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Theory and Research in Social Education

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Children's Attitudes Toward the Elderly: A Look at Greek and American Children
Richard K. Jantz
Children in Greece and this country were given the CATE instrument. Greek children had more contacts within and outside the family than did most children in this country. All groups of children were able to provide realistic age estimates to photographs of men representing different ages. All groups rated the elderly more wonderful, right, clean and good than young people. Children expressed negative feelings about the process of aging and physical characteristics of the elderly. Children also had a positive affect toward old people and a concern for doing things with and for the elderly.

Adolescents in Community Settings: What Is to Be Learned?
Stephen F. Hamilton
Throughout the 70's, educational reformers recommended youth learning in the community. While substantial amounts of federal money have been expended on youth employment programs and their evaluation, the development of programs offering unpaid community experience has proceeded with less financial support and much less research. Evaluations of unpaid work experience programs have uniformly found strong support from participants, their parents, and the adults involved but have had difficulty identifying clear and consistent educational effects. An exploratory study of two community learning programs, reported here, found that participants gained access to adults whom they considered important. It also documented important differences in staff roles in the two programs. Research to date suggests that youth in programs like these learn about themselves, the world around them, and how they fit into it.

The Relationship Between Moral Thought and Moral Action: Implications for Social Studies Education
Jack R. Fraenkel
This article focuses upon the question "Does level of moral reasoning increase the likelihood of moral behavior occurring?" Through a review of the literature on this subject, the author draws these conclusions: first, that although there does appear to be some evidence to support the idea that level of moral reasoning is associated with an increased amount of moral behavior, the relationship is by no means a clearcut one; and second, moral reasoning appears to be only one of many factors which may contribute to when and where moral behavior will occur.
Teaching Psychology in the High School: Does Area of Certification Translate into Different Types of Teachers and Courses?

Robert J. Stahl with James C. Matiya

This article addresses itself to the description and comparative analysis of Psychology courses taught by Social Studies-certified psychology teachers and teachers of psychology who held certification in other subject areas. After a brief review of the literature on the nature of the precollege psychology offering, the article reports the findings of a status study of psychology in one midwestern state. The authors conclude that, in general, the psychology course is much the same across three very broad groups of psychology teachers trained in very different subject matter areas. In most instances, the differences within each group of teachers seemed greater than those between these groups in respect to their courses. It would seem that the conventional wisdom about what psychology is and ought to be influences teachers in planning, developing and teaching their psychology courses—and this operates to influence teachers regardless of their subject matter college training.

Reaction/Response

Ambiguities of Social Education: The Dilemma of Textbooks
Millard Clements

Social Studies Arguments Without Historical and Philosophical Foundations Are Still Beside the Point, Or . . .
James L. Barth and S. Samuel Shermis

Book Review Section
The Future in Our Hands, by Erik Dammann. Reviewed by William B. Stanley, Louisiana State University.
Children's Attitudes Towards the Elderly: A Look at Greek and American Children

Richard K. Jantz

University of Maryland

Children and the elderly represent two age extremes in society. Both age groups can be a source of strength for families as well as for society. These age extremes, however, often present different problems and offer different choices. They also reflect different perspectives. Mead (1970:64) wrote "young people everywhere share a kind of experience that none of the elders ever have had or will have. Conversely, the older generation will never see repeated in the lives of young people their own unprecedented experience of sequentially emerging change. This break between generations is wholly new: it is planetary and universal."

One of the problems facing American families is related to intergenerational contacts between children and the elderly. Substantial attention has been given the attitudes of the young toward the elderly in our nation (Hickey & Kalish, 1968; Jantz et al., 1976; McTavish, 1971; Sheehan, 1978; Thomas & Yamamoto, 1975). In general the results of the research which describes attitudes the young hold toward the elderly suggest a less than positive attitude toward older persons. Children as young as three years of age saw the elderly as sick, tired and ugly. Children reported few

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1 This study is related to the author's research on children's attitudes toward the elderly which was funded by the American Association of Retired Persons, National Retired Teachers Association, Andrus Foundation in 1976, 1977, 1978, and 1979. Data was collected on Greek children between January and June, 1979.
contacts with the elderly and expressed negative attitudes toward the physical characteristics associated with old age and toward the prospects of their own aging. Children reported, however, a strong affect toward the elderly.

In an investigation of elderly persons' attitudes toward children (Seefeldt and Jantz, 1979), the elderly generally reported positive attitudes toward children; however, these attitudes were mixed and complex. They indicated that children were fun to do things with and would make good friends for old people. The elderly reported frequent contact with children and had a general knowledge of age differences in children (with a greater knowledge of older children). In general, higher levels of education, more frequent contact with children and having grandchildren who are under the age of twelve related to more positive attitudes toward children on the part of the elderly.

In our society it is not easy for the different generations to interact. Children reported few contacts with old people and expressed some negative attitudes toward the elderly. The elderly reported more frequent contacts and more positive attitudes toward children but they were also more in control of the nature and duration of their contacts with children. Limited intergenerational encounters and the ambivalence of these age extremes toward each other could affect the development of an appreciation for life long learning and interfere with the transmission of culture between the generations.

Mead (1970:2) has indicated that . . . “the continuity of all cultures depends on the living presence of at least three generations.” Can we find ways to enhance the “living presence” between the old and the young in this country by examining the attitudes of children toward the elderly in other countries? Questions arise as to whether or not children in other countries have similar attitudes toward the elderly as American children.

**Problem Statement**

The purpose of this study was to investigate the attitudes of Greek children toward the elderly and to compare these attitudes with those children in this country. Answers were sought to the following questions:

1. Do Greek children report having more contact with elderly persons within and/or outside the family than children in this country?
2. Can Greek children assign realistic age estimates to a series of photographs depicting men at different ages? Are their estimates similar to those of children in this country?
3. How do Greek children rate old people in comparison to young people? Do their responses differ from those of children in this country?
4. How do children in Greece feel about growing old themselves and do they perceive being old as positive? Do children in this country feel the same way?
There are a number of reasons why this study was directed toward Greek children. The Greek people have a tradition of honoring both youth and the elderly. We see this in their sculpture and in the writings of their philosophers. Their religion provides for strong family relationships and intergenerational contacts. In addition, the population age changes reflect those of a more developed nation and are similar to what we find in this country. Valaoras (1960) reported a projected decrease in the percentage of children under 14 years of age from 38.7% in 1860 to a projected 26% in 1965. He also reported a projected increase in life expectancy of 35.7 years of age in 1860 to 66.6 years of age in 1965.

Another reason is that the naming patterns and kinship among Greeks reflect a strong social organization tied to the family. Tavuchis (1971:154) reported “In general, the rules call for naming the first son after the paternal grandfather, the first daughter after the paternal grandmother, the second son after the maternal grandfather, and the second daughter after the maternal grandmother.” The network ties between families would also tend to provide interactions between children and other age groups. Kenna (1976) reported on different networks and ties between families. These included kinship, affinal, and koumbaros or god-parenthood relationships. Friedl (1976:385) reported that when Greeks migrated to the principal urban area, Athens, there was “an adaptation to the urban environment without personal or social disorganization . . . [T]hey did not substantially change their relative position in the class and status structure of the village or the nation.” Additionally, decisions in Greek families concerning child-rearing, the purchase of clothes, furniture, household equipment and budgeting are predominately female dominated (Safilios-Rothschild, 1967). One other consideration was an available population of Greek speaking children in this country which could be used for field testing and comparative purposes with children in Greece.

The Test

The Children’s Attitudes Toward the Elderly (The CATE, Jantz et al., 1976, 1980) instrument is designed to assess children’s attitudes toward old people through analysis of the affective, behavioral and knowledge components of attitudes. The CATE was originally developed to provide the capability for assessing children’s attitudes toward the elderly through individual interviews. It was later modified for group administration (Seefeldt et al., 1977).

Three measurement techniques are employed which probe children’s attitudes in different ways. In one subtest, open-ended questions and word associations are utilized. The child’s performance on the open-ended word association subtest serves as an indication of the cognitive, affective, and behavioral components of his/her attitude toward aging and the elderly. Questions in this subtest are:

Write some things that you know about old people.
Do you know any old people in your family?  YES ____ NO ____
Do you know any old people who are not in your family?  YES ____ NO ____
Name an old person you know who is not in your family.
Do you do any things with the old people you know?  YES ____ NO ____
If you said yes, write some things that you do with older people.
Write another word that means the same as old people.
How do you feel about getting old yourself?

A second subtest, a picture series, employs concrete visual representations to elicit responses. Four 8” x 10” drawings were prepared by a professional artist after consultation with experts on the physiology of aging. The drawings represented men at four stages of life, with sex, race, dress, and facial expression held constant in order that subjects’ responses to pictorial representations would be based on the single variable of age. The drawings were then photographed for utilization as part of the testing instrument and to provide the capability for reproduction. Validation of the drawings was established by asking graduate students in the fields of gerontology and human development to rate each drawing by giving it an estimated age. Questions in this subtest are:

Look at the four pictures. They are numbered 1, 2, 3, and 4. Pick out the youngest man. Place the number of that picture in the space provided. Do this for each of the men listed.

_________ Youngest man
_________ Second youngest man
_________ Next to the oldest man
_________ Oldest man

Why do you think the man you picked as the oldest is the oldest man?
Think about the age of each of the men. List their ages in the space.

Age of the youngest man _______
Age of the second youngest man _______
Age of the next to the oldest man _______
Age of the oldest man _______

Which of the four men would you prefer or like to be with? Check your answer.

___ The youngest man ___ The next to the oldest man
___ The second youngest man ___ The oldest man

Write down some reasons for choosing the man you preferred to be with.
A third subtest, a semantic differential, employs standardized bi-polar scales on the evaluative dimensions of attitudes. The semantic differential (SD) constructed for this study consisted of 10 items on a 5 point, bi-polar scale rating the two concepts young people and old people. Bi-polar adjectives used in this instrument were selected for two reasons:

1. They were adjectives belonging to the Evaluation factor of the SD and account for the largest part of the total variance in comparison to the other factors of potency and activity. It has been determined that the dominant dimension affecting children's ratings of concepts is the Evaluation factor, especially in the earlier grades. It has also been suggested that the potency and activity dimensions are not really discernible until at least fifth grade (Heise, 1969); and,

2. These evaluative adjectives had obtained high factor loadings through other investigations into how children in grades two through seven rated more than 100 concepts (DiVesta & Rick, 1966). Four of the adjective pairs selected for use on The CATE were friendly-unfriendly (.92), ugly-pretty (.83), wrong-right (.80), and bad-good (.93). Factor loadings for the other six pairs of adjectives used on The CATE were not available. The other adjectives selected for rating the concepts of young and old people were happy-sad, wonderful-terrible, clean-dirty, rich-poor, healthy-sick, helpful-harmful.

The Word Association and Picture Series sections of the CATE included both open-ends and fixed alternative items. A study of the test-retest reliability of items was conducted using the control group from the curriculum intervention study (Seefeldt, 1977) as a sample (N=107). These two portions of the instrument were viewed as an attempt to gather normative clinical data, and each item was designed to measure a different aspect of the child's attitude toward the elderly. The items were taken to be discrete, and no attempt was made to construct a total scale. It was therefore impossible to generate measures of internal consistency or homogeneity of items for these portions of the CATE. Attitude measures have generally yielded lower coefficients of reliability than achievement measures. The means and standard deviations for each item revealed a limited range of score possibilities, and thus variability of scores. This would be expected to result in lower correlations between administrations than would be possible with a total scale.

Nevertheless, the results indicate reasonably moderate test-retest reliability for some of the items. Table 1 reveals high stability over time for the child's knowledge of old people outside of the family, and for the ability to produce an alternate name for old people. The physical and behavioral components of the subjects' knowledge of old people were moderately correlated from pretest to posttest. Subjects further exhibited moderate stability in the things they did with old people and their feelings about getting old themselves.
Table 1: Pearson Product-moment Correlation Coefficients Between Two Administrations of Group Test (Word Association and Picture Series) by Item (N=107)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Pearson-Product Correlation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Word Association</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge of old people in family - Affective or feeling type responses</td>
<td>.17*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge of old people in family - Physical characteristic type responses</td>
<td>.46**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge of old people in family - Behavioral base upon lifestyle type responses</td>
<td>.38**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge of old people out of family</td>
<td>.74**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Things you do with old people</td>
<td>.42**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alternate name for old people</td>
<td>.70**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feel about getting old</td>
<td>.44**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Picture Series</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordering pictures</td>
<td>.30**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age estimates</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picture 1</td>
<td>.25**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picture 2</td>
<td>.45**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picture 3</td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picture 4</td>
<td>.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preference</td>
<td>.51**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feel when as old as oldest</td>
<td>.53**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Things you do with oldest</td>
<td>.13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05  **p < .01

Picture Series results were mixed and further study would be needed to determine why the test yielded little reliability from first to second administration on two of the age estimates, and on the things that the subjects could do with the oldest man. Moderate test-retest reliability was obtained for the items that measured preference for one of the men depicted in the pictures, and how a subject would feel when as old as the oldest man.

Given the general lower reliability of personality tests, and the scoring limitations of the particular instrument, the researchers were satisfied that the stability from first to second administration of these portions of the group test was reasonably acceptable for most items.

The Semantic Differential was retained from the original CATE instrument. The only modification made was the rearrangement of the worded items on the page with boxes for subjects to check. The measures of internal consistency (coefficient alpha) of the young people scale (.81) and the old people scale (.84) indicate acceptable internal consistency for the semantic differential sub-test.

The group version of the CATE was translated into Greek and field tested with Greek speaking children in the Baltimore/Washington area.
Minor word changes were made in the final version based upon the field testing. The translation was then verified as an official translation by the Greek Embassy in Washington, D.C.

Population

The Greek translation of the CATE was administered to three different groups of Greek speaking children. It was administered to 42 Greek speaking children ages 9-12 in the Baltimore/Washington, D.C. area. These children were either attending classes sponsored by a Greek Orthodox Church in Baltimore or a Greek school associated with a Greek Orthodox Church in Washington, D.C. The instrument was administered to a second group of 119 children from four different classrooms, ages 9-12, in an upper working class neighborhood in Athens, Greece. A third group of 87 children from four different classrooms, ages 10-13, were administered the test in Rethymnon, Crete, Republic of Greece. Athens was chosen because it is a growing metropolitan area of over one million people. Much of the migration is from the rural areas and the islands to Athens. Rethymnon was selected because of its location on the island of Crete. The customs and traditions on Crete are considered more conservative and the population reflects a more rural orientation.

The three Greek speaking groups of children were tested during the Spring Semester, 1979. Some data from the fifth grade students in the original study using the CATE (Jantz et al., 1976) were also included for comparative purposes. Table 2 contains a breakdown of the population by group, age, and sex.

Table 2: Population by Group, Age and Sex of Greek-speaking Children

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age and Sex</th>
<th>Balt/Wash</th>
<th>Crete</th>
<th>Athens</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>61.9</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Balt/Wash</th>
<th>Crete</th>
<th>Athens</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 year old</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 year old</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 year old</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 year old</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 year old</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>100.1%</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Observations in Rethymnon, Crete

Rethymnon is the capital city of the province. It is a city of approximately 20 thousand with the offices of the Governor, judicial authority, and archbishop of the Greek Orthodox Church for the province located here. Rethymnon is sometimes referred to as the intellectual capital of Crete because of its artistic and spiritual development begun during the Renaissance period. The Greek and Religious Departments of the University of Crete are still located in Rethymnon. Speaking about Rethymnon, Nenedakis (1975:5) stated, “It is more typically Greek than any other city in Greece; at least, it retains—as few of the known ancient cities of the Greek domain do—the colour and spirit of all the eras that recede deep into the past.” Nenedakis (1978:110) further described the land and the people:

The sparse but fertile land of the Rethymno country, and the surroundings in general, the old houses, the soft lines of hills and low mountains, have perhaps helped in the creation of a peculiar mentality and conception of life in its people, who love their land and are reluctant to immigrate or, if they do, their dream is to return and live in their old village houses. Rethymnians are supposed to be the most conservative of Cretans; however, they don’t owe this characterization to any backwardness (since, even now, they distinguish themselves in literature and art as well as in any other field) but to their great love for their place and its people, that are actually worthy of these feelings.

Observations were made twice daily for 30 days of child/elderly interactions in Rethymnon, Crete. The purpose of these observations was to provide some indication of the number and nature of child/elderly interactions during daily routines. It was also intended that these observations provide some descriptive information on child/elderly interactions to assist in the interpretations of responses from the testing. These observations were made by the author at 3:00 p.m. and 8:00 p.m.—times when the markets, stores, and schools were closed and people were moving about in the community. Walking was the primary mode of transportation in Rethymnon. The observations took place in whatever part of the town that the author found himself at these times. The observation schedule included the date, time, and place of the observation and a count of the number of children, adults, and elderly. Counts of these age groups by sex and level of activity (either active or passive) were also included. These counts include all those within approximately 75 feet of the investigator. The number of child/elderly interactions and whether these were active or passive was recorded.

The activities were scored as:

active: indicating joint active or moving participation between subjects and the older person; activities could involve going places, playing games (other than board games such as checkers), and doing things with each other such as planting gardens, walking, and cooking.
passive: referring to an activity such as sitting and talking, reading, playing board games such as checkers or doing something of a quiet, lounging nature.

In addition open-ended statements were recorded describing the activity taking place.

The observations took place during the month of April and included the Greek Orthodox Easter period which many consider to be the most important holiday of the year.

Table 3 contains a tally of the number of persons observed, by age group, sex and level of activity for the 30 day period. Of the 731 persons observed almost 45% of them were adults and 22% elderly. Children comprised 33.8% of the total observations and were involved in over 50% of the active observations and less than 23% of the passive observations. Children were engaged in active endeavors almost 60% of the time (144 times out of 247 observations). The elderly were observed in passive activities almost 75% of the time (116 times out of 159 observations) while adults were observed in passive activities about 70% of the time (231 times out of 325 observations).

Table 3: Daily Observations by Age Group, Sex and Level of Activity

An examination of the open-ended statements on the observation sheets provided some insights into the daily routines of the people of Rethymnon and the nature of the child/elderly interactions. A total of 60 different observations were made. Child/elderly interactions occurred in 53% of these daily observations with almost 60% of these interactions being of a passive nature. Some of the interactions involved family oriented activities. These included children dancing with the elderly at a wedding party and eating dinner and dancing at a tavern. Going to church and walking through town and along the beach were other family activities that included persons of all age levels.
Children also engaged in very active play that appeared to be supervised passively by the elderly. The children played such games as hopscotch, soccer, dodgeball, volleyball, and hide-and-seek. An elderly person, normally a woman, was almost always nearby observing the play and commenting from time-to-time.

Another common form of child/elderly interactions was related to work. Children were seen assisting the elderly with such activities as pruning the grape vines, repairing a motorized tri-cart, collecting driftwood along the beach, working in the gardens, and repairing a fishing caique.

Children and the elderly also appeared to involve themselves in a form of quiet sharing time. Children were seen holding hands with the elderly while they walked and talked. A young child sat in the lap of an elderly man while they looked at the pigeons. Ice cream at the corner kiosk and suvalaki at the outdoor cafe were two of the favorite places where children and the elderly ate, talked, and enjoyed each other’s company.

Findings

**Question 1.** Do Greek children report having more contact with elderly persons within and/or outside the family than children in this country? Several questions from the word association subtest were used to answer this question. The percentages by groups are reported in Table 4 for knowing old people within and outside the family, for providing another name for old people, and for doing things with old people.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Percentages by Group</th>
<th>1976 Study</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Know elderly in family</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>81.6%</td>
<td>71.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>18.4%</td>
<td>28.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Know elderly outside family</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>85.1%</td>
<td>80.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>14.9%</td>
<td>19.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can write another name for old people</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>94.3%</td>
<td>92.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do things with elderly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>60.9%</td>
<td>55.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>39.1%</td>
<td>44.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The vast majority of the children in all three groups knew elderly persons within and outside the family. Most of the children in Crete (81.6%) and Athens (71.4%) as well as the Greek speaking children in the Balti-
more/Washington (90.5%) area knew elderly persons within the family. These findings are similar to the 87.8% of the children in the 1976 study that reported knowing elderly within the family structure. More than 80% of all three Greek speaking groups knew elderly persons outside the family, while less than 22% of the students in the 1976 study gave a similar report. (It should be noted that 45% of the fifth graders in the 1976 study knew elderly outside the family.)

To provide some insights into the nature of the elderly they knew (from 55.5% to 71.4% said yes) and to write down some things that they did. The Greek speaking children provided responses similar to those of children in this country. They reported engaging in active helping behaviors such as: I go with my grandfather to the field and I help him tell me about stories and legends. We try to synchronize ourselves. We have different opinions on almost everything. I lack experience but they usually lack understanding. He gives me advice and he teaches me new things. I keep him company, he waits for us to go to the village. I listen to him. I help him and I respect him, I go shopping for him. I give him my seat in the bus or anywhere else. He takes us to school.

The Greek speaking children also reported engaging in passive activities such as: We converse, we read, we watch TV. He tells me stories. He helps me in my bad times and I tell him about all of my problems. I go to my grandmother’s and stay there for hours: I ask her for her opinion on anything. I like her to tell me stories and to show me how to needlepoint. Being older, she tells me what is right and helps me with the problems of life. I discuss with them problems that worry me. I take advice. I spend several hours with them. We converse, he tells me stories from life.

*Question 2.* Can Greek children assign realistic age estimates to a series of photographs depicting men at different ages? Are their estimates similar to those of children in this country? Questions from the picture series subtest were used to help answer these questions. Mean age estimates for the photographs and the percentage of students preferring each of the different ages represented by the photographs are contained in Table 5. A one way analysis of variance using the Student Newman Keuls procedure was employed to test for differences in the mean age estimates.

Responses to these questions indicated that both children in Greece and children in this country held similar ideas on the age of an elderly man. The mean age estimates of the oldest man in a series of four photographs ranged from 72.33 to 77.54. This compares favorably with the standardized age estimate of 77.4 for this photograph in the CATE and the age estimate of 71.6 by the fifth grade students in the 1976 study of children in this country using the CATE (Jantz et al., 1976). The estimates for the other ages represented by the photographs were also comparable. All groups of children tended to give lower age estimates than that of the adults for the standardized age estimates in the original CATE. The Greek speaking chil-
Table 5: Mean Age Estimates for the Photographs and Percentages Preference for the Different Ages by Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Estimates and Preference</th>
<th>Crete (N=87)</th>
<th>Athens (N=119)</th>
<th>Balt/Wash (N=42)</th>
<th>1976 Study (N=180)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Youngest Man</td>
<td>25.40&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>27.34</td>
<td>29.29&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>29.7&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Youngest Man</td>
<td>36.7&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>37.86</td>
<td>40.36&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>40.8&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Next to Oldest Man</td>
<td>59.89</td>
<td>58.07</td>
<td>60.71</td>
<td>55.1&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oldest Man</td>
<td>77.54&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>72.33&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>76.07</td>
<td>71.6&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefer to be with Youngest Man</td>
<td>63.2%</td>
<td>49.6%</td>
<td>64.3%</td>
<td>57.8%&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Youngest</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Next to the Oldest</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oldest</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Choices</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>.8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>1</sup> Age Estimates are from the fifth graders in the 1976 study.
<sup>a</sup> Significantly different from each other at .05 level - Student Newman Keuls
<sup>b</sup> Significantly different from each other at .05 level - Student Newman Keuls
<sup>c</sup> Significantly different from each other at .05 level - Student Newman Keuls

Note:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATE, 1976 STUDY</th>
<th>Youngest Man</th>
<th>Second Youngest Man</th>
<th>Next Oldest Man</th>
<th>Oldest Man</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Standardized Age Estimates</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>44.5</td>
<td>63.7</td>
<td>77.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

dren in the Baltimore/Washington area had significantly higher age estimates for both the youngest and second youngest man than did the children on Crete. Similarly the children on Crete had significantly higher age estimates for the oldest man than did the children in Athens.

When asked why do you think the man you picked as the oldest is the oldest man both the Greek speaking children and the children in the 1976 study had similar responses. Many made references to experience. Some responses of the Greek speaking children were: The oldest has the most experience and has several problems which he tries to hide. I think that he has good sense and experience. Because we talk more openly, we tell him about the problems of life. He differs from the others in that he is older than they are and experience is evident on his face, he knows about life and people. That he has experience in his life.
Other children made references to the physical characteristics associated with old age and some to death. Some comments were: He has no hair. The oldest one is the ugliest and the saddest. That he is old. He has wrinkles. He would want someone with him. He doesn’t seem too happy. I think that he would like to be young again. He must have suffered a lot. That he is old and that he needs someone to take care of him and to keep him company. That he feels badly because he is old. He is sick often and death might hit at any time. I think that he is sad and that he is waiting for his death to come at any moment. That he had some painful years. He looks old. That he has gotten old, ugly and that his life is ending. That the years have gone by and that his time has come to die.

Question 3. How do Greek children rate old people in comparison to young people? Do their responses differ from those of children in this country? The responses to the semantic differential subtest were used to answer these questions. T-tests were run to determine if there were significant differences in the ratings of old people and young people for each of the groups of Greek speaking children. All three groups of Greek speaking children rated young people significantly higher (p < .01) than old people on the total scores on the semantic differential. The fifth graders in the 1976 study (Jantz et al., 1976) rated old people higher than young people. The mean scores are reported in Table 6.

Table 6: T-Test for Young People and Old People by Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
<th>T. Value</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Probability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Balt/Wash</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young People</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>37.38</td>
<td>5.65</td>
<td>3.87</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old People</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>33.83</td>
<td>5.73</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athens</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young People</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>37.92</td>
<td>5.41</td>
<td>4.19</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old People</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>35.50</td>
<td>4.83</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crete</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young People</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>38.70</td>
<td>4.46</td>
<td>7.58</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old People</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>34.87</td>
<td>5.20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fifth Graders, 1976 Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
<th>T. Value</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Probability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Young People</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>37.15</td>
<td>3.34</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old People</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>39.90</td>
<td>4.13</td>
<td>-1.897</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The T-test for the fifth graders is from the 1976 study by Jantz et al. and is included for comparative purposes.

An item by item analysis of the semantic differential reveals that both the Greek speaking children and the children in this country assigned similar traits to the elderly.
Overall young people were rated higher than old people on the items helpful, healthy, rich, friendly, pretty, and happy. Children tended to choose the younger man because they could relate to him, they could enjoy similar activities, and for his youth. Some reasons the Greek children gave for choosing the younger man were: I chose the youngest man because we would go walking or for rides together, we would have fun playing games and we would have a happy life. He is young, friendly, healthy, handsome, he can enjoy his life as he thinks. Also, he can add to his knowledge, other useful things and he can ask the old people for advice about life. I think that we would match, he would understand me better than the other three. We might even have the same opinion about our problems. He would be able to work very gladly. He would be healthier. He could converse freely without anxiety. Because I could talk to him more comfortably about different things.

The Greek speaking children also indicated the types of things that they could do with the oldest man. These reflected a desire to do things for elderly persons such as help them become happy, console them, and help them with money. They included such things as: I would help him to be happy so that he would not think about his sickness. I would sing to him and tell him about the good times I have with my friends and he would tell me stories. If he were a pessimist, I would console him and I would make him think that life is really sweet no matter how bitter some moments can be. I would walk with him. I could stay with him for a little while to keep him company. I would ask him to give me advice about life and to tell me stories from his life. I would respect him, help him with problems of life. I would do whatever he asked. We would talk, he would tell me stories and give me advice. He would give me his advice and he would put us on the straight path.

**Question 4.** How do children in Greece feel about growing old themselves and do they perceive being old as positive? Do children in this country feel the same way? Responses from the word association and picture series sub-tests were used to answer these questions. The percentages of responses by group on how the children felt about getting old and how they might feel when they were as old as the oldest man in the photograph are found in Table 7. A one way analysis of variance was run to determine if there were significant differences in mean scores on the semantic differential concept of ‘Old People’ based upon how the children felt about growing old and how they might feel when they were as old as the oldest man. These mean scores are reported in Table 8. The children living in Crete who felt good
about growing old rated 'Old People' significantly higher than did those children living in Crete who felt bad about growing old. No other mean scores were significant for this concept.

Table 7: Percentage by Groups for Feelings About Growing Old and Feelings About Being Old

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Feelings About Growing Old and Being Old</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Crete N=87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feel about getting old</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>14.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad</td>
<td>55.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It doesn’t matter</td>
<td>29.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feel when you are as old as the oldest man</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad</td>
<td>60.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It doesn’t matter</td>
<td>28.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8: Mean Scores on the Concept ‘Old People’ for Feelings About Growing Old and Feelings About Being Old by Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feelings About Growing Old</th>
<th>Crete N=87</th>
<th>Athens N=119</th>
<th>Balt/Wash N=42</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>37.00a</td>
<td>36.06</td>
<td>37.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad</td>
<td>33.40a</td>
<td>34.93</td>
<td>33.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It doesn’t matter</td>
<td>36.54</td>
<td>35.80</td>
<td>32.41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feelings About Being Old</th>
<th>Crete N=87</th>
<th>Athens N=119</th>
<th>Balt/Wash N=42</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>36.33</td>
<td>35.63</td>
<td>37.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad</td>
<td>34.25</td>
<td>34.90</td>
<td>32.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It doesn’t matter</td>
<td>35.68</td>
<td>36.20</td>
<td>33.86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a Significantly different from each other at the .05 level - Student Newman Keuls.

When asked how they might feel about growing old, 14.9% of the children in Crete, 15.1% of the children in Athens, and 16.7% of the children in Baltimore/Washington responded with a positive comment. For the children in the 1976 study only 11.1% provided positive responses. At the same time 46.2% of the children in Athens indicated that it didn’t matter while 29.9% in Crete and 40.5% in Baltimore/Washington gave the same response. Approximately 47% of the children in the 1976 study gave a neutral response.

When asked how they might feel when they were as old as the oldest man in a series of photographs, 60.9% of the children in Crete, 43.7% of the children in Athens, and 47.6% of the children in Baltimore/Washington responded with negative comments. This compared with negative comments from 60% of the children in the 1976 study. When asked to write
how you will feel when you are as old as this man and why will you feel that way, some of the Greek speaking children indicated an awareness of the aging process and the realization that growing old would happen to all of us. They made such comments as: Because I know that we will all grow old someday. I will have learned a lot and I would want to state my opinion to others if it is of benefit to them. Because I know that we get older by the day and that there is no man who doesn’t grow old. Because all people someday arrive at that point. Because I will feel that I will not be the only one, we will all end up there. So why should I worry about something I can’t help. Because everybody will someday get old. Because all of us sooner or later will grow old.

When asked how they might feel about being old the children responded with fears that were sometimes associated with death and hopes associated with the continuation of life by children and grandchildren. Some of their comments were: Because I don’t have the comfort I had in my youth. Because I will not be able to do what I do now that I am younger. I will be very unhappy, the others will not pay attention to me and death will be waiting for me. Because they were young and became old. Because I will be ugly I would like to always stay young because the young people are flowers of life. Because when you get old you die and your life is beautiful. Because I don’t want to grow old. I will feel this way because I will have grandchildren and I will have my family. Because I will have my grandchildren and when I see them, I will remember my childhood years and I will live a peaceful life.

Summary of Findings

**Question 1.** Do Greek children report having more contact with elderly persons within and/or outside the family than children in this country? The majority of the Greek speaking children (over 70%) and the children in this country (over 87%) reported knowing elderly persons within their own families but far fewer non-Greek speaking children in this country reported knowing elderly persons outside the family (less than 45%) than did Greek-speaking children (over 80%). Over 76% of the Greek speaking children could provide another name for old people while less than 7% of the non-Greek speaking children in this country could do so. Not all the children reporting knowing elderly persons reported doing things with the elderly. The majority of Greek speaking children (between 55.5% and 71.4%) reported doing things with the elderly while 43% of the non-Greek speaking children in this country reported doing so.

**Question 2.** Can Greek children assign realistic age estimates to a series of photographs depicting men at different ages? Are their estimates similar to those of children in this country? All groups of children were able to assign realistic age estimates to the series of photographs. The mean responses from the children on Crete were significantly different for the two youngest men (\(\bar{x} = 25.4\) and \(\bar{x} = 36.7\)) from the responses of the Greek speaking
children in the Baltimore/Washington area ($\bar{x} = 29.29$ and $\bar{x} = 40.36$). The responses of the fifth grade children in this country were more like those in the Baltimore/Washington area than those on Crete ($\bar{x} = 29.7$ and $\bar{x} = 40.8$). The children on Crete also had significantly higher mean scores for the oldest man ($\bar{x} = 77.54$) than did the children in Athens ($\bar{x} = 72.33$). The responses of the fifth grade children in this country were more like those in Athens ($\bar{x} = 71.6$).

Question 3. How do Greek children rate old people in comparison to young people? Do their responses differ from those of children in this country? All three groups of Greek speaking children rated young people significantly higher (p. < 01) than old people on the total score of the semantic differential. The fifth graders in this country rated old people higher than young people on this scale. Overall young people were rated higher on the items helpful, healthy, rich, friendly, pretty, and happy. Old people were rated higher on the items clean, right, good, and wonderful.

Question 4. How do children in Greece feel about growing old themselves and do they perceive being old as positive? Do children in this country feel the same way? Less than 17% of the children in all groups responded with a positive comment when asked how they might feel about growing old. From 30% to 47% of the children indicated that it didn’t matter. When asked how they might feel when they were as old as the oldest man in the series of photographs between 44% and 61% of the children gave negative comments.

Conclusions and Discussion

The purpose of this study was to investigate the attitudes of Greek children toward the elderly and to compare their responses to those of children in this country. This investigation was undertaken with some expectations of developing insight to enhance the living presence between the old and the young. The daily observations in Rethymnon, Crete, although informal, did indicate that Greek children and the elderly were indeed at the same places at the same times and were on occasion interacting. Although the elderly were seen in passive roles the majority of the time, they would engage in active endeavors with children. The interactions between the elderly and children included a range of activities involving work, play, sharing time, the family and the church. The results of the testing support the following conclusions:

1. Greek speaking children have more contact with the elderly and are more able to provide other names for old people than do the non-Greek speaking children in this country.

2. Both the Greek children and upper elementary school age children in this country can provide realistic age estimates to a series of photographs depicting men at different ages.
3. Both the Greek children and the children in this country assign similar traits to young people and old people.

4. The children in Greece and the children in this country do not feel positive about growing old nor do they perceive being old as good.

As we examine the responses it appears that the attitudes of Greek children toward the elderly are similar to those of children in this country. These attitudes appear to be complex with a real concern and negative feelings for the process of aging and the physical characteristics associated with old age. At the same time they appear to have a positive affect toward the elderly and a concern for doing things with and for the elderly. Greek children tended to engage in more passive activities with the elderly just as children in this country report. The observations in Rethymnon, Crete, reinforce this finding. The principal interactions of Greek children with the elderly focused around family activities including church, assisting the elderly with their work, and involvement in a form of quiet sharing time. The active play of children also appeared to be monitored passively by an elderly person in many instances.

Many of the associations with the oldest man reported by the Greek children focused upon the movement from good years to physical ailments to death. There seemed to be an appreciation of the experience associated with age, but also a realization that at the end of this period was death. When given a choice between youth and experience most children preferred youth.

The study raises several questions for future research and curriculum developed. Although care was taken in the construction of the test not to include questions relating to death, children did make references to death and old age. Are children who provide unsolicited death responses more negative in their attitudes toward the elderly than those who do not? If so, might their attitudes be related to personal experiences with death? In a reanalysis of the data in the original 1976 CATE study, Galper (1978) found that children who provided unsolicited death responses had more negative feelings toward the elderly, were more negative about growing old, and were more likely to prefer younger people than were the children who did not provide unsolicited death responses.

The Greek-speaking children were more able to provide other names for old people than were children in this country. Are there naming differences that can affect attitudes toward the elderly? The concept 'old' often has negative connotations just as the concept 'black' often portrays negative images. Would an analysis of the words associated with the elderly in different cultures reveal more positive descriptors in some cultures than in others? Might children's perceptions of the words used to name old people influence their attitudes toward the elderly? Such analyses with children, with a focus on the positive word associations, might be one way to enhance children's attitudes toward the elderly.
The observations on Crete raise several questions about the interactions between the young and the old. The child/elderly interactions on Crete involved daily living activities. Children in this country often interact with the elderly on special occasions only. To what extent do the nature and the purpose of the interactions affect children's attitudes toward the elderly? Might the control of the interactions and the duration of these interactions also affect the attitudes of children and the elderly toward each other? Intergenerational programs might help build positive relationships across the ages if the nature and purposes of child/elderly interactions are supportive of this end. In a study of attitudes of the elderly toward children, Seefeldt and Jantz (1979) found that the elderly had positive attitudes toward children but felt a need to limit interactions with children to particular places and lengths of time.

The attitudes of children in Greece and in this country are complex. In both countries the children expressed positive affect toward the elderly as persons but expressed negative feelings toward growing old and the physical characteristics of being old. What aspects of children's attitudes might we reasonably affect with curriculum intervention projects? There are some indications (Seefeldt et al., 1977) that over a short period of time little effect is possible for changing either teachers' attitudes or children's attitudes toward their own aging and the aging process. We often fear old age because it threatens to make us helpless and, at the same time, are negative toward the elderly because they threaten us with their dependency (Kas-tenbaum, 1974). More attention needs to be given to examining aging as a life-long process and to assisting children with looking at their own aging. At the same time, however, we should be careful that too much emphasis is not placed on the negative feelings about the physical characteristics of the elderly and about the undesirable changes children perceive happening to their bodies as they grow old. We should remember that children are also telling us of the goodness and wisdom that comes with age. The comments about experience and learning how to do or make things associated with everyday life are ideas that we can use from the Greek children to strengthen our curriculum in this country. The use of senior volunteers in the classrooms is a step in that direction. These senior citizens can share with children their life-long experiences and work with children on art and craft projects associated with everyday living.

With the study of Greek children's attitudes toward the elderly we did find the living presence of different generations. Children were interacting with the elderly and taking part in the transmission of culture from one generation to another. As a child on Crete said, "I will have my grandchildren and when I see them, I will remember my childhood years and I will live a peaceful life."

There are indications (Hickey & Kalish, 1968; Zampella, 1968) that attitudes developed in childhood may be carried into old age and affect one's feelings in old age. Intergenerational contacts can lead to the estab-
lishment of caring relationships between the young and the old. They help establish continuity in our society by providing that "living presence" between generations. Intergenerational contacts can also lead to an appreciation of life by learning to challenge the myth of the aging process as something to be feared. Both children and the elderly see positive traits in each other and these can be used to enhance the quality of life across generations.
References


Adolescents in Community Settings: What Is to Be Learned?

Stephen F. Hamilton
Cornell University

Through the 1970's a series of prestigious groups recommended that increased opportunities be created for adolescents to learn by participating in community activities. The first wave of reports from these groups appears to have been motivated in large part by concern over young people's political values, as expressed in radical and sometimes violent opposition to the Vietnam war and in accompanying domestic unrest (National Commission on the Reform of Secondary Education, 1973; Panel on Youth of the President's Science Advisory Committee, 1974; Task Force '74, 1975; National Panel on High School and Adolescent Education, 1976). A second wave of reports with similar recommendations shifted the emphasis from socialization in general and political socialization in particular to the preparation of adolescents for productive careers, with youth unemployment replacing radical and anarchic political action as the principal problem (Tyler, 1978; Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, 1979; National Commission on Youth, 1980).

The very number of reports with common themes—and only a sample has been cited here—is a warning that more effort may be invested in writing about problems than in trying to remedy them directly. Cynicism or at least skepticism is fueled by history, which is replete with comparable reports, though in smaller numbers, that appear to have accomplished little or nothing (Passow, 1976). Yet the federal government has addressed the concerns raised in the second wave of reports by appropriating
billions of dollars for the employment and training of low-income adolescents, and numerous more modestly supported experiential learning programs persist in the spirit of the first wave of reports. These recommendations, therefore, have not been ignored. What can be learned from programs responding to these recommendations about what adolescents learn through involvement in their communities?

Federally subsidized employment and training programs have been accompanied by a remarkably coherent "knowledge development" effort, designed to assess and strengthen those programs (Office of Youth Programs, 1980)—mostly in terms of their effects on participants' employment and earnings. Experiential learning programs with broader aims, sponsored by schools and other youth-serving organizations and open to all, have had less research to guide them (Hamilton, 1980). However, enough research has been done in recent years so that future recommendations for increased adolescent involvement in the community should move beyond echoing each other to grappling with issues such as what kinds of community experiences are most beneficial to what kinds of adolescents.

I shall not attempt to review here the vast literature on federal youth employment programs; Mangum and Walsh (1978) do that well. I will focus instead on unpaid activities in the community that are arranged as part of an educational program. Studies of these kinds of programs have been directed toward their educational effects. Since most employment programs have been assessed in terms of economic benefits, findings about what adolescents learn in voluntary programs may also be profitably applied to some programs in which adolescents are paid for their participation in the community.

In brief, research on unpaid experiential learning programs suggests: 1. that those people closest to them support them strongly; 2. that identifying and measuring specific educational effects is extremely difficult because of wide variations within and among programs; 3. that the most common effects are likely to be in the domain of attitudes, self-perceptions, and broad understandings. I shall describe two experiential learning programs to illustrate some of the ways in which adolescents can be involved in their communities and to present what I consider to be key issues in the assessment of their contributions to learning. I will then explore these issues further with reference to other research.

Types of Experiential Learning Programs

Several typologies have been proposed for experiential learning programs (National Panel on High School and Adolescent Education, 1976; Conrad and Hedin, 1977; Miguel, Jipp, Twarog, and Wasson, 1979; Hamilton, 1980.) In my view one of the most important distinctions among programs is whether adolescents are placed as individuals in adult settings or function as a group in a setting where adolescents are predomi-
nant. There are clearly important issues of program design that hinge on these characteristics and the learning opportunities presented by programs differing along these dimensions are likely to vary in important ways. The Learning Web and the Idyllic Foundation illustrate these differences.

The Learning Web, located in Ithaca, New York, matches young people who wish to learn a skill with adults who are willing to teach that skill. The young people are called “apprentices,” and are expected to do some routine work in exchange for the opportunity to learn from their “mentors.” Placements include such diverse fields as veterinary medicine, printing, auto repair, meat cutting, electronic music, botanical research, and counseling. Some participants use the Learning Web to explore careers, but its founders had broader aims. Drawing inspiration from Illich (1970), who advocated informal “learning webs” as an alternative to conventional schools, and from Dewey (1916, 1938) and Freire (1970), they hoped young people would learn how to take responsibility for their own learning in addition to acquiring a skill and forming a relationship with an adult. They also hoped the adult mentors would broaden their conceptions of themselves and their abilities and that the community as a whole would develop a greater appreciation of its own resources.

The Idyllic Foundation in Cazenovia, New York, is patterned closely after Foxfire, a program made famous by its magazine and a series of best selling anthologies. Its founder, Eliot Wigginton, has written an excellent description and analysis of the program (1975) that insightfully explains its purposes and procedures. That document presents the highest aspirations of the Idyllic Foundation, which produces a magazine of local history, folklore, and crafts, and has involved young people in several other activities, notably constructing log cabins using traditional methods. Various documents related to the Idyllic Foundation present a long list of purposes, including increased appreciation of older people and the heritage of the community, increased self-confidence and skills, improved ability to work with others, and reduced problematic behavior.

Learning Web participants work one-to-one with their mentors. The placements, as the examples illustrated, are in settings where adults are engaged in activities they would be doing even if their apprentices were not present. In the Idyllic Foundation, by contrast, adolescents are engaged in activities directed toward goals they have set themselves. If they did not write magazine articles or build log cabins, those activities would not occur.

Each of these program types has distinctive advantages. The Learning Web gives adolescents a place in the adult world and a working relationship with a caring adult who is neither a school teacher nor a parent. Like other programs that place adolescents individually in adult settings, the Learning Web responds to the concern that adolescents spend too much time in peer groups and need more exposure to the socializing influence of
adults and adult-dominated settings (Coleman, 1972; Bronfenbrenner, 1974). The Idyllic Foundation and other programs in which adolescents work with each other on projects they set for themselves take advantage of the attractiveness and the power of peer groups. They give adolescents opportunities to take responsibility and make decisions at a level that is not usually attainable in an adult-dominated setting (an opportunity stressed by the National Commission on Resources for Youth, 1975). Group projects also call for group decision making, an important skill for adolescents to practice and learn.

In addition to these differences between the two programs, there is considerable variation within each program in what participants do. The experience of a young woman who is a pianist and composer working with an electronic music group is very different from that of a learning disabled young man apprenticed to a butcher. Even in the Idyllic Foundation, where all participants share in the tasks associated with producing a magazine, some specialize in photography, some in writing, others in management. This variation among participants in the same program is an important characteristic of community action learning programs that distinguishes them from classroom situations where all are presented with the same stimuli and expected to respond in similar ways.

A slight digression is in order at this point to introduce Dewey's (1938) definition of experience as having both objective and internal components. The objective component includes all that is outside the person: the physical environment, social interaction, the information and skills involved. The internal component—what each person brings to the experience—includes predispositions, previous experiences, and expectations for the future. Each person experiences the same objective conditions differently and learns different things from them because of the unique combination of internal conditions he or she carries. Dewey claimed that one of the greatest strengths of progressive education is that it takes account of the internal states of learners, unlike traditional education, which operates on the assumption that all who are exposed to the same objective conditions, a classroom lecture, for example, can learn the same things.

I have just noted some of the differences in objective conditions between and within two experiential learning programs. Taking into account differences in the internal states of participants in those programs makes it seem unlikely that participants would learn the same things. However, the uniformity of participant learning depends in part on what kind of learning one examines. While it seems apparent from observation that "Barbara," who became a competent photographer and darkroom technician in the Idyllic Foundation gained more knowledge and skills related to photography than "Roger," whose chief contribution to the program was devising a system for recording participants' attendance and reporting it to the high school, there might be a more general type of learning that they both gained. Both Roger and Barbara might have increased their
self-confidence and gained greater appreciation for older people, for example. In these instances, learning is in the affective domain, and as the results reported below indicate, this is the kind of learning that has been found most often in studies of experiential learning programs.

Effects of the Learning Web and Idyllic Foundation

My exploratory study of the Learning Web and Idyllic Foundation was not designed to produce clear evidence of participant learning, but it yielded two suggestive findings. The first had to do with participants’ relations with adults. The second came from parents’ statements about the programs’ benefits to their children.

A comparison group was obtained for the Learning Web participants by taking a random sample of Ithaca High School students who were not in the Learning Web. Since some of those selected in this manner chose not to take part in the study, the sample that was actually interviewed was not totally random, but it did represent a slice of the population from which Learning Web participants are drawn and allowed a comparison between responses of participants in the Learning Web and those of a reasonably representative sample of high school students who had not chosen to participate in the program.

One of the questions asked of participants in the two programs and the comparison group was, “Who are the five most important adults in your life?” The intent of the question was to tap the extent to which these programs put young people in touch with adults, thus compensating for one of the failures identified in conventional socialization processes.

Our expectation that most respondents would name their parents or guardians first was born out. The next most frequently mentioned category of adults, after parents, was other relatives: older siblings and their spouses, grandparents, aunts and uncles. What was most striking, though it is consistent with the claim that today’s adolescents are isolated from adults, was that more than half of the respondents could not name five adults who were important to them. We interviewed 38 young people (11 Learning Web, 13 Idyllic Foundation, 14 Comparison). Each could name up to five adults and if all had done so, the Learning Web sample would have named 55, the Idyllic Foundation sample 65, and the Comparison group 70. In fact, the Learning Web group named 48, or 87% of the possible total; the Idyllic Foundation group named 58, or 89%; and the Comparison group named 54, or 77%.

Because we had a comparison group, not a true control group, the difference is only suggestive, but it is fascinating that the Learning Web respondents named seven adults associated with the program as being important to them and the Idyllic Foundation respondents also named seven adults associated with that program. (Three participants in each program named one adult connected with the program as being important to them.
Two in each named two program-related adults.) If those seven adults are subtracted from the totals for each program's participants, the number of adults mentioned as a percentage of the number they were asked to name drops to 74% for the Learning Web and 78% for the Idyllic Foundation, both in the same range as the Comparison group's 77%. The adults connected with the Learning Web and Idyllic Foundations who were mentioned by participants as being important to them, in other words, accounted for the larger number of important adults named by program participants in comparison to nonparticipants. (These data are summarized in Table 1.)

Table 1: Responses to the Question, "Who are the five most important adults in your life?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample Size (n)</th>
<th>Possible Number of Important Adults (5 x n)</th>
<th>Actual Number Mentioned</th>
<th>Percentage (Actual/possible)</th>
<th>Percentage Excluding Program-Related Adults</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Learning Web</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idyllic Foundation</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparison Group</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>77%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second source of hints regarding the programs' effects on adolescents was partners' responses to interview questions. The interview was designed to elicit parents' ratings of their children's behavior in such matters as ability to get along with people who are different and willingness to help others, areas identified by such writers as Coleman (Panel on Youth, 1974) and Newmann (1975) as appropriate aims for experiential learning programs. This effort to identify changes in behavior that might have resulted from program participation was unrewarded. Parents tended to place their children at the upper end of the rating scale and to say that they had always been that way. Any recent changes were attributed to maturation, not participation in the program. In contrast, teachers, who were asked to rate the same young people on the same scale, revealed little knowledge of their students' behavior outside of the classroom and tended to give ratings that did not differentiate among different behaviors. Neither group's ratings suggested that this was a useful approach.

However, after the parents had declared that they saw no changes in their children's behavior in the areas we identified, they went on to praise the programs extravagantly when asked, "How do you feel about the Learning Web/Idyllic Foundation?" and "Has it done anything for your child?" Parents of 22 participants were interviewed. All were positive about
the programs and their influence. Since this part of the interview was open-ended, a precise tabulation of responses is not possible, but classifying the first reasons offered by each parent for approving of the programs yields a total of 9 of the 22 parents who emphasized general attitude changes they saw in their children and attributed to the programs (5 Idyllic Foundation, 4 Learning Web) and 6 parents who described the programs as being good learning opportunities without citing observable changes in their children as a consequence of their participation (2 Idyllic Foundation, 4 Learning Web). Comments from the remaining 7 parents were classified as indicating a belief that the programs were generally good and good for their children (4), that they provided constructive activities, “something to do” (1), and that the participants gained knowledge and skills (1).

The parents' evaluations, in other words, were not based on their perceptions that participation had affected their children's behavior in the ways we had predicted, but on their perceptions that attitudes had been changed and that the programs presented worthwhile opportunities, though the results might not be evident. The category of attitude change included some changes that parents believed were extremely important. A few brief quotations will illustrate how important some of the parents thought the programs were.

It's gotten "Roger" involved with kids his own age in a happy situation instead of a pressure situation. He's beginning to be able to express himself with other people.

At one important point in that young lady's life, the Learning Web was critical to her. I think it gave her a tremendous amount of confidence in herself and once having such confidence she was able to cope with almost anything else.

I think it's the most wonderful thing that could have happened to him. It's conceivable that a good part of what he does in the future may be a result of his having developed skills (as an apprentice).

She has gained experience which can only come through work and only comes through the responsibility that one has of delivering a service or a product where failure is very obvious and if it happens you can't chalk it up as just an unnecessary thing, like a paper in class or an exam.

It kept her in school. She wouldn't be in school today if there hadn't been that alternative.

The parents' assessments of the programs reveal both a wide range of perceived effects—greater self-confidence, an outlet for creative expression, a new sense of direction, a satisfying experience to compensate for the disappointments of school—and a close match between what the programs had to offer and the particular needs of different adolescents. This suggestion
that programs such as these can meet a variety of needs simultaneously is noteworthy because the goal of meeting the individual needs of students is widely espoused but little practiced in schools.

In summary, my exploratory study of two experiential learning programs was not refined enough to identify different effects associated with the different approaches they represented, one placing adolescents in one-to-one relations with adults in adult-dominated settings and the other placing adolescents in a group setting with other adolescents where they planned and conducted their own activities. But the study suggests that both kinds of programs may succeed in putting adolescents in closer touch with adults in roles other than teacher and parent, though the effects of those relationships are not clear. The effects of participation in the programs appear to vary considerably among participants, but there may be some uniformity of effects in the realm of attitudes.

**Staff Roles in the Two Programs**

Differences in learning associated with the two types of programs did not appear, but an important difference in the roles of staff of the two programs was revealed. Idyllic Foundation staff work continually with participants on all aspects of the program, very much in the way that classroom teachers constantly supervise and promote the learning of their pupils. Learning Web staff, in contrast, are more like counselors. Their primary responsibility is to help participants get into and complete an apprenticeship. Most of the learning, beyond identifying interests, is expected to occur in the mentor-apprentice relationship.

One implication of this contrast is that different professional skills and attributes are required of Learning Web staff than of Idyllic Foundation staff, and by extension, of staff in other experiential learning programs that operate in the two modes. Staff in programs like the Learning Web, in which adolescents are placed in adult-dominated settings, need to be skilled at helping adolescents identify their own interests and select appropriate placements. They also need to be knowledgeable about the kinds of placements that can be found in their communities and adroit in recruiting potential mentors and negotiating the terms of placements. Staff in programs like the Idyllic Foundation, in which adolescents work together to conduct their own projects, need to be skilled teachers in order to impart the knowledge and skills required by the project and even more skilled leaders in order to empower the participants to make their own decisions rather than subtly or overtly controlling the project themselves.

A second implication is that the quality of the learning experience in programs like the Learning Web may vary considerably depending on the suitability of the placements and the teaching competence of the adult mentors. However, a third implication is that staff competence may be more critical in programs like the Idyllic Foundation that depend heavily on one
or a few adults than in programs that tap the knowledge and skills of a large number of adults who are not teachers by profession.

Research on Unpaid Experience in Workplaces

Experience-Based Career Education (EBCE) and Executive High School Intern Programs (EHSIP) place adolescents in work settings without pay for extended periods of time. Students enrolled in EBCE may spend as much as 80% of their school time in a series of workplaces over a year or more. EHSIP students typically spend four days on site and one day in a seminar for a full semester. As its name states, EHSIP places students as assistants to executives. EBCE provides placements at many levels of the occupational hierarchy.

Developed by the National Institute of Education through four regional educational laboratories, EBCE has been extensively evaluated. EHSIP began in New York City and was then disseminated widely by its entrepreneurial originator. It has been evaluated by the National Center for Research in Vocational Education (Crowe and Walker, 1977). These studies have yielded findings that are consistent with those from the Learning Web and, Idyllic Foundation. Bucknam (1976), summarizing the results of EBCE evaluations, made three points: 1. students, parents, and adults associated with the program support it strongly; 2. participants' academic progress, as measured by standardized achievement tests, is not impaired by reduced time in class; and 3. there are some indications that the programs achieve their aims, but these are mixed. More bluntly, those involved are enthusiastic, participants are not harmed academically, but positive effects strong and important enough to justify the program are hard to find. Crowe and Waler (1977) also found high enthusiasm for EHSIP expressed by participants, their parents, and site sponsors. However, they expressed frustration at being unable to identify any clear program effects. They noted the wide variation in the experiences of participants and proposed a useful way of thinking about how those experiences are arranged. They described as “negotiation” the process by which participants find a role in their site that allows them to learn while contributing to the work of the organization. Because each placement is negotiated independently, with respect to a particular student and his or her place in a single site, extreme diversity results.

Osipow (1979), offering suggestions on the evaluation of experiential learning programs, pointed out that one consequence of such diversity can be that real effects of programs are obscured by the need to aggregate effects across individuals. Distinct changes in many different participants may cancel each other out when lumped together in a program evaluation. An example of this phenomenon that comes to mind is that one participant may be jarred out of an overly narrow career plan and begin thinking about a wider range of possible careers, while another may move from considering a diffuse collection of careers to a narrower range that allows realistic plan-
ning. Both will have made important progress in thinking about the future as a direct result of participating in an unpaid work experience program, yet an instrument designed to assess the program's impact on the number of career choices being entertained by participants will, when the results are aggregated, show that the program had no effect on these two participants.

**The Evaluation of Experiential Learning Project**

This problem of diversity in learning might be avoided by seeking more abstract effects, such as the kinds of attitude changes described by the parents of Learning Web and Idyllic Foundation parents. Hedin and Conrad did that in their evaluation of 28 experiential learning programs around the country, and their strategy worked beautifully. Part of that strategy was to identify program effects that practitioners said were occurring rather than those theoreticians have said might result. They convened an advisory panel of directors from the 28 exemplary programs nominated for inclusion in the study and asked those directors what they saw happening to adolescents in their programs—not what they wanted to see happen, but what they actually saw evidence for. These putative effects were then refined and operationalized and instruments to measure them were administered to participants in a pre-post design and in some cases to non-random comparison groups as well.

The effects they found fell into three categories:

1. **social development**, including a. personal and social responsibility, b. attitudes toward others and toward community involvement, and c. career planning;
2. **psychological development**, including a. general self-esteem and b. self-esteem in social situations; and
3. **intellectual development and academic learning**, specifically a. knowledge of community issues and resources and b. ability to solve problems.

The investigators were interested not only in whether the programs as a group appeared to have a positive influence on participants in these areas but also in whether different types of programs—community service, internships, political action, community study, or adventure education—had different effects, and whether different formats—duration, number of hours per week, and the characteristics of individual experiences—yielded different results.

According to two preliminary reports (Hedin, 1980; Hedin & Conrad, 1980), the programs do, in general, have positive effects in the areas investigated and there are systematic differences among programs. Participants in 21 programs showed an increase in personal and social responsibility. Scores on the responsibility measure increased for only one comparison group and declined for the other six. Participants in 22 of the 28 programs gained more positive attitudes toward adults in general, while responses to the same instrument showed more negative attitudes in six of seven comparison groups. Participants also rated the kinds of adults with whom they came into contact higher after having been in the programs than before.
Scores on the Career Exploration Scale increased in all but one of the programs and in the comparison groups, but participants showed greater gains. The difference was found to be mostly in items related to actual exploration in career settings, not in those items having to do with career knowledge. Interestingly, gains in the career scale were equal in programs focused on career exploration and those not stressing careers.

With respect to psychological development, respondents in the comparison groups and in 24 of the programs gained in both general self-esteem and self-esteem in social situations, but participants gained more than non-participants. Problem-solving ability was the only aspect of intellectual development for which results are reported, and participants in 18 programs demonstrated gains in this area, in contrast to no gains in the comparison groups. In the post test, participants in these 18 programs showed greater empathy and increased complexity in their responses to a hypothetical dilemma. One of Hedin and Conrad's most useful findings was that these programs in which problem-solving ability improved placed adolescents in helping roles and involved them in seminars where they could reflect actively on their experiences.

Hedin concludes that this opportunity for reflection is one of the key features of the programs they evaluated. The second key feature, she says, is that the activities are important to the adolescents and give them an opportunity to exercise autonomy. Autonomy was particularly important for participants who were more successful in school. Low-income adolescents whose school experiences had not been positive and who participated in the CETA-funded programs included in the study were less concerned with having adult responsibilities and more concerned about being given clear direction and being able to get help when they needed it.

Conrad and Hedin (1980) have noted the limitations of paper-and-pencil measures, and they plan to report additional findings from the observations of parents, teachers, and community supervisors, student journals, case studies of programs and participants, and from a range of unobtrusive measures. If these data sources confirm the findings from paper-and-pencil measures, they will strengthen the findings reported thus far and substantiate the future use of the paper-and-pencil measures as evaluation instruments.

The authors also acknowledge that these findings may not be generalizable to less exemplary programs. Even within the select group of programs involved in the study there were some that did not seem as potent as others. It would be unwise to attribute to all experiential learning programs results found in the very best. The ultimate test of the value of programs like these is in their impact on adolescents' development into competent, productive, and satisfied adults. Only long-term longitudinal studies following participants and comparable nonparticipants into adulthood and assessing career achievements and citizenship activities could demonstrate these kinds of ef-
ffects conclusively. Such research is notoriously difficult and may never be done. However, Hedin and Conrad have given us evidence on which to base hope that some of the high expectations for the involvement of adolescents on their communities may be fulfilled.

Conclusions

Much remains to be learned about adolescent learning in community settings. More research and more reflections of thoughtful practitioners are needed. But enough formal and informal knowledge has accumulated during the 70's that experiential learning programs in the 80's can be more narrowly focused. Instead of repeating general exhortations to involve adolescents in communities as a means of improving their socialization and learning, future recommendations must specify what kinds of community experiences are desirable for what adolescents and for what purposes.

Questions need to be asked, for example, about the current emphasis on increasing employment opportunities for adolescents. Employment can enhance self-confidence and responsibility, and it can give adolescents a clearer idea of their career choices. However, as Behn, Carnoy, Carter, Crain and Levin (1974) warned and Greenberger, Steinberg and Ruggiero (1980) have confirmed, the kinds of simple, routine, closely supervised jobs open to adolescents are better sources of spending-money than of learning. If adolescents need to learn how to make decisions and to be responsible for more than just showing up on time, if they need to see people who work with their minds and to learn skills that are marketable, then unpaid experience both in workplaces and in adolescent-operated community service and community action projects is likely to be much more valuable than a conventional job.

This observation is especially pertinent to low-income adolescents who are eligible for subsidized employment both in adult-dominated organizations and in community improvement projects where adolescents provide most of the labor. These kinds of experiences can be an important part of their education and make a necessary contribution to their families' financial wellbeing, but they are not enough to give those adolescents the sense of efficacy that comes from identifying a need, planning, and successfully meeting that need as a group project. Few employment programs give low-income adolescents the opportunity to work among people who have more education, income, and power than their friends and relatives have. Middle class adolescents grow up among people who are relatively comfortable with their economic, social, and political status. If middle-class young people are encouraged to serve as assistants to business executives, publish magazines, and organize to clean up polluted rivers while low-income adolescents get their community experience from make-work jobs, the inequalities in our educational and economic systems will be exacerbated rather than reduced.
The learning adolescents gain from community experiences clearly varies among programs and among participants in the same program. A first source of variation is that programs "teach" different things, depending on how they are organized and what adolescents do in them. It is futile to hope that a program in which adolescents spend short periods of time with adults will somehow succeed in helping them form close relations with adults (Farrar, DeSanctis, and Cowden, 1980). Programs that are planned in detail by adults cannot be expected to teach adolescents how to make plans. A second source of variation is in the different sets of predispositions and expectations, knowledge, and skills that participants bring with them to the programs. Third, responding to these individual differences, participants "negotiate," to use Crowe and Walker's (1977) well-chosen term, different forms of involvement in the same program. If the testimony of parents and adolescents regarding the Learning Web and Idyllic Foundation and in the studies of EBCE and EHSIP are to be believed, and I believe parents' and adolescents' judgments of educational programs should be taken seriously, then these negotiations often result in experiences that give adolescents what they need.

Coleman, one of the most influential advocates of moving some educational functions into the community, has written thoughtfully on the nature of cognitive learning outside of classrooms (1977). However, the evidence available to date suggests that cognitive learning is not one of the effects of community experiences that is likely to prove compelling. One reason is that the cognitive knowledge and skills to be gained from experience in the community depend very heavily on the exact nature of the activity. Therefore, although participants in a program may all learn a great deal, they may not learn the same things. A second reason is that, even if relatively uniform cognitive learning could be demonstrated or if individual measures could be made of diverse learning, it is doubtful that conventional tests of cognitive learning would indicate that learning of this kind is more efficient or effective in the community than in the classroom. Those tests, after all, are designed to measure just the kind of learning that takes place in classrooms and, once the learning objectives have been specified, classrooms are generally good places to teach cognitive knowledge and skills.

The most uniform kind of learning that seems to follow from community experiences for adolescents is learning about themselves and the world around them and how they fit into it. This is what development or maturation is all about and it is a legitimate, perhaps the highest, goal of education (Kohlberg and Mayer, 1972). However, it remains too vague to serve as either a measure of effectiveness or a guide to program planning. Therefore, it must be divided up into manageable pieces and different programs must be designed to address different parts of this overarching goal.

Another way to describe that enterprise is to say that we need a pedagogy of experience (cf. Cross, 1974), a collection of principles to guide the adults who teach in experiential learning programs. Implicit in this need
is a parallel need for preservice and inservice training of teachers, both the professionals in schools or employment programs and the nonprofessional teachers whose first responsibility is to their regular job but who are sponsoring the participation of an adolescent in their workplace. The record of teacher educators is not inspiring (Smith, 1980). The National Commission on Resources for Youth and the National Center for Service Learning have proceeded to offer training and technical assistance to staff of experiential learning programs without much assistance from them and have done so quite competently. However, even though the kind of magic that transpires between a good teacher or field supervisor and an adolescent cannot be codified—any more than the magic that some teachers bring to their classrooms can be—there is knowledge and there are skills to be shared about how adolescents can be helped to learn the most from their community experiences. Collecting such knowledge and skills and sharing them with teachers in experiential learning programs is one of the greatest needs to be addressed in the 80's.
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Is there any relationship between how a person reasons about moral questions and how he or she acts? Do people who reason at the so-called "higher" or "more advanced" levels, for example, act any differently in moral situations than those who reason at the lower levels? Do people reasoning at the same level behave similarly in moral situations? Do people behave similarly in such situations to the way they think they would behave? Questions like these, and their possible implications for social studies education, are the focus of this article.

What, we might ask, is a "moral question"? Webster's dictionary defines the term moral as follows: "relating to, dealing with, or capable of making the distinction between right and wrong; involving right conduct." As used in this article, therefore, a moral question is taken to mean any question which involves some uncertainty about what is the right (i.e., proper) way to behave in a particular situation. Webster's dictionary states further that the term moral implies "conformity with the generally accepted standards of ... rightness in conduct." Accordingly, moral behavior is taken to mean either acting in ways that most people in our society would agree would be helpful to others in need or distress (e.g., by in some way comforting them, providing assistance to them, empathizing with them, etc.) or, to the contrary, refraining from acting in ways that could physically or psychologically harm others (e.g., striking, verbally abusing, cheat-
ing, stealing from, lying to, etc.). It would follow, then, that a moral situation would be any situation where an individual has an opportunity to act, or refrain from acting, in these ways. Lastly, moral reasoning would be the way one thinks about and justifies particular ways of acting with regard to moral questions, as evidenced by the reasons one gives, when asked, for saying a particular way of acting is good or bad.

Common sense expectations might lead one to think that moral reasoning and moral behavior are positively correlated—that the “higher” the stage (in Kohlbergian terms) at which a person reasons, the more likely he or she would be to behave morally if given an opportunity to do so. Indeed, Kohlberg has argued that moral maturity in judgment and action are closely related, that “... advance in moral judgment seems to be correlated with more mature moral action. Principled subjects both cheat much less and resist pressures by authorities to inflict pain on others much more than do less mature subjects” (1972, p. 79). Is this true?

There are several studies which lend support to the notion that level of moral reasoning does contribute to differentiation in amount of moral behavior. In a study conducted at the college level, Brown and colleagues (1969) found that only 11 per cent of subjects at the principled level (stages 5 and 6 on Kohlberg’s moral judgment scale) cheated on an examination as compared with 42 per cent at the conventional level (stages 3 and 4). There were no individuals who reasoned at the preconventional level (stages 1 and 2) in this study.

Haan and her colleagues (Haan, Smith, and Block, 1968) studied the situation at Berkeley during the late 1960s when many students were faced with deciding whether to “sit-in” at the Administration building in the name of freedom of political communication. The researchers administered moral judgment interviews to over 200 of these students. They found that 80 per cent of those reasoning at stage 6 and 50 per cent at stage 5 sat in, compared to only 10 per cent of those at stages 3 and 4. In 1969, Kohlberg administered a moral judgment interview to some of the participants in the Milgram (1963) obedience study (in which, under the guise of an experiment, undergraduate students at Yale were ordered by an experimenter to administer a series of increasingly severe shocks to a victim, who was actually a confederate of the experimenter). Seventy-five per cent of stage 6 subjects quit or refused to shock the victim compared with only 13 per cent of all subjects at stage 4 or below (Kohlberg, 1969).

Saltzstein and colleagues (1972) administered a moral judgment interview to a group of 63 seventh grade students who had participated in an experimental test of conformity to group peer pressure. (The experiment was a variation of the Asch (1952) conformity studies.) The students were asked, in groups of six, to announce which of four strips of paper was the same length as a standard black strip. Five of the members of each group were confederates of the experimenter, and on certain specified trials all
five gave incorrect answers. Only 14 per cent of those reasoning at stages 4-5 conformed to (i.e., agreed with) the unanimous incorrect group judgments, as compared with 60 per cent at stage 3 and 32 per cent at stages 1-2.

McNamee (1977) found that as levels of moral reasoning among students increased, so did helping responses (statements of sympathy or protest; offers of information about where to go for help; provisions of personal assistance) of students (who had volunteered and were waiting for an experiment to begin) to an individual who seemed to be “freaked out” on psychedelic drugs. The individual was requesting aid from the experimenter, who had ignored the individual’s pleas and suggested to the subjects that they get on with the experiment. Persons at stage 6 helped 100 per cent of the time, as compared with 68 per cent of the time for those at stage 5; 38 per cent of the time for those at stage 4; 27 per cent of the time for those at stage 3; and 11 per cent of the time for those at stage 2. There were no individuals reasoning at stage 1 in this study.

Lastly, Kregs and Rosenwald (1973) recruited subjects through an advertisement and asked them, among a number of things, to fill out and mail back a questionnaire. The female investigator, a university student, paid them in advance for doing this and gave them a self-addressed, stamped envelope. She then stated that unless she received all of the questionnaires back from them within a week, she would most likely fail her research course. But also, she said, she trusted them to get the questionnaires back to her in time. A moral judgment interview was administered to each of the subjects. There were no stage 1 nor stage 6 subjects in the study. All (100 per cent) of the stage 5 subjects, and more than 70 per cent of the stage 4 subjects, returned the questionnaire on time, compared to only about 30 per cent of the stage 2 and stage 3 subjects.

There is evidence, then, to support the idea that level of moral reasoning seems to be associated with an increase in individuals acting morally. These studies do appear to suggest that a greater percentage of higher stage reasoners will engage in moral behavior than lower stage reasoners. Nevertheless, their results must be considered carefully. First of all, the number of individuals identified as reasoning at the higher levels has been quite small (e.g., in the Brown et al. study, there were only nine subjects at the principled level; in the Kohlberg study, only six). Second, the results obtained in some of the studies are ambiguous. In the Krebs and Kohlberg study, for example, more of the stage 2 subjects (36 per cent) than the stage 3 subjects (22 per cent) resisted the temptation to cheat. In the Haan et al. study, as many stage 2 subjects (80 per cent) sat-in at the administration building as did stage 6 subjects. Third, in the McNamee study, only a very weak form of moral behavior (advice and offers of assistance to the victim) was reported. No evidence as to whether or not the bystanders actually provided (as opposed to offering to provide) help to the victim was presented. Fourth, in at least one instance, contradictory findings have been reported.
Podd (1972), in a repeat of the Milgram obedience test, reported no relationship between stage levels as determined by Kohlberg's moral judgment test and level of shock administered by subjects to a peer. Lastly, the conditions under which the studies were conducted (often on college campuses), it might be argued, may not be representative of moral situations.

In addition, there are some other studies which obfuscate the picture even more. According to Kohlberg (1973), the most common level of moral reasoning is the conventional (stages 3 and 4). The most common stage for most adults, in all of the societies he has studied, is stage 4, the “law and order” stage, where the right thing to do is that which one’s society defines as right, either by law or by established rules. Large numbers of adults also have been found to be at stage 3, the “good boy-good girl” stage, where the right thing to do is that which pleases or helps others, and which is approved by others. Yet the work of Asch (1952), Milgram (1974) and Latane’ and Darley (1970) suggests that many individuals, regardless of their stage of moral reasoning, behave at times in ways which they think are wrong, which hurt others, or which violate what society in general considers to be right.

Asch (1951, 1952, 1956), for example, in what are now viewed as a classic set of experiments, asked for volunteers to participate in a study on perceptual judgment. There were 123 subjects (mostly college students). They were placed in a room with six to seven students (who, unknown to the subject, were confederates of the experimenter). The experimenter showed the group a straight line (X), along with three other lines (A, B, C). He then asked each member of the group to say out loud which of the three lines was closest in length to line X, and to “please be as accurate as possible.” The correct answer is B, but all of the confederates say line A. Each subject was asked to make a total of twelve perceptual judgments involving differing lengths of line, with one of the lines in the group of three always equalling the length of line X. Since the perceptual judgment to be made each time was a very easy one, Asch expected that almost every one of his subjects would report accurately what they saw. And about two-thirds did. But one-third of the subjects did not. What is interesting for our purposes here is that when Asch interviewed the subjects who did not report their perceptions accurately, i.e., those who conformed to the group, almost all stated that they viewed accurate reporting of what they saw as being “honest” or “conscientious”; not one said it was right to go along with the group. There was, for these subjects, no real uncertainty, it seems, about what was the right thing to do, yet they did not do it.

Even among the two-thirds that did not go along with the group (the independents), very few engaged in moral reasoning. The great majority came up with imaginative sorts of explanations for the differences in their own and the group’s perceptions. Some said they were viewing the lines from a different position than the others; some said it must have been an
optical illusion; some said that it was due to the fact that they wore eye-
glasses; etc. Interestingly, quite a few of this group (the independents)
thought it was possible, and even likely, that the group judgment was right
and theirs was wrong! Crutchfield (1955, 1959) conducted similar studies
(although his subjects were not face-to-face with the confederates) on more
than 600 people, all "above average" in intelligence, education, and occupa-
tional status, and observed similar results.

Why do some people conform and others not? No one really knows for
sure, although a number of interesting explanatory hypotheses have been
proposed. Some scholars (e.g., Schachter and Singer; 1962) have sug-
gested, for example, that how people perceive a situation affects their be-
behavior. If situational cues contradict perceptions, many people tend to dis-
regard what their senses tell them, particularly if they have no readily
available appropriate explanation for what they are experiencing. To some
degree, at least, behavior may be explained by a person's conceptual sys-
tem—how he or she makes sense out of situations, events, ideas. For people
who view the world in stage 3 terms, taking their cues mainly from other
people, conformity may appear to be the right thing to do in a situation,
even though they do not think so later. Individuals who view the world in
stage 5 terms, on the other hand, might consider their agreement to enter
into the experiment to be a contract of sorts with the experimenter (recall
the experimenter's admonition to "be as accurate as possible"). They may
view any breaking of this contract as wrong. What makes this kind of ex-
planation of conformity not altogether convincing, however, is that none
of the subjects in these conformity studies said they viewed going along with
the group (when interviewed later) to be the right thing to do under the
circumstances.

In the Milgram study mentioned earlier, 40 subjects (Yale students)
served as "teachers" of another subject (once again, a confederate of the
experimenter). Every time the learner gave an incorrect response to a ver-
bal learning task (naming correctly the second of a pair of previously mem-
orized stimulus words when given the first), the teacher was ordered to ad-
minister an increasingly severe electric shock, ranging from 15 volts
("slight shock") to 450 volts ("Danger: Severe Shock") by pushing a but-
ton on a "shock generator." The voltages were clearly labeled, as were the
written warnings. The learner responded to the shocks with, progressively,
grunts, verbal complaints, cries of pain, pleas to be let out of the experi-
ment and, at the higher shock levels, screams of agony. Twenty-six (about
two-thirds) of the subjects obeyed the experimenter's commands fully and
administered the most severe shock (450 volts) to the learners. Fourteen
subjects broke off the experiment at some point after the victim protested,
and refused to participate any further.

What is interesting with regard to these studies, as with Asch's (1952)
work, is the discrepancy which exists between what people think they would
do and what they actually do. Milgram (1963) asked other students and
colleagues of his at Yale what percentage of subjects they thought would go all the way and administer the most severe shock. They estimated only one per cent. Similar results among university students are reported by Aronson (1972). Forty psychiatrists whom he consulted (Milgram, 1965) were even more optimistic. They estimated only 0.1 per cent. As we have seen, they could not have been more wrong. Two-thirds of the subjects went “all the way.” It seems logical to assume that many of the subjects, if they had been asked beforehand, would have made a similar prediction, since some of them were from the same population as the judges—Yale students.

Furthermore, once the subjects learned the true nature of the experiment (all subjects were debriefed once their participation had ended), the obedient subjects almost without exception stated they thought they had done a “wrong” thing, heaved sighs of relief, or shook their heads in apparent regret (Milgram, 1974). Many described their participation as a very painful, even agonizing experience. Most reported undergoing extreme stress and tension (Milgram, 1963). As one observer noted:

I observed a mature and initially poised businessman enter the laboratory smiling and confident. Within 20 minutes, he was reduced to a twitching, stuttering wreck, who was rapidly approaching a point of nervous collapse. He constantly pulled on his earlobe, and twisted his hands. At one point, he pushed his fist into his forehead and muttered: “Oh God, let’s stop it.” And yet he continued to respond to every word of the experimenter, and obeyed to the end. (Milgram, 1963, p. 377)

Those who had resisted the orders of the experimenter, on the other hand, felt proud of themselves. It appears that once they were no longer in the experimental situation, the obedient subjects viewed the situation in the same way as the judges.

Why are some people so willing to harm others? Again, answers are not very clearcut. The capacity of some people to treat others cruelly staggers the imagination sometimes. And, once again, many explanations have been suggested. Some scholars believe that some individuals have no feelings for other people, that somehow or another in growing up their cognitive awareness of others has not developed. They argue that some people are “deficient in compassion and empathy” toward others (Mischel and Mischel, 1976). Others suggest that numerous models in television programs, movies, and newspapers suggest aggressive behavior as a more or less “normal” or “expected” way to deal with stress and conflict (Liebert and Poulos, 1976). Others link cruelty to others with having been treated cruelly oneself during the early years of childhood (McCord and McCord, 1956). Again, what makes these explanations only partially convincing is that they do not explain why people from similar backgrounds and environments often act in markedly different ways. Many (perhaps most) of the individuals in our society, for example, are frequently exposed to aggressive models on television, yet they do not commit acts of violence against other people.
In still another type of study, Latane' and Darley (1970) and their colleagues were interested in investigating whether bystanders would come to the aid of a victim in apparent distress. In a series of studies, they constructed an imaginary situation (imaginary, that is, to the experimenters) in which subjects perceived an individual suffering an injury or accident and crying out for help. The subjects participating in the study were then observed to see if they would come to the victim's aid. For example, in one study (Latane' and Rodin, 1969), a female experimenter asked a number of subjects to fill out a questionnaire. The subjects were all university students. While they were doing so, she moved to another room within earshot (separated only by a collapsible curtain), informing the subjects that she would return when they finished the questionnaire. A few minutes later, she staged an “accident” by playing a tape recording of a young woman climbing a chair, followed by a loud scream and a crash, as if the chair had collapsed. They then heard the woman moaning and crying and saying, “Oh, my God, my foot... I... can't move it. Oh... my ankle... I can't get this thing off of me.” The cries continued for a minute and then there was silence.

An interesting variable in this study was whether or not subjects were alone or with another person as they were filling out the questionnaire. The supposed victim received the least help when the subject was with another person (a confederate of the experimenter) who was unresponsive to the victim's cries, more help when the subject was with a friend, and the most help when the subject was alone.

Studies like these (usually referred to as the bystander intervention studies) have two basic characteristics: (1) the need of the person in distress is potentially severe; and (2) bystander intervention is necessary if the condition of the distressed person is not to worsen. They have been repeated using many formats, with the bystander subjects being exposed to individuals suffering a variety of mishaps, including an epileptic attack (Darley and Latane', 1968), falling from a ladder (Bickman, 1972), collapsing from a fainting spell (Smith et al., 1973), groaning and lying in a doorway (Darley and Batson, 1973), or experiencing severe stomach cramps (Staub, 1974). In all of these studies, it was found that bystanders are more likely to intervene when they are by themselves than when they are in pairs or larger groups.

But many do not intervene at all, even when the costs to themselves of doing so are quite slight. Evidence of this is found in another study by Latane' and Darley (1970). In this case, they wanted to investigate whether observers to a theft would report it. They had two “robbers” (again, confederates of the experimenter) enter a discount beer store and ask the cashier at the counter to check how many bottles of Lowenbrau beer he had in stock. While the cashier (also a confederate) was in the stockroom, the two robbers took a case of beer, commenting while they did so “They'll never miss this.” They then carried the case to their car. The
robbers bided their time before taking the case so that they could do so with only one onlooker in the store half of the time and two onlookers the other half. The cashier then returned to the counter and resumed waiting on the genuine customer(s). Although they were given ample time to report what had happened spontaneously, only 20 per cent of all subjects did so. When no report was made, the cashier prompted the onlooker(s) by asking what had happened to the two men and if the customer(s) had seen them leave. Putting all responses together, prompted and spontaneous, 65 per cent of the onlookers reported the theft. The percentage of reporting was less, however, when there were two onlookers as compared with one (56 per cent compared to 65 per cent). Thus, even when the nature of the “intervention” is only verbal, and the possibility of retribution is very slight, many people refrain from becoming involved. Why? Is it perhaps that many people just don’t care about people in distress or are not interested in what happens to others?

This does not seem to be the case. There is evidence that people are anything but nonchalant about perceiving someone in distress. They are not apathetic or uninterested. You will recall that in the Milgram experiments, many of the subjects experienced extreme distress as they listened to the victim’s outcries. Interviews with bystanders to the Kitty Genovese murder in New York City in the late 1960s (during which 38 witnesses watched from their windows for 30 minutes a young woman being murdered) found that all were horrified by what they had seen (Rosenthal, 1964). But not one even called the police. How can this be explained?

One thing seems clear. Level of moral reasoning, in and of itself, in any of the studies just described, does not adequately explain the presence or absence of moral behavior in people. Unfortunately, we do not know the stage levels at which any but a very few of the subjects in the Asch (1952), Milgram (1963), and Latane’ and Darley (1970) studies reasoned, for moral judgment interviews (except for the Kohlberg (1969) study) were not conducted. But it is likely that most reasoned at the conventional level, since that level is the most common one attained among adults. Yet, as we have seen, large numbers of the subjects behaved in ways which they later admitted they believed to be wrong, or which hurt people. Furthermore, in several of the studies in which the stage levels of subjects were determined (e.g., in studies by Brown et al., 1969; Saltzstein, 1972; Krebs and Kohlberg, 1973; and Kohlberg, 1969), several of the “higher” level subjects did cheat, conform, or administer shocks to innocent victims (11 per cent in the Brown study; 14 per cent in the Saltzstein study; 20 per cent in the Krebs and Kohlberg study; 25 per cent in the Kohlberg study). People can fail to act morally, it appears, no matter what their level of moral reasoning.

What else, in addition to moral reasoning then, might determine (if only in part) how people will act in moral situations? The Asch (1952), Milgram (1963), and Latane’ and Darley (1970) studies have been repli-
cated a number of times, using many variations in format. These variations have had a considerable effect on the results obtained, and accordingly suggest several factors, in addition to (or perhaps in place of) moral reasoning which may contribute to moral behavior occurring. Asch, for example, found that the fewer the number of individuals arrayed against the true subject, the easier the perceptual judgment to be made, or the presence of even one other "truthful" subject, considerably increased the number of independents (Asch, 1952).

Variations of the Milgram (1963) experiment, using over 1000 male and female subjects of all ages and occupations, showed that the "immediacy" of the victim makes a considerable difference. When subjects were ordered to press the victim's hand to a shockplate, for example, as opposed to just pushing a button to administer a shock to a victim in another room, 70 per cent defied the experimenter. Obedience also dropped sharply as the experimenter became removed from the immediate vicinity of the subjects. Thus almost three times as many subjects obeyed the experimenter when he was physically present as when he gave his orders by telephone (Milgram, 1974). Furthermore, when subjects saw other subjects refuse to obey the experimenter, 90 per cent did likewise (Milgram, 1965). The directness of a subject's responsibility for administering the shock treatment also was significant. When they were required only to pull a master switch to release the actual shock-delivering switch, but were not ordered actually to deliver the shock themselves, 37 out of 40 adults in New Haven continued to the most severe level. They said later that the final switch-puller had the real responsibility (Milgram, 1967).

In the bystander intervention studies, the interesting thing is that an increase in the number of bystanders decreased rather than increased intervention. The most frequent explanation for this is that when others are present, it is easier for an individual to diffuse responsibility, that is, to say in effect that "someone else will help (the victim)." When a solitary individual, on the other hand, perceives someone in trouble, the responsibility for helping that person may not be diffused.

At present, then, it appears that there are many factors which affect the likelihood of moral behavior occurring. Level of moral reasoning is only one of these factors. Other factors include the nature of the situation in which an individual finds him- or herself, the number and proximity of other people involved, the kind of decision and/or action required, the kinds of actions others involved in the situation take, whether responsibility for action can be diffused to others, and the directness of a person's own responsibility for acting morally.

There is even the possibility perhaps that the development of morality is fundamentally an irrational process, as some scholars have argued (Hogan, 1973; Simpson, 1976). Simpson (1976), for example, argues that it is personality development as a whole, rather than simply cognitive development
alone, which is the basis of morality. Moral behavior, she argues, is "a function of the total person, not simply of his or her capacity to think logically or to learn concepts and norms" (p. 168). She suggests that individuals who have unmet psychological needs may not be able to act morally, regardless of their level of cognitive development. Although her arguments are beyond the scope of this article, they do offer a provocative challenge to the conventional wisdom that moral reasoning does contribute, at least in some degree, to moral behavior.

The preceding discussion suggests a number of things for social studies (or other) educators, particularly those who take values education as their special area of interest and concern, to consider if they wish to investigate (and perhaps promote) what will increase moral behavior in their classrooms.

For one thing, whether a particular kind of behavior can even be considered moral or not depends on how one defines the term "moral." Specific acts without interpretation cannot be evaluated at all. Thus, one problem which confronts the concerned educator in this regard is to decide, and to help students decide, what "acting morally" means. What makes a particular way of acting right or wrong, good or bad, and why? What characteristics do moral acts possess which non-moral and amoral acts do not? Are there any acts which are intrinsically right or intrinsically wrong? Trying to come up with some satisfactory (if only partial) answers to these sorts of questions is essentially an exercise in concept development, and can be promoted in the classroom using the basic sorts of categorizing strategies that are common in the literature (e.g., see Fraenkel, 1980, pp. 176-187).

Second, once teachers are at least somewhat clear about what moral behavior is, and how moral and non-moral acts differ, they must decide whether they want to try deliberately to foster such behavior in the classroom. This, of course, is a question of value that some say does not fall within the province of the school, but I would argue that to ignore it, or to answer it in the negative, is more than likely to result in some (quite unsatisfactory) values being taught by default. Whether or not it can be fostered, of course, is an empirical question which needs to be investigated under a variety of formats and conditions.

Assuming that the answer to the preceding question is in the affirmative, teachers then need to plan how best this can be done. The particular techniques to be used might vary considerably. Didactic instruction (i.e., telling students what sorts of behavior are right or wrong without much discussion of reasons why) has generally been found to have little, if any, effect on changing behavior (Hartshorne and May, 1928-30; Festinger, 1964). The current favorite among many, if not most, educators as far as techniques go is the discussion of moral dilemmas, although no studies have as yet been reported investigating the effect(s) of such discussion on moral behavior. Evidence does exist, however, to show that such discussions do
produce a change upwards in moral reasoning, although not all students advance consistently. Furthermore, such discussions do not appear to be very effective in stimulating reasoning much beyond stage 4 (Lockwood, 1978).

One thing does need to be realized, however. The development of moral behavior is by no means a simple matter. It is, rather, an undertaking of considerably complexity. And moral reasoning is only one of many factors which may contribute to such behavior.

At any rate, far more thought and research needs to be given to what sorts of activities are likely to promote (or at the very least make students think about what constitutes) moral behavior. The Asch (1952), Milgram (1963), and Latane’ and Darley (1970) studies suggest a number of hypotheses for teachers and researchers to investigate in classrooms to see if they promote moral behavior.

The Asch (1952) studies suggest that if teachers wish to decrease conformity in students, they might try to provide more opportunities for students to give support for individual performance in decision-making situations rather than require students to compete against and try to outdo one another. This conceivably might promote a greater amount of self-confidence in students concerning their own viewpoint when they have reason to believe their viewpoint is right, even though it conflicts with the views of many others.

Possible activities in this regard might include small-group work in which everyone involved is asked to perform a different, yet mutually helpful, task: group as opposed to individual reports; shared classroom tasks; cooperative games; and/or assignments which require students to work together to complete the assignment successfully.

Two studies, those of Deutsch and Gerard (1955) and Jackson and Saltzstein (1958), suggest an important variable for teachers to keep in mind in this regard, however. In both of these studies, the investigators found that conformity to a bogus group judgment was greater when the group was being evaluated in terms of its performance as a whole rather than in terms of individual performance. Several subjects, all adults, in the Deutsch and Gerard (1955) study, in fact, stated that they felt they had conformed because they felt an obligation to their group. The results here suggest that when group participatory efforts are encouraged by teachers, evaluation of students should be in terms of individual performance.

More activities which allow for collaboration and mutual support (rather than solitary research and presentation), yet which still allow for individual expression and evaluation, therefore, might increase student ability to act independently of others and to stand up for what he or she believes is right.

An alternative way of conducting moral dilemmas might also be envisaged as a result of Asch’s work. The usual format recommended to teachers
wishing to conduct such discussions is to have students answer a series of questions designed to get them to think about the issue(s) involved. They then are asked to give their ideas about what they think the protagonist should do, and why. Asch's work suggests, however, that it might be beneficial to ask students to brainstorm as a group (rather than individually) various things which might be done, and of these, which might help the most people involved, in order to get a maximum number of alternatives proposed. Then discussion of the pros and cons of these alternatives can be undertaken. The Deutsch and Gerard (1955) and the Jackson and Saltzstein (1958) studies suggest, however, that group (as opposed to individual) decisions as to which is the best course of action should be discouraged.

Milgram's (1963, 1974) conclusions support the importance of models in promoting moral behavior. You will recall that when subjects saw other subjects refuse to obey the experimenter, 90 per cent did likewise. Models are important because they enable us to have some idea of what might happen if we were ourselves to act in certain ways. They permit us to see the consequences of various types of behaviors without necessarily engaging in those behaviors ourselves. When children see that a model obtains positive consequences for acting in a certain way, there is evidence to suggest that they are more likely to act similarly themselves. Bandura and colleagues, for example, report that children who see other children being encouraged and praised for being helpful and generous tend to behave similarly more often themselves (Bandura, Ross, and Ross, 1963). Even aggressive reactions have been observed to become cooperative when the positive consequences for being cooperative have been enhanced. For example, when dominating, hyperaggressive children were exposed to modeling situations in which positive consequences for cooperativeness in response to interpersonal conflicts were shown, the behavior of the children became increasingly more cooperative, and the cooperative behavior persisted over time (Chittenden, 1942).

Of course, not all models are equally effective for all people. The characteristics of the model (his or her prestige, status, power, and similarity to the observer) can determine much of the effect of the modeled behavior (Mischel and Liebert, 1967). The issue is a complex one, and deserves far more attention than I have space for here. But I would suggest as a starter that all teachers and teachers-in-training be encouraged to think seriously about the kinds of behavior they engage in and (implicitly and explicitly) endorse in the classroom, and decide whether such behavior is the kind of behavior they want their students to emulate.

Milgram's work also suggests something else. Recall that the directness of the subject's responsibility was a big factor in whether he or she obeyed the experimenter's orders fully. Students in many schools are rarely given any real responsibility for solving classroom, playground, or school problems which involve interpersonal conflict. Increasing opportunities for them to be directly responsible for initiating and carrying out individual
projects dealing with school-related interpersonal problems when they arise, along with insuring that they experience the consequences of being fully responsible for such (as well as seeing what happens when they are released or absolved of such responsibility), might contribute to a greater incidence of moral behavior.

The Latane' and Darley (1970) studies lend support to the idea of encouraging individual responsibility for decision-making in schools. Recall again that in all of the bystander intervention studies solitary individuals were more likely to act morally by aiding others in distress than were pairs or larger groups of people. Thus, group work which allows students to diffuse responsibility for their decisions to other members of their group should be discouraged. Group discussions, it would seem, are to be encouraged. Group decisions, discouraged.

One additional factor might be mentioned, although it is not suggested by any of the studies described here. There is some evidence that moral behavior correlates with what is known as ego strength, or what used to be called "will power." Some studies have shown that a person's ability to concentrate on a task and resist distraction is correlated with his or her ability to resist temptations like cheating (Hartshorne and May, 1928-1930; Grim, Kohlberg, and White, 1968). This would suggest that training children in how to focus their attention on a task and then positively reinforcing them for resisting distraction might pay off in an increased amount of moral behavior occurring.

This article has focused on the question, "Does level of moral reasoning increase the likelihood of moral behavior occurring?" The author has reviewed a number of studies in an attempt to provide an answer to the question. Two conclusions appear warranted on the basis of this literature review. First, although there does appear to be some evidence to support the idea that level of moral reasoning does seem to be associated with an increase in moral behavior, the relationship is by no means a clearcut one. We cannot say, at this point, that "higher" stage reasoning causes an increased amount of moral behavior. Second, moral reasoning appears to be only one of many factors which may contribute to when and where moral behavior will occur.

A related question was also explored, namely, how moral behavior might be furthered by social studies (or other) educators. Although space limitations prevented as thorough a discussion as one might like, several hypotheses, suggested by the results of additional studies reviewed, were proposed that teachers and researchers might consider in this regard. Whether or not moral behavior can, or indeed even should, be explicitly furthered in elementary and secondary schools, however, remain questions to which only a very few social studies educators have addressed themselves.
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Teaching Psychology in the High School: Does Area of Certification Translate into Different Types of Teachers and Courses?

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When the smoke cleared from the social studies/science “Curriculum Revolution” of the 1960's and early 70's, individuals involved with social studies on the national level at last seemed to take notice of the emergence of a “non-social studies discipline,” Psychology, as the fastest growing social studies course in our nation’s high schools (Gross, 1977; Jarolimek, 1977; Stahl and Casteel, 1973). Already in 1971-72, over 600,000 students were enrolled in separate courses in psychology in nearly 7,000 schools with most schools offering the course as a social studies elective (Osterndorf, 1975). Yet, with few exceptions (Engle, 1955; Zunino, 1974; Stahl, 1978a; Stahl and Casteel, 1974), the rapid growth and development of the high school level psychology course has been virtually ignored by social studies professional organizations, journals, and leaders.¹,²

This growth has not gone unnoticed by others (Engle, 1967; Noland, 1967; Kasschau and Wertheimer, 1974; Stahl and Casteel, 1973, 1975;

¹The National Council for the Social Studies Special Interest Group: Psychology and the American Psychological Association’s Clearinghouse on Pre-College Psychology are two groups which have sought to promote and improve the teaching of psychology on the high school level.

²Despite its phenomenal growth, a recent informal survey of the literature revealed far fewer articles have been published on precollege psychology in professional journals since 1975 than during the 1950-1960, 1961-1970, and 1971-75 periods (Matiya, 1980; personal communication).
Data testifying to rapid increases in course enrollments, number of schools offering the course, and number of teachers teaching the course are abundant (Kasschau and Wertheimer, 1974; Engle, 1967; Osterndorf, 1975). These data bases and recent state status surveys reveal that psychology has not only increased in popularity, but it has also been the fastest growing elective course offering in the high school social studies program over the past two decades.

While data are available about the overall growth of psychology within the secondary social studies curriculum, only recently have studies focused on specific descriptions of and comparative analyses between teachers of these courses. Previous investigations relevant to assumptions about differences between “Humanistic” and “Behavioristic” psychology teachers (Stahl, 1977a, 1978b) and between urban-suburban-rural located psychology teachers (Stahl, Matiya, and Hunt, 1980a) produced conclusions contrary to conventional wisdom.3 Data as to whether psychology courses taught by social studies certified teachers were consistent with what one might assume about them or were comparable to similar courses taught by other area certified teachers were not available.4

This article addresses itself to the description and comparative analysis of psychology courses taught by Social Studies-certified psychology teachers and teachers of psychology who held certification in other subject matter areas. Specifically, the study to be reported here wanted to know whether these different area certified teachers differed

a) in their college preparatory background and orientation to the course?

b) in the types of schools where they taught their courses?

c) in the nature of their courses as it fit within the curriculum offerings of their schools?

d) in the kinds of students who enrolled in their courses?

e) in the objectives posited for, content subject matter topics included, and instructional methods used in their respective psychology courses?

f) in their ability to meet the curriculum needs of students as these needs were expressed by the students themselves? and

g) in their need for instructional aid and resources for improving their courses?

3Detailed data relevant to the 'humanistic-behavioristic' comparisons are available elsewhere (Stahl, 1977, 1978b, 1979; Stahl, Matiya and Hunt, 1980b). Extensive comparison of these two groups of teachers is not provided here as it was not directly tied to the focus of this article.

4Stahl (1978c) reported a comparative study of social studies and other area certified teachers of psychology, but the small N of 35 total teachers provided too small a population to draw meaningful conclusions.
A questionnaire status survey was conducted to collect data appropriate for substantive answers to these questions.

After a brief review of the literature on the nature of the precollege psychology course offering, this article will report the findings of a status study of psychology in one midwestern state. It describes and compares psychology courses taught by social studies certified teachers and teachers who held certification in two other major categories of certification. Where relevant, findings from this study will be compared to those from identical surveys conducted in Florida and Mississippi. Finally, a comparison of responses made by the 331 Illinois psychology teachers and 1,137 high school students who were actually enrolled in courses taught by these same teachers will be made as is appropriate.

A Summary Literature Review

Psychology has been included in the secondary school curriculum since the 1830's. By 1900, it was designated as a separate course with 12,368 students enrolled. In 1935, its growth had become so significant that the American Psychological Association (APA) organized a separate committee to study its progress.

The 1948-49 Biennial Survey of Education reported that enrollment had increased to nearly fifty thousand students (46,547) students. In the twenty years between 1932 and 1952, psychology courses in the high schools grew significantly faster than either sociology or economics courses.

The course gained in popularity and enrollment through the 1950's and 60's. Records on student enrollment in 1961 indicated that over 200 percent more students were taking the course than had taken it 12 years before. A sharp rise in schools offering the course and the increase in the number of states teaching psychology further attest to this growth. By 1972-73, 6,870 U. S. schools offered specific courses in psychology which enrolled 611,468 students. Overall, the total student enrollment in psychology courses increased a phenomenal 323% from 1961 to 1973 (Osterndorf, 1975).

State and national status surveys conducted in various states since 1932 have consistently revealed that a high percentage of teachers of these psychology courses were/are certified in the broad area of the social studies (Noland, 1966; Snellgrove, 1973; Matiya and Gill, 1977; APA, 1976; Fisher, 1974; Stahl, 1974, 1978a). After an extensive longitudinal study, Stahl (1976) reported that better than three-fourths of the psychology teachers in Florida from 1970-1971 through 1974-1975 were certified in the social studies.

Studies of secondary school psychology courses during the past two decades have tended to substantiate each other (Engle, 1967; Noland, 1966; Kasschau and Wertheimer, 1974). The list below briefly summarizes many of the more important characteristics relative to the past and present status of psychology within the secondary school curriculum:
1. Student enrollment and number of schools offering the course are rapidly increasing.6
2. Students and teachers see the course as being personally valuable for students.
3. Courses are very popular among students as reported by their teachers.
4. Courses are offered in all fifty states.
5. Courses are most often one semester in length with year long courses a distance second.
6. Courses are offered as an elective more often than as a required subject.
7. Psychology is not required in any state for graduation, but a few isolated schools require it for graduation.
8. Courses are most likely to be offered in schools with over 500 students enrolled.
9. Courses are primarily opened to seniors-juniors combined classes and then classes open only to seniors.
10. Females are much more likely to enroll in the course than males.
11. Whites are much more likely to enroll in the course than blacks, regardless of the white/black ratio of the school's enrollment.
12. The course is offered in schools across a wide variety of urban-suburban and rural settings.
13. Personal or self adjustment and self understanding are two of the most often stated objectives of the course.
14. Teachers tend to include in these courses the content and topics they believe should be included in psychology courses offered on this level.
15. Courses are usually assigned social studies credit.
16. Teachers are predominantly certified in social studies.
17. Teachers have little difficulty in identifying their approaches to the course with the labels—"behavioristic" or "humanistic."
18. Teachers develop and use a great deal of materials such as popular magazines to supplement their courses.

6Stahl reported to participants at the National Council for the Social Studies Special Interest Group: Psychology annual meeting in New Orleans, November 27, 1980 that conversations with SIG members, state social studies consultants, publishers and sales representatives, and others involved with high school psychology revealed that the "boom" had ended and that schools in many states had severely cut back their sections of psychology. Those in attendance at the session tended to agree with this analysis, although a few states, like Texas, were exception to the general nationwide decline in psychology enrollment.
19. Until 1973, the T. L. Engle and Louis Snellgrove textbook, *Psychology: Its principles and applications* (various editions) was by far the most popular text.

20. More schools would offer the course if properly trained teachers and finances were available. (Stahl, 1976; Stahl and Casteel, 1973, 1974)

**Method**

In the Spring, 1978, a 4-page questionnaire accompanied by an introductory letter and a self-addressed, stamped, return envelope was mailed to 864 public and private secondary school principals in Illinois. The letter requested the principals to forward the questionnaire to the individual in their school responsible for teaching psychology. A second mailing directed specifically to the social studies department chairperson took place within a month of the first one. Eventually, 554 (64.1%) completed questionnaires were returned.

The 42 item questionnaire contained items that represented categories of data previous researchers had collected relevant to this curriculum area. The questionnaire has been used in essentially the same form since 1972-73 by the researcher. The adequacy of the individual items and entire questionnaire is supported by the fact that (a) it has become a model for other status-study researchers (Matiya and Gill, 1977); (b) it collects information considered vital for decision-making by precollege psychology textbook authors, publishers and sales managers (Fogerty, 1980); and (c) it represents a fair sampling of items which cut across a number of different and important variables directly related to understanding of the phenomenon known as "precollege psychology."

The raw data from the questionnaires were key punched for tabulation and statistical analysis by an IBM 360 computer. Besides the SPSS descriptive data package, crosstab, Chi-square, and ANOVA programs treated the tabulated data. Where appropriate, Spearman rank-order correlation coefficients were computed.

In addition to the teacher data, a number of schools were randomly selected for purposes of having the students enrolled in these psychology courses complete a questionnaire directly related to them. By mid-Spring, 1,137 students in over two dozen schools returned completed forms via their teachers. Their responses were computer analyzed in the same way as the teacher data. As appropriate, the results of their responses will be incorporated within this paper as well.

6See Stahl (1980a, b) for a copy of the teacher and student questionnaires plus other data not included in the article.

7Data analysis took place at the Mississippi State University Computer Center under the direction of Dr. Ray Heiser in Spring, 1978 prior to the researcher's arrival at Arizona State University.
Introduction

The data analysis revealed that psychology as a separate course of study for credit was taught in 331 of the 554 Illinois secondary schools responding to the questionnaire (59.7%). The primary focus of this study was to go beyond the mere description of the general status of psychology on the precollege level. This focus included the comparative investigation of psychology courses taught by teachers with different subject matter backgrounds and college course training. In particular, the possibility that the certification areas of these teachers would translate into different approaches to the course existed. This possibility was especially intriguing since no previous detailed data have been reported on the status of social studies teachers relative to this content area on this level of instruction.

One questionnaire item asked teachers to indicate what certification area they were currently using within the context of their present teaching position. Seven areas were listed with the eighth, or "Other" category, left open for certification areas not listed. Of the 331 respondents, 149 (45.0%) indicated their teacher certification area at that time was in the "Social Studies"; 67 (20.2%) indicated "Psychology", 65 (19.6%) indicated "Guidance and Counseling", 8 (2.4%) indicated "Administration", 5 (1.5%) "Science", and 4 (1.2%) "Home Economics". The 29 individuals marking the "Other" certification area reported they held certificates in such diverse content areas as Religion, English, Physical Education, Health, and Business.

In order to investigate how one's certification area may influence the approach one takes to a course, the researchers sought to examine the status of the precollege psychology course from the perspective of three major groups of certified teachers: the 149 teachers certified in the Social Studies, the 65 certified Guidance Counselors, and the 114 teachers representing all the "Other" miscellaneous areas of certification. The remainder of this paper will stress the responses of these three groups of teachers from both descriptive and comparative perspectives.

College preparatory background and orientation to the course

Descriptive data were obtained concerning the sex gender, level of college degree training, felt adequacy to teach the course, and humanistic-behavioristic orientation of these teachers.

Sex of teachers. Of the 331 psychology teachers, 308 were identified as to their sex gender. Of these, 214 (69.5%) were male with 94 (30.5%) being female. The data revealed 77.6% of the Social Studies, 65.5% of the Guid-
ance Counselors, and 60.9% of the Other category were males with the corresponding difference in each group being females (i.e., 22.4%, 34.5%, and 39.1%, respectively).\textsuperscript{10}

**College psychology course preparation.** Information was obtained concerning the number of undergraduate and graduate level psychology and educational psychology courses these teachers completed on the college/university level. In order of frequency, 112 teachers making up the Other category averaged 32.9 hours of psychology course background in college (s.d. = 17.41). The 63 Guidance Counselors averaged 32.6 college credit hours in psychology and/or educational psychology courses (s.d. = 15.87). The 144 Social Studies teachers responding to this item reported a much lower average of 24.8 hours (s.d. = 14.85). Using ONEWAY ANOVA, the difference between the first two groups means and that of the Social Studies teachers was found to be a significant one (F = 9.87, p < .001). At least one teacher in each of these three groups reported having over 90 hours of college level psychology coursework. Quite remarkably, one Social Studies and one Other category of teachers revealed having taken no specific course in psychology or educational psychology on the college level.

These data make it clear that psychology teachers who hold certification in the broad area of the Social Studies have significantly fewer credit hours of college level psychology and educational psychology course work than do teachers in the other two categories. With few exceptions the high school psychology course in Illinois (as in all the remaining 49 states) is offered for social studies credit. Thus, of these three categories of teachers who taught the psychology course for social studies credit\textsuperscript{11} the least academically prepared teachers are those who are certified to teach the "Social Studies."

**Felt adequacy towards the course.** The teachers were asked to indicate whether they felt they were adequately prepared to teach psychology on the precollege level. Of the 114 teachers in the Other certification group, 104 or 91.2% reported they felt adequately prepared followed closely by 59 of the 65 Guidance Counselors (90.8%). Only 127 of the 149 Social Studies teachers (85.2%) indicated they felt secure about their college preparation to teach the course. Since a majority of the 114 Other category teachers, 66 or 57.9%, were certified in the content area of Psychology and since the Social Studies teachers were the least likely of these three groups to have had extensive college level Psychology course preparation, the pattern above was not unexpected.

\textsuperscript{10}The frequencies and percentages from this point on are based upon the total number of teachers who actually responded to the particular item being discussed rather than the total number of teachers in each category who could have responded.

\textsuperscript{11}A check with the Illinois State Department of Education in May, 1978 found that according to its records all precollege psychology courses in the state were assigned social studies credit regardless of who taught the course in the various schools.
Importantly, while Social Studies certified teachers made up 45.0% of the Illinois psychology teachers and these teachers taught 49.8% of the sections offered and 50.6% of the students enrolled in these courses, as a group they had received significantly fewer hours of college level psychology course training than had their counterparts. In general these data suggest very strongly that increased college level coursework in psychology relates rather directly to one’s felt adequacy to teach ‘psychology’ to secondary school students. However, this is not to imply that either college course background training or felt adequacy translates directly into quality and effectiveness of teaching ‘psychology’ for the teachers involved.

**Humanistic-Behavioristic approach of teachers.** One item on the questionnaire asked teachers to indicate whether the approach they took to their psychology course was “Humanistic” or “Behavioristic” in nature (Stahl, Matiya and Hunt, 1980b).12 Neither term was defined for the respondents. Overall, 317 of the 331 teachers responded to this item with 47 or 14.8% of these marking both the humanistic and behavioristic options on the form. For purposes of analysis, this double response was converted into a third category and assigned the label “Eclectic.” The response to these three categories of approaches were then examined (see Table 1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area of Certification</th>
<th>Humanistic</th>
<th>Behavioristic</th>
<th>Eclectic</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Studies</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>39.2</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>42.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guidance Counselors</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>60.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Other&quot;</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>37.8</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>50.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>36.6%</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>48.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi-Square = 7.47 (df=4), $p = .11$

Of the three groups of teachers, a slightly higher percentage of Social Studies certified teachers were found to be Behavioristic (39.2%) than were either the Other group (37.8%) or the Guidance Counselors (28.6%). In contrast, 60.3% of the Guidance Counselors and 50.2% of...

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12Definitions of these terms were not provided since these terms have been adequately clarified among humanistic and behavioristic scholars and experts themselves, much less among laypersons (Stahl, Matiya and Hunt, 1980b). The fact that teachers of psychology readily identify with these labels both on surveys and inservice workshops reveals that to teachers, these labels have meaning for themselves. Extensive data comparing these two groups along lines similar to those found in the article are available in detail elsewhere (Stahl, 1976, 1978b, 1979).
the Other teachers reported being 'Humanistic' in their approach compared to only 42.0% of the Social Studies teachers who followed a similar approach. A larger percentage of Social Studies teachers (18.9%) reported being 'Eclectic' in their approach than did the other two groups (i.e., 11.1% and 11.7% for these two groups).

On the whole, the Social Studies certified psychology teachers involved in this study were more likely to adopt a behavioristic approach to the psychology course than were teachers from the other two groups. However, when the Eclectic category is dropped, the majority of the remaining 116 Social Studies teachers, 60 or 51.7% were found to adhere to a humanistic approach.

The data pattern reflected in the behavioristic-humanistic item responses is open to a variety of possible interpretations. From these data one might argue that a far greater percentage of Guidance Counselors were humanistic in their approach than were Social Studies or Other certified teachers. What is/was meant by the labels humanistic and behavioristic was completely up to the persons completing the questionnaire item. While it is often assumed that teachers who adhere to these two approaches are quite different teachers who teach very different psychology courses, previous research (Stahl, 1977a, 1978b) has revealed that groups of teachers claiming these two labels taught identical courses. These results would suggest that an identification or association with either the humanistic or behavioristic labels does not necessarily represent an accurate description of what the teacher actually does in terms of teaching the psychology course.

Descriptions of the types of schools offering psychology courses

Information relative to the nature of the schools where these teachers taught was obtained. These data were concerned with the public-private status of the schools, the school population, size, and the geographic location and background setting of the school.

School classification. As in all states, the psychology course is primarily offered in public schools with a few private schools including the course within their curricula. The data shown in Table 2 reveal the distribution of the three categories of teachers to be nearly identical across the different school types.

School enrollment characteristics. The data in Table 2 suggest that, as the size of the school enrollment increases, the psychology teacher was less likely to be certified in Guidance and Counseling and more likely to be certified in either the Social Studies or some other area (primarily Psychology). This pattern suggests that one of the duties of Guidance Counselors in small schools is to teach the psychology course, with this course being turned over to full time teachers as the school increases in enrollment. Of the 118 schools with enrollments exceeding 1,000 students, only 7 offered
courses taught by Guidance Counselors while 68 schools offered similar courses taught by Social Studies certified teachers.

Geographic setting of the school. The respondents were asked to identify the rural-suburban-urban setting of their particular school location and stu-

Table 2: Descriptive Data Relative to the Schools Where These Three Groups of Teachers Taught Their Psychology Courses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Characteristic</th>
<th>Social Studies</th>
<th>Guidance</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F %</td>
<td>F %</td>
<td>F %</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Classification</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) Public</td>
<td>123 82.6</td>
<td>54 83.1</td>
<td>94 82.5</td>
<td>271 82.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Parochial</td>
<td>24 16.1</td>
<td>7 10.8</td>
<td>12 10.5</td>
<td>43 13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Other Private</td>
<td>2 1.4</td>
<td>4 6.2</td>
<td>8 7.0</td>
<td>14 4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. School Enrollment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) Less than 500</td>
<td>51 34.4</td>
<td>40 70.5</td>
<td>47 41.2</td>
<td>138 42.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) 501 to 1,000</td>
<td>29 19.6</td>
<td>18 27.7</td>
<td>24 21.1</td>
<td>71 21.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) 1,001 to 1,500</td>
<td>17 11.5</td>
<td>2 3.1</td>
<td>12 10.5</td>
<td>31 9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) More than 1,500</td>
<td>51 34.5</td>
<td>5 7.7</td>
<td>31 27.2</td>
<td>87 26.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Racial Balance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) 95% White/5% Black</td>
<td>113 76.9</td>
<td>57 87.7</td>
<td>98 86.7</td>
<td>268 82.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) 80% White/20% Black</td>
<td>22 15.0</td>
<td>2 3.1</td>
<td>7 6.2</td>
<td>31 9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) 65% White/35% Black</td>
<td>6 4.1</td>
<td>1 1.5</td>
<td>3 2.7</td>
<td>10 3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) 50% White/50% Black</td>
<td>1 7</td>
<td>1 1.5</td>
<td>1 .9</td>
<td>3 .9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) 65% or more Black</td>
<td>5 3.4</td>
<td>4 6.1</td>
<td>4 3.5</td>
<td>13 3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. School Setting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) Rural</td>
<td>61 41.2</td>
<td>48 75.0</td>
<td>56 49.6</td>
<td>165 50.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Suburban</td>
<td>46 31.1</td>
<td>8 12.5</td>
<td>35 31.0</td>
<td>89 27.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Urban</td>
<td>37 25.0</td>
<td>7 10.9</td>
<td>21 18.6</td>
<td>65 20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Inner City</td>
<td>4 2.7</td>
<td>1 1.6</td>
<td>1 .9</td>
<td>6 1.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
While the largest number of teachers in each of these settings held Social Studies certificates, it was interesting to discover that far more rural schools (165 of 328, or 50.8%) offered separate courses in psychology for credit than did either suburban (89 or 27.4%) or urban (65 or 20.0%) schools. Sixty-one (41.2%) of the Social Studies certified psychology teachers taught in rural schools while 46 (31.1%) and 37 (25.0%) taught in suburban and urban school settings. Of the Guidance Counselors, 48 or 75.0% taught their psychology courses in rural schools. The pattern for the 113 teachers certified in Other areas resembled that revealed in the Social Studies teacher responses.

These data lend support to the distribution revealed above in the school enrollment figures. With rural schools traditionally having smaller enrollments, the task of teaching the separate course in psychology appears to be assigned, whenever possible, to the Guidance Counselors. As school enrollment increases, as in urban and suburban settings, the course increasingly is assigned to teachers certified in the Social Studies or some Other area of subject matter training (Stahl, Matiya, & Hunt, 1980a).

In review, the above information indicates that, regardless of school type, size, or location, the majority of psychology course teachers held Social Studies certificates. Only in small schools in rural settings did Guidance Counselors challenge this dominance. Finally, the distribution of psychology teachers holding Other areas of certification tended to parallel that of the Social Studies teacher responses.

**Nature of psychology as a course/curriculum offering**

Besides information about the schools where these courses were taught, descriptive data concerning psychology as a course of study within the school curriculum were obtained.

*Elective or required status of the course.* When asked whether the specific course in psychology was offered as an elective or required course in their schools, 144 of the Social Studies teachers (96.6%), 62 of the Guidance Counselors (95.4%), and 112 of the Other certified teachers (99.1%) marked the 'elective' response category. Of the 324 teachers responding to this item across all three categories, only 6 reported that the psychology course was a required one at their particular school (Table 3). In 4 of these 6 schools, the psychology courses were taught by Social Studies certified teachers.

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13The terms urban, rural, and suburban were not defined on the questionnaire form. It is believed that these terms represent a broad range of phenomenon and assumptions not possible to include in short definitions related to population densities or occupations. Discussions by members of the American Educational Research Association's Special Interest Group: Rural Education with the researchers in Boston (1980) relative to defining a 'rural area' as contrasted to an 'urban' or 'suburban' area made it clear that these terms were not easily definable—and that these terms meant different things in different states and different parts of the country. That 328 teachers marked one of the choices with no comments made which would have indicated confusion or difficulty in making a choice would indicate that at least for these teachers, these terms have distinct meanings.

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This distribution of elective-required courses is nearly identical to that found in other states at different times. For instance, 98.4% of the schools teaching the course in Florida in 1970-71 offered it as an elective with a 96.8% and 96.6% elective course percentage in 1972-73 and 1974-75 respectively (Stahl, 1976). In Mississippi in 1975-76, 94.3% of the psychology teachers taught elective course offerings (Stahl, 1977b, 1978c). There is no indication at this time that schools or school systems will change the elective status of this course.

Length of the course. Approximately three-fourths of the courses taught by teachers in each of these three certification-area groups were one semester in length (i.e., 76.5%, 76.9%, and 71.1%, respectively, for the Social Studies, Guidance Counseling, and Other certification area teachers). (See Table 3.) The second most popular length for such courses was the full year course with an approximate 20 percent frequency for each of these three groups. Courses of various lengths including six and nine week units were taught by about 5 percent of the teachers in each of these three groups. In general, the distribution among these teachers with respect to the length of their psychology courses was nearly identical across all three categories. These data are consistent with other studies which have reported the length of such courses (Kasschau and Wertheimer, 1974; Stahl, 1974, 1976).

Number of sections offered. Information in the number of sections of psychology these teachers taught per day are included in Table 3. Of the 322 psychology teachers who responded to this item, 142 or 44.1% taught only one section of the course per day. Collectively, the 322 teachers taught a total of 678 sections among themselves with 340 or 49.8% of these being taught by Social Studies certified teachers. As suggested by these overall data, if a school offered but one section of psychology, it was almost

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3: Descriptive Data Relative to the Psychology Course within The Curriculum Offerings of Schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nature of the Course</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Elective/Required</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) Elective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144 97.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Required</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Length of Course</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) Full year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 18.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Semester</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114 76.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Nine weeks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Six weeks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 1.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Nature of                                      | Social Studies | Guidance | Other | Totals |
| the Course                                    | F  | %   | F  | %   | F  | %   | F  | %   |
| Elective/Required                             |
| a) Elective                                   |
| 144 97.3                                     |
| b) Required                                   |
| 4 2.7                                       |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Full year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 18.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semester</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114 76.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nine weeks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six weeks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 1.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
equally likely the teacher would come from any one of these three groups of certified teachers. However, should two or more sections be offered, the chances that the teacher held a Guidance Counselor certificate greatly diminished in favor of teachers in the Social Studies or in some other area of subject matter training.

Additional information concerning the number of sections taught support the above explanation. The Guidance Counselors averaged only 1.45 sections of psychology each day in contrast with the 2.31 sections and 2.30 sections averaged respectively by the Social Studies and Other certified teachers. This distribution of mean differences among the sections taught by these groups was found to be a statistically significant one using ANOVA \( (F = 11.89, p < .001; \text{ see Table 4}) \).

Table 4: The Number of Sections of Psychology Taught Each Day by These Three Groups of Teachers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Class Sections</th>
<th>Social Studies</th>
<th>Guidance</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 or 6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean Sections per day* 2.31 1.45 2.30
s.d. 1.29 .78 1.42

*The difference between these three groups Means using ANOVA was found to be statistically significant \( (F = 11.89, p < .001) \)

Number of students enrolled. Not only do Social Studies certified psychology teachers teach more sections of this course per day, but they also come into contact with more students per year in these courses. During the 1977-78 school year, the Social Studies teachers faced an average of 111.4 students each day (s.d. = 103.0). This student enrollment figure is to be contrasted with 54.3 students averaged by the Guidance Counselors (s.d. = 54.9) and the 110.1 students averaged by the Other teachers (s.d. = 120.7). Collectively, the 325 teachers responding to this item reported teaching a total of 32,347 students in their respective courses during the 1977-78 school year. Of this total, 16,376 or 50.6 percent were taught psychology by teachers certified in the broad area of the Social Studies.

The total enrollment figures of 32,347 for 1977-78 should be examined in light of the 1976-77 enrollment total of 30,985 students as reported by these same teachers. The previous year found the average Social Studies teachers teaching 117.9 students with the Guidance Counselors and Other area teachers averaging 57.6 and 108.6 students, respectively. The 1977-78
total represents an increase of 1,362 students or 4.4 percent in enrollment for the psychology course over the previous year. According to the results, 23 teachers of psychology during the 1977-78 period had not taught the course in their schools the previous year. Of these 23 new teachers of psychology, 12 were certified in the Social Studies.

The 1976-77 enrollment figure reported by these teachers in 331 schools can be supported by official Illinois Office of Education figures showing 31,722 students enrolled in psychology/behavioral science courses in 357 high schools in that state (Fox, 1980). The figures reported by these teachers on the survey for 1976-77 received reasonably reliable verification from the official state data. Thus, it would seem reasonable to accept the 1977-78 students enrollment figures provided by these teachers as being a relatively good indicator of the actual enrollment in these classes. It should be noted that the psychology course is sometimes offered under other names or titles for several different reasons. In the Illinois figures 10,721 students were enrolled in various social studies courses which had titles different from those found in the regular social studies curriculum course offerings (Fox, 1980).

Perceived popularity of the course. The teachers were asked to reveal whether they thought the psychology course was considered a “popular” one for students to take in their particular schools. Their responses showed 93.9% of the Social Studies and 89.1% of the Other certified teachers considered the course to be popular among students in their schools. Somewhat surprisingly, only 79.9% of the responding Guidance Counselors reported the course as being popular. A Chi-square analysis revealed the margin of difference among these three groups relative to course popularity was a significant one ($X^2 = 10.13$, $p = .04$). For whatever reason, and as perceived by the teachers themselves, students appear to like psychology more when it is taught by Social Studies and Other certified teachers than they do courses taught by Guidance Counselors.

Descriptive data concerning students enrolled in psychology courses: Teacher survey results

Besides information in the school setting and course characteristics descriptive data relative to the student make-up of the psychology classes themselves were obtained.

Sex of the students enrolled. When data regarding the sex gender of students enrolled in these courses were examined, it was revealed that 239 of the 322 teachers responding to this item taught classes with predominant female enrollment (74.2%) while 36 teachers (11.2%) taught predominantly male classes, and 47 teachers (14.6%) taught equally balanced classes of males and females (see Table 5). This heavily female enrollment pattern parallels similar data from previous studies of schools in several different states (Stahl, 1974, 1976, 1977b).
Table 5: Descriptive Data Concerning Students Enrolled in Psychology Courses as Reported by These Three Groups of Teachers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Students</th>
<th>Social Studies</th>
<th>Guidance</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F %</td>
<td>F %</td>
<td>F %</td>
<td>F %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Sex</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) Female</td>
<td>103 70.5</td>
<td>42 66.7</td>
<td>94 83.2</td>
<td>239 74.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Male</td>
<td>21 14.4</td>
<td>7 11.1</td>
<td>8 7.1</td>
<td>36 11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) About equal</td>
<td>22 15.1</td>
<td>14 22.2</td>
<td>11 9.7</td>
<td>47 14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Grade Level</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) 12th graders only</td>
<td>39 26.5</td>
<td>22 33.8</td>
<td>30 26.5</td>
<td>91 28.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) 11-12th graders</td>
<td>93 63.3</td>
<td>33 50.8</td>
<td>73 64.6</td>
<td>199 61.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) 10-12th graders</td>
<td>10 6.8</td>
<td>9 13.8</td>
<td>9 8.0</td>
<td>28 8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Other combinations</td>
<td>5 3.4</td>
<td>1 1.5</td>
<td>1 .9</td>
<td>7 2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Racial Balance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) 95% White/5% Black</td>
<td>126 86.3</td>
<td>57 87.7</td>
<td>104 92.9</td>
<td>287 88.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) 80% White/20% Black</td>
<td>15 10.3</td>
<td>2 3.1</td>
<td>4 3.6</td>
<td>21 6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) 65% White/35% Black</td>
<td>2 1.4</td>
<td>1 1.5</td>
<td>1 .9</td>
<td>4 1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) 50% White/50% Black</td>
<td>0 .0</td>
<td>2 3.1</td>
<td>0 .0</td>
<td>2 .6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) 65% or more Black</td>
<td>3 2.1</td>
<td>3 4.6</td>
<td>3 2.7</td>
<td>9 2.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Racial mixture within psychology courses. Better than 4/5 of the courses taught by these three groups of teachers enrolled white-to-black students at a ratio of 95% white/5% black regardless of the rural-urban-suburban location of the school or of the white-to-black ratio of the overall student population of the school. Thus, 126 Social Studies teachers (86.3%), 57 Guidance Counselors (87.7%), and 104 Other teachers (92.9%) taught classes enrolling a white-to-black student ratio which approximated 95% white/5% black. Only 3 Social Studies teachers (2.1%), 5 Guidance Counselors (7.7%), and 3 Other teachers (2.7%) taught in courses with an enrollment of more than 50% black-to-white students.

The data in Table 5 reveal that better than 90 percent of the teachers in each category taught classes which enrolled whites-to-blacks at a ratio of better than 80% white to 20% black. This enrollment pattern of extremely heavy white student populations is identical to that found in Florida and Mississippi schools (Stahl, 1976, 1977b). For whatever reason, it is clear that, even though the course is an elective one, black students in Illinois, as in Florida and Mississippi, do not enroll in psychology regardless of what proportion of blacks make up the overall school enrollment.
Grade level of students in psychology classes. The teachers were asked to indicate what grade levels of students were eligible to enroll in their particular psychology courses (see Table 5).

In looking at all these teachers collectively, 199 or 61.2% taught courses enrolling 11-12th graders, while courses for 12th graders only was a distant second (91 or 28.0%). Twenty-eight teachers (8.6%) taught courses with 10-12th graders enrolled. Of special interest is the pattern of enrollment of psychology courses which was revealed in a longitudinal study of Florida from 1970-71 to 1974-75 (Stahl, 1976). The pattern clearly showed that gradually schools maintained or increased their levels of student enrollments by opening up the course to other grade level students. Schools often initiated the course exclusively for 12th graders, then opened it to 11th-12th graders, and then gradually to 10th through 12th graders. Hence, this opening of course enrollment to lower grade level students has often been mis-read as though a greater number of students (usually 12th graders) were enrolling in the course. Consequently, psychology course enrollments temporarily showed increases in some schools/states only because lower grade level students were increasingly being allowed to take the course. Combining this enrollment tendency with the prevailing “back-to-basics” movement, psychology may well begin to lose enrollment over the next few years as budgets tighten and as elective courses give way to more basic skills oriented programs and units."

Descriptive data concerning students enrolled in psychology courses: Student survey results

These teacher data relative to the characteristics of students enrolled in their courses can be examined in light of the information collected from the 1,137 students who were surveyed. Being randomly selected, these student responses represent a cross-sampling of students and classes across Illinois. Included as part of the student questionnaire were five items designed to gather descriptive data relevant to the sex gender, race, age, and grade level of each respondent. Information was also collected as to the grade each student earned in the psychology course for the previous grading term.

Sex gender of students enrolled. Overall, nearly three-fourths of the teachers indicated their classes consisted of a majority of female students. Taken collectively, these teacher respondent data are consistent with numerous other studies reporting a preponderant female majority in high school level psychology classes (Kasschau and Werthiemer, 1974).

As expected from the teacher data, females did make up a clear majority of the 1,137 student population sampled in this survey (see Table 6). Of these students, 684 or 60.3% were female and 450 or 39.7% were males. These percentages run nearly parallel to the population data for sex gender obtained from similar student surveys in both Florida and Mississippi (Stahl, 1976, 1978c).

*See footnote 5.
Table 6: Descriptive Data on Psychology Students in Three States

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student Characteristic</th>
<th>1974-75 Florida Students</th>
<th>1975-76 Mississippi Students</th>
<th>1977-78 Mississippi Students</th>
<th>1977-78 Illinois Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>58.6</td>
<td>63.5</td>
<td>57.8</td>
<td>60.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>41.4</td>
<td>36.5</td>
<td>40.2</td>
<td>39.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>88.1</td>
<td>78.8</td>
<td>90.8</td>
<td>84.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freshman</td>
<td>.6</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sophomores</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juniors</td>
<td>31.1</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>29.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seniors</td>
<td>66.0</td>
<td>71.9</td>
<td>69.2</td>
<td>66.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 years old</td>
<td>.3</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 years old</td>
<td>.9</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>.9</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 years old</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 years old</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>49.3</td>
<td>46.2</td>
<td>44.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 years old</td>
<td>36.1</td>
<td>28.2</td>
<td>35.9</td>
<td>33.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 years old</td>
<td>.0</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“A” Grade</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>33.6</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>26.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“B” Grade</td>
<td>37.4</td>
<td>37.4</td>
<td>31.9</td>
<td>31.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“C” Grade</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>25.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“D” Grade</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“E/F” Grade</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>.0</td>
<td>.0</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Race of students enrolled. When these data were analyzed according to the race of the students enrolled, the results were consistent with those reported by their teachers. Of the 328 teachers, 308 had reported heavy white enrollments of 80 percent or higher in the separate psychology courses. This high proportion of white enrollment was supported by the student data as shown in Table 6. An overwhelming majority of the 1,137 students, 955 students or 84.5% were white. A preliminary analysis of student data for reasons why they enroll in the psychology course cross-tabbed by race has revealed no significant differences. Other factors appear to exist which prevent blacks from enrolling in these elective courses.

Grade levels of students enrolled. According to the teacher survey results, of the 328 schools represented, 290 opened the psychology courses to just 12th graders or to 11th-12th graders combined. Far fewer schools (38) even allowed 9th and/or 10th graders to enroll in these courses. The student results confirm these teachers reports of a larger senior majority in these classes (see Table 6). Two-thirds of the 1,137 students (66.9%) were
seniors, with juniors (29.0%), sophomores (4.1%), and freshmen (.1%) following in that order. As expected, 12th and 11th graders do make up the vast majority of students enrolled in these courses.

At all grade levels, the typical student was a white female. As one would expect, as the grade level rose so the age level of the students increased, with the ninth graders being 14 years of age, tenth graders primarily 15 and 16 years of age, eleventh graders about evenly divided between 16 and 17, and twelfth graders nearly equally divided between 17 and 18 years of age.

**Age level of students enrolled.** Table 6 reveals that the overwhelming majority of the Illinois psychology students (78.3%) were 17 or 18 years old. This percentage as well as the overall data per each age level for Illinois are somewhat equivalent for students in Florida and Mississippi (Table 6). These age-related data directly reflect the heavy 11th-12th grade level enrollments in these classes.

**Academic grades these students received.** Each student was also asked to identify the grade s/he received in the psychology course for the previous grading term (see Table 6). Nearly a third of the grades (31.7%) received by these students were “B” grades. “A’s” were the second most received grades (26.6%) followed very closely by “C” grades (25.4%). “D” grades (10.8%) and “F” grades (4.5%) were infrequently assigned grades to students in these courses. As presented in Table 6, the grades received by students in Illinois were nearly identical to the distribution identified by students in two other states.

**Summary of student descriptive data.** As a result of these data, a composite description of the ‘typical’ high school psychology student in Illinois can be developed. She is a white, 17 year old senior student enrolled in a school of over 500 students. If her class averaged 30 students, it would include approximately 15 white females, 10 white males, 3 black females, and two black males. The majority of her classmates are 17 or 18 year old seniors with about a third being juniors. Of the 30 students, about 10 received a “B”, while approximately 8 received “A”, 8 “C”s, 3 “D”s and 1 “F” for the last grading term. Our ‘typical’ student probably earned a “A” or “B” on her report card. With few minor exceptions, these student data are identical to the composites of the ‘typical’ psychology student found in both Florida and Mississippi (Stahl, 1976, 1977b).

**Course objectives, content, and methods**

Besides looking at the characteristics of the schools, the course offering, and the teachers themselves, data were also obtained concerning the objectives set for the course, the topics and content subject matter included in the course, and the method used by these teachers to teach psychology.

**Course objectives.** These teachers were asked to identify the objectives they set for their respective psychology courses. A list of 12 instructional objec-
tives commonly cited for these courses was provided along with the request that the teachers check any and all of the objectives which reflected those they set for their own courses. If those provided were inappropriate, they could write in those course objectives they did set. As stated in the order of their appearance in the questionnaire, the 12 objectives are:

(a) To help students in their vocational planning.
(b) To help students develop an appreciation for psychology as a field of scientific knowledge and inquiry.
(c) To prepare students for college psychology courses.
(d) To eliminate many of the misconceptions students have about psychology and psychologists.
(e) To assist students in preparing for future family life.
(f) To assist students in developing a basic philosophy of life.
(g) To help students understand and deal with the personal problems.
(h) To assist students in understanding the vocabulary associated with psychology.
(i) To assist students in adjusting to life and solving life's problems.
(j) To help students better understand and accept themselves as individuals.
(k) To help students apply psychological knowledge to understand contemporary social problems and events.
(l) To help cope with problems associated with emerging adolescence.

The percentage of total responses for each group of teachers, the ranking assigned each objective, and the Chi-square value for each objective are given in Table 7.

As shown in Table 7, the teachers in each of these three groups agreed nearly exactly in the objectives they most emphasized in their respective courses. The greatest differences in rankings are for the cope with adolescence objective (a difference of 4 ranks between the Social Studies and Other teachers). The only significant Chi-square value (6.21, p = .04) was found for the adjusting to life objective. However, despite the significant differences among the percentage of teachers in these groups who set this particular objective for their course, this objective was still among the top three posited by all three groups. All three groups of teachers ranked the vocational planning objective in 12th position.

When the ranking for these topics by the teachers were compared, the Spearman rank order correlation coefficients between the Social Studies and Guidance Counselor rankings was found to be .90, .84 between Social Studies and the Other category, and .88 between the Guidance Counselors and the Other category. All three coefficients were significant at the .01 level.
Table 7: A Summary of Frequencies, Percentages, Adjusted Chi-Square Values, and Ranks Assigned to Course Objectives by the Three Certification-Area Groups of Teachers and Their Students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course Objectives</th>
<th>Social Studies</th>
<th>Guidance</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Chi-Square</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Understand themselves</td>
<td>135 90.6</td>
<td>1 57 87.7</td>
<td>3 94 82.5</td>
<td>3.86</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>45.6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Understand personal problems</td>
<td>116 77.9</td>
<td>2 58 89.9</td>
<td>1.5 88 77.2</td>
<td>4.43</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>55.8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Adjusting to life</td>
<td>114 76.5</td>
<td>3 58 89.9</td>
<td>1.5 84 73.7</td>
<td>6.21</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Appreciation for psychology</td>
<td>105 70.5</td>
<td>4 43 66.2</td>
<td>4 79 69.3</td>
<td>.40</td>
<td>.82</td>
<td>28.8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) Understanding vocabulary</td>
<td>102 68.5</td>
<td>5 41 63.1</td>
<td>6 79 69.3</td>
<td>.81</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) Cope with adolescence</td>
<td>94 63.1</td>
<td>6 38 58.5</td>
<td>8 63 55.3</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>.43</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g) Prepare for college psychology</td>
<td>92 61.7</td>
<td>7 39 60.0</td>
<td>7 71 62.3</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.95</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h) Future family life</td>
<td>89 59.7</td>
<td>8 37 56.9</td>
<td>9 66 57.9</td>
<td>.18</td>
<td>.92</td>
<td>40.5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i) Philosophy of life</td>
<td>88 59.1</td>
<td>9 42 64.6</td>
<td>5 70 61.4</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td>.74</td>
<td>31.9</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j) Apply psychological knowledge</td>
<td>86 57.7</td>
<td>10 35 53.8</td>
<td>10 67 58.8</td>
<td>.43</td>
<td>.80</td>
<td>37.8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k) Eliminate misconceptions</td>
<td>85 57.0</td>
<td>11 29 44.6</td>
<td>11 68 59.6</td>
<td>4.06</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l) Vocational planning</td>
<td>29 19.5</td>
<td>12 6 9.2 12 16 14.0</td>
<td>3.91</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7 also presents the rankings of these objectives by the 1,137 students who responded to this item as reasons for enrolling in the course. The comparison of teacher-student rankings revealed that the same three objectives most stressed by teachers were identical to the three most important reasons why their students took the course. The two objectives-reasons with the greatest disagreement in rankings were understanding vocabulary and future family life. Spearman rank-order correlation coefficients were computed between the student rankings and each of the three groups of teacher rankings. These coefficients were found to be .55 for the Social Studies, .61 for the Guidance Counselors, and .49 for the Other teachers.

Content included within these courses. One way to describe the subject matter content of a course is to obtain information concerning the specific topics and concepts covered by the teacher. The questionnaire listed 22 topics generally included in precollege psychology courses, with the request the teachers identify those topics they had included or would include in their courses during the school year. The responses of these three groups of teachers were totaled and ranked. Table 8 presents the percentages, rankings, and Chi-square values for this item.

Unlike the nearly identical rankings for the course objective, the teachers in each of these three groups were somewhat dissimilar in the topics and content they most often included in their courses. For example, even though personality theory was ranked first by both the Social Studies teachers and Guidance Counselors and second by the Other group of teachers, the difference in the percentage of teachers in each group who taught this particular topic was found to be a significant one ($X^2 = 6.47, p = .04$). Yet, few real differences exist among these groups in the content which they taught. Of the 22 topics, an average of 13.7 were taught by the Social Studies teachers, 13.4 by the Guidance Counselors, and 14.4 by the Other teachers.

When the ranks were contrasted via rank order correlation analysis, coefficients of .98 for the Social Studies-Guidance Counselor rankings, .96 for the Social Studies-Other rankings, and .94 for the Guidance Counselor-Other teacher rankings were computed. All of these were found to be in significant agreement with one another ($p < .001$). Taken collectively, these data would strongly suggest that teachers in these three groups tended to teach with nearly the same degree of emphasis the same topics and content in their respective psychology courses while focusing on nearly identical objectives which these teachers themselves set for this particular course.

In sharp contrast to the strong agreement with one another, when these teacher rankings were contrasted with the rankings students gave to the same topics indicating what they wanted taught in the psychology courses, the coefficients were not so high. When computed, rank order coefficients between student rankings and the Social Studies, Guidance Counselors, and Other teachers were found to be .47, .51, and .53, respectively.
Table 8: A Summary of Frequencies, Percentages, Adjusted Chi-Square Values, and Ranks Assigned to the Topics These Teachers Actually Included in Their Pre-College Psychology Courses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topics</th>
<th>Social Studies</th>
<th>Guidance</th>
<th>All Others</th>
<th>Chi-Square</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Personality theory</td>
<td>144 96.6 1</td>
<td>60 92.3 1</td>
<td>101 88.6 2</td>
<td>6.47</td>
<td>.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Mental Illness</td>
<td>125 83.9 2.5</td>
<td>51 78.5 4</td>
<td>105 92.1 1</td>
<td>6.98</td>
<td>.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Learning Theory</td>
<td>125 83.9 2.5</td>
<td>48 73.8 6</td>
<td>86 75.4 6.5</td>
<td>4.06</td>
<td>.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Mental Health</td>
<td>123 82.6 4</td>
<td>50 76.9 5</td>
<td>95 83.3 5</td>
<td>1.27</td>
<td>.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) Emotions</td>
<td>121 81.2 5</td>
<td>58 89.2 2</td>
<td>96 84.2 4</td>
<td>2.17</td>
<td>.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) Intelligence</td>
<td>119 79.9 6</td>
<td>54 83.1 3</td>
<td>85 74.6 8</td>
<td>2.03</td>
<td>.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g) Abnormal Behavior</td>
<td>116 77.9 7</td>
<td>47 72.3 7</td>
<td>98 86.0 3</td>
<td>5.25</td>
<td>.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h) Motivation</td>
<td>113 75.8 8</td>
<td>46 70.8 8</td>
<td>86 75.4 6.5</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i) Human Growth-Development</td>
<td>105 70.5 9</td>
<td>41 63.1 10.5</td>
<td>83 72.8 9</td>
<td>1.92</td>
<td>.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j) The Adolescent</td>
<td>101 67.8 10</td>
<td>37 56.9 13.5</td>
<td>78 68.4 12</td>
<td>2.89</td>
<td>.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k) Sensation and Perception</td>
<td>96 64.4 11</td>
<td>39 60.0 12</td>
<td>78 68.4 12</td>
<td>1.32</td>
<td>.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l) Parapsychology, ESP</td>
<td>90 60.4 12</td>
<td>41 63.1 10.5</td>
<td>73 64.0 14</td>
<td>.39</td>
<td>.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m) Social Behavior</td>
<td>88 59.1 13</td>
<td>45 69.2 9</td>
<td>81 71.1 10</td>
<td>4.66</td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n) Mental Retardation</td>
<td>85 57.0 14</td>
<td>36 55.4 15</td>
<td>78 68.4 12</td>
<td>4.45</td>
<td>.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o) History of Psychology</td>
<td>78 52.3 15</td>
<td>37 56.9 13.5</td>
<td>63 55.3 16</td>
<td>.45</td>
<td>.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p) Drugs, Alcoholism, etc.</td>
<td>65 43.6 16</td>
<td>32 49.2 16</td>
<td>70 61.4 15</td>
<td>8.26</td>
<td>.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q) Love</td>
<td>61 40.9 17</td>
<td>31 47.7 17</td>
<td>59 51.8 18</td>
<td>3.13</td>
<td>.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r) Heredity/Genetics</td>
<td>58 38.9 18</td>
<td>30 46.2 18.5</td>
<td>61 53.5 17</td>
<td>5.56</td>
<td>.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s) Marriage and the Family</td>
<td>52 34.9 19</td>
<td>30 46.2 18.5</td>
<td>50 43.9 19</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t) Human Body/Physiology</td>
<td>51 34.2 20</td>
<td>23 35.4 20</td>
<td>44 38.6 20</td>
<td>.55</td>
<td>.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u) Child Care</td>
<td>44 29.5 21</td>
<td>20 30.8 21</td>
<td>42 36.8 21</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v) Statistics</td>
<td>28 18.8 22</td>
<td>17 26.2 22</td>
<td>26 22.8 22</td>
<td>1.58</td>
<td>.45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Topics which should be taught. An individual may argue that these teachers may have been prevented for whatever reasons from teaching the content and topics they really believed should be included in psychology courses on this level. Was it possible that these teachers were restricted to the content they indicated they included in the above section? One way to offset the possible influence of outside controlling factors as well as to identify what these teachers would include in such courses if given the freedom to select their own content was to ask teachers to specify the topics they thought ought to be included in psychology offered to secondary school students.

The same list of 22 topics in the identical order of display as presented previously was provided the respondents. They were asked to indicate all of those topics they believed should be included in their courses and in similar courses in other schools. A space was provided for those who desired to write in other topics and content not included on the original list. Table 9 gives the percentages, ranks, and Chi-square values for the teacher and student responses to this item.

As in previous studies involving both Florida (Stahl and Casteel, 1973; Stahl, 1976) and Mississippi (Stahl, 1977b) teachers, the topic selected as most important to teach and to be included in high school psychology courses was personality theory. And, as with the 'topics already included' section (Table 8), these teachers were found to be in relatively close agreement as to what content ought to be taught in their courses. A statistically significant difference was found among the percentage of teachers in each of the three groups who favored the three topics, mental retardation, marriage and the family, and heredity and genetics, yet their rankings for these same topics were very similar. Of the 22 topics listed, the average Social Studies teacher thought 14.0 topics should be included while the Guidance Counselors and Other teachers averages were greater than the averages computed for the actual number of concepts and topics then being taught by these same teachers.

When the rankings for these topics were examined using rank correlations, it was found that the Social Studies and Other teacher rankings were closer ($r_s = .97$) than were those for Social Studies-Guidance Counselors ($r_s = .88$) and the Guidance Counselor-Other teachers ($r_s = .87$). The rankings of each of these three groups were correlated with the rankings of the students as to those topics the students wanted taught in the psychology courses they were taking. The correlation procedure produced coefficients of .57 for the Social Studies-student rankings, .65 for the Guidance Coun-

*There are some topics and content within the field of psychology which are considered inappropriate by some schools, administrators, or parents to present to high school students. Aspects of Freudian personality theory and terms such as vagina, penis envy, and orgasm, for example, may not be studied in some schools. In fact, some states during the textbook adoption procedure may accept or reject a particular text because of what content it chooses to include and how it treats a particular topic (NCSS SIG: Psychology Meetings, 1978, 1980).
Table 9: A Summary of Frequencies, Percentages, Adjusted Chi Square Values, and Ranks Assigned the Topics These Teachers and Students Indicated Should Be Included in Pre-College Psychology Courses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topics</th>
<th>Social Studies</th>
<th>Guidance</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Chi-Square</th>
<th>Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) Personality Theory</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>91.9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>87.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Emotions</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>85.2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>89.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Mental Illness</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>83.9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>80.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Mental Health</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>81.9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>76.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) Learning Theory</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>81.2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>75.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) Motivation</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>79.2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>78.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g) The Adolescent</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>77.9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>81.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h) Abnormal Behavior</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>77.2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>73.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i) Growth and Development</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>75.8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>83.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j) Social Behavior</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>74.5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>78.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k) Intelligence</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>73.8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>78.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l) Sensation and Perception</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>67.1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>61.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m) Mental Retardation</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>57.0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>56.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n) Parapsychology, ESP</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>51.7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>44.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o) History of Psychology</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>51.0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>50.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p) Drugs, Alcoholism, etc.</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>49.0</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>55.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q) Marriage and the Family</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>47.0</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>64.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r) Love</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>45.6</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>53.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s) Child care</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>44.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t) Heredity and Genetics</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>49.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u) Human body/physiology</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>36.2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>41.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v) Statistics</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>27.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Selor-student rankings, and .63 for the Other-student rankings. As can be seen in Table 9, the student rankings were more different from all three sets of teacher rankings than were the teacher rankings with one another.

Finally, the rankings for topics being taught and those that should be taught were compared to determine the degree to which these teachers were able to emphasize the content in their courses they believed ought to be included in these courses. The rank order coefficient for the Social Studies teacher ranking was .85, for the Guidance Counselors, .89, and for the Other teachers, .86. These high correlations would suggest that, for the most part, teachers in these three groups are at least covering the majority of topics and content they believe should be included in psychology courses on the precollege level. However, there are no data available to describe the quality, completeness, or in-depth examination of the instruction and content information which corresponds to the coverage of these topics as reported by these teachers.

Methods used in teaching the psychology course. Yet another way of looking at what may actually be going on inside a particular course is to examine the methods the teachers used in teaching their psychology courses. Eight methods were listed as were five scale categories ranging from “Use a great deal” (5) to “Rarely use” (1). This would allow for the examination of frequency of use of one method over another. The data displayed in Table 10 illustrate the degree of similarity among these three groups of teachers in the order of overall frequency of their use of specific instructional methods. Across all three groups, the teachers used a wide range of methods and differed greatly in the extent of their use of these methods. The ANOVA results reveal that these teachers were quite similar in their frequency of use of these methods.

Use of audio-visual instructional aids

Information was collected regarding the orientation of these teachers relative to different types of instructional resources which could be used in teaching the psychology course. When asked whether they felt a need for more audio-visual materials and aids to help them do a more adequate job of teaching psychology, 117 of the Social Studies teachers (79.1%), 52 of the Guidance Counselors (80.0%), and 92 of the Other teachers (82.1%) indicated the affirmative option. When these same teachers were asked to indicate whether they would actually use such materials and resources were they to be made available to them, 145 Social Studies teachers (97.3%), 63 Guidance Counselors (98.4%), and 109 Other teachers (97.3%) reported they would use these materials. Hence, while 4 of 5 teachers felt a real need for audio-visual aids, nearly 100% of the teachers in all three groups reported they would actually use such materials were they made available.
### Table 10: A Summary of the Frequencies, Means, Standard Deviations, and ANOVA F-Values Associated With the Methods These Three Groups Used to Teach Their Respective Psychology Courses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Method of Instruction</th>
<th>Social Studies</th>
<th></th>
<th>Guidance</th>
<th></th>
<th>Others</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>s.d.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>s.d.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>s.d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) Discussion</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>4.17</td>
<td>.71</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>4.03</td>
<td>.79</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Text and lecture</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>3.77</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>3.53</td>
<td>.90</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>3.77</td>
<td>.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Lecture</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>3.70</td>
<td>.95</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>3.74</td>
<td>.86</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>3.67</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Teacher demonstrations</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>3.16</td>
<td>.84</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>3.25</td>
<td>.71</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>3.11</td>
<td>.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) Small group discussions</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>2.96</td>
<td>.92</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>3.11</td>
<td>.98</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>2.98</td>
<td>.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) Values clarification activities</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>2.81</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>3.06</td>
<td>.97</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>2.88</td>
<td>1.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g) Student lab experiments</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>2.59</td>
<td>.99</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>.91</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>2.75</td>
<td>1.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h) Guest speakers</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>2.37</td>
<td>.83</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>2.40</td>
<td>.87</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>2.46</td>
<td>.82</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The availability of resources is tied to funding. Was there money available to purchase psychology-related instructional resources? Eighty-eight Social Studies teachers (61.1%), 32 Guidance Counselors (51.6%), and 55 Other teachers (50.0%) responded by saying their schools had the funds by which they could purchase teaching aids for their specific courses.

Types of instructional aids desired. In an attempt to identify the exact types of resource aid these teachers wanted to see made available to them, the questionnaire listed 17 different types of resource aids for teachers to indicate their preferences. Teachers were told to mark any and all of those instructional aids they desired. Table 11 reports their responses to this item.

The overwhelming first choice of the Social Studies teachers (71.1%) and Guidance Counselors (75.4%) was the films, movies option while most of the Other certified teachers (70.2%) desired simulation games as their highest preferred choice. Overall, these three groups of teachers tended to rank these options in similar orders of preferences with a few exceptions. The largest difference in ranks found the Guidance Counselors minimizing the need for a newsletter for teachers (13.5 ranking) while the Other certified teachers saw this as being much more important to them (a 6.5 ranking). An examination of the Chi-square values revealed that the percentage of teachers in these three groups who preferred simulation games and a newsletter for teachers differed significantly from one another (p < .05). A larger percentage of Guidance Counselors (44.6%) preferred values clarification activities for use in their psychology courses than did Social Studies (28.2%) or the Other teachers (36.0%).

When the rankings were formally compared using the Spearman formula, the resulting coefficients were .85 for the Social Studies-Counselor rankings, .86 for the Social Studies-Other teacher rankings, and .88 for the Guidance Counselor-Other teacher rankings. All these coefficients were found to be significant at the .01 level. Thus, while the Chi-square analysis revealed major differences among these three groups on a few individual items, the correlation coefficients indicated a significant degree of overall agreement for these instructional aids.

Summary

In reviewing the extensive data reported above, it was found that the 149 Social Studies, 65 Guidance Counselors, and 114 Other certified psychology teachers tended to teach psychology:

a) With the same level of perceived adequacy about their preparation to teach psychology to high school students,

b) from a similar distribution of behavioristic-humanistic-eclectic perspectives,

c) in similar public/private school settings,

d) almost exclusively as an elective rather than required course offering,
Table 11: A Summary of Frequencies, Percentages, Adjusted Chi-Square Values, and Ranks Assigned the Types of Instructional Aids These Teachers and Their Students Wanted to See Made Available to Them for Their Use

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instructional Aids</th>
<th>Social Studies</th>
<th>Guidance</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Chi-Square</th>
<th>Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) Films, movies</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>71.1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>75.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Materials for classroom experiments</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>63.1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>55.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) List of local guest speakers</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>55.0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>47.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Sample psychological tests</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>54.4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>44.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) Simulation games</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>53.7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>67.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) Student workbooks</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>36.9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>33.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g) Filmstrips</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>35.6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>32.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h) Newsletters for teachers</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>33.6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i) Overhead transparencies</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>33.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j) Values clarification activities</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>28.2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>44.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l) Audio-cassette tapes</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m) Reference service for students</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n) Posters of famous psychologists</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o) Career-related pamphlets</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p) Materials for slow learners</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q) Curriculum guide for teachers</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
e) in courses with heavy female enrollments,
f) in courses with heavy white student enrollments regardless of the ratio of whites-to-blacks in the entire school population,
g) in courses with heavy senior-junior enrollments,
h) with the identical objectives posited for their respective courses,
i) with the same emphasis on content and topics,
j) with the same ideas about what these courses should include as far as topic and content are involved,
k) using identical methodologies with about the same frequency of use for each method,
l) with the desire to have the identical instructional aids made available to them for use in their respective classes.

The above represents areas where these teachers were nearly or exactly identical to one another. Where the teachers data were contrasted to student responses regarding the reasons why they enrolled in these courses, topics they wanted taught, etc., the teachers were consistently closer to one another than they were to the student responses. None of these three groups of teachers came closer to meeting the expectations or needs of the students than the others.

Besides the above similarities among these three groups of teachers, several significant differences were found in respect to themselves and their courses. Included in these differences were:

a) Guidance Counselors and Other teachers possessed significantly more college credit hours in psychology and educational psychology than did the Social Studies teachers;
b) Guidance-Counselors were more likely to teach courses in smaller schools with less than 500 students enrolled while Social Studies and Other teachers taught in small enrollment and dominated large enrollment schools;
c) Guidance Counselors were more likely to teach courses in exclusively rural school settings while Social Studies and Other teachers were distributed across rural, urban, and suburban school settings;
d) Social Studies and Other teachers were more likely to teach courses in schools offering more than one section of psychology each day;
e) Social Studies and Other teachers averaged teaching a significantly larger number of sections of psychology each day over their Guidance Counselor counterparts; and
f) Social Studies and Other teachers nearly doubled the Guidance Counselors in terms of the average number of students they taught each year.
These data and results from other states (APA, 1976; Snellgrove, 1973; Stahl, 1977b) clearly indicate that while psychology is primarily offered as a social studies credit, social studies teachers are not the only ones who teach the course. Furthermore, merely because it is included in the social studies departments in nearly every school does not imply that it is taught or perceived from the perspective of the social studies/science. The placing of psychology as a social studies course within the precollege curriculum seems primarily determined by the fact that it "fits" there better than it fits in English, Math, Science, or Home Economics departments.

Yet, from this study, it seems that in general the course is much the same across three very broad groups of psychology teachers trained in very different subject matter content areas. In most instances, the differences within each group of teachers seemed greater than those between these groups in respect to their courses. There is no consistent, clear-cut pattern which separated one group from the others as far as this course was concerned. It would seem that conventional wisdom about what psychology is and ought to be influences teachers in planning, developing and teaching their psychology course—and this operates to influence teachers regardless of their subject matter college training.

Including psychology as a social studies course does not automatically make it a discipline in the social sciences. With no established aims, goals, purpose or objectives for offering psychology on the precollege level, comparison of such aims or goals with existing courses in psychology or with the goals and aims of the social studies (as per example, the NCSS Curriculum Guidelines, 1979) is impossible. While the NCSS SIG: Psychology is attempting to establish some curriculum guidelines for teaching psychology on the precollege level, at present it is only possible to describe what has been and what is the nature of psychology as a course of study within the social studies curriculum.

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Reaction/Response

Ambiguities of Social Education: The Dilemma of Textbooks

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James L. Barth and S. Samuel Shermis (1980), in their recent article in Theory and Research in Social Education, discuss social studies textbooks, recent writings about the quality and character of textbook materials and the importance of understanding historical contexts of social education.

The main contribution of this article is an interesting account of social studies textbooks during two periods of time: 1874 to 1927 and 1960 to 1980. They report:

The treatment of race, racial relations and related matters is another case in point. With a very few exceptions, the typical treatment consists of a mention of blacks as slaves imported in 1619, a brief discussion of blacks as an issue in the slavery debate, a more extensive treatment in the chapter on Reconstruction and another one in the chapter on Civil Rights which ordinarily is assumed to begin in the 1950's. In between there is usually no mention whatsoever of blacks. The only impression that students could possibly derive is that first blacks existed, then they did not; that they sprang into existence again and then out of existence; and finally they are part of the Civil Rights "problem." Needless to say, typically the Civil Rights "problem" does not usually include Jews, Chinese, women or others. It is indeed extremely doubtful whether a high school graduate who had taken civics and U.S. history would relate the Bill of Rights, treated in civics class, with the Palmer Raids, treated in U.S. history. (p. 45)
Textbooks, apparently, seek to inculcate what are thought to be patriotic beliefs and attitudes. Central to this patriotic mission is the promulgation of misleading information about other countries, critical events in our own history and the character and contribution of celebrated individuals. Textbook materials, as FitzGerald, Anyon and now Barth and Shermis have found, provide distorted accounts of the world in which we live.¹

To put it bluntly, textbooks for children lie. The lies may be well intended and patriotic. For some they may be necessary lies that protect children from the cruel realities of life on our planet. For some they may be morally justified lies because they celebrate heroic figures that children may be encouraged to honor. For some they may be glorious lies because they affirm national aspirations and accomplishments. But that textbooks lie appears to be well established. In the words of Barth and Shermis:

What had been a fairly undisguised celebration of society with only the external trappings of scholarship—that is to say, the typical 19th century U.S. history and civics text—lend itself to being transmuted into a 20th century social science text. What had been celebration of a divine origin, a great destiny, heroic leaders and a steadily improving society was not essentially altered by the addition of 19th century Positivism. With but very little change it was possible to super-impose the language and assumptions of 19th century social science on 20th century textbooks to create a basically unaltered textbook. (1980, p. 46)

The authors propose that there is a debate about textbook materials. They identify Frances FitzGerald, Donald Weisberger and Jean Anyon as one side of this debate with Daniel Roselle on the other side. This account is misleading. If there is a debate, and I think there is, it is between Jean Anyon and Frances FitzGerald, and, perhaps, both of them and James Barth and Samuel Shermis. Each of these writers, among others, has looked at books, made findings and reached conclusions. Their conclusions differ. That difference is the substance of a real debate.

Daniel Roselle's review of Frances FitzGerald's America Revised is clever, but it ignores substantive issues. Barth and Shermis' effort to stand aside from what they identify as a debate actually places them in the mid-

¹In 1964, Ruth Miller Elson published Guardians of Tradition: American Schoolbooks of the Nineteenth Century. She reported that these books celebrated the white race as superior to all others, affirmed the moral superiority of the United States to all other nations and peoples, identified labor organizations as violence prone and as essentially dangerous associations, ignored the struggle for equal rights for the sexes, endorsed an absolute notion of progress in material wealth and moral virtues the center of which was the United States. The school materials of the nineteenth century provided an essentially fantasy view of the world. It is interesting to observe that this important study of nineteenth century schoolbooks was not mentioned by Barth and Shermis. Two other poignant studies of school materials not mentioned by the authors are Rupert Costo's Textbooks and the American Indian and The Asia Society's Asia in American Textbooks: An Evaluation. Both studies, in rather different ways, reported that the social information to be found in school materials was grossly misleading and that this systematic misinformation may have dangerous unforeseen political consequences.
dle of what is a real debate about the character and social meaning of textbook materials.

Barth and Shermis suggest that if we are to understand textbooks today we must develop an historical perspective. We must identify patterns of thought and the underlying design of educational materials during the last hundred years:

We assert that debate over teacher preparation, textbooks, methods, strategies and purposes will not prove productive if it concentrates exclusively on the present. We need to examine the cultural and philosophical past. We need to look at the 19th and early 20th century origins of the social studies. And if we do, we anticipate that we will find persisting patterns and that an understanding of these patterns can only deepen our understanding of what exists today and why. (1980, p. 30)

The authors argue that Frances FitzGerald's distress and outrage is irrelevant. We must seek understanding; their research and analysis will provide that understanding.

How are we to understand the misinformation that has been found in social studies materials? Some writers may argue that the lying is meaningful: it serves the social class interests of particular groups in the United States as it obscures the economic oppression that the poor, working people, minorities and women experience. Lying, in this view, is the central mission of schooling because it tends to preserve the system of privilege that some people enjoy and tends to reconcile those with little hope to the fate to which they have been assigned.

Some writers may argue that the lies and distortions in social studies materials result from misunderstandings and errors of well-intended people who are engaged in sincere efforts to provide accurate, credible accounts of the social worlds in which we live. By identifying lies, misrepresentations and distortions, we may aid schools in their struggle to develop social awareness and understanding in students. According to this view, the work of Frances FitzGerald, The Asia Society, Feminist Groups, Native American Associations, among others who have examined and criticized social studies materials, may help teachers, administrators and parents become aware of and critical of the misleading social ideas students encounter in school. All such efforts may contribute to a more honest approach to public education.

Some writers may argue that it is unimportant that we lie. What really matters is the discipline of school routines and the development of positive attitudes towards United States institutions. For the process of education, celebrations may be as useful as more critical accounts of the social world. As long as students develop these positive attitudes, social studies programs may be thought to have succeeded. In light of the progressive development
of United States industry, power and military might, social studies pro-
grams may be said to have accomplished their essential goals. In any case,
Barth and Shermis contribute to this debate because they propose a way of
understanding social studies materials in a critical historical context.

Barth and Shermis found that textbooks lied in the 19th century and
that social studies textbooks today differ only in the typographers' art.
Barth and Shermis looked to the past and found that lying is our tradition:

Despite the differences in size and in emphasis, stress and the typogra-
pher's art, U.S. history and civics texts of the present are essentially
what they have always been. Authors continue to share the same fun-
damental assumptions. History is taken to be a record, unaffected by
human passion or self-interest, of events as they actually happened,
precisely as Von Ranke defined history. It is a series of events, in lin-
ear order, revolving around major political, military, and diplomatic
events and featuring individuals who tend to function as exemplars,
idealized, bigger-than-life heroes. History texts are therefore not anal-
ysis or interpretation but rather celebrations of great men, great events
and a great destiny. (1980 p. 45)

What we must understand, with the help of Barth and Shermis, is the pat-
tern of lying that their study reveals. Once we understand this pattern that
has become our tradition, we need no longer be concerned about Anyon,
Weisberger or FitzGerald because if that "... is the more important real-
ity, then the present debate is beside the point" (1980, p. 47).

According to Barth and Shermis, social studies materials uncritically
celebrate United States institutions, and systematically denigrate minorities
in this country and other peoples, cultures and social arrangements. Barth
and Shermis associate this pattern of celebration and denigration with the
positive evolutionary development of the United States. The argument ap-
ppears to go like this: We have lied in the past and our institutions have
flourished in spite of many difficulties. If we continue to lie, to celebrate, to
misinform, we may expect this positive evolutionary process to continue.
Our tradition has led to the development of a healthy body politic; if we
continue to follow our tradition we may expect even further progress and
development. The concerns of FitzGerald and others are simply beside the
point: there is an evolutionary process taking place that only requires the
active and intelligent involvement of sympathetic participants to sustain
and improve our society.

There may be a deep truth to this interpretation of our tradition of so-
cial education. Education, broadly conceived, is the social process by which
attitudes, character, beliefs, technical and social skills are developed. It is
the process by which native speaking, thinking, believing French, Thai or
Mexicans are formed. In the schools of any nation, the basic social message
is likely to be that this nation (whatever it may be), if not the best of na-
tions, is at least a unique precious social reality. All nations have a culture,
a language, a literature, an art, and a sensibility that is a miracle of social invention. In addition, most nations of the world have a political history that is a story of murder, torture and pillage that is usually glorified by nationalistic, religious or racial myths. The dead are sometimes called Christians or infidels or communists or niggers or capitalists or godless heretics or gooks or savages. Such epithets are used to justify murder in the changing ephemeral causes of our species. In light of this human reality, social education may be seen as a soothing lie that is perhaps necessary if we are to endure and survive the trauma of our species.

Peter Berger in his *Rumor of Angels* considers a similar dilemma of lying. He suggests that we think of the situation in which a child may awake in the night, alone, in a darkened room, engulfed by terrors arising from dreams and memories. At such a time, the order of everyday reality may be blurred. In the chaos of the night, the child may cry out for a parent, a mother, a father. A parent, in such a situation, would come into the child’s room, turn on a soft light, pick up the child, soothe it and then might say, “Don’t be afraid—everything is in order, everything is all right” (1969, pp. 54-55). Usually, the child would be comforted and would go back to sleep. Berger suggests that this is a commonplace event, yet a profound question can be raised about it: *Is the parent lying?* He argues that the answer can only be “no” if one can introduce a religious perspective into the situation. If one considers only the “natural” world, the reality of war, genocide, political assassination, nuclear bombs and pacification programs, the parent is lying. The assurance that all is well in the darkness of the room implies that all is well in the darkness of the world. All is not well in that world. That is the experience of our species.

The parent, of course, may be lying out of love. To the extent the parent’s lie is grounded in that love, it is less of a lie in the darkness of the room, but it is still a lie in the darkness of the world. In a similar fashion, the lies of social studies materials may be comforting in the safety of a classroom but they are delusional in the larger world of nations, religions and peoples.

The alternatives to lying in our public schools are not clear. Certainly *truth* in some absolute sense is not available. In social matters, there are many perspectives, many points of view. The discovery of the multiple perspectives by which people live may be more important than any effort to identify “objective truths” about subjective realities. Schools are creatures of national governments and as such they may be expected to inculcate loyalty to the state as they subvert local, ethnic or class loyalties. In this country, as in others, one can see in schools the symbols of state power and we can observe children learning about the past and other peoples in gratifyingly self-congratulatory ways. Not only is lying a fundamental mission of schooling, delusions about one’s own people and others appear to be the basis of social life. *We*, whoever we are, are civilized, pious, God fearing; *they*, whoever they may be, are often said to be barbarians, heathens.
They are without culture, without God, without understanding. We are justified in our social undertakings. Social life may be impossible without such delusions. But social science and research in social education is a fraud if it simply celebrates such delusions. The myths that make social life possible are also the ground of our travail because they provide the justifications for torture, murder and genocide. If there is any hope for our species it lies in the effort to understand this dilemma, rather than comfortably endorse the delusion of our moment in time.

Barth and Shermis appear to suggest that, in light of the "progress" of our particular nation, we need not be too concerned about our tradition of lying. Positive evolutionary development is taking place and the incidental lies about ourselves and other people are beside the point. Although the authors have a touching faith in the progressive character of change, there is little in the experience of our species to justify that faith. Although there has been "progress" in the development of techniques of war, torture and political manipulation, the notion of progress is meaningless in the context of art, literature, philosophy, and the everyday capacity to engage in loving relationships. In the perspective of the life of our species, the experience of the United States is a momentary episode. Those of us who are concerned about the ambiguities of our species, must confront that reality in our scholarship, in our art, in our politics and in our everyday life. Whatever hope we have for transcending the sorrows of our species lies in part in the somber recognition of the human record and the illusions by which we live.

Research in social education, if it is to have any point at all, must confront illusions. This will always be an ambiguous undertaking, but it is the primary ethical challenge of educational scholarship. Barth and Shermis are beside the point in this human effort to transcend the savagery of our species as it is to be found in both ancient and modern atrocities.

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Social Studies Arguments Without Historical and Philosophical Foundations Are Still Beside the Point, or

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Introduction

We must work hard to prevent our response to “Ambiguities of Social Education” from becoming redundant and boring. There is a distinct threat that our readers will become weary from reading, “We didn’t say . . .” too often.

Thus, we didn’t say a whole lot about the desirability of lying. Millard Clements asserts that “Barth and Shermis appear to suggest that in light of the ‘progress’ of our particular nation, we need not be too concerned about our tradition of lying” (1981, p. 92). Nothing in our article substantiates this allegation. Nowhere did we justify lying, whether or not it enhances progress.

At no point, as the author alleges, do we argue that “. . . lying is a fundamental mission of school, delusions about one’s own people and others appear to be the basis of social life;” (Clements, 1981, p. 91).

Which of the Following Best Represents the Position of Barth and Shermis?
(a) Social Studies arguments without historical and philosophical foundations are still beside the point.
(b) In his heart, Barth really approves of lying as a policy.
(c) In his heart, Shermis really approves of lying as a policy.
(d) Neither Barth nor Shermis really approves of lying as a policy.
(e) Collectively (a) and (d) are correct.
It follows that we do not agree with the statement that "...lies which... are delusional in the larger world of nations, religions and peoples" are OK because "...the lies of social studies materials may be comforting in the safety of a classroom" (Clements, 1981, p. 91).

Nor did we imply—or see how others can infer—that we believe "in light of this human reality social education may be seen as a soothing lie that is perhaps necessary, if we are to endure and survive the trauma of our species" (Clements, 1981, p. 91).

It is beyond our comprehension how the author of this critique could believe that we "...associate this pattern of celebration and denigration with the positive evolutionary development of the United States" (Clements, 1981, p. 90).

In short, to assert that we endorse deliberate lying to children because such may be justified in order to promote patriotism, cultural self-glorification or the nation worship that has replaced the Judeo-Christian tradition is either a blatant attempt to create controversy by taking some or our statements out of context and making us say what we did not say. Or it is a deliberate lie.

What We Did Say

What we did say is that the argument among Weisberger, Anyon, Roselle and FitzGerald is beside the point. It misses the crucial issue because the authors hash over conflicts that have been argued for decades—to no purpose and with no end in view. The point we wished to make—and we made it in the introduction, illustrated it in the development, and stated it bluntly in the last paragraph is this: to understand the issues in social studies requires an historical and philosophical analysis. It requires scholars to discover how different groups and different persons conceive of the social studies. It requires us to understand that there is not and never has been one, unified, consistent, coherent field. It requires us to understand that the social studies function in different ways for different individuals, depending upon their conception of goals, their understanding of democracy and their comprehension of the problem-solving process.

Although it is risky to simplify points we made in "Nineteenth Century Origins of the Social Studies Movement: Understanding the Continuity Between Older and Contemporary Civic and U.S. History Textbooks," (Barth and Shermis, 1980), the author of "Ambiguities of Social Education" has missed our argument so badly that we feel it essential to restate at least a few of our basic themes.

The Essence of the Confusion: What is a Lie?

We think that the crux of Clements' problem is that he did not make a critical distinction between our description of social studies taught as Citi-
zenship Transmission (CT) as one of the traditions within the social studies and an endorsement of some of the practices usually associated with CT.

In our first article on the subject (Barth and Shermis, 1970) and in two subsequent books (Barr, Barth and Shermis, 1977, 1978) we describe Citizensh Temperature as the oldest tradition within the social studies. We suggest that its origins are with the primeval campfire. We describe the anthropologist's description of the narratives spun by the old men, the skilled hunter, the wise tribal member, the priest—those in the best position to know what makes the tribe "tick." These were the first citizenship transmitters. Their function—of which they probably were not self-consciously aware—was not merely to transmit tribal lore, not only to keep listeners in absorbed fascination for hours, or even to make the very young aware of the tribal tradition—although these were important concerns. The central task was to perpetuate the tribe—the clan, the duchy, the society, the nation state—whatever term one uses to describe an agglomeration of people deliberately associated for political, social and economic reasons in coherent and self-conscious groups.

Citizenship Transmission, as the term implies, is an attempt to transmit or persuade the young that there is a model of citizenship, that this model of citizenship ought to be adopted by all the young, and that so doing will yield a stronger society better able to resist its enemies and thereby survive.

Ethnographers identified a variety of ways in which this was done. All individuals repeated the same words—i.e., the same prayers, the same songs, the same hymns, the same pledges, the same epic poems, for the very act of sharing was itself a way of unifying the group. It was social glue. Heroes, invariably larger than life, were created and used as ideals, as models, as sources of inspiration. Heroes were invested with all values considered significant by the tribe, clan or culture. There must also be intruders and enemies—nations, tribes or gangs—who exhibited wretched values, who harbored malevolent intentions and who would, if possible, destroy the tribe. There were glorious adventures, wars, often commanded or at least approved by a higher power. There were signs of divine favor to be recounted. These were all encapsulated in dramatic legends, stories, fables and "historical narratives," often in dramatic form. They were believed by most in the tribe. In the last century folklorists and anthropologists assumed that all such stories were simple fabrications; in this century there is a tendency for specialists to believe that there often was an historical basis for the legend or narrative but that it had been overlaid with many years of cultural elaboration.

Tribal members were reassured that they were unique and special as indeed members of present-day nation-states convince themselves of their own uniqueness. To read much of nationalistic literature—say that of Germans, French, Russians or Americans—is to gain insight into what it means for the tribe to consider itself special. Russian writers emphasize the
depth of the Russian soul, its mystical religious nature and the passions that led it to create a new society in this century. To read of the Germans is an exercise in self-worship—as becomes a nation that created Bach, Brahms, Beethoven, Goethe, Schiller, Schumann, Von Ranke and scores of Nobel Prize winners, composers, poets, philosophers and scientists. The French are no less proud of a literary and philosophical tradition that begins with Chanson de Roland and continues with Sartre, de Beauvoir, etc. in undiminished glory to the present. One need not be perspicacious to recognize that Americans see themselves as having been directed by the Lord to subdue a wilderness for the purpose of becoming the world’s last hope, “a beacon unto the nations,” and a “light unto their feet.” Are these simple lies? Or are they the way society sees itself as unique, different, blessed and most certainly worthy of being perpetuated and preserved unto infinity?

To the author of “Ambiguities . . .” these practices are lies. And it is the case that when scholars examine our nation’s social studies textbooks, they find what appears to them to be distortions, omissions and terribly un-scholarly practices. Textbooks ignore much of our shameful past: they exaggerate; they forget about the contributions of “minorities”; they depict all enemies as vicious; they dwell upon our indubitable successes; they defy ordinary human beings, especially presidents; and, with very few exceptions, they ignore serious endemic social problems.

All of this has been amply demonstrated, year after year, by one commission report after another. Alas, publishers have not listened for there have been no substantial changes. In “Nineteenth Century Origins of the Social Studies Movement . . .” as in our other works we went to pains to describe these practices as inherent in that conception of social studies we label Citizenship Transmission. There is no one work we have written together or singly in the last decade which would suggest that Barth and Shermis approve or are willing to justify these practices.

In Conclusion

There are two conclusions we wish to make.

First, about lies. The junior author recalls that he has in the past warned his three children that should Gran’ma ask whether they liked her blintzes, the answer was always to be yes. This is a clear case of advocacy of out-and-out lie (or would be were it not for the fact that Gran’ma’s blintzes truly are exquisite). Outside of this we can recall no occasion when we advocated lying as a policy. We recall several occasions when we pointed out that the teaching tradition we call Reflective Inquiry, the tradition to which our research shows most social studies teachers verbally sub-
scribe, is built upon the assumption that the goal is to teach students to make decisions, analyze social issues and engage in the study of their own social personal problems. If this is what one believes that the social studies should do, then, of course, there is a tangle of contradictions, and then it becomes appropriate to worry about lying and deception. It is, of course, impossible simultaneously to look critically at our institutions and also celebrate them with a steady diet of mythology, exaggeration, dishonesty and prevarication. Tales of presidents who always embody cultural virtues, mere humans who over the years are raised to the level of deities, nations, which always act altruistically instead of in their own best self-interest—such are appropriate to the tribal campfire. They have nothing to do with critical thought and understanding of social phenomena. and this is all we have said about lying.

Second, one more last comment about whether the FitzGerald, Anyon, Weisberger, Roselle debate is or is not beside the point. We have enjoyed reading works of all of these ladies and gentlemen. While some are more enlightening than others, we naturally subscribe to the view that academic conflict is surely more scintillating than bland consensus. But the reason we argued that the present argument is superficial and misses the central point is that, in our opinion, it ignores the long-standing historical patterns from which purpose, method, content and curriculum derive. Our research—much of it based upon actual textbooks and assignments made over the past century—has attempted to uncover the cultural and philosophical patterns which support what we think are different conceptions of the social studies. If we wish, as our critic says, to engage in"... the somber recognition of the human record and the illusions by which we live," (Clements, 1981, p. 92), the first thing to do is to confront the illusion that there really is one social studies tradition, that everyone really knows what is meant by the language we employ to talk about the social studies, and that we are all in substantial agreement about educational goal and method.

The Barth/Shermis Social Studies Preference Scale shows that preservice teachers as well as experienced teachers prefer the Reflective Inquiry Tradition. But our research also suggests that most who prefer Reflective Inquiry do not necessarily practice that tradition in class. The following are studies that tend to confirm teachers' preference for the Reflective Inquiry Tradition:

James L. Barth & Williams Norris, "Where Have All the Inquirers Gone?" The Indiana Social Studies Quarterly, XXIX, 1976, 26-32.


When FitzGerald talks about “heartless and mindless” social studies textbooks, when Dan Roselle praises attempts at objectivity and scholarship in texts, when Jean Anyon discovers that there are pro-capitalist and anti-labor biases in texts, they are talking about social studies from different points of view. They clearly do not share belief in the same social studies tradition. Ultimately they—and the rest of the profession—talk past each other. Thus, we repeat: their arguments, while provocative, are still beside the point.

Lest there be any misunderstanding about the position of Barth and Shermis as found in the title of this response, the right answer is (e).

References


The problems associated with world poverty have troubled humans throughout recorded history. Attempts have been made to eliminate poverty in various areas of the world, but it continues to persist. Some claim that the problem is actually more apparent than real, because poverty is a relative concept the definition of which changes over time. Therefore the amount of "real" poverty may be steadily declining. Others argue that poverty is unfortunate but inevitable because certain individuals will always be unwilling or unable to function productively in society.

In The Future In Our Hands, Erik Dammann objects to all attempts to rationalize or minimize the existence of poverty. He believes it is a catastrophic problem of global proportions, which causes as many as forty million deaths each year. Many more millions suffer from inadequate food, housing, education and health. He also estimates that perhaps 800 million are illiterate. Furthermore, Dammann fears that our planet is approaching an even greater disaster as the pressure of increasing population exceeds the capacity of the world's resources to provide enough food and other basic needs. However, as the title of his book suggests, Dammann believes we can take action to resolve this crisis. In fact, if we do not act on a voluntary basis now, we will soon be forced to act in our own self-interest. The delay, however, will result in millions of unnecessary deaths and human misery. In addition, it might also destroy the fabric of Western democracies as authoritarian regimes emerge to effect the changes that will be necessary.
Dammann asserts that the root cause of the global crisis he outlines lies in the historical relationship between the rich and poor nations of the world. He notes that prior to the fifteenth century, civilizations in Africa, Asia and Central and South America were culturally and economically equal or superior to their European counterparts. However, several centuries of colonial and imperialist exploitation by Europeans and others has created the dramatic economic imbalance we witness today. In one of the more interesting parts of the book, Dammann outlines the nature and effect of colonialism and imperialism on Africa, Asia and Central and South America. The material is not new, but he skillfully summarizes it in a way that helps to expose many of the nationalist myths transmitted by our culture and educational institutions.

Dammann contends that, in the main, world poverty is the moral responsibility of the rich nations who helped to create it and continue to profit from it. He notes that the process of exploitation is not ideological. The Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, Western Europe, Japan and North America all behave in much the same way when dealing with the poor nations. It seems that the nations which have an economic advantage are reluctant to give it up, and they seek various ways to rationalize and maintain their superior positions. This process frequently includes attempts to blame the victims of poverty for their suffering. Such rationalizations ignore the massive advantage gained by many of the rich nations during the colonial period. In addition, world poverty seems to have been worsened in many instances by the present trade and aid relations between the rich and poor nations. In the main, these relations tend to function to aggrandize the rich nations in spite of the apparent transfer of capital to the poor. Dammann cites Brazil and Mexico as examples of poor countries where foreign investment actually increased unemployment and poverty, while still gaining a substantial profit for the investors.

Dammann believes that the poor nations do not have the resources or technology to solve their problems without extensive outside aid which is given without strings or high profit requirements. But to accomplish this task successfully, the rich nations must make significant reductions in their consumption and production levels. If they do not do this, there will not be a sufficient surplus to provide adequate relief to the poor. Dammann rejects a wide variety of alternative proposals including, the “green revolution,” harvesting plankton, desert irrigation, planting crops in the Amazon jungle, and developing new technologies to produce our way out of the crisis. He claims that all such proposals are unrealistic and grossly overestimate the capacity of the world’s resources to keep pace with the expanding population of the poor nations and the wasteful consumption patterns of the rich nations.

In Dammann’s view, the rich nations produce an enormous amount of surplus goods which are not only unnecessary, but often prove detrimental to physical and mental well-being. This surplus production contributes to
the increasing levels of pollution, the destruction of arable land, and the large number of people killed and injured by automobiles annually. In addition, Dammann believes that the apparent increase in drug abuse and mental illness is related to our wasteful patterns of production and consumption.

It seems then, that much of our culture's productivity is counter to our own best interests as well as those of the poor nations, although the latter certainly suffer far greater consequences. Still, as Dammann sees it, it is in the interest of all mankind that the rich nations consume less and transfer their surplus to the poor. He believes that this would still leave the rich nations with a high standard of living. Indeed, in some ways, e.g., physical and mental health, it might improve the living standard.

But how is this process of reduced consumption and resource redistribution to begin? Dammann rules out revolution as unworkable on at least two grounds. First, those who have the power to effect revolutionary change do not believe they have any interest in doing so. Conversely, those who are poor and would profit from radical change are too preoccupied with their daily existence to devote sufficient time and energy to revolutionary activity.

He also has little faith in traditional party politics as a solution to the problem. Politicians generally react to change and rarely initiate it. This is especially true in the case of proposals for radical change. Thus Dammann is convinced that only one approach can bring about the changes that are required. Individuals in the rich nations must radically alter their lifestyles by reducing and changing their patterns of consumption. If enough persons do so, it will force the business community and the politicians to also make radical changes. Wasteful surplus would eventually cease and resources would be available for transfer to the poor. Dammann believes that this proposal is more than wishful thinking. To claim that we are powerless to act can become a self-fulfilling prophesy. And, if individuals are unable to sacrifice and change their lifestyles, why should they expect politicians to initiate such changes?

In Dammann's view, the group most likely to begin the lifestyle changes that are necessary are our young people. They have less to sacrifice and their consumer values are not yet firmly set. He hopes that with their help, he can promote a grass roots movement called "the future in our hands" which will raise the consciousness of various groups regarding the true nature of our problems. In his view, the combination of moral suasion and self-interest should persuade a sufficient number of persons to alter their lifestyle radically. Even if the movement could take hold in only one rich nation, it would provide a model for global change that would likely spread to other areas.

Dammann's book is provocative, informative, and persuasive. However, it also suffers from several problems. At times, he seems to have a rather
casual attitude regarding sources. Some of his most important points are weakened because they lack adequate documentation. This is especially troublesome because Dammann relies heavily on statistical data to help make his case.

Another problem is posed by China's relative economic success without significant external aid. Dammann has maintained that the poor nations are incapable of solving their problems without massive outside help. He recognizes the case of China in a footnote, but dismisses its relevance. He concludes that the colonial impact on China's food production was less severe than in most other poor nations. Furthermore, he doubts it is likely that most poor nations will be fortunate enough to gain a leader of Mao Tsetung's abilities. But Mao established his leadership after a long and bloody revolution, and many would argue that Mao actually retarded China's economic development. In any event, the case of China is not so easily dismissed.

Perhaps the most serious problem is the author's proposal to eliminate world poverty. Even if one accepts his dire predictions, is it realistic to assume that we could start a global mass movement based on middle class and wealthy people voluntarily reducing their standard of living? In addition, his faith in the willingness of modern youth to be in the vanguard of such a movement seems misplaced. Dammann's book first appeared in 1972 and the 1979 English language version still contains much of the spirit and ideas of the countercultural movements of the sixties. There is much of this period which should be preserved, but Dammann seems to have been influenced by some of the least credible ideas. For example, he cites Charles Reich's *The Greening of America* as evidence of the potential of modern youth to bring about revolutionary change. Reich's questionable and largely unrealized predictions hardly seem a sound base on which to build a global movement for radical change.

Indeed, Dammann ignores the evidence indicating a political shift to the right in many of the rich nations. If anything, the likelihood of promoting his ideas has probably declined during the last decade. Many people in the rich nations are presently concerned with a decline in their living standard without any significant transfer of wealth to the poor. In fact, they are demanding that the social programs already in place be cut back.

Still, Dammann should be commended for his efforts. We do suffer from a catastrophic level of world poverty, and regardless of one's views concerning its cause, it can be argued that we have the power and moral responsibility to try to eliminate it. Dammann has done an excellent job of dramatizing the scope and importance of an issue which should be of concern to all social educators. The points he makes also have significant implications for the structure and goals of our present social studies curricula, and they deserve further examination.
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