THE CURRICULAR APPROPRIATENESS OF THE
SOCIAL STUDIES TEST ITEMS INCLUDED IN
COLLEGE ADMISSION EXAMINATIONS

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Those active in the field of social studies education for the last decade or so cannot help but be dismayed by the discrepancy between what is being written about curricular change in the literature of social studies education and what is actually happening in the typical social studies classroom. The literature leads the reader to believe that social studies education has a great appetite for curricular innovation and reform. Project newsletters, national and state journals, and books are filled with debates and explanations of numerous proposals for curricular change. On the basis of this literature, the reader would expect social studies classrooms to be scenes of lively, interesting activity if for no reason other than the process of innovation itself. The truth of the matter is that in too many social studies classrooms students are so bored they are either apathetic or rebellious.

Based solely on reading the literature of social studies education, the reader would develop some assumptions as what to expect should he visit the social studies classrooms of the public schools. The reader would expect
classroom activities that would be selected jointly by students and the teacher with a concern for "learning to learn better," individual differences, intrinsic motivation, and transfer of learning. There would be expected a variety of approaches with some classrooms engaged in interdisciplinary inquiry, some in structure-of-the-discipline inquiry, and some in reflection. A wide variety of strategies would be in evidence such as role-playing, case studies, simulations and games, individual research, lectures, panels, debates, and more. Students would be active, challenging, making use of a wide range of resources, and increasingly autonomous. The teacher would be a facilitator of learning, a guide, and a co-learner. Evaluation would be diagnostic, remedial, developmental, flexible, varied, and individually tailored. Of course, our observer would expect rich diversity between various schools and even between classrooms within the same school. Also, he would expect department meetings and teacher-supervisor conferences to be marked by discussions of the desirability of one new approach over another new approach or an older approach. At the very least, our observer would expect teachers to be urging experimentation with the proposed curricular changes.

However, the conditions that exist in the social studies classrooms of our schools are such that even the
most casual observer is well aware that the above expectations are unrealistic for all but a handful of the schools across the nation. As Charles E. Silberman says in his influential *Crisis in The Classroom*:

One need only sit in the classrooms, in fact, and examine texts and reading lists to know that, with the possible exception of mathematics, the curriculum reform movement has made a pitifully small impact on classroom practice. . . . There is a great deal of chatter, to be sure, about teaching students the structure of each discipline, teaching basic concepts, and "postholing," i.e., teaching fewer things but in greater depth. But if one looks at what is actually going on in the classroom—the kinds of texts students read and the kind of homework they are assigned, as well as the nature of classroom discussion and the kinds of tests teachers give—he will discover that the great bulk of students' time is still devoted to detail, most of it trivial, much of it factually incorrect, and almost all of it unrelated to any concept, structure, cognitive strategy or indeed anything other than the lesson plan. . . .

Why does this discrepancy between what is written in the literature and what actually happens in the classroom continue to exist? No serious educator would debate the urgent need for reform in our schools. It has become so fashionable to list the host of problems that plague our society and challenges the ability of our schools to adequately educate that there is no need to indulge here in that exercise. Why doesn't the average social studies

teacher more often experiment with the ideas for innovation and reform so widely found in the literature?

A number of reasons often are offered to answer why this reluctance to innovate continues to exist. These reasons include poor pre-service training for teaching, failure to enforce state certification requirements, the personality structures of those entering social studies education, the heavy teaching loads of many secondary teachers, inadequate opportunities for in-service training, the lack of adequate funds, reluctance to increase community pressure, and on and on.

However, one particularly interesting reason often heard is that the college admission examinations basically test for accumulated knowledge typical of the product approach of traditional education rather than the higher conceptual level learnings typical of the curricular approaches being advocated in the literature of the field. Of all the reasons offered for the reluctance of social studies teachers to accept curricular change, this is the most interesting and perplexing. It is the leadership of social studies education that is writing the articles calling for change. Presumably, it is educators, of which a number are probably social studies educators, who construct the various college admission examinations. Can it be that this is a case of the educational establishment working against itself with one group of educators calling for curricular change
while others continue to construct national examinations that encourage classroom social studies teachers to resist curricular change?

The Problem and Methodology

It is the purpose of this study to determine if the social studies test items included in the college admission tests are appropriate in relationship to the kinds of secondary school curricula that are being recommended by social studies educators.

A basic contention of this study is that throughout the history of our nation's schools there has evolved a pattern of social studies curriculum which dominates the secondary schools. This traditional curriculum is based upon the assumption that there is a body of essential chronologically organized historical information that each school student should master. In practice this means the teacher will present the student with a pre-determined collection of data that the student is required to learn on only the lowest cognitive levels.

To determine if this contention is valid, the history of secondary social studies education in this nation will be traced to describe the development of the traditional social studies curriculum, and status or trend studies will be examined to determine if the traditional curriculum dominates today's social studies classroom.
Another basic contention of this study is that the leadership of social studies education as expressed in the literature of the field is strongly advocating curricular change away from the lower conceptual level learnings typical of the traditional curriculum. Rather than student mastery of historical data, social studies educators are calling for students to be given the opportunity to "learn how to learn better" by being encouraged to practice and develop a wider range of cognitive skills and abilities. Whether by means of the newer structure-of-the-discipline approach as advocated by Jerome S. Bruner and others, the older reflective or problem-solving approach as advocated by John Dewey and his followers, or some attempt at a combination of the two, social studies educators are emphasizing the importance of curricular innovations that will free the student from the restrictive intellectual authority of the teacher and the notion of historical data as incontrovertible facts. Students would be encouraged to develop their own intellectual skills as they seek answers, warranted beliefs, or generalizations in the process of inquiry or reflection.

To explicate the contrast between the traditional curriculum that now dominates the secondary social studies classrooms and the nature of the curricular changes being advocated by the leadership of social studies education, there will be a discussion of the traditional curriculum
with its emphasis on knowledge as a product for the student to master as opposed to the recommendations for social studies curricula that will emphasize the processes which enable students to develop cognitive skills.

Following that discussion there will be an examination of the literature dealing with Project Social Studies, appropriate articles that have appeared over the last ten years in the journal, Social Education, and the major secondary social studies methods textbooks. The purpose of this examination of the literature is to substantiate the claim that there is a call for curricular change and to more thoroughly explain the nature of the changes being called for.

The major contention of this study is that the social studies test items included in the college admission examinations emphasize low level conceptual learnings and are, therefore, inappropriate in view of the curricular changes being advocated by social studies educators. To determine the correctness of this contention the literature prepared by the testing services concerning their examinations and independent test reviews of the individual examinations will be surveyed. In addition, Benjamin S. Bloom's taxonomy of educational objectives as found in Handbook I: Cognitive Domain\(^2\) will be used as a model for analysis of the test

items of the social studies sections of each of the college admission examinations. These examinations will include the College Entrance Examination Board's Achievement Test in American History and Social Studies, Achievement Test in European History and World Cultures, Advanced Placement Test in American History, and Advanced Placement Test in European History as well as The National Merit Scholarship Qualifying Test and the social studies section of the American College Testing Program Examination.

Bloom's taxonomy of educational objectives for the cognitive domain seems to be a particularly appropriate model for the kind of analysis of the test items necessary in this study. The task is to separate test items into discrete categories according to the kind of cognitive behavior they attempt to assess. Bloom's taxonomy is arranged in a hierarchy of six cognitive levels from knowledge through evaluation with appropriate sub-categories at each level. Particularly useful is the distinction made between those categories that represent intellectual skills and abilities as opposed to knowledge. Such a model enables the investigator to categorize test items according to the precise kinds of knowledge or skills that they attempt to assess. In this way it can be clearly established if an examination emphasizes the recall or recognition of data or the use of cognitive skills.
Should the contentions of this study be proved correct by a review of the pertinent literature and the analysis of the test items of the college admission examinations, it would seem that those tests are inappropriate in relationship to the recommendation for curricular change made by social studies educators and thus serve as a barrier to curricular change. That being the situation this study will offer proposals for changes in the college admission examinations programs towards the end of bringing them more in keeping with the thinking in the field of social studies education and curriculum.

Organization of the Dissertation

Chapter I has consisted of an introduction to the study and a statement of the problem and the methodology.

Chapter II will trace the development of social studies education throughout the history of our nation and present a review of investigations of the status of social studies curriculum at this time.

Chapter III will present a discussion of the differences between the traditional social studies curriculum and the curricular changes being advocated by social studies educators. Also, there will be presented a review of literature in the field of social studies related to proposals to new curricular approaches.

Chapter IV will present a review of the literature
prepared by the college admission examinations services and reviews of the social studies sections included in the various examination programs.

Chapter V will present a description of the procedures and the model used for the analysis of the social studies test items of the admission examinations and a report of the findings of the analysis.

Chapter VI will present a summary, discussion, recommendations for changes in the present admission examinations, and discussion of the recommendations with appropriate examples of test items.
CHAPTER II

THE EMERGENCE OF TRADITIONAL SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION

To understand the differing points of view that exist with respect to a wide range of topics related to social studies education in general and to the relationship between testing in the social studies and college admission in particular, it is helpful to take a backward glance at the origins of current ideas and practices in social studies education. At present, social studies education is the subject of a great deal of discussion and is obviously in a period of transition, although it is impossible to determine as yet the extent or exact nature of those changes that will prove to be more lasting. Nonetheless, there is a pattern of social studies education that has been practiced long enough and widely enough to be called traditional, and it is this traditional approach that is being increasingly challenged. To more fully understand the nature of the debate between the traditional approach and the newer approaches being advocated, it should be useful to examine the events most influential in shaping the traditional approach during its years of emergence.
From Colonial Times to 1890

The development of social studies education in the United States has progressed through a prolonged period of relative lack of concern to emerge into a period in which social studies education is often the topic of intense and heated debate and is always a matter of interest and concern to educators. Throughout most of the history of our society social studies education has been something of an orphan in the curricula of the schools. Often it was allowed entry into the schools only in the form of narrow narratives of the political and military aspects of ancient and European history, and in some places and times in the form of elementary geography. Sometimes it could sneak into the curriculum as "the lesson" that provided content for the instruction of classical languages, readings, or religion. Indeed, the term social studies itself seems not to have been in use prior to the 1890s. But with the coming of the 1890s, social studies education acquired a name and much more. Beginning in 1892, national organizations such as the National Education Association and the American Historical Association began prescribing and fostering various social studies curriculum proposals for use in the schools. With this development, social studies education entered a period throughout which it has remained the object of great concern on the part of a variety of interested parties.
Between early colonial times and 1890 what we now refer to as social studies education made only slow and irregular progress towards formal and respected inclusion into the curricula of the schools. In early colonial days some English textbooks in history reached the colonies and were apparently used for instructional purposes. Probably the earliest formal course in history offered in an American school was that offered by a private school in Boston in 1734. However, most learning of history remained incidental to the lessons of reading and classical language instruction. Not until 1787 did there begin to appear the first textbooks that dealt directly with any aspect of what could be called the social studies. In that year a textbook dealing with the history of the United States was compiled and published by John McCulloch. The following year Jedidiah Morse, using a good deal of material written by Noah Webster, published a geography textbook. More history and geography textbooks began to appear as increased interest in the study of history grew as a result of the rising nationalistic sentiments created by the American Revolution, the founding of a new nation, and the War of 1812. When the first high school in the United States opened in Boston in 1821, history was one of the required subjects. In 1827, Massachusetts passed a law requiring the teaching of United States history in the high schools of towns of five hundred or more families, and between 1830 and 1860 history as a separate,
formal course began to appear in more and more schools. However, the actual number of students enrolled in the new history courses remained pitifully small. Rolla M. Tryon collected statistics from the schools in the state of Ohio which indicate that of the adult generation living in Ohio in the 1880s, less than two in each one hundred persons studied history during their years in school. Tryon states that his research leads him to believe the case was not much different in the other states of the nation.¹

Between 1860 and 1890 social studies courses began to appear more regularly in the curricula of the schools. United States history and general history (Ancient and Western European history) led the way with some courses in geography and political science also being included. The textbooks dominated instructional practices and for all practical purposes were, in effect, the curriculum. History textbooks continued to emphasize political and military history in neat chronological arrangement, and political science textbooks, generally referred to as civics or civil government textbooks, dealt almost exclusively with the federal and state constitutions and the structure and duties of local government. The values claimed for the inclusion of these social studies subjects in the offerings of the school

included the training of morals, the inspiration of patriotism, the fostering of better citizenship, and the strengthening and disciplining of the minds of those fortunate who mastered the content.\(^2\) For the purposes of this study it is noteworthy that the idea of mental discipline, the training of mental faculties, was a prime value claimed for the instruction of social studies content. Many teachers in the latter half of the nineteenth century were devoted to the idea of mental discipline. Consequently, social studies instruction encouraged learning by rote, and the social studies were sources of facts to be memorized. From those days to the present the notion of learning social studies content by mere memory has held a firm grip on the thinking of many classroom teachers.

The Era of the National Committees

The decade of the 1890s saw the beginning of the era of the national committees in social studies education. For the next several decades the activities of these prestigious national organizations were to be of powerful and lasting influence. The American Historical Association and the National Education Association and to a lesser degree, other learned societies such as the American Economic Association,

American Political Science Association, and the Association of American Geographers all began the practice of appointing committees to study existing curricula and to make recommendations concerning social studies offerings. These committees varied greatly in size of membership, amount of research, means of reporting, quality of activity, and comprehensiveness of recommendations. While some committee reports were poorly publicized and consequently failed to achieve much impact, generally the committees being composed as they were of respected professionals were to exercise strong influence in the shaping of the schools' social studies curricula. While the United States was in many ways too diverse a nation for these national organizations to successfully impose a rigid national curriculum, the social studies curricula of the secondary schools did begin to assume something of a national pattern.

The Committee of Ten

The first in this series of national reports is commonly referred to as the National Education Association's Report of the Committee of Ten on Secondary School Studies, 1893. The National Education Association was organized in 1857 as the National Teachers' Association and changed to

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its present name in 1870. From its beginning the Association had concerned itself with studying, recommending, and reporting about various subjects in the schools' curricula. In July, 1892, the Association appointed the Committee of Ten to report on the general subject of uniformity in school programs and requirements for college admission. With Charles W. Eliot, President of Harvard University, as Chairman, the Committee of Ten, on November 11, 1892, organized conferences in nine areas of school subjects, selected ten educators to be invited to serve on each of the nine conference committees, and drew up a list of eleven questions to guide the activities of the conferences. The committee dealing with what we now call social studies education was called the Committee on History, Civil Government, and Political Economy. Its chairman was Charles Kendall Adams, President of the University of Wisconsin. It included six other university professors (among whom were such famous persons as James Harvey Robinson, Woodrow Wilson, and Albert Bushnell Hart) and three public school administrators.

With unanimous opinion, the Committee on History, Civil Government, and Political Economy recommended an eight year program of instruction to begin with the fifth grade as follows:

| Fifth Grade | Biography and Mythology based upon General History and American History |
Sixth Grade  Biography and Mythology as in the Fifth Grade
Seventh Grade  American History and elements of Civil Government
Eighth Grade  Greek and Roman History with their Oriental backgrounds
Ninth Grade  French History with emphasis on Medieval and Modern History
Tenth Grade  English History with emphasis on Medieval and Modern History
Eleventh Grade  American History
Twelfth Grade  An intensive study of a special period of history and Civil Government. (The Committee listed fourteen possible topics for study but particularly recommended the period of American History between 1760 and 1790.)

To fully appreciate the character of this report one must look beyond the course recommendations to the Committee's comments about goals, methods, and other facets of social studies education. For a group concerned with winning a greater place for history in the schools, the Committee rather strangely scattered throughout the report their arguments for the advantages of instruction in history. But from these scattered statements it is plainly clear that the Committee saw the accumulation of useful facts and the training of the mind to be the main goals of instruction in history. Quotes as follows can be found throughout the report, "earnestly desire that the minds of young children

\[4\text{Ibid., pp. 34-35, and 162-164.}\]
be stored with some elementary facts and principles of their subject, "subjects in question serve, . . . to cultivate the mind," and, "one object of historical study is the acquirement of useful facts." Other goals mentioned in the report improved citizenship, preparation of the student for intellectual enjoyment in after years, moral training, improvement of common sense judgment, and to approve the student's capacity for literary expression.

That training of the mind was of paramount concern to the Committee can be seen in the recommendations dealing with teaching methods. The role of memory is seen in the Committee's statement that,

A few things should be learned by heart and, when forgotten, learned again, to serve as a firm ground work upon which to group one's knowledge; without knowing the succession of dynasties, or of sovereigns, or of presidents, or the dates of the great constitutional events, the pupil's stock of information will have no more form than a jelly-fish.

To insure that the students' stock of information would be kept in mind the classroom teacher was urged to ask students the kinds of questions that would require students to perform

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5 Ibid., p. 16
6 Ibid., pp. 166-167
7 Ibid., p. 170
8 Ibid., pp. 167, and 169-170.
9 Ibid., p. 190.
feats such as to compare the reigns of Henry VII and Charles I to fix in the students' minds the essential dates and events of both reigns. Another strategy recommended to teachers was "cards, a raking fire of short, sharp questions...to which a prompt, direct answer is expected, or the dread 'next,' 'next,' 'next,' is heard." This strategy is described as being especially effective in fixing facts indelibly on the mind. To stimulate students' abilities to make judgments and to draw comparisons, questions were recommended, for example, which would require students to draw up a list of English sovereigns who were born out of the realm.¹⁰ Also the study of historical sources, documents, and manuscripts was recommended as presenting information in a form "which we cannot forget if we try."¹¹

The Committee's preference for history as a school subject was obvious. They rejected the inclusion of political economy in their recommended program of courses and relegated civil government to the vague position of being added "as an element of American history." The historian's influence was found also in the committee's lengthy plea for the continuous, consecutive study of the recommended courses. They feared that attempts to compress the recommended courses

¹⁰Ibid., p. 191.

¹¹Ibid., p. 197.
into shorter courses taken for only a portion of each year would have the result of students failing to grasp and retain "the necessary sense of chronology in history." 12

The Committee of Ten Report seems to have had influence and to have been of value. The influence of the Committee can be seen in the statistics which indicated that within a few years the number of schools offering American history increased from 57 per cent to 86 per cent. Small but significant gains occurred also in the offerings of other history courses. 13 For today's investigator the report is of value because it offers a lucid view of the trends in social studies education at a crucial time in their development as school subjects. In summary these trends would be called traditional and essentialistic in their approach to instructional strategies with the storage of facts being highly prized and having a reluctance to incorporate social studies other than history in the school programs.

The Committee of Seven

An even more influential report was issued in 1899 by the Committee of Seven of the American Historical Association. 14 Organized in 1884, the American Historical

12 Ibid., pp. 170-171.


Association has since its founding consisted of scholars of history who have recognized the need for their Association to concern itself with the teaching of history in the schools. Consistent with this concern the Committee of Seven was appointed in 1896 and consisted of such eminent historians as Andrew C. McLaughlin, Herbert Baxter Adams, and Albert Bushnell Hart. Noteworthy is the fact that only one committee member was connected with the secondary schools, George L. Fox, the rector of Hopkins Grammar School in New Haven, Connecticut. Possibly in recognition of their lack of touch with secondary school personnel, the Committee of Seven launched an extensive preliminary study prior to making any recommendations. Questionnaires were sent to hundreds of secondary school personnel, meetings were held with other interested professional organizations, and several committee members were sent to study practices in Germany, Switzerland, France, and England. The primary goal of the Committee of Seven was to find some basis to warrant a report that would capitalize on the interest created by the Committee of Ten Report in such a manner as to win consensus for a general, nation-wide program of study of history in the secondary schools.\textsuperscript{15}

After a chapter extolling the values of the study of history, the Committee of Seven recommended the following

\textsuperscript{15}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 3-10.
secondary school program:

Ninth Grade Ancient History, with special reference to Greek and Roman History, up to approximately 800, the time of the establishment of the Holy Roman Empire.

Tenth Grade Medieval and Modern European History beginning with the end of the previous course and carrying on to the present.

Eleventh Grade English History

Twelfth Grade American History and Civil Government

The recommendations and especially the assumptions underlying the recommendations of the Committee of Seven Report were quite similar to those of the earlier Committee of Ten. The values claimed for the study of history, the conviction that instruction in history per se was of greater value to students than instruction in other aspects of the social sciences, the belief in the value of the continuous, consecutive study of history so as to emphasize chronology, and the assumption that learning is primarily a function of the collection, organization, and storage of facts, all of these are points about which both reports seem to have been in virtually complete agreement.

That the Committee of Seven Report exercised great influence cannot be doubted. Publishing houses issued new textbooks and course syllabi patterned after the recommendations of the Committee. Thousands of high schools across the

16 Ibid., pp. 34-43.
nation revamped their course offerings so as to adhere more closely to the recommendations. The new pattern dominated the teaching of history in the secondary schools for the next generation.\(^{17}\) In light of the great similarity between the two reports, the greater impact of the recommendations of the Committee of Seven evidently stems from the greater prestige in the 1890s of the American Historical Association as compared to the National Education Association.

Between 1899 and 1916 several more reports were issued by committees appointed by national organizations, but their influence was of slight impact upon the programs of study in the schools. This did not mean the Committee of Ten and the Committee of Seven had achieved complete domination over the thinking of school people. On the contrary, new factors were coming to bear with increasing force on the thought of those concerned about the schools' program of studies. The various social sciences were maturing as separate disciplines as evidenced by the establishment of new scholarly associations such as the American Political Science Association in 1903 and the American Sociological Society in 1905. Springing up in the universities were departments and new graduate programs. These new movements were felt even in the study of history as James Harvey Robinson called for a "new history" which would draw from the new social sciences to broaden the

\(^{17}\text{Tryon, The Social Studies as School Subjects, pp. 21-27.}\)
scope of historical study from the traditional, narrow political and military narratives. No less important were the new developments in psychology and education. The writings of G. Stanley Hall, Edward Thorndike, William James, Francis Parker, and John Dewey challenged older educational theories and curriculum patterns by urging a break from mental discipline theories and advocating more democratic educational practices. A trend in educational thought was developing that moved in a different direction than that advocated by either of the historian-dominated committees of the 1890s.  

1916 Committee on Social Studies

The most important report in the history of social studies education was issued by the Committee on Social Studies of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education of the National Education Association. The make-up of the Committee and the nature of its recommendations reflected the new trends in public education that had emerged since the works of the Committee of Ten and the Committee of

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Seven. While the previous Committees had been dominated by professional historians and university professors of the social sciences, the 1916 Committee on Social Studies had a total membership of twenty-one of which sixteen were administrators or teachers in the secondary schools, two were officials in the United States Bureau of Education, and six were university professors, only two of whom were historians.

This Committee made evident it was on a different track than that of the earlier Committees when in the very first paragraph of their report they made known their conviction that the paramount role of secondary social studies teachers was to improve the citizenship of the nation.20 Another evidence of new thinking was the Committee's use of the term social studies. The term had been used on occasion prior to 1916 and had appeared in the 1893 Committee of Ten Report. But it was the Committee on Social Studies that encouraged the term's wide usage and defined it with a Deweyan flavor as those subjects related directly to the organization and development of human society and to man as a member of social groups.21 To implement a social studies program in the secondary schools consistent with this definition the Committee on Social Studies recommended the following plan of organization:

20 Ibid., pp. 5 and 9.

21 Ibid., pp. 9-10.
Seventh Grade  One half year each of Geography and European History with Civics taught as a phase of the above, or segregated in one or two periods a week, or both.

Eighth Grade  One half year each of American History and Civics with Geography taught incidentally with the above subjects.

Ninth Grade  Civics with emphasis upon state, national, and world aspects.

Tenth Grade  European History to approximately 1700. This would exclude Ancient and Oriental History, English History, and the period of American exploration.

Eleventh Grade  American History since 1700.

Twelfth Grade  Problems of American Democracy.

If the efforts of the Committee on Social Studies are viewed in proper historical perspective, The Committee had reason for pride. As he reads through this report the reader is struck by a series of recommendations and assumptions that are the result of more enlightened considerations than had been true of the previous reports dealing with social studies education. The most important aspect of the report is the new attitude embodied in the use of the term "social studies." The term as used in the report implied many things. The dominant purpose of social studies was seen not as meeting the needs of scholarship in the individual social sciences but rather as fostering improved citizenship. And the concept

\textsuperscript{22}Ibid., pp. 11, 12, 15, and 35.
of citizenship held by the Committee was an enlightened one. The good citizen was the individual who functioned with optimum social efficiency, and social efficiency was viewed in the context of the local community, the state, the nation, and the international community, not merely in the terms of narrow flag-waving nationalism.

Towards the end of fostering good citizenship the Committee recognized the need to draw upon a variety of the social sciences. Within the report one finds mention of the uses of American history, European history, economic history, geography, economics, sociology, government, civics, and the social, economic, and political aspects of problems of democracy. The Committee recognized the impossibility of dealing with all these subject matter areas individually and urged the integration of the social studies into interdisciplinary course use. Even the study of history was to be liberated from its heavy emphasis on Ancient and American colonial history, and it was urged that the teaching of history utilize the topical approach in preference to the traditional chronological organization.

The actual program of studies recommended by the Committee on Social Studies had several innovations. A full year course in American history in the eleventh grade and the Problems of Democracy course in twelfth grade were more functional courses for most students than the courses
recommended by previous committees. And, in view of the increasing popularity of the 6-3-3 plan of school organization and the high number of students terminating their education at the end of the ninth grade as was the case during the 1900s, the repeating three-year cycles of the junior and senior high with the senior cycle more sophisticated was a realistic proposal for the times.

It should be emphasized that the program of studies as recommended was not meant to be a rigid, inflexible slate of studies to be adopted alike by all schools. The Committee on Social Studies explicitly pointed out the differences in the needs of rural communities, urban centers, and immigrant neighborhoods and strongly urged experimentation on the local level to more successfully meet these diverse needs. 23

Clearly, the social studies were to be concerned with the needs of the pupils rather than devoted to the mere storing of scholarly information for possible future use. The entire recommended program of studies reflected an emphasis on more recent and contemporary affairs. In fact the recommended criteria for selecting topics to be studied in the Problems of Democracy course were the social importance of the topic and pupil interest in the topic. 24

The remarkable influence of the recommendation of the

23 Ibid., p. 13.

24 Ibid., p. 37.
Committee on Social Studies is manifest in the fact of the widespread adoption of the courses of civics at the ninth grade, world history at the tenth grade, American history at the eleventh grade, and Problems of Democracy at the twelfth grade and their invulnerability to change over the succeeding years. With all too rare an exception our secondary schools' program of social studies is today the same as proposed by the Committee in 1916.

While there was much to commend in the Committee on Social Studies Report, the Committee's recommendations did not result in a revolution in the practices employed in the average classroom across the nation. Unfortunately, most students experienced the same kind of social studies instruction after the Report gained circulation as they had previously. A major portion of the blame for lack of improvement in social studies education must rest on the shoulders of inadequate administrators, poorly trained teachers, and the tradition of secondary schools serving mainly for college preparation which lead to an undue emphasis on those subjects and methods of instruction deemed most appropriate for such a task. On the other hand, the Committee on Social Studies is not blameless. As one reads the report of the Committee there seems to be little evidence that the Committee was duly aware of the difference between the immediate needs and interests of the students as opposed
to the concerns of the adult world. And one cursory remark is all that can be found as evidence that the Committee recognized the highly ethnocentric character of their course recommendations that excluded the study of the non-western world.

Also, the teacher bent upon having students store facts by memory for future use could find some comfort in certain statements in the Committee report. The report speaks of the need to induce more careful selection of facts and events for emphasis and concern for the "essentials of European history." In discussing methods of instruction one of the Committee members states, "all instruction is...the function of three variables--the pupils, the teacher, and the textbook." Then the teacher is admonished that he will never achieve good instruction unless he acquires the habit of "outrunning the textbook" by seeking additional information in sources such as the Encyclopedia Britannica. And upon inspection one finds the "problems" recommended for the Problems of Democracy course are mainly broad topics and rarely controversial. Some examples of recommended "problems" are the problem of land tenure and the health problems of immigrants.

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25 Ibid., pp. 36 and 37.
26 Ibid., p. 43.
27 Ibid., p. 54.
Similarly, the recommendations on history by the Committee on Social Studies turn out to be more concerned with adding a greater variety of topics, cultural, social, and economic, to the traditional military and political topics of history instruction. Aside from greater emphasis on more recent history, the Committee proposed few recommendations for new instructional approaches.

Developments Since 1920

It would be difficult to overestimate the influence of the national committees and especially the Committee on the Social Studies of 1916. The basic pattern of the present day social studies curriculum was set by these committees. Since the era of national committees (1890-1920) other commissions have been formed, but significantly none have recommended a specific program of social studies for the schools. Between the 1930s and the 1950s curriculum proposals were the result mainly of state and local efforts. While there occurred some variations from the 1916 recommendations, in general those recommendations have remained dominant. In fact, in many school systems the 1916 recommendations have solidified and worn into outdated, inflexible, and shallow programs of study. Edwin Fenton attributes the cause of this predicament to the directives of conservative, tradition-dominated state boards of education, the prevalence of statewide textbook adoption, and the vested
interest of publishing houses in the perpetuation of a common curriculum across the nation.\textsuperscript{28} Other probable factors are inadequate teacher training programs, poorly conceived in-service training attempts, undesirable certification practices, unenlightened hiring procedures, assigning teachers to schedules for which they are not competent, and the unfortunate practice of teachers being expected to revise the curriculum on their own after school hours.

After the Committee of Social Studies, 1916, no other similar committee has been able to exercise widespread impact on the schools' social studies program. Nonetheless, two committees deserve mention, the Commission on Social Studies and the Committee on American History in Schools and Colleges. The Commission on Social Studies was established in 1926 by the American Historical Association. As it received financial support from the Carnegie Corporation it had the means to indulge in widespread research and study and to insure the writing of an extensive report. In fact, between 1932 and 1941 sixteen volumes plus a separate volume of \textit{Conclusions and Recommendations} were generated by members of the Commission.\textsuperscript{29} A. C. Krey of the University


\textsuperscript{29}The reports were published under separate titles as parts of the Report of the Commission on the Social Studies of the American Historical Association (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934).
of Minnesota was selected Chairman of this mammoth undertaking, but the guiding spirit seems to have been provided by Charles A. Beard. However, no single individual could dominate a group that included among many others such leaders as Henry Johnson, George Counts, Merle Curti, William Bagley, Harold Rugg, Avery Craven, and Boyd Bode.

The various parts of the entire report dealt with topics such as civic education, social foundations, the social studies teacher, and methods of instruction, but the report is mainly judged by the volume of Conclusions and Recommendations. There are several interesting aspects of the report. The first is that the American Historical Association would foster a report that so wholeheartedly accepted the term "social studies" and so readily accepted the inclusion in the school curriculum of the social sciences at the expense of history. It should be emphasized, however, that the Commission did not accept the notion of teaching the social studies in the integrated manner advocated by the 1916 Committee on the Social Studies. The Commission was committed to the conviction that the scholarship of individual disciplines was important. They urged that respect for the uniqueness of the individual social science disciplines should be emphasized in school programs, and they rejected

the then popular ideas of fusion and correlation. While the Commission expressed concern for the need of students to gain insight into the problems of man and society, they reiterated for emphasis their belief that "the main function of the social sciences is the acquisition of accurate knowledge." 

Though the Commission was unwilling to modify their position on scholarship, they demonstrated a very progressive outlook when dealing with the social studies in relationship to the needs of society. The Commission perceived a trend towards economic collectivism, greater integration of social life, greater affluence, and consequent increased leisure time. These frames of reference generated the two main areas of criticism towards the report. One group of critics contended the report with its predication of collectivism was socialistic or "pink." Another group of critics agreed with the Committee's predication of the gradual trend towards collectivism but were disappointed that a specific recommendation for a course of studies was not offered as a means of better directing the school's

31 Ibid., pp. 6-9.
32 Ibid., p. 7.
33 Ibid., pp. 13-19.
Whether it was the turbulent nature of the times in which it was written or the Commission's refusal to prescribe a set program of studies in preference for a recommendation for local schools to determine and create programs appropriate for their own schools, it is hard to determine why the Commission had so little influence. Today many of the volumes of its report are used with profit, and over the years the report has undoubtedly worked for change. But the Commission fell far short of successfully countering the traditional, product-centered aspects of the earlier national committee reports.

A most interesting and instructive, if not enlightened report on history, was issued during World War II by the Committee on American History in Schools and Colleges, which was established by the American Historical Association, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and the National Council for the Social Studies. This report was prompted by charges that the study of history was being neglected in the public schools. The most sensational support for these

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charges came from the *New York Times*. The newspaper gave a test in American history to seven thousand high school graduates and claimed the results demonstrated that the students did not know important historical facts. For example, the examination revealed that substantial percentages of those who were tested did not know Abraham Lincoln had been president during the Civil War nor that Woodrow Wilson had been president during World War I. With Edgar B. Wesley in 1934, The Committee on American History in the Schools and Colleges undertook to investigate the charges raised against the schools.³⁶

The Committee studied state laws that required the teaching of American history, surveyed courses of study in use throughout the country, and administered to several selected groups a test, *The Test of Understanding of United States History*. After surveying state laws and reviewing courses of study, the Committee concluded that the social studies curriculum of the schools was in general the same as that which was recommended by the 1916 Committee on Social Studies.³⁷ Most interesting for the purposes of this study is *The Test of Understanding of United States History*. The


Committee administered the test in the fall of 1943 to 1,332 high school seniors, 529 military personnel who were pursuing training programs in various colleges, 107 individuals selected from *Who's Who in America*, 200 social studies teachers and 929 randomly selected adults. The test consisted of sixty-five multiple choice type questions all of which emphasized low conceptual level factual recall. One question required the selection of "the arming of American merchant ships" as the correct answer to, "which... was the last step to be taken previous to full American participation in the present war?" Another question required recall of the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment, one required recall of the location of the frontier line in 1860, one required recall of which of four political characteristics was not typical of frontier regions in the nineteenth century, one required recall of the event (World War I) after which the size of urban population first surpassed that of the rural population, one required recall of a specific legal act (the framing of a constitution) which a state had to complete prior to admission to the union, and one required recall of the chief educational interest of the colonial schools. The median score out of a possible perfect score of sixty-five was thirty-three. Of the five groups, persons from *Who's Who in America* edged the social studies teachers for the best showing.

with selected adults and military students tied but significantly behind the first two groups. The high school students placed last by a considerable margin.\(^\text{39}\)

Early in their report, the Committee argued that the instruction of American history in the schools was essential for four reasons. These reasons were: (1) history makes loyal citizens because it fixes in the memory those past common experiences necessary to patriotism, (2) history makes intelligent voters by providing knowledge from the past, (3) history makes good neighbors by teaching tolerance of individual differences, and (4) history makes well-rounded individuals by acquainting them with past artistic and intellectual products.\(^\text{40}\)

After presenting their justification for the teaching of American history, the Committee used the evidence collected in their investigations to draw some conclusions and to offer some specific recommendations. The Committee supported the repetitious cycle of American history taught at grades five, eight, eleven, and the freshman year of college but did re-emphasize the need for the content of the successive courses to be progressively more sophisticated. In contrast to previous reports, the Committee felt no additional school time needed to be allocated to the instruction of history and the social studies.

\(^{39}\)Ibid., pp. 10-11.

\(^{40}\)Ibid., p. 14.
Consistent with the above views and mindful of the attacks upon the schools' history programs, the Committee made several points concerning content. While recognizing the need for higher levels of learning, the Committee made a strong statement about essential factual content. They stated there was an irreducible body of content that ought to be emphasized at each level of instruction and reviewed at each successive level of instruction in American history. Then the Committee spelled out specific topics, specific facts, and skills to be emphasized. For the middle grades a recommended topic was the study of the type of settlements established by the Europeans in North America. Recommended facts included dates such as the discovery of America 1492, Magellan's voyage 1519, and The Treaty of Paris 1762, and names, William Bradford, William Clark, and John Smith to mention a few. As a "skill" to be mastered, it was recommended students master a vocabulary of terms such as "colony," "frontier," and "migration." The junior high school and senior high school recommendations differed little from one another. For the senior high schools, a topic recommended was the development of the American political system emphasizing the Constitution, role of the Supreme Court, civil liberties, and even land-grants by the federal government. Dates students were to know included the establishment of the House of Burgesses 1619, Toleration Act 1649, Dred Scott Decision 1857, and Nineteenth Amendment 1920. Among a list
of forty-four persons to be learned were Simon Bolivar, Dorothea Dix, Winslow Homer, Horace Greeley, and Joseph Jefferson as well as Thomas Jefferson. A recommended skill was note-taking.  

The Committee recommended this selection of minimum content as facilitating the school work of students transferring from one school to another, simplifying the work of the teacher, promoting national unity and solidarity, assuring a fund of common information to aid communication and understanding, and promoting the acceptance of common traditions and ideals. As one reads through the Committee's report, it seems as if little had changed between 1893 and 1943.

This brief overview of social studies education in the United States until the end of World War II can be summarized and certain trends highlighted. While some social studies were taught in the schools in the form of history prior to the 1800s no such courses became required courses until the 1820s. From the 1820s to the 1890s, social studies courses in any form other than history made slow headway in the schools; and when they did manage to get into the curriculum they managed to attract only a small minority of students. Beginning in the 1890s national organizations through committee reports sought to mold the shape of secondary social studies education. At first their efforts were prescriptive in

41 Ibid., pp. 74-81.

42 Ibid., p. 83
nature and recommended specific, detailed courses of study. The last and most important of these prescriptive reports was that of the 1916 Committee on Social Studies. As a result of these national committee reports something of a national pattern, if not a national curriculum was established in social studies education.

For the period between World War I and World War II, the Commission on Social Studies seemed to set the pattern for investigations. New theories of learning from psychology, new concern for more enlightened citizenship, more concern for the needs of the students, and the challenge to the paramount position of history in curriculum were factors that led to the desire for local schools to avail themselves of greater flexibility in the planning of curriculum. After 1916 national committees engaged in the investigation of the social studies curriculum refrained from prescribing detailed programs of study. Even the 1943 Committee of American History in Schools and Colleges did not advocate specific new courses but instead did plead for greater local experimentation in curriculum planning.

From World War II into the 1960s the arguments over the selection and organization of content continued but with little indication that they were actually bringing about any substantial changes in the local schools' program of social studies instruction. This is not to indicate that the student felt no change. The curriculum of the schools was
tightening its demands on the student. College entrance requirements, the vested interests of various pressure groups, the hold of the traditional Carnegie units, state government requirements, and stereotyped textbooks all made for a more restrictive curriculum. These plus the increasing record of history and the demands for inclusion by the newer social sciences confronted the student and teacher alike with pressure for greater coverage of content at the expense of fuller, deeper discussion.

Status Studies in the Sixties

A check of the status studies undertaken in the early sixties that investigated the social studies curricula of the schools indicates that despite the issues and conflicts that have arisen since the 1920s the basic program of social studies offered today by most schools has varied little from the model recommended in 1916. One of the most informative status studies was done by Moreland who surveyed five hundred schools across the United States. While Moreland found some change had taken place, more at the junior high level than at the senior high, he concluded that the pattern of required courses in the early sixties was much the same as was recommended by the Committee of Social Studies of 1916. Specifically Moreland found the required courses most often were as follows:
Moreland reported the only changes that seemed to be taking place were (1) the offering of more elective courses in the social sciences such as economics in the twelfth grade, and (2) that curriculum revision emphasized the inclusion of different and/or additional content, such as international understanding and world culture, within the regularly offered courses rather than creating new courses or reorganizing old courses. In general, Moreland found these curriculum revision attempts did not mean any decline had occurred in the central roles of history and geography in preference to a more comprehensive social studies curriculum.\(^4^3\)

Jones surveyed 130 school systems in cities of a hundred thousand more in population. This survey was a replication of one conducted eight years previously. His main findings were that a substantial number of the schools surveyed had increased their social studies requirements for


\(^4^4\)Ibid., p. 102.
graduation, that the increased requirements were generally in the area of tenth grade world history, that more emphasis was being placed upon world affairs within the traditional courses, and that most schools offered a program of courses similar to or the same as that proposed by the Committee on Social Studies of 1916. It is interesting to note that Jones found all schools surveyed required American history at the eleventh grade.

Masia surveyed the social studies offerings of accredited schools in an eighteen state area of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. The survey indicated the general pattern for course offerings were the same as recommended by the Committee on Social Studies of 1916 with a combination of government, problems of democracy, or economics at the twelfth grade, American History at the eleventh grade, and a trend to require World History at the tenth grade. Like Moreland, Masia found that most "curriculum change" in social studies offerings occurred mainly in the form of merely adding more content to traditional course offerings.

In a 1964 study, Sjostrom attempted to find if the

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secondary schools of the North Central area had conducted curriculum revision in the attempt to include content more meaningful in light of economic, political, and social changes that had taken place since 1958. While the schools reported widespread curriculum revision attempts, the pattern of course offerings in the schools remained essentially the same as that recommended by the Committee on Social Studies of 1916. Sjostrom found, as did Moreland, Jones, and Masia, that a great deal of curriculum revision consisted of merely adding more content to existing course offerings.47

A most interesting but depressing study was conducted by Wade. The launching of Sputnik in 1957 had produced widespread unrest and dissatisfaction with the curricula of our schools. Wade's study was to determine how the unrest of recent years had affected the status of the social studies program of the schools. In an extensive study, she sent questionnaires to departments of education of all fifty states and to forty-one selected local school districts. In addition she studied the professional literature, the reports of major national and regional curriculum projects, and social studies curricula prepared by state and local school personnel.48


Wade found dissatisfaction with the public schools social studies program to be nationwide and shared by educators and social scientists alike. Also, she found that since 1958 every national organization connected in any way with the social studies and the vast majority of state departments of education all were in some direct way involved with social studies curriculum revision. Wade even found general agreement that new social studies programs should, (1) be built upon a framework that would draw its content from all the social sciences, (2) utilize the inquiry-centered approach of teaching, (3) utilize the methodology of the various social studies, and (4) study in depth selected eras, areas, and issues.\footnote{Ibid.}

However, Wade also found a conflict which functions as a basic barrier to successful curriculum revision attempts. Wade indicates the belief that historically the prime objective of social studies education has been that of preparing the kinds of citizens who could meet the needs of the times, which Wade sees as a mandate for change as society and the individual need change. But, if such an educational objective is to be achieved, according to Wade, the curriculum of the school must be flexible enough to incorporate new learnings from all the social studies. It is at this point that she sees the social studies curriculum which dates back to the
committees of the 1893-1916 era as being too rigid and constrictive. Wade sees no hope for meaningful curriculum revision until the dominate and repetitive position of history in the curriculum can be more successfully challenged than has been the case in the past. 50

It seems as if Wade’s position is correct, for despite flurries of activities in social studies education from time to time since the era of the national committees, the recommendations of those committees and especially the 1916 Committee on Social Studies are still adhered to in the vast majority of schools. This does not mean that curriculum revision efforts were not mounted by local schools in the intervening years. One study identified nearly five hundred local high school social studies curriculum research efforts that resulted in new programs of studies that had taken place during one five year period. 51

That these and similar efforts at change did not result in greater divergence from the recommendations of the national committees should not be construed as an indication of satisfaction with what became the traditional social studies curriculum. Indeed, there have been ongoing disputes about the proper objectives for social studies, proper course content, the most desirable methods, and the proper definition of the

50 Ibid.

social studies. Nonetheless, these activities and disputes have not, as the status studies indicate, prevented the American schools from settling into a national pattern of social studies education that is by now commonly referred to as traditional.
CHAPTER III

THE DEBATE WITHIN SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION

Today there are strong indications that change is about to come over the traditional national pattern of social studies education that has emerged from the era of the national committees. Of course, historical present-mindedness is always to be feared as an undue influence in attempts to judge trends. The problems of the present day always seem greater and clearer and more ominous than do those that have receded into the past. But even with this caution in mind the current debate within the social studies seems to be of such intensity and so widespread as to insure some kind of change from the traditional approach. The debate is fed by various factors which include national and international events of the times, the development of new educational ideas, the reassertion of earlier proposals for change, and not the least by heightened public interest in education in general. For social studies education in particular, the debate centers about the continued practice of traditional methods, often referred to as essentialistic, subject-centered, or product-oriented, and those proposals that would substitute an approach that would emphasize the
process of reflection or structure-of-the-discipline inquiry.

The Traditional Approach

Perhaps the best way to approach a description of traditional social studies education is to begin with Edgar B. Wesley's now famous definitions of the social sciences and the social studies. He says the following by way of defining the social sciences:

...the social sciences are concerned with the detailed systematic, and logical study of human relationships. This obligation is to the standards of scholarship rather than to the psychological aptitudes of prospective readers, to society as a whole rather than to students or pupils. The materials of the social sciences may or may not be suitable for purposes of instruction at the college level; are less likely to be useful at the high school. The social sciences are store houses of knowledge.

In a descriptive definition of the social studies Wesley says:

In contrast with the social sciences, the social studies are designed primarily for instructional purposes. They are those portions or aspects of the social sciences that have been selected and adopted for use in the school. The term social studies indicates materials whose content as well as aim is predominately social. The social studies are the social sciences simplified for pedagogical reasons.

The sources for Wesley's definitions of the social sciences are:

1Wesley and Wronski, Teaching Social Studies in the High Schools, p. 3.

2Ibid.
sciences and the social studies was the authority of domin­
ant practice. This being the case the definitions tell us
much about actual practices in the schools. Traditional
social studies education is education primarily concerned
with product. The argument is that there are essential
facts and knowledge that have been accumulated by scholars
throughout the history of man. While the storehouses of
scholarly knowledge may change over time, at any one point
in time the storehouse of knowledge represents the closest
approximation to wisdom and truth available to man at that
time. Therefore, the argument goes on, the scholars should
prepare these essential facts and knowledge so that the
society through its schools can transmit essential learnings
to the coming generation.

The American public in general and the majority of
social studies teachers in particular have not found it
difficult to accept Wesley's definitions and traditional
educational practices of dealing with facts and knowledge
as essential products. Few of them would dissent from aims
for social studies education that would include transmitting
the heritage of the nation to the young and maintenance of
the status quo if they would understand those aims to mean
students would come to revere and be loyal to democracy and
capitalism, the American way of life. They would agree that
the schools should teach the cultural heritage of the nation
and that patriotism, good citizenship, and pride in national
values are desirable learnings for the youth. They would agree in the need for a common body of civic information to be taught to all students of a nation so large and diverse as the United States. In sum, traditional social studies education is a process of students gaining possession of a product, a body of information and attitudes.

The question for social studies educators then becomes one of determining how this product will be organized as content in the schools' program of studies. As Wesley's definition implies scholars in the separate disciplines of the social sciences, history, geography, political science, economics, and sociology, should gather and organize that knowledge essential for the coming generation in a pedagogically acceptable form, usually as a textbook, and hand down the product so the classroom teacher can pass the product on to the students. This is the common practice in schools today. Most textbooks are written by or in collaboration with academicians in a scholarly discipline, and most curriculum or study guides in the schools are little more than elaborate outlines of the adopted school text.

The organization of the product, the content of the course, is made with maximum possible coverage of the predetermined materials being uppermost in the instructor's mind. The content is divided by the number of periods available during the semester with an eye always cocked towards the minimum essentials to be covered. Courses are
centered about separate subjects and are for the most part arranged chronologically. Day to day classroom effort becomes the attempt to cover the allotted number of textbook pages and topics. The activities are reading the text, student recitation, and teacher lectures for purposes of explanation and enrichment. The emphasis is on convergent learning, and questions tend to be of the "What," "Who," "When," and "Where" type. There seems to be little need for heuristic questioning and divergent learning. Of course, testing is a relatively simple matter. Students are expected to correctly respond to commercial or teacher-prepared tests with answers given them from authority, either the textbook or the teacher. Textbooks rarely encourage or provide opportunity for the exercise of judgment or other higher conceptual learnings.

The role of the teacher is to act as a traditional, authoritarian, institutional leader. He is an exemplar of autocratic, absolute values. Discipline is maintained by external control, and it limits the students' social interaction and spontaneous behavior. Instruction is impersonal in that it is mass instruction geared to achieving class coverage of the textbook rather than focusing upon the students' emergent needs and interests. Many traditional teachers feel it necessary to know the answers to all appropriate student questions if the teacher is to maintain
the students' respect. Of course, all planning and assignments are made by the teacher with little or no teacher-pupil planning. The teacher believes in general that the acquisition of historical knowledge fosters good citizenship and that students must first be "given" a firm foundation of factual knowledge before they can successfully "think" about problems when they are adults. Implicit in all of this is a notion of transfer of learning—if the student can be "given" an adequate store of factual knowledge, he can and probably will draw upon it in dealing with problems to be encountered at some point in the future.

The role of the student is implied by the above description of traditional, product-centered teaching. The student is expected to be passive and uncritical. His questions are for the purpose of clarification. He is taught to prize the recall of information and the skills of reading comprehension, notetaking, and expressing himself both orally and in writing. He is graded on a combination of factors usually including his "co-operativeness," effort, capacity and retention of information.

In brief, the social studies education program of the schools that grew out of the era of the national committees, particularly the 1916 Committee on Social Studies, became the traditional program for the schools for more than a half century. The hallmark of this traditional program is its heavy emphasis upon product, in terms of both aims and goals
and teaching method. The aims or goals of the traditional method can be thought of as product in the sense that the schools are to "pass on" or "give" to the coming generation a package of beliefs and attitudes that when collectively held will make the individual a "good citizen" well prepared for the "American way of life." The mental discipline concept of learning popular during the early part of this century shaped the teacher's instructional practices towards product. Cycles of learning repetitiously exposed students to what was deemed essential information with the belief the continued exposure to the information would aid the student to master, by memory, the information.

The Process Approach

Despite the ascendancy of traditional social studies and its attendant emphasis upon product, the approach has not been without critics who have urged an alternative approach. It was with John Dewey that education as process received its most forceful modern advocate. Ironically, Dewey reached maturity as a thinker and began to pour forth his views on education in a stream of articles and volumes at approximately the same time as the era of the national committees. To a large measure led by Dewey, but with a host of other worthy advocates, proponents of education as process have kept up a running battle against the proponents of education as product. Only during the last decade have
there been signs that process may ultimately overcome product as the central character of social studies education.

The use of the term "process" in this investigation should be understood to include both the older reflective or problem-solving approach as advocated by Dewey and his supporters and the more recent structure-of-the-discipline inquiry popularized by Jerome S. Bruner. While reflection and the structure-of-the-discipline inquiry are in disagreement with one another on several points and are in competition with one another to serve as the basis for the schools' social studies curricula, they have in common an emphasis on education as process. In both of these approaches the student is encouraged to engage in learning activities at higher conceptual levels than would be true of the product approach to education.

A brief overview of both reflection and structure-of-the-discipline inquiry will center upon their common emphasis upon process as opposed to product. First, we should note that in the process approach, whether reflection or structure-of-the-discipline inquiry, the beginning point or the heart of the approach is different than in the product approach. The product approach assumes certain knowledge to be essential which makes necessary a basically deductive approach to education planning. If this information is essential then we must cover this much content in this amount of time to achieve full coverage. On the other
hand, the process approach is rooted in epistemology. How does the individual know? How can the process of knowing be perfected by the individual?

A word of explanation is in order in regard to structure-of-the-discipline inquiry. In one respect this approach does emphasize an essentialistic product. From history and each of the social sciences certain concepts and generalizations are selected as essential for the student to learn. However, the student is encouraged "to discover" those concepts and generalizations in a process of inquiry rather than having them "presented" to him as in the traditional approach. And, a strong emphasis is placed upon the student becoming more skillful in carrying out the process or the "mode of inquiry" by which he "discovers" concepts and generalizations. The degree to which the student is involved in the process of inquiry is the degree to which the structure-of-the-discipline approach shares with reflection the concern of helping the individual to learn to learn better rather than to merely accumulate information.

Reflection

To clarify the learning how to learn better aspect that is at the heart of the process approach, we can turn to Dewey and some of his thoughts concerning reflective thought. Dewey pointed out that everyone thinks, fools as well as truly wise men, if by thinking one means something is "going
through the mind." Also, it is impossible for the individual to successfully stop thought in his mind; the mind continues to progress through one mental state to another despite the individual's desire to stop it. If orderly thought is stopped the mind will fill itself with memories, daydreams, worries, hopes, or some similar less orderly thought—but thoughts nonetheless.

Also, Dewey pointed out that thought is practically synonymous with belief. By this he means that what one knows determines his willingness to act in a particular situation. If the person feels sufficiently confident of the correctness of certain thoughts that he is willing to act upon them, he can be said to have belief.

For Dewey and the reflective approach the important point in all of this is the process by which the individual gains confidence in his thoughts to the degree necessary to act upon them. As Dewey sees it, the trouble is that thoughts are picked up in the most haphazard ways; sometimes the individual has no idea of how he acquired a certain thought. The individual may have accepted the thought because of tradition, of an appeal to the authority of a textbook, a teacher, or respected friend, or of the acceptance of some

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4 Ibid., p. 6.
a priori assumptions. Dewey contends such thoughts are mere prejudices, and if they prove to be factually correct they are so for that individual only by mere chance, accident.\(^5\)

So that beliefs are more likely to rest upon thought that has basis in evidence and rationality, Dewey advocates that the individual use, rather than some appeal to tradition, authority, or whatever, the process of reflective thought which he defines as "active, persistent, and careful consideration of any belief or supposed form of knowledge in light of the grounds that support it and the further conclusions to which it tends."\(^6\) Towards the end of explaining reflective thought Dewey describes three situations. The first is called pre-reflective; the situation in which the individual becomes perplexed and confused and in which the individual recognizes the problem that is in need of solution. The third situation is post-reflective; the situation in which tension, doubt, and concern has been replaced with relaxation, belief, and satisfaction by virtue of the problem's having been solved. In between these situations is the situation of reflective thought as the individual seeks the solution to the problem.\(^7\)

\(^5\)Ibid., p. 7.
\(^6\)Ibid., p. 9.
\(^7\)Ibid., pp. 106 and 107.
Dewey described five aspects of the reflective situation. One aspect is suggestion. This is when the individual confronted with a problem has a possible solution pop into his mind. Unless more than one solution pops to mind or for some other reason the individual does not hesitate but immediately acts, the opportunity to go on to the second aspect is lost and reflective thought is blocked. This second aspect Dewey called intellectualization. As one hesitates to act upon his initial suggestions, he searches for the facts, the condition of the problem confronting him. With the data in mind the individual now enters the third aspect of reflective thought as he forms an hypothesis, that is, a modification or correction of the original suggestion that popped in mind. The fourth aspect is reasoning in which the individual mentally mulls over the data related to his hypothesis. Once the individual thinks the data seem to support the hypothesis, he is ready for aspect five which is testing the hypothesis by action. Overt, deliberate action is taken consistent with the hypothesis to determine if the consequences do verify the hypothesis. If the consequences of action do not verify the hypothesis, the individual is at least in a more enlightened position to continue the reflective process. If the consequences do verify the hypothesis, the individual no longer has a problem and has entered the post-reflective situation.

Ibid., pp. 106-115.
The trouble with the written work is that it lends itself to literal interpretation. There is no way words can be infused with the connotative elasticity necessary for them to adequately and accurately describe the flickering, vague, creative flight of the human mind. The person only fools himself who reads Dewey's description of reflective thought as if it were literally correct in describing a precise sequence of the phases by which the mind works. In actual reflective thought the mind may expand one of the above aspects, combine two of them or skip around and back and forth among them. The important point is that there is a process of thought regardless of precisely how we can describe it.

By opting for reflective thought Dewey advocated an educational approach rooted in process rather than the traditional school practice of emphasizing product. Dewey made this clear when he stated:

The distinction between information and wisdom is old, and yet requires constantly to be redrawn. Information is knowledge that is merely acquired and stored up, wisdom is knowledge operating in the direction of power to a better way of life. Information merely as information, implies no special training of intellectual capacity, wisdom is the finest fruit of that training. In school, amassing information always tends to escape from the ideal of wisdom or good judgments. The aim often seems to be...to make the pupil what has been called a 'cyclopedia of useless information.' Covering ground is the primary necessity...
But there is all the difference in the world whether the acquisition of information is treated as an end in itself, or is made an integral portion of the training of thought. The assumption that information that has been accumulated apart from use in recognition and solution of a problem may be later, at will, fully employed by thought is quite false.

While the entire above quotation is of importance, the crux of the argument between education as process or product is most clearly hit upon in the last sentence of the quote. The crux is transfer: does the gain in ability achieved in mastering a specific learning task prove to be of efficient use in dealing with other, subsequent situations? Dewey's argument is that the coverage and storage of subject matter will have at best only limited utility in terms of transfer whereas learning to think better, reflectively, is likely to be beneficial to the individual when confronted with any new problematical situation.

For the teacher and school concerned with improving the students' ability to think reflectively, there is the need to utilize teaching techniques considerably different than those one would employ in teaching for product as in the traditional approach. First, there can be no real instruction for the improvement of reflective thought unless instruction grows out of the needs and interests of the

9Ibid., pp. 63 and 64.

10Ibid., pp. 65-68.
students rather than the concerns of the academic scholar or the adult society. The students must be led to recognize some doubt, tension, confusion, or concern about their thoughts, beliefs, attitudes, or values. Without this condition of doubt about personal interests there is no itch to know; the student is not involved except perhaps on the superficial level of external rewards such as good grades or teacher recognition. In the reflective approach the role of the student must be an active role of seeking, investigating, and questioning. His activities are limited only by purposefulness, good sense, and courtesy. Order regimentation, and quiet to impress the principal with "good discipline" becomes an obstacle rather than a sign of learning.

The nature of authority is different in the reflective classroom from that in the traditional classroom. Facts, concepts, and generalization have no intrinsic value; they are but tools or instruments to aid in the solution of problems. Facts are never absolute by and of themselves but serve as evidence only. Concepts and generalizations are not rules that dominate thought but serve as convenient receptacles for the organization of information in the pursuit of solutions to problems. Knowledge is never absolute but is always tentative and no more compelling than the evidence for its support.
If knowledge is always tentative in the reflective classroom, then the role of the teacher must be different than that of the traditional teacher. The reflective teacher cannot "know all the answers" nor demand uncritical acceptance of the textbook narrative. Instead, the teacher must resort to a variety of tactics. He must on occasion "put the students on" to arouse curiosity or at other times play "the devil's advocate" to help students clarify their views or to prompt new insights. He must avoid dogmatism in preference to supplying only that information that prods on the reflective pursuits of his students. He encourages divergent thought. He guides students to a widening array of sources. He is a model of open-minded, wholehearted, and responsible learning. He is a learner among learners. He is non-directive, accepting, curious, and willing to alter his own beliefs. He is a "guide," not a "boss."

The content of the social studies course is that which is necessary for the students to arrive at defensible positions concerning the problems which confront them as individuals in their society. Coverage of content is important only in terms of how the content is used in the process. That content is organized in a certain chronological arrangement and covered in a predetermined quantity is not important. The class textbook exercises no tyranny over students' minds as it is but one of a wide variety of
sources made available to students in their search for evidence to solve problems. Testing is not in terms of feeding back "the right answer" but is in terms of the students demonstrating the ability to establish and use functional definitions, verify facts, recognize value dilemmas, formulate hypotheses, weigh evidence, and draw conclusions warranted by the evidence. The quality of judgment exercised by the student is the dominant concern.

As with content, in the reflective approach the goal of social studies education is concerned with "process." The role of content is to serve as data in the reflective process of helping the individual student to learn to think better rather than to accumulate a portion of essential information. Similarly, the goal of the reflective approach is to help the individual student perfect the process by which he becomes an autonomous, intelligent, sensitive person who knows what he values and why. More simply the goal is for the pupil to more capably function as an individual and as a member of society; it is not to "pass on" to him as a member of the coming generation a set of beliefs and attitudes for him to uncritically accept as the basis for good citizenship in the American way of life.

Structure-of-the-Discipline Inquiry

Another approach to social studies education as process is the structure-of-the-discipline approach. While concrete
efforts in this direction can be traced back to work in mathematics at the University of Chicago in 1951, the real impetus for the approach stems from the launching of the first Soviet satellite, Sputnik, in 1957, and the report of 1959 Woods Hole Conference by Jerome S. Bruner under the title, *The Process of Education*. As a result of these events, federally and privately funded curriculum projects were initiated with the hope of revolutionizing teaching methods in the United States. While mathematics, science, and foreign languages received the initial and lion's share of the funds, social studies ultimately received funding for curriculum development projects.

As had been the case in mathematics and science, the social studies projects are heavily influenced by Bruner. Bruner's *The Process of Education* emphasizes four main themes. The first theme has to do with the role of structure in learning. Rather than have the student cover and master predetermined information, as in the product approach of traditional education, Bruner believes that every academic discipline has its own structure made up of a characteristic mode of inquiry and particularly useful facts, concepts, and generalizations. The thrust of instructional efforts is towards non-specific transfer. That is, instruction is

intended to aid the student to perfect his ability to learn
to learn easier by the discovery of the general principles
of a discipline. 12

When is the student ready for this learning of the
structure of a discipline? Bruner's second theme attempts
to answer this question. As far as Bruner is concerned any
age is the age at which the child is ready for discovery
learning. This is because Bruner hypothesizes that "any
idea or problem or body of knowledge can be presented in a
form simple enough so that particular learner can understand
it in recognizable form."13 In other words, "any subject
can be taught effectively in some intellectually honest form
to any child at any state of development."14

Important in connection with Bruner's hypothesis about
learner readiness is his notion of the "spiral curriculum."
Briefly, the spiral curriculum can be explained as the
attempt to translate those subjects selected for instruction
into a form that is at once intellectually honest, logical,
challenging and understandable for the pupil at his stage of
development. Then throughout the curriculum the student

12Ibid., pp. 17-32.

13Jerome S. Bruner, Toward a Theory of Instruction

should be re-introduced to the same subject in progressively more sophisticated form as is consistent with his intellectual development.\(^{15}\)

Bruner's third theme deals with the nature of intuitive and analytic thinking. Bruner distinguishes between analytic and intuitive thinking as analytic being formal, step by step, and conscious to the learner whereas intuitive thinking is informal, a hunch, a guess, a leap in the unknown, that the learner cannot explain. Bruner understands the legitimate place of intuitive thought in the individual's attempts to deal with problems, and he advocates instructional tactics conducive to the increase in the individual's effectiveness in dealing intuitively with problems. Bruner particularly recommends that the student be given the opportunity and be encouraged to use heuristic procedures as much as possible. For the student seeking to gain a fuller understanding of a discipline, the more he practices intuitive thinking the more successful he should become.\(^{16}\)

Bruner's fourth theme deals with the problem of motivating learners. He is quick to decry the emphasis placed upon grades, promotion from grade to grade, rote examinations, and other external rewards as means of motivating students. Bruner would substitute for these external rewards

\(^{15}\)Ibid., pp. 52-54.

\(^{16}\)Ibid., pp. 55-68.
the internal reward of heightened interest and scholarly satisfaction that comes from the sense of discovery as the student deals with the subject in the process of inquiry.17

In discussing teaching in what he calls the hypothetical mode (structure-of-the-discipline inquiry) as opposed to the expository mode that is so prevalent in the schools, Bruner again makes claims for structure-of-the-discipline inquiry. He believes emphasis on discovery will increase the student's intellectual potency by helping the student gain keener insight into the proper use of information in the problem-solving process. His position is that discovery will shift motivation from extrinsic to intrinsic rewards thus increasing motivation. He states that the more the student engages in problem-solving of the discovery type the more the student will improve the technique of inquiry. And, he claims that discovery that culminates in greater understanding provides an organization of information that aids the conservation of memory.18

As one reads Bruner's discussion of his themes and hypotheses concerning structure-of-the-discipline inquiry or discovery learning, the commonality between Bruner and Dewey begins to stand out. While there are points of conflict in their discourses, both men are obviously committed to an

17 Ibid., pp. 69-73.

approach to education that emphasizes process rather than product. Like Dewey, Bruner sees the need for education as process rooted in the principles of transfer of learning. Bruner rejects the notion that education as product can provide the kind of general transfer of learning desired. He sees the need to teach students how to better learn how to learn as the only realistic way to achieve transfer.\textsuperscript{19}

Regardless of what others may make of Bruner as they seek to implement his ideas in curriculum development efforts, it seems likely that a curriculum developed consistent with Bruner's writings would be a curriculum that would emphasise, like Dewey, higher conceptual level learnings than would be true of the traditional approach to education or product.

**Project Social Studies**

Bruner's influence in social studies education can be seen in the widespread emphasis on structure-of-the-discipline inquiry in the national social studies projects. After Sputnik in 1957 there came into existence a large number of national curriculum projects supported by private and federal funds. At first, social studies was virtually left out in the nation's concern for science, mathematics, and foreign language. Then in 1962 the Social Studies Program was launched by the United States Office of Education.

\textsuperscript{19} Bruner, *Process of Education*, pp. 5-16.
program's stated goals were to improve instruction, research, and teacher education in the social studies and to disseminate appropriate information. To implement these goals the co-operative research Program of the Office of Education invited colleges, universities, and state departments of education to submit proposals to accomplish the following four objectives: (1) to redefine the scope and goals of the social studies curriculum; (2) to develop appropriate teaching materials; (3) to submit teaching materials to experimentation, evaluation, and revision; and (4) to disseminate the materials and relevant information.20

After the establishment of the original eight project centers they have proliferated into over a hundred, some of which have already completed their work. After the first several years the efforts of the curriculum projects were the subject of a progress report by Fenton and Good. Their findings point out the heavy influence of Bruner in the efforts of the various projects which can be summarized briefly. The attempt is made to draw together at a university site and under the leadership of a proven university scholar a team of scholars, learning theory experts, practicing teachers, and psycholmetricians. This team then engages in research in the attempt, in all but a very few cases, to build a curriculum based on the structure of a

social science discipline as advocated by Bruner's *The Process of Education*. Consequently, the projects are in contrast to the expository method of teaching traditional in the social studies. The projects emphasize discovery, hypothetical teaching, inductive teaching, or inquiry, all of which refer to students being presented with data and then being encouraged to discover concepts and generalizations. The generalizations build on one another to eventually develop an understanding of the structure of the subject being taught. Rather than the traditional accumulating of facts for their own sake, the emphasis is placed upon learning facts as part of the thinking process of scholars. Students are urged to ask questions in the manner of the historian, the geographer, or the political scientists as they seek to organize knowledge. Consistent with Bruner the projects emphasized sequential learnings. They attempted to build courses upon what students already know and to develop a hierarchy of learnings to be taught in sequence, beginning with the simple and moving to the more sophisticated. To aid in the accomplishment of this approach most projects have adopted a multi-media approach. Traditional textbooks' narrative accounts are replaced by case studies, sets of statistics, analytical articles, and the such which are used by students as springboards to inquiry.  

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A more recent report on the national social studies projects shows that their main features have changed little in recent years. Sanders and Tanck find the majority of the projects emphasize subject matter, concepts, and generalizations drawn from the separate social science disciplines with a resultant de-emphasis of the traditional narratives of history. All but a few of the projects claim to use the discovery or inquiry approach and are discipline centered. Consequently, a characteristic of most projects is a concern for the structure of knowledge. The mode of inquiry of the discipline is considered the essential ingredient of instructional strategy. In other words, most of the projects are dominated by the suggestions of Bruner.

A Review of Social Education Articles

The impact of Bruner and the structure-of-the-discipline approach is symptomatic of the increasing pressure for change sweeping across social studies education. The emphasis on product inherent in traditional social studies instruction is being strongly challenged by its critics, the advocates of social studies education in the form of process either in the form of reflection or structure-of-the-discipline inquiry. One gauge of the increasing restiveness

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in the field is the change in type and tone of articles appearing for the last ten years in *Social Education*. As the journal for the National Council of the Social Studies, *Social Education* is the journal most widely read by social studies teachers and educators in the schools, colleges, and universities, and as such it should offer a fairly accurate account of the trend of concerns in the field of social studies education.

For the purpose of determining to what degree the articles appearing in *Social Education* indicate an increasing demand for change away from the traditional product approach to the process approach to social studies education, three hundred and fifty-three articles that appeared in the journal between January, 1960, and May, 1970, were analyzed and placed in one of four different categories. The first category was for those articles that dealt with the content of social studies education in the traditional approach as essential product that the teacher was to be steeped in and the student was to master. These articles could be of several kinds. They could be ones that made suggestions for specific content to be offered either in the form of new courses or added within the framework of existing courses. Or, they could be articles that directly presented information and interpretations drawn from the separate disciplines of history, economics, political science, and so forth. The second category was for those articles that dealt with the
preparation of teachers, the explanation of tactics, or the organization of courses within the curriculum in such a manner as to more effectively facilitate students' learning the essential social studies subject matter. The first category was labeled Product Content, and the second category was labeled Product Method.

The same type of categorization was used for those articles that were related to the process approach to social studies education. Those articles that dealt with the issues of the individual, society, and world affairs that are likely to be laden with situations demanding problem-solving or those articles dealing with the content of social studies identified as profitable for the discovery or structure-of-the-discipline inquiry have been placed in the category of Process Content. Those articles that called for the reorganizations of curriculum, instructional methods, teacher preparation, and learning materials for the purpose of fostering learning as process are labeled Process Method.

It should be noted that not all articles during this ten and one-half year span were categorized. Excluded were all those articles not dealing with secondary social studies education and all those articles not clearly related to education as process or product. One issue of Social Education was devoted almost entirely to the process of how a textbook is published and the relationships that exist between textbook publishing houses and the business
conglomerates; none of these articles were categorized. Only those articles were categorized that shed light on what social studies educators during the ten and one-half year span were thinking about in light of the debate between the product approach and process approach.

An article particularly representative of the Product Method category is "Latin American Life: A Proposal for Junior and Senior High Schools" by James High. The article is a plea for the schools to teach to the students more information about the historical background of our Latin American neighbors. The basis for this plea rests solely with the author's assertion that "for reasons of practical politics, economic self-interest, general cultural co-operation, and plain decency, America should . . . learn . . . about their Latin American friends. . . ." As guidelines to aid the schools to better achieve this end, High states the most important asset the secondary teacher can have is mastery of subject matter content. Then to insure the teacher knows what content is essential High lists better than four pages of specific topics dealing with Latin American geography, history, and culture and appropriate sources for the teacher to consult. All of this subject


24 Ibid., p. 208.
matter he urged to be included in the schools' curriculum. The product approach assumptions in High's article are several. He believes that there is a body of knowledge concerning Latin America that is essential for students to master. In addition, he believes that by virtue of students' mastering this content certain desired aims will be enhanced, such as an improvement in American economic self-interest. Also, he believes the classroom teacher should be in command of the essential content and pass it on to the students for them to master. All of these points are consistent with and central to the product approach to social studies education.

Some examples of the type of article included in the Product Content category would include "The Legacy of Plymouth"\textsuperscript{25} by George L. Haskins, a professor of Law at the University of Pennsylvania. The article is a brief explanation of the author's belief that the colonial government of Plymouth played a valuable role in helping to establish the legal institutions of America. It is a bit of straight history writing, and it is obvious the author considers the history of Plymouth Colony to be an important part of every school child's history instruction. Similar types of articles are "The Prairie Paragon,"\textsuperscript{26} that deals with

\textsuperscript{25}George L. Haskins, "The Legacy of Plymouth," \textit{Social Education}, XXVI (June, 1962), 7-12 and 22.

Lincoln's greatness as president and "The Plight of Pakistan," that elaborates on the political and economic floundering of Pakistan.

In contrast to these articles of the product approach is August Heckscher's article, "The City and the Human Being." Heckscher sets the theme and tone of his article with the first sentence, "It is time one asked whether the city is in fact made for man." The article goes on to attack the American city as stifling, grimy, noisy, polluted, and ugly. Heckscher contends these conditions force the people of the city to become "enveloped in a cloak of insensitivity" as a means of escape and to the degree this is true man's humaneness is stunted. Clearly, the author is dealing with a contemporary issue of American life that is laden with a wide variety of problems that can and should be utilized in the process approach to social studies education. Just as clearly, Heckscher's article does not contain nor urge essential content for the student to master. Thus, the article is one that indicates an issue to be studied and is suggestive of the kind of content that will be drawn upon in a process of inquiry or reflective thought. Consequently, the article has been placed in the category of Process Content.


An example of an article in the category Product Method is "Urban Studies Reflectively Speaking" by Lawrence E. Metcalf. Metcalf points out that teaching can be conducted on three levels, rote memory, understanding, and reflective thought. Citing the need for social change if urban centers are to be made more livable, Metcalf goes on to explain how reflective level teaching is more likely to prepare students to wisely study inherited beliefs and institutions and their alternatives. This kind of use of intelligence, he contends, offers our only hope for guiding the best direction of social change. Throughout the article Metcalf gives examples of how techniques appropriate to the reflective approach, such as the subject matter switch, can be used in the classroom study of problems in urban studies.

Another good article to illustrate the contrast between the product and process approaches is Shirley H. Engle's article, "Decision Making: The Heart of Social Studies Instruction." Engle argues that teaching based upon coverage and mastery of facts presented chronologically falls short of adequate social studies instruction. As Engle stated, "We must abandon...the ground covering technique, and with it the wholly mistaken notion that to


commit information to memory is the same as to gain knowledge. Later on he continues, "Equally fallacious is the background theory of learning, or the notion that we must hold the facts in memory before we are ready to draw on them or think about their meaning." 

Engle argues that the goal of social studies instruction is for students to learn to reach better, that is grounded and reasoned, decisions. The only way students will accomplish this end, he feels, is for students to engage in critically guided practice in the decision-making process. Engle's views and preference for process type social studies instruction is summed up by his blunt statement, "For ground covering, or remembering, we should substitute decision making, which is reflective, speculative, thought provoking, and oriented to the process of reaching conclusions." 

The results of the categorization of the three hundred and fifty-three articles as shown in Table 1 prompt several interesting observations. First, it is interesting to note the different emphases on content and method that appear in the product and process approaches. While each approach has very close to the same number of total articles, the portion of each approach dealing with content and method is inversely

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31 Ibid., p. 302.
32 Ibid.
33 Ibid., p. 303.
TABLE 1

THE NUMBER OF PRODUCT APPROACH AND PROCESS APPROACH ARTICLES FOR SECONDARY SOCIAL STUDIES APPEARING IN SOCIAL EDUCATION, JANUARY, 1960-MAY, 1970, INCLUSIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Product Content</th>
<th>Product Method</th>
<th>Product Total</th>
<th>Process Content</th>
<th>Process Method</th>
<th>Process Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
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<td>1961</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>1962</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
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<td>1963</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>22</td>
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</tr>
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<td>9</td>
<td>22</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
related. In the product approach 124 articles dealt with content as opposed to only 55 that dealt with method. This seems to be a good indication of the relative emphasis on content as being the essential ingredient in learning process that is inherent in the traditional product approach. On the other hand, in the process approach 124 of the 174 articles dealt with method as opposed to content. As with the product approach the ratio suggests a meaningful relationship. In the process approach content has no intrinsic value; content gains value only to the degree to which it feeds a process.

The most obvious, and for this investigation the most significant, aspect of Table 1 is the abrupt change between 1965 and 1966 in the number of articles devoted respectively to the product and process approaches. As Table 2 shows the number of articles devoted to the product approach between 1960 and 1965 greatly outnumbered those devoted to the process approach, but between 1966 and 1970 the opposite has been true. It is interesting to speculate on the reasons for such an abrupt change. The change in thinking among social studies educators undoubtedly was not so abrupt, and the pattern in which the articles appeared in Social Education no doubt reflects in part the traditional lag in the research and writing that is typical of the education profession. While this may offer some explanation for the appearance of abrupt change, it in no way accounts for the
 TABLE 2  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Product Content</th>
<th>Product Method</th>
<th>Product Total</th>
<th>Process Content</th>
<th>Process Method</th>
<th>Process Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>1960-1965</td>
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<td>42</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>30</td>
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<tr>
<td>1966-1970</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>139</td>
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<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

reasons that lead to change whether abrupt or more gradual. It must be noted that this categorization of articles can be considered no more than very informal research. Factors that have not been taken into account include the fact that Social Education depends upon contributed articles and that selection of articles depends upon editorial judgment as to what is timely and well written. Nonetheless, the results of the categorization are quite revealing.

There needs to be no explanation for the appearance of articles such as Metcalf's or Engle's favoring the process approach to education. They have long been among those social studies educators advocating problem-solving in the tradition of Dewey. But, referring back to the status studies cited earlier, Jones, Masia, Moreland, and Sjoström, in the period of 1960-1965 saw little change and seemed to hold little
hope for change in the social studies programs of the schools. It should be noted that the period covered by these studies was the same period during which product approach articles dominated *Social Education*. Thus we are led back to the triad of Sputnik, Bruner, and federal funds. The 1957 launching of the Soviet Sputnik shocked Americans into a new awareness and concern with education in general; Bruner's 1959 report of the Woods Hole Conference in the form of the book, *The Process of Education*, seemed to offer a new road to more successful school programs; and the use of federal funds beginning in 1961 for the Project Social Studies all combined to set in motion the activities that promise to facilitate the switch in social studies from product to process.

While the shift in emphasis in *Social Education*, the creation of curriculum projects, and the development of new materials point to success for the process approach, the product approach is still strongly rooted in the practices and traditions of the majority of the schools. Process is by no means assured of ascendancy over product. And, it remains to be seen if the process approach to social studies will in the main follow the reflective approach or the structure-of-the-discipline approach.
Social Studies Methods Textbooks

In addition to the thrust of Project Social Studies and the trend of articles in *Social Education*, another good indication of the new interest in a process approach to social studies education is the positions taken by the authors of social studies methods textbooks. If a sampling of those textbooks best known and often used in college methods courses advocates a process approach, there should be reason to believe that some of the prospective teachers exposed to these books would have some inclination to teach in a process approach.

In their textbook, Hunt and Metcalf state, "the foremost aim of instruction in high school social studies is to help students reflectively examine issues in the problematic areas of American culture." These areas are identified as race and minority group relations, religion and morality, nationalism and foreign affairs, social class, political power, economics, and sex, courtship, and marriage. Related to these problematic areas are two kinds of conflict, interpersonal and intrapersonal. Interpersonal conflict, or controversial issues, arise when individuals or groups have sharply opposed beliefs such as might happen between a labor group and the management of an industrial plant. Intrapersonal conflict occurs when one person holds beliefs that are

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contradict or to one another. An example of such a case would be a person who because of beliefs of racial superiority is racially prejudiced but who at the same time believes in equality of opportunity. According to Hunt and Metcalf the degree of the continued existence of intrapersonal conflict is the degree to which an individual's satisfactory life adjustment and mental health is jeopardized. Likewise, unresolved interpersonal conflicts in the problematic areas of society constitute threats to the maintenance of a democratic society. To enhance the mental health of the individual members of society and to perpetuate our democratic society, Hunt and Metcalf call for social studies education that is based upon rational conflict resolution.  

Consistent with Dewey's writings on the reflective thought process, Hunt and Metcalf propose that the social studies classroom teacher should help students examine their beliefs by means of the following five step problem-solving process.

- Recognition and Definition of a Problem
- Formulation of Hypotheses
- Elaboration of Logical Implications of Hypotheses
- Testing of Hypotheses
- Drawing a Conclusion

Hunt and Metcalf are quick to point out that the goal of this process is not solely to arrive at "right answers" or "correct

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beliefs" but to help students ground their beliefs in the best evidence and logic.\(^{36}\)

After a discussion of what Hunt and Metcalf see as the purpose and method most appropriate for social studies instruction, it is no surprise to note they recommend that the subject matter for social studies instruction be selected from three sources, (1) the broad social and controversial issues of the society, (2) the knowledge, values, and attitudes of the students, and (3) relevant data from the social sciences.\(^{37}\)

What Hunt and Metcalf see as the proper role of social science data in the learning situation does bear extra emphasis. In opposition to the use of data as proposed by advocates of the traditional or product approach, Hunt and Metcalf have this to say:

They conceive of the mind as a kind of container, into which discrete facts may be poured to be stored. When needed at some later time as grounds for generalization, these facts may be sorted quickly and appropriate ones extracted for use in thinking. In short, it is assumed that one may learn facts at one time, and generalize from them at another. It is doubtful that any pedagogical claim is less tenable than this one.

Facts memorized solely for future use, in isolation from their use in present thinking, are seldom retained for very long, and their transfer value is close to nil. When

\(^{36}\)Ibid., pp. 68 and 69.

\(^{37}\)Ibid., p. 288.
they serve their immediate purpose of securing teacher approval they are quickly forgotten.\(^\text{38}\)

Obviously, Hunt and Motcalf see factual data as having no value in and out of themselves. Instead, they see the value in facts only to the degree to which they function as evidence in the learning situation. As they say, "A fact can function in thought (reflection) only when it comes to have the character of evidence—that is, the quality of supporting or casting doubt upon some general idea."\(^\text{39}\)

Thus, Hunt and Metcalf's textbook is squarely in the process position. The purpose, method, and use of content are all consistent with Dewey's ideas of reflective thought. As a result of the implementation of a truly reflective study of the problematic areas of society, Hunt and Metcalf expect the results to include the improved mental health of society's members, a commitment to democratic ideals, and more orderly and peaceful social change.\(^\text{40}\)

In their textbook Oliver and Shaver propose a social studies curriculum based upon a "legal-ethical" or "jurisprudential" model designed for the resolution of conflicts which arise over issues of public policy. The curriculum is centered in the needs of society which Oliver and Shaver see

\(^{38}\text{Ibid.}, \ p. \ 54.\)
\(^{39}\text{Ibid.}, \ p. \ 53.\)
\(^{40}\text{Ibid.}, \ p. \ 59.\)
as being committed to the ideal of human dignity. Oliver and Shaver point out that American society consists of different economic groups, ethnic groups, and racial groups with different modes of life. Such pluralism demands freedom of choice be tolerated and encouraged if human dignity is to be maintained. But this very pluralism is the source of constant conflict and controversy because the important decisions made in society are contingent upon the consent of groups within our society who may have different standards and interests than those of the individuals or groups who made the decisions.

When such conflicts of interest rise to the level of public discussion, a group of concepts, referred to by Oliver and Shaver as the American Creed, serve as a standard by which the controversy can be mediated. The Creed includes such concepts as property rights, free speech, freedom of personal association, rejection of violence and faith in reason as a method of dealing with conflict, equal opportunity, equal protection, the constitutional limits on government, due process of law, and rule by consent of the governed. Thus, a pluralistic society, in which controversy is inevitable and constant, is held together by a common commitment to the ideal of human dignity as expressed in the

ideas of the American Creed and the procedures of a constitutional system.\textsuperscript{42}

Oliver and Shaver believe the acceptance of this rationale carries with it clear implications for the social studies curriculum of the schools. Social studies as general education should teach students to rationally analyze public controversy by engaging in the discussion of controversial issues. The curricular model, then, should be based upon a legal-ethical or jurisprudential framework dealing with principles of government, the ethical commitment of a democratic society, and the process of proof.\textsuperscript{43}

Oliver and Shaver point out that teaching students to more effectively engage in the discussion of controversial issues can be facilitated if arguments are identified as being of three different types. One type is definitional in nature and requires the establishment of common meanings for words if proper communication is to occur. A second type disagreement has to do with establishing factual claims. Unless a sufficient quantity of reliable evidence is gathered, predications of the consequences of certain courses of action cannot be judged. The third type disagreement is that which occurs over value judgments. Value judgments support decisions and actions and are, therefore, at the

\textsuperscript{42}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 68-87.

\textsuperscript{43}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 91-113.
heart of controversy. Many apparent value disagreements over controversial issues can be resolved by clearing up disagreements over definitions and factual claims.\footnote{Ibid.}

Oliver and Shaver recognize the difficulties to be encountered in teaching students the process of analyzing controversial issues by means of the jurisprudential approach. Consequently they suggest to teachers and students some notions for handling controversial issues. Because they believe the process of argumentative inquiry into public issues involves more complex intellectual operations than "critical thinking" as described in educational literature, they avoid recommending a step by step procedure by which to teach students "how to think." Instead they summarize the major intellectual operations which collectively they call a general strategy for teaching the analysis of political controversy. Briefly stated the eight intellectual operations are:

1. Abstracting General Values from Concrete Situations.
3. Identifying Conflicts Between Value Constructs.
4. Identifying a Class of Value Conflict Situations.
5. Discovering or Creating Value Conflict Situations which are Analogous to the Problem under Consideration.
6. Working Toward a General Qualified Position.
8. Testing the Relevance of Statements. 45

The Oliver and Shaver jurisprudential approach rests on the basic assumption that to teach students to resolve controversy by logical persuasion is the best means to preserve and enhance a society dedicated to the ideal of human dignity. Consistent with this assumption and by means of the general strategy they propose to guide the teaching of the analysis of political controversy. Thus, Oliver and Shaver are in a position closely related to Dewey's concern with the nature of social controversy, values, and reflective thought. Like Hunt and Metcalf, Oliver and Shaver fit plainly in the reflective category of the process approach to social studies education.

As a result of his textbook and other writings, Edwin Fenton has become the best known advocate in the field of social studies education of the inductive or structure-of-the-discipline approach. In his textbook, arranged in a format to exemplify inductive materials, Fenton indicates his respect for and acceptance of Bruner's ideas about structure when he refers to Bruner as a "latter-day John Dewey" and describes as the most influential assumptions in the field of education today to be Bruner's emphasis on

structure and "his bold assertion" that any topic can be taught to any child at any age. 46

For Fenton the structure-of-the-discipline is synonymous with the mode of inquiry of the discipline. He points out that he does not agree with scholars who argue that structure consists of lists of concepts or groups of generalizations drawn from a discipline. 47 He identifies structure as the analytical questions of a discipline, and he sees the analytical questions as the major key to hypothesis formation. He contends that facts have no value until they are organized into ordered patterns. Historians and social scientists have models of facts gained from previous study and formed into generalizations. The implications of these generalizations thus serve as analytical questions to guide further research. These questions in turn lead to the formation of hypotheses that are dealt with by critical thought. Fenton states that this process of developing and validating hypotheses is the heart of the mode of inquiry in the social studies. 48

Fenton contends that once students are taught a strategy for hypothesis formation and proof process that is


47 Ibid., p. vi.

48 Ibid., pp. vi and vii.
general enough to account for the peculiar aspects of the individual social sciences the students then will be able to conduct independent and disciplined investigations in the manner of the scholar. The strategy Fenton proposes is referred to as Steps in a Mode of Inquiry for the Social Studies and is as follows:

1. Recognizing a problem from data
2. Formulating hypothesis
   a. asking analytical questions
   b. stating hypothesis
   c. remaining aware of the tentative nature of hypothesis
3. Recognizing the logical implication of hypothesis
4. Gathering data
   a. deciding what data will be needed
   b. selecting or rejecting sources
5. Analyzing, evaluating and interpreting data
   a. selecting relevant data
   b. evaluating sources
      (1) determining the frame of reference of an author
      (2) determining the accuracy of statements of fact
   c. interpreting the data
6. Evaluating hypothesis in light of the data
   a. modifying the hypothesis if necessary
      (1) rejecting logical implications unsupported by data
      (2) restating the hypothesis
   b. stating a generalization

Elsewhere in his writings Fenton advocates and explains other ideas that have been proposed by Bruner and that have come to be identified with the structure-of-the-discipline approach. He deals with the need for planning with behavioral objectives, the cumulative sequence of the curriculum, and

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Fenton, The New Social Studies, pp. 16 and 17.
the heuristics of discovery. But for the present purpose the point has been made; Fenton's textbook is advocating that students be involved in the process of a mode of inquiry. The necessary trick may be to keep the classroom teacher focusing on the process inherent in Fenton's proposed mode-of-inquiry rather than student mastery of generalizations, but Fenton is not advocating the traditional, product approach of teaching.

In their textbook Massialas and Cox advocate a process approach to social studies education that attempts to combine structure-of-the-discipline inquiry with reflective thought. Massialas and Cox make their perspective more specific when they state the following goals towards which social studies education should work:

1. It should furnish the forum for the analysis and evaluation of normative positions or value judgments about man and society.
2. It should operate within the requisites of inquiry which relate the development of hypotheses and ideas about social relationships to supporting evidence.
3. The end result of inquiry should be the production of tested principles and generalizations about human relations and societies.
4. The social studies classroom should afford the student the avenue for the creative venture.

Upon inspection it would seem the first of these goals are alternative wordings of goals for social studies as proposed by Hunt and Metcalf or Oliver and Shaver. The last

two goals would seem to fit neatly with the goals that Bruner and Fenton would advocate. Massialas and Cox apparently feel there need be no incompatibility between structure-of-the-discipline inquiry and the reflective approach, and they propose the following model for what they refer to as "reflective inquiry."

1. **Orientation.** During this phase the student and teacher alike become sensitive to an existing problem that becomes a question which calls for an explanation, relationship, solution, or policy.

2. **Hypothesis Formation.** A hypothesis is a statement that attempts to explain the problem encountered in the orientation phase. Its function is to channel investigation for the explanation or solution of the original question or problem.

3. **Definition.** This task is not to be thought of as an isolated step in the process of reflective inquiry. Agreement in the meaning of terms is a requirement of the entire dialogue of inquiry.

4. **Exploration.** Whereas orientation and hypotheses tend to be inductive in nature, this phase tends to be deductive. The implications of the original hypotheses are rated and investigated. This may result in the need to qualify, change, or even reject the original hypothesis.

5. **Evidencing.** This is the process of collecting information and using it to test the original hypothesis. If the hypothesis is supported by the evidence, it can be accepted. If the evidence does not support the hypothesis, it must be rejected or further qualified.

6. **Generalization.** A generalization is a statement of relationship applicable to all similar cases at all times and places.
If the hypothesis passes the test of evidence, it becomes a generalization. However, a generalization is always recognized as being tentative in nature.51

While Massialas and Cox in their textbook present separate chapters on both reflective thinking and inquiry, they emphasize that this is done only for purposes of analysis and illustration. They state that in the actual classroom situation "the two processes are more or less inseparable."52 This approach may emphasize structure-of-the-discipline inquiry with its attendant concern for concepts and generalizations drawn from the separate social sciences to a degree that is distasteful to those more squarely in the camp of the reflective approach. But, the point is that Massialas and Cox are advocating a process approach. In fact, they make this explicit in the first page of the preface of their textbook when they state that the method of inquiry is the only appropriate and productive approach to social studies teaching.

Not all of the recent, well-known methods textbooks advocate full-blown process approaches to social studies education. Mark M. Krug in his methods textbook expresses some serious doubts about the "new social studies" emphasis


52 Ibid., p. 136.
on the idea of structure and on the teaching of concepts and generalizations without a solid foundation of content.

As Krug states:

_We shudder to think that a time may come when a high school graduate may know much about the structure of sociology, be quite at home with the concept of cultural change, be capable of using the inductive method, but know nothing of Bryan's "Cross of Gold Speech"_. . . .

_Is it or is it not important for young people entering college to know the "fact" that... Thomas Jefferson and John Adams died on the same day, July 4, 1826?_53

And in another place Krug re-emphasizes his concern for the knowledge of history when he states:

_I would shudder to think that a college freshman would have to see a Broadway play to become acquainted for the first time with the women of Troy, the complicated nature of Marat, or the tragic downfall of Charles Dilke._54

The above quotes are indicative of Krug's concern that traditional history courses remain the heart of the social studies curriculum in the schools. Krug recognizes that much history as now taught is dry and boring "facts and dates," but he is convinced dramatically told chronological narratives of history can serve the social studies student better than the discovery of Bruner or the "problems" of Oliver and Shaver. Krug rebels at the notion of setting aside history in preference of the study of the structures

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54 Ibid., p. 129.
of the social sciences because he does believe (1) that scholars will not be able to successfully define the structure of history and the other social sciences, (2) that each social science does not have a characteristic and unique mode of inquiry, (3) that the need would not be met for providing students with the perspective of historical development that comes from chronological narrative, and (4) that "the too repetitious use of the inductive method would become intolerably boring both to students and their teachers."^55

The adherents to traditional social studies education must certainly find a great deal of comfort in Krug's words.

However, Krug does not completely turn his back on the notion of social studies education as process. Throughout his textbook Krug gives examples of how the social sciences can offer valuable aid to the history teacher. As he says, "It is suggested that history remain the core of the social studies curriculum but that history teachers be encouraged and instructed to select and use often insights, concepts, and modes of inquiry from the social sciences."^56

So it would seem Krug opts for a compromise between traditional social studies education and the proposals for process presented by the previously mentioned textbooks. He still holds to the conviction that a great deal of historical

^55Ibid., pp. ix, 113, 115, and 126.

^56Ibid., p. 134.
content is necessary in the school curriculum. But as he states, "the judicious addition of a variety of new methods and new approaches may prove to be a boon in history classrooms in secondary schools."  

It would be a serious omission to omit at this point a comment about Edgar B. Wesley's methods textbook. From what has been said in the foregoing discussions it should be obvious that Wesley has much in common with the adherents of traditional education. His famous definitions of the social sciences and the social studies plus his work in compiling lists of essential names and dates in American history for the report, American History in Schools and Colleges, both indicate a product approach. A reading of Wesley's textbook, written in collaboration with Stanley P. Wronski, does little to dispel the indication. Bordering on the encyclopedia in character the Wesley and Wronski textbook touches on Project Social Studies, problem-solving, and many other aspects and topics of social studies in the process approach. But the emphasis of the textbook is clearly on the side of traditional education. Even Wesley's lists of essential names and dates are included.

It is of considerable interest, then, to read an

57 Ibid., p. 197.

article published by Wesley entitled, "Let's Abolish History Courses," published in 1967, just three years after the latest printing of his methods textbook. The article attacks the practice of teaching history courses so as to emphasize content. Wesley calls such teaching "confusing, unnecessarily frustrating, futile, pointless, and as illogical as to teach a course in the World Almanac." He even predicts that history taught as content will result in history courses being dropped ultimately from the school curriculum in favor of courses drawn from the social sciences. Wesley sees nothing to be alarmed about in this trend if the new courses utilize historical sources, teachers become directors of research, and students become producers of history.

All of the social studies methods textbooks advocate to some degree the use of the process approach. Hunt and Metcalf and Oliver and Shaver are firmly in the position of the reflective approach. Fenton advocates Bruner's structure-of-the-discipline, and Massialas and Cox seek a combination of problem-solving and inquiry. Even those closer to the traditional approach, Krug and Wesley and Wronski, in one way or another see the need for adding process methods to the traditional product approach of social studies education.

59 Edgar Bruce Wesley, "Let's Abolish History Courses," Phi Delta Kappan, XLIX (September, 1967).

60 Ibid., p. 3.
Summary

In the previous chapter the emergence of what was called traditional social studies was described in detail. Numerous illustrations and quotations were used so as to convey more fully to the reader the nature of traditional social studies. In this chapter the traditional approach was more fully examined. The commitment of the traditional approach to product and the implications for the secondary classroom were spelled out. Then the same kind of explanation of the process approach was undertaken. Whether in the mold of the longer-known reflective approach or the newer structure-of-the-discipline inquiry, the attempt was made to show that social studies education as process emphasizes higher conceptual level learnings than does the traditional approach.

After detailing the contrast in emphasis between these two approaches, there was presented a brief review of the thrust of Project Social Studies, the trend of articles in Social Education, and the approaches advocated by the currently best-known social studies methods textbooks. This review reveals that the nature of the projects, the trend of the articles, and the positions of the textbooks all indicate that the leadership of social studies education has exerted strong effort to replace the traditional emphasis on product in the schools with the higher conceptual learnings of the process approach.
Despite the efforts to foster change in social studies education the fact remains that in many and probably most classrooms little meaningful change has taken place in social studies teaching-learning activities. As mentioned in Chapter I, anyone with the slightest experience with secondary social education could recite a lengthy list of reasons to explain this slowness and reluctance to change. Some common reasons given include poor teacher pre-service training, lack of funds, failure to enforce state certification requirements, inadequate opportunities for in-service training, the heavy teaching loads of many secondary teachers, and on and on.

However, one particularly interesting reason often heard is that the college admission examinations basically test accumulated knowledge typical of the product approach of traditional education rather than the higher conceptual learnings typical of the process approach to education. If this is true it would appear to be a case of the educational establishment working against itself. It is to this problem of college admission examinations and their relationship to the social studies curriculum of the schools that this investigation turns to next.
CHAPTER IV

THE COLLEGE ADMISSION TESTS

The first and the most influential of the organizations involved in college admission testing is the College Entrance Examination Board. Officially founded in 1900 the College Entrance Examination Board, more commonly referred to as the College Board, is today a large organization that includes a wide variety of programs and services aimed at the need to provide direction, co-ordination, and research in facilitating the transition of students from secondary schools to colleges and universities. Towards this end the College Board, with its headquarters in New York City, has developed over the years into a nationwide establishment with such extensive activities that it has proven necessary to organize itself on a regional basis with offices in five different sections of the country. As of the fall of 1969, the College Board placed its membership close to 900 colleges and universities, 500 secondary schools, 50 education associations and 35 large urban-area public school districts. The governing structure of the College Board is vested primarily in its Board of Trustees, elected by membership, and to a
lesser degree by various officials and committees appointed by the Board of Trustees. 1

History of The College Board

The College Entrance Examination Board came into existence as part of the effort to improve co-operation that in the 1890s was noticeably lacking between the colleges and secondary schools on the matter of college admission. At that time each college established its own standards for the admission of freshman. The usual practice was for the aspiring applicant to take the written examination prescribed by each of the colleges to which he was seeking admission. For the applicants and the secondary schools responsible for their college preparation this system proved difficult and inconvenient. As there was great diversity among the colleges as to what each deemed essential areas of content to be covered by the entrance examinations, the schools had little chance to prepare their students for the examinations as they would have liked. Furthermore, each college scheduled its entrance examinations in light of its own needs with little consideration given to the disruption of school schedules and student inconveniences. Not the least of the problems created by this system was the examinations themselves, or perhaps one should say the professors

1The College Board Today: Organizations, Services, and Program (New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1969), pp. 5-16.
who developed and graded them. Often hastily written and subject to the whims of individual professors, the examinations never achieved a desirable degree of consistency. While this system of examinations obviously worked to the disadvantage of the students and schools, the colleges so treasured their autonomy that attempts to reform the system did not generate much support.2

As early as 1877 Harvard University President Charles W. Eliot had suggested that the colleges take some action to improve the conditions of college admission. During the next several years various Eastern colleges met occasionally and reached limited agreements concerning the entrance examinations in several specific subject areas such as English and mathematics. The formation in 1885 of the New England Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for the purpose of facilitating cooperation among the schools and colleges was the first concrete step towards reform.3

During the 1890s pressure increased rapidly for greater cooperation between the schools and colleges. In 1891 the National Education Association held a convention in Toronto, Canada, and a committee of attending principals complained bitterly about the confusion created by the different


3Ibid., p. 9.
areas of content, the different standards, and the inconsiderate schedules of the various college entrance examinations. The complaints of the principals seem to have been responsible in large measure for the National Education Association's decision to conduct its well-known Report of the Committee of Ten on Secondary School Subjects. While the Report of the Committee of Ten fell short of what was hoped for on the subject of college entrance examinations, it did keep alive the pressure for reform.

After several more years of complaints and discussions and growing sentiment for reform, the first formal step was taken towards the creation of the current College Board. On December 2, 1899, in Trenton, New Jersey, at a meeting of the Association of College and Secondary Schools of the Middle States and Maryland a formal resolution was introduced calling for the creation of a college admissions board. The leading proponents of the resolution were President Eliot of Harvard University and Nicholas Murray Butler. Eliot's support was instrumental in the founding of the College Board though in subsequent years his connection with the Board was friendly but not one of direct involvement. On the other hand, Butler remained an active and often decisive participant in Board activities in various capacities.

4 Ibid., pp. 11-15.
5 Ibid., pp. 23-27.
until his retirement in 1945 despite his range of activities as professor, President of Columbia University, and the unsuccessful Republican Vice-Presidential candidate in 1912.

On November 17, 1900 the College Entrance Examination Board was formally announced with twelve charter members: Barnard College, Bryn Mawr College, Columbia University, Cornell University, John Hopkins University, New York University, Rutgers College, Swarthmore College, Union College, University of Pennsylvania, Vassar College, and the Woman's College of Baltimore. In a flurry of activity that was in strong contrast to its years of slowly coming into existence, the College Board elected its first officials, organized committees, drew up guidelines for college entrance examinations, determined necessary areas of examination and lists of readers to grade the first examinations.

The first examinations were given during the week of June 17, 1901, at sixty-seven centers in the United States and two in Europe to 973 candidates for college admission. Examinations were offered in the subjects of chemistry, English, French, German, Greek, history, Latin, mathematics, and physics. The success of the early College Board examinations is attested to by the Board's rapid growth in membership. By November, 1913, four secondary school

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6 Ibid., pp. 37-42.
associations had become members, the New England, the Middle States, the Southern States, and the North Central.  

The Comprehensive Tests

The first twenty-five years of the College Board's existence were years of successful growth and increasing prestige. During that period the only issue to bring about change in the Board's basic programs was the controversy over the "Old Plan" and "New Plan" examinations. More progressive teachers were urging reform from the practice of having the examinations deal with restricted subject matter areas. They contended that one comprehensive examination in mathematics, for example, could be as revealing as separate examinations in algebra, plane geometry, solid geometry, and trigonometry. Several advantages were argued for these "New Plan" comprehensive examinations over the "Old Plan" examinations. It would be more difficult for teachers to study old examinations, guess upcoming questions, and tutor students accordingly. Also, it would grant teachers greater instructional freedom. For example, an English teacher of college preparatory students would be freer to choose what literature his students would study if the English examinations on specified classics were replaced by more general or comprehensive examinations.

\*Ibid., pp. 42-52.

\*Ibid., pp. 79-84.
The College Board was sympathetic to these arguments and moved to offer the comprehensive or "New Plan" examinations. However, strong unfavorable reaction from the conservatives in education caused the Board to offer, in 1916, the "New Plan" examinations only as an alternative rather than a replacement of the "Old Plan" examinations. Thus, the College Board began the practice of offering two types of examinations. Which type examination the student would take would be determined by the type required by the college he was hoping to enter.  

While the first twenty-five years of the College Board were relatively free of controversy, there arose some interesting issues. Even before the first College Board examinations were given, Arthur T. Hadley, President of Yale, expressed concern that college admission tests should be "tests of power to take up the work which is to follow rather than tests of past accomplishments merely."  

As the College Board swung into action another concern was rather forcefully put forth by one secondary school's headmaster, "I'll be damned if any Board down in New York City, with a college professor at its head, is going to tell me and my faculty what or how to teach!" These two concerns did

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9Ibid., pp. 80-87.
10Ibid., p. 43.
11Ibid., p. 57.
not make much of an impact on the decisions and actions of the College Board in the early 1900s. But as all aspects of preparation for and admission to college have been greatly magnified in importance, especially in recent years, these very valid concerns are of great importance. Gradually the Board and its critics have become more aware of the importance of these issues.

The Scholastic Aptitude Test

The first major addition to the College Board's examination program was the Scholastic Aptitude Test, or SAT, that was first administered on June 23, 1926. The development of the SAT grew out of concerns not unrelated to those of Yale University President Hadley and the Headmaster as mentioned above. The period of World War I was one of great headway in developing new techniques in the measurement of individual abilities, personalities, and intelligence. The activities of the United States Army with its Alpha and Beta tests were particularly well known. The College Board could not but be interested in these developments and soon found itself wondering if it could devise a test to determine a student's intellectual maturity rather than his mere memory of the contents of a course. The result was the introduction of the SAT in 1926 and gradual modifications through the 1930s to the present well known format. The SAT is now machine scored and yields two scores, one each for verbal and
mathematical comprehension, these being the cognitive traits the College Board considers as contributing the most to success in academic work. The Board's notion was that the SAT was to be an additional test to be used as a supplement to the other Board examinations. The Board did not intend for the SAT to be an intelligence test nor a single, infallible measure of predicting future academic success. It was an attempt, as Yale President Hadley had called for, to gain a measure of the student's aptitude rather than his achievement. 12

The College Board in all probability did not realize what would be the impact of the SAT in the subsequent years of the Board's testing program. In fact, between 1926 and 1942 its impact was subtle. The usual procedure for the college candidate was to submit himself to a week long series of essay type achievement examinations in the separate subjects. The candidate could elect to take the SAT if he so chose, but it was not mandatory for admission to most colleges. However, a slow change was beginning to be felt by the years of 1939 and 1940. In 1937 a series of tests were devised by the College Board for the purpose of helping determine scholarship winners. The test program was designed to be one day long. The candidate took the SAT in the morning, and in the afternoon he would take his choice of not

12 Ibid., pp. 100-108.
more than three achievement tests. These were objective tests of one hour each in social studies, science, spatial relations, and either French, German, Latin, or Spanish. Slowly but surely the number of candidates for the June examination shrank and numbers increased for the April examinations as various colleges began to accept the April tests for purposes of determining early college admission.  

By 1941 members of the College Board were wondering out loud about the feasibility of eliminating the June essay examinations altogether in favor of the more economical, less time consuming April SAT and achievement tests. With the United States entry in World War II, the College Board decided as a wartime economy measure to do just that. But few Board members anticipated a return to the June essay style examination would ever occur. Today the College Board's basic college admission test program is the newer one-day plan consisting of the SAT and selected objective achievement tests. The only concession to earlier practices is the one-hour test in English composition which can be taken as one of the achievement tests.  

The Educational Testing Service

Over the years the College Board operated what it

13 Ibid., pp. 149-151.

14 Ibid., pp. 152-159.
called the Research and Statistical Laboratory in Princeton, New Jersey. At first a small operation, the laboratory's activities expanded with the increased emphasis placed on scientific measurement and educational psychology. With World War II the laboratory fairly exploded with new tasks until its relationship with the College Board became one of the tail wagging the dog. The College Board was faced with the question of whether it would allow itself to be transformed into a research and development organization concerned with educational measurement or would divest itself of those activities to remain active with its original concern of college admission.\textsuperscript{15}

In December, 1947, the College Board answered this question by donating its Princeton facilities to the organization of the independent Educational Testing Service which began formal operations on January 1, 1948. This new testing agency, aided by a Carnegie Foundation Grant, assumed the testing functions and related assets of the American Council of Education and the College Board. The relationship between the College Board and the independent Education Testing Service, usually referred to as ETS, is close and mutually beneficial. Freed from the burdens of research, test construction, and test administration, the College Board has increased its services in kind and scope to facilitate the

\textsuperscript{15}Ibid., pp. 152-159.
transition of students from school to college.16

Examples of these areas of service all of which deal with college admissions would include, (1) providing numerous forums for the discussion of educational issues, (2) publication of a wide variety of books, pamphlets and papers, (3) operating a wide variety of guidance services ranging from workshops to providing guidance films, (4) operating a college scholarship service, (5) organization of maintenance of the Advanced Placement Program, and (6) a host of special projects related to research, international education, and testing.17

The College Board Testing Program

The heart of the College Board's interest remains its program of examinations. With its more than 600 member colleges and universities and its central role in college admission the College Board now occupies a position of enormous power and prestige in American education. The College Board examinations exert influence beyond measure in the educational practices of the schools. It is then altogether fitting that some questions should be asked to determine if the College Board's influence works in the best


17 The College Board Today: Organization, Services, and Programs, pp. 21-44.
interest of the students and the schools. Towards this purpose a study of the impact of the College Board in the area of social studies education should begin with an investigation of the College Board examinations that deal with the social studies. These examinations include the following: the Achievement Test in American History and Social Studies, the Achievement Test in European History and World Cultures, the Advanced Placement Test in American History, and the Advanced Placement Test in European History.

The Social Studies Achievement Tests

In the academic year of 1969-1970 over 600,000 candidates took at least one of the fifteen different one hour achievement tests. These tests are administered five times a year in over 4,500 testing centers. The primary use made of the achievement test scores, usually used in conjunction with the SAT scores of the candidate, is to aid the colleges and universities to determine the selection of new students. The scores are meant to be only one factor for consideration along with other factors such as the candidate's grades, class rank, personal recommendations, personal interviews, and so forth. In addition to the purpose of aiding admission decisions, recent achievement tests are sometimes administered by separate colleges for the purpose of placement and planning of individual student academic programs.  

18Ibid., pp. 17-20.
In a pamphlet describing the achievement tests, the College Board states that the tests are designed "to assess what secondary school students have learned in specific subjects and to serve as one indication of their preparation for college." The same pamphlet states that the aim of the tests is to "measure not only students' factual knowledge of a subject but their ability to use facts in solving problems." In another place the student is admonished to review for the tests by refreshing his memory in each subject so that he can "deal with a variety of its problems thoughtfully and effectively." He is reminded that memorizing facts will help little for he must be able to think with facts.

In describing the history and social studies achievement tests, the College Board states that each test has approximately one hundred questions all of which are multiple-choice type items each with five possible responses. It is stated that there are three categories of questions, those that require knowledge of facts and terms, those that require the ability to perceive and understand relationships, and those that measure the ability to analyze, interpret, and evaluate passages, graphs, and cartoons "on the basis of knowledge the student brings to the tests." Every test is

said to consist of questions representing each of these three categories. 20

The College Board's descriptions of its achievement tests does not prepare one for the strongly critical comments encountered in the reviews of the social studies achievement tests that are found in Buros's prestigious Mental Measurements Yearbook. One reviewer is of the opinion that the American history and social studies test while not exclusively devoted to the recall of "odds and ends of information" does not "adequately sample important concepts and skills taught at the lower level and expected to be part of the preparation of college students." 21 A similar review of the European history and world cultures test states that most of "the multiple choice items are founded on recall of knowledge." 22 About the tendency of the achievement tests to emphasize factual recall Ralph W. Tyler has these things to say:

As part of a battery used for college admission purposes it should emphasize the most significant intellectual tasks of this field because of its influence upon teaching and learning of high school students. ...it

20 Ibid., pp. 56-70.


22 David K. Hoeman, "College Entrance Board Achievement Test: European History and World Cultures," The Sixth Mental Measurements Yearbook, p. 1218.
falls far short of reflecting the best in the social studies. . . . The efforts of teachers of the social studies to help students to understand some of the major concepts useful in interpreting and analyzing important social problems, and to use valid generalization in predicting possible consequences of courses of action employed to grapple with these problems is not reflected in the exercises.\(^{23}\)

A fourth reviewer notes that locally autonomous school districts who change and develop their own curricula, as is happening with increasing frequency, pose a serious problem for the achievement tests. The reviewer points out that the limited nature of the achievement tests as they are now constructed cannot accommodate the objectives of such a variety of curricula.\(^{24}\) A fifth reviewer concurs with this concern when he comments that scholars differ markedly in what they teach in courses labeled social studies and that content oriented tests are not good measures if the test is to be fair to all applicants of all schools.\(^{25}\)

This same reviewer repeatedly states his conviction that the current achievement tests do not adequately predict a student's potential for college work in a specific subject


\(^{24}\)Dean K. Whitta, "College Entrance Examination Board Admissions Testing Program," The Sixth Mental Measurements Yearbook, p. 991.

\(^{25}\)Benno G. Fricke, "College Entrance Examination Board Admissions Testing Program," The Sixth Mental Measurements Yearbook, p. 987.
matter area. Thus, a high score on a College Board social studies achievement test may indicate a general potential for success in college study but does not necessarily predict success for college study in the area of social studies. Consequently, the reviewer states that the achievement tests "should not be used for admission, placement, or guidance purposes" as in his opinion "more harm than good results from their use."\(^{26}\)

In summary the reviews indicate that the College Board's history and social studies achievement tests (1) emphasize recall of knowledge, (2) could penalize students from innovative school districts, and (3) are not good measures of a student's potential for college study in the social studies. In light of the enormous influence of these tests in American education today, these are serious and disturbing criticisms.

The Social Studies Advanced Placement Examinations

The College Board's Advanced Placement Program was established for the purpose of allowing students to complete college level courses while still in high school. The main objective of the program is to allow "stronger" students to enrich their educational programs while in both high school and college. Another possibility is for the student to accelerate his educational program and thus graduate from

\(^{26}\textit{Ibid.}, \text{ pp. 978-980, 983-985, and 988.}\)
college in less than the normal four year period.\textsuperscript{27}

The program operates by offering College Board prepared "course descriptions" which may be used but are not required to aid secondary schools establish courses that enable students to pursue college level studies. The College Board has Educational Testing Services prepare the examinations which are administered in May of each year to measure the students achievement in Advanced Placement study. Both the "course descriptions," which are in fact course syllabi, and the examinations are prepared by committees of five teachers, three members from colleges and two from secondary schools, with assistance from ETS specialists in testing. Each advanced placement test in history whether American history or European history consists of seventy-five objective questions and ten essay questions only three of which are to be answered. The objective items are machine scored and the essay questions are read by committees of five selected in the same manner as the committees responsible for constructing the examinations. The examinations are graded on a five point scale ranging from 1 - not recommended to 5 - extremely well qualified. These scores are forwarded to the colleges indicated by the student so the college may determine whether or not to award the student

college credit for his advanced placement studies.  

In contrast to the College Board's Achievement Testing Program, the Advanced Placement Program does not publish a great deal of information. The few pamphlets that are published are non-technical, brief, and often vague. This lack of information plus the relative newness of the program (it started in 1956) may account for the lack of reviews of the two advanced placement history examinations. But, it does seem surprising and unfortunate that the examinations have not been the subject of greater concern.

Of the few reviews made of the Advanced Placement examinations the one by Henry R. Winkler seems to be typical. As would be expected of a chairman of a department of history, which is his position at Rutgers University, Winkler's review of the Advanced Placement examination in World history is decidedly friendly. He is obviously happy about bright high school students having an opportunity to learn more history and thinks the Advanced Placement Program is an excellent means of providing that opportunity. 29

Not all reviewers were as friendly to the Advanced Placement history examinations. One review assails the examinations for failing to meet their objective to measure more

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28 Ibid., pp. 11-13.

than a student's grounding in facts. The reviewer finds the objective style questions of the American history examination "excessively concrete...and usually very simple." The reviewer adds, "In short, they test primarily the recall of often quite trivial information." The reviewer found the essay section of the examination equally undesirable. The unfortunate consequences of such an examination is stated by the reviewer as follows:

The conscientious teacher will try to shape his course so as to avoid placing his students at any serious disadvantage. Consequently, a test like this might very well lead to an excessive preoccupation with specifics at the sacrifice of abstract ideas and important details.

As with the College Board's achievement tests, the Advanced Placement examinations are the subject of conflicting reports. The College Board, ETS, and some reviewers find these tests praiseworthy attempts. However, reviewers independent of the College Board and ETS seem to share several very strong reservations about the tests and some even doubt the wisdom of their continued use.

The National Merit Scholarship Qualifying Test

A comparatively new arrival on the scene of college admission testing is the National Merit Scholarship Program. Established in 1955 by means of a Ford Foundation Grant, the

National Merit Scholarship Program is a private, non-profit corporation that seeks (1) to identify and honor talented students and encourage them to obtain a college education and (2) to increase the scholarship opportunities of able students by working with corporations, colleges, organizations, and individuals in establishing scholarship programs that utilize Merit Program services. The success of this program can be judged from the information that each year more than 17,500 high schools participate in the program and between 1955 and 1968 more than 18,750 students received scholarships from a fund of $45.8 million made available to the Merit Program by 525 sponsors. For 1970-1971 the Merit Program expects to support scholarships that will cost approximately $900,000 per year.\textsuperscript{31}

The most important portion of the Merit Program is the National Merit Scholarship Qualifying Test, hereafter referred to as the NMSQT. The first and most important step towards the attainment of a Merit Scholarship or Achievement Scholarship is achieving a high score on the NMSQT. Merit Scholarships are awarded to outstanding students without regard to their family financial status. The Achievement Scholarships were first awarded in 1964 to Negro students, and they represent a compensatory effort that recognizes the

social, economic, and educational differences that have made it difficult for Negros to compete equally with other students in the Merit Program.\(^{32}\)

The NMSQT is designed for high school second semester juniors and is administered once each year in February in the individual high schools. Of the students taking the NMSQT approximately 15,000 or less than one percent of all high school graduating seniors will achieve high enough scores to be recognized as Merit Semi-finalists. To be eligible for a scholarship, a Merit Semi-finalist must become a Finalist by completing the following steps: (1) obtain an endorsement by his school and have his academic record submitted to the Merit Program, (2) validate his NMSQT scores by taking the College Board's Scholastic Aptitude Test and (3) complete a biographical form. From those that qualify as Finalists the Merit Scholarship Selection Committee, made up of college admission directors and secondary school guidance personnel, select those who will be awarded scholarships.\(^{33}\)

The NMSQT itself has a rather interesting history. The first tests were called merely Scholarship Qualifying Tests and were prepared by the College Entrance Examination


Board and administered by Educational Testing Service. But in 1958 the Merit Program switched to Science Research Associates who still prepare and administer the NMSQT. The present NMSQT is patterned after the Iowa Tests of Educational Development which is not surprising in view of the fact that the developer of the Iowa tests, E. F. Lindquist, is now a director of Science Research Associates. In fact, every test item under consideration for use in the NMSQT is pretested by being included in the Iowa Tests of Educational Development which are given throughout the state of Iowa each fall. Analysis of student performance on these test items is a major factor in determining their selection for use in the NMSQT.

The present NMSQT consists of sub-tests in four areas: English usage, mathematics, social studies-natural sciences reading, and word usage. Merit Program literature states that the NMSQT is designed to measure educational development which is defined as "the degree to which one can generalize from and apply what he has learned." In several different places Merit Program literature states that the NMSQT requires the student to "apply his knowledge".

34 Benno G. Fricke, "National Merit Scholarship Qualifying Test," The Fifth Mental Measurements Yearbook, p. 42.


36 Ibid., p. 44.
"show what he can do with what he has already learned" and "exercise the reasoning and problem-solving abilities required in college work."^37

In respect to the social studies items of the NMSQT the Merit Program has this to say:

This test measures the student's ability to understand, interpret, analyze, and evaluate passages characteristic of fields such as political science, economics, sociology, geography, history, philosophy, anthropology, and psychology. It attempts to differentiate between students who have acquired a broad understanding of social studies principles and some proficiency in the methods of scientific analysis, and those who have not.

To answer the question correctly, the student must be able to recognize the author's point of view and biases, distinguish between fact and opinion, and grasp the implications of his statements.^38

As was the case with the various College Board examinations, the criticisms of the test reviewers contradicts the claims of the Merit Program literature. One reviewer stated his belief that the social studies test items of the NMSQT measured nothing but general verbal aptitude and reading ability. It was his opinion that most teachers would reject using such test items because they fail to provide the student the opportunity to demonstrate educational growth. The reviewer emphasized this point by stating his belief that

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^37 Ibid., p. 1; Guide to the National Merit Scholarship Program, pp. 5-6; and Student Information Bulletin, p. 4.

a seventeen year old dropout with an IQ of 130 would probably do very well on the social studies items even though he had not studied or learned much in that area. 39

Another reviewer took a dim view of some of the Merit Program's assertions concerning the social studies test items. Noting that the Merit Program literature stated that the social studies items measured student's ability to draw inferences, to evaluate subjective topics, and to deal with intangibles, the reviewer branded these claims as "Extravagant." 40 A third reviewer rejects the NMSQT test in general as "unsatisfactory" and "frail" because of its heavy emphasis on verbal aptitude and the lack of test items challenging enough to give the brilliant, imaginative student an opportunity for recognition. 41

A fourth reviewer was particularly harsh on the NMSQT. He first took issue with the assertion that the NMSQT was a test of educational growth, claiming instead that it is an academic aptitude test. But, the reviewer continues, that the NMSQT is really an aptitude test might be acceptable if only it were a good one. Instead he finds the social studies

39 Benno G. Fricko, "National Merit Scholarship Qualifying Test," The Fifth Mental Measurements Yearbook, pp. 42 and 43.


41 George K. Bennett, "National Merit Scholarship Qualifying Test," The Sixth Mental Measurements Yearbook, pp. 76 and 79.
test items in particular are poorly conceived. He points out that the idea is for the student to read several paragraphs each of which has some ten to fifteen multiple choice items to be answered on the basis of what has been read. However, it turns out that a good student could probably answer quite a few of the questions without reference to the supposedly relevant paragraph. Worse, the reviewer contends some of the questions cannot be answered unless the student has knowledge not contained in the paragraph. 42

Though not always for the same reasons, reviewers of the NMSQT have been as critical of the test in general and the social studies test items in particular as were the reviewers of the College Board’s various social studies tests. The fact that one national testing program is found wanting is indeed serious; that two national testing programs are found wanting must dramatically increase the concern.

The American College Testing Program

The American College Testing Program is the newest of those testing programs that are primarily concerned with easing the process of students in the transition from the secondary school to the college. Founded in 1959 as a non-profit corporation the American College Testing Program, hereafter referred to as the ACT, has expanded into a large,

42Dorothy C. Adkins, "National Merit Scholarship Qualifying Test," The Sixth Mental Measurements Yearbook, p. 75.
complex organization. As did its competitor the College Board, the ACT has found it necessary to organize itself on a sectional basis with centers serving six separate regions of the nation. The ACT lists the following as its main objectives: (1) to assist students in making appropriate decisions concerning college attendance, (2) to help secondary schools and colleges know more about their students, (3) to identify and assist in the solution of educational problems, and (4) to communicate additional knowledge about education to the general and professional public.  

Towards the end of achieving these objectives, the ACT offers a wide variety of services which are categorized into five groups. The first group of services fall under the heading of Research Programs. Research projects are aimed at such topics as to learn the relationship of student non-academic accomplishments and probable college success, to predict and understand student attrition from college, and to determine the ways in which college students change during college. The heading Measurement and Evaluative Programs would seem to be slightly misleading. Rather than measurement in the strict sense of the word, activities in this area deal with surveying the financial needs of

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college students, compiling information so as to ascertain typical student body profiles for two-year community colleges, and providing individual colleges with reports on student opinion about institutional policies, services, and instruction. An example of an activity in the category, Special Related Services, would be providing consultant services to universities in the area of organization and operation of counseling, admissions, financial aid, and record keeping services.44

The above examples are indicative of the varied and extensive services offered by the ACT, but it must be emphasized that these services are only supplementary to the ACT's principal service, the testing program. The ACT test battery begins with a twenty-five minute student profile section which is a questionnaire about the student's aspirations, goals, background, and anticipated needs in terms of housing, financial aid, and part-time employment. This section is followed by a forty minute long test in each of the following areas: mathematics, English, social studies, and natural sciences. The social studies test contains fifty-two test items which are to be answered in forty minutes. Thirty-seven of the items are to be answered on the basis of information presented in four reading passages and are intended to measure "evaluative reasoning and

problem-solving skills required in the social sciences."
The remaining fifteen questions are designed to measure re­
call of factual subject matter and are to be answered without
recourse to the reading passages. The ACT test battery was
taken by more than 900,000 students during the 1968-1969
academic year. These test results were reported to over
1,700 colleges and universities most of which are state
colleges.45

One reviewer has stated the tests of the ACT pro­
gram "are but the lengthened shadow of E. F. Lindquist." The ACT test battery is constructed and administered by
Science Research Associates. As is the case of the
National Merit Scholarship Qualifying Test that has been
previously discussed, the ACT test battery is a direct
descendent of the Iowa Tests of Educational Development
which were developed under the direction of Lindquist and
first administered in 1942. As in the case of the NMSQT,
each ACT test battery test item is given a trial run by being
included in an earlier edition of the Iowa Tests of Educa­
tional Development.46 Lindquist as a director of Science
Research Associates should be quite appreciative of Lindquist

45 Student Handbook, 1969-1970 (Iowa City, Ia.: The
American College Testing Program, Inc., 1969), p. 3, 16,
and 17.

46 Warren G. Findley, "The American College Testing
Program Examination," Sixth Mental Measurements Yearbook,
p. 7; Technical Report (Iowa City, Ia.: The American
as developer of the Iowa Tests of Educational Development for providing so useful an arrangement for the testing of experimental test materials.

In its literature the ACT makes some strong claims for its test battery. ACT states that in comparison to other tests of scholastic potential the ACT tests contain "a large proportion of complex problem-solving exercises and proportionately few measures of narrow skills." ⁴⁷ In describing the social studies test in particular, ACT literature states the test "measures the evaluative reasoning and problem solving skills required in the social studies." ⁴⁸ Elsewhere ACT literature states that the social studies test "samples your ability to understand, analyze, and evaluate reading materials taken from social science fields." ⁴⁹

As has been the case with each of the previously discussed tests, the criticisms of the test reviewers contradict the claims made by ACT literature. One reviewer argues that the social studies test does not really measure skills required in the social sciences as ACT claims. His argument is that the reading portion of the social studies test is merely a measure of general ability to read college textbook material and as such fails to measure achievement

peculiar to the study of the social studies. Another reviewer faults the social studies test for requiring too much of the student in too short a span of time. He points out that in the time available, forty minutes, most students will not be able to answer all fifty-two test questions if they perform all of the mental tasks the test is designed to evaluate. The reviewer suspects much guessing occurs towards the end of each test section. This criticism prompts the observation that students may be encouraged by the lack of adequate time to respond to test items on the basis of the recall of accumulated factual knowledge rather than indulging in the time consuming process of reading the appropriate reading passages and then attempting to analyze, infer, or evaluate as was intended by the test designers.

Rather curiously, one test reviewer actually commends the ACT test battery for not slighting the measurement of subject matter content per se. This particular reviewer felt a test that emphasized "generalized school-learned abilities" might be an "injustice" to students less capable "of reasoning in verbal symbols." Thus, he notes with approval the social studies test contains fifteen items "evaluating recall


51 David V. Tiedeman, "The American College Testing Program Examination," The Sixth Mental Measurements Yearbook, pp. 10 and 11.
of important facts to which the student responds on the basis of his prior knowledge." Even better, in the view of this reviewer, is the fact that the recall of specifics is required in other portions of the social studies test. As he states, "One has only to take the ACT tests...to realize the extent to which knowledge functions. This is evident not only in responding to the background items... but [also] in responding to the items relevant to the reading sections." Whether one agrees or disagrees with this reviewer's position, the fact that he finds the ACT social studies test commendable because of its emphasis on the recall of specific factual information is evidence that the ACT does not live up to its claims of measuring problem-solving skills. Indeed, in an abrupt change of direction, this same reviewer faults the ACT tests for not measuring adequately the abilities and skills enumerated in the specifics for the test. 52

A review of the literature related to the tests of the various college admission programs is cause of serious concern on the part of all social studies educators. The literature reveals a strong difference of opinion as to what the college admission tests actually measure. The literature prepared by the testing programs indicates the intention to

test for the purpose of measuring the students' development of those kinds of skills and abilities typical of the process approach to education. However, the reviewers of the tests indicate the belief that the tests are more likely to measure the students' accumulation of factual knowledge which is typical of the product approach of traditional educational practices. If these reviewers are correct in their criticisms of the tests, then the college admission testing programs would seem to be a serious barrier to successful reform of traditional social studies instruction and to innovations which reflect more recent theories.
CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF TEST ITEMS

There is a real need to determine more exactly the nature of the social studies test items included in the various college admission examinations. As discussed earlier, there is ample evidence of the efforts being exerted by the leadership of social studies education to replace the traditional emphasis on product with a process approach that emphasizes higher conceptual level learnings. Those clinging to the traditional approach argue, among other things, that to emphasize a process approach to social studies education would result in students being penalized when they take college admission examinations that test primarily for accumulated knowledge typical of the emphasis on product in the traditional approach. Recourse to the pertinent literature only confuses the issue. As was discussed in the previous chapter, the claims made by those writing for the testing programs are contradicted by the test reviewers. Clearly some sort of analysis of the social studies test items needs to be made to determine what kinds
of knowledge and skills are emphasized by the college admission examinations.

The Taxonomy of Education Objectives

One way to analyze test items is to categorize them according to a set of standard classifications established by a theoretical framework. Two important advantages can be gained by this approach. The test items can be separated into groups according to agreed upon criteria, and communication about the test items is facilitated by reference to the theoretical framework.

A theoretical framework that is intended to be used for categorization and analysis in this type of endeavor is Benjamin S. Bloom's taxonomy of educational objectives as found in Handbook I: Cognitive Domain. In this work Bloom and his associates established a theoretical hierarchy of cognitive objectives. This system consists of six major categories: knowledge, comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation. Within each category sub-classes have been established. What follows are the headings of the categories and sub-classes of the condensed version of the taxonomy of educational objectives for the cognitive domain.

KNOWLEDGE

1.00 Knowledge
   1.10 Knowledge of Specifics
   1.11 Knowledge of Terminology
   1.12 Knowledge of Specific Facts
   1.20 Knowledge of Ways and Means of Dealing with Specifics
   1.21 Knowledge of Conventions
   1.22 Knowledge of Trends and Sequences
   1.23 Knowledge of Classifications and Categories
   1.24 Knowledge of Criteria
   1.25 Knowledge of Methodology
   1.30 Knowledge of Universals and Abstractions in a Field
   1.31 Knowledge of Principles and Generalizations
   1.32 Knowledge of Theories and Structures

INTELLECTUAL ABILITIES AND SKILLS

2.00 Comprehension
   2.10 Translation
   2.20 Interpretation
   2.30 Extrapolation

3.00 Application

4.00 Analysis
   4.10 Analysis of Elements
   4.20 Analysis of Relationships
   4.30 Analysis of Organizational Principles

5.00 Synthesis
   5.10 Production of a Unique Communication
   5.20 Production of a Plan, or Proposed Set of Operations
   5.30 Derivation of a Set of Abstract Relations

6.00 Evaluation
   6.10 Judgments in Terms of Internal Evidence
   6.20 Judgments in Terms of External Criteria

It should be noted that while Bloom and his associates refer to their taxonomy as a "taxonomy of educational

\[2\text{Ibid.}, \ pp. \ 201-207.\]
objectives" they are as equally concerned with the problems of evaluation as they are with establishing more precise educational objectives. Indeed, if educational objectives are not accompanied with consistent evaluation attempts the likelihood of achieving the selected objectives will not be very great. Freely adopted from Bloom's *Handbook I: Cognitive Domain*, the following explanations and examples are presented to help clarify the various categories of the cognitive taxonomy and their relationship to test items and evaluation attempts.

The first category and the lowest conceptual level of the cognitive taxonomy is knowledge. While knowledge is involved at all other levels of the cognitive taxonomy the most significant aspect of this category is that the remembering of knowledge is the major psychological task. The emphasis is on being able to draw the necessary factual information from storage in the mind. Within this category are nine subclasses which are arranged from the simple and concrete, such as the recall of dates, to the more complex and abstract, such as the recall of theories. An example of a knowledge category test item (1.12 Knowledge of Specific Facts) would be:

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The Monroe Doctrine was announced about ten years after the:
1. Revolutionary War
2. War of 1812
3. Civil War
4. Spanish-American War

According to Bloom the comprehension category is the one most emphasized in the schools, colleges and universities. In the cognitive taxonomy comprehension is considered as being the lowest level of understanding. In general, Bloom explains comprehension as meaning that an individual confronted with a communication will know what is being communicated and can make some use of what is being communicated. Three types of comprehension behavior constitute the sub-classes of this category. They are translation, the ability to put a communication into other terms and to give meaning to its various parts; interpretation, the ability to explain or summarize a communication and to produce inferences and generalizations; and extrapolation, the ability to determine implications, consequences, corollaries, or effects beyond but consistent with the data of a communication. An example of a comprehensive category test item from the sub-class interpretation would be to present a student with a graph showing the fluctuations in the consumers' price index for each year between 1918 and 1949 and then to ask the

\[5\text{Ibid., } p. 79.\]

\[6\text{Ibid., pp. 89-96.}\]
student to determine if more prices went down than went up between 1926 and 1949.\footnote{Ibid., p. 109.}

The next category of the cognitive taxonomy is application, and for the purposes of evaluation in social studies education this may well be the most important category. According to Bloom and his associates this category rests upon the well-grounded contention that "possession of knowledge and the ability to apply it are not synonymous."\footnote{Ibid., p. 122.} This is the classic educational problem of transfer of learning: Can the student when confronted with a real life situation make use of what he has learned in the relatively artificial environment of the classroom?

The following example of an application type test item is taken from Bloom:

Directions: In the following items you are to judge the effects of a particular policy on the distribution of income. In each case assume that there are no other changes in policy which would counteract the effect of the policy described in the item. Mark the item:

A. - if the policy described would tend to reduce the existing degree of inequality in the distribution of income.

B. - if the policy described would tend to increase the existing degree of inequality in the distribution of income; or

C. - if the policy described would have no effect, or an indeterminate effect, on the distribution of income.
Items:

1. Increasingly progressive income taxes.
2. Introduction of a national sales tax.
3. Confiscation of rent on unimproved land.
4. Increasing the personal exemptions from income taxes.
5. Reduction in the degree of business monopoly.

It should be noted that there is an important condition which must exist for this test item to test "application." The situation the student is to consider must be novel from the situations he encountered as he studied about the distribution of income. If the test situation does not present a problem to the student in a way that he has not thought of before, then this test item belongs to some category of the cognitive taxonomy other than application.

The next category is analysis which consists of three sub-classes. Roughly speaking the three aspects of analysis can be stated as (1) being able to recognize the various elements of a specific body of material, (2) being able to recognize the relationship between the various elements of a specific body of material, and (3) being able to recognize the organization of structure of a specific body of material. Examples of these skills of analysis, presented in the same order as the explanations above, would be (1) the ability to recognize facts from hypotheses, (2) the ability to check the consistency of hypotheses with given information, and

9Ibid., p. 135.
10Ibid., p. 125.
(3) the ability to recognize the point of view of a writer in an historical account.  

Bloom's example of a question representative of the analysis of organization principles (4.30) is:

Which one of the following is the best description of the article as a whole?

1. It presents historical evidence to prove what a government of equal rights is like.
2. It presents arguments to show that certain policies pursued in the past are undesirable.
3. It is an effort to define the true functions of government.

As Bloom points out, a necessary condition if this is to be an analysis-type question is that the student must not be able to answer this question on the basis of a statement within the article. He must be required to analyze the entire article.

Questions from the synthesis category require the student to work with elements so as to arrange them in some pattern or structure that was not there before. This does not mean that the synthesis category refers to totally free creativity. To use an example, a student may be given a hypothesis and asked to propose ways to test it. If the student is original in devising plans to test the hypothesis,

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then he is in one sense behaving in a creative manner. But, the student cannot be said to be completely creative because he must conform to certain standards of scholarly convention if his proposed plans are to be acceptable. Other examples of abilities considered part of the synthesis category would be the ability to develop a communication to convey an idea to another and the ability to deduce a generalization from particular data. \(^{13}\)

For the purposes of this study it is interesting to note that Bloom offers no short-answer questions as examples of questions for the purpose of evaluating synthesis. All of the examples are essay questions. In fact, Bloom takes the position that short-answer questions cannot directly appraise acts of synthesis and states his doubt that such questions can even indirectly appraise such abilities. \(^{14}\)

A typical example taken from Bloom of a question to appraise the ability of a student to complete a synthesis task is as follows. The student is given data about juvenile delinquency in three different communities within a city. Then the student is asked:

1. How would you explain the differences in these juvenile delinquency rates in light of the above data? (You may make use of any theory or material presented in the course).

\(^{13}\)Ibid., pp. 162-172.

\(^{14}\)Ibid., pp. 175 and 176.
This question would be a synthesis task only if the student had not learned generalizations that could be used to satisfy the question. Without knowledge of such generalizations the student must formulate a hypothesis to answer the question, a synthesis task.\textsuperscript{15}

Bloom describes the evaluation category as dealing with "judgments about the value of materials and methods for given purposes." Evaluation tasks may be one of two types. One type is judgment on the basis of internal evidence. An example of this would be to determine if an argument is free of logical fallacies or not. The other type of evaluation task, according to Bloom, would be to judge on the basis of external criteria. An example would be to judge if particular means would serve better than others to achieve a desired end.\textsuperscript{16} Bloom presents the following question as being consistent with this last example:

Many people believe that it would be better if our states had more uniform divorce laws. It is recognized, however, that there are dangers in an attempt to achieve such uniformity. Which one of the following procedures would be most likely to avoid the greatest of these dangers?

A. - An amendment to the U. S. Constitution is passed, which establishes the grounds for divorce to be recognized in all courts.

B. - A federal law is passed which sets forth the maximum grounds which can be recognized by any state.

\textsuperscript{15}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 180.

\textsuperscript{16}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 185-192.
C. - A commission appointed by the President works out standards for a divorce code and encourages all states to consider these standards in revising their laws.

D. - A conference of state governors decides on a divorce code and each governor attempts to have it made the law of his state.

E. - The U. S. Supreme Court establishes a uniform set of practices by ruling against all divorce laws which do not conform to its standard.  

Because of the very nature of a theoretical model it must be recognized that disadvantages as well as advantages will be encountered when attempting to utilize the model for a specific task, and Bloom's taxonomy is no exception. Some of the more serious disadvantages should be mentioned and explanations given of what was done in this study to cope with them.

One disadvantage is that there is sometimes a hazy line of difference between the categories of the cognitive taxonomy. Bloom's explanation of the difference between the comprehension and analysis categories seems simple enough. He points out that the comprehension category emphasizes the ability to grasp the meaning and intent of a communication. Analysis differs from comprehension in the cognitive taxonomy in that it "emphasizes the breakdown of the material into its constituent parts and detection of the relationships of the

17Ibid., p. 200.
parts and of the way they are organized. However, classifying test items according to these explanations may prove more difficult than expected. Consider the following test item. The student is given an excerpt that is several paragraphs long. After reading the paragraph the student is asked:

The relation between the definition of sovereignty given in Paragraph 2 and that given in Paragraph 9 is best expressed as follows.

1. There is no fundamental difference in them, only a difference in formulation.

2. The definition given in Paragraph 2 includes that given in Paragraph 9, but in addition includes situations which are excluded by that given in Paragraph 9.

3. The definition given in Paragraph 9 included that given in Paragraph 2, but in addition includes situations which are excluded by that given in Paragraph 2.

4. The two definitions are incompatible with each other; the conditions of sovereignty implied in each exclude the other.

It would not seem unreasonable to expect that when confronted with a number of such test items scattered throughout an examination that some test items of this nature could be incorrectly classified as comprehension items rather than analysis items.

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To guard against such inconsistency in the classification of test items several precautions were taken in this study. Examples of test items presented in the literature of the various testing programs were used for practice. These practice efforts at classification were checked by three educators familiar with Bloom's cognitive taxonomy. As the examinations actually used in this study were received, all the test items on each were classified. These original classification efforts were repeated at periodic intervals at least four times for each examination. In view of the fact that the examinations used in this study did not contain test items that represented a wide range of conceptual tasks, these precautions were felt to be more than adequate to assure consistency and correctness in classification.

Another major disadvantage in using the cognitive taxonomy for the purpose of classifying test items is that the person making the classification attempt must make some assumptions about the learning experiences of the student who has taken the test. For several of the categories of the taxonomy a test item cannot be considered adequate unless it confronts the student with a novel situation. For example, test items for the synthesis category require the condition of a novel situation. If a question intended to appraise the ability to formulate a hypothesis does not confront the student with a novel situation in which he cannot respond correctly on the basis of a previously learned
generalization, then the task is one of simple recall rather than synthesis.

Not a great deal can be done to compensate for this disadvantage. The researcher must assume that the student taking the test will have a general fund of knowledge in the social studies by virtue of his exposure to the curriculum of the schools. Drawing on his knowledge as a professional educator the researcher must make a judgment about each test item. Is the test item one that the student should be able to answer by drawing on his fund of knowledge gained in previous educational experiences, or is the test item one that confronts the student with a novel situation which forces him to use intellectual skills to arrive at the correct answer? Again the narrow range of conceptual tasks required by the examinations considered in this study greatly reduced the significance of this disadvantage.

As a classification model Bloom's cognitive taxonomy proves to be very useful in several respects. It helps to clear away confusion in communication about test items. Instead of referring to a test item as "testing understanding" the taxonomy makes it possible to more precisely refer to the specific cognitive task the question is intended to appraise. Also, the taxonomy is a logical, comprehensive scheme with categories and sub-classes arranged in a manner that seems consistent with the way teachers and educators refer to student learning behavior.
For the purposes of this study the most useful aspect of the cognitive taxonomy is that its two main divisions, "Knowledge" and "Intellectual Skills and Abilities" are ideally suited for determining if an examination is product or process centered. As Bloom points out, although knowledge is an important outcome of education what is needed is some evidence that students can make intelligent use of their knowledge. Thus, those skills associated with critical thinking, reflective thinking, or problem-solving are grouped in the taxonomy under the heading "Intellectual Skills and Abilities." Obviously any examination that has a large number of test items that fall into the categories under the general heading "Intellectual Skills and Abilities" would be an examination more consistent with notion of "process" rather than "product."

Findings From The Analysis Of Test Items

In examining the problem of college admission examinations and their relationship to the social studies curriculum of the schools all social studies test items from each examination were classified according to Bloom's cognitive taxonomy. These examinations included the College Board's Achievement Test in American History and Social Studies, Achievement Test in European History and World

\[20\text{Ibid., p. 38.}\]
Cultures, Advanced Placement Test in American History, and Advanced Placement Test in European History as well as The National Merit Scholarship Qualifying Test and the social studies section of the American College Testing Program Examination.

The process of classifying the test items is a little more complicated than appears at first thought. As the examinations were received from the respective testing programs each test item was attempted or "worked." As the test item is "worked" a note must be made of the mental processes utilized, and an assumption must be made about learning experiences students will have had prior to taking the examination. On the basis of these considerations each test item was then assigned to a sub-class of one of the categories of the cognitive taxonomy. As stated previously, this entire process was repeated at least four times at various intervals of time to insure correctness and consistency in classification.

The College Board Examinations

The results of the analysis of the test items on the College Board examinations Achievement Test in American History and Social Studies and Achievement Test in European History and World Cultures reveal these examinations to test learnings of only the lowest conceptual levels. In Table 3 the results of the analysis of test items for the American history examination indicate eighty-seven of the one hundred
multiple choice style test items included in this one hour examination are of the knowledge category of the cognitive taxonomy. These type questions require only the recognition or recall of terms, dates, events, persons, and places. The remaining thirteen test items are of the interpretation sub-class of the comprehension category. This category represents the lowest level of understanding in the cognitive taxonomy. Most significant is the fact that no test item could be classified at the higher conceptual level categories.

**TABLE 3**

CLASSIFICATION ACCORDING TO THE COGNITIVE TAXONOMY OF THE TEST ITEMS OF THE ACHIEVEMENT TEST IN AMERICAN HISTORY AND SOCIAL STUDIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number of Test Items</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.00 Knowledge (Total)</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.11 Knowledge of Terminology</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.12 Knowledge of Specific Facts</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.00 Comprehension (Total)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.20 Interpretation</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.00 Application</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.00 Analysis</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.00 Synthesis</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.00 Evaluation</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of Test Items</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are several other interesting aspects of the American history achievement examination that ought to be noted. While the examination includes "social studies" in
its title only two of the social sciences are represented in the test items. American history items total eighty-three while the social science disciplines of economics and political science contribute respectively only eight and nine test items. Also, only eight of the one hundred test items deal with American history since World War II. The conclusion must be that the achievement examination in American history emphasizes simple recall of specific facts, does not emphasize the social sciences, and does not emphasize contemporary history.

The Achievement Test in European History and World Cultures is not much different in emphasis than the American history achievement examination. As is indicated by Table 4, none of the test items could be classified as appraising intellectual skills and abilities. Of the one hundred multiple choice style items included in this one hour examination, all were classified as appraising recognition or recall, fourteen the recall or recognition of terminology, and eighty-six the recall or recognition of people, places, dates or events.

As with the American history achievement examination, the European history achievement examination is very narrow in scope. While the examination has "world cultures" in its title, it contains eighty-five questions which should be correctly answered after completing the traditional "Western Civilization" style secondary world history course.
Only five of the test items could be considered as belonging exclusively to the study of Africa or Asia. On the matter of history and the social sciences, history clearly dominates the examination as only ten questions represent the social sciences, six for political science, three for geography and one for economics. As far as contemporary history is concerned, there are only four questions dealing with events after World War II. In summary, the achievement examination in European history emphasizes simple recall of specific facts, does not emphasize the social sciences, does not emphasize contemporary history, and does not emphasize the history of world cultures except as they are intertwined with the traditional history narratives of the Western world.

TABLE 4

CLASSIFICATION ACCORDING TO THE COGNITIVE TAXONOMY OF THE TEST ITEMS OF THE ACHIEVEMENT TEST IN EUROPEAN HISTORY AND WORLD CULTURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number of Test Items</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.00 Knowledge (Total)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.11 Knowledge of Terminology</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.12 Knowledge of Specific Facts</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.00 Comprehension</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.00 Application</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.00 Analysis</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.00 Synthesis</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.00 Evaluation</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of Test Items</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Advanced Placement Test in American History is a three hour test with two main sections, a forty-five minute section of seventy-five multiple choice style test items, and a two hour and fifteen minute section in which three of ten essay questions are to be answered. Table 5 indicates the classification of only the seventy-five multiple choice questions. As with the College Board's achievement examinations, the American history advanced placement examination emphasizes the recognition or recall of knowledge. All seventy-five test items fit the knowledge category. Also, only three test items, two short answer and one essay, deal with history since World War II.

**TABLE 5**

CLASSIFICATION ACCORDING TO THE COGNITIVE TAXONOMY OF TEST ITEMS OF THE ADVANCED PLACEMENT TEST IN AMERICAN HISTORY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number of Test Items</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.00 Knowledge (Total)</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.11 Knowledge of Terminology</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.12 Knowledge of Specific Facts</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.24 Knowledge of Criteria</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.00 Comprehension</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.00 Application</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.00 Analysis</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.00 Synthesis</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.00 Evaluation</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of Test Items</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
All ten of the essay questions, of which the student is to select three to answer, emphasize recall of knowledge. Because of the security measures requested by the College Board as a condition for borrowing copies of the examinations, an example cannot be used from the examinations actually used in this study. However, the following example taken from the literature of the College Board indicates the emphasis on recall inherent in the essay portion of the examination.

The large corporations and unions bear, in certain respects, a similar relation to the American political system. Their advocates believe in associated action for themselves and in competition for their adversaries. They both demand governmental protection and recognition, but resent efficient governmental regulation. Indicate the extent of your agreement or disagreement with this position by reference to the periods 1880-1910 and 1930-1945.21

This question and all ten of those included on the examination used for this study can be answered on the basis of recall if the student has completed the usual advanced placement course and should not be too difficult for the student who has completed a traditional, regular secondary school United States history course.

The advanced placement examination in European history is a three hour test with two main sections, a fifty-five minute section which consists of seventy-five multiple

choice style test items and a two hour and five minute section from which three of nineteen essay questions are to be answered. Table 6 indicates the classification of only the seventy-five multiple choice questions.

**TABLE 6**

**CLASSIFICATION ACCORDING TO THE COGNITIVE TAXONOMY OF TEST ITEMS OF THE ADVANCED PLACEMENT TEST IN EUROPEAN HISTORY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number of Test Items</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.00 Knowledge (Total)</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.11 Knowledge of Terminology</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.12 Knowledge of Specific Facts</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.00 Comprehension</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.00 Application</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.00 Analysis</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.00 Synthesis</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.00 Evaluation</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of Items</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As with the previously described College Board examinations, the Advanced Placement examination in European history emphasizes simple recall or recognition of names, dates, places, and events. All seventy-five multiple choice questions fell into the knowledge category. Also, only two of those questions deal with events taking place after World War II. The same is true of the essay style questions. None deal with historical events after 1945, and none emphasize a cognitive task of a higher conceptual than recall of knowledge. Taken from College Board literature, the following
essay question is typical of the kind asked on the examination analyzed for this study:

13. Why did Martin Luther break with the Church and Erasmus remain within it? 22

This question and the eighteen on the examination analyzed require only that the student recall information of the sort taught in the traditional world history courses of the secondary schools.

The National Merit Examination

The National Merit Examination has thirty-five multiple choice type social studies test items to be answered in approximately twenty minutes. There are three passages each three or four paragraphs long to be read by the student. After each passage there are from ten to fifteen multiple choice type test items to be answered on the basis of what has been read in the appropriate passages.

As indicated in Table 7, the National Merit examination emphasizes heavily test items that require tasks consistent with the comprehension category of the cognitive taxonomy. All but two of the test items fall into the comprehension category and twenty-three of the test items fit the sub-class of the comprehension category dealing with translation. Thus, the National Merit social studies test items are mainly drawn from the least complex sub-class of

22 Ibid., p. 100.
the comprehension category which represents what Bloom calls "the lowest level of understanding."

TABLE 7

CLASSIFICATION ACCORDING TO THE COGNITIVE TAXONOMY
OF THE SOCIAL STUDIES TEST ITEMS OF THE NATIONAL
MERIT SCHOLARSHIP QUALIFYING TEST

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number of Test Items</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.00 Knowledge (Total)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.11 Knowledge of Terminology</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.12 Knowledge of Specific Facts</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.00 Comprehension (Total)</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.10 Translation</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.20 Interpretation</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.30 Extrapolation</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.00 Application</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.00 Analysis</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.00 Synthesis</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.00 Evaluation</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of Test Items</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Because of the request of the National Merit Scholarship Program to protect the security of their examinations, a description of a test item will be taken from the program's literature rather than the examination analyzed. A passage of two paragraphs about the twentieth century Italian philosopher Bendetto Croce is presented along with three multiple choice questions. One of these questions is:

2. With which of the following statements would Croce most likely have agreed?
F. Anyone can produce great works of art.

G. A single-word, as well as an epigram may be art.

H. It is possible to have an intuition of a scene or a poem without expressing it.

J. Feelings of happiness and sadness are forms of intuition. This kind of question fits the classification of translation for two reasons. First, it is unlikely that the student would have encountered this material in his previous educational experiences, and therefore he could not answer on the basis of the recall of knowledge. Second, to arrive at the correct answer, "G," the student is required only to select the answer that correctly puts into other language one part of the passage that has been read.

Several observations about the National Merit examination should be noted. First, the material included in the examination is drawn equally from political science, economics, and history. While this is better than the heavy emphasis placed on history in the various College Board examinations, it is not in keeping with the increasing importance of all the social science disciplines in the curricula of the schools. Second, while the examination does attempt to appraise an intellectual skill, comprehension, it makes no attempt to determine to what degree

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the student possesses the ability "to do something" with the understanding he gains as a result of his knowledge and comprehension.

The American College Test Examination

The social studies portion of the American College Testing Program examination contains fifty-two multiple choice type test items which are to be completed in forty minutes. Thirty-seven of the questions represent four groups of questions which correspond to four reading passages. The remaining fifteen questions are not related to a reading passage and are to be answered separately.

TABLE 8

CLASSIFICATION ACCORDING TO THE COGNITIVE TAXONOMY OF THE SOCIAL STUDIES TEST ITEMS OF THE AMERICAN COLLEGE TEST EXAMINATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number of Test Items</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.00 Knowledge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Total)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.11 Knowledge of Terminology</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.12 Knowledge of Specific Facts</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.00 Comprehension (Total)</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.10 Translation</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.20 Interpretation</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.30 Extrapolation</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.00 Application</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.00 Analysis</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.00 Synthesis</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.00 Evaluation</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of Test Items</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As is indicated in Table 8, this examination seems to combine the characteristics of the College Board examinations and the National Merit examination. It has thirty-six test items that fit the comprehension category and sixteen that fit the knowledge category. The style of the questions on this examination are so similar to the examples given for the previous examinations that no additional examples seem necessary. As with the College Board examinations, the sixteen recall questions of this examination are almost exclusively about the history of the United States prior to 1945. There are no questions about the non-Western world and only three that might be construed as being drawn from the social sciences rather than history. The thirty-six comprehension questions differ from those of the American College Testing examination only in that as a group they include a few more interpretation and extrapolation questions.

Summary

On the basis of this study it appears that those reviewers and teachers critical of the college admission examinations are for the most part warranted in their criticisms. As can be seen in Table 9, the six college admission examinations contain a total of 450 social studies test items. Of these 368 or approximately 82 per cent are questions that measure the recall or recognition of factual knowledge. The
remaining eighty-two questions which comprise approximately 18 per cent of the total are questions that measure comprehension, the lowest level of understanding in the cognitive taxonomy. In addition all questions are clustered towards the lowest sub-classes of their respective categories.

### TABLE 9

CLASSIFICATION ACCORDING TO THE COGNITIVE TAXONOMY OF THE SOCIAL STUDIES TEST ITEMS INCLUDED IN THE COLLEGE ADMISSION EXAMINATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number of Test Items</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.00 Knowledge (Total)</td>
<td>368</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.11 Knowledge of Terminology</td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.12 Knowledge of Specific Facts</td>
<td>325</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.24 Knowledge of Criteria</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.00 Comprehension (Total)</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.10 Translation</td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.20 Interpretation</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.30 Extrapolation</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.00 Application</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.00 Analysis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.00 Synthesis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.00 Evaluation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of Test Items</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Perhaps a better way to look at the college admission examinations is from the perspective of what they do not attempt. They are history dominated and are not significantly concerned with knowledge and skills related to the social sciences. They are not concerned about non-Western nor contemporary history as most of the questions are about America
and to a lesser degree European history prior to 1945. They are not concerned with the potentially more useful forms of knowledge such as knowledge of methods or inquiry, criteria by which opinions may be judged, principles, generalizations, or theories. But, most regrettable is the fact that not one out of the 450 test items is concerned with attempting to appraise the student's ability to use his knowledge in combination with his intellectual skills so that he has the ability to think critically when confronted with new situations and problems.
CHAPTER VI

THE FUTURE OF COLLEGE ADMISSION EXAMINATIONS

The purpose of this study is to determine if the social studies test items included in the college admission examinations are appropriate in relationship to the kinds of secondary social studies curricula being recommended by social studies educators. A review of the thrust of Project Social Studies, the trend of articles in Social Education, and the positions presented in the methods textbooks indicates that the leadership of social studies education is urging the replacing of the traditional social studies curriculum with curricula that will emphasize a process approach. Whether the particular methodological approach advocated is more akin to the longer known reflective position or the newer structure-of-the-discipline inquiry position, the attempt is to emphasize higher conceptual level learning in preference to the heavy emphasis on simple recall typical of the traditional approach.

The findings of this study indicate that the social studies sections of the various college admission examinations are consistent with the traditional approach. Clearly, the social studies test items of the examinations are inappropriate in relationship to the curricula being advocated.
by the leadership of social studies education and now seeking acceptance in our nation's secondary schools.

One cannot overstate the significance of this situation. The taking of the various college admission examinations has become a major event in the lives of typical high school students. A visitor to a comprehensive high school can quickly catch signs of the importance of the examinations. The billboard in front of the school usually lists the date of the upcoming examinations, and at least one bulletin board in the main hallway will be devoted to information about the admission examinations. If the visitor arrives on the right day he might notice the large groups of students gathering at the guidance office to get their examination results, or he might notice the school assembly to honor those with especially high scores. Another indication of the importance of the admission examinations is the apparently brisk business of coaching students to help them improve their examination scores. Each Sunday in The New York Times education section there are numerous advertisements of special schools for this purpose. All bookstores, many bookshelves of drugstores, and even the bookstores of high schools offer various manuals that purport to aid the student prepare for his admission examinations. When an acceptable score on an admission examination assumes such importance with several million students and their parents, it is not surprising to hear classroom teachers voice reservations.
about curricular changes that emphasize learnings other than those consistent with the type questions asked by the examinations.

In view of the prestige and influence of the college admission examinations it is important to raise the question of what should be done about the discrepancy between the social studies items of the examinations and the literature of social studies education. In the current literature there are various proposals for colleges to adopt open admission policies, and in some instances, most notably the City University of New York, an open admission approach is being tried. However, it seems unrealistic to expect that in the foreseeable future there will be a rush to an open admission approach on the part of a large number of colleges.

Until open admission becomes a widespread practice, it seems equally unrealistic to expect college admission examinations to be discontinued. Underscoring this contention is the recently completed two volume Report of the Commission on Tests produced by the College Board. The report stated repeatedly the conviction that the College Board should not abandon its testing program. So, as appealing as may be the notion of advocating abandonment of the admission examinations, the more practical course would be to seek to reconcile the examinations with the social studies curriculum.

seem to be to explore possibilities for their improvement.

It is in connection with its proposals for improving the college admission examinations that the Report of the Commission on Tests should be so disappointing to social studies educators. Working around the theme, "Righting the Balance," the report advocates improvements in the College Board testing program that will have the effect of (1) more fully serving the student as a client by offering him more comprehensive descriptions of colleges and their programs, and (2) more fully serving minority groups by avoiding bias against students who are not middle-class, white, and male. These are laudable goals and all social studies educators should support them. However, social studies educators should be disappointed that the Commission did not recognize the need to recommend changes in the examinations that would bring the social studies sections more in line with the growing thrust for change in the social studies curricula of the schools.

Recommendations for Examination Changes

If college admission examinations are to be retained and are not to remain barriers to curricular innovation, this study indicates several recommendations for change are warranted for the social studies sections of the examinations. The following recommendations are not listed in order of preference as subsequent comments will make clear.
1. The college admission examinations should contain only those test items designed to assess the student's intellectual skills that are appropriate to the reflective and inquiry approaches being advocated by social studies educators.

2. Content for test items should be drawn from the same sources as those being advocated for study by social studies educators. These are the needs and interests of the students, contemporary social problems, and related data drawn from history and the social sciences.

3. Test items should emphasize data and skills appropriate to all the social sciences as well as history rather than placing almost exclusive emphasis on historical data as is now the case.

It should be noted that the remaining recommendations do not grow directly out of the findings of this study as do the ones mentioned previously. However, as one becomes immersed in the study of the college admission examinations many notions of preferred practices come to mind. Some are so closely related to the thrust and findings of this study that it seems appropriate to mention them. Therefore, they are treated below.

4. The number of admission examinations that applicants to college are required to take should be reduced by combining some of the present examination programs.
5. The impression of precise measurement by the examinations should be eliminated by replacing the present numerical test scores with statements describing the student's current strengths and weaknesses in the use of intellectual skills and a recommendation for improving the student's academic progress.

6. The pressure for guessing during the examination performance should be reduced by increasing the time available for examination completion.

7. There should be greater effort to realize the diagnostic, remedial, and learning contributions possible in the reporting of examination results.

8. The limitations of the examinations as evaluation instruments should be recognized and the examinations should be supplemented by other types of broadly-based evaluation procedures so as to more successfully identify the student's full range of potentialities.

9. A panel of social studies educators, historians, social scientists, classroom teachers, students and parents should be brought together to make recommendations regarding the examinations.

In view of the current thrust of social studies education, there seems to be little justification for the social studies sections of the college admission examinations to have 82 per cent of their questions devoted to the recall of knowledge as was the case in the examinations considered in
this study. In place of the large number of subject-centered knowledge questions which now dominate the admission examinations, Recommendation 1 proposes test items that would attempt to assess student's mastery of the skills that are appropriate for the reflective and inquiry approaches to social studies education. A number of such items are presented for illustrative purposes.

1. Read the comments by Cliff and Wally, and select the question that best states the problem that needs to be studied if their disagreement is to be resolved.

Cliff: Yes, I am opposed to federal aid to education whether at the public school or college level. Equality of opportunity has always been an American ideal, and one of the few guarantees of that ideal left today is the fact that local school boards and trustees of private colleges can still make decisions in light of local needs and interests. That kind of freedom fosters equality of opportunity. Federal funds inevitably bring federal controls. Once the federal government gets control of local education, it will want a national curriculum for the schools and a national university system both of which will serve national interests rather than be concerned with the needs of the individual.

Wally: It seems to me some things are happening that make me disagree with you. The best schools, at least for getting into college, are in the suburbs. So, if you happen to live in the suburbs your chances of going to college are greater. Also, capable children of parents who have not attended college more often fail to enter college because of the lack of funds than do capable children
of parents who have attended college. What we need are federal subsidies for inner-city schools and for students with insufficient funds to attend college.

*A. Should federal funds be used to create greater educational opportunity?  
B. Should federal funds be used for inner-city schools?  
C. Is education a means to greater equality of opportunity?  
D. Is equality of educational opportunity desirable?

After the student determines the nature of the problem, he needs to determine if it is appropriate for social studies investigation. In the following test item the student is given a choice of topics for study in the social studies as a means of assessing the student's skill to recognize which question offers the best opportunity for social studies inquiry.

2. If you were requested to complete a study of one of the following questions, which one would offer the best opportunity for learning relevant to the social studies?

A. Is Christianity the only true religion?  
B. Should Abraham Lincoln have married Ann Rutledge?  
*C. Should the government provide aid to foreign nations?  
D. How many senators voted for the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution?

Once a problem has been identified and the determination has been made that it offers the opportunity for fruitful study, the students must recognize when terms need to be
defined. The next test item illustrates an attempt to assess the student's skill to spot the need for establishing definitions.

3. Read the comments by Jack and Dana and select the course of action most necessary to resolve their disagreement.

Jack: No, we should not continue foreign aid for developing nations. We have shipped thousands of tons of surplus food to other countries, and I cannot see that the effort has gained us anything. On the contrary, the public is opposed to continued foreign aid because most foreign aid funds are misused in a manner that creates resentment rather than friendship.

Dana: I don't agree with you. Because the administration of foreign aid is a government function everyone tries to find out all the mistakes and publicize them for political purposes. Consequently, foreign aid funds appear to be more misused than they really are. And, I'm not so sure that the public is opposed to foreign aid. They may grumble, but Americans are a generous people.

A. Determine if Americans are a generous people.
*B. Define the term "foreign aid."
C. Determine which Latin American nation receives the most foreign aid.
D. List the population size of each nation receiving foreign aid.

For those problems that cannot be resolved merely by agreement on proper definitions and correct factual claims, the student needs to be able to recognize value conflicts.
Test item 4 is an attempt to assess a student's skill to recognize an interpersonal value conflict.

4. Read the comments by Sam and Hal and select the item that best indicates the value conflict expressed in the statements.

Sam: I read in the paper that a policeman said he could have obtained a confession from a robbery suspect he had captured if he could have had time to question the suspect alone. Instead, the questioning was held up until the suspect talked to his lawyer. As a result, the policeman said, the suspect now will not confess. No wonder we can't convict criminals!

Hal: I don't know. Some guy who has done nothing could be picked up by the police. They might ask him all sorts of things, and being scared, confused, and without advice, he might say lots of things that would make a jury think he might be guilty.

A. Police power versus law and order.
B. Individual rights versus protection of the innocent.
C. Trial by jury versus individual rights.
*D. Public safety versus protection of the innocent.

Another important skill, particularly for students in social studies classes emphasizing the structure-of-the-discipline inquiry approach, is the ability to recognize an individual's frame of reference. Test item 5 is an example of an attempt to assess the student's ability in the use of this skill.
5. Read the statements of the four men and then answer the following question.

Tom: I grew up during hard times and with no help from anyone. I learned to get ahead by hard work and always had a good job even when engineers and other educated people were out of work.

John: I've lived on the farm all my life and do not pretend to have all the answers. But, I do know that darn few boys from the farm are involved in college riots. They are too busy earning their way through college.

Bob: A tragic waste that too few of us think about is under-employment. That occurs when a person through lack of adequate training is employed at a job that requires less skill than that person is capable of performing. The degree to which people are under-employed is the degree to which we waste a great deal of our productive capacities as a nation.

Frank: One of my biggest regrets is not having taken greater advantage of my opportunities when I was at college. My grandfather sent me, and I looked upon it as a good vacation. Maybe if I would not have had it so easy I would have appreciated college more.

Which one of the men's statements seem to indicate he would be most in favor of federal subsidies to help reduce the cost of a student attending college?

A. Tom
B. John
C. Bob
D. Frank
Another necessary social studies critical thinking skill is the ability to recognize the assumptions of a writer or speaker. This skill could be assessed in the following manner.

6. Read the following selection and then indicate which one of the assumptions was made by the writer.

The Soviet Union's efforts to gain missile superiority over the United States will not have the hoped for results. Even with missile superiority the Soviets could not successfully blackmail this country. With missile sites scattered around the world and under the seas the United States would absorb an initial attack and still retaliate with a terrible blow.

A. The Soviet Union wants nuclear war with the United States.
B. The United States wants nuclear war with the Soviet Union.
C. The United States would win any nuclear war with the Soviet Union.
*D. The Soviet Union would not be able to knock out United States missile sites around the world.

When confronted with a problem the student may quickly recognize several courses of action that offer resolution of the problematic situation. However, it may be that several of those courses of action simply are not feasible given the conditions of the problem. For example, in trying to find a solution for air pollution it just is not practical, feasible, to eliminate all factories that employ more than fifteen people. To assess a student's skill to recognize feasible courses of action from those not likely to be feasible, the following type test item could be used.
7. Which of the following alternative courses of action offers the most feasible course of action to solve the problem: What should be the governmental arrangement for Berlin so that the city may be unified?

A. Make Berlin a free city under the administration of the existing East Berlin authorities.
B. Make Berlin a free city under the administration of the existing West Berlin authorities.
*C. Make Berlin a free city under the administration of a government elected by proportional representation of Berliners.
D. Place Berlin under the administration of a twenty-five government tribunal selected by the United Nations General Assembly.

The next two test items are examples of how a student's skill in working with sources can be assessed. Test item 8 attempts to assess the student's skill to determine the reliability of one source, and test item 9 attempts to assess the student's skill to select the most reliable of several sources.

8. For the purpose of determining the reliability of a written account of a particular episode which of the following considerations would seem to be most significant?

A. The account was five pages long.
B. The account was originally written for a magazine.
*C. An independent witness agreed to the details of the account.
D. The account was written by a professional writer.
9. To determine if General Robert E. Lee felt his subordinate officers were responsible for his loss at Gettysburg which would be the most reliable source?

*A. An account of the battle found in Lee's diary.
B. An account in a Confederate newspaper.
C. An account written to commemorate the men who fought in the battle.
D. An account written in a Soviet textbook on United States history.

In the course of studying problems the student often will need to be skilled in interpreting and using various kinds of data. Test item 10 illustrates an attempt to assess the student's skill to use one kind of data.

Index of Department Store Sales: 1920-1950
Index 1949 = 100

Sales

<table>
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<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
10. On the basis of the above information which of the following statements is most likely to be correct?

A. The information is not accurate because it reflects the impact of inflation.
*B. World War II had the effect of stimulating department store sales.
C. The depression brought a sharp decline in department store sales.
D. Between 1930 and 1950 department store sales steadily increased.

Another critical thinking skill that is often of value in the process of reflection or inquiry is that of distinguishing if a statement is an opinion or fact. This skill might be assessed by a test item like the following one.

11. Which of the following is a statement of fact rather than a statement of opinion?

*A. The birth rate in the United States declined during the Great Depression.
B. The participation of the federal government in local government always leads to undesirable federal controls.
C. The Democrat Party was responsible for getting the United States into two World Wars.
D. The American form of government is the best yet devised by man.

Closely related to the skill of being able to distinguish statements of fact from statements of opinion is the skill of being able to recognize how difficult it would be to collect evidence to judge a statement correct or
incorrect. Test item 12 illustrates how to assess this skill.

12. For which of the following statements would it be easiest to gather evidence that would prove the statement correct?

A. If the United States and China became involved in a war, the Soviet Union would not intervene.
B. More Swiss bank accounts are owned by Americans than Germans and Italians.
*C. The United Nations owns only a small part of the property in New York City on which its buildings are located.
D. Few Communists party members actually believe strict Marxist ideology.

The heart of the reflective or inquiry orientated class is discussion and discussion materials. Therefore, an important skill for students to sharpen would be the skill of recognizing if a statement of opinion is the result of thoughtfulness or mere bias. Test item 13 illustrates how to assess this skill.

13. Which of these statements is most biased?

A. More Americans were killed in auto accidents in the last five years than American troops in all of World War I.
B. There appears to be good reason to believe that cigarette smoking is harmful.
C. The average American male is taller and heavier than the average Chinese male.
*D. A vote for increased military expenditures is a vote for war.
In the process of reflection or inquiry, it is not always enough to determine if a statement is consistent with the data, thoughtful, and so forth. It is also important to be able to determine if a statement does or does not support a hypothesis. Test item 14 is an example of how to assess this skill.

14. Select the statement that would cause you to alter the following hypothesis:

Mayor Daley will be re-elected because his strong rule has helped Chicago avoid having its problems become as bad as they are in most other cities.

A. Mayor Daley's intervention prevented a teachers' strike.
B. The Mayor made a special plea to state legislature for funds to speed construction of city throughways.
*C. The federal government is going to investigate hiring practices in Chicago's construction industry because minority groups are not being hired often enough.
D. Mayor Daley stated his opposition to the Chicago Bears professional football team playing any of their home games in Evanston.

In addition to determining if a statement is true or false the student in the reflective or inquiry class will often have to determine if the statement offers a strong or weak argument with respect to a hypothesis. To assess the student's skill to do this a test item like the following may be used.
15. If each of the statements were true, which one would offer the best support for the hypothesis: The United States should immediately withdraw all troops from Southeast Asia?

*A. Approximately 115,000 American casualties would be avoided.
B. The war would be less likely to become an issue in the 1972 election.
C. Asian allies' confidence in American leadership might be shaken.
D. Neutral Asia nations might be forced to become Communist allies.

It is hoped that once a student has proved a hypothesis he will have the skill to apply it in problematic situations. To assess the student's skill to do this the following type test item could be used.

16. Assuming that the following generalization is valid, select which one of the four stated courses of action would probably decrease inflation.

Generalization: If the federal government practices deficit spending under conditions of full employment, then inflation is likely to result.

A. Increase the pay of government employees.
B. Increase federal funds for highway construction.
C. Reduce federal taxes on luxury items.
*D. Reduce the number of men in the armed forces.

The above questions are in keeping with the process approach as opposed to the product approach to social studies education. Instead of requiring student to recall
and to recognize specific names, dates, and places, they require the student to demonstrate his knowledge of and ability to perform those critical thinking skills that he would be developing in either a reflective or inquiry classroom. Can he recognize the nature of a problem and determine if it can be dealt with appropriately in the realm of history and the social sciences? Can he recognize when terms need to be defined and factual claims verified? Can he intelligently evaluate the reliability of a source and make judgments as to the relative worth of different sources? Can he recognize a writer's or speaker's assumption, value conflicts and opinions? Does he distinguish between opinion and fact or between thoughtful and emotional statements? Can he determine if statements do or do not support a hypothesis? Can he determine if a conclusion, generalization, or course of action is warranted by the evidence? Can he distinguish weak arguments from strong arguments? Can he apply what he learns in one situation to another situation?

These are the kinds of critical thinking skills that the leadership of social studies education is calling for to replace the emphasis on the accumulation of factual knowledge typical of the product approach of traditional education. Of course, the test item examples offered here do not cover all of the critical thinking skills that a social studies student will have been called upon to develop during the course of his studies if his classes emphasized
process rather than product. They are indicative of the type of critical thinking skills that should be assessed by the social studies sections of the college admission examinations.

As pointed out in Chapter III of this study, the leadership of social studies education as expressed in Project Social Studies, Social Education, and the methods textbooks advocate a process approach in which the social studies curricula of the schools should be drawn from the needs and interests of the student, the social issues confronting our society, and relevant data from history and the social sciences. Consistent with that position, Recommendation 2 of this study is that content used in examination test items of critical thinking skills should be drawn from social issues and probable student interests. Thus, the sample test items in this study utilize content dealing with federal aid to education, urban affairs, minority groups, inflation, underdeveloped nations, individual rights, law and order, and issues in American foreign policy. This is not a complete list of issues since the draft, ecology, and many other issues are equally or even of more concern to social studies students; but the test items do indicate the kind of content that is preferable for test items consistent with the process approach to social studies education. This would seem to be more realistic than the
practice of current examinations being constructed of test items that almost exclusively deal with events that occurred well before the birth of the students taking the examinations.

Recommendation 3 is closely related to the above recommendation. The test items of the college admission examinations should to a much greater degree include content drawn from the social sciences as opposed to history. This does not mean to say that history should be ignored; it is only an effort to arrive at a more realistic balance. Data drawn from history and the social sciences are necessary in varying degrees to the study of various individual and social problems. Some areas of study require more extensive use of historical analogy and data than others, and history will remain a valuable source for social studies students. However, the merits of the study of history do not warrant the virtual exclusion of the social studies from the curriculum. That kind of exclusion is what the college admission examinations work towards when so few of their test items are in any way related to the social sciences. A student in a school that has a process social studies curriculum of the reflective or inquiry type will necessarily be involved in learning the data and skills related to the social sciences as well as history. That student should have the opportunity to demonstrate his learnings on the college admission examinations, and that can be done only
if the examinations are changed to include test items that are drawn from the needs and interests of students, the issues confronting society and the data and skills of the social sciences as well as history.

Recommendation 4 calls for the reduction of the number of college admission examinations the student should be required to take. At present a student who has applied for admission to only several different universities might find himself compelled to take as many as six separate social studies achievement examinations. Whether the college admission examinations retain their present low conceptual level test items or move towards the higher conceptual level items consistent with a process approach to social studies, there does not seem to be any real need for this number of achievement examinations for social studies alone. More than one examination seems a good idea if only for the sake of competition between testing services, but surely two well-constructed examinations should be adequate.

Recommendation 5 urges changes in the score reporting systems used by the admission examination programs. The kinds of skills appropriate for assessment in a process approach curriculum simply do not lend themselves to precise measurement, and exact numerical examination scores that create the impression of precise measurement should be eliminated. It would be better for each examinee to receive
a descriptive statement of his current strengths and weaknesses in the use of intellectual skills and recommendations for improving the student's academic progress.

Educators who have worked with secondary students and guidance counselors have often heard the claim that one student, say Sam, is better college material than another student, Jim, because Sam's College Board scores were in the 600's while Jim's were in the 500's. However, a close reading of one of the College Board's publications does not support this claim. It points out that many factors need to be kept in mind when working with College Board scores. One factor is that the standard error of measurement for the history achievement examination is 31. That means that a student with a score of 600 should be considered as having a true score falling somewhere in the range of 569 to 631. Another factor has to do with the taking of alternate forms of the same examination. If the same student took alternate forms of the same examination, his scores could have as much as a 90 point difference. That means that if he scored 600 on one examination his score on the other could be any place within the range of 555 to 645. A third factor necessary to keep in mind is the difficulty of being sure that a student's scores really demonstrated greater ability in one subject as opposed to some other. To be sure that is the case the two test scores would have to have
a difference of at least 120 points. So, to say a student did better in history than he did in chemistry in which he scores 600, he must have a score of at least 720 in history.2

All of these factors would seem to indicate that it is unwise and misleading to assume that a student with a College Board achievement examination score of 615 is assuredly a better college risk than a student with a score of 575. Equally difficult is the judgment that one student rather than another should be placed in certain courses, given proficiency credit, or encouraged to select, say, history rather than chemistry as a major course of study.

More appropriate and less misleading than exact numerical scores would be a descriptive statement. If a student is given a good assessment of his ability to use social studies skills then he not only has a good notion of his potential for successful college study, but he also has the information necessary to indicate what kind of remedial and continued learning efforts he could most profitably pursue. It seems this kind of descriptive statement would be more useful to all concerned parties, student, social studies teacher, guidance counselor, college admission officer, and parents.

Recommendation 6 calls for the reduction of the pressure for guessing during the examination performance

by increasing the time available for examination completion. The College Board achievement examinations in history require the student to respond to one hundred test items in sixty minutes. College admission should be for the purpose of providing the secondary student with the opportunity to demonstrate his knowledge and skills so as to facilitate a mutually beneficial decision for the individual student and an university about the student's academic future. There is no reason to increase the pressure on the student nor to impose artificial conditions that work to reduce the quality of inputs into this decision making about college entrance. Many standardized examinations may be measures of student anxiety as much as they are assessment of achievement. The pressure of time is a key variable in performance. This pressure can be reduced greatly. If the examinations change to focus more on the assessment of intellectual skills, it will be especially necessary to reduce the pressure of time limits. It takes time to reflect.

Recommendation 7 proposes that the scope of the college testing programs be expanded. It would seem that with a little additional effort the testing programs could be more evaluative in nature. Evaluation as opposed to measurement is a more inclusive term in that it includes aspects of diagnosis, remedy, and learning as well as testing. If the above recommendations would be put into practice,
it would seem to be somewhat of a wasted effort to elaborately test a student's critical thinking abilities and then merely tell him his skills are not proficient enough to say he is a promising college prospect. Why not tell him he is proficient at recognizing and defining problems but does not effectively weigh evidence if that is the case.

And, if that is done, why not give the student the test items, his scored answers, and then conduct sessions aimed at helping the student discover his shortcomings and ways of improving his critical thinking skills. In this way schools could capitalize on the student's tremendous interest in the college admission examinations by making them instruments of diagnosis, remedy, and learning rather than mere measurement.

It is well-known by those familiar with the college admission examinations that they are not nor are they meant to be infallible indicators of student's likelihood of achieving college success. They say little or nothing about many of the factors that influence a student's college performance. Motivation, ability to work on his own, creativity, family relationships, emotional balance, and unique skills and interests along with the peculiar strengths and weaknesses of his schooling prior to college are all factors that need to be considered if more intelligent decisions are to be made about the student and college.
When one considers the possible consequences for the life of the student, there seems to be good reason to make decisions about his academic future in the best possible manner. Therefore, easy reliance on achievement examination scores is not acceptable. Recommendation 8 is based upon the hope that the limitations of the current examinations as evaluative devices will be recognized and then colleges and students can be encouraged to consider a wider range of evaluative information in the course of making decisions about the student's academic future.

A few suggestions are offered to indicate how the admission examinations could be made to offer broader evaluative information. Instead of so many similar kinds of examinations, it would seem desirable to develop a wider range of evaluative experiences. Why not have students confronted with testing situations that make use of film loops, role-playing, scenario writing, games and simulations, tapes and computers? We have long recognized the shortcomings of paper and pencil tests. Attempting to assess all critical thinking skills in the social studies requires a broader evaluative approach.

For example, it would be useful to gain some knowledge of a student's social sensitivity. In a real life situation what a person observes may be more important than what he reads when it comes to social issues. Is the student sensitive to the need for new measures to deal more
effectively with urban problems by virtue of what he sees as he travels across the city, or does he have to read a book or article to become aware of the need for new measures? Some indication of the individual's sensitivity to data acquired by casual observation might be gained by having him respond to film loops.

To a great degree an individual's success or failure in dealing with interpersonal conflicts results from his skill to perceive correctly meaning in his opponents facial expressions, body movements, tone of voice, and so forth. Why not attempt to assess an individual's skill in this area by means of film loops, video-tapes, recording tapes, and the such?

Another important characteristic of the autonomous, intelligent person is his ability to make decisions, recognize the shortcomings of his decisions, and then make corrections and adjustments. It would seem that a computer program could be established to place the individual in a decision-making role for the purpose of gaining some notion of his ability to carry on this kind of autonomous decision-making. Having made a particular decision, the student could receive from the computer the results of his decision. He could then demonstrate his ability to take a new course of action if he is not satisfied with the direction in which events are moving.
New means seem to be available that give us the opportunity to test in new ways, to test for different kinds of achievement, and to give us broader evaluating information. Particularly the student who has studied in the process curriculum of either the reflective or inquiry approaches deserves the opportunity to demonstrate his skills in these areas.

Recommendation 9 calls for the creation of a panel of social studies educators, historians, social scientists, classroom teachers, students, and parents. The functions of this panel would be varied. Through recommendations the panel could encourage the testing programs to improve the quality and nature of their examinations, to broaden the scope of their evaluative efforts, and to remain relevant to current thought in the field of education. By issued reports the panel could help students, schools, colleges, and the larger community in the more beneficial uses of a broader-based evaluative approach.

No doubt the trials and tribulations of each individual's life are in themselves enough reason to warrant any step that aids the individual to become more proficient in thoughtfully and effectively dealing with individual and social problems. The rapidly accelerating rate of social change that impinges upon even the most sheltered of us makes it all the more imperative for each of us to more
intelligently recognize what his commitment are, in what directions they lead him, and why he clings to them rather than some alternatives. Therefore, it is particularly distressing that our schools' social studies curriculum is not more often designed to help students become more sensitive, autonomous, skillful thinkers. A major step towards more meaningful social studies curricula would be to revamp the college admission examinations according to the recommendations of this study.
BIBLIOGRAPHY
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BOOKS


ARTICLES


PAMPHLETS


