of Purposes and Style for Manuscripts

Theory and Research in Social Education is designed to stimulate and communicate systematic research and thinking in social education. The purpose is to foster the creation and exchange of ideas and research findings that will expand knowledge about purposes, conditions, and effects of schooling and education about society and social relations.

Conceptualizations and research from all of the social sciences, philosophy, history and the arts are needed in clarifying thinking and practice in social education. Manuscripts are welcomed on topics such as those that follow:

- Purposes of social education;
- Models, theories, and related frameworks concerning the development, diffusion, and adoption of curricular materials;
- Instructional strategies;
- The relation of the social sciences, philosophy, history and/or the arts to social education;
- The politics, economics, sociology, social psychology, psychology, anthropology, philosophy, and/or the history of social education;
- Alternative social organizations and utilizations of the school for social education;
- Comparative studies of alternative models of social education;
- Models of and research on alternative schemas for student participation and social action;
- Relationship of different pre- and in-service patterns of teacher training to social education;
- Models of the utilization of objectives in social education and related research findings;
- Implications of learning theory, child development research, socialization and political socialization research for the purposes and practice of social education;
- The relationship of different independent, explanatory variables to educational achievement in the area of learning about society and social relations;
- The social organization, climate, cohesion of schools and other school characteristics as independent, explanatory variables predicting to general educational achievement.

Form for Submission of Manuscripts

In order to facilitate the processing of manuscripts, authors are asked to follow the procedures noted below:

1) Manuscripts should be typed with a dark black ribbon, clearly mimeographed, or multilithed. Authors should avoid submitting ditto copies of articles unless clearly legible. Some corrections in dark ink will be accepted. Copies containing numerous corrections will be returned for retyping.

2) Three copies of each manuscript should be submitted. This will speed up the reviewing process and guard against loss of manuscripts.
3) Everything should be double-spaced including footnotes and references.

4) Since manuscripts will be sent out anonymously for reviewing and due to the fact that the abstracts will be published, the author’s name and affiliations along with an abstract of approximately 150 words in length not exceeding 200 words should appear on a separate covering page. Information identifying the author, position, and institutional affiliation should appear on a separate page.

5) No responsibility is assumed for loss or injury to manuscripts submitted for publication.

Manuscript Style

1) When citations are made, the author’s name, publication date, and page (where necessary) should be enclosed in parentheses and located directly in the text. The complete reference will be included in a “References” section at the end of the article. For example, “Another problem arises if inductive methods are used to teach a generalization. The generalization may be reified, treated as a fact, when all generalizations, empirical or theoretical, are, as Popper argues, only corroborated for the time being (Popper, 1959).”

2) Do not cite references by means of footnotes.

3) Only substantive footnotes should be sequentially numbered within the text and located at the end of the manuscript.

4) References should be alphabetized and located at the end of the manuscript. They should take one of the following forms:


5) Each table should be placed on a separate page and placed in a separate section at the end of the manuscript. Arabic numbers should be used for numbering tables; they should be numbered consecutively throughout the manuscript. Show where they belong in the text by the following note:

   Table One About Here

6) Figures should be submitted in their final form. Use India ink and place them on separate pages in a separate section at the end of the manuscript. Number them and locate them in the text in the same way as tables.

7) Send Manuscripts to:

   Cleo H. Cherryholmes, Editor
   Theory and Research in Social Education
   Department of Political Science
   Michigan State University
   East Lansing, MI 48824
CONTENTS

From the Editors

Articles

Patrick Ferguson and John W. Friesen

Values Theory and Teaching: The Problem of Autonomy versus Determinism 1

Fred Turetsky

The Treatment of Black Americans in Primary Grade Textbooks used in New York City Elementary Schools 25

Richard Fogg

Some Effects of Teaching Adolescents Some Creative, Peaceful Conflict Resolution Strategies 51

Robin McKeown

A Study of the Attitudinal Effects of Student Responses to Two Levels of Social Science Questions 69

John C. Pelletti

The Effect of Graphic Roles in Elementary Social Studies Texts on Cognitive Achievement 79

Abstracts

Theory and Research in Social Education is the official journal of the College and University Faculty Assembly of the National Council for the Social Studies. It is a general review open to all social studies educators, social scientists, historians, and philosophers. A general statement of purposes and style for manuscripts may be found on the inside front and back covers.

A subscription to Theory and Research in Social Education may be obtained by membership in the College and University Faculty Assembly of the National Council for the Social Studies. Single issues may be obtained for $3.50 each and institutional subscriptions are $9.00 per year. Copyright 1974 by the College and University Faculty Assembly of the National Council for the Social Studies. All rights reserved.
Editor: Cleo H. Cherryholmes, Michigan State University

Associate Editor: Jack Nelson, Rutgers University

Editorial Assistants: Gene Vert, East Lansing Public Schools (Michigan) and Paul Kirschner, Haslett Public Schools (Michigan)

Publisher: Michigan State University Printing Service

Editorial Board:

Paul Bohannan
Northwestern University

Charlotte Crabtree
University of California
at Los Angeles

Shirley Engle
Indiana University

Jack Fraenkel
California State College
at San Francisco

Hazel Hertzberg
Teachers College,
Columbia University

Bruce Joyce
Teachers College,
Columbia University

Ronald Lippitt
University of Michigan

Byron Massialas
Florida State University

William Pattison
University of Chicago

Michael Scriven
University of California
at Berkeley

James Shaver
Utah State University

Richard Snyder
The Ohio State University

Judith Torney
University of Illinois
at Chicago Circle

The College and University Faculty Assembly Executive Committee, 1973-74:

Chairperson: Harry Jackson
Western Washington State College

Secretary: Robin McKeown
University of California
at Riverside

Treasurer: Gerald Marker (ex officio)
Indiana University

1974 Program Chairperson:
William Joyce
Michigan State University

Barry Beyer
Carnegie-Mellon University

Shirley Engle
Indiana University

Emily Girault
Syracuse University

Anna Ochoa
Florida State University

Donald Schneider
University of Georgia

Susanne Shafer
Arizona State University

Officers of the National Council for the Social Studies, 1973-74:

President: Stanley Wronski
Michigan State University

Vice-President: James P. Shaver
Utah State University

Publications Board Chairperson:

Nancy Sprague
Falls Church Public Schools (Virginia)

President-Elect: Jean Tilford
Cincinnati Public Schools
FROM THE EDITORS

Before this journal was founded one hypothesis repeatedly surfaced in projections about its future: there were an insufficient number of quality manuscripts to sustain a research journal. This hypothesis was induced from experiences related to securing manuscripts for the Research Supplement in Social Education. Empiricism and induction, however, are conservatively biased. At best they provide clearly stated and accurate descriptions and explanations of what is past but do not necessarily provide any insights into the future. Now following a year of operation we are in a position to verify and modify that initial hypothesis.

From Thanksgiving, 1973 through August, 1974 twenty-two manuscripts were reviewed for publication. Five were accepted. Four more are now being evaluated. This flow of manuscripts, although closer to being underwhelming than overwhelming, will support continued publication on a yearly basis. More manuscripts were received later in the year than were submitted earlier. Thus it seems the expected lag has been exhausted. If this inference is correct, then the number of submissions will continue to increase during the coming year. It should also be noted that due to the length and substance of many of these articles there is no other publication where they could be published and be assured of being brought to the attention of most of the college and university professionals interested in social education.

A second problem has become more burdensome than had been anticipated, that of finances and CUFA membership. Our first issue went to 256 CUFA members; this second mailing goes to 318 members. The size of the organization is simply too small at this time to provide a financial base large enough to support more than one issue per year. The small membership of CUFA and consequently the small subscription to this journal is somewhat surprising when compared to other beginning journals. For example, subscriptions to Teaching Political Science, a relatively new quarterly from Sage Publications, Inc., exceeded 800 during that journal’s first year. If political scientists, who are not widely known for being overly zealous where teaching is concerned, can subscribe in quantity and at a rate to underwrite a quarterly, then why can we not find more support for a research journal among social studies educators whose primary interest is in social education. We do not propose to explain this anomaly, only report it.

Our plans now call for irregular publication with a minimum of one issue per year. As long as acceptable manuscripts and memberships grow roughly at the same rate no major problems are anticipated. But manuscripts can be generated faster than new memberships. If acceptable manuscripts outrun our resources, then we will encounter problems down the road.

On another matter, the abstracts have been deliberately separated from the articles and placed in the back of the journal in order that you may remove them for your bibliographic files.

We also wish to thank our new editorial assistants, Gene Vert and Paul Kirschner, for the hours they have generously given to this issue.

Cleo H. Cherryholmes
Jack Nelson
VALUES THEORY AND TEACHING:
THE PROBLEM OF AUTONOMY VERSUS DETERMINISM

Patrick Ferguson
The University of Alabama

John W. Friesen
The University of Calgary

The current literature of social science education is replete with discussion concerning the promising as well as the problematic facets of values teaching. Values related topics are becoming increasingly popular as focal themes for professional conferences and inservice programs, and there are currently underway, research and development projects inaugurated for the purpose of designing and evaluating values oriented materials and instructional strategies. Because these various efforts range widely from the lucid to the perplexing, the exhortative to the condemning, and the insightful to the superficial, many teachers are understandably perplexed, and indeed wary, about the whole question of values oriented teaching. One of the more significant issues concerns whether the teacher should guide students toward particular values or restrict his or her role to that of facilitating students' independent value judgments. The answer to this quandary is not as singular and ingenuous as one would be led to believe in the currently in-vogue literature on the subject.

By and large the values related literature has focused upon two themes: (1) the explication and justification of particular models of values teaching, and (2) tactical discussion of the implementation of recommended teaching techniques. However, only cursory treatment has been devoted to the critical evaluation of these paradigms, strategies and techniques with regard to their undergirding ethical premises and the relationship between these assumptions and teaching purpose. In this paper we will discuss a number of selected theoretical models with reference to their basic philosophical tenets in the hope that teachers may achieve a better closeness of fit between their own concerns for teaching about values and the recommendations of the current literature on the subject.

Before discussing these models let us attempt to make clear the problematic theme around which this paper is organized. This thematic quandary concerns the philosophical dilemma of teaching for the purpose of having students come to particular value positions versus the antithetical purpose of having students arrive at their own independently formulated values. By way of illustrating that this is a real and not simply an apparent
problem let us briefly consider Bernard Miller's report of a situation in which a teacher was asked to appear before the Board of Education to justify her assignment and subsequent discussion of Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mockingbird*. In reply to the question "Why do you choose to teach *To Kill a Mockingbird?*" the teacher gave the following reply:

> When I teach this book, I look at my students and hope that they and I will learn to be like Atticus Finch, to meet ignorance, hatred, prejudice, not with more ignorance, hatred and prejudice, but with understanding goodness, love.

> Students respect Atticus because he is an adult who practices what he preaches. More than ever today, young people are questioning us as adults when our lives do not measure up to our words.

> ...The study of literature helps us to develop an understanding of ourselves and others...it helps us develop values, ideals, a sense of purpose, and understanding of what life is all about. I consider this book a superior resource for such development because the basic idea of the book is that prejudice poisons the mind, and that the only cure is understanding.

>(Miller, 1965, p. 73)

Many of us would applaud this teacher's philosophy and method. At the same time we might feel a pang of reservation in the knowledge that such an approach runs counter to the current commandment—"Thou shalt not moralize." Hunt and Metcalf, tell us that: "All such attempts to teach children to distinguish between right and wrong—using precepts, setting examples, telling stories, ritualizing, and environmentalizing—share a tendency to preach and exhort... In a society that has moral uncertainty and flux as a defining trait, this approach is worse than useless" (Hunt and Metcalf, 1968, p. 123). In another widely read source, the recent yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies Values Education, edited by Lawrence Metcalf, we find Jerrold Combs offering a similar admonition about the moralizing approach when he says: "It seems unlikely that teaching the first sort of value conclusion (teaching students to rate a value object in a particular way) could be upheld as a defensible, educational objective (Metcalf, 1971, p. 19).

Since both of these admonitions apparently challenge our teacher's rationale for teaching *To Kill a Mockingbird*, we might wonder what sort of a retort might be made by those who see the teacher's arguments as essentially cogent. One rejoinder might be taken from one of the sources that Combs himself cites as one of his major references—John Wilson's *Reason and Morals*. Wilson asserts that thinking such as that reflected in Comb's statement is a bit too simplistic, perhaps even naive. Wilson writes that while
we do need to teach students to assimilate value positions for themselves we need the continual reminders of standard moral precepts (justice, honesty, etc.) to prevent society from degenerating into a chaos desired by nobody and to prevent ourselves from falling into a moral disintegration which we at least unconsciously fear" (Wilson, 1961, p. 133). In citing Wilson, Combs places himself in the unenviable position of tinkering with the contextual impact of Wilson's basic position. Combs' position is representative of much of the current writing on values teaching ingeniously designed to exhort the teacher to teach for autonomous valuing. These arguments all too often tend toward extreme, oversimplistic statements founded upon a dualistic, black and white thinking that confuses the issue rather than clarifies it. A book which offers a more balanced approach to the idea of defending the teaching of particular value constructs is Jack R. Fraenkel's *Helping Students Think and Value* (Fraenkel, 1973, pp. 254-258). This kind of reasoning aptly demonstrates why the thesis of this paper is so much in need of consideration by educators today; unless we square fully and consistently with the basic assumptions of particular value models, our educational credentials and credibility are justifiably suspect.

An examination of the recent literature having to do with value teaching raises some complex questions about the clarity of particular value teaching models insofar as they lack clear statements of rationale. Certain questions need to be answered. To what extent are fundamental value biases ignored in explanations of the models? Do the models reflect a bias that needs to be understood and processed by those who are seeking guidance for teaching about values in the classroom? When authors state that teaching particular values is an indefensible position are they correct, or only presenting an overstatement of their own philosophy (which may itself be indefensible)? In order to deal adequately with these questions it will be necessary to examine some of the fundamental philosophies of value teaching with an end to examining related basic premises. An awareness of the philosophical tenets and implications of a variety of alternative models is the first important step toward the development of a consistent and cogent rationale for values teaching.

**THEORETICAL MODELS OF VALUE TEACHING**

Five models for value teaching have been selected for discussion here although in view of rapidly developing theories in education the list does not pretend to be exhaustive. The models included here are: a traditional view of teaching for personal authentication, a contemporary approach to personal authentication, a model of education for social commitment, a paradigm of cultural relativity, and a model of pragmatism. For each model we will identify key contributors to the theory, sketch its basic premises, and provide a brief evaluation in terms of education practice.
Model I: Personal Authentication:  
A Traditional View

Most discussions of personal authentication take on the form of contemporary language and assumptions. However, older philosophies have clearly established a definition of authentication from an entirely different set of assumptions. An examination of these antecedent premises, best known in philosophy of education circles as the essentialist position, will reveal how necessary it is for one to clarify his position regarding usage of a particular term. Confusion can result unless this is done.

Essentialist ideas on personal authentication are best represented by writers such as Robert Hutchins, Mortimer Adler, Jacques Maritain, Norman Foerster and Mark VanDoren. It would not be fair to assume that each of these individuals holds exactly to the same set of principles, as can be demonstrated, for example, with reference to Maritain's constant deployment of the Catholic Church and her traditions and expectations and Hutchins' deliberate avoidance of religious experiences. Still, both men would agree that axiological considerations are not to be derived from the temporary and shallow experiences of sentient beings; rather, they are found in a more enduring and respectable origin. Maritain, for example, defines the development of the human being as a task involving the teacher who aids the child to achieve rationality and freedom by being taught knowledge and discipline. Of necessity, the latter are rooted in a set of fundamental dispositions which must be fostered by the true educator (Maritain, 1943).

In elucidating its general principles we find that essentialism subscribes to the idea that the positive principles of behavior as well as the ultimate values of goodness, truth and justice have been identified. The purpose of education is to bring students to realize that questions of good and bad, right and wrong, are to be judged in the light of these universal principles. Perusers of the current literature could be led to believe that such an approach is educationally improper when they read statements out of context such as that by Combs in stating that teaching for particular value postures is "educationally indefensible," or Oliver and Newmann's admonition that the teacher should not enact the role of "truth-giver" (Metcalf, 1971; Oliver and Newmann, 1971). And yet it is very evident that these writers are themselves committed to the universal principles of rationality and human dignity.

Denigrations of the essentialist position have to be evaluated on the basis of the validity of the charges made. Much of the put down of the essentialist view is based upon superficiality and misunderstanding. For example, consider the charges that essentialists do not believe in teaching for the purpose of developing critical thinking, or that the ultimate goal of education is conformity of the intellect to arbitrary standards of behavior. Neither interpretation could be more wrong. Mark Van Doren devotes a major portion of his book calling for the development of reasoning powers as the
primary goal of a traditionalist education (Van Doren, 1943). Adler has stated that students must learn that “the only authority is reason itself (Adler, 1940).” The goal of education on the essentialist tradition is primarily humanistic. One reads Plato’s Apology or Harper Lee’s To Kill a Mockingbird for the purpose of realizing the good and humanist qualities exemplified in the thinking of Socrates and the behavior of Atticus Finch. In one’s relationships with fellow human beings the educated man conforms to these humanistic guidelines.

Perhaps the greatest misunderstanding concerns the relationship between universal humanistic principles and personal standards of behavior. One would be led to believe by much of the current literature that the traditionalist view advocates that students conform to societal, religious or other group norms, values and mores, not out of internalized commitment so much, as through the recognition that these standards take precedence over independent value standards. While the essentialist would argue that there are time worn principles that ought to guide behavior (justice, truth, law), such writers as Robert Hutchins would be greatly disappointed if the individual did so out of mindless conformity rather than a personalized commitment or self realization that such standards are worth adhering to.

Thus the most important goal for essentialist values education is the achievement and realization of a personalized set of values that are in accord with the time honored values. These values are to be ultimately realized and authenticated by the individual—not by society. This requires commitment to the belief that the use of reason will result in the attainment of such values both intellectually and in practice. This last point is frequently overlooked or ignored by many who profess to be in the essentialist tradition as well as by many who choose to attack it. There is a fine but nevertheless crucial line of distinction between those who faithfully hold this view and some who profess to subscribe to its rules while violating the tenets of self realization and the power of reasoning. At one level, albeit a most superficial one, the traditionalist position easily lends itself to dogmatism and intolerance. Thus, individuals who hold to an established order of traditions and beliefs find it inconvenient to take the time to reason or argue with their pupils. They consider values to be absolute and therefore adopt an authoritarian posture. The fact that this error occurs is hardly a necessary nor sufficient reason for those who subscribe to existential and relativistic positions to dismiss “traditionalism” as having nothing to say. Its basic premises are not lightly dismissed.

The stringency of the essentialist position is reflected in the pathway to authentication held by advocates of the view. The model is exemplified by Confucius, Gandhi, Socrates, Mark Hopkins, James Mill in educating John Stuart Mill or the English teacher who assigns To Kill a Mockingbird to exemplify the good, eternal humanistic standards of judgment. For our purposes the process of personal authentication can be demonstrated with
reference to the writings of Jacques Maritain and William Francis Cunningham. The latter delineates the development of man in terms of four concepts: physical, social, religious, and mental (Park, 1968). Through a proper training in the ways of the Catholic Church and the Christian home, Cunningham contends that the child gains insights regarding ultimate truth and value as he inculcates their meaning. When a full appreciation and knowledge of eternal values occurs the individual acts on the basis of their implication. Logically, his behavior will coincide with that of others who have similarly dealt with these concerns in their lives.

Maritain describes the attainment of the insight which Cunningham introduces in terms of a development of the human mind which can occur through an awakening of the inner resources and creativity. This awakening transpires through a careful combination of an inner blossoming of the pupil's rational nature and the guidance of a teacher possessed with a system of rational knowledge (Maritain, 1943). The end result of the educational process just described is a freeing of the intuitive power of the pupil to accumulate the kind of knowledge that will enable him to lead a useful, moral and just life in keeping with established principles for doing so.

The implications of the essentialist position for the social studies suggest a rather complex role for the teacher because he or she must tread that precarious line between deliberately leading a child to truth as he sees it and respecting the pupil's own development in reason. Hutchins further explains this precarious distinction when he says that while the teacher must hold with particular ethical constructs: "The private opinions of teachers are not to be pumped or pounded into young people anymore than the majority opinion is.... (either one).... without free discussion and criticism is tyranny" (Hutchins, 1953, p. 11). Maritain frequently likens the task of the teacher to that of the physician; the doctor practices his art but the miracle of healing occurs extraneous to both doctor and patient. So it is with education and values; these exist as an outside reference for both teacher and student and their inner content may be derived by either. Since the teacher has more experience than the student he will be able to provide guidance in the pupil's pursuit of meaning but he must not interfere in the relationship which can develop for the student in his personal struggle for meaning.

A traditional notion of authentication for man implies that such is the task for every individual regardless of his particular station in life. Thus the teacher cannot ignore his responsibilities of freeing and developing pupils, but must remember, as Hutchins put it, "The function of a citizen or a subject may vary from society to society, and the system of training or adaptation....but the function of a man as a man is the same in every age and in every society, since it results from his nature as a man" (Ozman, 1970). The upshot of Hutchins' remark is that the teacher should be prepared to deal justly with his pupils in respecting the various stages they
may each represent in the development toward manhood. While this responsibility may not at first appear too demanding, it is markedly different from that currently held by educators who reject the traditional model yet espouse the concept of personal authentication as an essential goal of value teaching.

Model II: Personal Authentication:
A Contemporary View

Michael Scriven has differentiated between values which refer to standards in a public sense and moral values which pertain to individual standards of thought (Scriven, 1966). In this authentication model personal values are placed above public or social standards. Raths, Simon and Harmon reflect this orientation when they say that “if children—or adults for that matter—are to develop values they must develop them out of personal choices. We are also saying that these choices...must involve alternatives which (1) include ones that are prized by the chooser; (2) have meaning to the chooser... and (3) are freely available for selection” (Raths, et. al., 1966). The posture of the teacher in this authentication process has been described by Oliver and Newmann in the following way:

In applying this philosophy of discussion to the classroom the teacher becomes a facilitator... it is necessary that he not only listen and respect student opinions, but consider changing his own mind when confronted by students who present rational justification.

The teacher cannot appear as “truth-giver” who has all the answers, but must arrive at his positions in the process of exploring student views. This approach rejects the assumption that adults have more defensible positions than young people (Oliver and Newmann, 1971, p. 7).

With reference to the means whereby one authenticates personal values, Raths, et. al. and Oliver and Newmann are in correspondence with the thinking of Carl Rogers, Soren Kirkegaard and Jean Paul Sartre. One “becomes” an authentic person, in the words of Sartre through perception of himself: “I conceive myself both as totally free and unable to prevent the fact that the meaning of the world comes to it from myself” (Bree and Guiton, 1958, p. 4). The importance of this statement is that the pupil must discover early in his life that he is personally responsible for his own actions; in fact, the worst thing an individual can do in his quest for authenticity is follow the crowd. In regard to receiving and accepting advice, Van Cleve Morris notes that an individual may seek such from another but he alone is responsible for accepting or rejecting that advice (Morris, 1969, p. 39). Although a person
may have a high regard for the credentials of the advisor he cannot escape
the truth of his own responsibility to himself. He must choose, and he must
take the full weight of the responsibility for choosing.

The basic assumption about man with which most existential writers agree
is implicit in the statement once made by Sartre that man suddenly turns up
on the human scene and only then begins to define who he is (Sartre, 1957,
pp. 15-16). Any answer he may give to the question of his identity must be
approved by his own being since he is totally responsible for his own actions.
Thus, as already implied, he can seek out advice, consult findings of the
social sciences, and listen to recognized authorities. Still, in the final analysis,
the report must come back to himself. He must live with this knowledge and
its implications; any other response is an evasion of his basic existence.

It is not a simple matter to take seriously the premises of existential
thought nor, for that matter, to apply its fundamental premises about man to
the educational situation. Perhaps the most difficult task of all is to fulfill the
role of the teacher in a milieu that asks so little in terms of the teacher's
professional training in traditional subject matters and so much from the
standpoint of tolerance, sympathy, and understanding. Specifically, the role
of the teacher is to help the pupil become aware of his own responsibility and
ability in choosing. The teacher must not make choices for the student and
ensure that when a value discussion takes place the student is fully aware of
the dimensions of the exchange and that he is not taken advantage of by the
teacher's convictions on any subject. It is at this point that the methodology
advocated by Louis Raths and colleagues become pertinent, the method of
value clarification. Utilizing the knowledge and experiences students already
possess when they come to the school environment, the teacher simply acts as
the instigator of value discussions when specific occasions raise themselves
for comment. When a student remarks on something pertaining to choices he
has made or opinions he may hold, the teacher may question the student
further on the matter but only with an end to encouraging further
deliberation on the matter by the student. The task of the teacher is to ensure
that the student offers an opinion on an issue on the basis that he has con-
vvinced himself as to his own view. Raths and Simons have also developed a
series of classroom techniques by which this process can be further processed

Several questions arise from the foregoing discussion which are of interest
to the social studies teacher who earnestly desires to put into practice the
techniques akin to existentially-oriented philosophy. The most important
question has to do with the nature of questions asked, that is, how will the
teacher be assured that he is not indeed interfering with the freedom of the
pupil even by the way in which a particular question is posed? Further, on
what basis can the teacher be assured that the student has at his disposal a
sufficient enough knowledge on which to base a given value issue? It is all
very well to believe that when a deliberately prejudiced decision is made by a pupil that eventually he will experience more of the true facts so that his original misconception will be rectified, but is it realistic to assume that such will be the case? Should educators go so far as to ensure that students will read "proper" sources and encounter "proper" environments so that accuracy and fairness will result? If so, what is the difference between a teacher-manipulated environment and a teacher-dominated value discussion? Is indoctrination, something which existentialists like to avoid, any different whether it be directly or indirectly negotiated?

Exponents of the value clarification method tend to berate other methods on pragmatic as well as moral grounds. James Raths, for example, says of the directive lecture approach to teaching that unless a teacher is emotionally accepted by his students he can contribute nothing to their moral development. Furthermore, exposition tends to have little effect in that it does not go far enough in providing students with the opportunity actually to practice value decision-making. Raths believes that the central weakness with the directive approach is the accompanying premise that a knowledge of "proper" ethical and moral choices leads to parallel conduct.

The logic of the above discussion brings into focus one of the fundamental similarities of the two personal authentication models under consideration. The assumptions for both, it appears, take into account a basic morality regarding choice making; both assert that pupils must be allowed a certain degree of freedom in this activity although the traditional view posits a very metaphysical value scheme by which to determine morality. With the existential view this is not so clear since the existence of a universal moral code of values is denied, and appropriate behaviors are to be defined by the individual. Thus, it is not clear on what grounds James Raths can argue that certain methods of teaching are not moral. Unless teachers are willing to settle for such a precarious and uncertain orientation in value teaching they may be compelled to look further for teaching guidelines for the social studies classroom.

Model III: Social Commitment

In his book, *Reason and Morals*, John Wilson makes the distinction between the philosophical and sociological uses of moralism. The support or refutation of moral principles in the sociological construct calls for certain utilitarian argumentation in terms of the impact of certain kinds of values positions upon society. Thus one argues against the abolition of capital punishment because it will lead to more crime and less hard work. One argues against divorce by consent because it is against the will of God, but also because it would produce social chaos (Wilson, 1961, p. 110). It is possible therefore, to view values for their instrumental role in furthering the ongoing society in either a functional or dysfunctional way. These kinds of
criteria are invoked by those who engage in the argument about whether the society should be molded by the school or whether the schools should simply mirror and reinforce the current values of the ongoing society.

Of course either of the models of personal authentication discussed previously can be shown to be furthering the utilitarian goals of a viable society. One can take the a priori position that the purpose for dealing with values in the school (or not dealing with values) is to further the ongoing society before coming to grips with the question of whether he is philosophically an essentialist or existentialist. He is ultimately concerned with the welfare of the society although he may in fact define the good society in terms of the extent to which its members are motivated to behave in relation to one another as a function of personally authenticated world views.

The central difference between those who stress individual authentication as a value teaching goal and those who place first emphasis on social commitment is the premise that societal ongoings are more important than individual attainments. Some educators feel very definitely that it is unrealistic to stress what happens to the individual in the classroom, or what he manages to accomplish for himself, without at the same time keeping in mind that people have societal obligations. There is a distinct danger that those who hold this view, simultaneously hold that social commitment must first be met. Their critics are quick to point out that when social obligations are given priority in educational experiences the balance for individualism is very mediocre fare.

Teaching for social commitment is premised on the assumption that certain institutions are responsible for particular functions and that one of the primary roles of the school is to provide for students the knowledge, skill and basic beliefs required to maintain a workable social structure. The teacher serves as a vital factor in this process and is furnished the following guidelines to fulfill this job: he must help the child become aware of choices; he should make available to the child cultural opportunities for interacting with the dynamics of a community; and, he should work with children in developing their ability to see social consequences (Allen, 1964). If one pursues this direction of thought one step further, the conclusion would be that we must also help students understand the moral structures of society. If emphasis is laid on the principle that children ought to comply with these expectations, a form of social commitment then becomes the fundamental focus of value teaching.

Some authors have indeed stressed the basic goals and values of American society with the implication that these ought to be hailed as worthy in classroom teaching. Kimball Wiles, for example, advocates the teaching of specific values in American schools, among them commitment to maintaining mankind, developing the potential of each individual, building a single moral community, participating in decision-making, and the objective
evaluation of ideas and values (Wiles, 1964). While the list itself appears to be quite universalistic in scope the reader is left to understand that these values are to be couched within the context of the American experience.

American society is frequently viewed by social scientists as having a basic structure which is responsible for the ongoing of society, the composition of which includes a value frame. Robin Williams has identified these values to include: individual competition, conformity, democratic ideals, national beliefs and values, and pragmatism. Williams views teachers as not only being committed to these values but reinforcing them in the classroom as well (Williams, 1967, pp. 282-320). Traditional approaches to the problem have included an appeal to reason as the basis for the argument that any social system requires order; one could easily move one step further in arguing that educational institutions take on the additional task of teaching the logical outcome of reason, not only its process. Thomas Acquinas included in his three kinds of prudence one's own benefit, economic or domestic order and the common good of the state (Gilby, 1960). A failure to comply with what Acquinas perceived to be the natural order of things was to disregard divine will and hence, perpetrate a dishonorable act.

Although some educators spell out generalized ideas of basic values, many shy away from suggesting that such can be operationalized into specific social behaviors. Thus, their logical derivation in terms of patterns of behavior is not easily deduced for the purposes of classroom teaching. Such an argument is counteracted, however, by the observation that values are not necessarily best taught through a direct method but through observation, implication or example. Donald Arnstine argues that no one in particular teaches people that it is good to cut corners on one's income tax; no one directly teaches that it is good to conclude wars by dropping atomic bombs on unarmed civilians; and we are least led to believe that people should possess automobiles that are heavy and shiny (Arnstine, 1961, p. 158). Yet, in each case, these societally bound messages are effectively made known and passed on.

A good example of teaching for a kind of commitment has arisen from survival value literature in which authors argue that the ultimate goal for humanity is existence (ultimate, at least in the Deweyian sense of ultimate for the time being). This view posits that the social studies cannot avoid dealing with social values and the most important value oriented concern is existence. If education ought to deal with things that are important in life; what is more important than life itself? With this frame of reference firmly in mind, educators, convinced of the importance of survival value, can say that some values necessary for the survival of man and society are intended to be taught with no apology for doing so. Implicit in this statement is the assumption that if doing something will bring about a state of affairs that people collectively value, there is a prima facie reason for doing so (Simon,
1970). Thus, in light of the current situation of the environment; physical, psychological and social survival value is taught as a top priority in contemporary education.

The implications of teaching values for social commitment has some admirable qualities in light of the fact that there are indeed some requirements placed on man if he is to live reasonably with his fellows. The problems that arise from even so simple an assumption, however, pertain to the question of who shall determine which values shall be taught however general they may be. Both Canada and the United States include minority groups which possess values quite distinct from the rest of society; to what extent will their unique wishes be honored? And what of the individual? His rights have at least threatened the formulation of concrete laws from time immemorial, and this conflict will likely continue. The teacher, of course, is caught in the midst of this dilemma and may wish to impart basic understandings of society and let the matter go at that. Still the true professional is aware that the matter is not so easily settled, and so must continue to live with the ever-present dilemma that his classroom represents a multitudinal number of value considerations, opinions and backgrounds, and he has at least a minimum obligation to them all—parents, educators, pupils, community, government, etc. How is it possible, in light of such a kaleidoscope, to tunnel through with a specific formula for societal commitment?

Model IV: Cultural Relativism

Clearly the question about the sociological context of values raises the important issue of singular bias within a multicultural context. While anthropologists agree that culture shapes the kinds of value standards that govern behavior as well as the means by which the individual authenticates values for himself, they do not necessarily agree about the extent to which one may justifiably generalize or even compare these factors cross-culturally. The resultant fragmentation of theory and practice has largely derived from, and centered around, the cogency and viability of the theory of cultural relativity.

The major proponents of the concept of cultural relativity include Bronislaw Malinowski, Margaret Mead and Ruth Benedict who argue that, given the enormous diversification of unique cultural modes, the formulation of generalizations about the universality of human nature and behavior are likely to be both inaccurate and oversimplified. Mead has observed that those who study human behavior must be cautious about the kinds of generalizations they make and should insert "...a precautionary 'in our culture' into statements that would have read, fifteen years ago, merely as: 'Adolescence is always a time of stress and strain,' 'Children are more imaginative than adults,' 'All artists are neurotics,' 'Women are more passive than men,' etc., with no such precautionary phrase" (Mead, 1929, pp. x-xi).
The dominant mode of cultural relativity, as an approach for studying and fostering social systems, stems from the essentially liberal tradition which recognizes human worth in whatever circumstances it may be found. Any cultural setting that can be identified is considered to be unique in its own right and must be studied on its own terms, not according to a pre-established set of external criteria. Because the cultural relativist is cautious about intermingling normative considerations across cultures he is generally resistant to the idea of comparing cultures. This would include any attempt to compare value constructs cross-culturally. For this reason the theory of cultural relativity is basically misapplied in some of the instructional materials and strategies that are currently being advocated in the social studies. For example, the popular Fenton series includes the titles, *Comparative Political Systems* and *Comparative Economic Systems* and from the viewpoint of the cultural relativist these materials go beyond what can justifiably be designated as legitimate cross-cultural study because they require that the student compare the systems of two societies which have quite divergent cultural structures. The fact that they also indirectly lead the student to favor one system over the other is even less desirable pedagogically. This is not to say that such criticism invalidates any attempt at comparative analysis, for while cultural relativity has contributed to a rejection of ethnocentrism and bigotry, it has in many ways inhibited the development of meaningful cross-cultural approaches. This point has been made by Clyde Kluckhohn when he says that the anthropologist "...has been obsessed with the differences between peoples, neglecting the equally real similarities upon which the 'universal culture pattern' as well as the psychological uniformities are clearly built" (Kluckhohn and Morgan, 1951). The cross-cultural research by Kohlberg and associates tends to lend support to Kluckhohn's theory of a universal valuing of justice, for example (Kohlberg, 1967).

A means of studying the possibility of cross-cultural identities has been attempted by anthropologist Jules Henry whose instrument was compiled on the basis of several hundred documented cases of American classrooms emphasizing teacher-pupil relationships and a partial inventory of the materials for teaching and learning (Henry, 1960). The model is divided into twelve sections, each subdivided into smaller categories, each with an appropriate set of explanatory notes. The model deals with such questions as the focus of the educational process, the communication of information, the educator's identity, the methodology of education, and the nature of educational participation. Most pertinent to the framework of cross-cultural studies, however, is the inclusion in the educational process of those values which have implications for intercultural interaction and understanding. Henry's list of values numbers sixty-nine in all, ranging from good and bad moral rules, to size, profit, and loyalty (Henry, 1960). A focus on values in the
study of educational processes has implications not only for understanding the organization of behavior but also for the comprehension of some of the complexities of polyphasic learning. Education is dependent upon and occurs within the context of cultural values. It is not easy to locate a satisfactory teaching rationale for cross-cultural situations for in much of the current literature we find models proposed by American educators that assume a westernized rationalistic and dualistic approach to the problem of ethics. The proposed teaching paradigms are somewhat myopic in that they tend to focus upon value conflicts within the context of American society. Several projects, however, such as the Asian Studies Inquiry Program and Project Africa do attempt to introduce value conflicts in other cultures, but even in these projects the suggested pedagogical mode for examining these value conflicts is biased toward western thought in that it calls for structured rationalistic analysis. This is in keeping with the expressed objective of developing materials for use in American (westernized) schools. However, the Asian who has a monistic view of the world, might have difficulty in studying the materials according to this format.

In the final analysis, the basis for multicultural education rests on the assumption that each culture and minority group has an equally valid claim to the authentication of the individual and the maintenance of their particular system of beliefs and attitudes (Friesen, 1970). If the educator finds himself in the dilemma that he cannot bring himself to believe that each individual or group has the right to the means of authentication, he may either have to learn to play very effectively a role that denies his students this opportunity or look further for a theory of value teaching.

Model V: Democracy and Value Teaching

A much publicized approach to value teaching in the social studies has been promulgated by Maurice P. Hunt and Lawrence E. Metcalf in their well-known methods text, *Teaching High School Social Studies*, where the central theme is the study of fundamental value conflicts besetting American culture (Hunt and Metcalf, 1968). The authors believe that students should be encouraged to develop independently well-reasoned positions on value problems. Their argument is premised on the idea that reflective thinking is prerequisite to fulfillment of the responsibilities of an ideal citizenry in a democracy. What a democratic society worthy of the name requires of its citizenry is an intelligent well thought out process of decision-making as opposed to reactions indicative of conformity, shallow thinking, or careless and prejudicial thought.

Origins of the concept of reflective teaching are usually traced to the writing of John Dewey although others have elucidated the method in more explicable terms (Dewey, 1933, 1938, 1961). Ernest E. Bayles' writings reflect
a serious coming to grips with the theory of learning that is premised upon
the development of insight, an understanding of the implications of
democracy for education, and a systematic presentation of the facets of
pragmatic philosophy as related to school practice (Bayles, 1966). In an effort
to make practical the relation of a pragmatic view of truth and value for
education, Bayles’ works culminate in a series of illustrative units indicating
possible conversations between teacher and students engaged in problem
solving situations. Similar postulates to those held by Bayles are explicated
by Morris Bigge under the title of positive relativism, although Bigge takes a
more psychological line of attack (Bigge, 1971). His treatment includes the
observation that although positive relativists utilize logical principles in
argumentation, even such principles are regarded as instrumental, or
relativistic. Both truth and value are regarded as the more or less concrete
experiences of individuals, and while this interpretation may parallel to some
extent what we have said earlier about the existential approach it should be
noted that Bigge warns that interpersonal social experiences should not be
overlooked. His idea is that society is a mode of shared experiences, and
participation in society is one of the most important ways in which education
occurs. Thus, every moral action is an interpersonal one, and the increase of
interpersonal relationships adds to a personal, constant widening of in-
terests, purposes, and values (Bigge 1971, p. 55). This, it appears, is the basic
goal of this kind of value teaching—to aid the student in developing a keener,
deeper, and more expanded sense of values through the method of problem-
solving.

Hunt and Metcalf build on the assumption that teachers should possess an
adequate theory of education in order to handle the technique of reflective
teaching. The theoretical considerations each teacher should be appraised of
include an emphasis on the areas of conflict dominant in society and an
awareness of the process students need to develop to appropriately deal with
these areas of crisis—reflective thinking. Coupled with these two pivotal
premises are Hunt and Metcalf’s conceptualizations that democracy is an
inherent part of American society, that schools should help pupils to cope
with conflict in society, and that truth and value are determined ex-
perientially. While all of this may appear to be a kind of “limbo” discussion,
some evidence is forthcoming that the authors have a marked preference for
the democratic way especially as their discussion tends to favor that way of
life as compared with the authoritarian system of Russia, for example. It is
apparent that the authors consider the development of a democratic way of
life to be commensurate with the building of the commitment and skills
required for the resolution of conflict. They do not, however, explicitly define
nor argue that conflict resolution is necessarily an integral part of democracy
although the reader might very well arrive at this conclusion. Hunt and
Metcalf imply that the ultimate goal is the inner harmony of personalities as
well as a general lack of disagreement (conflict) among members of a society (Hunt and Metcalf, 1968, p. 35). Whether such a state of affairs could be achieved in societies which are other than democratic is not made clear. While the rationale presented in support of their suggested method of teaching would fall within the rubric of what we commonly define as "democratic" it would not seem that we can assume that the goal of achieving consensus by having students become "creative resolvers of conflict" (Hunt and Metcalf, 1968, p. 35) is necessarily or uniquely democratic. Furthermore, it would seem that the method itself is based upon a set of value premises that require examination.

A few observations about the reflective method of teaching reveal the assumptions upon which the method is based, and aid the teacher in determining the extent to which this method will be used as means to authenticating values in his particular classroom. To begin with, reflective teaching (and hence, reflective thinking for the student), is seen to be congruent with the scientific method. It includes both an attitude of mind and a generalized set of operations with which one resolves problems whether of a physical or social nature (Hunt and Metcalf, 1968). Hunt and Metcalf clearly spell out the rules of the reflective method which, summarized, include these components: (1) Whenever a belief or conclusion is accepted in preference to another, it is assumed that reasons exist for its acceptance; (2) Conclusions are always made provisionally; (3) Conclusions are consistent with each other; (4) All pertinent evidence is scrutinized before conclusions are drawn; (5) The ultimate authority for any conclusion is to be found in natural phenomena, as revealed by observation and experimentation; and, (6) All operations must be performed openly and in a fashion which will enable others to repeat the same procedures. In their earlier edition, Hunt and Metcalf argue that the purpose of all of these rules is to ensure "good thinking," but the final test may be judged only against its results. They further state that "The reflective method as we have defined it, is more likely than any non-reflective method to achieve this end (Hunt and Metcalf, 1955, p. 61-62).

Clearly the reflective method of thinking would seem to hold advantages not easily come by when the approaches of common sense, intuition, or appeal to authority are compared with it. On the other hand, it requires some implicit faith in a series of related tenets. Above all, the teacher must accept the principle that reflective thinking coincides with the needs of a democracy, i.e., that children need to learn to think because that is what a democracy most demands of them in the making of intelligent decisions. In their later edition the authors recognize that faith cannot carry the day and insert the statement that the adequacy of the scientific method can itself become the object of student inquiry (Hunt and Metcalf, 1968, p. 77). Nonetheless it is clear that they believe that it can stand up to the test and emerge as the most
viable means of verification. Secondly, there is implied in this approach the view that individuals ought to freely think and authenticate for themselves. Critics of the reflective method have spent a considerable amount of time questioning the validity of the concept of the freedom of the individual in the "typical" democratic-oriented philosophic view. Leroy Troutner, for example, has examined the writings of John Dewey from an existentialist framework, which, as we noted earlier thrives on its concept of individual freedom, and notes that "Dewey's conception of the human possesses an unreal, almost ghost-like quality (Troutner, 1967). Troutner's analysis is based on a recognition that the scientific method and group consensus have a very real part to play in the pragmatic conception of man but that when the requirements of these phenomena have been met very little remains for the individual as an entity. The upshot of this debate is to find a point on the continuum of authentication between the rights and freedom of the individual and that of the group authenticated criteria reflected in the scientific method. While it might be poetic to utter that "both are right" this expression does little to delineate the role of the teacher in helping students to authenticate values in a social studies classroom. Again, as in the previous models, the educator is left to his own musings of the situation and with the task of searching out a workable model for his own condition. The result of that search may well require the alteration of some of the premises outlined here and an acceptance or rejection of some of them in order to cope with the demands of a particular teaching situation.

TOWARD A CONCLUSION: USE OF KOHLBERG'S MODEL

Is it possible to conclude at the end of this examination of models for values teaching that a particular model of authentication is to be preferred or recommended over another? Obviously such a choice will be a function of the teacher's own philosophy and purpose for dealing with values in the classroom. The decision to allow students to autonomously and independently authenticate values in the absence of any particularized channeling of beliefs can either be accepted or attacked by any of the adherents of the above models. Our point is that one cannot choose nor dismiss any model on the erroneous or naive position that any one or more of these complex paradigms represents a teaching approach that is "educationally indefensible."

One of the currently popular theories of value teaching has been designed by Lawrence Kohlberg and stresses the principle of teaching moral development. In a sense his approach constitutes an integration of the models discussed in this paper and as such offers an appropriate stimulus for further thinking.
Kohlberg's primary objective is to provide a learning atmosphere whereby students may acquire a sense of justice, which he defines as: "respect for the rights of others based on considerations of equality and reciprocity...consideration of the welfare of all other individuals" (Kohlberg, 1967, p. 182). Based upon research conducted in six cultures, (United States, Taiwan, Mexico, Malaysia, Turkey, and Yucatan) he has identified six forms of moral reasoning. These are summarized below:

**Levels and Stages in Moral Development**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Levels</th>
<th>Basis of Moral Judgment</th>
<th>Stages of Development</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Moral value resides in external, quasi-physical happenings, in bad acts, or in quasi-physical needs rather than in persons and standards</td>
<td><strong>Stage 1:</strong> Obedience and punishment orientation. Egocentric deference to superior power or prestige, or a trouble-avoiding set. Objective responsibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Stage 2:</strong> Naively egoistic orientation. Right action is that instrumentally satisfying the self's needs and occasionally others'. Awareness of relativism of value to each actor's needs and perspective. Naive egalitarianism and orientation to exchange and reciprocity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Moral value resides in performing good or right roles, in maintaining the conventional order and the expectancies of others</td>
<td><strong>Stage 3:</strong> Good-boy orientation. Orientation to approval and to pleasing and helping others. Conformity to stereotypical images of majority or natural role behavior, and judgment by intentions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Stage 4:</strong> Authority and social-order maintaining orientation. Orientation to &quot;doing duty&quot; and to showing respect for authority and maintaining the given social order for its own sake. Regard for earned expectations of others</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
III Moral value resides in conformity by the self to shared or shareable standards, rights, or duties

Stage 5: Contractual legalistic orientation. Recognition of an arbitrary element or starting point in rules or expectations for the sake of agreement. Duty defined in terms of contract, general avoidance of violation of the will or rights of others, and majority will and welfare

Stage 6: Conscience or principle orientation. Orientation not only to actually ordained social rules but to principles of choice involving appeal to logical universality and consistency. Orientation to conscience as a directing agent and to mutual respect and trust


Kohlberg argues that these stages exist in the same sequence across cultures and that each stage represents a succeedingly higher level of moral reasoning than the stages below it. His research shows that when students are reasoning at levels 5 and 6 they are more likely to act justly. He also found that when children are confronted with two stages they prefer the highest level of moral reasoning they can comprehend, even when the higher stage may conflict with their own level of reasoning. In order to advance the moral thinking of students the teacher must provide a learning condition which stimulates the “natural development” of the child’s own moral judgment. This is done by assessing the level of moral thinking for each student, providing them with opportunities to discuss moral dilemmas, having students assess the kinds of reasons they give according to the six stages and confronting students with the moral reasoning of the next higher stage. Kohlberg does not have much faith in the kinds of approaches that attempt to teach morality through moralizing, exhortation, example, reward and punishment, or exposition.

Given this brief overview we can now discuss Kohlberg’s model according to the five models presented in this paper. Certain elements of his theory are closely aligned with essentialistic thinking. The fact that he subscribes to the universality of justice from both a humanitarian viewpoint and in terms of its potential for creating the good and benevolent society are indicative. Because there is a very positive orientation on Kohlberg’s part toward the increasing goodness of moral judgment as one moves up through the stages
it can be argued that these stages provide a set of external criteria whereby the individual may in fact authenticate his own moral reasoning in terms of their congruence with the universal concept of justice. As for the hierarchy of stages itself, the traditionalist would not argue that this ordering of justifications represents both a necessary and sufficient assessment of the order in which one may evaluate the quality of the reasons provided in defense of a judgment.

With reference to the existentialist approach to the authentication of values Kohlberg, in one sense, has the option of sidestepping the issue due to the results of his research showing that individuals do indeed choose to move toward a consideration of the rights of others without coercion or external direction. This would seem to say that teachers do not need to ram justice down their students' throats but only need to provide the environment whereby students can make their own decisions. Nevertheless there is implied in the hierarchy a formula for success which is externally defined. Furthermore, the creation of the stimuli is of the teacher's design through the contrivance of moral dilemmas, the existence in his mind of the hierarchy of stages through which the student is expected to move, and the idea that if students are provided with similar kinds of stimuli they will all tend to move in the same direction. The question remains as to who is providing the authentication, the teacher or the student?

For those who prefer the social commitment-survival model for value teaching, Kohlberg provides partial support, although, in the final analysis, the maintainence of the ongoing society takes a backseat to the idea of personal conviction. An examination of the stages reveals that commitment to societal norms are in the middle range, between self-preservation and moral conviction. Of course any such discussion of the conflict among these criteria for judgment must be predicated upon what it means to have a viable ongoing society. If one equates the viable society with the just society the argument is moot unless societal demands conflict with one's commitment to justice. In such a case Kohlberg's paradigm clearly favors the judgment coming out of conscience rather than conformity.

From the perspective of the cultural relativist Kohlberg's ideas may be somewhat perplexing. To say that justice is a universally accepted concept is such a global statement that it requires verification through an examination of the evidence offered in support of the conclusion. Such an investigation shows that the data for the Kohlberg research were collected from subjects in six nations and aside from the limited nature of the sample of cultures, the data reflects only verbal responses, not actual behavior. The research procedure, including the instrumentation and collection of data, was cursory in the sense that the usual techniques of field anthropologists such as participatory observation over long periods of time were not utilized. Furthermore, it would seem that existent research on certain preliterate societies
reveals data showing that not all cultures universally subscribe to Kohlberg’s concept of justice. This is not to say that Kohlberg’s research is inaccurate or invalid, only that his conclusions require verification through the more sophisticated techniques of the cultural anthropologist.

Finally, Kohlberg’s theory can be seen to be consistent with many of the tenets of value authentication according to the pragmatic model. It requires the exposure of students to value conflict through the presentation of moral dilemmas, calls for the student to provide reasons in support of his moral judgments and is based upon the democratic ideal of justice. Kohlberg does not specifically advocate the kind of structured teaching model evidenced in Dewey’s reflective thinking paradigm, but this is due to Kohlberg’s idea that moral development is a natural process whereby through the proper stimulation of moral reasoning, at the correct stage of readiness, the student will naturally move toward more mature moral judgment. The pragmatist would probably also place greater emphasis than Kohlberg on the process of authentication through reflective thinking because of the pragmatist’s belief in the implicit value of individual reasoning.

This analysis is not intended to portray Kohlberg’s theory as a synthesized position of the five models, but rather to utilize it as an example to indicate how it is possible to adopt elements of them as a means of formulating a workable approach. The stereotyping of educational models can be dysfunctional and arbitrarily perilous if one takes the approach that he must decide which of the various philosophies he is to choose to the exclusion of the others. The mandate for each educator is to develop a personally satisfying approach to value teaching but this challenge is not as easy as it sounds, and may require a lifetime to attain. This is another way of demonstrating that value education, either from the perspective of teaching or learning, is a process, not a state of being.

REFERENCES


Mead, Margaret, From the South Seas (New York: Morrow and Co., 1939).


Raths, Louis E., Harmin, Merrill and Simon, Sidney B., Values and Teaching (Columbus: Charles E. Merrill, 1966).


THE TREATMENT OF BLACK AMERICANS IN PRIMARY GRADE TEXTBOOKS USED IN NEW YORK CITY ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Fred Turetsky
Teacher of Common Branches
New York City Public School System

INTRODUCTION

This study was designed, essentially, to determine the nature of progress in the treatment of Black Americans in textbooks for the elementary schools of New York City. It was presented, secondarily, to demonstrate a technique which might be used to provide a basis for textbook selection.

The representation of the Black American in textbooks for the primary grades has been, since the beginning of the century, only a split image of reality, depicting inaccuracies of Black life through stereotypes presented in our schools. But it was a decade ago, with the advent of the tumultuous Civil Rights movement, that awareness and shock over the treatment of Blacks and other minorities in textual materials became widespread.

It was this mounting dissatisfaction over aims, programs, and teaching practices that gave meaning and purpose to the textbook reform movement. One purpose of this study was to determine whether there has been any change in textbook treatment of Black Americans since the early 1960’s.

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

What are the differences between the way primary grade textbooks for elementary schools in New York City treated content relating to Black Americans prior to the Civil Rights movement of the early 1960’s and their treatment today?

Specifically, is the treatment of content relating to Black Americans in current primary grade textbooks for elementary schools in New York City less stereotyped than that depicted in textbooks employed prior to the Civil Rights movement of the early 1960’s?
In recent years a growing number of critics have castigated textbooks and their publishers for misrepresenting the image of American minorities. These critics have focused on the Black American, the leading racial minority in the United States.

The lack of social reality which seems to pervade textbooks used in elementary social studies classes has been documented by Rogers and Muessig (1963). The authors observed that too many texts are filled with slanted "facts," stereotypes, provincial and ethnocentric attitudes, and superficial, utopian discussions which skim over conditions as they actually exist in life today. For example, texts which have sections devoted to "life in our United States," too often portray "Americans" as white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, white collar, and middle class. Reading a number of books, one gets the impression that all Americans live on wide, shady streets in clean suburban areas, occupy white Cape Cod style houses, drive new automobiles, have two children (a boy and girl, of course) and own a dog. Characters have first names like Bill, Jim, and John rather than Sid, Tony, and Juan and last names like Adams, Hill, and Cook rather than Schmidt, Podosky, and Chen. When Black Americans are mentioned, it is more frequently in connection with the slavery issue than it is with contributions in science and technology, diplomacy, law, and education.

A study by the Michigan Department of Education (1968) of American history textbooks used in Michigan public schools concluded that they are "very seriously deficient" in their treatment of minority groups, particularly Black Americans. This review of textbooks was mandated by the Social Studies Book Act passed by the Michigan legislature in 1966 which requires an annual random sampling to ascertain how fairly these books recognize the achievement and accomplishments of ethnic and racial groups. Evaluation guidelines deal with historical accuracy, realistic treatment of accomplishments and contributions of minorities, the concept of "race," and the tone of the text. In this first survey, historians assessed 12 textbooks published in 1966-67, all of which were criticized, although none were cited specifically.

In a study of Black representation in children's books, Baronberg (1971) reported that until very recently the question of race was ignored in children's literature; even worse was the fact that Blacks were virtually nonexistent as far as the publishing world was concerned. A search by the author for fiction picture books involving Black people located only 56 published between 1939 and 1971. This is in comparison with the thousands of picture books published during that period. And of the 56 as listed, just four were published before 1950, only seven appeared during the 1950's, almost all the remainder during the 1960's, together with seven 1970 books. Baronberg concluded that "all publishers have participated in a cultural lobotomy."
In a study sponsored by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Marcus (1961) noted that with some exceptions, "the main criticisms of the American Council on Education report of 1949 are equally valid for the year 1960—that a majority of the texts still present a largely white, Protestant, Anglo-Saxon view of history and of the current social scene. The nature and problems of minority groups are still very largely neglected." In assessing the value of text material, the seven following evaluative criteria have been consistently employed to each of the four sections of the study: inclusion; validity; balance; comprehensiveness; concreteness; unity; and realism. Text presentations were measured against these criteria and judged, accordingly, as to their adequacy or inadequacy. Regardless of how inspired its treatment of any one subject, no one text of the 48 books used, had been found by Marcus which by itself presented a reasonably complete and undistorted picture of the many minority groups in America.

In another study sponsored by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith almost a decade later, and in an exact manner as the Marcus study above, Kane (1970) determined that, despite past criticisms of publishers and authors, "a significant number of texts published today (1970) continue to present a principally white, Protestant, Anglo-Saxon view of America, with the nature and problems of minority groups largely neglected." This study of 45 social studies texts used in junior and senior high schools examined the treatment of Black Americans, Jews, and other minorities in America. The League suggests that a remedy to the treatment of minorities in texts might begin with efforts to influence school systems to act as agents of change in conjunction with civil rights organizations.

Based on the books she read in the course of compiling a revision of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's recommended list of 399 books for pre-school through sixth-grade levels (1967), Alexander (1970) concluded that "despite the growing number of books depicting the Black experience, the image they give of the Black American is still one of the more insidious influences that hinder the Black child from finding true self-awareness." A criterion in Alexander's evaluation of the Black and biracial books was that no book would be listed if it was considered likely to communicate to either a Black or a white child a racist concept or cliche about Blacks; or failed to provide some strong characters to serve as role models. Even one such stereotype would be enough to eliminate an otherwise good book. Alexander's basic consideration in not including a given book in the N.A.A.C.P. list was "the pain it might give to even one Black child."

What then should educators do about books that purport to define the Black experience yet upon reexamination turn out to be racist? Certainly they should be removed from the recommended lists. But where they already exist on library shelves, the Council on Interracial Books for Children (1971)
suggests we use the books as classroom teaching tools to analyze with students what racism is all about. "With conscious guidance," the Council opined, "students would read the books and discover for themselves racism's subtle and not-so-subtle twistings."

The procedures for appraisal of books and other materials of instruction for the New York City public schools were set forth in full in the 1955 booklet, *Selecting Instructional Materials for the Public Schools of New York City*, which was distributed to the schools in 1956. The chart of procedures in Appendix A of this study denotes currently the various steps that must be taken before a book is finally recommended for listing by the New York City Board of Education. The principal criterion to be used in evaluating content with cultural or social background should be that of the recognition of the worth and dignity of each person, regardless of his creed, color, race, sex, or economic status. In the researcher's evaluations of textbooks used in New York City elementary, public schools prior to the early 1960's, this criterion was seldom the case.

The implications of the criticisms in the aforesaid studies become readily apparent when one considers that the textbook has been and still is the most widely used teaching device. Perhaps it was only natural that teachers came to regard the text as their curriculum, for it not only determined what content was taught, but also how it was taught.

What is the contention of the publishers? The publishing industry (1968) has maintained that because of their heavy investment in textbooks (often a publisher will have invested $250,000 or more in a single social studies text before realizing one dollar of income), they need to insure that their products will sell on a nationwide market. This means the publisher will censor his own books if he thinks the offending passages may hurt sales, or submit to censorship from outside sources if the potential market is big enough.

Relative to the fact that textual materials will be as good as the marketplace wants them to be, Black (1961), in his study of the American schoolbook, noted that even New York was not asking for the integrated text then (1959); nor was there an overwhelming demand in the suburban areas except for those communities heavily populated with liberal Jewish people.

Admittedly, the situation has improved, as evidenced by late efforts of publishers to produce texts that present correct portrayals of Blacks and other American minorities. In a late study on selecting instructional materials for purchase, the Joint Committee of the National Education Association and Association of American Publishers (1972) asserted that virtually all publishers are now cooperating in providing new and enriched textual materials. The major premise of their study, however, infers that the school's textbook selection committee is the key element in the choosing of textual materials. The committee's task is to find and recommend resources that will implement educational goals. The selection process involves five basic steps: getting the facts about instructional materials, getting samples
from publishers, applying criteria and tests, making recommendations and getting approval, and assuring effective use of the materials selected. The process is a long one involving the following evaluation: content, presentation, relevance, philosophy, accuracy, authorship, recency, cost, utility, teacher aids, physical characteristics, pupil consumables, accompanying media, and ease of use.

QUESTIONS THAT THE RESEARCH IS EXPECTED TO ANSWER

In support of the studies reviewed by the researcher, the situation has improved but not very significantly in the last ten years. Nonetheless, the writers are optimistic that the 'Seventies will bring the Black American into the mainstream of the textbook industry. In light of this optimism, the researcher has formulated the following questions that the research is expected to answer:

1. Do primary grade textbooks today depict more accurate images of Black Americans with respect to occupational and physical characteristics than those published prior to 1960?

2. Do primary grade textbooks present a less stereotyped view of Black Americans today than prior to the Civil Rights movement of the early 1960's?

3. Are Black Americans given a larger proportional allocation of space in today's textbooks than those published prior to 1960?

DEFINITIONS

Stereotypical Presentations

**Occupational Stereotypes**—to measure and compare the ratio of type of occupation—"professional," "white collar," "civil service" (other than white collar), "entertainment," "menial services," and "housewife"—with number of portrayals for Pre-1960 and Post-1970. Occupational stereotypes would be the depiction of most or all Blacks in entertainment or menial service occupations such as "Negroes are musical," or have an athletic character, as baseball, boxing, and basketball, or caricatured as a hackneyed porter (cleaning lady), elevator operator, chauffeur, boot-black, etc., and few or none seen in professional or prestigious occupations such as doctor, lawyer, scientist, teacher, and the like.
Physical Stereotypes—to measure and compare the physical presentation for Pre-1960 and Post-1970 of physical features shown, as depicted in illustrations or cartoons. The characteristics are grouped into three categories: “Black-faced version of a white person,” i.e., portraying brown-skinned people with straight, black hair and caucasoid features; “accurate presentation of a Negro” (anthropological description); and, “caricatured features and exaggerations” by overemphasizing facial features, kinky hair, and coal-black skin.

The Setting—to measure and compare the setting for Pre-1960 and Post-1970 which involves what the person(s) is doing, garb worn, speech pattern, and surroundings, by categorizing as either a caricature of the Black situation or that of American mainstream culture. A stereotyped setting may depict a scene in the South showing Blacks picking cotton or singing spirituals, or a scene of a Black boy eating watermelon or engaged in catching fish from a water facility, or presenting a heavy emphasis on sports or music and nothing else. Activities depicting the American mainstream would be an integrated group action worthy of praise, such as a scientific undertaking.

Multi-Ethnic Presentations

Multi-ethnic presentations are grouped into two categories, namely, the “true, existing ethnic population mix” (or that type of “integrated” environment that makes the use or occupancy of public facilities, as schools, parks, restaurants, neighborhoods, etc., available to persons of all races), and a “segregated depiction” (or a portrayal of human affairs indigenous to a White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, middle-income community situated in suburbia or a Black ghetto). A check-off procedure can be applied here to compare Pre-1960 with Post-1970.

Space Presentations

How adequate is the space in textbooks given to the roles of Black Americans? Measurement of pages is a rough count in relation to the whole book. The allocation is grouped into two categories, namely, “Blacks” and “Others.” (“Others” means the union of all different racial and ethnic groups exclusive of “Blacks.”)

ASSUMPTIONS AND LIMITATIONS

This study will review books printed prior to 1960 on the assumption that they will not reflect the influence of the Civil Rights movement. Books printed during the decade of the 1960's will be omitted since it is difficult for
the researcher to determine the cut-off point of the decade. It is assumed that books published from 1970 on will have been published at a time when they could be susceptible to the influence of social change induced by the Civil Rights movement.

A limitation might be that only one person—researcher himself—did the categorizing, i.e., no check on reliability.

PROCEDURE

Sample

In a substantial effort to evaluate textbooks for kindergarten through sixth-grade levels, the researcher assembled as many titles as could be found at the Office of Textbooks and Supplies, Board of Education of the City of New York. The textbooks collected were all published between 1950 and 1973, and totaled 126.*

Of the 63 textbooks published up to 1960, 23 comprised the social studies, and totaled 3,387 pages. The other 40 comprised the basal readers, and totaled 9,362 pages.

Of the 63 textbooks published between 1970 and 1973, 25 comprised the social studies, and totaled 4,995 pages. The other 38 comprised the basal readers, and totaled 13,288 pages.

Techniques of Measurement

In this study, direct observation of textbook content was the most desirable measurement method. A first step in organizing was deciding how the observations were to be classified. Because it was both a simple type of scale and one that provided an adequate level of quantification of the books measured, a nominal scale was used. This scale simply sorted "classes" of textbooks into mutually exclusive categories. For example, when labeling books into categories as "Black caricature" or "American mainstream," we are using a nominal scale. Our data will only tell us how many of the books belong either to one or the other group.

A problem difficult of solution concerned those books that showed settings not only of a "Black caricature" but "American mainstream" as well. In these cases, the researcher decided that, within each book, where there was a fairly similar kind of treatment, this would be the factor deciding the category.

*Because space in the journal does not permit inclusion of an annotated bibliography, the reader may obtain the 126-book listing, which included a breakdown by grade levels plus comments, by writing to the researcher—Fred Turetsky, 413 Grand Street, New York, N.Y. 10002.
The researcher also undertook to make an overall judgment about each book and a decision on whether or not to recommend it for the schools. The information on which decisions were based included not only the data summarized in the "Results" section of this study but also detailed qualitative notes taken by the researcher during the examination of each book.

In assessing a textbook, the following criteria were used to decide whether to recommend or not:

1. Was there fairly similar kind of treatment presenting occupational stereotypes, with specific reference to menial services, entertainment, and housewife?
2. Was there fairly similar kind of treatment presenting physical stereotypes, particularly those depicting caricatured exaggerations?
3. Was there fairly similar kind of treatment presenting stereotyped settings, taking into account the action or activities, garb, speech, and surroundings?
4. Was there fairly similar kind of treatment with respect to multi-ethnic presentations, exhibiting "segregated" depictions?
5. Was there a lack of Black representation based upon proportional allocation of space?

An affirmative response to any one of these criteria would judge the book as inadequate, resulting in a non-recommendation. In other words, for a book to be recommended, it would have to meet all five criteria grouped together as one negative response.

**Research Design**

To avoid errors of selectivity of memory and also as a convenience to present research data in graphic form, a "work sheet" was both devised and used by the researcher as a procedure that allowed immediate recordings of what was observed of each book. (See Appendix B for an example of the "work sheet").

**Analysis of Data**

For intents of this study, the kind of analysis used was quantitative (statistical) for each of the three questions the research was expected to answer.

To find the significances of differences among degrees of frequency of occurrence of stereotypical, multi-ethnic, and space presentations, that fell into different categories, a chi-square ($X^2$) test was used. The key here was to test whether distribution in categories was different for Pre-1960 and Post-1970. This was the central question rather than any absolute amount of stereotyping.
RESULTS

Do primary grade textbooks today depict more varied images of Black Americans with respect to occupational characteristics than those published prior to 1960? The data relevant to this question are presented in Tables 1, 2, 3, and 4.

In three of the four comparisons dealing with occupations, significant chi-square values were obtained beyond the .01 level. As shown in Tables 1 and 2, social studies texts of the 1970's were less stereotyped than those of the 1950's with respect to occupations depicted for men ($X^2 = 70.52$) and for women ($X^2 = 22.25$). A smaller proportion were depicted in menial services and a larger proportion were distributed in the higher occupational categories. In the case of the readers, the 1970's books were significantly less stereotyped than the 1950's books for men's occupations as shown in Table 3 ($X^2 = 128.67$). For women, however, the frequencies in occupational categories for the two periods, as presented in Table 4, were not significantly different. Worthy of note is the large proportion of menial services. Inspection of Table 4, however, clearly shows an improvement in the latter period both with respect to frequency of mentions and distribution in different categories.

---

**TABLE 1**

| Occupations of Black American Men Depicted in Social Studies Textbooks of 1950-60 and 1970-73 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Textbooks | Professional | White Collar | Civil Service | Entertainment, Sports, The Arts | Menial Services | Total |
| 1950-60 (N=23) | 13 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 164 | 183 |
| 1970-73 (N=25) | 53 | 17 | 17 | 26 | 121 | 234 |
| Total | 66 | 17 | 20 | 29 | 285 | 417 |

$X^2 = 70.52, p < .01, 4 df.$
### TABLE 2

**Occupations of Black American Women Depicted in Social Studies Textbooks of 1950-60 and 1970-73**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Textbooks</th>
<th>Professional</th>
<th>White Collar</th>
<th>Civil Service</th>
<th>Entertainment, Sports, The Arts</th>
<th>Menial Services</th>
<th>Housewife</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950-60 (N=23)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-73 (N=25)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[X^2 = 22.25, \ p < .01, \ 5 \ df.\]

### TABLE 3

**Occupations of Black American Men Depicted in Basal Reader Textbooks of 1950-60 and 1970-73**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Textbooks</th>
<th>Professional</th>
<th>White Collar</th>
<th>Civil Service</th>
<th>Entertainment, Sports, The Arts</th>
<th>Menial Services</th>
<th>Housewife</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950-60 (N=40)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-73 (N=38)</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>206</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>272</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[X^2 = 128.67, \ p < .01, \ 4 \ df.\]

### TABLE 4

**Occupations of Black American Women Depicted in Basal Reader Textbooks of 1950-60 and 1970-73**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Textbooks</th>
<th>Professional</th>
<th>White Collar</th>
<th>Civil Service</th>
<th>Entertainment, Sports, The Arts</th>
<th>Menial Services</th>
<th>Housewife</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950-60 (N=40)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-73 (N=38)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[X^2 = 4.57, \ p > .05, \ 5 \ df.\]

34
Of critical importance in these tables was the small number of cases involving Blacks during 1950-60 as compared to 1970-73. Moreover, Black women were depicted to a much smaller extent even than Black men. Black women's roles, particularly in the former period, were characterized by the almost complete absence of differentiated qualities. Taking this into account, it was no surprise that the obtained $X^2$ value of 4.57 in Table 4 was not significant. (To be significant, a $X^2$ value of 11.07 was needed at the .05 level with five degrees of freedom.) In other words, the lack of significance was due to the paucity of Black women in the aggregate of statistical items from which the sampling was drawn.

Do primary grade textbooks today depict more accurate images of Black Americans with respect to physical characteristics than those published prior to 1960? The data relevant to this question are presented in Tables 5 and 6.

### TABLE 5

Physical Portrayals of Black People Depicted in Social Studies Textbooks of 1950-60 and 1970-73

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Textbooks</th>
<th>Black-faced Version of a White Person</th>
<th>Accurate Presentation of a Negro [anthr.]</th>
<th>Caricatured Features and Exaggerations</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950-60 (N=23)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-73 (N=25)</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>498</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$X^2 = 149.96$, $p < .01$, 2 df.

### TABLE 6

Physical Portrayals of Black People Depicted in Basal Reader Textbooks of 1950-60 and 1970-73

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Textbooks</th>
<th>Black-faced Version of a White Person</th>
<th>Accurate Presentation of a Negro [anthr.]</th>
<th>Caricatured Features and Exaggerations</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950-60 (N=40)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-73 (N=38)</td>
<td>446</td>
<td>472</td>
<td>547</td>
<td>1465</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>454</td>
<td>472</td>
<td>633</td>
<td>1559</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$X^2 = 50.25$, $p < .01$, 2 df.
Caricatured features and exaggerations depicting Blacks in a physically stereotyped way has been the modal category in both social studies and basal reader texts. Even though this is still the pattern in the readers, the recent social studies series show a considerable decrease in this category. For both types of texts, however, the 1970's books had significantly more accurate representation. For social studies books, $X^2$ was 149.96, and for readers, 50.25, both significant at the .01 level. The insertion of photographs instead of illustrations made for this transformation.

Do primary grade textbooks depict a less stereotyped view of Black Americans today than prior to the Civil Rights movement of the early 1960's, with respect to aspects of the setting? The data relevant to this question concerning the action or activities of Black Americans are presented in Tables 7 and 8.

Tables 7 and 8 present data in which some settings were stereotypes or caricatures of the Black situation while others were characteristic of American mainstream culture; in some cases no settings were evident.

### TABLE 7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Textbooks</th>
<th>Black Caricature</th>
<th>American Mainstream</th>
<th>Not Depicted</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950-60 (=23)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-73 (N=25)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$X^2 = 14.57, p < .01, 2 \, \text{df.}$
### TABLE 8
The Number of 1950-60 and 1970-73 Basal Reader Textbooks Depicting the Action or Activities of Black Americans with Respect to the Setting

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Textbooks</th>
<th>Black Caricature</th>
<th>American Mainstream</th>
<th>Not Depicted</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950-60 (N=40)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-73 (N=38)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ X^2 = 59.27, \ p < .01, \ 2 \ df. \]

The action or activities of Black people depicted in a “Black caricatured” setting was the modal category of the earlier social studies and basal reader texts. On the other hand, activities depicting the American mainstream, has become the modal category of the 1970’s texts. For social studies books, \( X^2 \) was 14.57, and for readers, 59.27, both significant at the .01 level. This was due to the inclusion of Blacks involved in professional endeavors as well as present-day integrated school, business, and entertainment activities, and the like.

Typical of Black stereotyped settings were activities of men, women, and even children, working the farms, plantations, or tobacco patches, picking cotton, tomatoes, or rolling tobacco sheafs. It didn't matter whether these people were pictured as slaves or as today’s migrant workers. What made these settings even more derogatory was the inclusion of white “gentlemen” or “boss” men overseeing the action. The “man” was either astride a big stallion or was standing on an open van that was being loaded by Black laborers. In several of the settings, the presence of a white “lady” in the midst of her Black help was also derogatory. She, in her best finery, was contrasted to the trite garb of her attendants.

Many of the portrayals also involved the clichéd jungle, tribal setting. Black warriors, in their grotesque make-up, wearing only loin cloths and nothing more, and spears at the ready, appeared menacingly. Lurking white hunters and ferocious-looking jungle beasts were also ever presently observed in these characteristic settings.
The data relevant to the setting with respect to the garb of Black Americans are presented in Tables 9 and 10. Some settings were stereotypes or caricatures of the Black situation while others were characteristic of American mainstream culture. In some cases of the earlier social studies and basal reader texts, no settings were evident.

**TABLE 9**

The Number of 1950-60 and 1970-73 Social Studies Textbooks Depicting the Garb of Black Americans with Respect to the Setting

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Textbooks</th>
<th>Black Caricature</th>
<th>American Mainstream</th>
<th>Not Depicted</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950-60 (N=23)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-73 (N=25)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>29</strong></td>
<td><strong>12</strong></td>
<td><strong>7</strong></td>
<td><strong>48</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[X^2 = 14.67, \ p < .01, \ 2 \ df.\]

**TABLE 10**

The Number of 1950-60 and 1970-73 Basal Reader Textbooks Depicting the Garb of Black Americans with Respect to the Setting

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Textbooks</th>
<th>Black Caricature</th>
<th>American Mainstream</th>
<th>Not Depicted</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950-60 (N=40)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-73 (N=38)</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>23</strong></td>
<td><strong>25</strong></td>
<td><strong>30</strong></td>
<td><strong>78</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[X^2 = 57.78, \ p < .01, \ 2 \ df.\]

The pattern of fashion or mode of dress having the character of being "Black caricatured" was the modal category in the earlier social studies and basal reader texts. While this is still the modal category of the late social
studies books, the late readers reversed the trend. In both cases, however, there was significant positive change for more accurate representation. For social studies books, \(X^2\) was 14.67, and for readers, 57.78, both significant at the .01 level.

What makes apparel characteristically stereotyped as indigenous of Black people? As in physical stereotypes, where the whites of eyes or the dentures of the mouth are greatly exaggerated to contrast with the character of black skin, so it is with the garb worn by Black people. Whether it be a jacket, a blouse, an undershirt, trousers, headgear, a belt, and even footwear, in many instances, white was the dominant color.

Black women, in the majority of cases, also wore stereotyped garb. In addition to the aforesaid white or other light colors, the long-sleeved, ankle-length dress was predominant. Worn as headgear was usually a bonnet or a bandanna that drooped to one side.

Another expression denoting “Black caricature” with respect to garb was the exclusion of footwear. This characteristic was observed in far too many texts and were included in the “Black caricature” category in Tables 9 and 10.

The reader should also take note that although the wearing of loin cloths by Black, tribal males and long, flowing smocks by their women are not indigenous to Black Americans they were, nevertheless, included in the “Black caricature” category in Tables 9 and 10 for the reason that, as presented, they lower the dignity and standing of Black peoples everywhere. These characteristics were not only observed in the earlier texts but late texts as well.

The data relevant to the setting with respect to the speech of Black Americans are presented in Tables 11 and 12.

---

**TABLE 11**

The Number of 1950-60 and 1970-73 Social Studies Textbooks Depicting the Speech of Black Americans with Respect to the Setting

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Textbooks</th>
<th>Black Caricature</th>
<th>American Mainstream</th>
<th>Not Depicted</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950-60 (N=23)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-73 (N=25)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[X^2 = 0.00, p > .05, 2 \text{ df.}\]
The speech of Black Americans, observed for the most part in the text of late basal readers, was, on the whole, worthy of imitation. With few exceptions, the characteristic manner of speaking was in the influence of the American mainstream. This was a significant advance from the past as shown in Table 12 (X² = 26.49).

It was noteworthy in Table 11 that the obtained X² value of 0.00 measuring the social studies texts was not significant. (To be significant, a X² value of 5.99 was needed at the .05 level with two degrees of freedom.) In other words, the lack of reliable evidence was due to the insufficiency of the number of textbooks depicting the speech of Black Americans in the aggregate of statistical items from which the sampling was drawn.

Those speech characteristics that do depict a "Black caricature" include an awkward dialect called "Pidgin English," a combination of English and other languages, e.g., West African Pidgin English spoken in West Africa and Fanagalo as developed from English and an African language called Zulu.

Another caricatured style idiomatic to the American scene today, and observed in a few late basal readers, was slurred speech in which the word, "man," was uttered several times over by Black characters in the stories.

The data relevant to the setting with respect to the surroundings of Black Americans are presented in Tables 13 and 14.
The surroundings of Black Americans observed in both the earlier social studies and basal reader texts appeared, in the main, indigenous to rural settings such as farms and plantations, or to wharfs and riverboats, where menial services were performed. Blacks were not observed in urban or even suburban centers. Even in a school, business, beach, or sports-activity scene, Blacks were excluded. In consequence, “Black caricature” was the modal category. For both types of texts, however, the 1970’s books had significantly more “American mainstream” representation. As shown in Tables 13 and 14, significant chi-square values were obtained beyond the .01 level. For social studies books, $X^2$ was 14.62, and for readers, 50.92.
Those Blacks that were not American were depicted in tribal environments characteristic of a dense tropical thicket of high grass or trees with undergrowth and usually inhabited by wild animals, or the savanna, a tract of level, subtropical grassland covered in part with spiny shrubs where lions roam.

The data relevant with respect to multi-ethnic presentations of the setting typified in textbooks are presented in Tables 15 and 16.

**TABLE 15**
The Number of 1950-60 and 1970-73 Social Studies Textbooks Depicting Multi-Ethnic Presentations with Respect to the Setting

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Textbooks</th>
<th>Existing Ethnic-Mix</th>
<th>Segregated Depiction</th>
<th>Not Depicted</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950-60 (N=23)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-73 (N=25)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ X^2 = 27.32, \ p < .01, \ 2 \ df. \]

**TABLE 16**
The Number of 1950-60 and 1970-73 Basal Reader Textbooks Depicting Multi-Ethnic Presentations with Respect to the Setting

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Textbooks</th>
<th>Existing Ethnic-Mix</th>
<th>Segregated Depiction</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950-60 (N=40)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-73 (N=38)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ X^2 = 39.84, \ p < .01, \ 1 \ df. \]
The researcher observed a total "segregated" depiction in the earlier basal readers and, with but one exception, a total "segregated" depiction in the earlier social studies books. To some degree, some late texts, particularly the readers, still projected a "segregated" depiction. For both types of texts, however, the 1970's books had significantly more "integrated" representation. For social studies, $X^2$ was 27.32, and for readers, 39.84, both significant at the .01 level.

Are Black Americans given a larger proportional allocation of space in today's textbooks than those published prior to 1960? The data relevant to this question are presented in Tables 17 and 18.

### TABLE 17

**Pages Allocated to Black Americans and to All Others in Social Studies Textbooks of 1950-60 and 1970-73**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Blacks</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950-60</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>2947</td>
<td>3037</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-73</td>
<td>607</td>
<td>4079</td>
<td>4686</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>697</td>
<td>7026</td>
<td>7723</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$X^2 = 198.39, \ p < .01, \ 1 \ df.$

### TABLE 18

**Pages Allocated to Black Americans and to All Others in Basal Reader Textbooks of 1950-60 and 1970-73**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Blacks</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950-60</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>8861</td>
<td>8922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-73</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>10420</td>
<td>12281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1922</td>
<td>19281</td>
<td>21203</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$X^2 = 1313.36, \ p < .01, \ 1 \ df.$
The proportion of space allocated to Blacks in textbooks printed prior to the Civil Rights movement of the early 'Sixties was minimal. Based on the sample of books evaluated by the researcher, a 3 percent representation of Blacks was observed in the earlier social studies texts, based on proportion of pages devoted to Black Americans. A more extreme condition was observed in basal readers where Black representation amounted to less than 1 percent of the pages, or about 7/10ths of 1 percent, to be more accurate. Contrast these extremely low percentages with that observed in current texts. Black representation in late social studies texts was observed to be about 13 percent, a significant increase \( (X^2 = 198.39) \). The readers indicated an even higher figure, that of about 15 percent, again significantly higher than the ‘Fifties \( (X^2 = 1313.36) \). Both values obtained were beyond the .01 level.

**DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS**

**Discussion**

The data presented in this study reveal a consistent trend towards increased attention to Black Americans with more accurate and less stereotyped presentation. There are, however, still many aspects that could be improved.

Conspicuous even in the late texts, was the insufficiency of depicting Black men and women in white collar and in civil service occupations of other types. This insufficiency was disconcerting for the reason that many thousands of Black men and women are employed in government service and on all levels.

Basal readers, it was noted, have lagged far behind social studies texts concerning factual, physical portrayals. The readers have the quality of representing fictitiously conceived persons or situations rather than that which exists as being real. The illustrations and cartoons supplement the reading passages or word appearances. They cannot duplicate, as photographs can, the true, physical representations of Blacks. Indeed, a majority of the portrayals depicted exaggerated facial and body features, in addition to emphasizing skin color with various grotesque hues. The logic would be to substitute photographs for illustrations, or in the very least, to employ Black artists to do the illustrating.

To appease the anger of critics, the publishers began, during the ‘Sixties, to revise their texts. This was simple for all they did was shade the skin with brown hues and blacken the hair. The outcome was more and more Black characterizations. The effect, though, was, and still is, a black-faced version of a white person. A case serving for comparison is seen in the 4th grade reader, *From Codes to Captains*. The 1960 edition of this text has a complete absence of Blacks with but one exception, that of a naval steward.
photographed on board a submarine, at page 361. It was noted that the 1963 revised edition, however, though not in the 126 books analyzed in this study, depicts a male scientist, at page 81, and a female scientist, at page 84, as both being Black, as characterized by their brown skin and black hair. In the earlier 1960 edition, at pages 81 and 84, these same characters were portrayed as having white skin and light-colored hair. The only thing "revised" was the metamorphosis of two scientists.

Worthy of note was the increase in the number of pages of late texts as compared to their counterparts of the earlier period. Not only was this increase due to greater attention given to the new technology with the advent of Sputnik, and to international politics and concern for the state of the world, but also to the inclusion of Blacks and other American minorities into the American mainstream and concern for equitable representation in these United States.

Since today's textbooks are larger than in the past, children are being more exposed to textual materials than ever before. The key here is to have the children identify with a particular person or group in an environment that is not demeaning. With this in mind, descriptive studies, such as this present one, are needed to check the present characterizations as depicted in these texts. The researcher was aware, too, that other criteria are involved in evaluating a textbook. Racial ethnic balance, however, are essential and commonly ignored ones. In fairness, of course, it must be said that the publishers, likewise, are becoming increasingly mindful of this concern.

Conclusions

The results obtained from the analysis of the data derived from the sample of the study warrant the following conclusions:

1. Primary grade textbooks of the 1970's do depict more accurate images of Black Americans with respect to occupational and physical characteristics than those published prior to 1960.

2. Primary grade textbooks of the 1970's do present a less stereotyped view of Black Americans today than prior to the Civil Rights movement of the 1960's.

3. Black Americans are given a larger proportional allocation of space in today's textbooks than those published prior to 1960.

Of 23 social studies texts published during the 1950-60 period, only two were recommended; of 40 basal readers published during the same period, no books were recommended. Of 25 social studies texts published during the 1970-73 period, only nine were recommended; and, of the 38 basal readers published during this period, only nine were recommended. Broken down
into percentages, the earlier texts showed that slightly more than three percent were recommended, whereas the later texts showed an improvement to an almost thirty percent figure.

The material depicted in the 126 books ranged all the way from that which was accurate and reasonably constructive to that which was misleading and bias. The summary of overall results showed that 16 of the 18 chi-square tests were significant at the .01 level. The two non-significant tests stemmed from the small number of instances in the 1950's sampling.

The neglect or disregard of Black Americans in the 1950-60, and to a lesser degree, the 1970-73 texts, was probably due to weakness on the part of textbook publishers to yield to temptation to get the most lucrative circulation. On the whole, however, the researcher found that even in those texts published during 1970-73, but not recommended, Blacks were treated more fairly than they had in the past.

REFERENCES


**APPENDIX A**

**STEPS IN THE TEXTBOOK LISTING PROCESS**

(New York City Public Schools)

1. **Sources of Instructional Material.**
   Office of Textbook and Supplies, Board of Education, invites all active publishers, semi-annually, to submit textbooks and other instructional materials, for possible listing of one of the four supplements produced each year. Recommendations for listing also made by pedagogical staff of New York City school system.

2. **The Organization Step.**
   Collection of materials, classification, and distribution to appropriate textbook appraisal committees.

3. **Reading and Recommendations.**
   Reading and recommendations by committees of teachers and supervisors, including referral to Subject Directors of books involving special problems.

4. **Preparation of Lists.**
   Lists of items recommended. Lists of items not recommended. Lists of items still under consideration.

5. **Approval.**
   Approval by Deputy Superintendent, Instructional Services.

*Information concerning the "Listing Process" was obtained from an interview with Mr. Allan Gillam, Textbook Analyst, assigned to the Office of Textbooks and Supplies, Board of Education of the City of New York, under directorship of Dr. Leo J. Steinlein. Mr. Gillam informed the researcher (on March 9th, 1973), that the listing process in the 1955 publication, *Selecting Instructional Materials for the Public Schools of New York City,* has been fundamentally changed by Decentralization Law, section of the State Education Law, of 1969.*
6. **Approval.**
   Approval by Chancellor.

7. **Authorization by Board of Education Upon Recommendation of Chancellor and Deputy Superintendent, Instructional Services.**
   Central Board of Education votes and approves educational merits of proposed lists.

8. **Contractural Compliances.**
   Bureau of Supplies, responsible for contractural compliances with publishers, etc.

9. **Distribution of Lists.**
   Bureau of Supplies also responsible for printing and distribution of textbooks and supplies lists and supplementary lists to schools.

**APPENDIX B**

**WORK-SHEET**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Publisher</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Pages</th>
<th>Grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**STEREOTYPICAL PRESENTATIONS**

**Occupational Stereotypes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupations</th>
<th>Black Men</th>
<th>Black Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Collar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Service</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment, Sports, The Arts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menial Services</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Portrayals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Physical Stereotypes** (apply how features are shown in illustrations or cartoons)

**Characteristics**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Black</th>
<th>Blacks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brown-faced version of a White person</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accurate presentation of a Negro (anthropological)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caricatured features and exaggerations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Portrayals</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**The Setting**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Black Caricature</th>
<th>American Caricature</th>
<th>(Check appropriateness)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Action or activities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surroundings</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MULTI-ETHNIC PRESENTATIONS
Whether the pictures depict the true, existing ethnic population mix for the setting represented. A check-off procedure is applied in either YES or NO box. YES____ NO____
If NO, why?__________________________________________

SPACE PRESENTATIONS
Measurement of pages is a rough count in relation to the whole book—a proportional relationship between Black Americans with those of other racial and ethnic groups.
Pages: BLACKS_____ OTHERS_____

CRITERIA FOR RECOMMENDATIONS
In assessing this textbook, the following criteria are used to decide whether to recommend it or not:
1. Is there fairly similar kind of treatment presenting occupational stereotypes, with specific reference to menial services, entertainment, and housewife? YES____ NO____
2. Is there fairly similar kind of treatment presenting physical stereotypes, particularly those depicting caricatured exaggerations? YES____ NO____
3. Is there fairly similar kind of treatment presenting stereotyped settings, particularly those depicting caricatured exaggerations? YES____ NO____
4. Is there fairly similar kind of treatment with respect to multi-ethnic presentations, exhibiting "segregated" depictions? YES____ NO____
5. Is there a lack of Black representation based upon proportional allocation of space? YES____ NO____
An affirmative response to any one of these criteria would judge this book as inadequate, resulting in the book not to be recommended. In other words, for this book to be recommended, it would have to meet all five criteria grouped together as one negative response.

EVALUATION
Recommended______ Not Recommended ________
Social Studies curriculum specialists are now showing considerable interest in conflict resolution, but they are having trouble finding a variety of conflict resolution approaches. I have made a beginning on preparing a repertoire of creative and peaceful approaches. I will describe it, show how it contrasts with the material in presently available social studies curricula, and report some effects of teaching part of the repertoire to some high school students.

CREATIVE, PEACEFUL CONFLICT RESOLUTION APPROACHES

In the early '60's, because of their concern about nuclear war, behavioral scientists began suggesting creative, peaceful diplomatic innovations for use when traditional diplomacy reaches an impasse. These innovations form a distinct class of conflict resolution methods which seem not to have been collected into one book nor considered as a separate class. I will sketch a definition of this creative, peaceful class of approaches and will present a repertoire of twenty-seven such approaches. Hopefully this repertoire is sufficiently powerful and lengthy to convince people of the inexhaustible number of means for dealing with conflict without using violence. This conviction could prolong search for these means during dangerous crises.

Examples from the repertoire include nonviolent demonstrations, Charles Osgood’s Graduated Reciprocal Initiatives in Tension-reduction (with the acronym, GRIT), (Osgood, 1962), Muzafar Sherif’s superordinate goals (Sherif, 1966), and Roger Fisher’s fractionation of conflict (Fisher, 1969).

Graduated Reciprocal Initiatives in Tension-reduction are announced de-escalation steps taken without consulting the opponent. The purpose of the initiative is to induce the opponent to follow suit with a step of his own, followed by one by the original party, etc. Each step is small enough so that one opponent cannot take advantage of the other. The GRIT approach is particularly applicable when opponents are unwilling to negotiate with each other. One of its purposes is to reduce tensions sufficiently so that opponents will negotiate with each other. Arms races would seem to be a particularly relevant issue for the GRIT approach.
Superordinate goals are purposes that cannot be achieved without cooperation among contenders and which offer goal-satisfaction for all sides. These goals supersede the lower-order goals with which the contenders began. In the Cuban missile crisis, for example, the Soviet goal of installing the missiles and the United States’ goal of removing them were superseded by the superordinate goal of avoiding nuclear war, making possible the removal of the missiles in return for a no-invasion pledge. Cooperation on superordinate goals can reduce hostilities, making further cooperation possible.

Fractionation of conflict means the breaking up of disputes into elements that might be settled separately. The more easily resolved elements are dealt with first to build a momentum of trust. If trust is not forthcoming, a partial solution is at least salvaged. The Test Ban Treaty barring nuclear tests above ground but not below it stands as an example.

The general class of creative, peaceful approaches to conflict is considered here in an international context, but it applies to all levels. These approaches are alternatives beyond flight, fight, or simple compromise (where the only question is where the loaf will be split). They are often built on contenders’ common interests.

Creative, peaceful approaches to conflict are distinguished from the ordinary, peaceful class of approaches; from ordinary, violent ones; and from creative, violent ones. The ordinary, peaceful class of approaches includes simple compromises. The ordinary, violent class of approaches includes the threat of a military frontal attack or of an economic boycott. The fourth class involves creative, violent methods, such as a *fait accompli*. Table one cross tabulates these classes.

### TABLE 1

**Four Classes of Approaches to Conflicts**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ordinary Approaches</th>
<th>Creative Approaches</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peaceful Approaches</td>
<td>e.g., a compromise that splits the difference</td>
<td>e.g., fractionation of conflict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent Approaches</td>
<td>e.g., a threat of military frontal attack or of economic boycott</td>
<td>e.g., a <em>fait accompli</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

52
I have distinguished four inclusive classes of conflict-management approaches, each of which has dozens or perhaps hundreds of individual approaches. These, in turn, are very useful for generating specific strategies, of which there are an infinite number. An example of a strategy of ordinary, peaceful compromising would be Adlai Stevenson’s suggestion during the Cuban missile crisis that the American missiles in Turkey be removed in return for the removal of the Soviet ones in Cuba. An example of an ordinary, violent threat in that crisis would be the military alert. The agreement not to invade Cuba if the missiles were removed would be an example of a peaceful, creative superordinate goal. The partial quarantine of Cuba would be an example of a threat of a violent, creative blockade approach.

Sometimes strategies within all four classes are used in a single crisis. Often a strategy from one class depends for its success upon the use of a strategy from another class. Nonviolent demonstrations, for example, are a creative, peaceful approach which frequently depend for their effectiveness on the fear that things will get out of hand and become violent.

The terms, creative and peaceful are not easy to define. The concept, creative, in the sense used here means being productive of specific strategies, which are unusual, remote, flexible, and numerous. These qualities are taken mainly from Guilford’s list of factors that make up creativity (Guilford, 1967, ch.6). Definitions are found in Table two.

**TABLE 2**

**Aspects of Creativity in Conflict Resolution**

| Productive          | One arranges goal-satisfaction for all contenders. |
|                     | One avoids destruction, minimizes threats, seeks force reductions. |
| Unusual             | One goes beyond fighting, doing nothing, arranging simple compromise or bargaining, where the question is only where the loaf will be split. |
|                     | The creative solution is not often thought of at first. |
| Remote              | May include a change of set. |
|                     | Is beyond the bargaining positions the contenders began with. |
| Flexible            | No component of the problem is initially taken as given. |
|                     | One can cooperate and contend with another party concurrently. |
| Numerous            | Many strategies are conceived. |
The concept, peace, in the negative, passive sense is easy to define: the absence of war or other hostilities. In the active sense, peace means those interactions that promote harmonious relations and promote the development of personal potentialities. Such interactions might be trade relations marked by distributive justice, cultural relations marked by diffusion, and dispute settlement that is likely to avoid an outbreak of hostilities. Further, active peace involves relationships that are intended to reduce levels of armaments. Finally it requires an attitude among adversaries whereby they seek to preserve each other's interests and identity.

Some people in glancing over the repertoire given here conclude that the approaches are obvious, have been known in folklore for centuries, and are simply different names for compromise. These views overlook the fact that most of the approaches were not articulated until the 1960's, which means that they were available before then to artists in negotiation but not to the rest of us. Also overlooked is the fact that the repertoire is an analytic breakdown of types of compromise, not a restatement of the principle of compromise in interchangeable terms.

SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULUM

When translated into curriculum the creative, peaceful class of conflict resolution approaches contrasts with other social studies curricula. Such a curriculum is mainly cognitive, while many others having to do with conflict are mainly affective, urging amity among peoples or urging peaceful resolution of conflict out of an appreciation for the dangers and horrors of war. My proposal would have students consider a large variety of ways of dealing with a given conflict, whereas many social studies materials offer only a few ways—frequently falling under liberal, conservative, and middle-of-the-road positions. Most of the new social studies materials teach general methods of inquiry, such as historical methodology or legal justification procedures. Implicit in the work of these materials is the assumption that the student will learn to recognize, conceive, and evaluate conflict resolution methods on his own. Most curricula fail to stress strategizing, except through simulation games. These, however, rely mainly on the students' imaginations, with the result that sophisticated strategies too often fail to come to mind. In another sense the study of a spectrum of conflict resolution approaches stresses what could be done about crises; as opposed to traditional curriculum, which focuses on what was done; and the new social studies, which emphasizes opinions about what should be done. Obviously the repertoire presented here could be used by curriculum makers of all these types.
It is evident that these kinds of curriculum often teach about only part of the process of making a decision and acting upon it. I am proposing the addition of another part, the examination of a spectrum of options. I would hope that my proposal would be integrated into a thorough program on decision making rather than being taught as a fragment.

EFFECTS OF TEACHING THE APPROACHES

Curriculum specialists of all persuasions are chastened as to the power of schooling to make major changes in students' cognitive capacities. A tendency, for example, for a student to think in stereotypes is likely to be very stable. I would like to suggest that even though such students can rarely be taught to avoid categorical thinking, they can more readily be taught to expand the number of categories they will consider when dealing with a problem. The following exploratory study lends support to this proposition.

The study centered around the teaching of a three week unit on the five creative, peaceful approaches to conflict mentioned above to three classes of high school seniors in a community typical of "Middle America." The approaches were taught by programmed instruction and were then applied by the students in discussions of current and hypothetical crises. The instruments used to measure the effects of the teaching were a classroom test, a preference questionnaire, and interviews. I taught the three experimental classes. Three other classes made up the control group.

The hope was that the teaching would move the students beyond the tendency to respond to crises by conceiving of and favoring only fighting, unspecified "talking things over," or doing nothing. I had observed this closed-minded "fight-gab-or-do-nothing" syndrome widely before and documented it in the responses of the students described here. The main purpose of the study, then, was to determine the extent to which these sophisticated, general approaches would enable students to create specific peaceful strategies for resolving difficult conflicts, particularly in the international realm.

Significant effects of this sort for the sample as a whole were not found, although there were many indications of ways in which the study could be redesigned so that they would appear.

The most interesting result of the study was the effect the creative, peaceful approaches had on closed-minded students, who so often rely on stereotyped responses rather than considering a range of options. The Rokeach dogmatism scale was used to define and identify closed-mindedness (Rokeach, 1960). People with this quality tend to distrust an opponent but to trust their own government to an excessive extent in both cases. Considerable question existed in my mind as to whether those students would even respond
to the approaches. Closed-minded people tend to believe that they share no common interests with opponents. The approaches also encompass new belief systems, which Rokeach showed closed people have trouble dealing with. My hope was that they would respond to the approaches because these are themselves rigid in the sense of being limited, defined categories.

In spite of the theoretical doubts about whether the closed students would respond to the approaches and in spite of the comprehension difficulties some of these students had, many of them (more than the open ones) readily accepted the approaches and found occasion to use them in their own lives. The 23-student subsample that was studied for transfer effects resembled the experimental group as a whole in several important respects shown in Table three.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Comparison of Transfer-effect Subsample with Experimental Group</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subsample (N23)</th>
<th>Experimental group (N63)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IQ</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average test grade</td>
<td>C+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Social Class (10-point scale)</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**Average Rokeach score</td>
<td>—.26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The Blau-Duncan Scale
**The Dogmatism Scale

Twenty-three students—half of the experimental group—were interviewed concerning transfer effects. Sixty percent of these students—both open and closed ones—claimed to have used the approaches in their own lives, even though no assignment to do so had been made. The regular teacher doubted half of the usage claims, but even so, a transfer effect of 30% is strong. He did not doubt closed students more than open ones. To a striking extent, however, it was the closed students who said they used the approaches. The uses were specified in each case. Of the 23-student subsample that was studied for transfer effects, ten out of eleven closed students, claimed to have used the approaches. Only one-third of the ten open students claimed to have done so. The cross tabulation is shown in Table four.
TABLE 4
The Closed-mindedness of the Transfering Students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Claimed to have used the approaches</th>
<th>Claimed not to have used the approaches</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Open students</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(X Rokeach score: +.09)*</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closed students</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(X Rokeach score: —.79)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
*Median for whole sample: —.21

These results are statistically significant by the Chi square test (P .01). (But they are not fully reliable because the second column has one less student than is needed to make that test appropriate, and the sample only approximated a random selection.) Possibly the results can be explained partially by the fact that the transfer group had a higher mean IQ (110) than did the nontransfer group (103).

Some examples will show how the approaches were used. The custom in the community where I taught is to go on dates which are not planned in advance and which involve circulating through stores and through gathering places for young people. There are more places to go than time will allow and there are places which only one partner wants to visit. The closed students are caught between the old belief that the boy chooses where to go and the modern belief that the girl should have a say—particularly on such dates where many of the things to do cost nothing. The result is a constant, tense attempt by members of both sexes to have their own way. The open students are partially open to the new beliefs and are trusting enough to ask their partners what they would like to do some of the time. The tension-reducing initiatives revealed to some of the closed students a mechanism for reciprocal giving-in to the other person’s desires in small steps without being exploited. After the experimental treatment, these students began a date with an offer to go where the partner wanted. They often found that the partner reciprocated the offer later.

Another example is particularly interesting in that the student was very interested in reducing tension even when he was clearly trying to achieve his own way. The incident also illustrated how the approaches may have provided the authority which closed-minded students often need in order to act. A boy who was one of the most closed-minded and imaginative people in the sample stayed out until 3 a.m. one night, which made his parents angry.
The next night, he said, he did not come in at all. This was a nonviolent demonstration. Probably he had argued the question of hours with his parents for years, but he claimed that staying out all night was a new application of what he had learned in class. The notion of nonviolent demonstration was presented in class as a legitimate technique, and the boy seems to have gotten the idea and the sense of authority for taking a strong stand he no doubt would have liked to have taken in some form before.

His comment on the incident reveals that he was not exclusively concerned about gaining his way or asserting revenge against his parents' anger. He said, "My parents cooled down after I tried this tension-reducing initiative." The incident, of course, would not be regarded by most people as tension-reducing, but his concern for an easing of feelings is evident.

A quotation from a second closed student provides another example: "One day my boss wanted me to do one thing and I wanted to do another so we settled on a third thing, the backlogged filing." This resolution is a superordinate goal. The same approach was used by a student to work out his view of what to do about the Vietnam war: he favored placing the problem under the control of an international commission.

**DISCUSSION**

These students had the usual conflicts adolescents face, such as occasional disagreements with their dates, arguments with their parents about how late to stay out, and conflicts in their minds about what the country should do about the serious problems it faces. The open students had found a variety of ways to deal with such conflicts. When faced with a problem, they handled it intuitively, not with prescriptions.

The closed students, however, suffered more tension over their personal conflicts and had more frustration about public problems because these students did not like what was happening in Vietnam and other areas, did not know what else could be done, and yet chauvinistically supported government leadership on principle.

The approaches seem to have done for the closed-minded students what generalizations about conflict resolution had failed to do in the past. These students had been told many times that violence should be minimized, tension reduced, and common interests sought (i.e., the principles behind the approaches). The students had been told that the spirit is what counts in such things, not so much the letter. I had tried to teach the spirit of the approaches in the pilot study without success in the case of the closed-minded students. Closed-minded students had not been able to work out specific strategies because of overdependence on authority; because of the idea that a contender cannot be trusted; and other reasons. For these students, the approaches helped untie the bind between the spirit and the letter of
cooperation by spelling out sophisticated methods of resolving conflicts in an authoritative way, in specific ways, and in an inclusive (superordinate) manner that would allow the students to continue to distrust in a general sense the out-groups with whom they or their country are contending while working for common interests opponents can be trusted to work for. Also, because the approaches are based on the search for common interests, a closed-minded contender can deal with these mutual goals without fear that his own dogmatically held belief system will need to be modified in order for an agreeable settlement to be reached.

The closed students may have been able to accept the approaches because familiar reasons for doing so could be found. The main reasons used were to reduce violence and to add new ways of compromising. The open students who accepted the approaches gave reasons involving violence reduction, but seemed already to know a variety of ways of compromising. One closed-minded and very bright girl expressed the two reasons in this way: "I believed before that force was the only way or else compromise. Now I see that there's more than one way to compromise, and other more satisfactory ways of dealing with problems." The closed students, then, apparently had a limited, categorical view of compromise, which the approaches extended.

The results of the teaching for the closed-minded students were modest; I saw no evidence of greater openness in general, greater trust, or greater empathy. But the approaches provided the important step of specifying alternatives for resolving conflicts in dilemmas and impasses where hostile assertion or simple compromising had not worked.

The overriding value of the creative, peaceful approaches is that they can provide a spectrum of options that can reduce the necessity for an endlessly persisting stalemate, reduce the need for tension to continuously escalate while negotiation drags on, or reduce the likelihood of exhausting all the promising nonviolent strategies for dealing with a particular crisis. Thus, when students consider a particular conflict, with these approaches in mind, these students are more likely to come up with options which preserve their interests and integrity and those of their opponents without violence. The study suggests that it is easier to make closed-minded people more peaceful by teaching them many specific methods for resolving conflict than to try to reverse their closed-mindedness or to make them more amicable because these are stable qualities.
APPENDIX

A REPERTOIRE OF CREATIVE, PEACEFUL APPROACHES TO INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT

Introduction

There are several reasons for including this repertoire in an education journal. To begin with, the impetus for preparing this repertoire came partly from a call by Maurice Hunt and Lawrence Metcalf for third alternatives for negotiation (1968, p. 35). These are positions that encompass the two positions with which a pair of bargainers enter into negotiations. In a private conversation, Metcalf indicated to me that he thought alternative-seeking was perhaps the most basic thought process that should be taught in social studies education.

A second impetus for preparing the repertoire came from the discovery that none existed. The creative, peaceful class of conflict resolution approaches generally appear sporadically in several literatures. At first it might seem strange that a social studies educator would be the one to assemble the repertoire. But such a judgment suggests a false sense of inferiority caused by the downgrading of education departments by members of other departments in universities. In fact, social studies educators share with philosophers an ability to work in many fields. Thus we are in a position to contribute substantively as well as pedagogically.

But pedagogy and substance are, of course, closely linked. The educational task I am proposing partly involves convincing students that one can practically never exhaust the ways of dealing with a conflict without violence. The students in my research initially believed that the only alternatives available to deal with conflict are simple compromise, avoidance, reliance on a higher authority, or the threat of violence. The students thought this meant that when avoidance is inappropriate, no higher authority exists, and an opponent refuses a simple compromise, one must inevitably threaten to use violence. Clearly scholarship is needed to counter this belief, and hopefully the repertoire is a beginning which social studies educators can use to devise pedagogical strategies for teaching a more complex view of the world.

The dynamics of these approaches are still unclear. However, we do not need to wait for professional scholarship on the dynamics of creative, peaceful conflict resolution. Students are quite capable of deriving these themselves in discussion of exemplary instances or in role-playing of their own conflicts.²
Elmore Jackson (1952) and Fred Charles Ikle (1964) made earlier attempts at the same sort of list, and both found the task to be a fledgling, pioneering one, as it still is. The point is to become adept at using a number of the approaches and to be alert to the underlying idea that varying anything in a conflict can produce a new approach for settling it. No implication is meant here to the effect that ordinary, peaceful approaches for dealing with conflict are not valuable. These include arbitration, mediation, good offices, conciliation, court decisions, conversion, and face-saving.

As an inclusive convenience for organizing the repertoire, the approaches are divided into six categories based on what dimension of a conflict is mainly involved: the parties involved (Who), the bases of the conflict (What), the place (Where), the timing (When), the nature of the involvement (How), and the causes (Why). Many of the items involve more than one of these categories. The explanation of each item is brief because the repertoire is more of a checklist than a complete treatment. Most of the items on the list can themselves be broken up into several subcategories. Nonviolence, for example, has over 200 forms in Gene Sharp's classification (1973).

In contrast to the approaches given here, many peace plans are long-term affairs. However, the time difference is not so distinguishing as it may at first appear, for the longer term approaches are likely to come about in increments marked by the very sort of crises discussed here. Indeed, major system-change itself may not come about except in reaction to a major nuclear crisis. Thus crisis management of the sort presented here is closely connected to more fundamental approaches to peace.

**Vary Who Is Involved**

A. Unilaterally take an initiative, hoping to influence the adversary.

1. Graduated reciprocation in tension-reduction (GRIT) (Osgood, 1962). One side de-escalates by a small amount. If the other side follows suit, further de-escalation can proceed. Each step should be sufficiently small so that the other side cannot take advantage of it. The technique is used when face saving problems or the like prevent contenders from negotiating an agreement. (Arms budget reduction are particularly amenable to GRIT.)

2. Tacit agreements. The parties to a dispute can separately settle it when it is politically impossible to deal with it by agreement. (After the peace talks in the Korean War began, the dispute between patrols of soldiers as to which side controlled what ground was settled temporarily in this way: Communist patrols took to the high ground, UN patrols stayed in the valleys in a few areas.)
B. Change the parties involved.

1. Permitting concessions by virtue of the strength of a new negotiator's partisanship. It is possible to bring to power a person or political party holding a position against the opponent so firmly that domestic opinion will permit concessions. (President Nixon held such a firm anti-communist position that he could recognize Red China, whereas Democratic presidents thought they would have lost too much domestic support by doing so.)

2. Changing to higher echelons (Fisher, 1969). The assumption can be made that disagreement comes from lower echelon officers in the adversary's government. Upper echelon officers can then come to agreement. (Krushchev offered Eisenhower an 'out' in the U-2 Crisis: Blame the flights on the CIA.)

3. Pinpointing of cooperative officials (Fisher, 1969, p. 69). Rather than expecting an entire adversary group, or even an entire adversary national government to accept a settlement offer, it can be determined who can do what is wanted and an offer can be made to him (or them). (Soviet-American conservation of fur-bearing seals in the North Pacific continued through the ups and downs of the cold war because fish-and-wildlife officials were the individuals asked to cooperate in that conservation crisis (Fisher, 1969, p. 73.).)

Vary What Is Involved

A. Seek common interests to build upon.

1. Superordinate goals (Sherif, 1966). These are inclusive purposes that cannot be achieved without cooperation among contenders and which offer goal-satisfaction for all sides. (During the Cuban missile crisis, the goal of avoiding nuclear war replaced the goals of removing the missiles from Cuba and of preventing an American invasion of Cuba. The solution—the American promise not to invade, providing the missiles were withdrawn—satisfied the earlier, apparently incompatible goals.)

Synergy (Fuller, 1970, p. 64). Relationships can be exploited in which the whole is greater than the sum of the parts. (When third world countries set aside their disagreements and join together on an issue before the UN, their political power is greater than it is when they act separately. Other nations can afford to offend them individually much more than when an offense against one is an offense against a major section of the world. This synergy can be used to enhance the object of the third world nations' dispute, e.g., if they are disputing the amount of trade each will have with the United States, they might win a larger total amount of such trade if they were to act together.)

62
3. Fractionation of conflict (Fisher, 1969, p. 90). The breaking up of disputes into elements that can be settled separately. One purpose of fractionation is to settle agreeable parts of a dispute first in order to build trust for settling more difficult parts later. An alternate purpose is to identify those elements, upon which agreement can be reached in order to salvage as much as possible from a diplomatic conference that otherwise might break down with no results. (The Test Ban Treaty secured an agreement to avoid atmospheric tests but not ones underground. Without the fractionation, no treaty might have been signed.)

4. Potential agreement discussions (Jackson, 1952, p. 157). Discuss what could be agreed, as a preface to attempting to arrive at an actual decision. (Such discussion at the UN about the Cyprus dispute resulted in the passage of Security Council resolutions that led to the policing of the cease-fire there. No power used its veto during the Security Council meetings that followed these discussions about potential agreement (Falk and Mendlovitz, 1966, p. 193).)

5. Common means for different ends (Lindblom, 1959, p. 83). When agreement cannot be secured on the criteria for a good program, an acceptable program can still be found which will be a means for achieving different goals of the parties. (The Soviet and American governments could never agree on what constitutes a proper election, but they did agree at Geneva in 1954 on the provisions for an election, in Vietnam. The American goals had to do with ending the fighting through familiar, “fair” electoral procedures. The Soviet goals had to do with exploiting foreign electoral procedures to win control of territory in a situation where they knew their side would be victorious.)

6. Functional analysis of disputes (Burton, 1969). Deal with the fundamental problems underlying a dispute rather than concentrating exclusively on the immediate, symptomatic manifestations of it. Any dispute can be reduced to a conflict over material welfare, status, power, etc. Frequently, alternate, more acceptable ways can be found to serve these functions than the particular means the contenders were quarreling about in the first place. Sometimes these alternate ways are ones on which the disputants can cooperate. (Part of the Middle East crisis boils down to the lack of sufficient water and how to blame the other side for the lack. A functional analysis of this part of the dispute would lead to an attempt to develop desalinization plants for the area so that sufficient water could be available and scapegoating would be unneeded.)
B. Bring in subjects unrelated to the object of the dispute.

1. Package deals. Make a package deal involving a current dispute and an unrelated outstanding disagreement; one side gets the advantage in the current dispute, the other side gets the advantage in the outstanding disagreement. (That the United States agreed to joint submission to arbitration of damage claims with Mexico in 1923 probably made the latter more willing to accept arbitration of alleged damages arising out of revolutionary acts in Mexico.)

Vary Where Things Are Involved

A. Integrate or Assimilate.

1. Formation of a security community (Deutsch, 1957). Contenders come to enjoy sufficient value-agreement so as to drop their defenses against each other and to defend against outsiders jointly. The locus of a dispute is changed from the near to the more distant. (Canadian-American integration stands as an example.)

Vary When Things Are Involved

A. Postpone resolution of a dispute while trying to build trust.

1. Functionalism (Mitrany, 1946). Common loyalties can be built through functional organizations. (The International Geophysical Year, joint space exploration, and the International Postal Union have resulted, it is hoped, in trust concerning more contentious matters.) Functional organizations rule on disputes that were formerly dealt with politically or militarily.

B. Postpone the resolution of a dispute while trying to build disgust.

1. Disgust-building (Aron, 1966, p. 464). A dispute can be continued until one or both sides would rather liquidate it with all its trouble than gain a victory. (It was for this reason that France finally allowed the plebiscite which turned the Saar region over to the Germans (Ibid.).)

C. Untie a double bind.

1. Interdependent actions. Things can be done simultaneously that would otherwise not happen because each depends upon the other's having occurred. (If country a will loan resources to country b only if these are used for joint development with country c, the loan and the commitment contracts can both be signed at once.)

2. Separation of the unacceptable. Things which would be unacceptable to the parties if they occurred together can be done separately. (Governments that did not recognize each other signed the Test Ban Treaty at separate times and on separate drafts.)
Vary the Reasons Why Things Happen

A. Rationalize your opponent's position.

1. Rationalization of a loss (Aron, 1966, p. 465). A loss can be rationalized with references to your fundamental principles, e.g., your material gain is granted by my sense of justice. (The Saar plebiscite was a loss of territory for France, but was proclaimed by her as being consistent with her ideals of freedom (Ibid.).)

Vary How Things Are Involved

A. Remove violence from the contest, but continue the contest.

1. Weak-power nonviolence. A lesser power influences a greater one by nonmilitary protest, noncooperation, or intervention. (India secured its independence partly through nonviolent resistance. Afterwards England was not an enemy.)

2. Great-power nonviolence. A greater power uses nonviolent techniques to prevail over a lesser power in a situation where a traditional show of force would be inappropriate. (In the late 1940's Americans wrote to Italian relatives urging them to vote against Communist candidates in an election. This gesture was judged to have swung the election.)

B. Increase your credibility rather than the amount of your offer (Fisher, 1969, p. 117).

1. The escrow system. Assure the adversary that he will get what you are offering. (Had President Johnson put development money for the Mekong Delta into the Asian Development Bank instead of just promising it to North Vietnam, that country might have believed he meant to aid Indo-China and cooperated in the venture (Ibid., p. 109).)

C. Vary procedural and substantive approaches.

1. Substitution of procedure for substance (Ibid., p. 76). Rather than working for a substantive result, seek the result of a fair and acceptable procedure. (The Geneva Convention of 1954 proposed elections, not a particular government for Vietnam.)

2. The little kids' cake splitting method (Fuller, 1960, p. 1). One side divides a scarce resource; the other has first choice. (The U.S. government's 1962 proposal for general and complete disarmament includes a provision directing nations to divide their territory into zones, some of which the international inspection agency could choose for inspection (U.S.A.C.D.A., 1962, p. 16).)

3. Agreement on procedures. Agreeable procedures can be established as a preface to agreeing on substantive issues. For example, in damage-claim cases between two countries, it is often agreed that the
matter will be settled by a domestic court in the defendant country, rather than by an international tribunal, by diplomatic negotiation, or by arbitration. (During World War II, Peru posted bond to obtain the release by the United States of a ship for which Peru claimed immunity. The bond was not returned. Peru took the case through American courts and recovered on its bond (*Ex. Parte Republic of Peru* 318 U.S. 578 (1943)).)

D. Use an effective group dynamics system.

1. A neutral person chairs meetings of adversaries. He summarizes the sense of the meeting, accepts corrections or dissents, but never takes a vote. (Hammarskjold chaired meetings of Americans and Soviets concerning atoms for peace this way. Dissents were never registered (Alexandrowicz, 1966, p. 316).)

2. Controlled communication (Burton, 1969). Social scientists meet with adversaries, not, ostensibly, to settle the conflict but to find solutions to underlying problems behind it. Blaming is discouraged, misperception social psychology experiments are described, the conflict is treated abstractly, and similar historical conflicts are described. (A partial solution (unspecified) to the Cyprus conflict occurred after controlled communication was used with diplomats from the London embassies of Cyprus, Greece, and Turkey (*Ibid.*).)

3. International encounter group (Doob, 1970). An encounter group among statesmen or political scientists from disputing nations can be formed, deliberately, or after the dispute has come up of its own accord, an agreeable solution can be sought. (Political scientists from Ethiopia and Somalia decided upon the proposal to make disputed territory into a temporary neutral zone until new regimes came to power in the competing countries who could more readily negotiate a permanent settlement (*Ibid.*, p. 51).)
FOOTNOTES

1 Adapted from Some Effects of Teaching Adolescents Some Creative Peaceful Approaches to International Conflict, Richard W. Fogg, 1972, Harvard School of Education. (Unpublished dissertation available from University Microfilms, 300 N. Zeeb Rd., Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106.) This article is a revision of a paper given at the C.U.F.A. portion of the N.C.S.S. convention in Boston in 1972. The research was supported by a grant from the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

2 For printed and videotape materials on her very fine role-playing work with elementary school students on conflict resolution, write to Genevieve Walsh, The Society of Friends, 13 E. 17th Street, New York, New York 10003.

3 Frank Krippel, an American participant.


5 Ibid.


REFERENCES

Alexandrowicz, Charles H., “The Secretary General of the UN,” in Falk (below).


Osgood, Charles, *An Alternative to War or Surrender.* (Urbana, Ill.: 1962).


A STUDY OF THE ATTITUINAL EFFECTS OF
STUDENT RESPONSES TO TWO LEVELS OF
SOCIAL SCIENCE QUESTIONS

Robin McKeown
University of California, Riverside

There has been a rather extensive research effort devoted to the study of the effects of various planned cognitive experiences on the formation and change of attitudes. Hovland, Lumsdaine, and Sheffield (1949) demonstrated the significant impact of both written and oral factual communications on opinion change. Hovland and Mandell (1952) and Thistlethwaite, deHaan, and Kamenetsky (1955) found that the persuasive power of a communication is differently affected according to whether the audience developed a conclusion or encountered an explicitly stated conclusion. King and Janis (1953) found that requiring Ss to present an improvised oral talk concerning the persuasive communication theme is more effective in changing attitudes than requiring the Ss to read the communication orally or silently. Kelman (1953) also reported that eliciting overt verbalization tends to augment opinion change if it stimulates active rehearsal of convincing arguments. Fishbein (1963) found that the predictability of affect toward attitude objects is partly based on the Ss' belief structure. Among those who have illustrated that a change in affect toward an attitude object could result from a change in belief about that attitude object are Katz, Sarnoff, and McClintock (1956), McGuire (1960), and Fishbein and Raven (1962).

There have been relatively few studies devoted to assessing or measuring the effects of formal instructional strategies and programs on attitudes. Lewin (1947) reported that attitudes toward food habits were affected differently depending upon whether women listened to a lecture or involved themselves in a group discussion. Riestra and Johnson (1964) found that there were significant differences in student attitudinal responses to Spanish speaking peoples according to the method of learning Spanish. Lowery (1965) reported that elementary students completing an inquiry science program became more positive in their attitudes toward the general study of science and scientists than students experiencing a traditional science program. Other researchers such as Weinick (1961), Greenberg (1964), and Hoover (1967) have reported similar findings. The existing body of research, however, does not include a study of the comparative impact of classroom educational programs oriented around higher and lower order questions on student attitudes directly related to the specific subject matter, topics, or attitude objects encountered in such programs.
The above cited research findings were viewed as indicating that when cognitive imbalance, disequilibrium, or modification occurs, the associated affective elements tend to reorganize. Thus, as educational programs stressing different levels of questions provide students with different cognitive experiences, it was hypothesized that the attitudes of students would tend to be affected differently according to whether the students were required to respond to program questions oriented around high order or low order questioning tasks.

PROCEDURES

Subjects

The Ss were 236 ninth and tenth grade students with a mean chronological age of 15.6 years enrolled in eight world studies classes in three urban-sprawl, lower-middle class California high schools. The Ss' mean verbal intelligence score, determined from recent school recorded results of the Lorge-Thorndike Intelligence Test Verbal Battery (Level E, Form 1) was 110.4; the range of IQ scores extended from 80 to 141. Approximately 15 percent of the Ss were identified as being members of an ethnic minority.

Materials

Two social science reading programs, one "high order" and one "low order," appropriate for use in secondary schools were developed. Both programs utilized the same reading materials. In Pilot Study I, 62 ninth and tenth grade students revealed that these materials when read were by themselves capable of changing the attitudes of students significantly (p < .01) according to results recorded on an instrument composed of 48 fifteen point graphic scales administered before and after the students had read the materials. The high order program included four specially designed booklets, each of which offered four different social science perspectives, political, economic, sociological, and cultural-historical, of world studies topics. Together the four booklets included 51 high order questions distributed throughout their 328 pages of reading materials in 19 "end of chapter" sections and in four examinations. These high order questions required written responses averaging 140 words per response. The low order program included four booklets containing exactly the same social science topics and the same reading materials as the high order program except that in place of the high order questions, 283 low order questions were inserted periodically throughout the 328 page program in 24 separate question sections and in five classroom examinations. The questions in the two experimental programs stressed the same social science topics equally. As individual low order questions were more easily answered than high order
questions, it was necessary that the Ss of the two programs respond to a different number of questions in order that they not be differentially exposed to the content of the two programs. In Pilot Study II, 65 ninth and tenth grade students randomly assigned to preliminary versions of the two programs enabled the investigator to determine the number of questions to be included in the two final experimental programs so that the experimental Ss could effectively complete the two programs in an equal length of time.

For this study, a low order question was considered to refer to a category of cognition included in either the "Knowledge" or the "Comprehension" levels of the *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives* (Bloom, et al., 1956). Such a question would require Ss to perform a cognitive task of the type described under the "Knowledge" or "Comprehension" categories such as the recall or recognition of the name of a political leader. A high order question was considered to refer to a category of cognition included in either the "Analysis," "Synthesis," or "Evaluation" levels of the *Taxonomy*. For example, such a question might require a subject to develop a generalization concerning certain social effects of modernization in Japan.

### Measurement Instruments

The experimenter constructed four preliminary sets of 12 statements. Each statement was followed by a 15 point bi-polar graphic scale with the left side divided into two general categories labeled, "Definitely Disagree" and "Mildly Disagree" and the right side divided into two general categories labeled, "Mildly Agree" and "Definitely Agree." A "Neutral" category separated the two poles. Each of the five categories were further divided into three sections. Each S was instructed to mark an "X" in whichever of the 15 categories best indicated his position or feeling concerning the statement on each of the 48 preliminary scales. The responses to the four sets of 12 scales indicated the degree of expressed affect associated with the attitude objects of the four social science program themes. In Pilot Study I, 62 students during a six week period read the program material to be encountered subsequently by the experimental Ss. The pilot study students were not required to answer any program questions, but they were required to respond to the four sets of 12 statement-scales before and after reading the program materials in order that there be an identification of those attitude statement-scales upon which were recorded significant (p < .01) attitude shifts. The results of the pilot study indicated that the students had registered significant (p < .01) attitudinal shifts on 32 of the 48 items when their pre- and post-treatment measurement scores were compared. These 32 items were incorporated into the four experimental pre- and post-measurement instruments in the following manner: sociological instrument, ten items; economic instrument, eight items; political instrument, seven items; cultural-historical instrument, seven items. The Kuder-Richardson Formula
20 test of internal consistency was applied as a measure of reliability. The following reliability results were obtained: sociological instrument, .81; economic instrument, .89; political instrument, .83; cultural-historical instrument, .86.

**Treatment**

The 244 Ss from the eight classrooms were separated into two pools according to sex. The females were randomly assigned to the two programs: 61 to the low order (L.O.) program and 61 to the higher order (H.O.) program. This procedure was repeated for the males. All Ss remained in their original classrooms with their original teacher. Each of the four classroom teachers was responsible for two classes of mixed treatment group Ss. As an example, one of the eight classrooms utilized in the study contained 15 low order program Ss and 17 high order program Ss.

Immediately prior to the implementation of the two experimental programs, the 244 Ss were required to respond to the battery of sociological, economic, political, and cultural-historical attitude measurement instruments. In both the L.O. and H.O. programs, the Ss were restricted to the reading of articles and to the answering of questions in writing for 32 fifty-minute class periods. The Ss were strongly discouraged from discussing the information or the issues encountered throughout the programs' 32 class periods. All Ss were encouraged to read the program materials and to answer the program questions at a rate established as reasonable from the results of the Pilot Study II. The Ss temporarily were allowed to deviate from the suggested rate of progress during the eight class periods allotted for the completion of each booklet. They, however, were required to complete the reading and writing tasks of each booklet in a 400-minute period. The booklets were presented to the Ss in a different sequential order in the eight classrooms in order to avoid an inordinately increased or diminished attention or application to any specific cluster or tasks of the four topical programs. The Ss in both treatment groups read the text materials related to the subsequently listed questions. They then attempted to answer the assigned questions as well as possible. Finally they returned to the text materials, searched for pertinent information, and completed the unanswered or inadequately answered questions. Upon completion of each of the four program booklets, the Ss completed an examination concerning the information encountered. The examination questions were generically similar to those encountered in the Ss' experimental program. These examinations were graded and immediately returned to the Ss. The grade distributions for the two treatment groups were similar.

Two days after completing all of the reading and writing tasks of the four booklet programs, both treatment groups, eventually reduced to 118 Ss each because of excessive school absences on the part of eight Ss, were required to
respond to the statements of the four attitude measurement instruments previously utilized as pre-measurement instruments. Upon completion of the total H.O. and L.O. programs, both treatment groups were also required to respond to attitude measurement scales concerning the Ss' reactions (like/dislike) to the experimental program experiences.

RESULTS

It should be noted that in accord with the results of Pilot Study I both the H.O. program group and the L.O. program group demonstrated significant attitudinal shifts ($p < .01$). In respect to the hypothesis that the H.O. and L.O. groups would change their attitudes differently, the two groups did demonstrate significant differences in the degree of attitudinal change. The H.O. group shifted more than the L.O. group ($p < .01$). The differences between the mean attitudinal gains of the H.O. group and the L.O. group are reported in Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitude Measurement Instruments</th>
<th>Experimental Groups' Gains</th>
<th>Measurement Differences Between Mean Gains</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High Order $N_1=118$</td>
<td>Low Order $N_2=118$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociological</td>
<td>18.00</td>
<td>9.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>10.69</td>
<td>5.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td>7.95</td>
<td>4.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural-Hist.</td>
<td>9.62</td>
<td>3.21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The two sample $T^2$ statistic had an associated $F$ of 6.89 with 4 and 231 degrees of freedom. Under the hypothesis of equal mean vectors, the probability of exceeding such an $F$ value would be less than .0001. Therefore, the statistical null hypothesis of equal mean vectors was rejected at the pre-assigned 5 percent level of significance.

Although the null hypothesis of equal mean vectors was rejected, the simultaneous confidence interval post hoc procedure as described by Morrison (1967, pp. 125-126) was used in order to identify which of the four mean gain differences might reasonably be considered either as having contributed to the significant $T^2$ or as being equal. The resulting confidence
interval for the difference between the attitude mean gains of the H.O. and L.O. sociological program populations was $1.27 \leq \mu_{11} - \mu_{12} \leq 16.13$. For the difference between attitude mean gains of the H.O. and L.O. economic program populations, it was $0.68 \leq \mu_{21} - \mu_{22} \leq 10.62$. For the difference between attitude mean gains of the H.O. and L.O. political program populations, it was $-3.29 \leq \mu_{31} - \mu_{32} \leq 10.59$. For the difference between attitude mean gains of the H.O. and L.O. cultural-historical program populations, it was $1.14 \leq \mu_{41} - \mu_{42} \leq 11.68$. Thus, at the 5 percent joint significance level, the political attitude mean gains of the H.O. and L.O. program Ss did not appear to be significantly different while each of the other three 95 percent simultaneous confidence intervals did indicate significant differences in population mean gains. The attitude gains demonstrated by Ss having experienced each of the sociological, economic, and cultural-historical H.O. programs were so much greater than the attitude gains of those having experienced each of the three counterpart L.O. programs, that any one of the three resulting attitudinal gain differences could account for the significant $T^2$.

Though the post hoc procedure was used to determine the possible sources of variation, it should be noted that the primary objective of the investigator was to ascertain whether or not significant differences existed between the H.O. and L.O. program Ss on the four social science dimensions taken together. To realize this objective more fully, the $T^2$ statistic was employed to determine whether or not the two groups were significantly different when partitioned according to Ss' IQ scores, quality of performance in contending with the programs' tasks, and enjoyment of the programs' experiences. The mean attitudinal gains of the Ss having the highest verbal IQ's in the two treatment groups were compared. The mean verbal IQ of the H.O. group's highest IQ quarter was 125.3; the mean verbal IQ of the L.O. group's highest IQ quarter was 124.3. The two sample $T^2$ statistic had an associated $F$ of 3.24 ($p < .018$) with 4 and 55 degrees of freedom. The mean attitudinal changes of the Ss having the lowest verbal IQ's in the two treatment groups were compared. The mean verbal IQ of the H.O. group's lowest IQ quarter was 99.4; the mean verbal IQ of the L.O. group was 99.3. The two sample $T^2$ statistic had an associated $F$ of 3.56 ($p < .012$) with 4 and 55 degrees of freedom.

The mean attitudinal changes of the Ss most capably performing the cognitive tasks of the two programs were compared. Those Ss judged to be in the highest performance quarter were those with the highest mean scores on the four booklet tests and the final program test. The two sample $T^2$ statistic had an associated $F$ of 5.87 ($p < .0006$) with 4 and 55 degrees of freedom. The mean attitudinal changes of the Ss least capably performing the cognitive tasks of the two programs were compared. The Ss judged as
falling into the lowest performance quarter were those with the lowest mean scores on the four booklets' tests and on the final program test. The two sample $T^2$ statistic had an associated $F$ of 2.37 ($p < .064$) with 4 and 55 degrees of freedom.

The mean attitudinal changes of the Ss rating their experience with the two programs as being most enjoyable were compared. The Ss identified as falling into the highest or "most enjoyed" quarter were those who expressed the most positive affect concerning the H.O. or L.O. program experience by marking three appropriate 15 point graphic bi-polar scales. The two sample $T^2$ statistic had an associated $F$ of 3.47 ($p < .013$) with 4 and 55 degrees of freedom. The mean attitudinal changes of the Ss rating their experience with the two programs as least enjoyable were compared. The Ss identified as falling into the lowest or "least enjoyed" quarter were those who expressed the most negative affect concerning the H.O. or L.O. program experience by marking three appropriate 15 point graphic bi-polar scales. The two sample $T^2$ statistics had an associated $F$ of 6.16 ($p < .0004$) with 4 and 55 degrees of freedom.

Thus, while it was found that in addition to the H.O. group demonstrating significantly greater attitudinal gains than the L.O. program group, it was also found that five of the six subset comparisons revealed significantly ($p < .05$) greater attitude gains occurring within the H.O. program group than within the L.O. group. The results of the subset comparisons tend to support the prior rejection of the hypothesis of equal mean vectors based upon the total H.O. and L.O. group comparisons.

DISCUSSION

In this investigation, a classroom social science reading program previously determined as being attitudinally persuasive was reshaped into two educational programs by adding different sets of questions, each set requiring topically similar but generically different cognitive tasks to be performed. The result that Ss responding to a program stressing questions requiring analytical, synthesizing and evaluative responses changed their social attitudes to a greater extent than did Ss responding to a program stressing questions involving the acquisition and comprehension of information may illustrate that student attitudes are significantly affected by the level or type of question students encounter in the classroom. The results may further be interpreted to indicate that students' verbal ability, degree of program enjoyment, and even quality of performance in a social learning program may not be factors influential enough to affect the differential impact of high order and low order question oriented social studies programs on student attitudes.
It should be noted that the two experimental programs provided reading and writing experiences and prohibited classroom discussion of the issues and topics involved, a rather atypical classroom pattern. In spite of this limitation, it may be reasonable for those involved in the development of social studies curricula, such as programs concerned with socialization or citizenship objectives, to be concerned about the level of questions they employ. It may be that certain social attitudes, beliefs, and values cannot be learned or changed as readily in classroom programs stressing question-tasks oriented around the acquisition and comprehension of information as they can be learned or changed in programs stressing responses to questions oriented around tasks of informational analysis, synthesis, and evaluation.

FOOTNOTES

1 The Hotelling T^2 statistic was considered the most appropriate multivariate test of significance to determine whether or not observations came from populations with a common mean vector. The NYBMUL program for univariate and multivariate analysis of variance and co-variance developed by J. D. Finn, State University of New York, Buffalo was employed in calculating the multivariate tests of hypotheses on means.

2 Mathematically similar to Scheffe’s post hoc test for significant contrasts.

REFERENCES


A review of various elementary texts in the social studies field provides ample evidence that graphics represent a significant segment of text space. The review also demonstrates that graphics, i.e., maps, graphs, and similar visual representations, vary in size, tone, and construction and purportedly are used in social studies texts to add color, to supplement the narrative, and to facilitate achievement of text objectives.

The decorative quality of graphics generally is not debatable, nor is their provision of additional sources of information nor their catalytic purpose for subsequent lessons. Both of the latter have been demonstrated adequately in audio-visual and social studies methods texts. However, the role of graphics as facilitator of achievement is questionable since little empirical evidence is available to substantiate existence of the role.

Since graphics do represent a substantial segment of textbook space, it seemed important to answer the following questions: 1) What roles do graphics play in social studies texts? 2) Do graphics facilitate cognitive achievement? and 3) What methods can be used to improve the efficacy of graphics in elementary social studies texts? This study addressed itself to those questions. To accomplish these objectives, the researcher 1) reviewed previous research to determine what contributions their findings might make to the present study and 2) designed the present study with the express purpose of answering the previous questions.

REVIEW OF RESEARCH

Most of the evidence of graphics efficacy was reported in studies where the main emphasis was a comparison of various types of graphics; e.g., bar graph versus line graph, color drawing versus black and white. The evidence was collected as a result of the inclusion of a non-graphic treatment within the experimental design. The non-graphic treatment helped to determine the effect, if any, of the graphic component on cognitive achievement. Of the

*This research was conducted under the auspices of the Georgia Geography Curriculum Project, University of Georgia; Marion J. Rice, Director.
sixteen studies in this field which included a non-graphic treatment, only three reported that the graphic treatment groups achieved significantly better than those groups administered non-graphic treatments.

Examining the effectiveness of a bar graph in presenting news stories based primarily on statistics, Wilcox (1964) compared a narrative with bar graph, a narrative with table, and a narrative-only. His results suggested that the narrative with bar graph was the most effective vehicle of the three for enhancing understanding of a news story based primarily on statistical facts. He also suggested that the narrative with bar graph and narrative with table were more effective than the text alone.

Notwithstanding interest in his results, they contribute little to our research question. Wilcox's subjects were adults who, presumably, had completed a general education. They were not elementary students who at most have had only five or six years of formal schooling.

Davis, Hicks, and Bowers (1966) evaluated the usefulness of time lines in promoting pupil learning in chronological relationships. They compared three groups: one using a narrative with a correct time line; one using a narrative with an incorrect time line; and one using a narrative without a time line. They concluded that the inclusion of the time line facilitated learning in this context. They also concluded that groups using the narrative with a correct or incorrect time line did significantly better than the group using the narrative-only.

Their results are questionable. Prior to treatment one would have expected that the incorrect time line would have had a deleterious effect. However, both groups achieved equally well. Another factor may have been the ability of the subjects involved, since Davis et al. reported a significant difference between high and low ability groups. Unfortunately, no follow-up analysis was conducted.

Davis (1968) conducted a study consisting of three parts. In the first part, he compared an historical narrative and time line with the narrative only; in the second part, a geography narrative and map with the narrative only; and in the third part, an economics narrative and bar graph with the narrative only. In the first and second parts, Davis found no significant difference; however, in the third part, Davis reported a significant difference between the narrative-graphic treatment and narrative-only treatment. These results withstood a subsequent covariance analysis.

Davis' bar graph study results are the only ones in the field which merit consideration. As far as can be determined, the results were obtained by sound research techniques. Materials were designed to meet the specific purpose of the study. Care was taken to insure readability for the subjects to be tested. The materials were administered to a large sample of subjects and then replicated with a different sample. Additional analyses were conducted.
using personal attributes of intelligence and reading ability as covariates to control for their effect. Throughout the study, effectiveness of bar graph with narrative over narrative alone was substantiated.

Davis attributed these results to familiarity with the bar graph, more so than with the types of graphics used. He suggested that the "bar graph (with text) may have stripped away the need to rely on verbal descriptors and may have reduced the information input, thereby increasing learning efficiency (p. 49)." Other studies (Culbertson et al., 1959; Fabeiam et al., 1962) confirm the efficacy of the bar graph over other graphs though neither study included a text in the design.

The first three studies were the only ones to report a significant difference between the graphic treatment and non-graphic treatment groups. All of the other studies reported a significant difference in favor of the non-graphic treatment group. The latter case occurred in Vernon's pioneer studies (1952, 1953). Generally, she found that graphs do not make it easier for students to comprehend written texts and that graphs may actually interfere with many readers' understanding of a written text. In fact, in the first study Vernon reported that the narrative-only treatment facilitated learning better than the graphic-narrative treatment.

Dwyer (1967, 1969a, 1969c, 1971a, 1971b, 1971c) conducted a series of experimental studies covering a five-year period. In all of these, he used nine sequences of slides accompanied by an oral or written narrative describing the heart and its functions. Eight of the sequences included graphics; one did not. Otherwise, treatments were equivalent. Although results varied among his studies, in general, Dwyer reported no significant difference in cognitive achievement between graphic-narrative treatments and the narrative-only treatment in any of the six studies.

The results of the Vernon and Dwyer studies are supported by Collings (1953), Burdick (1960), Samuels (1967), and the first two parts of the Davis (1968) study reported earlier. Each of the above found no significant difference between the graphic and non-graphic treatment.

A tentative explanation for the results for each of these studies may lie in the procedures used in constructing the graphics and in incorporating them within the treatment material. On the basis of the scant evidence presented, the author inferred that most of the graphics generally were constructed to relate to the content in the narrative but were not constructed to meet a specific objective. The author also found no evidence that any attempts were made within the narrative to focus the reader's attention on the message of the graphic, thereby, symbiotically tying the two components of graphic and narrative. In addition, all the studies were conducted during a short period of time, generally only one or two class periods. The latter two points apply equally to the Davis study. Therefore, the author hypothesized that if the graphics had been constructed specifically to meet cognitive objectives and if
they had been tied symbiotically to the narrative through some focusing device, the above studies would have resulted in a significant difference in cognitive achievement for groups using graphically supplemented narrative treatments. To test this hypothesis and to determine what effect time would have on the results was the purpose of the present study.

**METHOD**

**Treatment**

Four sets of treatment texts were developed for the study. Each was similar in content but varied in format. All texts were self-instructional.

The textbooks presented a description and analysis of the distribution and growth of the black population in the United States. The introduction presented the rationale, summarized the content, and discussed the methods the student would use in working through the text. It also included a time log on which the student was to keep a record of the amount of time he spent working on the unit.

Part I “Map and Graph Skills: Review” was a study of those skills which the students would need to complete the unit. The writer assumed that students had had prior experience with these skills. The writer did not attempt to teach map and graph skills *de novo* since that would have required a complete text in itself.

Part II emphasized the distribution of the black population in the United States. It presented the four population variables of birth, death, immigration, and out-migration, and described how these variables affect distributional change. Finally, it applied these variables to the black population explaining the role each variable played in the changes in black distribution and growth which occurred between 1700 and 1970.

A glossary was included at the end of the text. It defined all terms and words with which the writer felt students might have difficulty. This included concepts defined in the body of the text.

The text book was published in four formats. Each format used a different combination of three components: 1) narrative, 2) graphics, and 3) questions as the focusing device. The first text included all three components: graphics, narrative, and questions. The second contained narrative and graphics; the third, narrative and questions. The fourth was the non-graphic text consisting of the narrative only.

Before constructing the units, the researcher identified those concepts and key ideas from the field of population geography around which the experimental material was to be organized. Then, the researcher used the following procedures to develop the first unit:

1. Specific objectives were written for the unit. Each objective reflected a key concept or generalization identified prior to construction of the unit.
2. An outline was developed to organize these objectives. The outline provided a blueprint from which the researcher constructed the unit.

3. A narrative was written to verbally present the concept or generalization specified in each objective. Care was taken to avoid choppiness and provide transition between paragraphs and pages. The narrative included empirical evidence or verbal illustrations as support.

4. A graphic was designed to meet the requirements of each objective and to reflect the message presented in the narrative. Each graphic was designed to visually depict the concept or generalization specified in the objective.

5. Questions, as the focusing device, were written for each graphic, symbiotically tying the narrative to the graphic through the interrogative process. The questions were constructed to focus student attention on the key concepts and generalizations represented in the graphic and narrative and were included at the end of each narrative page. In this way, the set of graphic, narrative, and questions met the requirements of the specific objective for which they were constructed.

6. The completed sets arranged according to the outline comprised the body of the unit. The introduction and glossary were added later. When completed, the unit presented a description and explanation of black population distribution and growth in the United States.

The other three units were constructed by simply eliminating one or two components from the first unit. In this way, the researcher assured content similarity among treatment units and controlled all treatment variation except format. The format, reflected in the number and combination of components, represented the foundation of the experimental design.

**Experimental Design**

A hierarchical 4x4x3 fixed factor model multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) using four measures of effect was used with the post-test data. The design consisted of three fixed factors. One factor (class) was nested within levels of the second factor (grade). The third factor (treatment) was crossed with the other two.

**Sample**

Subjects for the study were drawn from three fifth-grade, three sixth-grade, and three seventh-grade classes. The original sample consisted of 199 students, 61 percent of whom were white. The researcher randomly assigned the students to four groups within each class. Loss during the study was 26 students, thereby, reducing the sample to 173 subjects. Using pretreatment
sample size as the expected frequency and post-treatment sample size as the observed frequency, a Chi-square test (Table 1) demonstrated that there were no significant differences in sample loss among treatments and among grades.

**TABLE 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chi-square on Sample Loss by Treatment and by Grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Duration of the Study**

The study was conducted over an instructional five-week period, one class period per day. Minimum time required for any one student to complete the treatment materials was three days; maximum time, the full five weeks.

**Measures**

The pretreatment measure consisted of Iowa Tests of Basic Skills, Form 5, Level 12: Test V Vocabulary, Test W-1 Map Reading Skills, and Test W-2 Graph and Table Reading Skills. Those tests were administered to determine whether a significant difference ($p < .15$) in ability, as measured by vocabulary achievement, and in skills achievement, as measured by map, graph, and table reading achievement, existed among treatment groups. None existed; therefore, the researcher felt confident in using a MANOVA rather than a MANCOVA design.

Post-treatment measures included three researcher-constructed tests: Cognitive Achievement, Map Skills, and Graph and Table Reading Skills. The Cognitive Achievement test measured subjects knowledge and application of unit content. The Map Skills and Graph and Table Reading Skills tests measured subjects acquisition of map and graph skills used in the unit. The purpose of including the latter two measures was to determine whether use alone would facilitate acquisition of map and graph skills. Using Kuder-Richardson 20 to determine reliability, $r = .82$, .73, and .79 for the three tests respectively. Total test reliability was .91.

A fourth measure was the amount of time required for each student to complete his materials. Time logs were included in the introduction to each text and each student was required to keep a record of his daily work schedule on his unit. Individual total times were calculated at the termination of the study and were used as an additional measure of treatment effect.
Research Hypotheses

The following research hypotheses were investigated:

1. There are significant differences (p < .05) among treatment vectors of post-test mean cognitive achievement, mean map skills, mean graph and table reading skills, and mean completion time scores.

2. There are significant differences (p < .05) among grade vectors of post-test mean cognitive achievement, mean map skills, mean graph and table reading skills, and mean completion time scores.

RESULTS

The computed multivariate F statistic of 3.014 for the combined vectors of the post-test mean cognitive achievement, mean map skills, mean graph and table reading skills, and mean completion time scores was significant (p < .001). Table 2 summarizes the results of the multivariate tests.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of Variation</th>
<th>D.F. Hypothesis</th>
<th>D.F. Error</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>Canonical Correlation R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Model</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>536.227</td>
<td>3.014</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>.799</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatment X Grade</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>468.680</td>
<td>1.342</td>
<td>.130</td>
<td>.314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatment</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>354.822</td>
<td>5.800</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>.577</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>268.00</td>
<td>16.244</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>.702</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since the model was significant, statistical hypotheses were tested relating to the interaction of treatment and grade and the main effects of treatment and of grade. No comparisons were made for the class component because it was not a factor of interest in the analysis of achievement scores data.

The multivariate test of significant interaction between treatment and grade indicated that the Rao approximation of the F statistic of 1.342 was not significant (p < .05). Therefore, the hypothesis of null interaction was accepted.

The multivariate test of significant treatment effect indicated that the Rao approximation of the F statistic of 5.8 was significant (p < .001). To determine which of the four dependent variables contributed to overall treatment significance, the researcher examined each of the four univariate
data matrices, a procedure suggested by Hummel and Sligo (1971). Table 3 summarizes the results of the examination. Of the univariate data matrices one indicated a significant treatment effect: completion time ($p < .001$). No significant difference was found for cognitive achievement, for map skills, or for graph and table reading skills.

TABLE 3

Univariate Data Analysis for Treatment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Mean Square</th>
<th>$F(3,137)$</th>
<th>$p &lt;$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cognitive Achievement</td>
<td>20.130</td>
<td>.929</td>
<td>.428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map Skills</td>
<td>14.532</td>
<td>1.912</td>
<td>.130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graph and Table Reading Skills</td>
<td>25.296</td>
<td>2.111</td>
<td>.102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>165781.812</td>
<td>17.414</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Using Scheffé's multiple comparison method to determine the source of significant treatment effect, a comparison for completion time was made between each treatment mean and each of the other treatment means. Treatment means are presented in Table 4. The results of the Scheffé comparisons are summarized in Table 5. Groups using the narrative-only treatment or the narrative-graphics treatment required significantly less time to complete their units than groups using the narrative-graphics-questions treatment or the narrative-question treatment. These results were expected since treatments with questions required more work and, ergo, would require more time to complete.

TABLE 4

Mean Times for Treatments in Minutes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Treatment</th>
<th>Mean Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 (NGQ)</td>
<td>336.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 (NG)</td>
<td>233.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 (NQ)</td>
<td>328.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 (N)</td>
<td>217.44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 5
Summary of Results of Scheffe Multiple Comparison for Treatment Effect of Mean Times

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Treatment</th>
<th>Significantly Different (p &lt; .05) Than Treatment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 (NG)</td>
<td>1 (NGQ) and 3 (NQ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 (N)</td>
<td>1 (NGQ) and 3 (NQ)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The multivariate test of significant grade effect indicated that the Rao approximation of the F statistic of 16.244 was significant (p < .001). Table 6 reports the results of an examination of the four univariate data matrices. All four indicated a significant grade effect. The grade means for each measure are reported in Table 7 and the Scheffe comparisons for each measure are summarized in Tables 8-11.

TABLE 6
Univariate Data Analysis for Grade

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Mean Square</th>
<th>F(2,137)</th>
<th>p &lt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cognitive Achievement</td>
<td>1097.671</td>
<td>50.678</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map Skills</td>
<td>155.803</td>
<td>20.501</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graph and Table Reading Skills</td>
<td>310.373</td>
<td>25.901</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>173290.062</td>
<td>18.203</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 7
Mean Grade Scores for Dependent Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Grades</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cognitive Achievement</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map Skills</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graph and Table Reading Skills</td>
<td>24.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>326.43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
On the cognitive achievement, map skills, and graph and table reading skills measures seventh graders scored significantly higher than fifth graders and than sixth graders. There was no significant difference between sixth graders and fifth graders on those measures. On completion time the sixth graders required significantly less time to complete their units than the seventh graders or the fifth graders. No significant difference in completion time was found between fifth graders and seventh graders.

88
DISCUSSION

One of the stated purposes of this study was to determine whether graphics facilitate achievement of text objectives. The conditions existing at termination of the study hopefully would provide an answer. One of three possible conditions could have existed: Groups using graphically supplemented text materials could have had 1) significantly higher mean scores, 2) significantly lower mean scores, or 3) non-significantly different mean scores than those groups whose materials were not graphically supplemented.

Assuming that some achievement did occur, the first condition would suggest that not only do graphics facilitate achievement, but they also facilitate achievement better than non-graphically supplemented text materials. The second condition would suggest that although graphics facilitate achievement, they do not facilitate achievement as well as non-graphically supplemented materials. It might also suggest that the inclusion of the graphics interfered with student achievement, thereby, reducing their scores. The third condition would suggest that both graphically supplemented materials and non-graphically supplemented materials facilitate achievement equally.

In this study the third condition existed on the cognitive achievement, the map skills, and the graph and table reading skills measures. On the time measure the "non-difference" was not as clear-cut; however, the results suggested differences were not due to the inclusion or exclusion of supplemented graphics within treatment materials.

The results on the cognitive achievement measure might indicate that the graphics do not interfere with narrative presentation of concepts. However, a more probable explanation is that students saw no connection between narrative and graphic. They, therefore, paid little attention to the presence of the graphics and concentrated on the narrative presentation alone.

The results on the map skills and graph and table reading skills seemed to substantiate the previous argument. If students had attended to the graphics, some difference in mean scores should have occurred. Instead, the non-significant results substantiated those of the pretreatment measures which reflected the non-significantly different prior experiences of the treatment groups. Since the pretreatment measures were not the same or equivalent forms of the post-tests, no conclusion can be made as to whether any achievement actually occurred. Some future study should investigate this point. The only conclusion that can be made is that the graphically supplemented treatment materials did not facilitate achievement any better than the non-graphically supplemented treatment materials.

The results of the time measure were expected. Graphics, per se, do not require more time unless they are effectively studied and used. Since it appears that the graphics were not, no significant difference in time should have occurred.
Another of the stated purposes of this study was to determine how graphics can be improved to increase their efficacy. Earlier, the researcher had hypothesized that including a focusing device, such as questions, would improve the facilitative effect of graphics. He further suggested that the questions would symbiotically tie the graphic to the narrative and would focus the student's attention on the graphic. To test the hypothesis, questions were included as a component in two of the treatment texts: one with graphics and one without. The results of the study hopefully would provide evidence upon which to test the hypothesis.

In general, five probable conditions could have existed at the termination of the study: The group using graphically supplemented texts with questions could have had 1) a significantly higher mean score than all other treatment groups, 2) a significantly higher mean score than groups using non-graphically supplemented texts only, 3) a significantly lower mean score than all other treatment groups, 4) a significantly lower mean score than groups using non-graphically supplemented texts only, or 5) a non-significantly different mean score than all other treatment groups.

The first condition would suggest that focusing devices can facilitate the effectiveness of graphics in texts. The second condition would suggest that focusing devices can facilitate achievement but that they do not complement graphic efficacy. The third condition would suggest that focusing devices interfere with graphic efficacy, that is, graphics would facilitate achievement of text objectives better if questions were not included in the text. However, it also would suggest that focusing devices can be effective facilitators of achievement if they are included in a text with the narrative alone. The fourth condition would suggest that questions interfere with achievement and that effective text construction would exclude them from the format for maximum text effectiveness. The fifth condition would suggest the texts with focusing devices are as equally effective as non-supplemented texts.

In this study the fifth condition existed on the cognitive achievement, the map skills, and the graph and table reading skills measures. On the time measure reinterpretation of the above conditions is necessary. Lower mean scores would indicate higher efficiency; higher mean scores, lower efficiency. Therefore, on the times measure the fourth condition existed.

The results on the first three measures might indicate that questions do not interfere with the narrative presentation. However, a more probable explanation is that students viewed the questions as separate from the content presentation. If this were the case, then it was the fault of the design. Questions in the texts were placed at the end of each narrative page and not interspersed within the narrative. Interspersing the questions would have placed them closer to pertinent narrative content. Therefore, as the treatments were designed, the results provided no evidence that focusing devices
complement graphics and facilitate achievement of text objectives. Some future study should investigate this question using the interspersion procedure.

The results on the time measure point out the fallacy, at least in this case, of the argument that more time spent results in higher achievement. The two treatments which included focusing devices required longer mean times to complete than the treatments without questions, yet neither of the former treatments resulted in higher achievement.

CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study was to determine if there were any justification for including graphics in elementary social studies texts. Three questions were asked: 1) What role do graphics play in social studies texts? 2) Do graphics facilitate cognitive achievement? and 3) What methods can be used to improve the efficacy of graphics in social studies texts?

A review of the research in the field revealed that the answer to the second question was that graphics as they are generally used in texts do not facilitate cognitive achievement. Therefore, the researcher attempted to answer the third question by designing new text materials. The texts differed from those in general use in that the new texts incorporated graphics which visually synthesized the content presented in the narrative. The texts also included focusing devices in the form of questions in an attempt to tie symbiotically the narrative and the graphic. The results of the study demonstrated that neither of the devices singly or in concert facilitated cognitive achievement. The researcher indicated that neither these devices nor the procedures used exhausted the possibilities for improving graphic efficacy. Several other methods should be tried and were suggested for future studies.

The first question, "What role do graphics play in social studies texts?", remains unanswered. On the basis of the evidence presented, the researcher concluded that graphics do not assume the role of facilitator. Instead, it appears as if their role is either one of decoration, adding flavor and atmosphere to the text and providing a visual relief from the printed word, or one of supplement, providing additional sources of information to the reader. Such statements rest solely on present evidence. Other methods to improve graphic efficacy should be exhausted before drawing any conclusions. However, if other methods do not result in higher achievement, then it would seem that the previous conclusions are valid.

Of course, as decoration the graphics may have some intrinsic motivating quality, but motivation could be approached in another manner and more cheaply. For example, abstract background designs in pastel colors may have the same motivational quality. They also would have the added advantage of not distracting from the narrative and, thereby, not breaking the assimilation
process. The supplemental role also could be preserved by providing teachers with picture packets. In this way, the pictures could still be used to develop lessons without interfering with the reading assimilation of the narrative content. These conclusions are tentative. More research is required. However, if these conclusions are substantiated, then educators should begin to question the use of graphics in social studies texts.

REFERENCES


Dwyer, F. M. Assessing students’ perceptions of the instructional value of visual illustrations used to complement programmed instruction. Programmed Learning and Educational Technology, 1971, 8 (2), 73-80.


Pelletti, J. C. Black population distribution and growth in the United States. Geography Curriculum Project, Publication #73-1, University of Georgia.


Vernon, M. D. The use and value of graphic material with a written text. Occupational Psychology, 1952, 26, 96-100.


Wilcox, W. Numbers and the news: Graph, table or text? Journalism Quarterly, 1964, 41, 38-44.

Five theoretical models of values teaching are identified and analyzed in terms of their philosophical tenets. The implications of these models for values teaching in the social studies classroom are discussed for the purpose of helping educators achieve some understanding of the closeness of fit between their own concerns for values teaching and the models discussed herein. Hopefully this would result in a clearer picture of their own personal philosophy of values teaching with reference to the question of having students autonomously authenticate their values vis-a-vis the demands that values be authenticated according to some external standard.

The five paradigms represent models of: (1) personal authentication, (2) traditional authentication, (3) social commitment, (4) cultural relativism and (5) democracy (pragmatism). Following a discussion of each of the models some conclusions are drawn concerning the degree of integration that is possible among these apparently exclusive modes of authentication.


One-hundred and twenty-six of the most frequently used social studies and basal reader textbooks used in New York City elementary schools were evaluated to determine their treatment of Black Americans prior to the Civil Rights movement of the early 1960's and their treatment today.

In assessing the illustrations and text material, the following categories were representative of the criteria used: occupational and physical stereotypes; the setting, taking into account the activities, garb, speech, and surroundings; multi-ethnic presentations that determined whether the setting was "integrated" or "segregated;" and, space presentations that took into account the proportional allocation of pages devoted to Blacks. Textbook presentations for each book were measured against these criteria and judged, accordingly, as to their adequacy or inadequacy.

The material depicted in the 126 books ranged all the way from that which was accurate and reasonably constructive to that which was misleading and biased. The summary of overall results showed significantly more positive treatment of Black Americans in 1970's textbooks as compared to the 1950's books. Despite the fact that textbooks have come some distance toward objectivity, they still have a way to go.

An interdisciplinary repertoire of twenty-seven creative, peaceful approaches for dealing with international and other conflict is presented—the longest one in print. Educators are urged to diffuse it, and to use it to convince students of the virtual inexhaustibility of peaceful ways of dealing with conflict. The article differentiates curriculum based on the repertoire from other social studies curricula.

A study is reported in which four of the creative, peaceful approaches were taught for three weeks to high school seniors typical of "Middle-Americans." The most interesting result was that a great many of the closed-minded students (in the Rokeach sense) openly accepted the approaches and independently used them in their own lives. Though these students remained categorical thinkers, the number of categories on which they could act was increased. As one student put it, "There are many ways to compromise." Although these students continued to distrust adversaries, the approaches identified ways to find common interests for which an opponent could be trusted to work. The study suggests that it is easier to make closed-minded people more peaceful by teaching them many specific methods for resolving conflict than to try to reverse their closed-mindedness or make them more amicable, because these are stable qualities.


The primary purpose of this study was to determine whether or not social science programs stressing responses to high order questions affect attitude formation and change differently from social science programs stressing responses to low order questions.

In this study, a classroom social science reading program previously determined as being attitudinally persuasive was reshaped into two educational programs by adding different sets of questions, each set requiring topically similar but generically different cognitive tasks to be performed. The result that students responding to a program stressing questions requiring analytical, synthesizing, and evaluative responses changed their social attitudes to a greater extent than did students responding to a program stressing questions involving the acquisition and comprehension of information may illustrate that student attitudes are significantly affected by the level or type of questions students encounter in the classroom.
Although this experimental study provided reading and writing experiences to the exclusion of classroom discussion, those involved in social studies curricular program development, particularly where socialization or citizenship affective objectives are involved, should consider as an important curricular variable, the level of questions being stressed.


The purposes of this study were to examine the role of graphics in texts, to determine whether graphics facilitate cognitive achievement, and to suggest methods to increase the efficacy of graphics in elementary social studies texts. The latter objective was especially important since previous research has indicated a general inefficacy. Those earlier studies which compared a narrative-graphic presentation with a narrative only resulted in no significant difference between text presentations. This researcher suggested that these results could be attributed to the lack of relationship between graphic and narrative in most textbooks. Therefore, he hypothesized that cognitive achievement could be facilitated if each graphic specifically reflected the content of the narrative and if the relationships were reinforced through the use of some type of focusing instrument. The focusing instrument would be used to tie symbiotically the graphic and the narrative. To meet the objectives of the study, the researcher constructed four treatments consisting of various combinations of the following components: (1) narrative, (2) graphic, and (3) questions as the focusing device. Although results were not conclusive, they did suggest the following:

1. Graphics play only two roles, that of decoration, which may increase the motivational quality of the textbooks, and that of supplement, which may provide suggestions and materials for alternative lessons;
2. The incorporation of graphics in elementary social studies texts does not facilitate cognitive achievement;
3. Constructing the graphic to visually present the content in the narrative does not increase cognitive achievement;
4. The use of focusing instruments to tie symbiotically the graphic and the narrative does not increase cognitive achievement. The researcher qualified this statement. He suggested that the insertion of the questions within the narrative, instead of at the end of each narrative page, may reverse this result.

Finally, the researcher suggested that if the results of this study are corroborated in subsequent studies, then educators should reconsider the purchase of expensive graphic-filled textbooks for the social studies and consider alternate instructional materials.