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Theory and Research in Social Education

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Theory and Research in Social Education

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A Note From The Editor:

What can be said about citizenship education? There are at least three visions of citizenship education that can be considered. Each perspective may in some sense be a useful picture of social reality, and each perspective may reveal somewhat different educational challenges today.

Three Perspectives on Citizenship Education:
1. Citizen Soldiers
2. Citizen Intellectuals
3. Citizen Earthwatchers, Dancers, and Poets
Meditate with me on each one.

Citizen Soldiers
From this perspective, citizenship education is the production of loyal citizens who affirm the customs, revere the symbols, kill the enemies, and die for the causes of nation states.

All nation states produce citizens in this sense. The public schools of nation states are the primary institutions for the inculcation of nation state loyalty through the use of sanitized textbooks that glorify and defame one or another political leader, ethnic community, nation, or cause. Nation state public schools usually use national symbols such as flags, songs, and photographs to affirm the legitimacy of government. Perhaps most important, nation state schools impose the anonymous authority of interchangeable strangers who are assigned to be teachers.

With adaptations for modern sensibilities, local culture, language, and ethnic community, many nations of the world produce citizens in the 19th-century style identified by Ruth Miller Elson. In 1964 she published, Guardians of Tradition: American Schoolbooks of the Nineteenth Century. She reported that these schoolbooks 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, dangerous associations, ignored the struggle for equal rights for women, and endorsed an absolute notion of progress in material wealth and moral virtue: the center of which is the United States.

War, assassination, torture, and terror have been the fundamental ways that nation states have established colonies, engaged in rivalries, and resolved their differences. With global nation state rivalries, the production of citizen soldiers is a fundamental mission of any society. Nation state citizenship education is expected to produce citizen soldiers who will kill or die for the various causes in which nation states engage. Loyal citizens may kill gooks, savages, heathen, Catholics, Protestants, Muslims, communists, capitalists,
peasants, students or rebels according to changing fashions of nation state conceptions of evil.

These are tendencies of nations. Perhaps they are dilemmas of nation states.

**Citizen Intellectuals**

From this perspective, citizenship education is the production of loyal citizens who revere the culture, traditions, and symbols of nation states, but sometimes subject the laws and customs of their nation state to rational and critical examination in light of the changing circumstances of the world. Loyalty, for citizen intellectuals, may be honorable dissent when laws and customs are thought to violate ethical principles of government and social equity.

A rational citizen should have a sense of history, knowledge of the workings of government, understandings of the fundamental national laws, awareness of the dilemmas of poverty, gender discrimination, drug use, crime, and environmental issues. The informed citizen, the knowledgeable citizen is the competent citizen. A challenge of nation state education is to contribute to the production of competent citizens. There is a risk in the production of citizen intellectuals in nation states. A competent citizen, a loyal citizen may dissent from a nation state policy, such as invasion or support of one or another military dictatorship. A citizen intellectual may oppose the apartheid policy of South Africa, the war in Vietnam, the invasion of Panama or of Kuwait. Citizen intellectuals, competent citizens may not be compliant with the transitory policies of nation states.

Competence in this sense may be dysfunctional in nation states. Although the citizen intellectual is surely a worthy ideal, and perhaps a society without competent citizens may find it difficult to survive in a changing world, the development of citizen intellectuals is not an easy achievement of nation state education.

Nation state public education is more likely to produce citizen soldiers than citizen intellectuals. Nation state education in modern times is based on ideas derived from industrial procedures. Time schedules, classroom arrangements, and the status system facilitates the inculcation of stereotypic information according to standardized procedures by strangers. Schools in this sense are children factories. Performance based education, and other engineering approaches, are antithetical to the development of citizen intellectuals. Children factories procedures are, however, congenial with the production of citizen soldiers.

In many nation states, children engage in citizen soldier education. Heroes are studied. Comforting myths are told. Tawdry episodes of the past are sanitized. The inculcation of stereotypic information through standardized procedures by strangers is assumed by both politicians and educators to be prudent public policy. The new nations of the world have new heroes to celebrate; the older nation states have more venerable leaders. The accomplishment of nation state education is often the production of loyal
citizens who are more or less uninformed and more or less uncritical of nation state past and present policies and willing to work, fight or die for the nation’s causes.

**Citizen Earthwatchers, Dancers, and Poets**

From this perspective, citizenship education is the production of loyal citizens who respect nation state customs and traditions but who revere the life systems of the planet and who subject the laws and customs of nation states to critical scrutiny. Citizen earthwatchers seek to restore and preserve the living systems of the planet that are being contaminated by poverty as well as toxic wastes, fossil gases, plastic refuse, and poisoned streams, rivers, lakes, and seas.

Citizen dancers, poets, and earthwatchers engage in communication and cooperation across national boundaries in order to restore and preserve lakes, rivers, valleys, forests, wetlands, and the ecosystems in which life in its various forms occurs. The shark, the tern, the monarch butterfly, crack children of New York, and the children of Soweto are all citizens of the life we share on our damaged planet.

Our human experience is that although the nations of the world have produced art, dance, literature, the United Nations Charter, The United Nation Environment Programme, The World Health Organization, and a number of nation state democracies; military assaults, bombs, torture, and terror are or have been significant activities of most nation states. United States government officials decided to invade Panama and bomb civilian populations; officials of the USSR decided to invade Afghanistan; Iraq officials decided to invade Kuwait. Many nation states use military force and violence to express what are said to be their national interests. The nation states of Africa today document the nation state interests of European powers of the last century. In addition to the violence of nations with which we are all familiar, violence has been directed towards the life systems of our planet. We are filling the earth atmosphere with dangerous fossil gases, we are dumping toxic wastes into our rivers, we are burying solid wastes in the earth. Not only have we engaged in nation state violence, we are killing the life systems of the planet of which we are a part. The poor nations of the world have become toxic dumping grounds.

The citizenship education that may develop citizen poets, dancers and earthwatchers involves students in caring for the earth, engages students in recycling, connects students in one country with students in another. Earthcare is transitional, earthcare is grounded in the establishment of community that includes streams, rivers, gulls, and human beings who speak different languages, follow different fashions of dress, eat different foods, and engage in different forms of worship. The planet we share with eels, cormorants, and krill, in its human communities, includes nation states that have become predators, nation states that are ruled by terror and violence, nation states that have episodes of violence. Since human communal life is to some degree
vulnerable to violence, citizen soldiers are likely to have an important place in human societies. Citizens, men and women, rich and poor, face the possible necessity to be soldiers. At the same time, if nation states are to be governed prudently, if national and international laws are to be just and well administered, citizen intellectuals must engage in critical scrutiny of laws, policies, and customs in light of the changing world of rivers, sea shores, and urban communities.

But if we are ever to reduce the violence of human communities, we must nurture the development of poets, dancers, and earthwatchers who ground their concern in love for streams, finches, lakes, birch trees, and one another. Citizen soldiers may preserve democratic nation states from violent assault, citizen intellectuals may contribute to rational government, but citizen poets, dancers, and earthwatchers may help make life on our planet a matter of love and community of all living things, rather than nation state idolatry.

Schools as children factories can be turned into caring communities in which a life of responsible earthwatching, critical thought, and poetry are everyday realities.

If schools are to be loyalty-making institutions, let them generate citizen poets, dancers, and earthwatchers loyal to the living arrangements of plants, birds, fish, people, rivers, lakes, and seas. Let us learn how to turn factory schools of today into caring communities of our common future.

If we are to evaluate what schools accomplish, we do not need achievement tests, we have to discover what kind of life goes on in a school? About any school we can ask such questions as these: Is it a house of art? Is it a house of science? Is it a house of ecological concern? Is it a house of peace? Are students in communication with children in other parts of the world? Are boys and girls living in social equity? Is it a house of dance? Of laughter? Is there peace among communal groups? Is the school a community of work, justice, art, dance, and beauty?

Our tradition calls upon us to ask about school achievement, efficiency, and effectiveness. But these are factory metaphors. We must struggle to learn more fundamental questions that address the substance of life on our damaged planet.

The spotted owl, the children of Soweto, the children of Rio, and children with AIDS are indicators of our common fate.

Dare we as teachers challenge this fate?

Millard Clements

*Editor, TRSE*

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From the Outside In:
American Children’s Literature from 1920-1940

Linda S. Levstik
University of Kentucky

Introduction

The decade of the 80s has seen increased interest in integrating literature into the social studies curriculum. Critics of traditional patterns of textbook instruction have suggested that literature is more motivating, that it is a form of discourse familiar to children, and that it relates to children’s categories for explaining the world (cf. Egan, 1979). The recent California Framework, for instance, includes a literary strand throughout the curriculum, and several social studies textbook publishers have begun to include trade book collections to accompany their programs. Yet the use of literature is not without complexity. On the one hand, studies (Levstik, 1986; 1989) of the connections between literature and historical understanding in elementary age children indicate that exposure to historical fiction and biography appears to encourage critical analysis of traditional classroom sources (i.e. textbook and teacher lecture). On the other hand, these studies also indicate that children may be less likely to be critical of literary interpretations, except through teacher mediation. In particular, children talked about discovering the “truth” in the literature they read, even when that truth was embedded in a fictional narrative (Levstik, 1986).

Constructing a Believable World

The power of well-written narrative to construct a believable world is, of course, one argument for its use in the elementary social studies curriculum. Besides providing beginning and ending points that might be less clear in “real life,” narrative implies causation, and invites the reader to make judgments based at least in part on the protagonist’s point of view.

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(Rabinowitz, 1987; White, 1980). As Joel Taxel (1981) has pointed out, this is problematic given the domination of "the history, culture, and perspectives of white, anglo, middle-and upper class males, and . . . [the] often overtly racist and/or sexist" nature of many trade books for children (p.206). The world constructed through literature may be more motivating, more exciting, and more memorable than the prose in a social studies text, but it is still a world viewed through a particular set of social, political, and moral constructs. It is important, then, to consider what world view a body of literature represents, and to put that representation into historical perspective.

Children's Literature as Social History

The relationship between literature and social history has long been recognized. In his classic work on children's literature, *Books, Children and Men*, Paul Hazard claimed that "England could be reconstructed entirely from its children's books" (1944, p. 128). Other scholars have attempted to trace the changing status of children through juvenile literature (Avery, 1978; Kiefer, 1948). More recent scholarship has focused, not just on what children's literature tells us about changing conceptions of childhood, but on what a particular body of work tells children about the world, and their place in it. Taxel's (1981) analysis of children's trade books, for instance, points out the changing representation of the American Revolution in response to such events as World War II and the Vietnam War. He describes the intellectual and social distance between the Revolutionary worlds constructed by Esther Forbes in *Johnny Tremain* (1946) and the Collier Brothers in *My Brother Sam Is Dead* (1974). Both Johnny and Sam support the same cause, but Johnny Tremain fights a patriot's war and knows his cause is just. Sam dies a felon's death, victim of the insanity of war and adolescent rebellion.

Johnny and Sam are, of course, only two points along a historiographical continuum that has included attention not just to national history, but to America's relationship with the rest of the world. At various points along the continuum, new insights—or old fears—affect the way in which literature introduces children to the world. In particular, the years between WWI and WWII mark the boundaries of a change from an ethnocentric to a more global view of the communities to which children belonged. In 1920 the U.S. put WWI and the League of Nations behind it, and embarked on a historic journey that included the social upheavals of the Roaring Twenties, and the Depression and left the country, in 1940, on the verge of entry into WWII. Between 1920 and 1940 there were related changes in the way in which children's literature presented the world to child readers. Certainly children's trade books suffered from the biases mentioned by Taxel (1981). By today's standards, many of the books described in this article—some now considered "classics"—appear patently racist, classist, and sexist. Yet they represent a tension between reflecting the complexity of the world and providing refuge.
from that complexity. A study of the world view of historic American children's literature can inform our understanding of current literature as well as aid in thinking about the uses of literature in the social studies curriculum.

**The Study**

This study concentrates on fiction identified in reviewing sources from the 1920s and 30s as appropriate for children between nine and 12 years of age—the time when children generally are expected to move in to "chapter books" and novels. The enormous volume of literature in this category made certain limitations on the scope of the study necessary:

1. Books were selected from the genres of historical and realistic fiction as these deal most directly with social and cultural issues.

2. Selected books were recommended as quality books for children by at least three reviewing sources (e.g., Hornbook, Elementary English Review, The English Journal, and awards lists) from the period 1920-1940.

3. Selected books were also represented in literary histories written about the period 1920-1940 (i.e., these were books seen as representative of the period by historians of children's literature).

4. Twenty books were selected for each decade to represent both historical and realistic fiction.

Once selected, books were subjected to multiple readings, from which categories were constructed regarding the ways these books represented the world to their readers. Period reviews and analyses were also checked for each book, along with biographical information concerning authors, and modern literary histories.

Viewed in isolation, these data indicate trends in children's literature, but not a comparison with social and intellectual currents in the adult literary world. In order to provide a context for the children's books, then, the study included a comparison with adult historical and realistic fiction. Both the children's and adults' books represent what was recommended as good reading, rather than what was necessarily the most popular reading. This study is, then, representative of only one aspect of social and literary history, limited to the population reading a particular type of children's literature.

As a study of what was considered "good literature," appropriate for, and recommended to the use of teachers and librarians in the United States, it is also a study of what one critic called an "elitist literature," in which authors might talk about, but rarely to, poor children, or children of color (Kiefer, 1948). Yet many of these books—especially award winners—remain in print, and are still available in schools and libraries. Again, they represent part of the continuing tension between the desire to accurately represent the complexity of the world, and the desire to provide some literary refuge from that complexity.
During this same period, increasing literacy rates, an increased flow of publications for children, the admittance of children to libraries, and the establishment of children's rooms in public libraries, gave more children greater access to a variety of children's literature. This does not mean that children's literature reflected all levels of society or that all literate children read the available books, but there was a greater potential audience than ever before.

While no investigation can ever recapture the full emotional and intellectual impact of a story—no two people experience it in quite the same way—the combination of greater access to children's literature and a period of social upheavals, make the period between 1920 and 1940 particularly interesting.

The Twenties: Social Tensions

America's first war of the 20th century failed to secure the world for democracy, or to end war for all time. Indeed, the bitter aftermath of war spawned disillusion and distrust so deep that the world would face a second major conflagration within a generation. In America, disillusion became the hallmark of an intellectual and literary clique. It also led to a reevaluation of America's place in the world. For some that meant repugnance for all things military and a concomittant search for "world friendliness" or permanent peace (Rider, 1928). For others, it led to nativist and anti-foreign sentiments. Nativist antagonisms ran so high that at one point in the latter half of 1919, immigration showed a net loss as resident aliens left the United States for Europe (Higham, 1965). By 1920, however, the trend had reversed and 5,000 immigrants a day arrived at Ellis Island. These new Americans were met with hostility by veterans searching for jobs, and by public figures who feared increased unemployment. The American press began publishing anti-immigration stories warning of the menace of the "racially impoverished Under Man" (Higham, 1965, pp. 270-275). Eugenics added pseudo-science to fear, and increased the pressure on Congress to pass restrictive immigration legislation.

Desire for peace and world friendliness contended with mounting fear of "abnormally twisted," and "filthy, un-American" immigrants. The social strain was enormous, and led to deportation orders that one writer describes as "a new record in American history for executive transgression of individual constitutional rights" (Allen, 1931). In addition, the Ku Klux Klan revived, reaching its membership peak in 1923—with its largest membership in the heartland states of Ohio and Indiana (Garraty, 1971; Higham, 1965).

Americans who saw these manifestations of fear as the antithesis of their most deeply held beliefs about the nature of a democratic society did band together, but not before many intellectuals were thoroughly alienated from "middle-American" beliefs. Where nativists feared radicals and Marxists in every boatload of immigrants, many intellectuals saw bigotry, Puritanism, and anti-intellectualism in middle-American neighborhoods. By 1928, many
of them joined the 437,000 people who sailed from America for foreign ports. Frederick Allen (1931), called them the "rush of innocents" abroad:

[T]he men and women who had heard of James Joyce, Proust, Cezanne, Jung, Bertrand Russell, John Eddinton; who looked down on movies but revered Charlie Chaplin, could talk about relativity even if they could not understand it, knew a few of the leading complexes by name, collected Early American Furniture, had ideas about Progressive education and doubted the divinity of Henry Ford and Calvin Coolidge.

School children were not forgotten in the midst of the 20s social turmoil. Some groups called for censoring textbooks, speakers and curricula and pressured schools to teach reverence for the Constitution and respect for America's heroes and history (Allen, 1931). Others argued for a curriculum designed to end ethnic and racial animosities, provincialism, and prejudice (Lofting, 1924). In each case, education—and children's literature—was expected to be a vehicle for change.

No Shadow of Rancor or Intolerance: Children's Books in the 1920s.

Hugh Lofting, author of the Dr. Dolittle books, described in 1924 his war-born conviction that civilization's survival depended on some form of rational internationalism. The world's best hope was, he declared, "an enlightened development of children" (Lofting, 1924, p. 205). He argued that war grew from traditional animosities bred into children through miseducation, literature, and folklore. Lofting believed the race hatred and prejudice in folklore was also reflected in children's literature, but that the same medium that promoted animosity could also promote peace. Education journals reflected similar assurance that classrooms and classroom teachers held the key to peace:

[Education] must cease to endow war with romance and significance and frankly recognize America's own shortcomings. It may teach . . . the historical occasions of generosity on the part of the U.S. . . . the internationalism of the country itself . . . (Session, 1925)

Another writer claimed that children's books transmitted ethical ideas in a situation "free from the bias of prejudice, while its emotional appeal enriches and broadens sympathies" (Downing, 1925). The Elementary English Review (Wisdom, 1925) noted that children's books contained "no racial or national warfares . . . no shadow of rancor or intolerance" (p. 157).

Children's books in the 1920s were far from bias-free, despite claims to the contrary, and they often romanticized nationalism and conflict. Lofting's books in particular use unflattering and stereotypical characterizations of African peoples. Yet they also represent the beginnings of a new consciousness
of the world. Especially in books for older children, there was clear interest in, if not understanding of, foreign people and places, and to a smaller extent, American immigrants.

From the Outside Looking In

American children's literature in the 20s did not represent an insider's view of other cultures. The preeminent authors of the period were generally Midwesterners whose education had not included extensive foreign travel, and whose American ancestry went back several generations. Lucy Fitch Perkins' Puritan ancestors had come to New England on the Mayflower; Cornelia Meigs' ancestors traveled the Oregon Trail and fought in the American Revolution; Constance Skinner traced her ancestry to fur traders in pioneer America, and so on.

Though their experience of other cultures was somewhat limited, they were interested in the wider world. Perkins explained that her reasons for writing about foreign children included:

"[T]he necessity for mutual respect and understanding between people of different nationalities if we are ever to live in peace. In particular, I felt the necessity for this country where all nations are represented in the population. It was about this time that the expression "the melting pot" became familiar as descriptive of America's function in the world's progress..." (Kunitz & Haycraft, 1951, p. 33)

Children's authors also tended to express interest in restoring youth's interest in, and enthusiasm for, what might loosely be described as traditional American values. As a result, their perceptions of unfamiliar cultures tended to be heavily burdened by a sense of their own cultural superiority. Cultures with close ties to the United States were treated more sympathetically than were more foreign cultures. They also tended to gloss over problems in familiar cultures and exaggerate those in more exotic settings.

In Eric Kelly's *The Trumpeter of Krakow* (1928) for instance, the Christian Poles are endowed with almost Biblical glory as they struggle for national sovereignty against the "godless" Tartars. No consideration is given to the fact that while Kelly's trumpeter was dying gloriously for Christendom, Polish Jews were being slaughtered outside the gates of Krakow, where they were left undefended by their Christian countrymen. Yet those who barred the city to Polish Jews are "part of the glorious company of Polish men...fighting for all Christendom against brutal and savage invaders" (p. 7).

The non-Western world, on the other hand, was consistently depicted as savage, dirty, and heathen. The scenery might be beautiful, but native populations were strange and unattractive. In Evelyn and C. Kay Scott's *In the Endless Sands* (1925), Arabs are invariably untrustworthy. Even the child, Fatma, a major character in the book, is not a heroine: "If you wanted a
heroine in this story, we are sorry to have to disappoint you . . . [She] is just a poor frightened dirty ignorant little girl.” Arabs “may think more of [their] sheep . . . than of a human being . . . If you know the Arabs . . . children are not much better cared for than puppies, and many of them run wild like stray cats or dogs and beg what they can eat and nobody thinks of taking them in or trying to provide for them” (p. 328, p. 10). The authors’ hostility is also apparent in the rendering of Arabic. Even when two Arabs are speaking in their native language, it is rendered as bad English: “Ain’t that the one . . . ?” says an Arab policeman to his Arab companion (p. 286).

Even in such a well-received book as *Hitty, Her First Hundred Years*, (Field, 1929) a similar world-view prevails. The story is beautifully crafted, and Hitty is so appealing that it would be easy to accept her view of the world. She watches South Sea Islanders and exclaims: “They act like a parcel of children.” At another point, a character declares that native dress is “gaudy beyond all description,” and that any self-respecting New Englander would be “read right out of Meetin’ at home if they ever found I’d put such colors on my back . . .” (pp. 69, 81).

While these may accurately represent New Enganders’ opinions for the period, there is no story device designed to provide the reader with an alternative view of the cultures so criticized. The attribution of childishness to darker-skinned people is presented as an accurate, if charmingly stuffy, view of the world. And the further the reader ventures from the West, the more people will be characterized as unpleasantly queer, and often as evil. Fascination and revulsion compete in these descriptions. “‘Horrible,’ gasped Mrs. Preble, as we passed close to one old man who had let his arms grow together in a way that made one shiver....‘Don’t look at such sights!’” (p. 83).

Hitty goes on to describe “weird” music, “queer” boats, whining beggars, and throngs of people that made her long for an “honest American face” (pp. 91-92).

Descriptions of Europeans were not so negative, but they were stereotyped. Authors in the 20s used a nationality-based shorthand to describe minor characters in their stories. The Irish were impulsive, danger-loving, and wild-spirited (c.f. Adams, 1920, pp. 178, 238, 147); Scots were dour but “I never saw a Scot yet who would not share his supper with a poorer man . . .” (Hawes, p. 18).

Few authors were as adept at sketching national traits as Lucy Fitch Perkins. Indeed, her work was praised for just this characteristic. Since visits to Ellis Island and ethnic areas in Chicago were as close as Perkins had been to the countries she described, it is not surprising that she resorted to generalizations. She also told an engaging story, and was one of the few authors who attempted stories from a native perspective. At her death, 24 Twins books (stories of sets of twins from various countries or periods of history) had been published, and by 1935 the two-millionth book bearing her name rolled off the press. It is likely then, that children with access to
books were familiar with Perkins, and with her characterization of foreign people and places. They could discover that it was impossible "to ask any Scotchman to listen to an argument without getting into it," that Europeans still wore traditional clothing, that the Irish were garrulous, and so forth (Perkins, 1924, p. 51).

Beyond the attribution of national characteristics, children’s books in the 20s also equated inner evil with outer appearance. Perhaps this was meant to reassure children that they would recognize the face of evil when they saw it, but it often resulted in foreign people being depicted as unattractive. Indians in Hitty, Arabs in In the Endless Sands, Tartars in The Trumpeter of Krakow, and the Portuguese in Downright Dencey, (Snedeker, 1927) all look frightening.

It is possible, of course, to develop an appreciation for the beauty of strange people and places, but children’s fiction in the 20s concentrated on oddity rather than beauty. Writers may have been too new to world consciousness themselves, and unaware of the tendency to concentrate on differences newly discovered rather than human commonalities. Yet at a time when immigration from many parts of the world was increasing dramatically, and more American children were likely to be of recent immigrant background, or to know people who were, children’s literature had barely begun to reflect the world from foreign eyes. A malevolent image of many ethnic groups was more likely to be promoted than refuted by children’s reading.

American children’s literature presented an outsider’s view of an often strange, untrustworthy and morally inferior world. America appeared as a refuge in the midst of a heartless world. By perpetuating this myth, literature may have helped children understand some of the immigrants’ desire to seek refuge in America. It remained for the Depression to foster appreciation of what the immigrants had brought.

**The Thirties: Depression Decade**

After October 29, 1929, America began its precipitous descent into economic depression. “Sophocles could have written the script,” Caroline Bird declared in the preface to The Invisible Scar (1966). Here was a country whose intellectuals and politicians had inherited the social doctrine of Herbert Spencer and William Sumner, who believed that poverty was the inevitable result of laziness or ineptitude and not the responsibility of the state. Asking for charity—_needing_ charity—represented personal failure and loss of control over one’s life. In a society where function determined worth, the Depression made many people feel worthless. Some of the newly unemployed attempted to maintain the illusion of work and worth; others escaped to a life on the road. Adults and children left home in increasing numbers in the 30s, working when they could, begging and stealing when they had to.

Large families, once an asset in a agrarian economy, became such a liability that even marriage was viewed as an economic threat. Clifford Odets’ _Awake and Sing_ illustrates the point:
Ralph: Mom, I love this girl . . .
Bessie: So, go knock your head against the wall . . . a boy should have respect for his own future. (Kazan, 1962, frontispiece)

An English observer noted that Americans were “baffled and enraged” by the Depression. It had been “an article of faith . . . that America somehow was different from the rest of the world” (Garraty, 1971). After 1929, however, that faith was shaken and many Americans began to look to what had gone wrong. Margaret Mead claimed that Americans had a sense of a God who punished them materially for wrong-doing, and so sought to discover and atone for their errors (1965). This need to know the facts, to verify the reality of what was happening, led to new literary techniques, including the reportage or documentary genre. Documentary was the literary equivalent of the camera’s eye, and in some of the most powerful literature of the period, photographic image and documentary combined. Let Us Now Praise Famous Men (Agee, 1941) by James Agee and Walker Evans, is probably the most well-known of these books, but much of adult literature was marked by a determined social conscience and proletarian themes. Impact in these novels was accomplished by piling up fact upon bitter fact until the reader was forced into the novel’s despairing world. The working classes—and the unemployed—were the subject matter through which authors sought to serve explicit social as well as literary concerns. The social issues included searching for a new, collective order within which people would find communion and companionship, as well as service to the common good.

Seeking the Simple Life: Children’s Literature in the 1930s.
While adult literature in the 30s concentrated on the urban proletariat or the rural dispossessed, children’s literature sought a safe, secure, and essentially optimistic world. Rather than adopting the documentary voice, children’s literature spoke lyrically of the beauty, simplicity, and joyfulness of peasant or traditional rural life. Perhaps writers sought to provide beauty as compensation for Depression reality; perhaps they hoped that children might be spared some of their country’s pain. In any case, they wrote about foreign characters and culture more consistently and with more enthusiasm than had their peers in the 20s. Peasant life was used in children’s books to represent traditional Protestant values of hard work and frugality, but with a leavening of non-Protestant mysticism and celebration. As one critic commented in explaining the appeal of Kate Seredy’s combination of autobiography, folklore, and poetic narrative:

[Seredy] provides children with warm feelings of security and the goodness of life and presents a world they can easily accept . . . Permeating the story and unifying it is the belief that life at its best is simple—its rewards, love, peace and happiness can be gained by
honest work close to the soil—and that man must surely be eternally grateful to God for these blessings. (Kassen 1972, p. 383)

A number of children's authors in the 30s believed American children's lives could be enriched by sharing the beauty and wisdom of people living close to nature. Some drew on American culture for their settings, particularly Native Americans as in Waterless Mountain (Armer, 1931), or American farmers as in Thimble Summer (Enright, 1938). Others concentrated on foreign cultures, particularly those most ignored in the 20s. Monica Shannon (1935) wrote of life in a peasant village in the mountains of Bulgaria; Seredy (1935) of Hungary; Lewis (1934) of China. As Lewis explained, the Chinese people had developed inner qualities of “suffering and endurance” that had served them well over time. Her desire, she said, was to make readers “recognize the inherent greatness of the Chinese . . .” (Miller & Field, 1955, p. 56). Seredy wrote to ensure that “one day the light of faith will again outshine the flaming red light of intolerance” (Thompson, 1938, p. 217). Each author held up a foreign culture as a guide to endurance in hard times, as well as a beacon of hope. Each also warned, in one way or another, that excess was dangerous. As the grandfather in Monica Shannon’s Dobry reminds his grandson, “Everything is good but not too much of it” (p. 27).

In each of these stories, people were happier when they lived simply, thanked God for each day as it came, and celebrated life with songs and stories. The crop was brought in—celebrate! The bread came (light and tasty) from the oven—give thanks! The secret to a happy life resounded in Dobry’s song: “Na Lay! Na lay!—to Now this very moment” (Shannon, 1935, p. 45). “Na Lay” included acceptance of a life of hard work supported by a code of common values, beliefs, and interests, and it represented survival in spite of limited resources. Fictional peasants knew how to work together to share the earth’s bounty, but they also knew how to depend on their own efforts to use those resources: “I planted the flax, reaped it, prepared it, spun the thread, and wove it into this cloth. It’s more than twenty-five years old now, but it’s good as new” (Seredy, 1935, p. 59). Each family member participated in work for survival; each had a necessary place in the family and community. None was superfluous. Peasant life was manageable and understandable. People worked, reaped the rewards of their work, and rejoiced, or coped with natural crises of wind and weather and went on. For Americans caught up in a Depression, this must have represented an enviable degree of control over one’s environment.

Rural cultures also embodied time-tested values that could be passed from one generation to the next. The rural world was perceived as stable enough to permit age to teach youth. Young Fu’s mother reminds him that “the good listener learns well” (Lewis, 1934, p. 20). Mr. Nagy, in The Good Master, teaches the children to set “the fair price—that’s all I wanted” (Seredy, 1935, p. 107). Dobry’s grandfather encourages him to respect and look forward
to old age: "That’s the way old age should be . . . always the most beautiful
time of life. Look at me! . . . Dobry looked at him with profound admira-
tion" (Shannon, 1935, p. 23).

In contrast to children’s books in the 20s, readers in the 30s were exposed
to the folklore, faith, and culture of other countries in positive contexts. In
general, foreign people were presented as decent human beings whose hopes,
fears, and problems were much like those of their American counterparts.
While their external world might be different, Dobry, Kate, Young Fu and
their American readers were universal children inside. Certainly there were
features of each culture that were omitted, and some areas that continued
to be ignored (e.g., Middle East and Africa), but there was less negative
stereotyping, and more acceptance of the common humanity of the world’s
people.

A second contrast with fiction from the 20s was the treatment of foreign
landscapes. In the 20s, foreign landscapes were often depicted as dangerously
exotic. In the 30s, long descriptive passages glowed with a pleasure and pas-
sion formerly reserved for American scenes. There were descriptions of
magnificent Bulgarian mountains, with their seasonal displays; of the beauty
of a rare snowfall in a Chinese village; of the Hungarian plains “shimmer-
ing under the spring sun” (Seredy, 1935, p. 23). There was nothing to turn
away from in horror; nothing intended to frighten the reader, or encourage
distaste for another country in quite the way stories had in the 20s.

Nostalgic Reminiscences

For the first time, American children in the 30s could read about the out-
side world from a sympathetic, even envious, perspective. For the first time
their literature emphasized commonalities among diverse people, including
youthful arrogance, rites of passage, and coping with adversity. Children
in Hungary and China disobeyed their parents, made mistakes, changed their
minds, enjoyed themselves, and were loved and cared for in a knowable
world. This does not mean that the world view presented in children’s books
was untouched by ethnocentrism, bias or prejudice. In fact, many of these
books were based on the reminiscences of immigrants who had not been back
to their home culture in years, and whose memories were often of childhood’s
pleasures, and sometimes of childhood’s prejudices. Racial and religious
biases can be found in books from this period, and there is an obvious
disregard for urban life in any country.

Part of the differences between decades was, of course, the American ex-
perience with the Depression. Another part, though, was the experience of
children’s authors with other countries. Of the prominent authors in the 30s,
Seredy had grown up in Hungary, Shannon drew on the reminiscences of
Atanas Katchamakoff, a Bulgarian immigrant, Lewis lived and worked in
China, and Armer lived with a Navajo family. These experiences meant that
the authors could draw on something more closely approximating an insider’s
perspective. While this did not eliminate all cultural bias, it marks a signifi-
In keeping with the social context of the 30s, this world view tended to the romantic, and often nostalgic, depiction of rural culture. Problems and cultural dissonances and dissatisfactions were glossed over or ignored in favor of what one critic described as “delicate, bright colors that leave an impression in the mind of a rainbow shining in a tender, rain-washed sky” (Miller & Field, 1955, p. 99).

Conclusions

As Johnny Tremain represents a more romantic view of the American Revolution—and a different historiographic perspective than does My Brother Sam Is Dead—so 30s books represent a different historiography of America’s world view. Most recently, the same post-Vietnam era that created Sam Meeker has also produced a number of autobiographical and biographical novels about other parts of the world. As the children of immigrants, and immigrant children, grow up in our culture, some of them have begun to tell more than reminiscences of happy childhoods. Newer books explain why people who loved their homeland became refugees and then immigrants to the United States and Canada. These tales juxtapose secure childhoods with the sudden disruption of war, terror or loss of home. They emphasize the cost as well as the benefits of immigration, and the problems of remembering old cultural values in a new land. What we still lack are finely crafted, balanced stories about life in other countries as it is lived now. We import relatively few foreign children’s books, and those we do often fare poorly. We remain better able to tell our children about England and Scotland than about any other part of the world.

Current Tensions

As we come to the last decades of the 20th century, we remain fearful in the face of new immigration and social change. Tension continues as different interest groups vie for a piece of the school curriculum. On the one hand, there is now, as in the 20s, concern that “American” culture will be lost, and pressure on schools to teach reverence for the Constitution and respect for America’s heroes and history. On the other hand, there is still concern that we have not ended ethnic and racial animosities, provincialism, and prejudice. Education—including children’s literature—is still expected to be a vehicle of reform. If the patterns of the past are any indication, children’s literature will continue to enlarge its world perspective. The difference between 1920 and 1940, like the difference between Johnny and Sam, represents a small but important step along the way. These changes provide opportunities for the use of literature in the social studies curriculum.

Literature in the Classroom

First of all, social studies teachers who want to incorporate literature into the curriculum cannot assume that even critically well-received books are
always appropriate or accurate depictions of the world, past or present. This is not an argument for sticking to textbooks, however. Instead, it is a challenge to think of literature more broadly:

1. Any "good story" will not do. A piece of literature considered for use in the social studies curriculum should be considered both in terms of its literary merit and its accuracy of content.

2. While children's literature is no longer quite the elitist enclave it once was, it is still necessary to consider who has a voice in children's literature and who is silent. Teachers need to look for literature that gives voice to diverse peoples and points of view, and to fill in the silent places with other resources.

3. A literary text can be used as a historical source document that students analyze for point of view, for clues to historical perspective, for stereotypes and inaccuracies.

4. Students should be encouraged to read more than one literary version of a particular event or topic. Juxtaposing the views of different parts of the world as represented in literature from different periods, and by different authors (e.g., native as opposed to outsider's view) can provide a forum for discussions of diversity within and between cultures, of the nature of "foreignness," ethnocentrism, and much more.

Finally, the use of children's literature—including the "classics"—should not be seen as a simple solution to complex problems in developing more interesting and motivating social studies programs. Rather, it can be a rich resource for broadening children's world views when used by a careful and insightful teacher.

Endnotes

1. In the context of this paper, "literature" refers to the trade books that offer social studies themes in a narrative or story framework.

2. Books with foreign settings received increased critical acclaim throughout the 30s. They won awards regularly throughout the period and were listed among the best books published. Nonetheless they represent a small proportion of historical and realistic fiction published for children in the 30s.

References


**Books Included in The Study**

In some instances, more than one work by a single author is listed when that author was particularly prominent, or when the author produced a series of books that were noteworthy. In other cases, other works by an author were reviewed, and the books selected were either representative of a body of work, or were the most favorably reviewed.
Selected Children's Fiction: 1920–1929


Perkins, L. F. (1924). *The colonial twins of Virginia*. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin. (The entire series was reviewed, and this selection chosen as most representative of the series.)

Children's Fiction: 1930–1940


(These three books were chosen as examples of this popular series.)
Classroom Climate and Controversial Issues Discussions: A Five Nation Study*

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Abstract

This study addresses three questions in a cross-national context: Are there age, gender, and country differences in adolescents' perceptions of social studies classroom climate? Are there correlations between students' political attitudes and perceived classroom climate? Does the use of a value analysis strategy in the discussion of controversial issues relate to students' political attitudes? The literature relevant to these three themes was examined, and questionnaires were administered to 1,459 students in social studies classes in the United States, the United Kingdom, West Germany, Denmark, and the Netherlands. Half of the students' classes participated in a semester-long treatment in which a value analysis treatment was used.

Introduction

Researchers have consistently found that school instruction has little effect on the development of political attitudes and value orientations. Ehman's (1980) summary of research titled "The American High School in the Political Socialization Process" concluded that although students' knowledge of politics and government increases as a result of schooling, their political attitudes and values are little affected by instruction. Courses which teach about the structure and function of government institutions and tell students that citizens should vote, be informed about public affairs, and respect civil liberties seem to have little impact on student attitudes (Baughman, 1975; Langton & Jennings, 1968; Litt, 1963). On the other hand, several studies have found that instruction can influence political attitudes under particular conditions; the key variable seems to be the extent to which students perceive an open climate in their social studies classes where they were encouraged to explore differing views on controversial public issues.

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Political Attitudes

Almond and Verba (1963) were the first researchers to link political attitudes with school discussions of issues. In their five nation study of democratic cultures, adults with the highest levels of political efficacy were those who remembered discussing and debating social and political issues in school. That was especially true for adults in the United States and the United Kingdom; to a lesser extent the generalization also applied to the adults studied in the Federal Republic of Germany, Mexico, and Italy. Those findings, however, were limited by the fact that they relied on adults’ recollections of school experiences years earlier.

Ehman’s (1969) research in a Detroit, Michigan high school was the first in a series of studies to correlate students’ political attitudes at the time they were in school with their perceptions of class experiences. Ehman administered questionnaires to 334 students when they were sophomores (10th grade) and again when they were seniors. Additionally, he observed social studies classes in the students’ school. Thirty-eight percent of the sample were black, which permitted analyses by race. Ehman’s questionnaire included scales to measure political efficacy, political cynicism, and sense of citizen duty—variables which earlier were found not to be influenced by numbers of social studies courses taken (Langton & Jennings, 1968; Litt, 1963). In addition, Ehman developed a new Classroom Climate scale, the high end of which represented students’ perceptions of having had teachers who dealt with controversial political and social issues quite often and who maintained a neutral but objective position in an open atmosphere which encouraged students to express their opinions.

Ehman (1969) concluded that increased numbers of social studies courses, higher controversial issues exposure, and a high classroom climate score, correlated negatively for his total sample with levels of cynicism (higher trust), and positively with sense of citizen duty, participation, and efficacy. The magnitude of the relationships were not great, however. Ehman then divided the sample into “closed-climate” and “open-climate” subgroups. Then, within each group, he looked at political attitudes of black and white students separately. For both white and black students in the closed-climate group, as compared with the open-climate group, more exposure to controversial issues was related to lower levels of efficacy, participation, and sense of citizen duty. Additionally, white students in the closed-climate group increased in cynicism. That is, controversial content presented in a biased and closed atmosphere was related to negative outcomes for most students. On the other hand, for the black students in the open-climate group, the number of controversial issues taught was related to reduced cynicism, increased sense of citizen duty, political efficacy, and participation. For white students in the open-climate group, the number of controversial issues taught was related to in-
creases in sense of citizen duty, but not to any of the other dependent variables.

Adding classroom observational data to that obtained from student surveys, Ehman (1970) gained further insight into the nature of instruction which affected student political attitudes. Using a subsample from the original sample, Ehman was able to follow 103 students for two years; he weighted their attitudes according to the number of semesters they had particular teachers whose classroom instruction he observed. Thus, Ehman found interesting effects on students who had been exposed to teachers who encouraged more normative comments and questions in the classroom (characterized by questions and statements that dealt with "should," "ought," "good," "bad," etc.). Students exposed to teachers whose classrooms were more normative, or value-oriented, became slightly more cynical (perhaps less naively trusting) of government officials as compared to their peers whose teachers' classes were less normative. Additionally, a very slight increase in students' sense of political efficacy was related to normative discourse.

Refining and adding to that work, Ehman (1977) later conducted a three-year longitudinal study of 339 students from nine midwestern high schools. Responses to Ehman's Classroom Climate scale were correlated with measures of student attitudes which had referents to society in general and referents in the student's school. Of particular interest here were the findings that an open classroom climate was related to increases in political interest and political confidence over the three-year period.¹

Supplementing the findings of the two Ehman studies were those obtained by Long and Long (1975) in their research on 588 students in three Illinois communities. Their questionnaire included a two-item Controversial Issues Index which asked students how frequently controversial matters were discussed in their social studies classes and how willing they thought their social studies teachers were to have controversial opinions advocated or discussed in the classroom. In regard to political efficacy, negative correlations were found between frequency of controversial issues discussion and efficacy. Moreover, in regard to cynicism/trust, small positive correlations were found between scores on the Controversial Issues Index and political cynicism. The findings regarding political efficacy and trust were consistent with the ones obtained from Ehman's (1969) closed-climate sample, but not from his overall sample. Unfortunately, the researchers did not determine whether the teacher maintained a neutral position and whether students felt comfortable expressing their opinions. The Illinois study seems to add weight to Ehman's argument that attention to controversial issues is not sufficient to produce positive civic attitudes in students—at least as regards political efficacy and perhaps cynicism/trust; an open supportive classroom climate in which the issues are discussed seems to be a necessary condition. The researchers themselves suggested that the controversial content of a topic may
not be the key, but rather verbalization in the normative mode as was suggested by Ehman’s observational data.

Research by others further reinforces the notion that it is not the amount of controversial issues discussion alone that is related to sense of political efficacy, but that discussion must occur in an open supportive environment. Glenn’s (1972) study of elementary school children (grades 3, 5, and 6) further established that it was openness of climate that was important, fostering a sense of political efficacy. Children who agreed that “kids are free to say what they want” were more politically efficacious than children who disagreed with that statement.

Zevin (1983) examined the relationship between classroom interaction patterns, student perceptions of classroom climate, and student political attitudes. Zevin’s sample was drawn from 11th-grade United States history classes in New York. Based on the use of the Flanders Interaction Analysis system, five of the most open (student oriented) and five of the most closed (teacher oriented) classrooms out of 24 were selected for inclusion in the study. Students in those classrooms responded to a questionnaire which contained scales measuring political efficacy and political trust/cynicism. Consistent with the earlier studies, but using classroom interaction data as a measure of climate, Zevin found a positive correlation between political efficacy and the ratio of student-initiated to teacher-initiated talk (SI:TI). Also consistent with earlier studies, Zevin found a negative correlation between political trust and the SI:TI ratio.

**Support for Free Expression**

The line of inquiry relating civic attitudes to controversial issues discussions and classroom climate was extended by several researchers to include consideration of students’ toleration of dissent and willingness to apply civil liberties to all—an important orientation in a democracy. Baughman (1975) was one of those researchers, but he used the term “participatory classroom” to refer to classes which possessed the characteristics that Ehman had labeled “open climate classrooms.” In particular, Baughman explored the link between participatory classrooms and student support for procedural rights and civil liberties guaranteed by the United States Bill of Rights, as well as the link with political attitudes studied by others earlier.

Baughman administered a questionnaire containing Ehman’s *Classroom Climate* scale and the standard scales to measure political interest, efficacy, and trust. He also measured support for free speech, free press, free assembly, and procedural rights (e.g., right to an attorney, due process). Consistent with the earlier research on open classroom climates, students who perceived their classes to be “high participatory,” reported higher levels of political efficacy and interest and lower levels of trust than did students in “low participatory” classes. Additionally, those students who perceived their class-
rooms to be more participatory exhibited higher levels of support for rights guaranteed by the Bill of Rights.

Further information along that line was obtained by Grossman (1975) in his survey of over 1,000 students in nine San Francisco Bay area high schools. Grossman's *Support for Dissent* scale included four abstract statements about free expression. Grossman concluded that the number of controversial issues courses taken was related to support for dissent, or what he called civic tolerance. Additionally, students' perceptions of freedom to express their views in class were positively related to tolerance. Amount of class time spent on controversial issues, however, appeared not to have any relationship to tolerance.

Long and Long (1975) similarly found no relationship between the amount of time spent on controversial issues and support for dissent. Indeed, for their junior high school respondents, frequency of discussion and perceived willingness of teachers to permit controversial discussions had small, negative correlations with their *Civic Tolerance* scale, which included items about free speech for atheists and the rights of communists to hold office. For the senior high school respondents there were no statistically significant correlations between civic tolerance and time spent in discussion.

The relationship between support for civil liberties and the process of open inquiry, rather than the time spent in study of controversial issues, was further corroborated by Goldenson's (1978) study of the impact of a three-week curriculum unit on students' attitudes and opinions. The data were collected in the context of a field experiment at two high schools in working-class communities near Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota. The experimental unit on civil liberties was designed to expose students to a series of controversial topics related to freedom of speech and of the press, freedom of religion, search and seizure, and due process of law. The researcher emphasized that "perhaps more important than the materials, however, were the teaching methods employed" (p. 50). Students conducted group research projects which involved talking with community members such as police and lawyers to get conflicting perspectives on issues. Upon completion of the unit, experimental students, as compared to control group students, experienced attitude change in the direction of greater support for civil liberties. Conversely, control group students became less supportive of a civil liberties point of view; Goldenson suggested that may have been attributable to political leaders at the time emphasizing law and order positions at the expense of civil liberties.

Goldenson also found that teachers' orientations which were conducive to an open climate interacted with the treatment to enhance the treatment effect. In particular, a teacher's "credibility" was related to students' attitude changes. Credibility was operationally defined by students' ratings of their teachers as fair, knowledgeable, concerned, interesting, and understandable. Experimental students who rated their teachers high on the credibility index were even more likely to have undergone supportive attitude change.
in regard to civil liberties than were other experimental group students. Indeed, experimental group students who rated their teachers low in credibility were more likely than corresponding control group students to change their opinions in an anti-civil libertarian direction. Those results seemed to reinforce Ehman’s (1969) suggestion in the Detroit study that “controversial content presented in a biased and closed atmosphere can apparently be related to negative outcomes” (p. 578).

Age, Country, and Gender Differences

Very little was known about age differences in regard to perceptions of controversial issues discussions and classroom climate. Although Ehman’s (1969, 1970, 1976, 1977) studies contained longitudinal data covering the high school years, he did not report on any changes in perceived classroom climate over that period. Similarly, Grossman’s (1975) cross-sectional study of students in grades 10–12 did not report comparisons of classroom climate by age. Only Long and Long’s (1975) data from junior and senior high school students offered any insights into age-related differences. Sixty-five percent of the junior high school students in the Illinois sample said that controversial matters were discussed frequently in their social studies courses, while 70% of the senior high school sample said their classes frequently had such discussions. Seventy percent of both the junior high school and senior high school groups said that their social studies teachers were willing to have controversial opinions advocated or discussed by students in the classroom. Furthermore, two-thirds of each group said that their social studies teachers expressed their personal views in class.

The large cross-national study (n = 30,000) of civic education conducted by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) in nine countries is relevant here. The IEA researchers concluded that when students had the opportunity to participate regularly in classroom discussions in which they were encouraged to express their opinions, the students were not only more knowledgeable but more politically interested and less authoritarian (Torney et al., 1975). The reverse was true of students who received their civics instruction primarily in the form of lectures, recitation, and patriotic rituals; those students tended to be less politically interested and more authoritarian.

For this study, we examined earlier research on students in five western democracies—the United States, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, West Germany, and Denmark. In past studies of American students, about 70% of secondary students would characterize their social studies classes as being places where they were encouraged to discuss controversial issues and to express their views (Ehman, 1969; Torney et al., 1975). Smaller percentages of samples in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands characterized their classrooms as having such open climates (Almond & Verba, 1963; Torney et al., 1975). German adults who attended schools in the 1940s and 1950s
reported relatively little discussion, but German adolescents in the 1970s reported relatively high levels of discussion in their classes (Almond & Verba, 1963; Torney et al., 1975). No research was located relative to Danish students' perceptions of classroom climate.

No studies were located that examined whether or not there was a relationship between gender and perceptions of controversial issues discussions or open classroom climate. Because female students had been found to be more reticent in classroom discussions (Hedrick & Chance, 1977), it was possible that perceptions of the degree of openness would vary by gender.

Value Analysis

Following the line of research suggested by Ehman's (1969, 1970) findings of the importance of normative discourse and consideration of more than one side of an issue when students investigate controversial issues, two studies examined the effect on students' political attitudes of using a "value analysis" approach to discussions (Hahn & Avery, 1985; Harper, 1987). The value analysis sequence of questions used in the studies required students to identify alternative positions on an issue, hypothesize about underlying values, predict likely consequences of pursuing the various alternative positions, weigh consequences of alternatives, and express their preference, justifying their opinion.

In the first study, Hahn and Avery (1985) conducted an experiment over a ten-week period in high school United States history classes in a suburb of Atlanta, Georgia. Of the 240 students in the study, most were 11th graders. Teachers in four experimental group classes led weekly discussions of controversial public policy issues following the sequence of value analysis questions. To stimulate discussions, students in the experimental groups read booklets of news articles which three local social studies leaders had validated as controversial. Students in one comparison group also read the booklets of controversial articles but no guidelines were given for discussion. Observers noted that teachers of those classes tended to ask who, what, where questions to elicit recall of facts; the teachers did not ask students to examine differing views. Students in the second comparison group neither read the controversial articles nor participated in value analysis discussions in their social studies classes.

At the conclusion of the treatment, the students in the experimental classes which used the value-analysis technique did show a number of small gains in political attitudes as compared to students in classes which read the same articles but had no discussion of alternative positions nor opportunities to express opinions on the issues. The experimental group students showed slightly greater increases in political interest, political confidence, and social integration (the opposite of alienation) than did the comparison groups. The differences between the experimental group and the classes that read the articles but did not discuss the related controversies, were statistically significant. The gains of the experimental group as compared to the comparison
group which did not even read the articles, were not statistically significant but those results were confounded by two problems. Unfortunately, while observations had been made in the value-analysis discussion and the reading-only classes to validate the presence and absence of the treatment, no observations were made in the other comparison group. It was possible that even without the particular articles on controversial issues or the deliberate use of value-analysis discussions, that pupils in those classes were given opportunities to express their opinions on some issues, thus causing some change in political attitudes. It was also possible that the results were attributable to socio-economic level of students rather than to treatment; the random selection of classes without stratification had resulted in the control group students coming from higher SES families than did students in either of the other two groups.

Finally, it should be noted that students in the value-analysis discussion showed smaller gains in general trust than did students in either of the other two groups. It was possible that by openly discussing controversial public policy issues, students’ respect for officials was tempered by a sense of realism about motives and behavior which resulted in a more skeptical attitude than the other students had. The differences among the three groups were not great enough to be statistically significant. The question may, however, warrant further exploration in future studies.

A replication was made in a nearby county two years later (Harper, 1987). This time the sample of 533 students were predominantly 9th- and 10th-graders (62%, 31%, 5%, and 2% were distributed across grades 9, 10, 11, and 12, respectively). In this replication, one-third of the students were in economics classes which used the value-analysis discussion format, one-third were in citizenship classes which used the value-analysis approach, and one-third were in economics classes which served as the control group. Volunteer teachers and intact classes were used. The experimental group teachers were given articles about controversial issues which corresponded to the county curriculum course guides. Two local social studies coordinators validated that the articles were controversial. Observations were made to determine that experimental group teachers used the value-analysis strategy and control group teachers did not. The school district used the quarter system, making it impossible to run the experiment over more than a ten-week period. An analysis of covariance was done on posttests using pretests as the covariate. Results yielded no statistically significant differences among the groups on measures of political interest, political confidence, trust in society, and social integration (Harper, 1987).

The inconclusive findings from this series of studies suggests that the use of a set of questions to encourage students to consider alternative approaches to controversial public issues and to express their opinion on an issue may not be sufficient to promote positive political attitudes, if the students do not perceive the general climate of the class to be open. Unfortunately, neither of these studies took measures of students’ perceptions of classroom climate.
Moreover, there remained a question about the measurement of the dependent variables. Both studies used Ehman and Gillespie’s (1975) Political Attitudes Inventory. The scales measuring trust in society and social integration referred to society in general rather than to specifically political attitudes. Further research was needed to determine whether student perceptions of an open classroom climate in terms of controversial issues discussion related to the use of a value analysis strategy and to the development of political efficacy, trust, interest, confidence, and support for free expression.

Previous research suggested that the amount of exposure students had to controversial issues in their social studies classes was related to the development of political interest. But amount of exposure alone was not sufficient to influence levels of civic tolerance and political efficacy, cynicism/trust, and confidence. Indeed, there were negative attitudinal outcomes when students were presented controversial issues in classes with closed climates where alternative views were not considered and where students were not encouraged to express their views. Additionally, the use of a value-analysis strategy might produce positive citizen outcomes if it was used in an open supportive climate, but not when the classroom climate was closed. The research on differences in perceived climate by age and country was scant, and none was located which related gender to perceived climate.

Therefore, in light of the previous research the following questions were raised: For samples of students in western democracies were there age, gender, and country differences in perceived classroom climate in the 1980’s? Were there relationships between perceived classroom climate and secondary students’ attitudes of political interest, political efficacy, political confidence, political trust/cynicism, and support for free expression? Further, does the use of a value analysis strategy in the discussion of controversial issues relate to perceived classroom climate, political interest, political efficacy, political confidence, political trust/cynicism, and/or support for free expression?

Method

Sample

The sample from which questionnaire data were obtained contained 1,459 students from 50 classes in 21 different secondary schools in five countries. Teachers and university professors in the United States, the United Kingdom, Denmark, the Netherlands, and the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) who had participated in international meetings on civic education or global education helped to secure the cooperation of school administrators and of social studies teachers.

For the most part, schools were located in small cities or in the suburbs of large cities; no truly rural or inner city schools were included. Most of the students were ages 13–18 in general secondary or pre-university preparation programs; no vocational schools were included. The predominant types of schools within those parameters for each country were included.
The American social studies classes, which contained content from history, civics, or economics, met daily. In all the other countries, the course most like social studies usually met for only two or three periods per week. Although it was not possible to obtain a representative sample of subjects for this five nation study, the size and geographic distribution of the sample does make it a useful source from which to generate hypotheses for further systematic study.

**Instrument**

To assess the extent to which students perceived their classes to be characterized by an open climate, the four items from the IEA scale called "independence of opinion encouraged in classroom" were used (Torney et al., 1975). The IEA items were attributed to earlier work by Walberg and Anderson (1968, cited in Torney et al., 1975). Additionally, two new items were written for the Civic Attitudes Questionnaire which were similar to those used in other studies of the classroom climate variable. The Political Interest, Political Efficacy, Political Confidence, and Political Trust scales contained items used in many political socialization studies. The Freedom of Expression scale adapted items from earlier American studies to fit the varying contexts of the five countries.

The questionnaire was pilot tested with a group of secondary school students in the United Kingdom and then translated into Dutch, Danish, German, and American English. All items were reviewed by at least two nationals in the countries where they were to be used, prior to administration to students. A five-point Likert scale was used for responses, ranging from (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly agree.

To determine the construct validity of the scales, the responses to the questionnaire were subjected to a factor analysis using a varimax rotation method. For the most part, items loaded on distinct factors as expected *a priori* (complete analysis is available from the authors). Of particular interest is the factor which contained five of the items designed to measure classroom climate. However, one item which had been newly developed to measure classroom climate was loaded with items designed to measure political confidence. On the questionnaire it was stated negatively, "When my opinion is different from most of the other students and from the teacher, I feel (un)comfortable so I am (not) likely to speak." It is not surprising that one's degree of personal confidence is more related to that perception than are beliefs about the openness of the classroom climate. That one item was dropped from the Classroom Climate scale for the remainder of the study.

The scales were then examined for internal consistency. The Cronbach alpha coefficients obtained on data from all five countries were for Political Interest, Political Trust, Political Confidence, Political Efficacy, Freedom of Expression, and Classroom Climate .85, .78, .69, .59, and .58, respectively. Interestingly, the Classroom Climate scale's internal consistency was greater.
for the American and Danish student responses (.62 and .63, respectively) than for responses obtained from the German, British, and Dutch samples (.42, .34, and .28, respectively). This differential scale reliability by country was not found on any other scales of the Civic Attitude Questionnaire and suggests the need for further work on the measurement of classroom climate cross-nationally.

Results

To determine whether there were age, country, or gender differences in perceived classroom climate, responses to the five-item Classroom Climate scale were used from the questionnaires which were administered to the 1,459 students in the five countries. The differences were analyzed with SYSTAT (Wilkinson, 1986). When the analysis of variance yielded statistically significant differences, pairwise comparisons of scale means for the countries and age groups were tested with the Bonferroni (Dunn) test of significance. Initially the level of significance was set at .05. Then, to control the overall comparison error rate, the alpha was divided by the number of comparisons (in this case 10). As a result, the critical level of .005 was used in all comparisons of country and age differences. To examine gender differences on the Classroom Climate scale, mean scores were compared between males and females using an independent t-test. Level of significance was set at .05.

Age, Country, and Gender Differences

There were no statistically significant differences at the .005 level between age groups in responses to the Classroom Climate scale (Table 1).

Table 1
Classroom Climate: Results from Analysis of Variance and Bonferroni Procedure Comparing Age Groups

<table>
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<th>17</th>
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<tr>
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<td>(.57)</td>
<td>(.69)</td>
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</table>

Note: ANOVA F (4,1393) = 2.219 p = .065 Mean = 3.64 (.64)
Note: No significant differences between age groups at the .005 level.

The results of the analysis of variance and the Bonferroni procedure for country comparisons can be seen on Table 2. There were statistically significant differences between countries, F (4,1424) = 9.602, p ≤ .001.

Within the sample of 1,459 adolescents, students in Denmark perceived the classroom climate to be the most open, followed by the students in West Germany and the United States, respectively (the differences in perceptions
Classroom Climate: Results from Analysis of Variance and Bonferroni Procedure Comparing Countries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>U.S.</th>
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<th>Denm.</th>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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<td>.08</td>
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</table>

Note: $F (4,1424) = 9.602, p \leq .001, M = 3.64 (.63)$  
*p \leq .005

among students in those three countries were not statistically significant). Students from the Netherlands and the United Kingdom reported the lowest levels of perceived openness, with no statistically significant difference between responses of students in those two countries. The relative openness of classroom climate perceived by the German and American students, as compared to Dutch students' perception, was consistent with the research from a decade earlier (Torney et al., 1975).

Item frequencies (available from the authors) indicated that a majority of sample students in all five countries reported that their classes possessed characteristics of an open climate. Most respondents agreed that teachers try to get students to speak openly and freely, which was consistent with earlier research on American students only (Almond & Verba, 1963; Long & Long, 1975). Fewer students, but still 40%, reported that in their classes they often discuss controversial political, economic, and social issues; almost an equal number disagreed with that statement.

In this sample of adolescents, the females reported slightly higher perceptions of an open classroom climate than did the males. The mean responses for the females was 3.68 with a standard deviation of .62 (n = 712); the mean responses for the males was 3.60 with a standard deviation of .65 (n = 713). The $t$ value of 2.10 was statistically significant at the .05 level, but the magnitude of the difference (effect size .11) does not appear to be sufficient to give much attention to this finding yet. Moreover, the lack of any other data on this relationship suggests that more research is needed in this area before any conclusions can be drawn.

Relationship of Classroom Climate to Political Attitudes

Perceptions of an open climate had low, but statistically significant, correlations with responses on the political scales, but not with free expression. In this study the correlations between a perceived open classroom climate and the political attitude scales for students in the five countries on the Civic Attitudes Questionnaire were: political efficacy, .20; political confidence, .16;
political trust, .21; political interest .21. All of those correlations were significant at the .05 level. On the other hand, the relationship between perceived classroom climate and support for free expression was not statistically significant (.02).

Further analysis examined possible relationships among all of the scales used in this study within each of the countries. In all five countries there was a low to moderate correlation between responses on the Classroom Climate scale and each of the five scales measuring political attitudes. Those correlations were the strongest in the United States, where items were used with the same wording as in earlier studies, and where reliabilities were the highest. In the other countries, items were translated and used for the first time in that particular context. Differing findings by country, therefore, could be attributed to translation differences or to differences in populations sampled.

The correlations between scores on the climate and political attitude scales (except for trust which has yielded mixed findings) corroborate earlier research conducted in the United States (Baughman, 1975; Ehman, 1969, 1977). The fact that there was virtually no relationship between perceived climate and support for free expression reinforced the findings of Long and Long (1975), but contradicted the findings of Baughman (1975) and Grossman (1975). No similar data from the other countries were previously available.

Value Analysis Treatment

Half of the teachers who administered the civic attitudes survey volunteered to participate in an experimental study of the effects of using a value-analysis strategy on students’ political attitudes. Initially, 26 teachers agreed to be experimental group teachers, and they identified the class in their school which was most similar to their own for the comparison group. There was a particularly high “mortality” rate in the European classes during the treatment period. Among the experimental group teachers, one Danish teacher moved to a new administrative job, one British teacher went on maternity leave, another British teacher moved, one Dutch teacher’s class became so unruly the teacher discontinued the experiment, and one Danish teacher asked the school office to mail the posttests but they never arrived. One experimental teacher in Denmark, one in the United Kingdom, and one in Germany forgot to administer posttests to the comparison group; unfortunately, that problem was not discovered until after the schools were closed for the summer. Additionally, one set of Danish questionnaires arrived after the analysis was complete. Finally, there were individuals who took the pretest but did not take the posttests. Problems that arise in conducting research in schools in one country were clearly compounded by trying to conduct a treatment in five countries.

Finally, the sample for which there were matching experimental and comparison groups contained 809 students from 16 schools in the five countries.
Responses from that sample were used to determine the effects of using a value analysis treatment.

For the students in the matching experimental and control classes, pre- and posttests of the Civics Attitude Questionnaire were subjected to factor analyses using a varimax rotation. The distinct factor loadings further confirmed the construct validity of the six factors. The scales thus obtained were then analyzed for internal consistency using a Cronbach alpha coefficient. The reliability coefficients for the scales on the pre- and posttests were .86 and .86 for political interest; .79 and .79 for political trust; .70 and .72 for political confidence; .66 and .58 for political efficacy; .58 and .67 for classroom climate; and .58 and .64 for free expression.

The experimental group teachers were asked to lead a discussion of a controversial public policy issue at least once every two weeks over a term. The variations in school calendars caused some variability in frequency of discussions, but the goal was to hold at least ten discussions. The discussions were to follow a sequence or questions for a structured value analysis lesson: (1) What is the issue or problem? (2) What are the possible alternative positions on this issue or alternative solutions to the problem? (3) What are the likely consequences of each alternative or policy? (4) What do you think should be done and why?

Teachers were told that they could lead large group discussions in which they might use the blackboard or an overhead projector to make a diagram structuring student statements about possible alternative policies and likely consequences of each. Alternatively, teachers could have students discuss any issue in small groups. Teachers were free to select whatever issues they wanted for discussion so long as they were issues over which citizens disagreed. Logs kept by the teachers and visits to most of their classes indicated that most teachers selected current issues, such as those related to immigration policies, environmental issues, and foreign policy debates. Most discussions were based on newspaper articles, but some used excerpts from textbooks, historic events, or videotape presentations. Teachers were encouraged to use a variety of materials and group sizes to avoid boredom with a single analytic approach.

The questionnaire data from 809 students in matched experimental and comparison classes within each country were analyzed, using SYSTAT programs (Wilkinson, 1986). Analysis of covariance was used to determine the effect of value-analysis discussions on the six scales, where pretest scores served as the covariate.

Looking only at the comparisons between pretests and posttests for the classes which had matched experimental and control groups, the treatment appeared to have had no effect in the United States, Denmark, and the Netherlands on any scale.

In the other two countries, only two statistically significant differences between treatment and comparison groups were indicated by the ANCOVAs of the six scales (Table 3); there were no statistically significant differences.
between the groups for the other 15 opportunities. In the United Kingdom, there was a statistically significant difference on the Political Efficacy scale, and in West Germany there was a statistically significant difference on the Political Interest scale. In both cases, the comparison group’s adjusted mean scores were higher than those for the experimental group.

**Discussion**

Despite the limitations of the sample from which our data were obtained, the consistency of our findings with earlier work suggests the value of pursuing these issues further in a cross-national context. For example, consistent with earlier research, this study found that if educators desire students to develop high levels of political efficacy, interest, confidence, and trust, then they should pay attention to the climate in which controversial public policies are discussed in secondary school classrooms. When students feel comfortable expressing their views during frequent discussions of controversial issues they are more likely to acquire attitudes which have the potential to foster later civic participation than are students without such perceptions. However, open climate in and of itself is not a panacea. The low to moderate correlations found across studies suggest that other variables also contribute to and mediate the effects of classroom climate on civic attitudes. For example, school environmental factors have been found to be contributory to the process of political socialization (Hepburn, 1983; Siegel, 1977) as have family variables (Jennings & Niemi, 1981). This study and other cross-national research (Almond & Verba, 1963) also suggest that the wider cultural milieu also mediates the effects of classroom climate.

Country differences in classroom climate are borne out by this and other studies (Almond & Verba, 1963; Torney et al., 1975). Student perceptions in Denmark, West Germany, and the United States that their classroom climate was open relative to the perceptions of Dutch and British students is further reinforced by the researcher’s observations. The greater openness of West German classes in the 1980s as compared to earlier findings reflects a cultural change in postwar West Germany. The great attention that was
paid to the need to democratize school and society seems to be showing results. One wonders if similar changes will be detectable in East German classes in the years ahead.

More research is needed on the relationship between classroom climate and gender before any generalizations are warranted. Classroom climate could be a mediating factor in the development of political attitudes which affects females and males differently.

The findings from this study, like those from earlier studies, suggest that the periodic use of a value-analysis strategy in classroom discussions of controversial issues is not sufficient to develop positive civic outcomes. Taking into account student responses on six scales in five countries, there were 30 opportunities for the treatment to have an effect. Nowhere did the use of value-analysis discussions by themselves have a positive effect on political attitudes. Indeed, in the two instances where changes occurred, they were contrary to expectations! (British comparison-group students scored higher on political efficacy than did British experimental-group students; German control-group students scored higher on political interest than did German experimental-group students.)

Such findings corroborate earlier findings (Harper; 1987) that the use of a value-analysis treatment no more intensively than once a week in one class over a school term is insufficient to affect students' civic attitudes. In this study, American students were exposed to the treatment only one hour per week and in the European classes students were exposed to it even less frequently because social studies classes meet for only a few hours per week. Apparently, the infrequent use of a value-analysis strategy cannot bring about desired civic attitudes any more than can the inclusion of controversial issues in a closed climate. It is the interaction of a value analysis strategy and an open climate that needs to be explored further in various national contexts.

We were unable to examine the effects of classroom climate, value-analysis lessons, and controversial issues by race and socio-economic level. Findings from earlier research suggested that those might be important mediating variables in the political socialization process (Ehman, 1969; Greenberg, 1970; Hess & Torney, 1967; Langton & Jennings, 1968; Lyons, 1970; Vaillancourt, 1972); wherever possible race and SES should be taken into account in future research.

Finally, the difficulties of conducting experimental research cross-nationally is overwhelming, particularly when one must spend much time gaining access to diverse schools. A cross-national network of social studies teachers and researchers is much needed to facilitate such work, which would help us to better understand the processes of social studies teaching and learning in varied contexts. It is hoped that such a network will grow out of the increasing numbers of international conferences for social studies educators. We speak often of the need for global education; it is time that as a profession we realized the potential to learn from a global perspective.
Endnotes

1. In the 1977 report, all findings related to political confidence were reported to be negative, but in later personal communication, the researcher reported that there had been an error in not accounting for the negatively stated items.

2. The political interest, and political confidence scales were developed by Ehman and Gillespie (1975) and used in subsequent studies by Ehman (1977), Hahn and Avery (1985), and Harper (1987). In those studies reliability coefficients were found to be .82, .85, and .87 for political interest, and .83, .80, and .77 for political confidence. The political efficacy and political trust scales adapted items developed by the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center and used in earlier studies.

References


Classroom Climate, Global Knowledge, Global Attitudes, Political Attitudes

Glen Blankenship

Abstract

Findings from research relating to the effectiveness of global studies curricula and to effective citizenship education programs suggest that enabling students to reflectively examine controversial global issues in an open climate might relate to increased student knowledge of global affairs and to positive political and global attitudes. A total of 202 students responded to a questionnaire. The interrelationships between each of the attitudinal scales and level of global knowledge were examined through a Pearson correlation matrix. Additionally, for exploratory purposes, analysis of variance permitted the data to be examined by gender and race.

Data analysis indicated that for this sample there was a weak relationship between perceptions of an open classroom climate and levels of global knowledge, and a moderate relationship between perceptions of an open classroom climate and positive global attitudes. With regard to political attitudes, students' perceptions of an open classroom climate were moderately related to positive attitudes of political efficacy, political confidence, and political interest, and weakly related to political trust. The relationship of classroom climate to global knowledge, global attitudes, and political attitudes when examined by race and/or gender revealed no statistically significant differences.

Introduction

It is widely recognized that one of the major goals of social studies education is to develop good citizens. The National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) Curriculum Guidelines assert that the purpose of social studies is “to prepare students to be rational, humane, participating citizens in a world that is increasingly interdependent” (NCSS, 1979). In spite of this position statement, citizenship education often continues to be narrowly defined “in terms of the individual’s relationship with formal institutions and processes of government at the local, state, and national levels; individuals are assumed to be acting as citizens only when they are dealing with governments in some way or other” (Remy, 1979, p. 61).

Citizenship education is currently being redefined as educating youth for participation in a global society (Anderson, 1979; Becker & Anderson, 1980; Hahn, 1984). This is a watershed period in the history of social studies, for

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the new conception of citizenship and citizenship education in an increasingly interdependent world could redirect the focus of social studies. Leaders in social studies education agree about two points which are relevant to the study.

First, traditional citizenship education which emphasizes a traditional "structure of government" approach and frequently excludes "real world" applications will no longer suffice as schools prepare students for their roles as citizens in an increasingly interdependent world. Secondly, students should be provided classroom opportunities to discuss issues which offer examination of relevant topics in an open supportive classroom climate, more opportunities to practice critical thinking skills, and less time devoted to listening to lecture and rote drill.

Findings from research relating to the effectiveness of global studies curricula and to effective citizenship education programs have suggested that enabling students to reflectively examine and practice decision-making about controversial global issues is an open climate might relate to increases in student knowledge and to positive political and global attitudes. Previous studies examined the relationship between classroom climate and students' civic attitudes in general social studies classes and economic classes. Previous studies had not examined the relationship between classroom climate and international knowledge or attitudes.

Survey of the Literature

To determine the effects of regular discussion and analysis of international public policy issues on student knowledge and attitudes, relevant literature was examined on the effects of: planned instruction on global learning; political socialization and political attitudes; controversial issues discussions; and classroom climate.

Findings from global studies research suggest that specific instructional materials and programs can have positive outcomes in terms of student global knowledge and attitudes. Several studies examined the impact on students' global knowledge and attitudes of such variables as the effects of courses, specially designed materials, and amount of time spent on studying global issues (Armstrong, 1979; Elley, 1964; Kehoe, 1980; Mitsakos, 1977; Smith, 1977; Soley, 1982; Torney-Purta & Lansdale, 1986; Torney-Purta, 1988). The findings of these studies indicated that a global education program can be effective when courses are specifically designed to improve global attitudes. Of particular importance is a special course in which students and teachers use globally-oriented materials and a variety of instructional strategies over an extended period of time. Applied to the concept of educating for citizenship in a global age, these principles can be used to foster an environment in which citizenship for a global age is encouraged.

Citizenship education for the future needs to draw on research not only on global studies but also on knowledge about political socialization. Most
of the early studies dealing with high school students' political attitudes and beliefs focused on students simply taking a course rather than on the instructional process within courses. Teachers, however, more than the textbook, are "disseminators of political values and skills in their own right" (Jennings and Niemi, 1974, pp. 99-100.) Teachers decide what is included and excluded from the classroom agenda and set the tone for classroom climate making the degree and type of political socialization greatly dependent upon the teacher (Jones, 1971).

Several researchers found that one school variable which correlates with positive political attitudes is the discussion of controversial issues in an open classroom environment.

Ehman (1969) examined the effect of exposure to controversial issues in producing positive attitude changes when these experiences are perceived by students to have occurred in an intellectually open climate. Ehman collected data in a large urban, racially integrated high school (grades 10-12) near Detroit, Michigan using a random stratified sample of 334 subjects. Four attitudinal scales (Political Cynicism, Political Participation, Political Efficacy, and Sense of Citizen Duty) were developed to measure the dependent variables. The two independent variables were numbers of social studies courses taken, and the number of teachers to whom the students were exposed who dealt with controversial issues. Data analysis indicated that the number of "controversial-issues teachers" a student was exposed to had a positive influence on student attitudes; the number of social studies courses did not. Ehman's findings confirmed Langton and Jennings' (1968) results. Further, Ehman's findings, when examined by race, indicated that exposure to conventional social studies courses may have been having a negative impact on black students. However, "increased controversial issues exposure in an atmosphere more conducive to inquiry and open-mindedness is related to consistent and favorable trends in political attitudes for both racial groups" (Ehman, 1969).

Ehman (1970) also reported findings of a second field study of the same social studies classrooms near Detroit, Michigan. Observing in classes in which teachers were dealing with what they identified as controversial topics. Ehman used a modified version of Flander's classroom interaction analysis coding system to record the verbal component of classroom behavior of both teachers and students. For purposes of the study, Ehman analyzed the portion of time that teachers and students spent making normative or value-laden statements, or asking questions of this type. "Normative statements" were defined by Ehman as involving "considerations of right and wrong, or what is good and bad . . . . In other words, we will find them [teachers and students] asking questions and stating assertions characterized by 'shoulds,' 'oughts,' 'goods,' 'bads,' and other normative- and evaluating-denoting words and phrases." Ehman hypothesized that increased time engaged in the normative mode was positively related to attitude change of students. Findings indicated
that teachers and students engaged in very little normative discussions of controversial issues. However, when some engagement in the normative mode took place, such discourse was positively related to change in political cynicism. Ehman concluded that the kind of discourse occurring in the social studies classrooms may be more important for students' attitudes than the amount of exposure to these classes.

Ehman and Gillespie (1975; Ehman 1977) conducted a longitudinal study of high school student social and political attitudes which addressed the question "What factors in social studies instruction appear to cause change in these student attitudes?" Students from ten Midwestern high schools were studied across three points of time spanning two years. The general hypothesis guiding that study was that "openness of social studies classroom climate would be related to change in social and political attitudes towards school and, to a lesser extent, to change in general social and political attitudes."

The general hypothesis was accepted—that is, that the climate variables were found to be related directly to each school-related variable and to general social and political attitudes of trust, integration, confidence, and interest (Hahn & Avery, 1985).

Long and Long (1975) collected data from 588 secondary school students from three southern Illinois communities. Three generalizations were generated from the data which related to controversial issues discussions and the development of political attitudes: (1) students indicated a strong preference for emphasis on controversial subject matter; (2) students expected the teacher's role in controversial discussions to be active (e.g., providing guidance and encouragement); and (3) students were evenly divided in their preferences for the teacher to express personal opinions.

Zevin (1983) conducted a study of classroom style and political attitudes using 11th grade American studies classrooms in five New York high schools. From a total of 24 classrooms, five classrooms were identified as being relatively "open" and five as relatively "closed" in terms of student participation, discussion, and direct involvement in classroom activities. Using the Flanders Interaction Analysis Systems, each of the 10 classrooms were formally observed for three 30-minute periods. The ratio of student-initiated (SI) discourse and teacher-initiated (TI) discourse was identified as the variable with the greatest impact on student attitudes; that is, the greater the level of student-initiated discussion, the more feelings of trust were diminished but feeling of efficacy were increased. Zevin argued that the increased expressions of distrust were worth the tradeoff for increased feelings of power and self-respect "since the latter may lead to political involvement even if coincidental with negativism about politicians and perceived governmental misbehavior" (p. 125).

Hepburn (1983) suggested that the latent curriculum of how students are taught influences attitudes rather than the manifest curriculum which affects knowledge but not political participation and attitudes. Hepburn's concerns
were confirmed by the results of the IEA cross-national survey of 30,000 students in nine countries published by Torney, Oppenheim, and Farnen (1975). Those researchers found that on scales measuring democratic values and interest in political participation, scores were highest among students whose classes consisted, not of lectures and rote drill, but of many opportunities for discussion in an open, accepting atmosphere. Bellak (1966) reported similar findings regarding instructional practices and additionally found that student test performance on knowledge of international economic problems was superior in classes where teachers spent a smaller proportion of time lecturing. Moreover, a classroom in which openness and acceptance of diverse opinions and one where students have rights and power to influence classroom practice, has been linked positively with the development of positive political attitudes (Ehman, 1980; Hepburn, 1983; Torney-Purta, 1975).

Based on the review of research, this study built on previous studies by linking research on global perspectives education with the research on political socialization. The study was designed to examine instructional processes that foster international knowledge and global and political attitudes needed by citizens in a global age. The study differed from previous research by examining student international knowledge and attitudes as well as political attitudes while controlling for the effects of instructional materials.

The literature review suggested the following hypotheses to be tested in this study:

- **H1**: Perceptions of an open classroom are positively correlated with global knowledge.
- **H2**: Perceptions of an open classroom are positively correlated with global attitudes.
- **H3a**: Perceptions of an open climate are positively correlated with political attitudes of efficacy, confidence, and interest.
- **H3b**: There is no statistically significant correlation between perceptions of an open climate and political trust.

For this study, the alpha level used for determining statistical significance was set at .05.

Additionally, four exploratory questions would be addressed: (1) Are there differences by race and/or gender in perceptions of classroom climate? (2) Are there race and/or gender differences in global knowledge? (3) Are there race and/or gender differences in global attitudes? (4) Are there race and/or gender differences in political attitudes? (5) What seems to distinguish classes that are perceived by students as "more open" from classes perceived by students as being "less open"?

**Methods**

The focus of this study was citizenship education from a global perspective and the discussion of controversial issues in an open supportive environ-
ment. To test the hypotheses of this study, a cross-sectional design was used. The sample consisted of 202 students enrolled in international studies classes in three metropolitan (both urban and suburban) school systems.

Definitions

**Global knowledge** was defined as student knowledge of important people, places, movements, issues, concepts, and generalizations relating to international events. It was operationalized in this study by student responses to the Global Knowledge Test developed by Schmidt (1975), used by Tye and Tye (1975), and further revised for this study.

**Global attitudes** were defined as student feelings toward international issues and the role the United States plays or should play in dealing with these issues. The attitudes were operationalized by student responses to the Global Awareness Scale.

**Political attitudes** include political efficacy, political confidence, political trust, and political interest and were defined in this study as they were in earlier studies by Ehman (1969, 1977), Hahn et al. (1988), and Harwood (1988). **Political efficacy** is the belief that citizens can influence decisions made by the government, and that the political system is responsive to citizens. **Political confidence** is the feeling that one can personally influence decision making. **Political trust** is defined as the feelings of individuals that government is trustworthy and efficient. The opposite of trust is cynicism. **Political interest** is a general interest in political matters. These political attitudes were operationalized by the Civic Attitudes Questionnaire. Hahn et al. (1988) defined **classroom climate** as the degree to which students feel free to discuss controversial issues openly. It was operationalized by use of the Classroom Climate Scale.

Sample

Efforts were made to use all students and teachers participating in international studies/world affairs courses in one metropolitan area. This course has as a primary objective the development of citizenship skills in a global/international context. From the sampled populations of 246 students, a total of 202 usable instruments were collected. Students who were identified by the teacher as having been absent more than 10 days during the semester/quarter (N = 30) were dropped from analysis. Fourteen students were lost due to failure to complete both instruments. (The Political Attitude Questionnaire and Global Knowledge Test were presented as separate instruments and some teachers administered them on consecutive days.)

The 202 usable instruments represented students in grade 9, 10, 11, and 12. The majority (84.6%, n = 171) were in grades 11 or 12. Approximately two-thirds of the students were white (66.34%, n = 134). Black students constituted 27.23% (n = 55) of the sample and Asians 6.44% (n = 13). The sample was relatively balanced between males (55.45%) and females (44.55%).
Design/Instruments

Several instruments were used to gather data for analysis. The 37-item Global Knowledge Test developed by Schmidt (1975) and subsequently used by Tye and Tye (1975) was used to measure student's global knowledge (Hypothesis 1). The instruments were administered to students in the 12th week of the course in International Studies.

Global attitudes (Hypothesis 2) were measured with statements taken from two subscales developed by Schmidt (1975) and subsequently used by Tye and Tye (1975) in the GPE Humanities Project. The 10 statements for the Global Attitudes instrument were drawn from two subscales. The Chauvinism subscale provided eight of the statements and the Globalmindedness subscale provided two additional statements. Tye and Tye reported reliabilities of .82 and .56 respectively for the Chauvinism and Globalmindedness scales previously used.

The Political Attitudes Questionnaire as revised by Harwood (1989) was used to measure student political attitudes (Hypothesis 3). The instrument contained five scales: Political Efficacy, Political Confidence, Political Trust, Political Interest, and Classroom Climate. The interest and confidence scales were developed by Ehman and Gillespie (1975) and Ehman (1977) and have been used in later studies by Hahn and Avery (1985), Harper (1987), and Hahn et al. (1988). Harwood (1989) adapted the items for use in her study. The scales were revised again for this study using data from the Harwood field test.

An observation instrument developed and piloted by the researcher based on Jadallah's (1984) checklist for reflective teaching and checklists used by Ehman (1970) and Zevin (1983) served as one means of determining openness of classroom climate. The Classroom Observation Checklist was used to conduct 14 observations (two observations of each teacher) for the purposes of monitoring student interaction, teacher behavior, materials/strategies implemented, and student behavior. The observations were confirmatory visits to validate the teacher's log and the student reports of classroom climate.

Earlier studies found that using a variety of instructional methods and using materials specially designed for goals of global education had some effect on students knowledge and attitudes. In this study those factors were controlled by exposing all students to globally designed materials which use a variety of instructional strategies. Students in the 14 classes all used the Great Decisions series from the Foreign Policy Association as their core materials. These materials were designed by specialists in the field of global education to enable students to examine controversial public policy issues. Moreover, they encourage the use of a variety of instructional methods including value analysis and decision-making.

Teachers were required to keep a log recording type and duration of instructional strategies used in the class. Two classroom visits were made to
each teacher by the researcher and/or a trained colleague as one means of verifying the accuracy of the log and to provide a measure of degree of openness of the classroom environment as perceived by an observer. Student perceptions of classroom climate were reported on the Classroom Climate scale.

**Analyses**

Students were asked to respond to a series of 69 statements on a six-point Likert scale indicating their agreement or disagreement with each. Student responses to the attitudinal questionnaires were statistically examined using factor analysis, item analysis, and intercorrelations of scales to evaluate the validity and reliability of the instrument. A varimax rotated factor analysis was used to analyze the degree to which items on the Political Attitudes Questionnaire loaded on the subscales. Item analyses were used to generate Cronbach’s alpha coefficients as an indicator of the reliabilities of the scales. The interrelationships between each of the attitudinal measures were examined using Pearson correlations. Finally, responses to the attitude questionnaires and knowledge test were analyzed to determine their degree of correlation with student perceptions of classroom climate. Additionally, for exploratory purposes, analysis of variance permitted the data to be examined by gender and by race because there was some indication in the literature that those demographic variables might relate to measures of the other variables in this study. All statistical computations were conducted using the SYSTAT program for microcomputers (Wilkenson, 1988).

One limitation of this study is that students in the study came from three large school systems in one metropolitan area. Moreover, only 48% of students enrolled in this course in the metropolitan area during the spring of 1989 completed the questionnaires, and there was no way to determine if those responding were representative of the total population. Another limitation is that the course in which the study was conducted is an elective course for 12th grade students, and findings cannot be generalized to students who do not voluntarily take such a course. Finally, as with previous research, this study relied on correlational analyses so it was not possible to draw any casual inferences from the data.

It is assumed that students responded to the questionnaire in an honest, sincere manner. Although teachers were observed periodically by the researcher, it is assumed that they also employed these strategies in the course on days when they were not being observed or recording activities in their log. Student perceptions of classroom climate provided some validation of this assumption.

**Results**

**Instrument Analysis**

The results of the varimax rotated factor analysis indicated that the attitudinal variables clearly loaded on five of the six *a priori* defined scales.
of the 69-item questionnaire, the exception being Political Trust. For this scale, only three of ten a priori defined statements had heavy factor loadings under trust (Blankenship, 1990).

Tests of internal consistency indicated that the reliabilities of the attitude scales used in the Political Attitudes Questionnaire were generally high. All of the six scales obtained reliability coefficients greater than .70 which indicates some improvement over those studies using shorter scales in the earlier literature. The Classroom Climate scale (alpha coefficient = .82) and Political Confidence scale (alpha coefficient = .83) showed considerable improvement over earlier studies and were similar to Harwood's (1989) findings. The Cronbach's alpha coefficient for each of the other scales were: Political Interest, .85; Political Efficacy, .73; Global Attitudes, .71; and Political Trust, .66. The Political Trust scale was weaker than reported in previous studies. Several items loaded with Political Efficacy rather than under a priori defined scales.

As a result of the item analysis and factor analysis, eight statements were dropped from the Political Trust, Political Efficacy, and Global Attitudes scales before proceeding with further data analysis. The elimination of these items represents the exclusion of all items which obtained an internal scale reliability index of < .50 and accounted for seven of the 18 statements which had the heaviest factor loadings under a scale other than the one identified prior to the analysis. New alpha coefficients for these scales were calculated: Political Trust, .70; Political Efficacy, .73; and Global Attitudes, .73 (Blankenship, 1990).

Testing the Hypotheses

A Pearson correlation matrix, presented in Table 1, compared the six scaled attitude variables and the measure of global knowledge. The first hypothesis predicted that the student's perceptions of an open classroom climate would be positively correlated with global knowledge. The inter-scale correlation of \( r(201) = .147, p < .05 \) leads to the acceptance of the hypothesis. Although statistically significant, the relationship is relatively weak.

The second hypothesis of this study predicted that the students' perceptions of an open classroom climate would be positively correlated with global attitudes. The inter-scale correlation of \( r(201) = .321, p < .05 \) leads to the acceptance of the hypothesis.

The third hypothesis, part a, predicted that student's perceptions of an open classroom climate would be positively correlated with political efficacy, political confidence, and political interest. The inter-scale correlations indicate a moderate relationship between perceptions of an open classroom climate and political efficacy \( [r(201) = .338, p < .05] \), an open classroom climate and political confidence \( [r(201) = .309, p < .05] \), and between perceptions of an open classroom climate and political interest \( [r(201) = .239, p < .05] \). Part b of hypothesis 3 predicted no correlation between classroom climate and political trust. The hypothesis is rejected based on
**Table 1**

Pearson Correlation Matrix of Classroom Climate and Global Knowledge, Global Attitudes, and Political Attitudes

Variables for All Students (N = 202)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CC 1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GK .147*</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GA .321*</td>
<td>.391*</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC .309*</td>
<td>.276*</td>
<td>.384*</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PI .239*</td>
<td>.221*</td>
<td>.437*</td>
<td>.582*</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PE .338*</td>
<td>.264*</td>
<td>.384*</td>
<td>.458*</td>
<td>.395*</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PT .138*</td>
<td>.129</td>
<td>.279*</td>
<td>.217*</td>
<td>.245*</td>
<td>.425*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


SD .750 .143 .711 .732 .926 .689 .734

*p < .05

A weak but statistically significant relationship \( r(201) = .14, p \geq .05 \). Additionally, the correlation matrix reveals relationships among the political attitude scales which suggest the attitudes are not totally independent of one another.

**Exploratory Findings**

Several secondary questions related to this study explored the relationship of classroom climate and global knowledge, global attitudes, and political attitudes by gender and race. Further analysis of the relationship of the scales by gender using the Pearson correlation produced interesting findings (Blankenship, 1990).

Table 2 presents a comparison of means by gender for global knowledge and each of the six attitude scales. There appears to be a more open perception of classroom climate by females, \( t(89) = 2.330, p < .05 \), than by males. The mean score for males on classroom climate (4.530) is higher than means reported by males on other attitude scales in this data set. Males in the sample appear to have greater knowledge of global issues, \( t(111) = 3.412, p < .05 \), than females as indicated by responses on the global knowledge test. There were no significant differences by gender on the measures of global or political attitudes.

An analysis of the data by race yielded interesting findings. When the data were examined by race (Table 3), only blacks and whites were included. Asians were dropped from analysis because of the small size of the group (n = 13).

An examination of the comparison of the means (Table 3) of the classroom climate scale, the global knowledge test and each of the attitude scales by race yielded interesting findings. Black students in this sample perceived
classroom climate to be significantly more open, $t(54) = 2.448, p < .05$, than did white students in the sample. Black students also had significantly lower mean scores for levels of global knowledge, $t(54) = 5.464, p < .05$ and significantly more positive attitudes related to political interest, $t(54) = 2.856, p < .05$; and political efficacy, $t(54) = 4.282, p < .05$.

A two-way analysis of variance (Gender x Race) with student scores on the classroom climate, global knowledge, global attitudes, and political attitudes scales as the dependent variables was conducted. No statistically significant interactions between gender and race were found (see Table 4).

### Classroom Observations and Teacher Logs

The final exploratory research question addressed in this study related to identifying characteristics which seem to distinguish classes that are perceived by students as "more open" from classes perceived by students as being "less open". Using the content of daily logs completed by the teachers in the sample for a period of two to four weeks, a chart was compiled (see Table 5)
to summarize the amount of instructional time spent by each teacher on various classroom activities.

Although separated for presentation in the table to match information reported by teachers in their logs, classroom visits by the researcher indicate that activities labeled as “lectures” were treated by the teachers in the same way as activities they labeled “lecture/discussions.” The teachers, for the days documented in the logs, spent the majority of their time engaged in lecture/discussion activities (an average of 47.9% of instructional time, ranging from a low of 30.9% to a high of 61.5%). This may be one factor which has a great impact on student perceptions of an open classroom climate, because the teacher who reported spending the least amount of time in discussion with students was perceived by the students as having the “least open” classroom climate ($M = 3.556$, s.d. = .493) and the teacher reporting the highest percentage of time devoted to lecture/discussion had the “most open” classroom climate score ($M = 5.349$, s.d. = .572).

### Table 3
Race Differences on Classroom Climate, Global Knowledge, Global Attitudes, and Political Attitudes (N = 189)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>$t$-statistic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Classroom Climate</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>4.581</td>
<td>4.874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>.739</td>
<td>.770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global Knowledge</td>
<td>Mean(^a)</td>
<td>.762</td>
<td>.645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>.131</td>
<td>.139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global Attitudes</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>4.474</td>
<td>4.640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>.682</td>
<td>.825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Confidence</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>3.756</td>
<td>3.850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>.698</td>
<td>.868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Interest</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>3.796</td>
<td>4.215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>.892</td>
<td>.972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Efficacy</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>3.998</td>
<td>4.282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>.685</td>
<td>.731</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Trust</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>3.374</td>
<td>3.177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>.671</td>
<td>.845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Range = 1.0 (low) to 6.0 (high)
\(^a\)Percent correct of 37-item knowledge test.

\(^*\) $p < .05$
Table 4
Gender/Race Differences on Classroom Climate, Global Knowledge, Global Attitudes, and Political Attitudes (N = 189)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White Males</th>
<th>Black Males</th>
<th>White Females</th>
<th>Black Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Classroom Climate Mean</td>
<td>4.488</td>
<td>4.790</td>
<td>4.696</td>
<td>4.955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classroom Climate SD</td>
<td>.780</td>
<td>.873</td>
<td>.674</td>
<td>.663</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classroom Climate n</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global Knowledge Mean</td>
<td>4.378</td>
<td>4.693</td>
<td>4.592</td>
<td>4.589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global Knowledge SD</td>
<td>.729</td>
<td>.822</td>
<td>.606</td>
<td>.840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global Knowledge n</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global Attitudes Mean</td>
<td>3.753</td>
<td>4.031</td>
<td>3.758</td>
<td>3.676</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global Attitudes SD</td>
<td>.724</td>
<td>.762</td>
<td>.670</td>
<td>.939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global Attitudes n</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Confidence Mean</td>
<td>3.874</td>
<td>4.526</td>
<td>3.698</td>
<td>3.914</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Confidence SD</td>
<td>.937</td>
<td>.722</td>
<td>.831</td>
<td>1.095</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Confidence n</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Interest Mean</td>
<td>4.036</td>
<td>4.422</td>
<td>3.950</td>
<td>4.146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Interest SD</td>
<td>.723</td>
<td>.691</td>
<td>.638</td>
<td>.755</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Interest n</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Efficacy Mean</td>
<td>3.444</td>
<td>3.317</td>
<td>3.288</td>
<td>3.041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Efficacy SD</td>
<td>.779</td>
<td>.859</td>
<td>.501</td>
<td>.824</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Efficacy n</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Range = 1.0 (low) to 6.0 (high)

*Percent correct on 37-item knowledge test.

The logs verified that the *Great Decisions* materials were implemented in the classrooms, but suggestions to have students work in groups and apply values analysis/decision-making activities seem not to have been employed, at least as evidenced through the log and two observation visits. The teachers in this sample spent an average of only 9.4% of time with students in small groups. The teacher with the high mean classroom climate score reported no small group activities for the period covered in the log.

Classroom observations were conducted by the researcher and a colleague in classrooms of all but one teacher. The observations confirmed that for all teachers, strategies were varied within the class period, that students were involved in a variety of group sizes, and that materials used by the teachers were appropriate to the lesson being taught. Teachers drew from a variety of materials such as *World Eagle*, newspapers, maps, videotapes, and *What Citizens Need to Know About World Affairs* in addition to *Great Decisions*. The observers also noted that no clear pattern of student responsiveness or
### Table 5
Summary of Log Containing Teacher

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Lecture</th>
<th>Discussion</th>
<th>Audiovisuals</th>
<th>Individual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Minutes</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Occurrences</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Total I.T.†</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
<td>41.3%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>15.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Minutes</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Occurrences</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Total I.T.</td>
<td>45.3%</td>
<td>21.7%</td>
<td>15.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Minutes</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>342</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Occurrences</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Total I.T.</td>
<td>40.1%</td>
<td>8.8%</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Minutes</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Occurrences</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Total I.T.</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
<td>27.2%</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
<td>34.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Minutes</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>535</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Occurrences</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Total I.T.</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td>45.1%</td>
<td>13.5%</td>
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<tr>
<td>6 Minutes</td>
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<td>50</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>% Total I.T.</td>
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<td>29.9%</td>
<td>18.8%</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
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<tr>
<td>7 Minutes</td>
<td>395</td>
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<tr>
<td>% Total I.T.</td>
<td>57.2%</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Summary**

- Minutes: 685, 1,927, 680, 605
- Percent of Total Instructional Time: 12.5%, 35.2%, 12.4%, 11.1%

†I.T. (Instructional Time).

*p < .01
### Reported Time Spent on Activities/Strategies

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Small Groups</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Review</th>
<th>Evaluation</th>
<th>Total Min. Rptd. in Log</th>
<th>Classroom Climate</th>
<th>Score*</th>
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<td>123</td>
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<td>70</td>
<td>763</td>
<td>Mean 4.875</td>
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<tr>
<td>16.1%</td>
<td>90</td>
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<tr>
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<td>4.9%</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>1,185</td>
<td>Mean 4.824</td>
<td>SD .657</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4.2%</td>
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<td>770</td>
<td>Mean 4.389</td>
<td>SD .691</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>5.2%</td>
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<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>690</td>
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<td>SD .572</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>513</td>
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<td>620</td>
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<tr>
<td>9.4%</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
student involvement related to classroom activities. The level of student reac-
tion varied by teacher and the type of activity being implemented. Reports
by the two observers were consistent for the same teacher. Both observers
reported that students in each of the classrooms appeared free and comfort-
able in asking questions but did so infrequently. The teachers all seemed to
have a good rapport with students. Table 6 presents a summary of the
observer's perceptions of student interaction and teacher behaviors on a scale
of 1 (low) to 6 (high), with 6 reflecting a more open classroom as defined
by the literature.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was: (1) to determine what, if any, relationship
exists between classroom climate and global knowledge, global attitudes, and
political attitudes of students in high school international studies classes; (2)
to determine if gender and/or racial differences exist in relation to the in-
fluence of classroom climate on student global knowledge and global and
political attitudes; and (3) to identify through observation what overtly
distinguishes classes that are perceived by students as "more open" from
classes perceived by students as being "less open". Each of these points is
addressed below.

For this group of students enrolled in an International Studies/World Af-
fairs course where teachers' classrooms were generally viewed by students
as being open and supportive, there was a moderate positive relationship be-
tween classroom climate and student global knowledge, global attitudes, and
political attitudes. Although no comparison group was used in this study,
the findings seem to corroborate findings from previous research which sug-
gest that programs and materials designed specifically for global studies have
positive outcomes in terms of student global knowledge and attitudes (Elley,
1964; Kehoe, 1980; Mitsakos, 1977; Smith, 1977). Previous studies have not,
however, explored the relationship of global knowledge and/or global at-
titudes with classroom climate and these findings suggest an area worth in-
vestigating further.

When compared to previous studies, the findings of this research cor-
roborate previous findings that there is a moderate positive correlation be-
tween student perceptions of the openness of classroom climate and some
student political attitudes (Baughman, 1975; Ehman, 1969, 1977; Hahn, et
In regard to specific political attitudes, the two most recent studies (Hahn,
et al., 1988; Harwood 1989), using earlier forms of the same instrument us-
ed in the current study, found, as did this study, that students who perceived
more open levels of classroom climate had positive attitudes of political ef-
ficacy. The current study generated an r value of .34 compared to r values
of .20 and .33 respectively in previous studies. The interscale correlation of
classroom climate and political confidence also corroborates Harwood's inter-

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scale correlation (in both studies $r = .31$) and is consistent with the earlier studies (Hahn, et al., 1988; Ehman, 1977). The relationship of a more open classroom climate to political interest ($r = .24$) is consistent with previous findings of Hahn et al. (1988) and Ehman (1977) but is weaker than the rela-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STUDENT INTERACTION</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Student-to-Student</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Many Students</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>Student Initiated</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students Able to Reflect</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Normative Discourse</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>TEACHER BEHAVIOR</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Little Teacher</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accepts and/or Uses</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provides</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interacts in a Friendly Manner</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Normative Discourse</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- average observation score for all teachers.
Note: Higher score indicates attributes of a more open classroom climate
tionship identified by Harwood (r = .35). One possible explanation for the high correlation found by Harwood across all scales, and for Political Interest in particular, is that many of the students in her sample were participants in the Close-Up program in which students voluntarily participate in a visit to government officials in Washington, D.C. and therefore may have higher levels of political interest than the general population and the students in this study.

Findings related to political trust suggest further work is needed before any conclusive results can be drawn. Weak factor loadings resulted in using a 7 item political trust scale [only three items loaded under trust at .600 or higher] with a Cronbach alpha lower than the other scales. Moreover, the weak correlation (r = .14) between classroom climate and political trust for the current study is the lowest of the five attitudinal scale correlations. Baughman (1975) and Zevin (1983) found that positive perceptions of classroom climate correlated with lower levels of political trust than with other political attitudes. The same was true for the correlation levels of political trust and classroom climate with students in the Hahn et al. (1988) sample (r = .21) and the Harwood (1989) sample (r = .25) which was also the lowest of her political attitude scale correlations. The findings of the current study reinforce these findings. Only Ehman’s (1977) study contradicts the general trend of finding a weak but positive correlation between classroom climate and political trust. If the relationship between perceptions of an open classroom climate and lower levels of political trust continue to be found, this should not necessarily be an area of concern. It may be that in an open classroom environment where students have developed positive attitudes of political confidence, efficacy, and interest, they may not accept governmental decisions without questions. Lack of complete trust may ultimately lead students to become participating citizens.

In general, this study corroborates the primary findings of previous studies regarding the relationship of perceptions of a more open classroom climate to positive student political attitudes.

In regard to gender differences on the individual scales of classroom climate, global knowledge, global attitudes, and political attitudes, the only statistically significant differences in this study related to levels of global knowledge and perceptions of classroom climate. In this study males scored significantly higher on a test of global knowledge. This is consistent with findings from general social studies tests such as the 1981-1982 National Assessment of Educational Progress (n.d.) and the California Assessment Program (Kneedler, 1988) and corroborates findings by Jennings and Niemi (1974) in regard to knowledge of civics. No comparative available data relating to gender differences related to the acquisition of global knowledge was identified, but it appears that in regard to global, as well as other social studies knowledge, females may score lower on tests of knowledge. There were no gender differences relating to global attitudes for this sample.
Findings suggest that females in this sample viewed classroom climate as more open than did males and corroborates previous findings (Hahn, et al., 1988; Landress, 1989). This study also corroborates previous findings that there are no gender differences related to perceptions of political efficacy (Easton & Dennis, 1969; Hahn, et al., 1988; Hess & Torney, 1967; Jennings & Niemi, 1974) or political trust (Hahn, et al., 1988; Hahn & Avery, 1985; Harper, 1987; Jennings & Niemi, 1974).

The line of research related to measures of political confidence and political interest is less consistent. In regard to political confidence and political interest for this sample, no gender differences were found. Hahn, et al. (1988) found that males held more positive attitudes on these two scales than females, and Harper (1987) reported males reporting higher levels of political interest than females. Additional research is needed in regard to these attitudes.

When examining the individual scales of classroom climate, global knowledge, global attitudes, and political attitudes by race, there were some interesting data. Black students in this sample appeared to perceive the classroom climate to be more open than did their white classmates. White students in this sample, however, had significantly higher levels of global knowledge than did black students. No previous research was identified which examined global knowledge by race. This finding warrants further exploration in future studies to determine why, even though the relationship between classroom climate and global knowledge for black students in this sample is stronger than for whites, white students in this sample have higher levels of global knowledge than did black students. No previous research was identified which examined global knowledge by race. This finding warrants further exploration in future studies to determine why, even though the relationship between classroom climate and global knowledge for black students in this sample is stronger than for whites, white students in this sample have higher levels of global knowledge.

Black students in this sample seemed to hold more positive feelings of political interest and efficacy than did white students. Ehman (1969) found black students in his sample to have lower levels of political cynicism (the opposite of trust) than white students when exposed to a more open classroom climate. That was not found in this study as there was no statistically significant difference between perceptions of political trust between black and white students. The fact that most of the black students in this sample were in the relatively open climate classrooms suggests that climate could have contributed to their positive feelings of political efficacy. This study, therefore, seems to corroborate Ehman’s (1969) findings that black students in more open classroom climates have more positive feelings of political efficacy than white students. Black students in this sample had greater levels of political interest and efficacy than white students, which contradicts much earlier research. Replications of this study are needed to determine whether the finding is unique to this sample or would be found among other samples in the 1990s.
One of the means by which data were collected to address the exploratory questions was through classroom observation. The observations were conducted in an effort to validate data gathered from self-reported teacher logs and student responses on attitudinal surveys. The observations and reports in the logs were very similar among all of the teachers with one prominent exception whose log reflected dramatically different information (see teacher 7 on Table 5). This teacher spent a great deal of time involved in lecture/discussion activities, reported no use of small group activities (at least for the three week period of time covered in the log), and reported more time devoted to review and evaluation than any other teacher. This teacher also used a great deal of sarcasm with students (e.g., "Class, can you believe student X remembered to bring a pencil to class today?") and the students openly returned the use of sarcasm toward the teacher. Plaques on the classroom walls indicated that the teacher was popular (e.g., yearbook dedication on two occasions, STAR teacher, etc.). Neither the students nor the teacher appeared to refrain from the use of sarcasm despite the presence of the observer. The same teacher had the highest mean score (5.349 on a 6.000 scale) indicating student perceptions of an open classroom. It may be that students truly felt free to express their feelings to this teacher both on issues unrelated to social studies and also on social studies issues.

Barber (1989) suggested that schools need to teach students how to engage in public talk. He defined public talk as "talk in common among a community of citizens about common issues. . . . [and] thus a form of public thinking rather than private thinking and it can be undertaken only in a public setting where citizens debate and deliberate together" (pp. 355–356). Barber stated that schools can teach such "public talk" by permitting students to talk about questions of common concern so that as adults they can participate in debate about important public issues and influence change. It may be that in the classrooms of teachers where students can listen to opinions of others and speak out about international issues in an open classroom climate, the formulation of positive global attitudes and political attitudes develop. Future research needs to examine the impact of such global education courses and "public talk" classrooms on political participation.

During the classroom observations conducted for this study, the two observers made note of the amount of "normative" as opposed to "factual" discourse which took place between teacher and student and between student and teacher. As Ehman (1970) found, students and teachers in this study engaged in little normative discussion of issues. Ehman did note, however, that in classrooms where teachers used more normative discourse, students had more positive perceptions of classroom climate. In contrast to Ehman's findings, however, there was little relationship between the amount of time spent in normative discourse (on the days observed) and student perceptions of classroom climate with the group of students in this study.
Implications

A concern frequently raised in the citizenship education literature is: can a person develop positive national and international orientations simultaneously, or must one be at the expense of the other? The findings of this study begin to give empirical support to the belief that students can simultaneously develop positive global and national attitudes. Students enrolled in the International Studies/World Affairs classes in this study showed that in classrooms where students felt free to discuss issues openly and express their opinions, there were high levels of global knowledge and positive perceptions of global attitudes. At the same time, students developed political confidence, political efficacy, and political interest related to national politics. It appears that even in a course designed specifically for the purpose of examining controversial international/global issues, students develop positive political attitudes toward both global issues and the national political arena.

The findings of this study corroborate earlier research studies which identified a correlation between openness of classroom climate and positive student political attitudes. There are, therefore, implications for teacher educators, curriculum supervisors, and school administrators as they work with teachers to improve the effectiveness of citizenship education. Greater emphasis during teacher preparation and in-service education may need to be given to addressing attributes of an open classroom and how teachers can conduct classes to help students develop more positive political attitudes. If schools are to prepare students to become humane, rational, participating citizens of a democratic society in an increasingly interdependent world, researchers must identify the attributes of an open classroom climate and this information must be provided to teachers. Such knowledge is needed by teacher trainers and staff development personnel so that they can plan instruction for teachers which will ultimately result in students being more knowledgeable about global issues as well as holding more positive political and global attitudes.

References


Baughman, J. E. (1975). An investigation of the impact of civics on politi-


development of political and economic attitudes in secondary social studies classrooms. Unpublished D.A.S.T. project. Atlanta, GA: Emory University.


A Case Study of The High School Entrance Examination in Chiba Prefecture, Japan

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University of Pittsburgh

Introduction

Although Thomas P. Rohlen states that "the university entrance exam is the dark engine driving high school culture," an understanding of Japanese secondary education must be based upon an understanding of the role of the high school entrance examination (kootoogakkoo nyuugakusha shiken) in the shaping of the very high school culture about which Rohlen writes (1983, p. 317). Rohlen indeed acknowledges this role in his ethnographic study of five high schools in Kobe city. "Although the attention of Western scholars has focused primarily on the problem of college entrance in Japan, and particularly on the formation of future elites," he writes, "the time of high school entrance represents an even more crucial juncture in the total process of educational stratification" (1983, p. 121). In contrast to the studies of education in the cities of Kobe (Rohlen, 1983) and Kyoto (Cummings, 1980), the emphasis of this research is on Japanese education as viewed from the prefectural level (one of 47 regional government districts analogous to the American state which also include the cities of Tokyo, Kyoto, Osaka, Hiroshima, Nagasaki, and the island of Okinawa). The research here is based upon a case study of the Chiba Prefectural Board of Educational (Chiba-Ken Kyooiku Iinkai) and the role of the prefectural board of education (ken kyooiku iinkai) as the primary agency of educational administration in the Japanese educational system.

Nowhere is the prefectural role illustrated in more dramatic fashion than in the administration of the high school entrance examination which serves as a critical juncture in the movement of students from lower secondary to upper secondary levels. As seen in Table 1, lower secondary or junior high schools, and elementary schools, are classified as national (kokuritsu), public (koritsu), or private (watakushiritsu). The public junior high schools, along
Elementary and Lower Secondary Schools, Students, and Teachers in Chiba Prefecture in 1986

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<th>Schools</th>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>970</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public</td>
<td>805 (19)</td>
<td>512,227</td>
<td>18,902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1,911</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>811 (19)</td>
<td>515,108</td>
<td>19,012</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>699</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>273,362</td>
<td>11,583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7,313</td>
<td>307</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>366</td>
<td>281,374</td>
<td>11,921</td>
</tr>
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</table>

From "Education in Chiba Prefecture in 1986 (Chiba-Ken no Kyooiku)," April 1986.

with public elementary schools, are organized into school districts analogous to those in the United States, districts created in fact by the American authorities during the Allied Occupation of Japan (1945–1952). In Chiba Prefecture, 348 of the 366 junior high schools, and 805 of the 811 elementary schools, are classified as public schools and function largely in response to local boards of education. Elementary and junior high schools comprise the nine years of compulsory education in Japan and, at the prefectural level, fall under the Compulsory Education Section (Gimukyooiku ka) of the Prefectural Board of Education.

At the upper secondary or senior high school level, as seen in Table 2, the classifications change. There are now prefectural (kenritsu) and municipal (ichiritsu) high schools as well as private schools, and of the 201 full-time high schools in the prefecture, 141 are prefectural schools. There are no public schools, whereby high schools are organized into local school districts, at the upper secondary level, as with elementary and lower secondary schools. Instead, high schools are primarily prefectural schools and fall under a separate High School Section (Kookookyooiku ka) of the Prefectural Board of Education. The entire budget for these schools is prefectural, employment policies are prefectural, and, what is important here, admission to these schools is based largely upon the high school entrance examination, a prefectural examination. To the extent that they have primary funding responsibility for the eight municipal high schools, municipalities administer these schools through municipal boards of education, but prefectural administration over municipal high schools is reflected in admission policies based primarily upon the prefectural high school examination.

In Rohlen’s terms, the high school entrance examination is a “crucial juncture” in the movement of students from the lower secondary to upper secondary levels and from primarily public junior high school to primarily
prefectural senior high schools. The high school examination process has yet to be explored within the prefectural framework, yet it is this very structure by which the Japanese educational system organizes secondary level education. The research presented here offers a case study of the high school entrance examination in Chiba Prefecture and illustrates both the structure and function of a Japanese secondary education.

### The High School Entrance Examination: Structure and Function in Secondary Education

#### The Examination

Almost every student who desires to enter a prefectural or municipal high school must take some form of the prefectural high school entrance examination, with exceptions made for returning overseas students (kikokushijo), although they usually take portions of the exam, and selected vocational track students who may be admitted to high school by recommendation. A separate exam is provided for part-time or night-school students. Given over a two-day period in late February (February 27–28, 1986) at each of the 143 prefectural and eight municipal high schools within Chiba prefecture, prospective high school students take the exam at the particular school which they want to attend. (It should be noted that there were 141 prefectural high schools at the time of these calculations but the totals here are based upon prefectural figures. With the new school year, there are 143 prefectural high schools, two new schools having come into existence. Students could thus take the high school entrance exams for 143 prefectural schools.)

For Showa 61, the academic year beginning April 1, 1986, 64,070 candidates took the full-time high school entrance examinations for the 53,865 available positions in the 151 public high schools in Chiba prefecture (Table 3). One thousand six hundred and ten students would be admitted by recommendation, raising the total number of openings to 55,475. The statistical breakdown

### Table 2

Upper Secondary Schools, Students, and Teachers in Chiba Prefecture in 1986

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td><strong>Full-time</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefectural</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>143,383</td>
<td>7,366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipal</td>
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<td>9,861</td>
<td>494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>63,737</td>
<td>2,431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>216,981</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Part-time</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Prefectural</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2,789</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipal</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2,941</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3

The High School Entrance Examination: February 27–28, 1986

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Official Openings</th>
<th>Initial Applicants</th>
<th>Actual Candidates</th>
<th>Successful Candidates</th>
<th>Admissions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Prefectural High Schools</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full-time (143)</td>
<td>52,220 (50,719)</td>
<td>66,520</td>
<td>60,441</td>
<td>52,921 (1,501)</td>
<td>52,740 (1,501)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Municipal High Schools</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full-time (8)</td>
<td>3,255 (3,146)</td>
<td>3,903</td>
<td>3,629</td>
<td>3,333 (109)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Prefectural High Schools</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part-time (17)</td>
<td>1,240</td>
<td>953</td>
<td>773</td>
<td>592</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Municipal High Schools</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part-time (1)</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>56,795 (55,185)</td>
<td>71,431</td>
<td>64,886</td>
<td>5,883 (1,610)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From “Showa 61 Nendo Kooritsu Kootoogakkoo Nyuugakusa Jookyoo Ichiran Hyoo,” Showa 61 Nen 4 Gatsu 15 Nichi (April 15, 1986)
“Showa 61 Nendo Kooritsu Kootoogakkoo Nyuugakusa Shingansha Kakuteisuu Ichiran,” Showa 61 Nen 3 Gatsu 6 Ka (March 6, 1986)

indicates 60,441 students took the exam for 50,719 positions in the 143 prefectural high schools. With a built-in-allowance for 1,501 recommendees, there were a total of 52,220 openings in prefectural schools. Another 3,629 students took the same exam for 3,146 positions in the eight municipal high schools and, with 109 positions for recommendees, there were 3,255 available positions in the municipal schools. Figures are also provided for part-time and night-school admissions.

Viewed at the level of the individual school for example, in data recorded by the prefectural board of education (Table 4), Chiba Minami High School had a total of 360 available openings, the equivalent of eight classes of 45 students per class, yet 523 students had indicated they were going to take the exam, 1.45 students for every position. Over the two-day exam period, 494 of the 523 actually took the exam, 315 boys and 179 girls. Of the 494, 371 passed the exam for Chiba Minami High School, 241 boys and 130 girls. Thus there were 371 students accepted for 360 official slots. The school builds in an allowance for students who will decline acceptance based upon the number of first-year classes minus one in order to compute the actual number of students whom they will actually accept. Thus Chiba Minami would accept 367 of the 371 students who passed the exam. In this particular year
however, the school deviated slightly from the formula and 369 students actually entered the first-year class beginning with the new school year on April 1, 1986.

By the same token, Chiba High School, considered the best school in the prefecture, had 450 official slots available, for which 627 applicants indicated they would take the test. Of these 627, 594 actually came to the school and sat for the exam, 475 boys and 119 girls. Of these 594, 461 actually passed the exam, 370 boys and 91 girls. According to the above formula, there would be room for a maximum of 459 students in the first-year class (10 classes of 45 students per class; 450 plus 10 minus one). A total of 454 students actually entered Chiba High School in the first-year class for the new school year.

At Kimitsu Noorin High School, applicants took the exam for a particular vocational track. Thus there were 80 openings including eight slots for recommendees for the agricultural (40) and livestock breeding (40) tracks, 123 interested students, all boys, of whom 83 sat for the exam. Forty-four, including six recommendees, were accepted for the agricultural course and 42 including two recommendees for livestock breeding. Forty-three actually enrolled in agriculture and 42 in livestock. For agricultural engineering and forestry, there were also 80 positions with 15 slots for recommendees. Of the 83 in-

### Table 4
The High School Entrance Examination: Selected Schools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Official Openings</th>
<th>Initial Applicants</th>
<th>Actual Candidates</th>
<th>Successful Candidates</th>
<th>Admissions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chiba Minami High School</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>523</td>
<td>494</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiba High School</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>627</td>
<td>594</td>
<td>461</td>
<td>454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kimitsu Noorin High School</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural</td>
<td>40(72)</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>44(6)</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livestock Breeding</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>42(2)</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural Breeding</td>
<td>40(65)</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>44(11)</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forestry</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>42(4)</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home Economics</td>
<td>120(103)</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>128(17)</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


"Showa 61 Nendo Kooritsu Kootoogakkoo Nyuugakusha Shingansha Kakuteisuu Ichiran," Showa 61 Nen 3 Gatsu 6 Ka (March 6, 1986)
interested applicants, 77 took the exam, all boys. Forty-four students including 11 recommendees were accepted for agricultural engineering of whom 43 entered the program. Forty-two students including four recommendees were accepted for forestry with 42 entering the program. For the home economics course, there were 120 available positions with 17 for recommendees and 189 students interested, all girls. Of 146 students who took the exam, 128 were accepted, including 17 recommendees, and 123 began the program.

Of the 66,520 students who signed up to take the exam for the prefectural high schools, 60,441 actually took the exam, and 52,921 actually passed the exam, a figure which includes the 1,501 recommendees. There were 52,220 official openings, a figure which includes the recommendees as well, and the actual number of students who entered prefectural high schools for the new school year was 52,740. If the focus is on the difference between those who took the exam and those who entered school, there were 7,701 students who were left out "on the waves." If the focus is on the number who intended to take the test, then 13,780 students had to find an alternative to a public high school education for that school year. These figures of course do not include those students who simply chose to not even apply for the exam.

These students have several options, the first of which is to drop out of school after their nine years of compulsory education. A second option is to become a chuugakkoo roonin (roonin literally translates as "wave man," or masterless samurai, one who does not belong anywhere) whereby the student stays out of school for a full year and concentrates on preparing for the high school exam the following year. He may study on his own, hire private tutors, or attend one of the many private preparatory or cram schools (juku) in the area. His third option is to enter a private high school for his final three years, or even attend a private high school for a year or two and then take the public high school entrance examination again. Students often take a private high school entrance exam prior to the public one as a precaution in the event of failure. In Chiba prefecture, there are presently 63,737 students attending 52 private high schools, approximately 28.98% of the total high school population. Of the 23,559 first-year private school students (Showa 60/1985), the question is how many of them are refugees from the public school system, considering the 52,220 official openings.

The Development

Given the fact that almost every public school student in Chiba takes the high school entrance examination, the importance placed upon the exam by teachers, principals, and administrators is hardly surprising. That this exam is constructed and administered at the prefectural level is a reflection of the prefecture's involvement at every level of the Japanese educational system. In this regard, the examination system reflects the dependence of the public schools at the lower secondary level, the so-called city, town, and village schools for example, upon the prefectural board of education, thus serving the institutional function of reinforcing the educational hierarchy.
The responsibility for the development of the examination is placed upon the prefectural consultants or supervisors (shidooshuji), hereafter referred to as consultants, for the five major subject areas (Japanese, mathematics, science, English, and social studies) in the Supervisors’ or Consultants’ Section (Shidooka) of the Prefectural Board of Education. Beginning in early July, the consultants supervise the construction of the exams which culminate in the two-day examination taken by the students in late February prior to the beginning of the next school year in April. The development of the exams provides a revealing look at the ultimate purposes of the Japanese educational system.

From the time of the initial meeting on July 10th, there were, at the very least, 21 meetings of various members of the examination committees specifically to construct, revise, and review the exams. It is interesting to note that each one of the five subject-area exams, given to full-time, part-time, and make-up students, was constructed by the examination committees, not by a private testing agency. Thus the total involvement of the prefecture with the exams in terms of committee composition and representation of prefecture educators, the education focus selected by these representatives, and the resultant commentary by teachers and the public alike, both positive and negative, reinforces the institutional role of the prefectural board of education at all levels of the educational hierarchy.

The general procedure in the development of the exams was for the five subject-area consultants to isolate themselves from the rest of the section in a separate prefectural education building. Sometimes at separate tables in the same room, and sometimes at tables in two separate rooms, the examination committees would meet throughout the day. Although the primary figures were the consultants themselves, especially during the latter stages of the process, they were assisted by educators in their subject areas whom they selected from the prefecture at large.

The English-language committee, for example, was composed of eight members; the two primary members were the two English-language consultants (Eigo Shidooshuji) of the Shidooka, Inoue sensei who had the responsibility for the English program at the high school level, and Shiratori sensei who had the responsibility for English at the compulsory education level. Inoue as the high school consultant, and as the senior person, had primary responsibility for the English examination. The third member of the group was Nishikiouri sensei, the kyookashidooin or assistant to the English consultant, who taught English at Togane High School.

The five remaining members included two representatives from the prefectural General Education Center, both of whom had been teachers prior to their present positions. Motohiro sensei had previously taught English at the high school level, and Matsumoto sensei had previously taught at the junior high school level. One of the committee members, Takahaski sensei who had taught junior high school, came from the District Education Center at

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Higashi-Katsushika. The two remaining members were both teachers, Ikeda sensei from Kemigaya High School and Suzuki sensei from Isobei Daini Junior High School. In a structural sense, the committee was therefore organized along high school/junior high school lines with four representatives from each level.

In the initial meetings, each of the committee members submitted drafts of various parts of the examination. After reviewing these drafts, the short essay for example, the members decided by consensus which of the drafts were more appropriate for use on the examination. These drafts were consistently reviewed by the committee in several meetings over a two month period whereupon, by early September, the basic outline of the exam had taken form. The same procedure was also being followed in the other four subject areas.

From mid-September through late October, the two consultants continually worked the drafts into form. On October 29, 1985, the final drafts for all subjects were presented to the Vice-Superintendent of the Prefectural Board of Education for his review. In late November and into December, the two consultants and the assistant consultant met to develop the part-time exam which was much simpler and easier to construct.

From the beginning of the new year in January through mid-February, on some five occasions, all the subject-area consultants met at the printing bureau in Tokyo to review the exams as they would appear in their final form. The January 8 meeting saw 16 consultants travel to Tokyo from Chiba for the initial review. There were two English representatives, four Japanese language, four social studies, four science, and two mathematics; these figures included various section chiefs sitting in for their subject areas. At the second check on January 22, there were 14 consultants including Mitsuhashi sensei, the chief of the Shidooka, who reviewed each of the five examinations.

On February 21, the exams were brought to Chiba, to the same building where the examination committees had been meeting. With at least four consultants there around the clock, the exams were kept here until February 26, the day before they were to be given, when they were picked up by representatives from the individual schools across the prefecture. The prefectural consultants themselves, based upon figures submitted by the individual schools, counted out the exact number of exams and answer sheets for each subject for each school, collated them, and organized them for pick-up by two representatives from each school, the assistant principal and a teacher who served as “bodyguard.” The designated time for all 151 high schools to pick up their exams was between 9:00 a.m. and 11:00 a.m. on the morning of February 26. “Everything is very precise,” one consultant noted to me. A new consultant admitted that he “didn’t realize what this was all about. It surprised even me,” he noted.
Examination Day

The exams were brought back to the schools and given by each school over the two-day exam period to those students who applied to that particular school to take the test. On the first day, the Japanese-language, social studies, and science exams were given in three 50-minute sessions under the supervision of the assistant principal of the school as teachers proctored and corrected the tests. Exams given on the second day were English-language and mathematics in two 50-minute sessions.

While the tests were being given, the prefectural consultants were standing by at the offices of the prefectural board waiting for problems, questions, and commentary by teachers, parents, the general public, and the newspapers. The exams were corrected by the teachers of each school on the afternoon of the day they were given. They were also released to the public by the subject-area consultants within ten minutes after the examination in that subject had begun. The entire examination for each subject appeared in the evening newspaper on the day it was given to the students. On the first day, the Japanese-language, science, and social studies consultants answered calls all afternoon and into the next day concerning their respective exams. An error had been found in the social studies exam by several schools which meant that it had to be corrected. Thus each one of the 151 schools had to be notified of the change. This was done through a telephone network as the consultants then proceeded to call 18 predetermined schools who in turn notified other schools in the network. The newspapers meanwhile had gotten hold of this and had become "persistent" in the words of one consultant, which meant that prefectural personnel had to explain to the general public as well as the teachers what had happened and what was being done.

The same procedure was repeated on the second day as the English-language and mathematics consultants stood by. The second day was snowy and windy and the first order of business was to call the railroad and bus lines throughout the prefecture to check on delays. It turned out that this was a relatively minor problem only in the northern part of the prefecture where there was a 20-minute delay. What if it was a major problem? They would then proceed to notify all 151 high schools through their telephone network. With the exams released to the public through the newspaper, the English and mathematics consultants answered calls and waited for comments through the day into the following day.

On March 6, the final results of the examinations were called in to the Shidooka by the individual schools. These results were also posted by the individual schools as they were released to the public. Students found out their status by visiting the school where they took the exam and reviewing the posted listing. In many cases however, parents or teachers came in place
of the student as a buffer in the event of failure. The individual schools later submitted a follow-up report to the prefecture.

**Students, Teachers, and Schools**

In the February 6, 1986 edition of the *Chiba Nippoo* newspaper, three weeks prior to the examination, a list of the number of prospective applicants for each of the 143 prefectural and 8 municipal high schools appeared along with the number of applicants to openings, as seen in Table 5. The figures indicate that for Chiba High School, for example, there were 625 candidates for the 450 official openings for a ratio of 1.39 candidates for each position. For Chiba Minami High School, there were 526 candidates for 360 positions for a ratio of 1.46. For Oihama High School located in the southern part of Chiba city, there were 442 applicants for 450 positions for a ratio of 0.98. And for Funabashi Higashi High School located in Funabashi city, there were 592 applicants for 360 positions for a ratio of 1.64 applicants to positions.

**Table 5**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>High School</th>
<th>First Call (2/6/86)</th>
<th></th>
<th>Second Call (2/14/86)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Applicants</td>
<td>Openings</td>
<td>Ratio</td>
<td>Applicants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiba High School</td>
<td>625</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>1.39</td>
<td>627</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiba Minami High School</td>
<td>526</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>1.46</td>
<td>523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oihama High School</td>
<td>442</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>0.98</td>
<td>467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funabashi Higashi High School</td>
<td>592</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>1.64</td>
<td>570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefectural Total</td>
<td>66,574</td>
<td>52,220</td>
<td>1.31</td>
<td>66,490</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


This listing was referred to as the “first call.” The individual schools record their applicant data whereupon it is compiled by the *Shidooka* into a listing for the prefecture as a whole. It is then offered to the public at large and students in particular who can now weigh the competition and their prospects for gaining admission to the school to which they initially applied.

The second call, dated February 13, 1986, two weeks prior to the exam, shows the adjustments made since the first call. At Chiba High School, there were now 627 applicants for the 450 openings, an increase of two which didn’t affect the overall ratio. At Chiba Minami High School, there were now 523 applicants for the 360 openings, a decrease of three for a ratio of 1.45. At
Oihama High School however, there were now 467 applicants for the 450 positions, an increase of 25 which changed the ratio from 0.98 to 1.04. And at Funabashi Higashi High School, the number of applicants was now 570, down 22, for the 360 positions, a change in the ratio from 1.64 to 1.58 (Showa 61 Nendo Kooritsu Kootogakkoo Nyuugakusha Shigansha Kakuteisuu Ichiran).

These adjustments reflect the intense jockeying for the available positions relative to the applicant pool and the realization by the student of his ability and the nature of the school to which he applies. The crucial element here is that the student takes the high school entrance examination only for the one school where he actually sits for the exam. In practice, this means that if the student applies to Chiba High School, he is one of 627 applicants for the 450 positions at Chiba High School exclusively. If he succeeds in his aims, he becomes one of the 454 members of the first year class. If he falls short, as did 133 students (from the 594 students who actually took the exam), then not only does he fail to enter Chiba High School but any public high school as well. Considering that Chiba High School is considered the best high school in the prefecture, and that only the very best students will even apply, 133 to 173 of the very best students in the prefecture (depending on which figures are used) failed to enter a public high school in Chiba prefecture for the present school year. What this means is that students and their families will very carefully determine their prospects of admission to those schools appropriate to the student’s abilities, based upon academic performance during junior high school, performance on practice examinations, and published information on previous examinations as noted below. The implication is that public high schools within the prefecture are somehow ranked on the ability level of the students whom they enroll.

Discussions with teachers over this question invariably lead to the higher/lower quality school dichotomy (shingakukoo/teihenkoo) and to a ranking of the top three or four schools in the prefecture in approximately the following order: Chiba High School, Higashi-Katsushika High School, Funabashi Kenritsu High School, and Chiba Joshi High School. This ranking is reinforced, and potential applicant decisions are made, based upon the quantitative rankings of schools done by private educational organizations based upon entrance exam scores. Thus for example, on February 3, 1986, in the Chiba Nippoo newspaper, a listing appeared of the 117 academic or regular course high schools (futsuuka) with their projected average and minimum passing scores on that year’s entrance exam to be given February 26-27, 1986, based upon data from the previous three years (Zenkenhensachi Kokotetsu Gookaku Heikenten-Gookaku Saiteiten). Based upon a score of 100 for each of the five major subjects, the projected average score for Chiba High School was 442, with the projected minimum score as 423. For Chiba Minami High School, the projected average score was 369 while the projected minimum was 351. For Oihama High School, the projected average was 296 and the
projected minimum was 256, and for Funabashi Higashi High School, the figures were 387 and 368. Projections for vocational schools such as Kimitsu Noorin High School were not even given (*Todai Semina Muhonbu*).

What appears in the newspaper is based upon data from private educational research organizations which publish school by school analyses of applicants. High school exam data is available for the last three years in terms of the number of openings, the number of applicants, ratio of applicants to openings, number of those who sat for the test, number who passed, ratio of successful applicants to the total, and scores based upon a conversion table. Thus for the previous school year, 589 applicants took the exam for Chiba High School, 559 actually sat for the test (1.31), and 460 passed the test with an average score of 70.6. For Higashi-Katsushika High School, 754 students applied for the 450 positions (1.68), 688 actually sat for the test, and 458 passed the test with an average score of 68.3. Thus Higashi-Katsushika High School may be ranked 2.3 points lower than Chiba High School. For Chiba Minami High School, there were 461 applicants for 360 positions (1.28), 369 passed out of 450 who took the test (1.22), and their average score was 61.4. For Kimitsu Noorin High School, for the agricultural and livestock breeding tracks, there were 80 openings including seven by recommendation, 85 applicants (1.16), 66 took the exam, the same exam given to the applicants for Chiba High School, all of whom passed with an average score of 36.5 (*Shingaku Shishin: Shingaku Kenkyuuukai*).

The data are even further broken down to show successful applicants by location, exact scores which they achieve, and male/female success ratio. Based upon these figures, it is therefore quite easy to quantitatively rank order all public high schools in Chiba prefecture as well as to adjust the rankings year by year. Thus one teacher told me that his school had been ranked around seventh or eighth but had jumped to fifth as a result of the previous year's scores.

What this all means is that the student candidate knows the reputation and the ranking of the particular school to which he is applying and the past ratio of those who were successful. The junior high school student knows well in advance which educational level he must aim for as he attempts to enter the high school of his choice. He is guided in this regard by teachers, counselors, and parents who attempt to steer him toward success in terms of the school where he has the best chance to succeed. Because virtually every student in Chiba prefecture takes the same high school entrance examination over the same two-day period, at the high school which he wants to enter, there is very little room for a margin of error. In this regard, the price is extremely high, as he will be unable to enter any public high school for that school year if he fails the examination. He has other options but they exclude public high school for that year. There is very little opportunity to "shoot for the stars," to gamble on what he may want, what he might have a chance at, but what he realistically knows are limited chances for success.
The price is simply too high.

The student is thus being tracked, with his knowledge and with the
knowledge of his parents and teachers, into public schools which are quan-
titatively ranked, based upon the scores of a single two-day examination in
five subject-areas. He will enter a higher or lower level school, an academic
course school or a vocational school, a full-time, part-time, or night school.
The high school entrance examination serves the purpose of stratifying the
student population based upon testing ability into a hierarchy of upper secon-
dary schools which graduate their students into a corresponding academic
and occupational hierarchy. "The meritocratic qualities of Japan's exam-
based system offer a powerful legitimation of the prevailing bureaucratic
hierarchies and help socialize individuals to accept their future roles within
them" (Rohlen, 1983, p. 312). "It is, thus, defensible to argue that the most
vital purpose of education in Japan is to stratify its citizens so as to establish
differential access to social and natural resources" (Shimahara, 1979, p. 155).

In this regard, the stratification function of the secondary school system
is reinforced by the personnel of that system. It is seen at the highest levels
of the prefecture in that it is prefectural personnel who are primarily respon-
sible for construction of the entrance examinations. Yet it is the principal
and the teacher who continually reinforce this process by their acceptance
of the importance of the high school entrance examination in particular and
the university entrance exam as well. It is this fact, seen within the context
of the prefecture's personnel policies, that shapes the character of education
in Chiba prefecture. Teachers must teach to examinations and it is their job,
given the measure of success, to ensure that their students pass the examina-
tions which they take. By the same token, the success of the principal is depen-
dent upon how well his students do on the examinations and their very prestige
is dependent upon the schools which they supervise. In Chiba prefecture,
then, the success of those committed to an educational career is quantitatively
measured by the same examination which determines the success of their
students.

Analysis

Although the university entrance examination sets the educational tone
throughout the country, the high school entrance exam, as the primary means
by which the prefectural board of education organizes secondary level educa-
tion, serves to stratify the student population into an educational hierarchy
throughout the prefecture. Because teachers and administrators at all educa-
tional levels are in fact prefectural employees as a result of the 1956 Law
Concerning the Organization and Functions of Local Educational Ad-
ministration, they have little choice but to follow prefectural educational
policy. Their careers depend to a large extent upon the success of their students
on the entrance exams, the cornerstone of that policy, as curriculum and
instruction must both be directed towards these ends, thus reinforcing the
central role which the examinations play in the educational process. Stratifica-
tion of junior high school students into senior high schools determines the
character of the individual school and sets the student’s course for his final
three years of secondary education. The same cycle is again repeated for most
academically-tracked students as they move on to the university level. It is
simply that the high school entrance exam is taken by the greatest majority
of prospective high school students and therefore determines the emphasis
of the junior high school on the one hand and the population of the senior
high school on the other.

The exam also serves the function of establishing the role of the prefec-
tural board of education in schools throughout the prefecture. In terms of
the academic cycle, it is the climax of the school year for all educational per-
sonnel concerned with secondary education. It consumes an inordinate
amount of time on the part of the prefectural consultants who incorporate
the most promising junior and senior high school teachers in their subject
areas into the educational hierarchy through their involvement on the ex-
amination committees. Because the prefectural consultants eventually become
principals themselves, or the assistant principals who have primary respon-
sibility for academic matters, the system continues to turn out administrators
whose access to their positions is based upon their involvement and their suc-
cess in managing the entrance exams for their particular discipline.

The Japanese educational system is thus functionally integrated at the
secondary level in the sense that the success of everyone associated with educa-
tion in the prefecture is, to a large extent, based upon their success on the
entrance examination. What is significant in this regard is the explicit recogni-
tion of the purposes of secondary education, the preparation of students to
pass the entrance exams. Because the system functions toward this end, and
because educational personnel are in agreement with the measure of success,
education in Chiba functions without the dissonance that characterizes much
of the American educational process. That is not to minimize the problems
of the Japanese educational system but rather to note that the consensus on
the direction of the educational process and the measure of success in this
direction indicates that the ideology of the system is in congruence with the
functioning of the system. In Shimahara’s terms, “institutionnal arrange-
ments and cognitive orientation reinforce each other in their major fea-
tures . . . The evolution of education in Japan clearly indicates that formal
education is a function of political and economic institutions . . . Its primary
goals are to mold individuals so as to promote organizational imperatives”
(1979, p. 170). While previous studies have clearly indicated such goals, the
role of the Prefectural Board of Education, viewed through the lens of the
high school entrance examination, had yet to be acknowledged.
References


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Shingaku Kenkyuuukai, *Shingaku Shinshin: Showa 61 Nendo, Kookoo Jukenyoo, Chiba Han (Kooritsu Hen)*, Dainishuu, Funabashi City.


Book Reviews


Reviewed by Steve Joshua Heims, 63 Robson Street, Jamaica Plains, MA 02130

It is difficult to appraise the merits of this or that technology in our society, especially if it is a technology that is already in place and we have become accustomed to it like the air we breathe. Only when the technology produces clear damage, just as when the air is heavily polluted, it quite naturally becomes a topic for dialog. Typically, vested interests delay any curb on their activities as long as possible, while an outcry arises from some segments of the affronted public. The level of discourse tends to be simplistic, the changes made minimal, and any more fundamental consideration of the technology in question ignored.

Langdon Winner is a writer about technologies who starts from scratch. It was known that in one of his courses some years ago he asked his students, as an instructive exercise, to forgo any one technology they had become accustomed to, and to keep a careful journal. They should note any experience of "withdrawal" from the accustomed technology, identify the "needs," habits or discomforts manifested in the context of the experiment, and analyze the pattern of human relationships pertaining to the machine in question.

Such an experiment is in the spirit of Winner’s writings on technologies, and he recommends it. It brings home some of the points he raises and could stimulate critical reflection on the meta-questions he asks: What is an appropriate language for appraising technologies? What are the essential questions to ask in making technological choices? What matters? How does the way we live now compare to the way we want to live?

One can imagine what a student found who shut off the television for a month, perhaps discovering some fascinating, lively activities and new companions, and perhaps also missing the old TV and the fellow-watchers. The daily pattern of living would change for that student. Even the ubiquity and popularity of the television does not deprive the student of choice altogether. Much would depend on how the subculture of student-life is organized, whether the alternatives are easily available. As another example, suppose a student left the car at home and came to rely on bicycle, walking, and streetcars. That too could be liberating and intrinsically happier. It might mean...
rearranging his or her pattern of life. But with a world geared to automobiles it could also be frustrating.

Winner came to the consideration of technology from studies in political theory and intellectual history. He identifies the origins of his concerns with what he experienced happening to his hometown, while a boy in the 1950s: "In a few short years the town witnessed the coming of freeways, supermarkets, jet airplanes, television, guided missiles (which I could watch from my front yard as they were shot from Vandenburg Air Force Base), computers, prefabricated houses in large tracts, wonder drugs, food additives, plastics, and a great many other innovations. The shape of the home and the activities of the family were refashioned to accommodate all kinds of electronic gadgets." (Winner, 1986, p. 169). As an undergraduate he encountered a large bureaucracy, first in the form of the University of California, and then as a summer intern at the Pentagon in Washington, D.C.

He brings considerable literary skill, wit, and lucid thinking—even when the ideas are subtle and complex—to his writings so that they are eminently readable. Subtlety and complexity are part of his point, countering the tendency to oversimplified discourse about technologies. The two volumes under review differ. In *Autonomous Technology*, Winner examines critically a broad spectrum of writings—from Plato and Aristotle to the present—about technology. He pays particular attention to the works of Jacques Ellul, Karl Marx, and Lewis Mumford, in that order, while he cautiously formulates his own philosophy relating technology to politics. In the second volume, which elaborates on the first, his positions are clearly articulated. There he discusses more concretely specific technological enterprises, and examines the obfuscation and sloppiness in the currently conventional language of technologists.

Below I will describe the major themes in the two books, although in the process I necessarily engage in the misdeed of simplification, missing out on the multi-dimensionality and richness of the books.

Winner uses the term "technology" in a broad sense, as Ellul (1964) uses "la technique", as the totality of rational methods at the center of modern society, including not only material gadgets, but also technical activities and social organizations such as bureaucracies. Winner himself makes the case that human autonomy is being lost, has been lost, in modern technological and industrial "progress." As he sees it, potential human agents of change have abdicated their role, and consequently the technology is a powerful "autonomous" political force in itself. A frequent sequence of events begins with a new technology welcomed because it will carry out some task faster and more efficiently. But then it is found that to accommodate the new technology the structure of the society changes, may need to change, in unanticipated and probably undesired ways. The necessary change he calls "the technological imperative." That has been the story of the industrial revolution. In opting for a technology, one marvelled "what wonderful things it
can do," but failed to ask the crucial question of "how will it change our lives?" A relatively clean example of the process is the introduction of the snowmobile in northeastern Finnish Lapland in the 1960s, a region with a culture centered on reindeer herding. Use of snowmobiles, as described by Pelto (1973), resulted not only in more efficient reindeer herding, but also in a dependence for gasoline from outside the local economy, a stratification of a previously egalitarian society into a few "haves" and many "have nots," a neglect of the animals, introduction of unemployment and wage-labor, and a deterioration of the morale of the whole society.

Winner regards technologies, including hardware, as political phenomena in their own right, and considers that details of design have political implications. He rightly ridicules the notion that technologies are merely "neutral" tools. An appropriate question to ask of a technological decision is "who benefits?" and "who loses?" His examples show Robert Moses' influence in New York to make bridges and highways unsuitable for public transportation to discourage poor people and blacks from using them; the introduction of machines in manufacturing with intent of breaking the power of a labor union; the political activism of the handicapped which resulted in making many more facilities accessible to them; a mechanical tomato harvester which had the effect of favoring very large growers and forcing many smaller ones out of the business. Once a technological-political decision is made and the technology is in place, commitments are made, and much original flexibility is lost.

Aside from the general questions, "how will it change our lives?" and "who benefits?", Winner explores how certain technologies may favor particular patterns of organization: some repressive, others liberating; some centralized, others decentralized; some democratic, others authoritarian. In spite of the political implication, the power of decision regarding technologies has long shifted from elected representatives to technocrats, specialists, managers. Even when the artifacts in themselves do not dictate the form of organization, Winner laments, all consideration of what is politically wanted by people is swallowed up by decisions based solely on "the bottom line." To highlight the politically deep issue involved, Winner considers that "today we can examine the interconnected systems of manufacturing, communication, transportation, and the like that have arisen during the past two centuries and appreciate how they form de facto a constitution of sorts, the constitution of a sociotechnical order" (Winner, 1986, p. 47). It is a useful metaphor, for we live under both constitutions: One, the U.S. constitution carefully constructed by its founders concerned with democracy, justice and freedom, and the other evolved by people focussed on "the quest for profits, organizational control, and the pleasure of innovation." As an illustration Winner describes the recent comparative history of nuclear reactors requiring rigidly disciplined centralized hierarchical organization, with that of photovoltaic cells which could be installed on roofs to obtain electricity within
a social framework that could be either highly decentralized or part of larger interdependent systems. Winner allows the passionate statement, “rather than pursue the lemminglike course of choosing only that system design which provides the least expensive kilowatt, perhaps we ought to consider which system might play the more positive role in the technical infrastructure of freedom,” (Winner, 1986, p. 57) but notes that the election of Ronald Reagan as President in 1980 signalled the end of a favorable climate for public discussion of such issues.

On another note, Winner, following Ellul, refutes the once-popular notion that our technologies are the tools by which our human purposes can be achieved. In fact the situation is often reversed because the very existence of certain techniques, organizations, and apparatus demands different ends than those for which the technologies were originally intended by the human designers. The process of people adapting to the ends required by the technology, Winner calls “reverse adaptation.” How peculiar that people have become obsessed with achieving the qualities desired of machines (efficiency, speed, productivity), instead of the more natural human ends such as playfulness, creativity, relaxation, feeling. When a technological system and organization is very large and extensive, with many interconnections and interdependent parts, it must be tightly controlled and carefully planned to function properly. Federal and state governments will tend to adapt to such large systems’ objectives. For example, after NASA had flown men to the moon, the organization needed new objectives and invented some. An example from the private sector is a company that needs sales, and consequently employs a vast advertising campaign, new forms of packaging, or a redesign of the product, to successfully persuade people to adapt their habits so that they will consume the product and give to the organization what it needs.

All in all, Winner’s books provide the beginnings of a language and conceptual basis for a technological politics. He debunks the simplistic technology booster, doomsayer, cost-benefit analyst, “human-values” enthusiast, computer-utopian, and risk-assessor. Winner’s work is a large step forward. The upshot of his formulation is a radical one, because it brings into high relief essential contradictions in our technological society.

A personal preference tempered by political realism underlies Winner’s thinking. He is clearly out of step with Marxist thought as well as with corporate capitalism. While he acknowledges that in a mature industrial society decentralist alternatives are not feasible on a broad scale, he prefers them. He writes of the “faint hope one may still create institutions here and there that allow ordinary folks some small measure of autonomy . . . . If there is any choice in the matter, let us place greater faith in people’s ability to make plans, shape policies, and manage their own public affairs. Rather than force all social transactions into the iron vise of bureaucratic and corporistic megastructures, let’s create a few organizational forms that are more flexible, more forgiving” (Winner, 1986, p. 96).
I find Winner's analysis, with its one-sided preoccupation with autonomy to arrange one's own life, unsatisfactory. With all his preference for localism, we find ourselves involved, interdependent globally, and are aware of suffering from malnutrition, starvation, homelessness, and curable disease, on a vast scale here and elsewhere, and the availability of relatively ordinary technologies which could help to remedy these conditions. I should like to toss that issue into the hopper, along with Winner's concern for autonomy, and begin the discussion all over again. Perhaps this means a rediscovery of "appropriate technology" or "Buddhist economics," but in some form economics needs much greater attention in a constructive way than Winner gives it.

Winner seems to give up as hopeless any major reform of the technological society, so that the available political means for such a reform are not one of his topics. Neglected as well are those people who have found personal autonomy, and a congenial way to arrange their lives, within the framework of large, interlocking technological systems; possibly have even found sufficient flexibility under the umbrella of a bureaucratic organization to arrange a small, relatively autonomous community. I would like to invite some from that group into the conversation.

Accepting Winner's analysis as essentially sound, in spite of its limitations, where do we go from here? He does not say much about that beyond creating alternatives, specifically more flexible and forgiving organizational forms. His primary recommendation is for open and public discussion of the issues in their complexity. From the perspective of education, one can recommend the practice of Langdon Winner's kind of radical reflections about technological politics as part of citizenship in today's world. How pondering and discussing the contradictions might lead to action, and what the nature of the resultant actions and political reforms might be can only be guessed. But it is hard to imagine that, so educated, people could in good conscience go to other countries and simultaneously promote both democratic political patterns and extension of large technological centers of power, as if the two were not in conflict.

References


Reviewed by Perry M. Marker, Ph.D., California International Studies Project, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305

It is not often that serious books about education hit the bestseller list and become focal points of a national debate about educational reform. However, Alan Bloom's *The Closing of the American Mind* and E. D. Hirsch Jr.'s *Cultural Literacy*, among the bestselling books of 1987, have sparked numerous articles in the popular press, and renewed extensive academic debate regarding what students ought to know. Both the Hirsch and Bloom books represent a position that presents schools as institutions responsible for reproducing knowledge and values that advance the historical virtues of Western culture and emphasize the need for a "common culture" among the diverse population of the United States.

Responding to the conservative agenda of Hirsch and Bloom, Rick Simonson and Scott Walker have compiled *The Graywolf Annual Five: Multicultural Literacy: Opening the American Mind*. This book is not so much a cohesive, social critique as it is an insightful collection of thoughtful essays. Taken separately, none of the essays provide a single strong argument against the theses of Bloom or Hirsch. As a whole, these essays seek to expand the definition of cultural literacy.

Interestingly enough, Simonson and Walker do not question that there is, in fact, value in knowing what Hirsch and Bloom identify as essential to learn. But the editors do encourage people to look beyond the predominantly male, white, Western world view that permeates our textbooks and school curricula:

> We do not take issue with Hirsch's and Bloom's definitions of what (or whose) culture should be taught. We are alarmed by the number of people who are so enthusiastically in agreement with the Hirsch/Bloom argument for educational reform that they fail to discern its overwhelmingly static, and so shallow, definition of culture . . . Much of the Hirsch/Bloom world view is outdated. Most Americans are now aware of the contributions of repressed cultures, more alert to how history has been rewritten and molded to the vision of the majority of the population, and accustomed to the notion that culture, like language, changes and that we ought to be sensitive to those changes. Though Hirsch is right, as far as he goes, in his list of 5,000 things that savvy folk ought to know, he doesn't go far enough or deep enough. We need to know more.

(pp. 10–11)
Multicultural Literacy: Opening the American Mind challenges the reader to consider the voices, experiences, and contributions of women, minorities and people of non-European cultures. Toward this end the editors have included works of some excellent writers such as James Baldwin, Carlos Fuentes, Wendell Berry, Ishmael Reed, Paula Gunn Allen, and Michele Wallace. The essays are written from Native American, African American, Japanese American, and Latin American perspectives. Some are autobiographical in nature while others offer broad social critiques of self-concept, race, media, sex, art, and culture.

Most of the essays in the collection were written before the emergence of Cultural Literacy or The Closing of the American Mind. James Baldwin’s “A Talk To Teachers,” written 25 years ago, is still as powerful today as it was in the mid-60s when he says that:

... one of the paradoxes of education was that precisely at the point when you begin to develop a conscience, you must find yourself at war with your society. It is your responsibility to change society if you think of yourself as an educated person. (p. 10)

This unique collection is bound together by the strong belief that sharing Western and non-European achievements is central to what we ought to know. Ishmael Reed in “America: The Multinational Society,” underscores the need for sharing in our country when he writes, “The world has been arriving at these shores for at least ten thousand years from Europe, Africa and Asia” (p. 159). Michael Ventura in “Report From Eldorado,” believes that the sharing of culture “... always proceeds from... the people of the land, the street, and the thinker.” Ventura emphasizes that “we are struggling to share our lives, which is all, finally, that ‘culture’ means” (p. 188). While Carlos Fuentes pointedly states in “How I Learned to Write” that “My upbringing taught me that cultures are not isolated... No culture... retains its identity in isolation; identity is attained in contact, in contrast, in breakthrough.”

Interestingly, while this collection of essays emphasizes the need to share among cultures, it also examines the resistance and the reality behind the resistance that pervades our own culture in the United States. Michele Wallace in “Invisibility Blues” writes about the difficulty of hearing diverse voices in our culture. She refers to a study from the American Society of Newspapers that suggests that, “The media was the U.S. private industry with the least progressive affirmative action profile” (p. 162). In the media, entertainment industry, publishing, as well as in academia, Wallace offers examples of racism and sexism. Regarding western culture, she writes: “It's not a matter of being for or against western civilization... It’s time to consider that the classics may, in fact, make more sense to some of us as records of blindness to the plight of the world’s majorities, than as sublime masterpieces” (p. 170).
As an intriguing contrast to Hirsch's list of "What Literate Americans Need to Know," Simonson and Walker have included the beginnings of a suggested list of terms that were omitted by Hirsch; items all too often excluded from U.S. textbooks. Their list includes Nelson Mandela, Russell Means, El Salvador, rhythm and blues, computer crash, Georgia O'Keeffe, mastectomy, internment camp, and migrant worker; these people and terms do not make Hirsch's list. Although Simonson and Walker state that many of Hirsch's omissions were the result of oversight, many also result from a particular, white, male, academic, eastern United States, Eurocentric bias that severely limits Hirsch's concept of American culture.

This collection of essays can be useful to the social studies educator as a reference guide and a source of readings for secondary and college students in that it views the world from many different perspectives. It challenges the reader to work at putting the pieces together of his/her own view of culture and draw his/her own conclusions. If we as teachers believe that democratic citizens need to understand the nature of cultures throughout the world as well as within the United States and if we believe that democratic citizens need to understand how cultural differences throughout the world and even in the United States have originated, then this volume of thirteen essays will serve the purpose of beginning to suggest the range of knowledge that truly literate democratic citizens ought to possess.

Reviewed by David M. Berman, School of Education, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15260.

Bill Biller, a Vietnam veteran who spoke in the schools about his experiences in the war, said that "the question a lot of students asked, and I tried to avoid it the first few times, was what it was like to kill a person . . . Those kids seemed like they wanted to know, why I don't know."

As we drown in the deluge of books, articles, films, and curriculum materials on Vietnam, we might ask ourselves whether we as educators can answer such a straight and fundamental question posed by a student, a question which confronts Bill to this day. We can rest assured that the materials which organize our teaching of Vietnam ignore this question, thus ignoring in the process the humanity of a soldier like Bill. "And the only answer I could give them was that it's hard," Bill said. "All these years later, you stop and put yourself in his place, and you wonder what his kids think. If he had kids, what his mother and dad might think . . ."

Michael Norman's *These Good Men* is the best book written on the American war in Vietnam to date because it confronts just such questions through the eyes of good yet ordinary men who found themselves in extraordinary situations. These were the men of Golf Company, Second Battalion, 9th Marines, trapped in an ambush on Route 9 along the Quang Tri River in northern I Corps at a nonentity named Bridge 28. After three days and two nights of fighting, approximately one-half of the 110 men of Golf Company walked out. The rest were casualties, wounded and dead. Michael Norman survived to tell his story, the story of eleven men profoundly marked by the fighting at Bridge 28.

The truths that emerge from the book are simple, yet who among us knows these truths? And, more to the point, who teaches these truths to our students who will in turn fight their own wars? "I can't wait to graduate so I can join up and go to the Persian Gulf," a high school senior told me in a world cultures class several years back as we talked about the oil crisis. How could I convey to him what he would experience during combat? "The bullet caught Whit in the back, skidded along his spine, then slammed into the back of his head and laid open his skull . . . I could swear I heard it hit his head, a kind of heavy thud like a sledgehammer brought to bear against old concrete." Michael Norman's book, more so than other more blatant books on Vietnam, provides truths in the stories of these men with an understated simplicity that accentuates the power of the human experience during combat and the power of the combat experience through human lifetimes. What better book for students to read about Americans in Vietnam? "Sometimes I still hear his call. It does not come in a dream—I do not dream anymore.
The guns are silent, the fields are covered in green. Instead, it must be memory I hear, an old cry for help, echoing unanswered across all these years," a frantic plea from Jimmy Payne, the radio operator, caught in the killing zone and dying with a gut wound. He was Norman’s replacement, at Norman’s recommendation, and the cry was received over the radio by Norman himself.

What we know as we read this book is that most of these men are heroes but hardly those who preen on the Hollywood screen oblivious of fear. In the words of Dave Troy, one of these good men, “you do what you have to do, then you go clean your pants.” There was Doc Hefright, one of the two company corpsmen who reached for Tommy Gonzales’ belt after shrapnel tore into him “and came up with a handful of viscera.” Doc next reached for Craig Belknap, wounded in the hip and hand, dragged him to safety, and was himself wounded in the process. Mike Caron, “quite simply, was the bravest man I’d ever met. He risked his life repeatedly at the bridge, dragging the dead and wounded from the field of fire.” Doc DeWeese, who nursed Norman back to emotional health after Bridge 28, ran across rice paddies during an artillery barrage to save wounded men, even though Norman attempted to hold him back. By any standards, these men were heroes, becoming extraordinary as they fought to survive.

Where are these extraordinary men now? asks Norman, some 20 years after Bridge 28, as he set out to reunite them. They then ranged in age from 36 to 43, five received government compensation for combat wounds, none showed signs of acute mental illness, yet “a few, clearly, were troubled.” Mike Caron had managed a tire store in West Haven, Connecticut when Norman found him, but was laid off and became a salesman for a weight-lifting and fitness center. Doc Hefright now lives high on Lick Ridge in Pennsylvania and had won a disability claim for workmen’s compensation against the state prison system where he had supervised the infirmary. Dave Troy was an insurance executive in New Jersey. Doc DeWeese, of Seattle, Washington, once an aspiring minister, worked seven years as an attendant to a quadriplegic lawyer, and became a counselor in a PTSD program in a VA hospital. Doc was homosexual. Charles Whitfield, “Whit,” was driving a battery truck when Norman found him, and had become a mathematics teacher at a state adult education center in Savannah, Georgia. He had a plate in his skull and a blind spot in his field of vision. The extraordinary men now appeared as ordinary people, indistinguishable amongst us, unnoticed among the helter-skelter of the contemporary world, heroes known only to each other.

How could they fight with such valor in such an unpopular war? What are the truths that the battlefield reveals? Did they fight for their country, their God, for democracy in South Vietnam against the godless Communists, the “gooks”? “The emphasis was on survival,” writes Norman. “When the drill instructors had us alone . . . they cut through the myths. Under fire, they said, men are not moved by the call of country or the rhetoric of a cause. They fight to survive; they fight for their comrades . . . And war proved them
right." The clear and direct truth that emerges from Norman's book, a truth that we are afraid to confront in our classrooms, is that, in the killing zone, humanity is more important than mythology, and human beings are more important than ideas. Yet, as educators, we teach just the opposite, preaching a national mythology of democracy and patriotism without quite understanding that, under fire, men fight for each other, not for the ideals that we so condescendingly preach from our classroom stages. Once we begin to teach our youth this truth, then we will begin to teach the reality that our children must learn before they go off to war, or send others off to do their fighting for them. "You probably believe that wars are fought for ideas," writes Alan Farrell, another Vietnam veteran, in an unpublished essay on Vietnam war films. "Wars are started for ideas; they are fought for men . . . The ideal may well be what gets you into a fight, but it is the last thing in the world that keeps you fighting. In war men believe in men. When I see this simple and unalloyed truth—and the dignity it accords any man—surface as the guiding theme of a film, then I call that film a true war film and a film of true war . . . Anything else is propaganda, piece à thèse, and—for me—dishonesty."

What we teach about Vietnam in our schools is dishonest if it fails to show what Norman so eloquently portrays: his fellow heroes fighting and dying on a Bridge 28, now living with the memories and the wounds. Norman brings these good men back on stage for one last bow, perhaps the only bow they have received from an ungrateful country that sent them into battle, and then failed to receive them as heroes upon their return. Norman makes no distinction here between Vietnam vets and veterans of other wars, however, when he writes that "we were angry as all civilized men who have ever been sent to make murder in the name of virtue were angry. And our anger was new, too. We were angry for ourselves, for our wounded, for the dead we brought home in bags."

The grace of Norman's work is the skill with which he weaves the stories of these men together and the dignity he affords each man. But the virtue of the book is that Norman also knows that the stories of these heroes who then faded from the scene are the stories of combat veterans everywhere, of men who became heroes under extraordinary circumstances, of the camaraderie for which they fought and died, of their dissipation into an indifferent society, and the very same camaraderie which to this day binds them together across space and time. "I'm not sure even now that it is possible to relay the whole story of what happened between us—what is happening still—or explain the longing we felt, the desire, at least one more time, to huddle close." This is an honest book, coping with the truths revealed under fire, deserving of the men whose stories are told, and should be told, to those of our youth who yearn for war, the youth who will, in their lifetimes, have to confront as responsible citizens the choices and the ramifications of fighting their own Vietnam.
EcoNet Announcement

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An Invitation

I would like to invite all readers of this journal to contribute to TRSE and to encourage friends or colleagues who are engaged in important research to do so as well.

It is my hope that during my editorship TRSE will publish many different kinds of scholarship concerned with social studies education. Publishing recent doctoral research is quite appropriate for the journal. Scholarship dealing with women's issues, racial issues, environmental issues, economic issues, peace issues, political issues, historical issues and or philosophical issues of social studies education are all appropriate for this journal. Scholarship concerned with curricular materials and instructional activities have an important place in this journal. My intention is to include rather than exclude different perspectives on research and scholarship.

We all share a common faith that something we think of as research is at least one way we should seek to improve social education. We, as social studies teachers, want our students to come to some understanding of society and history, to be effective citizens, to avoid the aberrations of racial, religious and sexual prejudice. Through social studies education we hope to contribute to the development of a saner, more just, less polluted, less violent world.

Whatever this hope and aspiration, the actual world we live in presents a darker aspect: savage conflicts in Central America, Africa, the Middle East, Sri Lanka, the Philippines, and East Timur. Torture, assassination, arms races, world wide environmental degradation and homelessness, poverty and despair in many United States cities are everyday realities. Often torture and assassination are claimed to be progress, or the defense of democracy or a struggle for social justice. The truths of our planet are infinite and many of them are painful. On our troubled planet what is wisdom in social studies education?

What research is vital to our professional concerns? What should we seek to know that we do not know? About social studies education? About human society? About being human? About the conduct of social inquiry? What research is relevant to our highest aspirations and yet grounded in an awareness of our human condition? What issues should be explored in TRSE?

I would like to invite all readers of this journal to join in the exploration and clarification of ways we may seek to make social studies more honest in its treatment of issues, more significant in its intellectual challenge, more important in the lives of students.

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The 70th Annual NCSS meeting is November 15–18, 1990 in Anaheim, California. The deadline for submitting proposals is the first week in February. Write if you have suggestions or questions about the program. The 1990 Program Theme is "Opening Pathways to Citizenship: The Role of Social Studies in a Changing Nation."