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KALEIDOSCOPIC APPROACH.

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THE APPLICATION OF QUESTION STRATEGIES
TO THE TEACHING OF CROSS-CULTURAL AWARENESS
IN THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE CLASSROOM:
A KALEIDOSCOPIC APPROACH

DISSERTATION

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

By
Frances Magdalena Kosnik, B.A., M.A.

The Ohio State University
1975

Reading Committee:

Edward D. Allen
Erika Bourguignon
Roger T. Cunningham

Approved By

Edward D. Allen
Adviser
College of Education
Faculty of Humanities Education
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My hope is that as one result of these experiences this "kaleidoscopic approach" will become a viable means of acquiring that knowledge of others and of ourselves which we all desire.
VITA

April 16, 1943. . . . . . . . . Born—Baltimore, Maryland

1963. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . B.A. (Secondary Education: French), Mt. St. Agnes College, Baltimore, Maryland

1963-64. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Assistant d'anglais, Lycée de Saint-Cloud, Saint-Cloud, France

1964-65. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Middlebury College Program in Paris

1965. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . M.A. (French), Middlebury College

1965-71. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . French teacher, Western High School, Baltimore, Maryland

1967 (summer). . . . . . . . NDEA Institute for secondary teachers of French literature and civilization, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan

1968 (summer). . . . . . . . Instructor of French, University of Maryland

Baltimore County, Catonsville, Maryland

1970 (summer). . . . . . . . Study at the Instituto de Estudios Iberomericanos, Saltillo, Mexico

1971-72. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Foreign Language Department Head, Lake Clifton High School, Baltimore, Maryland

1972-74. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Student, and Teaching Associate, Department of Humanities Education, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

1973 (summer). . . . . . . . Georgetown German Program, Salzburg, Austria; Study at the Universidad Internacional Menendez Pelayo, Santander, Spain

1974-75. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . French and Spanish teacher, Pimlico Junior High School, Baltimore, Maryland

1975. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . French teacher, Arbutus Junior High School and German teacher, Woodlawn Junior High School, Baltimore County, Maryland
PUBLICATION

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FIELDS OF STUDY

Studies in Foreign Language Education:  Dr. Edward D. Allen
                                      Dr. Gilbert A. Jarvis
                                      Dr. Frank Otto

Studies in Anthropology:              Dr. Erika Bourguignon

Studies in Curriculum:               Dr. Paul Klohr
                                      Dr. John B. Hough
                                      Dr. Charles Galloway
                                      Dr. Jack E. Frymier

Studies in French:                   Dr. Pierre Astier
                                      Dr. Charles Carlut
                                      Dr. Walter Meiden
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A. Problem, Rationale, Scope, and Limitations

Lévi-Strauss calls Jean-Jacques Rousseau the Father of Anthropology, for the author of the Confessions discovered the principle of unconditional objectivity, as well as the procedures of anthropology: "Man must first come to know himself as 'another' before he can hope to think in terms of himself." Perhaps we in foreign language education could also claim him for our own as the Father of the Teaching of Culture: is it not commonplace for us to list, as ultimate goals for our students, knowledge of another culture and concomitant increased awareness of their own?

Yet how well do we teach culture? How many of our students acquire valid knowledge of the foreign way of life? How many of them ever reach the point at which, as a result of taking a foreign language course, they think more objectively and perceptively about themselves as Americans? Or are they spoonfed with generalities—statements which are doubly detrimental, misleading them into believing false stereotypes and starving their intellectual capacity for productive thinking about the foreign culture? It is little wonder that they remain culture-bound ("A culture-bound individual is one
whose entire view of the world is determined by the value-perspectives he has gained through a single cultural environment\(^2\), no matter what linguistic or communicative proficiency they ultimately attain.

Authors of a report of the National Commission on the Reform of Secondary Education (hereafter referred to as the "Kettering Report") speak of the "collapse of foreign language teaching."\(^3\) They seem to admit that study of a foreign language could contribute measurably to the international education of a student, yet they cite the drop in enrollment as testimony that foreign language teachers have failed to meet the challenge to provide this education.\(^4\) Asserting the necessity for students to gain "an emerging knowledge of [the] biological and social unity of the world,"\(^5\) they turn to the social studies field to fulfill this function in the curriculum.\(^6\) They suggest that one component of such a curriculum be "enough anthropology to permit an informed, private view of the extent to which men are alike and different according to their cultures."\(^7\)

While cross-cultural study can conceivably be a part of the social studies curriculum, the author believes that it is most ideally and profitably pursued in a foreign language classroom. Language, after all, is an intimate witness to the lifestyle of a people; it pervades all of the activities in which they engage to meet their needs. Foreign language students, vicariously immersed in situations typical of the lifestyle of the foreign people, gain vivid exposure to both language and culture operating together. Why should the foreign language classroom not be the place par excellence to examine a foreign
culture and compare it with one's own in the most authentic way? The proof of the pudding lies somewhere in the "how."

If the Kettering Report is correct, we must invent better modes of teaching the foreign culture in such a way that students gain greater awareness of how their own culture functions. More is involved than knowledge of the content of a foreign culture. Students need to learn how to get this knowledge as well as how to compare it with their own culture by a process that will be called in this study "cultural analysis." In fact, the term "culture," commonly listed with the four linguistic skills of listening, speaking, reading, and writing as one of the goals of foreign language instruction, could be modified to include this process, or skill, idea. It might be called "analyzing cross-culturally." Students who take a sequence of foreign language courses should learn how to analyze a foreign culture—to penetrate below the surface phenomena to a depth of understanding of how it functions.

The process might be compared to that used in the French method of explication de texte, which consists in examining a literary excerpt in its parts in order better to appreciate the whole. Culture is a macrocosm made up of many microcosms. If a student could understand any one of the microcosms, he would have an in-depth knowledge of how the macrocosm functions. Such explication would require an approach to culture which is bias-free, so that stereotypes might be avoided. It would also demand real thinking on the part of the learner as he reaches below the surface to gain insightful knowledge.
To teach the content and process of this skill is a complex affair. It involves two types of content: the basic knowledge possessed by an anthropologist of what culture is, how it operates, and how objective cross-cultural comparisons should be done—as well as the specific knowledge of both the foreign and the American culture. But equally as important, it implies an effective pedagogical application, one which takes into account the process by which students acquire—and learn how to acquire—the content. To initiate the process requires a technique for eliciting student thought, a technique like that of question strategies.

An approach for meeting these needs of both teacher and student is proposed in this study—a synthesis of selective anthropological content, both general and specific, and the pedagogical application which best lends itself to use in the foreign language classroom. The purpose is to give the teacher an approach for handling the teaching of culture. "Culture" is understood to mean the daily-life patterns of a people, usually termed "small-c" culture in the literature of foreign language education. Sometimes foreign language teachers are less prepared academically in this area than in that of "capital-C" culture (history, geography, the arts). Yet if they had a guide on which to model their teaching of small-c culture, their thinking and planning might be facilitated.

Briefly stated, the objective of this study is to invent an approach which incorporates:

1. a system of cultural analysis which is bias-free and which might be used as a means to penetrate the content
of both American and a foreign culture in a valid way;
2. a method of teaching it which takes into consideration
the processes of thinking whereby students might acquire
the content; and
3. a technique for eliciting this thought on the part of
students.

These components determine the scope of this study. The approach could
be applicable to any foreign culture, but illustration will be done
with the French culture, since that is the major field of the author.

It might be useful at this point to delineate the limitations
of the study. The most obvious limitation for a foreign language class-
room is the use of English in the cross-cultural discussions. This use
was felt to be necessary with beginning language students, for whom
the approach was created, and with a group of whom it was tried out.
For the purposes of this study, teaching culture takes priority over
teaching language. In an advanced class both could be done simul-
taneously, but in a class of beginners, discussions in the native lan-
guage pre-empt a certain amount of class time from practice in the
target language.

Furthermore, the results of using the approach have not been
formally evaluated, either as to their cognitive or affective effects
on students. The study is not conceived as statistical research, nor
is it really a feasibility study, although it has been implemented in
most of its ramifications in a seventh-grade French class. Rather it
is a conceptualization of a synthesis of content, method, and technique.
A final limitation is related to the type of thinking involved. This approach concerns acquisition of knowledge about a foreign culture primarily, and largely by an inductive process. Other methods of teaching culture, like the culture assimilator and mini-drama, assume knowledge of a certain amount of content and require the learner to use this knowledge to figure out a solution to a problem. The thinking involved is somewhat more complex than that required of a student here. As a learner is taught by this approach, he performs the higher thinking operations of analysis, synthesis, and evaluation, but he does so chiefly to acquire more content, and not to apply the knowledge to solution of a cultural dilemma.

B. Outline of the Dissertation

In Chapter II the literature on question strategies is reviewed. The topic is considerably more widespread than the scope of this work; therefore, the review has been narrowed down to include only the literature that is pertinent. This includes both empirical and theoretical articles related to the method and technique of this approach. Besides the use of questions in the classroom and the effect of various levels of questions on achievement and the classification of questions into categories, therefore, the following are examined: the use of questions in process approaches to teaching and the theoretical foundations of inductive teaching. An addendum includes a survey of the literature on the topic of questions which is available in foreign language education.
In Chapter III the anthropological theory on which this approach is built is explained. Section A incorporates a selective review of literature which emphasizes the functionalist interpretation. Culture as macrocosm—the whole, and microcosm—the parts, is also discussed. The significance and importance of pattern, especially as a key to understanding the culture in its entirety, are described. Mention is made of the process of culture change. Finally, the possibilities and procedures of valid cross-cultural comparison are made. Section B surveys the extent to which these concepts are reflected theoretically and methodologically in the field of teaching culture in the foreign language classroom. Section C analyzes various models that have been proposed for the analysis of culture.

In Chapter IV the foreign language teacher is shown how to make content and process work together in teaching culture. With certain anthropological generalizations forming a basic structure of knowledge, the teacher learns how to portray the whole of culture in a maxi-wheel, as well as how to point out interrelationships of one particular pattern with the rest of culture in a mini-wheel. "Maxi" and "mini" facilitate the application to cross-cultural comparison. The teacher also learns how to plan for the learning of the content by considering a method based on the thinking processes students must undergo, as well as a technique to elicit thought—that of question strategies. A sample unit using this method and technique on a body of content follows.

Chapter V includes a summary of the study, a description of the non-statistical findings it obtained with a group of the author's
seventh-grade French students, and a discussion of the implications of the study for further development and future research.

C. Glossary of Terms

Although numerous terms are explained in the text, a section on terminology is felt to be necessary here in order to clarify the words whose meaning may be ambiguous. Ambiguity is caused particularly when various authors use different terms for the same concept. An attempt has been made in this study to choose a single term (which may include more than one word) for a concept and to be consistent with its use. These definitions of terms have been made up by the author and are intended to describe her understanding of them. The words are arranged by chapter, and in the order in which they occurred in the text.

Terms: Chapter II

question: a statement, usually interrogatory, which elicits an answer.

question strategies: the various techniques of questioning based on classification of questions into categories according to the levels of thought they evoke.

levels of thought: the hierarchical divisions of thinking, determined by the amount of effort put forth by the thinker. According to Bloom's taxonomy, knowledge, comprehension, and application are higher cognitive levels. According to the Guilford model, cognitive-memory and convergent operations define narrow thinking; divergent and evaluative operations are equated to broad thinking. If one compares the Bloom and Guilford models, lower-level questions correspond to narrow
thinking, and higher-level to broad. Lower-level or narrow questions admit of only one correct answer, whereas higher-level or broad questions have more than one possible answer by their very nature.

discovery learning: the process by which knowledge—facts, concepts, or generalizations—is acquired by inductive reasoning.

inquiry: the process by which a learner acquires knowledge by problem-solving. This requires some prior acquisition of facts, concepts, or generalizations relevant to the problem.

Terms: Chapter III

pattern: an abstract term used to describe the essence of an activity which is repeated in a particular culture and which has a certain commonality each time. Manifestations of patterns, sometimes called trait complexes, are concrete and/or observable. For the purposes of pedagogical application, any one of Hall's systemic foci is called "pattern," or the teacher may fit a pattern into any one of these foci.

web: a term used to describe the interrelationship of a particular pattern with all the systems of culture, showing how the totality of culture (macrocosm) is reflected in any one pattern (microcosm).

Terms: Chapter IV

content: In this study, content is both general and specific, the "general" referring to certain anthropological generalizations that form the basic structure of knowledge, the "specific" referring to certain facts, concepts, and
generalizations concerning the French or American cultures and/or their comparison.

method: the sequence of thought processes which the teacher considers in planning the development of a unit.

technique: the means used by the teacher to elicit thought and discussion, viz., question strategies.
NOTES TO CHAPTER I


4 Ibid., p. 66.

5 Ibid., p. 62.

6 Ibid., p. 66.

7 Ibid., p. 65.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE: QUESTIONS

Introductory Statement

Since the time of Socrates, teachers have been using questions as a basic technique of instruction. The purposes of questions are manifold; Grosier delineates them as follows:

1. To test a pupil's preparation for the lesson
2. To arouse interest
3. To promote understanding
4. To develop new insights
5. To develop ideals, attitudes, and appreciations
6. To strengthen or consolidate learning
7. To stimulate logical or critical thinking
8. To test for the achievement of objectives

Since all of these purposes correspond to various aspects of the act of teaching, it is not surprising that questions as a teaching tool have been the subject of innumerable studies. These include stylistic articles on the art of asking a good question (Batchelder et al., Burton, Laughlin, Ornstein, Payne, Satlow, Yamada, and Morgan and Schreiber). They encompass the research done on the relative effects of prior or post-placement and number of questions on achievement (Frase, Koran and Koran, Rothkopf and Bisbicos, etc.). Other researchers have concentrated on the effects of varying amounts of "wait-time" allowed a student after a question is posed (Rowe, Moriber). The relationship of questions to the affective domain has
been the object of still different research (The Art of Questioning in English\textsuperscript{15} Sitkoff et al.,\textsuperscript{16} Withall\textsuperscript{17}). Teacher, student, and parent training in questioning techniques, including the use of models as a training device, has been the subject of other studies (Farley,\textsuperscript{18} Allen et al.,\textsuperscript{19} Blosser,\textsuperscript{20} Borg et al.,\textsuperscript{21} Cunningham,\textsuperscript{22} Manson,\textsuperscript{23} Derhammer and Cormier,\textsuperscript{24} Claus,\textsuperscript{25} Zimmerman and Pike,\textsuperscript{26} Henderson,\textsuperscript{27} etc.).

Significant as all these studies may be, they have been mentioned only in the interest of placing this particular study in context. Topics which are more relevant for this review of literature are the following: surveys of teacher questioning behavior, systems for the analysis of questions, higher cognitive questions and their effect on thinking, process approaches to thinking, and the definition and rationale of discovery learning. These determine the sections into which this review of literature is divided. An addendum incorporating the contributions foreign language educators have made to the study of questioning in the classroom is included at the end of this chapter.

A. Surveys of Teacher Questioning Behavior

Many studies examining the implementation of questions in the classroom indicate that teachers are not using questions to best advantage. The oldest of these studies is probably that of Stevens, which dates from 1912. As a result of a survey of a number of classrooms, Stevens came to the conclusion that teachers ask far too many questions, leaving students little time to think, and neglecting individual differences in student needs: "The moment we admit that we ask from 75 to 175 questions in a class period, we commit ourselves as 'drivers' of
youth instead of 'leaders'; drill masters instead of educators.'

Unfortunately, this behavior has not changed radically since Stevens' study. In fact, Hoetker and Ahlbrand, who report research on classroom verbal behavior in the period from 1893 to 1963, sum up their review as follows:

The studies that have been reviewed, show a remarkable stability of classroom verbal behavior pattern over the last half century, despite the fact that each successive generation of educational thinkers, no matter how else they differed, has condemned the rapid-fire, question-answer pattern of instruction.

Studies of teacher questioning behavior have been made at both the elementary and secondary levels. Guszak examined this aspect of elementary reading teachers' behavior and concluded that these educators tended to dwell on literal comprehension of trivial facts. Mueller, who also made a study of elementary reading teachers' questioning behavior, found that her eight fourth-grade teachers "asked more cognitive-memory questions than any other kind, regardless of the level of the group, or the text used." Moyer's study seems to corroborate this conclusion, as he found in his "Exploratory Study of Questioning in the Instructional Processes in Selected Elementary Schools" that teachers' questions and questioning practices do not effectively involve pupils in critical thinking activities. Newcastle made a comparative study of second and fifth grade teachers' questioning and responding techniques. Her conclusions support those of both Guszak and Moyer, that is, that "classroom interaction emphasizes clarification of ideas, memory, and ratiocination." Pate studied thirty elementary teachers' questions in order to determine whether there was a pattern of inquiry to be found. Among other conclusions (including the fact
that the individual teacher does exhibit a pattern in the kinds of questions she asks, but that there is no apparent general pattern exhibited by many teachers which is consistent throughout the school year), he discovered that teachers relied on the inquiry for student opinion as their chief divergent activity.\textsuperscript{34} Schreiber studied teachers' question-asking behavior in fifth-grade social studies classes, and discovered that the factual recall type question was the most frequently used in this situation.\textsuperscript{35} Zimmerman and Bergan came to a similar conclusion in their study of questions asked by early-education teachers:

The most striking finding to come out of the present study is the revelation of the inordinate amount of emphasis placed on factual knowledge questions in early education. Intellectual operations other than cognition which many educators and psychologists feel are vital to productivity in a changing society are not being stressed in teacher question-asking behavior. The pervasiveness of this finding is demonstrated by the fact that it applies to children from different socio-cultural groups from different regions of the country.\textsuperscript{36}

Among studies made in secondary education is that of Adams, whose sample included English and social studies teachers. While comparing the two groups of teachers, he discovered that social studies teachers used more memory questions and fewer evaluative, clarifying and neutral questions than English teachers; that senior high English teachers used more memory questions than junior high English teachers; that senior high social studies teachers used more ratiocinative questions and fewer memory questions than junior high social studies teachers; and that teachers in the present study used fewer memory questions than the teachers in the 1912 study. All of these results
attained statistical significance. (Adams thus seems to contradict Hoetker and Ahlbrand.)

Davis and Tinsley studied the types of questions asked by student teachers and their students in high school social studies classrooms. They found that both students and teachers asked more memory questions than all others combined. The next highest amount fell in the comprehension category, which Bloom describes as the lowest form of intellectual activity. This study summarized data taken from forty-four classes. A study by Bellack and Davitz surveyed the behavior of fifteen teachers and 345 pupils in problems of democracy classes. They found that teachers dominate classroom discourse by a ratio of 3:1 in terms of lines spoken, and 3:2 in terms of moves. The teacher structures the lesson, the pupil responds. The most frequent instructional-logical meanings involve fact stating. A third study done exclusively with social studies teachers is that of Tinsley, who surveyed questions asked by eighth and eleventh-grade teachers of American history. He found that questions demanding memory and evaluation were asked most frequently; questions demanding convergent thinking were asked next, followed (in order) by those requiring logical and reflective thinking, and divergent thinking. A conclusion reported by Tinsley and Davis is as follows:

The questions planned by these social studies student teachers were characterized by little variety in opportunity for practice by secondary school students in thinking processes and skills, nor did they demonstrate a difference in the opportunities provided in class discussions and tests. Moreover, no significant differences exist in opportunities for junior and senior high school students.
Tinsley et al. did another study of the cognitive objectives revealed by classroom questions in "process-oriented" and "content-oriented" secondary social studies programs. They found no significant difference between programs in the average number of questions asked; they also discovered that the most frequent types of questions among both teachers and students were memory, interpretation, and procedure questions. They found finally that the teachers asked three times as many questions as the students. 42

A study by Clements and Beittel spanned instructional levels, including first-grade, seventh-grade and college students. Although there was no analysis made of types of questions, interesting results showed that across the board teachers rarely paused to give the student a chance to think about answering; five per cent of the answers were interrupted by the teacher, and over half the questions elicited answers of one-second's duration or less. 43

If teachers include on their tests that type of content which they consider most significant, it behooves educators to examine their evaluative measures. Pfeiffer and Davis did just that in a study of tests made by teachers for all ninth-grade courses during the 1963-64 school year at a junior high school. Results showed that in all programs at least half of a student's answers required only memory. 44

Other studies have been made of textbook questions. Upon examining 3,526 reading comprehension questions, Cooke found that 55% were literal comprehension questions, 26% inferential comprehension, 10% appreciation, 6% reorganization, and 3% evaluation. 45 Davis and Hunkins examined textbook questions in history, geography, and a fused
approach. They found that the books emphasized the cognitive domain; that out of 732 questions, only one demanded that pupils use synthesis, and only two required evaluative thinking; and that in three textbooks "none of the questions studied required analytic thinking."\textsuperscript{46}

It seems from this review of literature concerning types of questions teachers actually do ask, that they are misusing, or even neglecting, one of the most powerful means they have of evoking thought. Their questions for the most part do not challenge the students' ability to analyze, synthesize, and evaluate; the questions require only a minimal intellectual effort. Studies done on teacher training in question strategies show that when teachers are made aware of the possibilities inherent in a system for classifying questions, they increase the variety of their questions. In the next section various systems that have been proposed for analysis of questions are considered.

B. Systems for the Analysis of Questions

A group of these systems is based on Bloom's taxonomy of educational objectives in the cognitive domain. This foundational exposition of the hierarchy of cognitive skills needs no introduction. Let us recall, however, the purpose as stated by Bloom, of the categorization of the objectives. In essence Bloom says that an individual cannot survive with mere knowledge, he must possess intellectual abilities and skills which enable him to apply that knowledge in new situations.\textsuperscript{47} The latter intellectual abilities and skills are represented by the higher levels of Bloom's taxonomy, which includes the following six categories: knowledge, comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation.
Knowledge is primarily a recall phenomenon, but it includes the ability to relate a question to what one knows in order to select the answer from one's memory. Knowledge of specifics (terminology and specific facts), of ways and means of dealing with specifics (conventions, trends and sequences, classifications and categories, criteria, and methodology) and of the universals and abstractions in a field (principles and generalizations, and theories and structures) are all included. 48

The remaining categories are more directly related to the process of thinking, where specific information is less relevant. Comprehension, for example, involves understanding of what is being communicated and includes the ability to translate (paraphrase), interpret (summarize), and extrapolate (conclude). The third category in Bloom's taxonomy is application of abstractions to concrete situations. Next is analysis, the process of breaking down a communication into its component parts; inclusive are analysis of the elements, relationships, and organizational principles of a communication. The fifth category, synthesis, requires the learner to put together the parts of a whole, and may be evidenced in the production of a unique communication, production of a plan or set of operations, and in the derivation of a set of abstract relations. Finally, evaluation involves judgments, in terms of either internal or external criteria. 49

One of the oldest and most well-known applications of Bloom's cognitive taxonomy to the analysis of question strategies is that of Sanders, who modified the hierarchy to include seven types of knowledge—all applicable to the domain of social studies. He reduces
the knowledge category to memory and divides the comprehension level into translation and interpretation.\textsuperscript{50}

The work of Tinsley et al., also in the domain of social studies, has been based on the taxonomy of Bloom with Sanders' modifications. Their Teacher Pupil Question Inventory includes nine categories: memory, interpretation, translation (or transformation), application, analysis, synthesis, evaluation, affectivity, and procedure.\textsuperscript{51} Jarolimek has also shown how to apply Bloom's taxonomy to questioning in the social studies.\textsuperscript{52}

Much work in question strategies has been done by the Far West Regional Laboratory for Educational Development. Their research and development have been made available to teachers for their own improvement in two minicourses. The aims of the first, developed by Borg, Kelley, et al., are as follows:

1. To increase the proportion of incidents in regular classroom discussion in which teachers:
   -- ask questions leading to pupil responses that are judged by a trained observer to require use of higher cognitive processes, such as explanation, evaluation, synthesis, generalization, and problem solving;
   -- deal with incorrect answers in an accepting manner, i.e., without observable indication of displeasure, sarcasm, impatience, or annoyance;
   -- use praise and attention to reinforce pupil responses;
   -- pause at least five seconds between framing a question and calling for a pupil response;
   -- redirect the same question to two or more pupils;
   -- probe pupil responses, using the techniques of prompting, seeking further clarification, increasing pupil critical awareness, and refocusing the pupil's response.
2. To reduce the frequency of incidence in regular class discussion situations in which teachers:
   --ask questions that evoke information only;
   --ask questions that are answerable with yes, no, or a single short phrase;
   --repeat their own questions;
   --answer their own questions;
   --repeat pupil answers;
   --interrupt pupil response.
3. To decrease the proportion of teacher talk and increase the proportion of pupil participation during the discussion period.\textsuperscript{53}

Despite its length, this list is quoted in its entirety because of its all-encompassing objectives, which are applicable in all subjects and at any level. The first minicourse gives teachers specific instruction in how to attain these objectives.\textsuperscript{54} Minicourse Nine, developed by Gall, Dunning, and Weathersby, concentrates on the higher cognitive questions of analysis, synthesis, and evaluation. These educators, like Sanders, use Bloom's cognitive taxonomy, but with its integral six categories.\textsuperscript{55} A reprint of their summary chart of question types, which includes samples of questions, is included in Appendix A.

Morse and Davis report on another system which uses Bloom's taxonomy as a cognitive basis. Called the Questioning Strategies Observation System, it provides for the categorization of each classroom interchange four times, according to its initiation, the cognitive level of the question, the response, and the reactions of the teacher.\textsuperscript{56} With regard to questions, it provides seven measures: question quantity, cognitive quantity, cognitive quality, tactical versatility, question success, and reaction quality.\textsuperscript{57} To analyze the cognitive level of a question, it uses the categories of Bloom's
taxonomy, with the addition of columns for affectivity (including pupil opinion, attitudes, feelings and beliefs) and procedure.\textsuperscript{58}

Finally, Hunkins uses Bloom's taxonomy as the basis for his work in questioning strategies and techniques in the social studies. In so doing, he combines on the one hand, the work of Taba in incorporation of facts, concepts, and generalizations, and the difference between process and content; and on the other, his own concept of the four functions of questions: centering, expansion, distribution, and ordering.\textsuperscript{59} Centering is used to focus students' attention on a particular topic or aspect of it.\textsuperscript{60} While the center function can include questions from all the taxonomy's levels, "questions at the specific cognitive levels are used to direct the grouping of information into meaningful combinations so that a focus or a limited number of foci result."\textsuperscript{61} The expansion function is aimed at increasing the depth of student thought, either on one level of the taxonomy, or at a higher cognitive level. It may also be used to lower the level, if the teacher needs to go back and make further clarification.\textsuperscript{62} The distribution function refers to the number of students involved in the lesson.\textsuperscript{63} The order function includes questions for classroom management.\textsuperscript{64}

A second large group of questioning systems is based on Guilford's structure of the intellect. Perhaps the most succinct and practically useful application of the forms of thought involved here has been made by Cunningham. He divides questions into two main categories: narrow and broad. Narrow questions are used for: collecting information, verifying ideas and understandings of material,
reviewing previously studied material, identifying, grouping and noting relationships. With this type of question, answers are predictable because there is a limited number of "right" answers. Broad questions permit a variety of acceptable responses; thus, answers are not predictable. These questions may be used to stimulate and guide interest in a new problem. Narrow questions are subdivided into cognitive-memory and convergent categories. Cognitive-memory questions are limited to the lowest level of thinking, calling for a reproduction of facts, definitions, or other remembered information. Convergent questions are broader than cognitive-memory because they require the student to explain relationships or concepts, to compare or contrast. Broad questions are of the divergent and the evaluative type. Divergent questions require the student to organize elements in a way not apparent before by predicting, hypothesizing, or inferring. The evaluative question provides opportunity for the student to judge, value, justify a choice, or defend a position. Since it involves use of the cognitive operations from all the lower levels, it is considered the highest classification. A copy of this category system is included in Appendix A.

The studies of the following authors also use these four categories of thinking: Gallagher and Aschner, who used it in their report on the analysis of classroom interaction; Peggy Amidon, who combined it with the Flanders system; Edmund Amidon and Elizabeth Hunter, who incorporated categories of broad and narrow questions with the Flanders system, thus creating a new system containing both cognitive
and affective dimensions; Blosser, who changed the terminology somewhat; Derhammer and Cormier; Crump; and Meehan.

These two systems—Bloom and Guilford—are the two major bases for analysis of questions into categories. A third group of studies concerned with the breakdown of questions will be examined in section D of this chapter, as they are concerned primarily with the pedagogical application of the process dimension of teaching and only secondarily with the use of questions per se. Other systems of analysis of questions and/or mental processes which depart somewhat from the conception of Bloom, Guilford, or the process group are those of Newcastle, Smith et al., Fuller, English, Carner, and Clegg et al.

Following this explanation of levels of questions, it is most appropriate to proceed to an examination of the research that has been done in the area of the effect of higher-level questions on achievement.

C. The Effect of Higher-level Questions on Achievement

In a review of the research on teaching behaviors related to pupil achievement, Rosenshine makes the following two conclusions:

1. No clear linear relationships have been found between the frequency with which the teacher uses certain types of questions and the achievement of pupils; and
2. The experimentally increased use of specified procedures or types of questions has not resulted in significantly increased achievement.

In the comprehensive review of the literature which was undertaken for this study, the results have been found to be somewhat contradictory, some positively supporting the view that the higher the cognitive level of a question, the greater the achievement; some showing no correlation.
The bulk of the work in this area has been done by Hunkins, who tests the effect of questions on achievement and critical-thinking ability. In an article dated January 1968 Hunkins describes a study made with eleven sixth-grade social studies classes, divided into two groups equated on the basis of IQ and reading scores. Both groups were designated to read certain passages in their textbook and to answer questions. Questions given to one group were of the knowledge variety, requiring recall of items stored in the individual's memory. The other group was given analysis and evaluation questions, both of which subsume knowledge. The conclusions were as follows:

1. The employment of high cognitive-level questions (analysis and evaluation) produced significantly greater scores in social studies achievement than did low cognitive-level questions (knowledge).
2. Better readers in both conditions achieved higher than did poorer readers.

In his analysis of the data, Hunkins suggests that student who had to answer the higher cognitive questions were required to use more "mental juggling" of the information inbedded in the text, thus attaining better retention of it.

In a lengthy report dated August of the same year, Hunkins describes another study done at the same level, aimed at measuring the influence of analysis and evaluation questions on critical thinking as well as achievement in the social studies. His results corroborate those of the former study with respect to achievement, for as stated in conclusion 6, "the employment of high-cognitive level questions (analysis and evaluation) produced significantly greater scores in social studies achievement than did low-cognitive level questions (knowledge)." However, the use of higher-cognitive level questions
failed to produce significant differences either on knowledge, comprehension, application, analysis, or synthesis scores. Thus, critical thinking ability was not positively affected by practice with higher-level questions. The overall conclusion, as stated by Hunkins in his summary, follows:

Pupils' use of analysis and evaluation questions in texttype materials did not produce significant differences in critical thinking when compared to their use of knowledge questions in texttype materials. In his discussion, Hunkins offers several possible reasons for the failure of higher-level questions to produce greater critical-thinking ability. It could have been due to inadequacy of the measuring instrument, to the lack of class discussion, to the students' prior inexperience with higher-level questions; Hunkins concludes, however, that it was probably due to the fact that critical thinking is an ability that cannot be taught, but only improved. He concludes also, in keeping with the idea of a thinking hierarchy, that

Encouragement for the use of high-level questions is obtained from the fact that Treatment A pupils did significantly better than pupils in Treatment B with regard to the evaluation subtest. This result has many ramifications for, according to the Taxonomy, evaluation subsumes the categories of synthesis, analysis, application, comprehension, and knowledge.

Buggey followed up on Hunkins' work with second-grade children. She avoided the possible interference of reading proficiency by having the materials presented visually, and extended the treatment time to six weeks. There were three groups of children; one group received questions using 70% knowledge-level and 30% higher-level operations; another group received 30% knowledge- and 70% higher-level questions; a third group received a placebo treatment. Buggey found the
variable of level of questions to be significant in relation to social studies achievement. 92

Tyler also worked with second-grade students in an experiment similar to Buggey's. There were three groups, two of which were given questions and the third, regular classroom instruction. The experimental treatment involved having one group respond to questions read to them by the teacher, the other to read the questions for themselves prior to responding. The results of this study also indicated that "Children instructed with predominantly higher-level questions performed at significantly higher levels regardless of method of question presentation than did children receiving regular classroom instruction." 93

A third study conducted in second-grade classrooms was made by Measel and Mood, who gathered data in fifteen classrooms. They determined that there was a significant relationship between modes of teacher influence and use of cognitive levels, as well as between levels of teacher cognition and that of the pupils; this was true for pupil response categories but not for pupil initiation categories. 94

Ryan conducted an experiment with three groups of fifth- and sixth-grade social studies students. "Posttest and retention results indicated a superiority of high question and low question over control on low level understandings \( p < .05 \) and a superiority of high questions over control on high level understandings \( p < .05 \)." 95 He concludes that high level questions are more efficient than low level questions for moving students toward low and high level understandings. 96
In somewhat the same vein is the study by Miller, who investigated differential effects of directive and responsive teaching on pupil behavior. His sample included seventh and eighth grade pupils, to whom lessons in American economics were given. His discovery was that responsive teaching is more effective than directive methods; both the attitudes and the achievement of pupils taught the former way are higher.\cite{Miller97}

Yost worked with seventh-grade science students, dividing his treatment groups according to type of instruction. Four groups completed programmed instruction on Newtonian mechanics and one served as a control. Three of the four treatment groups were given materials interspersed with questions of a different level of complexity for each; the fourth group was given a paragraph to read instead of the questions. Results showed that the groups given instruction achieved higher scores than the control group; furthermore, that the groups given questions had higher scores than the group with the paragraph; finally, "there was a significant (p < .01) positive trend that described the amount of change in achievement (relevant and incidental) per unit change of question complexity."\cite{Yost98}

In another experiment with science students and teachers, Ladd and Anderson analyzed teachers' questions according to their high or low level of inquiry. They determined that teachers who ask more high-inquiry questions cause a greater change in students as measured by achievement. F values of this experiment were significant at the .001 level.\cite{Ladd99}
Boone did a study on the effect of higher level questions on reading comprehension. Group A was given high-level questions after the stories; group B was given knowledge questions; group C received no questions. Results of the test showed that a significant mean difference existed at the .01 level between Treatment Group A, which received the high-level question treatment, and control Treatment Group C, which was given the no-question treatment. There seems to have been no significant difference, however, between Treatment Groups A and B.\textsuperscript{100}

Gallagher et al. investigated the productive thinking of gifted children at the junior and senior high school level in ten different classrooms. They found that regardless of the subject matter, certain types of questions were most prevalent; more than fifty percent of questions asked in a class session were cognitive-memory; the second-most popular type was convergent thinking, with a much smaller percentage of divergent and evaluative thinking.\textsuperscript{101} Their important conclusion follows:

Expressive behavior in the classroom in both kind and amount of thought output seemed dependent on the teacher's style of question-asking, the sex of the student, the goals of the teacher in a given lesson, the composition of the class group, and the pattern of attitudinal and personality characteristics of the student.\textsuperscript{102}

Another study on gifted children was conducted by Martinson and Wiener. They instructed teachers in higher cognitive questioning and found a significant improvement in open responses by students who were given more application, generalization, and synthesis questions by their teachers.\textsuperscript{103}
The remaining studies give negative, or at least noncommittal, results as to the relationship between higher cognitive questioning and behavior. Rogers and Davis found in their experiment with elementary social studies students and student teachers that while teachers' questioning behavior improved, the 'relationship of teachers' behaviors to pupil outcomes is not at all clear. Especially is this evident with regard to classroom questioning practices.\(^{104}\)

Allen tested the effects of advance organizers and level of questions on the learning and retention of written social studies material. His results were different from those which had been predicted. He found that 'memory question groups did better on memory learning subtests than higher order question groups, and these groups did better than memory question groups on higher order learning subtests.'\(^{105}\) There was no evidence to support the contention of some that higher order questions would result in as good a retention of specific factual information as memory questions.\(^{106}\)

A study by Quiring with sophomore nursing students, given differing levels of questions in an auto-tutorial approach, determined that neither high- nor low-level questions had a significant influence on cognitive achievement for the adult learner.\(^{107}\)

Perhaps there is more involved than the question, as Taba and Elzey affirm:

The level of thinking attained is influenced not only by the nature of the single act by a teacher just preceding a given response. The level of thought attained seems to be determined by the whole pattern of transactions: the particular combination of focusing, extending, and lifting; the timing of these acts; the length of time spent on a particular focus, such as exploring specific descriptive information before examining causes or attempting explanation; the
distance between the mental operations of the students at the moment from the level required by the teacher, and the points at which the teacher seeks information from students and gives it.\textsuperscript{108}

Rosenshine also comments in the same vein that the ends a teacher seeks are more significant than the means, i.e., a particular teaching behavior. He quotes studies which indicate that the most successful teachers are not those who chose a certain behavior; they may rather be "selecting certain behaviors and avoiding others in order to achieve particular cognitive ends."\textsuperscript{109} Thus, questioning behavior must be considered as one means to attain a specific cognitive end—thinking on the part of students. Process approaches to teaching, which will be considered in the next section, are particularly concerned with the stages of thinking through which a learner passes in order to acquire knowledge.

D. Process Approaches to Teaching

A common requisite of these methods is involvement of the learner in the thinking process. As Bartlett defines it, "Thinking... is not simply the description, either by perception or by recall, of something which is there, it is the use of information about something present, to get somewhere else."\textsuperscript{110} Dewey outlines five steps in reflection: perceiving a difficulty, finding and defining it, suggesting a possible solution, developing the ramifications of the suggestion, and observing further to decide on the acceptance or rejection of the suggestion.\textsuperscript{111} This educator emphasizes the "forked-road" aspect of it, which requires the thinker to become involved.\textsuperscript{112} In her article
on using questions to trigger thinking, Aschner also points out that reasoning means reaching; not retrieving an answer.\textsuperscript{113}

In many process approaches to teaching, questions are used as a technique to evoke thought. Taba, for example, who makes a basic distinction between process and content learning, implies that the levels of thinking attained by a class are determined by that of the questions asked by the teacher.\textsuperscript{114} The objectives of her curriculum are four: basic knowledge; thinking; attitudes, feelings, and sensitivities, and academic and social skills. The knowledge domain consists of basic concepts, generalizations, and facts.\textsuperscript{115} Thinking likewise involves three levels:

a) Concept formation, or the ways in which students can interrelate and organize discrete bits of information to develop abstract concepts (e.g., the concepts of cultural change, of interdependence, and of standard of living)

b) Inductive development of generalizations, or the ways by which students interpret data and make inferences that go beyond what is given directly in the data.

c) Application of principles, or the ways in which students use acquired knowledge—facts and generalizations—to explain new phenomena, to make predictions, and to formulate hypotheses.\textsuperscript{116}

(Discussion of the other objectives is omitted because, while basic to Taba's scheme, they are not relevant to the purposes of this study.) Both the planning of content and the planning of learning experiences are essential to the development of an adequate curriculum.\textsuperscript{117}

In her theoretical discussion of content, Taba delineates concepts, main ideas, and specific content in that order; but in the classroom students start with specific instances and then develop the main idea.\textsuperscript{118} As students learn content, they should also increase their thinking capacity.\textsuperscript{119} Two kinds of learning experiences are essential:
"(1) learning experiences which represent the intake of new information and the assimilation of that information into existing concepts and (2) learning experiences which require students to reorganize what has been learned already and to express it in a new way." The hoped-for outcome of this approach is a more independently-thinking learner. A sample of how process and content are combined in Taba-created learning experiences is reproduced in Appendix B.

The role that thinking plays in a process approach to teaching is also well-defined in a latter edition of Taba's 1967 handbook:

1. Thinking involves an active transaction between an individual and the data with which he is working. Data become meaningful only when an individual performs certain cognitive operations upon such data.
2. The ability to think cannot be "given" by teachers to students. Effective thinking depends on the richness of content, the processes used, and the initial assistance provided in the development of such processes.
3. All school children are capable of thinking at abstract levels, though the quality of individual thinking differs markedly.
4. All subjects offer an appropriate context for thinking.
5. Precise teaching strategies can be developed which will encourage and improve student thinking.

Also reiterated is the crucial role played by questions in such an approach: "In a curriculum which places considerable emphasis on the quality of the process that students use in constructing generalizations and inferences, questions play a key role." In another study concerning thinking in elementary school children Taba et al. focus on the development of thought, stressing its sequential order (concrete before abstract). It is essentially a process approach, providing for inductive development of concepts about concrete phenomena before having students make generalizations.
about them. As in Taba's previously-discussed work, thought is divided into three stages: concept formation, interpretation of data, and application of data. 124

Concept development is the basic cognitive task upon which all others are based. It consists in the processes of "the differentiation of the specific properties of objects or events," "grouping," and "labelizing or categorizing." 125 In the classroom, differentiation is usually elicited by an enumeration question; grouping is performed differently according to different bases; and labeling requires making decisions about what to put under a particular category. 126 Interpreting data requires the student to assemble concrete information, explain or give reasons for certain events, relate different points of information, or formulate a generalization or an inference. 127 In the third cognitive task two operations are involved: predicting, and establishing the parameters by which the prediction's validity is verified. This third category permits much more divergence than either of the others. 128 Its chief importance lies in its value for transfer of knowledge.

Taba's biggest pedagogical innovation is probably the teaching strategy of cognitive maps. These must be two in number in order for the teaching to be adequate: a map of the process and one of the content. 129 The relative importance of "giving" content versus eliciting seeking on the part of the students is well-stated as follows:

Consideration of the importance of autonomy in cognitive processes and of the "action" principle of developing cognitive structure suggest that distinguishing what a teacher needs to give and what he needs to seek is one important facet of
teaching strategies. If the development of autonomy in thinking is an important objective, the "seeking" functions of teaching assume greater importance than those of giving. For students to develop their conceptual structures by their own efforts and to master the methodology of doing so, the usual teacher's role must be reversed. Instead of being a fount of information he needs to become an adroit guide of the learning process.\textsuperscript{130}

The way to guide students is through questions. "The role of questions becomes critical and the way of asking questions far the more influential teaching act."\textsuperscript{131} Questions can have various functions, according to Taba. They can be used to accommodate individual differences in perception and to create "stepping stones" from one mode of thinking to another.\textsuperscript{132} Thus, questions must be used in the same sequence as the cognitive map.

In the particular practical study which these educators did with students, they found that by answering questions based on a double cognitive map, students became better able to differentiate data and make inferences.\textsuperscript{133} The study also showed that an adequate emphasis on concrete operations of thought is a necessary prerequisite to the ability to think formally.\textsuperscript{134}

The emphasis on process as opposed to content influenced also the work of Manson, who developed a process/knowledge matrix combining six categories of a process dimension: remembering, understanding, solving, analyzing, synthesizing, and judging, with three categories of the knowledge dimension: facts, concepts, and generalizations.\textsuperscript{135} Applied to geography, the result is a matrix which may be examined in Appendix B. Shrable and Minnis' scheme also emphasizes the process aspect,\textsuperscript{136} as does Fraenkel.\textsuperscript{137}
Educators at the Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory have written a program of development of higher level thinking abilities in which they emphasize the relationship of process to content: "Process cannot be effectively applied except as it operates on a body of subject matter." The structure of knowledge in this program includes factual data, concepts, and generalizations. The learning process related to this hierarchy of knowledge includes the recall of previously-acquired data; the translation or organization of specific data according to concepts; the interpretation and statement of relationships, generalizations, information, and principles; and the application of knowledge to new situations, so that the learner learns how to function independently. Their instructional model consists of three major cognitive tasks: concept diagnosis, interpretation of data, and applications of knowledge. Questions are used to help students attain the objectives in all three aspects.

Briefly stated, "the process is one of asking students to analyze specific information, combine elements and move to a higher level of abstraction, then combine those abstractions and move to still higher level abstractions." Learning experiences are not one-dimensional, but include knowledge, skills, attitudes, and cognitive processes. Concept diagnosis involves processes of listing, grouping, and labeling. Interpretation of data includes the processes of open-memory questions, focusing-memory questions, interpretation questions, and inclusive-interpretation questions. Processes associated with the application of knowledge are exploration, focusing and substantiation, interpretation, summarizing, the verification. A copy
of the model may be found in Appendix B. (Needless to say, these educators seem to owe a great debt to Taba.)

A most interesting volume on the development of initial cognitive skills has been published by the Institute for Staff Development in Miami, Florida. Although, like the other process approaches which have been discussed, it is not specifically a manual on question strategies, it provides a system for moving from the perceptual to the conceptual which should prove useful to those building models for question strategies and in fact, provides suggested questions in each category. Its categories include: observing, recalling, noticing differences, ordering, grouping, concept labeling, classifying, concept testing, inferring causes, inferring effects, inferring feelings, concluding, generalizing, questioning, anticipation, and making choices. These are organized in a hierarchy of units. Unit one focuses on attending, or attention-training skills, calling the attention of children to the diversity and complexity of that which surrounds them. Particularly relevant here is the statement on comparing and contrasting, where the authors explain the importance of a child's holding in his mind simultaneously, several bases for comparison. Unit two combines the skills developed in Unit one (observing, recalling, noticing differences and noticing similarities) with the child's past knowledge and judgments. Focusing on skills which are basic to the processes of clarification and conceptualization, this unit requires two kinds of questions: 'one to elicit responses which reflect the thinking skill and a second, usually a 'why do you think' question, to elicit
Unit three skills, concerned with the process of inference-making, require a higher cognitive level. Basically, the hierarchy suggested in both the Bloom taxonomy and the Guilford model is followed, but here the skills are very clearly broken down and defined. Relevant also are interesting distinctions made in content form between concrete, representational, and symbolic objects. The resulting table of mental processes paired with questions and content form is found in Appendix B.

E. Discovery Learning: Definition and Rationale

Process systems all seem to have inductive teaching as their theoretical base—that is, students are led to "discover" the facts, concepts, and generalizations that they learn. Bruner defines "discovery" as "a matter of rearranging or transforming evidence in such a way that one is enabled to go beyond the evidence so reassembled to additional new insights." Jones distinguishes between this method and that of Socrates. The latter forced students to come to certain conclusions through a series of ingenious questions, whereas discovery teaching is

...a teaching process through which a student is induced to feel (1) that he "sees" something—a mathematical fact or relationship—that he had not perceived previously, and (2) that this perception was not directly told, given, or displayed to him by another person.

Gagné seems to take discovery learning a step further in his discussion of enquiry, or problem-solving, through which a student "begins with a careful set of systematic observations, proceeds to design the measurements required, clearly distinguishes between what
is observed and what is inferred, invents interpretations which are under ideal circumstances brilliant leaps but always testable, and draws reasonable conclusions. He adds significantly, however, that a student must have met certain pre-requisites before he is able to engage in such productive thinking. These pre-requisites are: (1) the ability to apply generalizations to other situations; and (2) the ability to distinguish when hypotheses can be applied to new situations. In other words, the student must begin problem-solving with some knowledge of the principles according to which it can be accomplished, if he expects to be at all successful. "It is surely wrong to believe that the student can think without knowing these principles." Gagné asserts that knowledge of such principles cannot all be attained by the process of enquiry itself. Thus, problem-solving is a more sophisticated act of thinking than that involved in the actual acquisition of principles of generalizations, and, while discovery may be an essential method of instruction, it is not equivalent to enquiry:

The construction of a response by a learner, something that happens nearly every step of the way in the process of learning, is what usually has been called discovery. In contrast to this, enquiry is the terminal thinking process we want the student to be able to engage in, after he has taken all the necessary previous steps in learning.

The hypotheses a student is allowed to offer as solutions to problems should not be random, but plausible ones, based on some definite knowledge. Gagné's concern seems to be with some ultimate capability on the part of the student, one which he attains after acquiring the facts
and concepts he needs to support generalizations, Whether this be by
discovery, by guided teaching, by practice, by drill, or by review. Thus, discovery learning and enquiry are not the same. Ausubel, on the
other hand, seems to equate problem-solving with discovery learning:

Overemphasis on developing problem-solving ability would ultimately defeat its own ends. It would leave students with insufficient time in which to learn the content of a discipline; and hence, despite their adeptness at problem-solving, they would be unable to solve simple problems involving the application of such content.

In another article, Ausubel's diatribe against discovery learning becomes even more vehement. He reports on results of students subjected to the discovery method in science:

[They] learned precious little subject matter and even less scientific method from the procedure. The unsophisticated scientific mind is only confused by the natural complexities of raw, unsystematized empirical data, and learns much more from schematic models and diagrams; and following lab manuals in cookbook fashion, without adequate knowledge of the relevant methodological and substantial principles involved, confers about as much genuine appreciation of scientific method as putting on a white "lab" coat and doing a TV commercial for Roll-Aids.

Ausubel does concede, however, that prior to adolescence, discovery may be justifiable for both cognitive and motivational factors and that furthermore, it has some justification for adults or adolescents who are relatively unsophisticated in a given discipline. Otherwise, however, given time limitations of school programs, discovery learning is not an efficient method of instruction, according to Ausubel. Nor does it "necessarily lead to more orderly, integrative and viable organization, transformation, and use of knowledge." The following statement explains the conditions under which discovery learning is justified; it is quoted because of its relevance to this approach:
The discovery method can be used most effectively when the learner is in the concrete stage of logical operations and is dependent both on concrete-empirical props and on a preliminary phase of intuitive, subverbal insight for the learning of complex abstractions. It can also be advantageously employed in the early stages of teaching older individuals a difficult new discipline in which they are as yet very unsophisticated.  

The writings of a number of social studies educators have been concerned with the discovery method and enquiry. In perusing them, the distinction made by Gagné between discovery of facts, concepts, and generalizations as a method of instruction (that advocated by Taba, among others) and problem-solving implicit in the enquiry approach will be remembered.

Sanders equates discovery with inquiry but distinguishes them from inductive teaching. In pure discovery the teacher provides little guidance, whereas in directed discovery, exposition is combined with discovery. The latter method, however, includes other thinking processes besides the inductive, that is, "classifying and organizing data, making comparisons, drawing inferences, drawing inductive conclusions, and making value judgments."

Ryan also distinguishes between discovery, inductive, and deductive teaching. One premise of inductive teaching, through which the learner "proceeds from a group of specific understandings toward the development of a more general understanding," is that students become involved in generating and analyzing data; like an anthropologist, for example, the student can become a participant-observer and describe

...the behavior of various members of the family at the dinner table (where do people sit? what is eaten? who talks the most? what are some of the topics discussed? at what time of
Ryan suggests that we should begin to publish textbooks which pose continual questions rather than offer findings, which serve as data sources or data banks. In a later publication, Ryan and Ellis reiterate the usefulness of the inquiry technique for teaching the concept of enculturation.

Ryan's plea for "data banks" seems to have been answered at least partially by Joyce and Joyce. Using Murdock's categories (Murdock developed a system for cultural analysis which will be discussed in Chapter III) and information about the Pueblo and a New England community, these authors produced data banks which students consulted to answer questions of an anthropological nature about the two cultures. One major finding was that while students were able to describe the culture adequately, their discussions were rather unconceptual in nature. It was suggested that ways of teaching them to organize their knowledge be explored, and that the question-stimulator is an effective device.

Another data-based method was written by authors of the Anthropology Curriculum Study Project. Their chief goal was to approach "knowing" as knowledge-makers do, using some of the raw data available to the latter. The method is inductive, and includes a phase entitled "Approaching the unfamiliar from familiar ground" as well as the expected steps involving student generation of speculations. In all, "emphasis is upon analysis of data for understanding, rather than upon the acquisition of information for its own sake." Students
are asked to contrast the data-based inferences they make about a particular society with those made earlier about a different society. In inquiry has also been discussed by Fenton, Massialas and Sprague, and Suchman. In addition to his work in teaching science at the elementary school level, the latter summarizes the results of various empirical studies which have tested the superiority of learning by discovery; he found that:

a) exploitation, manipulation, and mastery are intrinsically motivating;
b) a reinforcing sense of power and self-confidence comes from successful autonomous discovery, and
c) the strategy of data intake and processing has an important effect on the productivity and depth of discovery.

The work of Kersh was probably included in Suchman's assessment of this first assertion, since it tends to focus on the motivation aspect. Indeed, Kersh's work distinctly suggests that "the superiority of the discovery procedure may be better explained in terms of motivation than in terms of understanding." In an early experiment Kersh worked with a group of college students to determine whether the "adequacy of meaning" was a sufficient explanation for the superiority of learning by discovery. Through the results of a retention test that took place four weeks after the initial learning, as well as of the initial test, it was concluded that the trend of superior scores by the "learning-by-discovery" group was due more to this group's continuing the learning process after the initial period, than to the superiority of the meaningfulness of the learning of this group. A subsequent experiment with high school students supported these initial results. Three groups were taught two rules of addition with a programmed booklet. Then one group was given some help in
discovering the explanation; a second group was taught the explanation in a programed booklet, and the third group was given no further instruction. The conclusion was as follows:

The contrasting directed treatment groups were superior in learning rate and immediate recall, but the "no help" group was superior in terms of retention and transfer after a period of approximately one month of the learning period. No evidence was produced to indicate that the no-help group understood the rule better. Instead, an explanation was offered in terms of practice. On the basis of a subjective analysis of the subject's comments written on the retests and reported to the experimenter, it was concluded that the learners were motivated to continue the learning process or to continue practicing the task after the formal learning period. 

Thus, it seems to be not necessarily true that the actual method of learning by discovery is superior to learning by other means; only insofar as it may be more motivating can it be considered to have certain advantages, at least according to this report.

One empirical study corroborated the motivational results of discussion. Wheeler and Ryan investigated the effects of cooperative and competitive classroom environments on the attitudes and achievement of elementary school children in the area of social studies. Two groups worked with the same content, but one worked in groups, the other independently. The cooperative group liked social studies more, but did not score significantly higher in achievement, although both cooperative and competitive groups scored higher than the control group.

Other empirical findings seem to indicate that benefits other than the purely motivational can accrue from using an inquiry approach. These are the results of Sprague (teachers tend to ask more questions and use student ideas more in inquiry classes), Scott (elementary
classes taught conventionally were more bound by manifest attributes than the classes subjected to the inquiry method), Elsmere (his inquiry group was superior to the conventionally-taught control group both in the learning and retention of historical facts and in that of problem-solving abilities), and Butts (he found a similar problem-solving result to that of Elsmere).

Needless to say, inductive versus deductive teaching presents a controversial issue, since the merits of each have not totally been resolved. Dewey long ago emphasized their correlative importance, however: "A complete act of thought involves both inductive and deductive reasoning," and

Systematic regulation of Induction depends upon the possession of a body of general principles that may be applied deductively to the examination of construction of particular cases as they come up.

Hunt and Metcalf, furthermore, distinguish between inductive and reflective teaching. The latter has both inductive and deductive elements. It is perhaps in this vein that exploration needs to be undertaken. In this study, the approach is largely inductive, yet deductive elements enter in when, for example, the teacher states a generalization and requires students to analyze it.

More about the application of this theoretical basis will be found in Chapter IV, where teachers will be shown how to make questions work effectively for them as a technique according to a system of question strategies. They will learn how to elicit student thought by questions of varying levels, including those of the higher-cognitive variety. Finally, a method incorporating this technique with cross-cultural content and based on process approaches to
teaching and discovery learning will be outlined. Thus, this review of literature will serve as background for understanding the technique and method of the approach. It would not be complete, however, without a section on questions in the foreign language classroom. These studies are grouped in an "Addendum" because of their miscellaneous nature.
ADDENDUM

There are few articles on questions which have been written with foreign language educators in mind. These few are included here, not because they have a bearing on this study, for the relevance of most of them is only minimal; but to indicate how much work in this area needs to be done by foreign language teachers.

All four of the articles are basically concerned with the obvious problem of content versus coding: students may have ideas but be inadequately prepared linguistically to express them. Hornsey proposes "Mr. Best's ladder" to help the teacher control the difficulty of the questions, so that linguistically the answers are not too demanding of the students. Kirch reiterates the importance of not asking a student a question for which he does not have the linguistic preparation; he lists a "key-word" order for question difficulty: alternative or echo type, yes-no, who, what, when, where, how, and why.

Harrell discusses the question in foreign-language teaching, again primarily from the linguistic point of view. Her article differs from the previous two in its clear emphasis on the question in real communication. A topic of discussion should provide focus for questions of a general, specific, and individual nature, the latter applying to the individual. Some of the functions of questions are
"to orient, involve, pace, pinpoint, dramatize, and individualize." When a student begins to read, questions may become not only justified for their elicitation of pattern practice, but also for their content, both as regards the text and personal application of the text to the learner. The usefulness of the question becomes even more pronounced with advanced language classes, where students are given the opportunity for self-expression and self-development through questions.

In the last of the articles, Hurman discusses the oral exploitation of a text. He makes an interesting distinction between the difficulty inherent in this exercise and that of an ordinary conversational one. In the latter, there is one input (the listener) and one output (the speaker). But in discussing a text there are two inputs (the text and the question), and the output (the pupil) acts as a catalyst between the two. The pupil does not control either the text or the question, but must control the semantic content of the response. He is active in the response, where he had been passive in receiving the information contained in the text and the question. Since this step may be difficult, the teacher should facilitate the expression as much as possible, progressing from "purely derivative language" to "the use of spontaneous language in the expression of the speaker's own ideas." Questions which require the student to give implicit information are by their nature more difficult than those which demand explicit information given in the text. Hurman also proposes a category system based on hierarchy of difficulty and on which questions could be based.
Murphy has written a dissertation in the area of the contributions of social studies methodology to foreign language teaching. He suggests that a taxonomy of questions be created especially for foreign language education. He seems to imply that the linguistic items which are taught should be selected as they are needed for critical thinking and the discovery of sociocultural knowledge. He urges that greater use of questions be made in the foreign language classroom. His own suggested hierarchy is based on Bloom's taxonomy; however, he omits illustration of questions specifically in the higher-level categories because of their linguistic difficulty. He concludes as follows:

What is clearly needed in the immediate future is an extensive commitment of funds to the development of concrete sociocultural materials recorded in the foreign country in specific life situations and organized around basic sociocultural concepts or analytical questions.

This challenge is hereby accepted. However, the emphasis will not be on the development of new realia, but rather on better use of already-available photographs, cultural artifacts, etc. The real need is for improved ways of working with realia so that foreign language students become truly aware of cultural patterns. The concept of "pattern" and of the literature which has appeared concerning the teaching of this concept in the foreign language classroom will be treated in Chapter III.
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CHAPTER III

CULTURE: A POINT OF VIEW

Introductory Statement

The theoretical basis for the author's technique and method of teaching culture in the foreign language classroom has been discussed in Chapter II. This chapter is intended to explain the theory behind the approach to content. It will include sections on the anthropological literature which deals with the definition of culture, pattern, the interrelationship of patterns, and cross-cultural comparison; on the literature in foreign language education which is relevant to this approach; and on systems or models for analyzing culture. Thus, to some extent, the chapter contains an additional review of literature. Yet it is a selective review, emphasizing functionalist theory, which seeks to explain culture in its observable aspects as opposed to its underlying themes or values. This chapter will in fact furnish a structure of knowledge on which the pedagogical application of the approach is based.

A. Anthropological Literature.

1. Culture as Macrocosm: the Whole

Fundamental to the anthropological approach to culture seem to be elements of organization, pattern, learning, behavior, and artifacts. These elements are echoed in numerous definitions of culture given by
anthropologists. Benedict, for example, calls culture "a more or less consistent pattern of thought and action." The classic definition is that of Kroeber and Kluckhohn:

Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other as conditioning elements of further action.2

According to both of these definitions, culture has concrete and abstract aspects. In another publication Kluckhohn is even more explicit about the abstract nature of culture: "Culture is like a map... A culture is an abstract description of trends toward uniformity in the words, deeds, and artifacts of a human group."3 White criticizes Kroeber and Kluckhohn for the abstractness of their point of view and warns of the danger of emphasizing concepts which exist only in the mind of the anthropologist and which exclude the external world. To do so lessens the scientific authenticity of anthropology. White predicts that "anthropology will again revert to defining culture in terms of concrete, objective, observable things and events in the external world."4 In this vein, he also questions the vague nature of Kroeber and Kluckhohn's definition of value, and practically excludes it from the anthropologist's consideration: "Value has been so identified through usage with the subjective and the imponderable that we doubt if it can--or will--ever be usable as a scientific term."5 This is perhaps an extreme position, but in view of the excesses committed in the realm of stereotypes, it is a refreshing point of view, and,
Although values will not be omitted entirely from this study's concerns, all generalizations will be based on the observable.

Among social anthropological theorists, some advocate the study of society as systems of action, and others explain it as systems of meaning. In its emphasis on the concrete, the former interpretation would seem to echo White's position. In fact, a whole school of thought in anthropology takes the action approach, seeking to define how social phenomena operate functionally, as opposed to how they originated historically. The chief proponents of functionalism have been Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown. Both belong to the British school of social anthropology, whose approach, Eggan says, needs to be adopted, but they manifest somewhat different emphases nevertheless.

Malinowski begins with basic human needs, postulating that culture exists to satisfy them:

Man has, first and foremost, to satisfy all the needs of his organism. He has to create arrangements and carry out activities for feeding, heating, housing, clothing, or protection against external enemies and dangers, physical and animal, or human.

Thus, function is defined as "the satisfaction of an organic impulse by the appropriate act," and need is "the system of conditions in the human organism, in the cultural setting, and in the relation of both to the natural environment, which are sufficient and necessary for the survival of group and organism." From the satisfaction of these needs derive new cultural needs, which impose upon man and society a different type of determinism. Beattie criticizes Malinowski's exclusive preoccupation with individual needs, for, according to him and
others, it is the way in which men work together to satisfy these needs that gives them their cultural significance.\textsuperscript{12}

Radcliffe-Brown, himself considerably influenced by Durkheim, has had probably more influence than Malinowski on the actual method of anthropologists in recent years. Both he and Durkheim emphasize the \textit{concrete} nature of anthropological study. Durkheim states very clearly, "La première règle et la plus fondamentale est de considérer les faits sociaux comme des choses."\textsuperscript{13} ("The first and most fundamental rule is to view social acts as things.") The method, like that of the natural sciences, is inductive.\textsuperscript{14} In fact, Radcliffe-Brown defines social anthropology as "the purely inductive study of the phenomena of culture, aiming at the discovery of general laws, and adapting to its special subject matter the ordinary logical methods of the natural sciences."\textsuperscript{15} Like White, these two anthropologists seem opposed, therefore, to starting with consideration of values.

\begin{quote}
Traiter des phénomènes comme des choses, c'est les traiter en qualité de \textit{data} qui constituent le point de départ de la science. . . . Ce qui nous est donné, ce n'est pas l'idée que les hommes se font de la valeur, car elle est inaccessible: ce sont les valeurs qui s'échangent réellement au cours des relations économiques.\textsuperscript{16}
\end{quote}

(To treat phenomena as things is to treat them as data which constitute the point of departure of science. . . . What is given to us is not the idea that men have of value, because this is inaccessible: it is the values which are exchanged in reality in the course of economic interaction.)

Durkheim insists on the role of the senses in the discovery and description of phenomena, a role in which the mind must remain free of all preconceived notions.\textsuperscript{17}
Emmet makes this comment: "The functional approach . . . is likely to appeal to the sociologist, since it enables him to study activities in terms of their observable consequences, rather than in terms of their presumed purposes." Though there is a certain causality implied in the use of the term function, this causality is not meant to explain why a particular behavioral phenomenon exists; such an explanation would be historical. Instead, it is viewed teleologically insofar as it concentrates on the contribution this phenomenon makes to the maintenance of the system. It is not necessary that the participants of a culture be aware of this causal nature of their activities.

Functionalism sometimes has the adjective "structural" prefixed to it. This seems to be due to the recurring nature or patterning of the phenomena under study. Levy explains that, depending on one's point of view, the same empirical phenomenon may be considered either a structure or a function. "A functional requisite . . . is a generalized condition necessary for the maintenance of the unit with which it is associated." Also, "a structural requisite . . . is a pattern (or observable uniformity) of action (or operation) necessary for the continued existence of the unit with which it is associated." Parsons also associates structure with patterning, and function with the dynamic aspect of culture. Beattie explains the difference as follows:

When we speak of function we refer to the causal implications of certain kinds of events for other kinds of events considered as systems. When we speak of structure we are attending to the formal, enduring aspects of whatever it is that is said to have a structure. So structure is a much wider concept than function.
In an encyclopedia article, Levy defines structural-functional analysis as the answer to three empirical questions: (1) What observable patterns (structures) are there in the phenomena being studied? (2) What functions have been performed as a result of these structures? and (3) What functions are observable in terms of a given structure? This distinction between structure and function parallels that between pattern and concrete manifestations of it. As such, it is an appropriate transition to the following discussion on the elements of culture.

2. Culture as Microcosm: the Parts

The array of terms used to describe these parts is extensive and can be somewhat confusing. The division which has been accepted most widely is perhaps that of Linton, who defines culture elements as "the distinguishable internally coherent responses or groups of closely interrelated responses which make up a culture." These culture elements, according to Linton, have four aspects:

- form: "the sum and arrangement of the component behavior patterns of a trait complex";
- meaning: "the associations which any society attaches to a trait complex";
- use: "the expression of its relationship to things external to the social-cultural configuration"; and
- function: "the expression of its relation to things within that configuration." Form and meaning are the passive qualities of a trait complex, use and function its dynamic ones. ("Culture elements" seem to be equated with "trait complexes.") "The trait complex is presented to the society
as a definite entity which is incorporated into the configuration by the attachment to it of use, meaning, and function.\textsuperscript{29} The trait complex is in turn composed of traits: "the individual acts and objects which constitute the overt expression of a culture."\textsuperscript{30} Whiting as well specifies that a culture trait includes both material and behavioral events.\textsuperscript{31}

Two further observations should be made with reference to the components of culture. The first has to do with the relationship between complexes and needs, for, as the functionalists maintain, culture complexes exist to satisfy needs. Linton makes an important statement in this regard:

Clear-cut, one-to-one relationships between needs and complexes are extremely rare. In nearly all cases, it is evident that a particular complex contributes toward the meeting of several needs, while each need is met, at least in part, by several different complexes.\textsuperscript{32}

This statement gives a first glimpse of the interrelationship of complexes, which will be examined under the rubric of patterns.

The other observation concerns expansion of the concept of function. Merton distinguishes between manifest and latent functions: "the first referring to those objective consequences for a specified unit (person, subgroup, social or cultural system), which contribute to its adjustment or adaptation and were so intended; the second referring to unintended and unrecognized consequences of the same order."\textsuperscript{33} Closely connected with and derived from meaning,\textsuperscript{34} both types of function help to explain meaning. One might even equate manifest functions with explicit culture, and latent functions with implicit culture.\textsuperscript{35} There is also a parallel to be drawn with
Goodenough's phenomenal and ideational behavior. All of these anthropologists would seem to agree that the observable must be analyzed if it is to be understood completely.

In contrast with the systems which emphasize the observable are those which seek to explain culture through its themes or values. Chief proponents of these aspects of culture are Opler and Parsons. Application of their theory to foreign language education has been made by Nostrand. The reader is referred to the latter's work for further clarification. At any rate, this approach interprets culture first as systems-of-meaning. Here, the action approach is advocated and will be implemented in the classroom.

Trait complexes do not exist in isolation. In fact, as Gillin states, "In all cultures certain traits and other aspects are functionally linked together in such a way that the absence of one element may well render inoperative the other elements linked to it." Furthermore, it is in the patterning of these trait complexes that humans are able to predict each other's behavior and interact automatically. As Hall puts it, "Man is programmed by culture. If he weren't, he could not talk or interact at all."

Wissler makes this distinction between trait complex and pattern: "If we should liken trait complexes to building materials, then the plan of the house to be built of them would correspond to the pattern of a culture." In other words, trait complexes seem to be the concrete manifestation of the abstraction which anthropologists call pattern. Gillin echoes this dichotomy in his distinction between the activity aspect (the learning and performance of customs) and the
patterning aspect (the way customs and patterns are constructed and connected together). White would perhaps equate trait complexes with the activity aspect or concrete manifestation, and the pattern with the concept that exists in the anthropologist's mind. In the view of the author, both are necessary components of a view of culture, since trait complexes achieve their significance only through the repetitive nature that pattern provides.

A word might be added on the process of conceptualization which one makes of a pattern, for, obviously, in their performance, some idiosyncratic differences will enter in. Kroeber and Kluckhohn explain this problem very clearly:

The problem of pattern is the problem of symmetry, of constancies of form irrespective of wide variations in concrete details of actualization. So far as biological and physical possibilities are concerned, a given act can be carried out, an idea stated, or a specific artifact made in a number of different ways. However, in all societies, the same mode of disposing of many situations is repeated over and over. There is, as it were, an inhibition alike of the randomness of trial and error behavior, and of responses that are merely functional. A determinate organization prevails.

In this vein, Wallace asserts, somewhat surprisingly, that it is not necessary for every participant in a stable socio-cultural system to have the same "map" of the system. Many a social subsystem simply will not 'work' if all participants share common knowledge of the system. It would seem therefore that cognitive non-conformity may be a functional desideratum of society. (... For cognitive nonuniformity subserves two important functions: (1) it permits a more complex system to arise than most, or any, of its participants can comprehend; (2) it liberates the participants in a system from the heavy burden of learning and knowing each other's motivations and cognitions.
This is an interesting viewpoint, but certainly, participants in a culture must have some common ground of meaning, even if, in fact, this ground is probably broadening all the time. Commenting on the changing cultural patterns of the United States, Oswalt observes that it is now less easy to distinguish patterns. "It is not so much that each individual follows a unique course, sharing little with anyone else, but rather that the variety of acceptable alternatives makes patterns so gross as to negate much of their identity and their pertinence." As will be seen, this is a phenomenon which seems to be taking place not only intra-, but also cross-culturally, as the boundaries of difference between patterns are slowly (or not so slowly!) being erased.

The notion of patterns includes not only the internal patterning of one particular trait complex, with its form, meaning, use, and function, which, through repetition, is understood by participants in a specific way; it includes also the interrelationship or coordination of cultural systems. In fact, it derives its full significance from this interrelationship, forming a "web" of culture, Kluckhohn's "blue-print."

Various anthropologists have discussed and illustrated this idea of the interrelationship of patterns. Perhaps the earliest description is that of Wissler, who explains precisely, if somewhat at length:

The Ojibway Indians... were observed to use wild rice for food and this was correctly set down as a trait of their culture. Yet, each member of the tribe did not snatch his rice food directly from the plant as do the birds, but received it as the end of a cycle of activities in which he, as an individual, played a varying part. Thus, though the plant is wild, some care was given the plots where it grew; later, the plants
were tied in bunches to discourage rice-eating birds, then the rice was gathered, cured, hulled, winnowed, stored, cooked, and eaten. Incidentally, some of it was exchanged and some given away. The many processes involved required techniques of various complexities and special appliances. But that is not all, for intimately bound up in the whole are property rights, labor obligations, etiquette, methods of keeping time, and a number of special religious observances, prohibitions, and taboos. It is thus plain that if we arrive at an adequate notion of the wild rice trait, we must see it as a complex of many processes, all of which bear a functional relation to the end to be achieved.50

Wissler further explains that each trait-complex has a continuous distribution radiating from a center, and that trait-complexes tend to adhere, "suggesting that they are linked in some way."51 (What Wissler calls "trait complex" will be called web, or interrelationship of pattern, in this study, since the term "trait complex" has already been used to refer to the concrete manifestation of a particular pattern.)

Wissler mentions the connection with functionalism long before Malinowski wrote his theoretical interpretation of culture, and indeed the latter seems to echo the former's words. After all, as Radcliffe-Brown remarks, "The functional method of interpretation rests on the assumption that a culture is an integrated system."52 Thus, Malinowski says very clearly,

The functionalist...would insist that in describing a fork or spoon we must also supply the information on how they are used, how they are related to table manners, to convivialism, to the nature of cooked viands and dishes, and to the layout of such apparatus of commensalism as tables, plates, tablecloths, and napkins.53

Firth says elsewhere that "A good way of . . . impressing upon [elementary students] the conception of the interrelatedness of institutional elements is to take a simple material object . . . and
dissect out for them the complexity of social relationships, of an
economic, political, and ritual order, involved in its manufacture,
technical use, and display.⁵⁶

Emmet shows how functionalism explains society as a unified
whole, within which the institutions contribute to the maintenance of
unity by their separate functions. "[The] assumption of an ordered
context means that if we say that \( x \) has a function, we are in fact
saying more than that \( x \) has the consequence \( y \). It has the consequence
\( y \) within a system the efficiency or maintenance of which depends
(\textit{inter alia}) on \( y \)."⁵⁷ To sum up, as Bock says, "Every part of a cul-
ture is ultimately related to every other part."⁵⁸

Almost any pattern has an all-pervasive influence on the whole
of culture. Hall explains, for example:

There are those who say that the fact that the French school
system also follows a highly centralized pattern couldn't
possibly have any relationship to the layout of offices, subway
systems, road networks, and the entire nation, but I could not
agree with them.⁵⁹

Mead makes the following statement on interrelationship:

Careful analysis of the habits and practices of a people
shows that the traditional behavior practised between parents
and children for example, is systematically related to prac-
tices which obtain between employer and employee, audience
and speaker or actor, teacher and pupil, etc., and that the way
in which a dwelling house is perceived is related to the way in
which one's own body is perceived, with varying degrees of
specificity, elaboration, and intensity. This systematic or
patterned quality of culture is a function of the integrated
character of human beings.⁶⁰

It is evident that if culture is an interrelated set of pat-
tterns, changes in one pattern will automatically result in changes in
another.⁶¹ Honigmann reports an interesting study of a small village
in Austria, where dairy farming has been replaced by a cooperative
dairy, and in which the change proceeded as a whole.62

Various theories of cultural change have been offered. Parsons
imputes changes, whether they come from within or without the cultural
system, to a change in the value system.63 According to Goldschmidt,
on the other hand, change is due to technological evolution: "It is
technology that progresses, it is man's capacity to produce that
evolves."64 Goldschmidt lists five concomitants of technological
change:

1) It Increases the carrying capacity of the land; the popula-
tion increases and larger social aggregates are in constant
interaction;
2) Technological development...allows for increasing seden-
tariness;
3) Technological advancement increases the total goods avail-
able to the population;
4) Technological advancement fosters the division of labor and
the separation of economic and social functions;
5) Technological development enables man to have increased
amounts of social leisure, i.e., the opportunity to engage
in activities that do not in themselves satisfy the creature
needs of the population.65

It seems clear from Goldschmidt's description, whatever view one takes
of his stand on its origin, that change crosses and affects the path
of many patterns.

Foster maintains that cultures change by borrowing:

An overt form from one culture often is not perceived in
the same fashion by members of another, but is perceived in
such a way that it can be reinterpreted to conform to their
own patterns of meaning and yet retain essentially its
original function.67

Linton also has an explanation to offer of cross-cultural change:

One of the most important factors in connection with the
diffusion of cultural elements is that they transfer from one
society to another almost exclusively in terms of their form.
In other words, the borrowing society copies particular patterns of behavior as it apprehends them, usually without understanding their original culture context. The assignment of new meanings is one of the most important aspects of the integrative process. In this way, new elements can be made intelligible to the members of the receiving society and can be adjusted to its existing values.

These discussions serve to underline the previous description of the components of a trait complex and show how change can be analyzed according to how it influences each component. As Chapter IV will further clarify, Hall and Trager's description of the formal, informal, and technical aspects of culture provides further explanation of change from the point of view of components of culture. In sum, then, just as one must look at the components of a pattern or trait complex as well as the interrelationship of patterns in order to understand culture, so must one also proceed to understand culture change.

3. Cross-cultural Comparison

How are teachers to implement Rousseau's dictum that man must first come to know himself as other before he can really know himself? The method must lie in the domain of cross-cultural comparison: This is indeed the chief preoccupation of anthropologists: "L'anthropologie souligne d'abord l'importance de l'étude des ressemblances et des différences entre les groupes humaines." ("Anthropology emphasizes first of all the importance of the study of the similarities and differences of human groups.") For a cue to a method, the school of functionalism can be consulted. Paradoxically enough, according to Goldschmidt, Malinowski insisted that every culture be understood on its own terms, thereby making cross-cultural comparison an impossibility. Yet in his work Malinowski does state: "The functional
theory . . . claims to be the prerequisite for fieldwork and for the comparative analysis of phenomena in various cultures. It is capable of yielding a concrete analysis of culture into institutions and their aspects." Obviously, however, analysis of one culture by application to it of the patterns of another must be avoided. As Levy warns, "Comparative analysis is often frustrated by the fact that the implicit or explicit concepts used for similar purposes may have quite different referents in the case of work on different societies by different or even the same scholars." Whiting gives essentially the same caveat: "Actions which are formally identical may have quite different meanings in different societies. . . . [But] cross-cultural comparison requires equivalence in meaning rather than formal equivalence."

Since meaning derives from function, it is here that the point of departure must be taken. Ford offers a description of the frame of reference provided by functionalism:

[One] attempt to provide a frame of reference for comparative purposes utilizes the consequences of activities as the basic means of identification. This classification may be in terms of the immediate effects of behavior, as in satisfying a drive or motive or providing stimulation, but more usually it is in terms of long-range consequence, as in satisfying some basic need of a people. These long-range goals are in part derived from requirements for survival—the supplying of food and water, shelter, and the like—and correspond to such motivations as hunger, thirst, sex, fear, and anxiety. Additional requirements for group survival, such as control of aggression within the society, may be added to the list of such goals. In addition, it may be further assumed that beyond providing the bare essentials of existence, surviving societies have developed, some to a greater degree than others, ways of achieving what may be termed aesthetic, recreational, intellectual, and spiritual goals. Given these essential and other universal goals and needs, it is deemed possible to equate, for comparative purposes, much if not all of human activity. One may speak, for example, of social control,
educational, economic, procreational, political, religious, artistic and other activity systems, and compare these from one society to another.\textsuperscript{76}

Brislin et al. suggest one empirical method for getting inside two cultures for the purposes of comparison. That is to ask a set of questions relevant to both cultures, then some that are relevant only to each particular culture. The answers to the questions will yield the meaning of the construct that both cultures share, the idiosyncratic meaning of it in each culture, and a derived etic or point of comparison which "manifests those aspects that are common and specific to each culture as well as to their interrelation."\textsuperscript{77} His method parallels very closely that suggested by Berry, which because of its complete applicability to this study I quote in full:

1. Aspects of behavior may be compared only when functional equivalence of the behaviors can be demonstrated.
2. a) Existing descriptive categories and concepts can then be applied to these behaviour systems in a tentative way (imposed etic);
   b) these must then be modified to the extent that they become an adequate description from within the system (emic);
   c) shared categories can then be used to build up new categories valid for both systems (derived etic) and can be expanded (if desired) until they constitute a universal.
3. Instruments and techniques can then be devised, based upon the derived etic or universal, and satisfying the requirement of conceptual equivalences.\textsuperscript{78}

We propose to apply this method to the analysis of the webs which patterns create as microcosms of culture, as well as in examining the interrelationship of patterns as they weave together the macrocosm of the total culture. A discussion of the terms \textit{emic} and \textit{etic} will be the key to entry into authentic cross-cultural comparison.
It has been indicated that Malinowski emphasized the indispensability of describing the culture from a native's point of view. Goodenough reiterates the importance of the connection of emic and etic with function: "The emic entities in different cultures (and languages) that we equate with reference to an appropriate set of etic concepts ... are so equated by virtue of some kind of function." Triandis and Mâlpass suggest that both approaches, emic and etic, be used, whereas Sturtevant seems to stress the emic: "The nature of learning and of communication implies that a culture consists of shared classifications of phenomena, that not every etic difference is emic. But it should be emphasized that an emic analysis refers to one society, to a set of interacting individuals. Cross-cultural comparison involves the comparison of different emic systems."

The pioneer in the emic-etic distinction is Pike, who used the terms to define the difference in linguistics between phonemics and phonetics, but applied these distinctions as well to the description of cultural behavior. His study is significantly entitled: *Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior.* According to Pike, emic and etic standpoints are not a dichotomy, but must be used in complementary fashion if the picture of culture is to be complete—somewhat like focusing with different lenses simultaneously:

Through the etic "lens" the analyst views the data in tacit reference to a perspective oriented to all comparable events (whether sounds, ceremonies, activities), of all peoples, of all parts of the earth; through the other lens, the emic one, he views the same events, at the same time, in the same context, in reference to a perspective oriented to the particular function of those particular events in that particular culture, as it and
...Etic and emic data do not constitute a rigid dichotomy of bits of data, but often present the same data from two different points of view.°

The etic approach to cultural description entails an a priori set of categories which the investigator applies to a culture. Since he is interested in generalized statements about the data, he begins by classifying all comparable data from all the cultures in the world, into a single system, and then, working according to a set of criteria for classifying types of data, "studies, identifies, and describes" any new data from the culture under investigation in terms of this data.° The criteria may be selected by the investigator with or without reference to some known emic system, but they are applied without such reference. The units of behavior may be classified according to their physical characteristics only, or according to the elements of meaning or purpose contained in them.° The etic approach is thus prestructural "in that it is used specifically as a first approach toward reaching an analysis of the emic structure of that language or cultural system."°

In such cases, the analyst chooses from among various possible etic general classifications that one which experience leads him to believe will allow him in the early stages of his analysis to come as close as possible to an emic result with the least effort.

An emic investigation begins within the culture. "It is an attempt to discover and to describe the pattern of that particular language or culture in reference to the way in which the various elements of that culture are related to each other in the functioning of that particular pattern, rather than an attempt to describe them in..."
reference to a generalized classification derived in advance of the study of that particular culture. The emic approach is a structural one, in which it is assumed that human behavior is patterned. "The goal of the emic approach is to discover and describe that behavioral system with its structural units and structural classes of such units." (Could he be referring here to trait complexes or patterns and webs of culture?)

The etic approach is further qualified as "external" or "alien" since the investigator looks in, as it were, from the outside; the emic approach on the other hand is "internal" or "domestic" since the investigator works from within the system. The emic approach is by its nature more wholistic than the etic. The latter can be used to study one aspect of behavior in different cultures simultaneously without considering the whole of any one of them. "An emic approach...should never in theory be completely satisfied with the analysis of even the smallest bit of data from a language until the entire language--and the entire culture--has been analyzed, since the emic analysis of the part depends upon its relation to the whole." An etic approach can be satisfied with description of physical characteristics of an event, whereas an emic approach must also refer to its distributional characteristics. Etic criteria are more absolute than emic, which are relative to the culture.

Which approach is "better"? Both have value, which Pike describes in these paragraphs:

The etic approach to behavior is of especial value, first, in giving to a beginning student a broad training as to the kinds
of behavior occurring around the world, so that he may be the more prepared to recognize quickly the different kinds of events observed, and to help him see slight differences between similar events. Second, during this process he may obtain a technique and symbolism (...) for recording the events of a culture. Third, even the specialist, coming from one culture to a sharply different one, has no other way to begin its analysis than by starting with a rough, tentative (and inaccurate) etic description of it. No matter how skillful an emicist he may be, he can complete his emic description only after the analysis is complete--not before--and that analysis must be begun by recording data etically in terms of his prior experience (systematic training, or unclassified knowledge gained in terms of his own culture). Fourth, the analyst may not choose (...) to make a complete emic study of each local culture or dialect. (The italics are those of the author.)

The value of emic study is, first, that it leads to an understanding of the way in which a language or culture is constructed, not as a series of miscellaneous parts, but as a working whole. Second, it helps one to appreciate not only the culture or language as an ordered whole, but it helps one to understand the individual actors in such a life drama--their attitudes, motives, interests, responses, conflicts, and personality development. In addition, it provides the only basis upon which a predictive science of behavior can be expected to make some of its greatest progress, since even statistical predictive studies will in many instances ultimately prove invalid, except as they reflect samplings and classifications which are homogeneous.

Finally, while the classifications of an etic approach are created by an investigator, those of an emic approach are discovered by him. Pike describes a "wheels within wheels" emic analysis of behavior structure, according to his thesis that "human behavior must be analyzed as consisting of various simultaneous structurings of its activity." In this analysis, each emic unit consists of three modes: feature, manifestation, and distribution. These correspond somewhat to Linton's form, meaning, use, and function. It will perhaps be helpful, however, to review them here insofar as they might clarify Linton's terminology.
1. The feature mode of an emic unit of activity will in general be viewed as comprised of simultaneously occurring identificational-contrastive components with its internal segmentation analyzed with special reference to stimulus-response features (including purpose or lexical meaning, where relevant).

2. The manifestation mode of an emic unit of activity will often be viewed as comprised of nonsimultaneously occurring physical variants (or nonsimultaneous components), with its internal segmentation analyzed with special reference to the hierarchy of the mechanisms of its physical production.

3. The distribution mode of an emic unit of activity will be seen as comprised of relational components, including its class membership and its spot functions, with its internal segmentation analyzed in reference to its spot distribution (including reference to choice of emic alternatives, where relevant).97

It seems to this author that Pike's feature mode includes the common criterial attributes which make it possible to conceptualize Linton's "form," as well as some aspects of meaning insofar as these pertain to function. The manifestation mode seems to indicate the process, or déroulement of the event, not particularly exploited by Linton; the distribution mode has to do with meaning, use, and function.

It is through such analyses of particular microcosmic behavioral events or trait complexes that one can come to a valid description of the interrelationship of these events within the macrocosm of culture. "Wheels within wheels" will be derived both microcosmically and macrocosmically.

B. Literature: Foreign Language Education

In this section of the study, the foreign language education literature will be examined according to how it reflects the point of view of culture which was established in the first part of this chapter.
On the whole, foreign language educators seem to have accepted an anthropological definition of culture "with a small c." Allen and Valette, for example, define culture as "the behavioral patterns or life styles of a people." Brooks, one of the first to have adopted this approach to culture, calls it "the belief and behavior patterns of a language community--any community." He elaborates the idea as follows:

What is important in culture is what one is "expected" to think, believe, say, do, eat, wear, pay, endure, resent, honor, laugh at, fight for, and worship, in typical life situations, some as dramatic as a wedding, a court trial or a battlefield, others as mundane as the breakfast table or the playground or assembly line.

It is clear, as Nostrand notes, that "A verifiable statement about a small part of a foreign population, such as that people of the middle class within given regions, at a given point in time, behave thus and so, is far more valuable than the unverifiable, sweeping generalizations one usually hears." Authors of an Alameda County publication also discuss the relativity of cultural traits to social class and age. For the purposes of this study, however, it will be assumed that there are certain cultural patterns that are distinctively French, versus others that are typically American, regardless of "class," age, or economic background. A viable way for teaching these patterns needs to be found, a way which avoids the "sweeping generalizations" of which Nostrand speaks. Further refinement of patterns along class lines can be developed later.
Among foreign language educators, just as among anthropologists, there seem to be two theoretical approaches to culture: on the one hand, there are those who emphasize the action approach, such as that advocated by Malinowski and the functionalist school, and on the other, some foreign language educators seem to emphasize the approach of culture as systems of meaning. Chief proponent of the latter is Nostrand, whose succinct explanation of his point of view seems worthy of quoting:

Two areas in a sociocultural fabric prove especially rich in the sort of generalization that helps one to explain, interpret, and predict, within a wide range of behavior. These two areas in the value system of the culture, and its assumptions (many of them held unconsciously most of the time) concerning the nature of man, society, and the human situation.... Together, the two categories of values and assumptions make up the "ground of meaning": the habitual behavior patterns which very nearly determine what the bearer of the culture will perceive, how he will classify and structure his perceptions, and to a lesser but still significant extent, his thought processes and emotional reactions.... A culture's ground of meaning can be organized compactly under "main themes" of a culture at a given moment.103

Nostrand proceeds to outline a model based on the twelve themes of French culture. Ladu develops the Nostrand idea and applies it both to French and Hispanic culture.104 These theoretical interpretations are less appropriate to this study than those of the foreign language educators who emphasize an action approach. Their work will now be examined, among that of others, as it applies to the components of culture.

Lado's explanation of form, meaning, and distribution parallels with some difference the delineation by Linton of form, meaning, use, and function. Lado admits that each act of behavior in a culture is unique, and while actually made up of differing elements, is recognized
by persons partaking of the culture as essentially the same acts of behavior. For example, breakfast in the United States may consist of juice, cereal, and coffee—or of bacon and eggs. In other words, the functioning units of behavior are composed of substitutable elements. In the Alameda County publication, these are referred to as allocults of a behavioral culteme. There are enough possible elements within each unit of behavior to constitute form, meaning, and distribution each time.

The form of a cultural pattern is functionally defined. For example, breakfast is the meal one eats upon arising, but it may consist of various elements, depending upon whether it is taken in the morning or, for someone who works at night and sleeps during the day, in the evening. Meanings "represent an analysis of the universe as grasped in a culture," and may be multiple, including both primary and secondary meaning. Thus, breakfast has a primary meaning of sustenance, whereas a secondary religious, health, or economic meaning may also be attached to it. Distribution concerns the ways the units are distributed in patterns. These involve time, space, and positions in relation to other units.

Beaujour and Ehrmann have also touched upon the parts of a cultural unit in their discussion of the semiotics of culture. Semiotics, defined as the study of signs, calls upon the foreign language educators not only to "translate" literally the words involved in a cultural explanation, but to fill in the gaps in translation, so that the full meaning is evident to the learner. Meanings are both explicit and implicit. In order to acquire knowledge of them, we
need to study cultural data from four different angles: (1) factual and statistical information about institutions; (2) attitudes and beliefs; (3) raw documents such as interviews, pictures, and ads; and (4) functions, the study of which unifies all the others.

The study of functions shows that institutions have a meaning only within their system. The contrastive method helps the student to understand that the same institution in two different cultures may fulfill two different functions... On the other hand, two different institutions can have similar functions in two different cultures.

Reboullet explains how the complete meaning of a cultural phenomenon may necessitate explanation of a double function.

The concept of pattern seems universally acceptable to foreign language educators. Mead comments that the real contribution of anthropologists to foreign language teaching is their assertion that the rest of human behavior is systematic, just as language is systematic.

Most of the concern seems to be with the interrelationship of patterns.

Numerous allusions to the latter have been made in the literature. Lewald asserts, "A cultural event is often meaningless or at least misleading without being placed and evaluated within its proper context." Debyser suggests, "Au niveau 2, les faits de civilisation doivent commencer à s'ordonner sinon en un système, du moins dans une vision organisée." ("At the second level, the facts about culture must begin to take form, if not in that of a system, at least in that of an organized vision.") According to Seelye, culture is a "system of patterns." Seelye adds in another publication:

When an individual attempts to satisfy a basic need, he usually has to employ many interacting cultural patterns.... It is important to plot the interactions of several topics, so that the student can see how things fit together.... The
particular aspect of the target culture which initially motivates a given student is of little importance as long as some of the questions inspired by the interest area lead to a discovery that cultural patterns interact and that they are used by people to satisfy universal needs.\[116\]

Wylie is of the same opinion: "We must insist on the fact that culture is a whole made up of interrelated parts."\[117\] Nostrand says similarly: "A sociocultural system is a whole whose parts color one another."\[118\]

Glaude explains very clearly:

"Culture is a structured discourse; in the culture of the country, every item means something only in relation to all other items; and no item means something by itself. There is no way of understanding these discrete items as representative of another culture; one must organize the discrete items."\[119\]

Ladu also advocates that teachers present the material in an organized fashion.\[120\] Varela-Ibara describes how this fact of life affects the nervous system:

"A complete understanding of the nature of thought would entail a complete understanding of the functioning of the nervous system of the individual, the social system in which he lives, his language, and his ability to combine and extend patterns."\[121\]

Elliott speaks of the chains formed by cultural elements that extend in multidimensional directions.\[122\] Finally, Taylor and Sorensen state:

"All patterns of regular, socially-approved behavior within the cultural system shared by members of a society more or less influenced all the other patterns of the system. The result is to produce a consistent, intelligible world in which the individual can carry on a psychologically meaningful existence."\[123\]

Most foreign language educators seem to advocate cross-cultural comparison as an aspect of teaching culture. Seelye points out, however, that Nostrand appears not to do so in one publication, and he makes a comment on the matter as follows:
It is important to present the view that what the target individual does makes sense, that the efficacy of a given cultural pattern depends on how it fits into the complex whole of a culture. One should not lose sight of just what the functional significance of a behavioral pattern is in terms of a more abstract value or theme. However, Nostrand does explain elsewhere that the foreign language classroom should be the place where the learner compares his newfound knowledge about the foreign culture with that which he possesses of his own. The authors of the Alameda County publication also insist that the method be comparative and suggest that the teacher should "make the student more aware of his own culture, make him expose and analyze his own covert behavior to equip him better to contrast his culture with that of the target culture."

In the course of teaching cross-cultural comparison, however, it is important to avoid falsifying cultural elements by teaching them out of context. Rivers, quoting Pike, explains how etic and emic distinctions determine how teachers can approach the teaching of culture. Brooks advocates teaching the culture "from within"; Abbey agrees:

Only through the holistic approach of anthropology can... pitfalls be avoided. By studying individual cultures as discrete entities, the learner can see the relation between the various patterns of behavior within each culture.

Since cultural patterns form the basis for both the native and target cultures, teachers must learn to perceive them if they are to teach valid cross-cultural comparisons.
2. The Method

It is not necessary here to explore all the methods that have been devised for teaching culture, but only those which have some affinity with the approach of this author, that is, those which concentrate on culture as a system of action, in particular in its patterning aspect, and which investigate the technique of questioning.

Taylor and Sorensen first proposed the technique known as the culture capsule, which permits exposition of one particular contrastive aspect of a foreign culture and shows how it is meaningful within that culture. The method involves creating a number of these capsules so that the customs make "concatenated sense." The capsule is a script describing the particular contrastive feature, which is supplemented by visuals and realia. The presentation is followed by a discussion including both rhetorical and "open-ended" questions. It is suggested that teachers keep each capsule in a shoe box for ready consumption by the students.

Miller has recently published a compilation of culture capsules which discuss various differences between the American and French cultures, including a description of both the American and the French ways. His categories are five: food and drink, human relationships, distinctive traits, transportation, and institutions. An activity sheet for students is intended to involve them more thoroughly in the experience.

Meade and Morain have invented the concept of a culture cluster, which consists of three or four culture capsules followed by a simulation, all focused on one particular cultural theme. One example
illustrates *Un Mariage Campagnard*, and includes the following format:

- Culture Capsule I: *La Ceremonie civile*
- Culture Capsule II: *La Ceremonie religieuse*
- Culture Capsule III: *Le Repas de noces*
- Culture Capsule IV: *Les Differences entre un mariage mondain et un mariage campagnard*

Simulation: *Un mariage campagnard*

Discussion

Nostrand's influence seems evident, as Meade and Morain include discussion of cultural attitudes involved in the performance of these behavior patterns; here these include emphasis on system and formal structure, importance of *la famille* and *le foyer*, and humor.

Elkins, Kalivoda and Morain have provided both for listening comprehension practice and cross-cultural teaching in their audio-motor unit. The technique involves acting out a particular cultural event in response to a tape which describes it. This method provides the opportunity for witnessing an event and observing the cultural differences as they take place. Thus, the student learns to recognize the event as a microcosm of culture; the suggested discussion stimulators, moreover, provide opportunity for the teacher to expand the topic across the web of culture. The enumeration of reasons for the use of iced drinks on an American picnic versus non-iced drinks on a European outing, for example, include gastronomic interests, health concerns, and technological considerations. It is suggested that questions be distributed to small groups for discussion, following which the large group summarizes. Culture capsules may be used to focus in on a particular aspect of the topic.

Morain reports on a Weiss contribution which seems somewhat similar in concept:
[The sequence] begins with the student cutting a picture of a refrigerator out of a German catalogue, moves through discussion of space, privacy, and distance concepts, and ends with students drawing inferences about the effect of climate on German art and literature. With the guidance of a skilled cultural interpreter, there is a beautiful logic in this progression from ice-box to art.134

Willard and Willard use a somewhat more amplified approach which aims to capture the French en situation. In the Compléments that accompany their basic text, Nous les Jeunes, they cover the following topics:

cars (Paris motor show), means of transportation (some geography), two young people in the Latin Quarter (they buy postcards of some of the most famous monuments, cigarettes, stamps, a ticket of the National Lottery, a woman's magazine...), the postal service, the Radio-Television National Center, young people and music, the subway, a fashion presentation, high school sports, French sports buffs, cuisine and gastronomy (some geography), issuance of the National I.D. card, letters to the editor (demonstrations, strikes, road safety, diet), the political system (general elections), a visit of a car factory, an interview of labor union leaders by two young people, a young married couple's housing problems, one day in the life of two women, Paris in August (vacations), newspapers and magazines.135

The amplitude of the description in these Compléments makes them somewhat more justified anthropologically than culture capsules. Compléments incorporate facts as they might be reported in a data analysis, whereas culture capsules are summary statements of behavior.

Authentic documents can be used also in the foreign language classroom, according to two accounts. One emphasizes the "slice of life" aspect provided for in an unadulterated account. Watson says that through it an informant answers an anthropologist's questions, while at the same time providing a context for the answer and a glimpse into other aspects of culture.136
Somewhat reminiscent of the Beaujour-Ehrmann approach, Pincas explains a "cultural translation" method which aims to capitalize on the socio-cultural structures, that is, patterns, within which words have their meaning. Pincas takes quotations from an English literary text and explains in three columns how the cultural pattern illustrated therein operates in England and in Culture X, the context of the people learning English as a second language. It is definitely a contrastive method, as exercises for students include "finding words whose meaning varies according to the cultural context in which they are used." The procedure in two stages is as follows:

The first is the selection by the teacher of a short passage from the reader. The class looks for the cultural items in the passage. Skill in identifying a cultural item as such is the basis of the exercise. When the items and the words which depend on them have been listed, the class considers each one in turn and tries to determine its relation to the native culture. Is it the same or different? How is it different? How do the two languages differ because of the cultural difference?

In the second stage, the passage is rewritten to conform to the native culture of the students. The reason for the method is appropriately relevant to our aims. Pincas explains that it is not enough for students to note the differences between their own and other cultures, which they will always do from the framework of their own selves. It is also important to advocate objective analysis of both the native and target cultures so that they can be judged equally on a non-normative basis. By knowing how, the teacher "can develop an open mind rather than a closed one."

Also significant with reference to methodology are those approaches which use questions as a strategy. Seelye speaks of the
process of inquiry as being more desirable than the acquisition of sundry facts.\textsuperscript{139} He also suggests using questions to make students perceive the relationships among patterns.\textsuperscript{140} Authors of the Alameda County publication advocate use of questions to bring the covert into the open about the student's native culture before he compares it with that of the target culture.\textsuperscript{141} The whole culture capsule concept, furthermore, is based on inductive reasoning processes.\textsuperscript{142} Taylor and Sorensen, moreover, suggest using questions to present a culture capsule by having students answer questions requiring them to observe cultural differences or having them ask questions requiring a yes or no answer from the teacher.\textsuperscript{143}

Other foreign language educators who advocate a research approach include Pillet, who urges that it be implemented even at the FLES level.\textsuperscript{144} Jorstad suggests that questions be used with reference to ads from newspapers or magazines. She proposes the following steps in a technique:

1. Find an ad.
2. Write questions:
   a. that will motivate the student to read the ad, or to want to find out more about the product being sold.
   b. that will force the student to read the ad or to look at it closely to find information in it. These will be factual questions which the student can answer only if he digs into the text.
   c. that will force him to form some initial generalizations about the people or country in question.
3. Ask the student what further information he must have before he can form a true and valid generalization about the culture. What you are trying to do is to make him sensitive to the fact that initial generalizations may be faulty because of insufficient knowledge.
4. Lead the student to discover where he can find more information which will help him to refine his tentative hypothesis.\textsuperscript{145}
Jorstad credits Seelye as a source for this idea. Indeed Seelye suggests a very similar technique for his "mini-media" units. According to Seelye, students should learn through generating hypotheses that there is no one correct hypothesis, and that this sort of statement must be constantly refined. He adds that the generalization should be based on empirical evidence. 146

Another advocate of the process approach to learning about culture is Jenks, who proposes library projects whereby students are instructed to find the answers to questions. (Significantly, he notes also that the teacher should use one of the several cultural models, outlines, or guides that present categorizations of socio-cultural topics when preparing problems.147) He outlines models of suggested steps in the solving of the problem.148 Jenks also proposes data-gathering techniques to be performed by students in the country on location.149

C. Models for the Analysis of Culture

In the remainder of this chapter, various models which have been proposed for the analysis of culture will be examined. One of the most extensive is that of Murdock, who bases his classification on the assumption that any one element of culture may have seven facets upon which to be classified. These seven facets are: (1) a patterned activity, i.e., "A customary norm of motor, verbal, or implicit (covert of ideational) behavior";150 (2) the appropriateness of such an activity under certain circumstances such as time or place; (3) the particular subject of the behavior; (4) the object toward which the
behavior is directed; (5) some means external to both the subject and the object of behavior; (6) the purpose of the activity; and (7) the result of the activity. The resulting outline for examining a culture has a total of 888 categories.

Hall derives one hundred categories from ten primary message systems. The criteria upon which these ten forms of human activity were chosen are the following:

A. Rooted in a biological activity widely shared with other advanced living forms. It was essential that there be no breaks with the past.

B. Capable of analysis in its own terms without reference to the other systems and so organized that it contained isolated components that could be built up into more complex units, and paradoxically

C. So constituted that it reflected all the rest of culture and was reflected in the rest of culture.

The Primary Message Systems are: Interaction, Association, Subsistence, Bisexuality, Territoriality, Temporality, Learning, Play, Defense, and Exploitation.

Interaction is a primary characteristic of all life: to "interact with the environment is to be alive, and to fail to do so is to be dead." Association, which has its roots in the joining of two cells, is the basis for the structuring of societies. Subsistence has to do with the nutritional requirements of man and the way in which these are met in a particular society. Bisexuality is the answer the human race has invented to meet the need of a mixed genetic background. Territoriality (space) and temporality (time) help man to define himself. Learning is important as an adaptive mechanism. Play includes humor. Defense includes religion, war, law enforcement, and medicine.
Exploitation is the extension man makes of his body to utilize the environment.\textsuperscript{154}

Taylor and Sorensen propose a model upon which to base culture capsules, so that while analyzing one element at a time, the student eventually derives a unified picture. The categories in this outline are: technology, economy, social organization, political organization, world view (religion and philosophy), esthetics, and education. As with Hall's system, the order in which the categories are derived is significant: here one starts with the concrete and proceeds to more abstract considerations. There is even a subcultural category including biological, geographical, and historical elements. The model given in this article is based on Mexican culture specifically, unlike those of Hall and Murdock, which are not geared to one particular culture. The categories are subdivided into precise topics which lend themselves to an observational, data-gathering process. One category's subdivisions are included for the purpose of example:

II. Technological category
A. Food-getting and using
   1. Cultivation and the major crops
   2. Preparing, serving, and eating typical foods
B. Shelter-Housing (the patio form, barred windows, fronting on street)
C. Clothing
   1. Forms: rebozo, serape, blouse, no shoes, broad-brim hat, etc.
   2. Age, class and ethnic significance of costume
D. Tools
   1. Human or animal power, not power machines, typical
   2. Hand crafts and equipment being replaced by industry
E. Transportation
   1. Ass, oxen, humans most common
   2. Increasing auto, bus, rail and air travel
   3. Regionalism as related to transportation\textsuperscript{155}
Brooks lists ten categories: symbolism, value, authority, order, ceremony, love, honor, humor, beauty, and spirit. As opposed to those of Hall and Murdock, these seem to be a posteriori categories, which one discovers upon examining the culture and which one imposes as a pre-requisite for examining the culture further. It seems that Nostrand's Emergent Model is based on a similar philosophy. Nostrand looks for patterns in the "feelings, beliefs, and thought process" of members of the target culture. It is assumed that certain ingredients are characteristic of a culture bearer's behavior. The procedure is to combine experience of the people's way of life with descriptive knowledge about the people, so that the resulting study is examined experience of the foreign culture.

Nostrand based his model on Parsons' four levels of societal organization: the human organism, the personality, social relations, and the culture patterns. Nostrand, however, combines the first two levels into one and adds a fourth category, the ecology. The most basic "knowledge about" mentioned above can be summarized under three headings: Values, Traits, and World Picture. "These three elements of a sociocultural system summarize the concrete manifestations collected into the remainder of the inventory." They are the "ground of meaning" according to which members of the foreign culture live their lives. All the concrete manifestations of the foreign culture are somehow contained within these categories. Furthermore, if one adds to the value of the culture the traits and assumptions of fact which are necessary in order to understand the value, one arrives at the culture's main themes. "These themes, with their interaction of mutual support
or conflict, are probably the most concise of all descriptive knowledge that is true-to-fact enough to be useful. This thematic system is based on the sociological model of Opler. Each culture has its own themes, and no culture has more than twelve.

The twelve themes of French culture, according to Nostrand, are the following:

1. The art of living: enjoyment of the life style one has chosen
2. Intellectuality and "être raisonnable"
3. Individualism and civil liberty (including acquisitive ambition)
4. Realism and good sense (including health care and sensitivity to material conditions and conveniences)
5. Law and order (including retributive justice, "la justice répressive")
6. Distributive justice (including an increasing humanitarian concern and sensitivity to the deteriorating environment)
7. Friendship
8. Love
9. Family
10. Religions
11. The quest for community (within a subculture), and loyalty to a province or region
12. Patriotism and its object, "la patrie."

Once the traits (habits of reaction and of procedure—including cognitive style—which are not markedly valued or disvalued) and world-picture (assumptions of fact) are described, the rest of the model provides a framework for examining the concrete manifestations of the culture. Other topics listed under culture in addition to themes, traits, and world-picture are: verifiable knowledge, art forms, language, and para-language and kinesics. Topics listed under society are: the family, religious institutions, economic-occupational institutions, political and judicial institutions, the educational institutions, the intellectual-esthetic institutions, leisure and
recreation, the mass media, stratification and mobility, social proprie- 
ties, status by age group and sex, ethnic, religious and other 
minorities, and interpersonal and inter-group conflict. The sub-
system called cross-cultural environment is included within the others. 
The ecology includes these topics: exploitation of physical resources, 
exploitation of plants and animals, demographic control, health care 
and accident protection, settlement and territorial organization, 
travel and transportation. There is also a subsystem devoted to 
the individual: Integration of the personality for self-control and 
purposeful action; Integration at the organismic level; Intrapersonal 
variability; Intrapersonal conflict, and interpersonal variation.

One final model is that of Jenks. Called the enculturation 
schema, it is based upon the process of human growth and development. 
Jenks believes that culture learning is not thematic but that one 
learns values through religion, environment, and experience. "What, 
where, when, how, and from whom cultural learning occurs constitutes 
the basis for enculturation." In his model he categorizes topics 
commonly found in other models (e.g., humor, friendship, etiquette, 
etc.) under the subdivisions of religion, experience, environment, and 
emotion. Admittedly, one topic can be classified with more than one 
of the subdivisions, and Jenks does so. There is thus some attempt 
to show how a given cultural topic can be interrelated with others. 
Jenks' chief concern is that the "soul" of living not be missing from 
the foreign language classroom. He also wants students to realize 
that the process of enculturation is universal to the extent that all 
individuals are subject to it.
An article which does not propose a new model but uses that of Hall was written by Troyanovich. In it he specifies contrasting German and American cultural patterns. The article gives ten thoughtful listings of the ramifications of each primary message system.

Concluding Statement

Application of a model for the analysis of culture will be a significant part of the pedagogical phase of this study. Also important to remember from this chapter will be the concepts underlying the action approach to the theoretical interpretation of culture. Among the techniques that have been examined, the culture capsule is one that to some extent reflects this theory, since it describes some observable aspect of culture. Yet as it is now implemented, it focuses on only one cultural difference. It would derive even more impact if it were placed within a framework of total cultural analysis. A new attempt at a holistic application will follow in Chapter IV.
NOTES TO CHAPTER III


5. Ibid., p. 19.


9. Ibid., p. 83.

10. Ibid., p. 90.

11. Ibid., p. 38.


15. Ibid., p. 25.
16 Durkheim, p. 27.
17 Ibid., p. 43.
19 Ibid., p. 103 and Beattie, p. 53.
20 Beattie, p. 53.
22 Ibid., p. 63.
24 Beattie, p. 60.
28 Ibid., p. 404.
29 Ibid., pp. 403-5.
30 Ibid., p. 397.
34 Linton, *Study*, p. 419.


43. Glllin, p. 475.

44. Kroebcr and Kluckhohn, p. 332.


46. Ibid., p. 40.


49. Kluckhohn, Mirror, p. 18.
Wissler, pp. 51-52.

51 Ibid., pp. 63 and 73.

52 Radcliffe-Brown, p. 40.

53 Malinowski, p. 119.

54 Beattie, p. 59.


57 Emmet, p. 47.


61 Pelto, p. 70.


63 Parsons, pp. 73-74.


65 Ibid., p. 115.

66 Foster, p. 63.

67 Ibid.

68 Linton, *Tree*, p. 45.


72 Malinowski, 175.

73 Kroeber and Kluckhohn, p. 347.

74 Levy, Structure, p. 2.


78 Berry, p. 125.


84 Ibid., p. 8.


Nostrand, Background Data, pp. 2-3.


Lado, p. 113.


Ibid., p. 157.


Ibid.


119 Paul M. Glaude, Foreign Language Instruction in New York State for the 1970's: "The Culture Question" (Oklahoma City, Oklahoma: Casady School; Albany, New York State Education Department, 1970), p. 2. (ED 041 507)

120 Ladu, p. 3.

121 José L. Varela-Ibara, "Intuitive Thinking in Foreign Language Learning," Hawaii Language Teacher: 13 (Feb. 1971): 5 (ED 063 815)


125 Nostrand, Background Data, Part III, p. 2. (ED 031 990)

126 Cultural Understanding, p. 20.


130 Taylor and Sorensen, p. 350.

131 J. Dale Miller and Maurice Loiseau, Culture Capsules, New World Culture Series (Salt Lake City, Utah: Culture Contrasts Company, 1974), p. iii.


Ibid., pp. 21, 22, and 25.

Seelye in Green, p.79.


Cultural Understanding, p. 20.

Miller, p. vii.

Taylor and Sorensen, p. 353.


Seelye, Teaching Culture, pp. 124-5.


Ibid., p. 113 ff.

151 Ibid.

152 Hall, Language, p. 45.

153 Ibid., p. 46.

154 Ibid., pp. 46-60.

155 Taylor and Sorensen, p. 351.


157 Nostrand, Background Data Part I, p. 6.

158 Ibid., p. 2.


160 Ibid.

161 Ibid., p. 25.

162 Ibid., pp. 25-27.

163 Ibid., pp. 27 and 40.

164 Ibid., p. 40.


166 Ibid., p. 42-3.

167 Ibid., p. 41.

168 Ibid.

CHAPTER IV

THE KALEIDOSCOPIC APPROACH

Introductory Statement

The examination of question strategies and anthropology from a theoretical point of view can be related in a specific way to an approach to teaching culture in the foreign language classroom. This approach is kaleidoscopic in that it combines method, technique, and content and can be applied repeatedly with differing but related bodies of content. The method aspect delineates stages of thinking through which students pass as the learning takes place; these stages proceed from the simple to the more complex. The technique capitalizes on the possibilities inherent in question strategies for evoking various levels of thought. Method and technique are used on a body of specific content--actually two bodies of content: American and French cultural patterns. The choice of content is based on the anthropological structure of knowledge which was explained in Chapter III, and the analysis of the content is handled with the help of Hall's "map of culture." A unit illustrating cross-cultural comparison of French and American eating habits is included in this chapter. This choice of topic seems particularly appropriate in view of the fact that eating is so central to the French culture.
The pedagogical justification of the approach lies in the use of the known to facilitate access to the unknown, for American foreign language students are not totally ignorant of culture. They know their own culture through personal experience of it. That is, they act in cultural patterns like all men. If, like most men, they are unaware of the patterned nature of their actions, or that one action is related to another, they can be made so aware, and ultimately use this newly-acquired awareness for the purposes of cross-cultural comparison. To make them aware of their own culturally-patterned actions and the interrelationship of these patterns in an authentic, emic way is the challenge.

Hall's map of culture provides an objective scaffolding for this entry into the analysis of both French and American cultures. The student is first introduced to a French cultural pattern; then he is immediately questioned on the pattern that fulfills the corresponding need in the United States. In so doing, he describes the pattern in all its complexity using the categories. This discussion anchors the relevant ideas about the structure of American culture in the learner's mind so that he has a basis on which to compare the structure of corresponding but differing French patterns. Proceeding from the organized known to the unknown is thus the pedagogical rationale behind this approach to the teaching of cross-cultural comparison.

The anthropological rationale lies in the explanation which has been made of etic and emic and of how they are used. To get inside a culture one needs a system. This system should be void of
bias, as "genuine comparison is possible only if nonculture-bound units have been isolated." Kluckhohn explains further: "Valid cross-cultural comparison could best proceed from the invariant points of reference supplied by the biological, psychological, and sociosituational 'givens' of human life." Yet this is not so easy. Berry, in fact, criticizes Kluckhohn's simplistic viewpoint, declaring that his "solution is our problem!" Berry accuses Kluckhohn of begging the question with reference to psychological universals and urges rather that Goldschmidt's method be adopted. Goldschmidt advocates cross-cultural comparison on the basis of functions, i.e., "a) the work-jobs requisite to the fulfillment of the biologically-based (and their cultural derivatives) of the population for survival, and b) the organizational devices necessary for the preservation of collaborative action demanded by these work-jobs." This biological base seems fundamental to cross-cultural comparison because it eliminates cultural bias.

Hall's system was selected for this approach because being biologically based, it seems the least biased of all the models reviewed in Chapter III. Furthermore, it is adaptable to an approach which seeks to define not only pattern, but also the interrelationship of patterns in a web of culture. The language student—a fledgling anthropologist of the target culture—is given the opportunity to learn how to use the system by first examining his own idiosyncratic culture. In so doing, he acquires the knowledge that a cultural pattern is related to the whole of culture. At this point he is ready to use this knowledge to analyze the foreign pattern which fulfills the same need (as functionalists maintain, one can only compare cultural patterns
that have functional equivalence). He thereby realizes that while the French, for example, have the same needs, there are differences in the ways the needs are satisfied in form, meaning, and distribution; yet these are interrelated in France, as in the United States.

The approach is largely inductive, for both pedagogical and anthropological reasons. To explain the latter justification first: induction is the method of anthropologists, at least of the functionalist school. It is just as important for students to learn the process of this discipline as the content of a particular culture, since the latter is subject to change. Students should learn how to learn about a culture so that they can keep their knowledge up-to-date, as well as apply this process to any culture they might become interested in studying.

Pedagogically, induction is justified chiefly because it allows students to think at various levels, both concrete and abstract. Furthermore, while research on the effectiveness of higher-cognitive questions is admittedly contradictory, there is enough evidence to indicate that the positive benefits outweigh the negative. Finally, a deductive approach would seem to necessitate discussion of abstract anthropological principles, a factor which would detract from the vividness of the kind of knowledge to which students will be exposed. And as noted at the end of Chapter II, the total teaching act is a factor in the effectiveness of the technique. In the integrated approach proposed here, it would seem that this technique would be viable, and its results most beneficial.
A. Content

There are two types of content involved in the approach. One is of a very general nature, the structure of knowledge which was explained in detail in Chapter III. This structure consists in the following anthropological generalizations:

1. All men have the same biological needs.

2. Culture exists to satisfy man's needs: societies are systems-of-action whose activities have the function of fulfilling these needs.

3. Man's needs are fulfilled in patterned ways which may be observed.

4. Each pattern is a complexity whose full significance can be understood only by analyzing its relationships with all systems of culture, as well as its formal, informal, and technical aspects; it follows that a change in one pattern will cause a change in its relationship with all the systems of culture.

5. To understand cross-cultural differences, one must start with two patterns having functional equivalence and examine them from the inside of each respective culture.

It is with these generalizations in mind that the teacher plans the second area of content, that of specific American and French cross-cultural differences.

Hall's grid provides a convenient etic entry into both cultures, an entry which is followed up by an emic analysis. In order better to understand how to do this analysis, it is necessary now to
explain the derivation of the grid, as well as its possibilities for expansion. The grid is composed of ten Primary Message Systems crossed with each other. Hall and Trager explain how they derived them as follows:

The activities of living matter are functions neither of chance nor of design, but of direct and dynamic interaction of the organism with its environment. This interaction is specialized or limited by the presence of other organisms of the same kind, in association. The total complex of organisms engages in a search for the means of subsistence. Subsistence produces growth, and the perpetuation of the species is then carried on by means of the various types of reproductive activity. All these interactions and their specializations take place in terms of delimited territories and at cyclically determined times. Up to this point what we have said is true for all living organisms on earth, plant or animal. For animal organisms there are further kinds of specialization. At the lower levels, these may be summed up as a general kind of protective adaptation. With the development of the neocortex in the vertebrates, learning becomes increasingly important as an adaptive mechanism, primary to perpetuation. (...) Among mammals and birds perpetuation activities are further broken down to give a series of activities that may be called play, with perpetuation specialized into what may be called defense (of the individual and the group). These higher animals also practise exploitation (use of materials) in constructing lairs, nests and the like. The primates, especially the anthropoids, begin to elaborate the latter into something approaching artifaction.9

These ten categories are the basic focal systems of culture. Every one might be described with relation to each of the others; the interrelationship may be shown in a sort of grid, or map of culture. (See Appendix C for a reproduction of this grid.) In the resulting two-dimensional system, each primary focus is "crossed" with a secondary focus (the adjectival counterpart) to yield a series of basic focal systems (the focus crossed with itself) and of systemic foci (the focus crossed with any other of the foci).

Cultural interrelationship can be observed in this table composed of one hundred blocks (numbered 0 to 99), as well as some
rather bizarre but fortuitous phenomena. The activities to the left of a diagonal line formed by the basic focal systems are group-related; those to the right have to do with individuals only. Also, related activities often appear next to each other in the table. Finally, each systemic focus can be crossed again with the ten primary foci for further refinement of the analysis. In fact, "it is in the tertiary elaborations that the differences between cultures really begin to stand out in their most striking manner." In this way Hall and Trager fulfill their efforts "to create a framework by means of which it would be possible not only to keep the various levels of culture separate, but which would show cultural events in their proper relation to each other and in such a way that behavior across cultural boundaries could be equated."

By adding ten primary foci, ninety systemic foci, and nine hundred tertiary systems obtained by elaborating each systemic focus, one arrives at a figure of one thousand possible ramifications of a culturological analysis. But even this does not exhaust the possibilities. Each of the thousand divisions can be multiplied by three, for every elaboration has formal, informal, and technical aspects. The formal aspects, determined by tradition, "have to do with the establishing, learning, protection, and perpetuation of the unquestioned way to behave." The informal aspects are learned by observation and imitation without any pressure to conform. Technical systems, specifically examined and subject to change, are transmitted from old to young in a conscious, explicit way.
The allusion made earlier to Hall and Trager's explanation of culture change now becomes clear:

The formal systems and formal aspects are those that change most slowly: they are deeply embedded in every culture, and are tied up with the strongest emotions. The informal systems and aspects may be difficult to change in so far as they remain unstated and are taken for granted; their emotional charge, moreover, is less, or even absent. The technical aspects and systems change most quickly, being most explicit....The evolution of culture has proceeded in this order: the original circumstances of human existence—informal—became, with acquisition of greater skill and knowledge, technalized, and gave rise to proto-cultures; these came to be accompanied by informal adaptations and further technical elaborations; then arose new and special formal systems, and the process continues over and over.16

The formal systems are related most basically to the core systems: communication, society, work, and the sexes. The informal systems In turn correspond to the orientational: place and time. The technical are most fundamentally tied in with the expressional systems. The three aspects of culture involve differing degrees of difficulty in description. Since the formal is largely unstated, it is perhaps the most difficult to describe. The technical, on the other hand, is relatively easy to describe, being overt by its very nature. The hardest aspect to describe is the informal, since it has to do with areas "that involve reactions to circumstances that cannot be changed or are conceived as unchangeable—that are givens as it were."17 Thus, man has little control over the time cycles and various territorial givens, but with the expressional systems (learning, play, defense, and exploitation), he gains greater freedom to manipulate.18

Hall and Trager's system provides the framework through which this author proposes to analyze a functionally-equivalent cultural pattern in a two-step process, that of the American followed by that
of the French. Any pattern can be fit into the grid, where it appears as a systemic focus. This is perhaps an arbitrary classification, but the blocks in the grid do lend themselves to this type of pigeon-holing since they comprehend the totality of culture, at least etically. (Emically, the refinement comes out of the analysis combined with the technique.)

A graphic representation of the analytic possibilities inherent in a pattern can be useful in planning. A web seems to be a functional and useful format for the teacher to follow. (See Appendix C.) After deciding on the pattern to be taught and matching it up with a systemic focus, the teacher "crosses" this systemic focus with each of the ten systems of culture, thereby obtaining the tertiary elaborations of which Hall and Trager speak. These tertiary elaborations can then be further analyzed into formal, informal, and technical components.

In planning this etic web, the teacher should keep in mind that the basic focal systems correspond to formal, informal, and technical elaborations which are specified in the grid; thus, in crossing a systemic focus with each of the ten systems of culture, the following might be used as an outline, which is essentially that of the web:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Systems of Culture:</th>
<th>Formal</th>
<th>Aspects:</th>
<th>Technical</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 Interaction/ Vocal</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kinesics</td>
<td>Language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 Interactional qualifiers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Communication)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Association/ Class</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Organizational (Society)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Subsistence/ Formal work</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Economic (Work)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Maintenance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Government (control systems)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Occupations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3Bisexuality
3Sexual
(The Sexes)

4Territoriality/
4Territorial
(Space)

5Temporality/
5Temporal
(Time)

6Learning/
6Instructional
(Enculturation)

7Play/
7Recreational
(Recreation)

8Defense/
8Protective
(Protection)

9Exploitation/
9Exploitational
(Material
Systems)

When applied as in the illustrative unit to the use of foods, resources, and equipment (that is, the systemic focus under which the pattern of eating habits seems to fit), the analysis might yield the following etic framework:

**USE OF FOODS, RESOURCES, AND EQUIPMENT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Systems of Culture</th>
<th>Aspects:</th>
<th>Technical</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interaction/</td>
<td>Formal</td>
<td>Informal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interactional</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Communication)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The kinds of "vocal qualities" which accompany eating permitted:
whispering, laughter, etc.

Vocabulary associated with eating; *formules de politesse*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1Association/ Organizationally (Society)</th>
<th>The groups with whom one partakes of food</th>
<th>Differences in eating habits according to one's caste or kin</th>
<th>Organization of a meal: courses, coordination with beverages, etc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2Subsistence/ Economic (Work)</td>
<td>The work (quantity and quality) involved in the preparation of food</td>
<td>The how of marketing and cooking</td>
<td>Cost of food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Bisexuality/ Sexual (The Sexes)</td>
<td>Roles or non-roles of male or female in the kitchen and at table</td>
<td>Differences in quantity and quality of what men and women eat</td>
<td>Indication of kitchen roles (who does the cooking, etc.) in magazines, advertising, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4Territoriality/ Territorial (Space)</td>
<td>Specific areas for cooking and eating: how much they can overlap</td>
<td>Exceptions that may be made to the general rule according to circumstances-- eating out, for example</td>
<td>Provision made for eating and dining areas in house plans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5Temporality/ Temporal (Time)</td>
<td>Specific times for cooking and eating, including length of time</td>
<td>Seasonal differences in foods</td>
<td>Fixed hours of stores, factories, schools, etc. to accommodate eating habits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6Learning/ Instructional (Enculturation)</td>
<td>The teaching and learning of cooking and eating</td>
<td>Quantity and quality of learning that takes place as people eat: acceptable topics of conversation</td>
<td>The teaching and learning of cooking and eating habits in schools, home economics courses, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This etic analysis of a pattern provides a convenient framework on which a teacher can base questions whose aim will be to bring out the emic content of each particular culture. The emic content, therefore, develops through interaction with students in the classroom. If one calls the content a "cognitive map," as Taba suggested, one-half of it would consist of this etic framework; the other half would include the actual facts, concepts, and generalizations pertaining to native and target cultures which would come out of the culture lessons. In formulating plans for teaching this content to students, the teacher
follows a method and technique which will be examined in sections B and C of this chapter.

B. Method

The methodology for teaching the specific content is based on three process approaches that have been examined in Chapter II: those of Taba, especially the idea of "maps"; of the Northwest Regional Laboratory, whose procedure is similar to the Taba approach; and of the Florida system of BASICS, which was intended for developing initial cognitive skills and moving from the perceptual to the conceptual. In all, a specific order in the development of thought that is inductive or process-oriented is followed, in the belief that thereby students will ultimately learn "how to learn" or at least how to question themselves about a foreign culture. The method incorporates a process map corresponding to the content map which was outlined in the preceding section.

Both Taba and the Northwest Regional Laboratory postulate that the development of thought involves the examination of facts, the learning of concepts, and the making of generalizations both by interpretation and application to new situations. (Taba in fact proposes a relevant method for developing generalizations by means of comparisons. Two situations are each studied from the standpoints of facts, observations, discrimination, relevant information, and generalizations. These are related, compared, and contrasted to produce new generalizations.) It is useful to relate this facts-concepts-generalizations approach to the mental processes as outlined in the BASICS system and
by Bloom (the latter also chosen by the authors of the minicourse in question strategies)):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABA</th>
<th>BASICS</th>
<th>BLOOM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Facts</td>
<td>Observing</td>
<td>Comprehension</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Recalling</td>
<td>Knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Noticing differences</td>
<td>Comprehension</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Noticing similarities</td>
<td>Comprehension</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concepts</td>
<td>Ordering</td>
<td>(Application</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Grouping</td>
<td>(Analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Concept labeling</td>
<td>(Infering causes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Classifying</td>
<td>(Inferring effects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Concept testing</td>
<td>(Interpretation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Inferring feelings</td>
<td>(Concluding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generalizations</td>
<td>(Questioning</td>
<td>(Generalizing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Anticipating</td>
<td>(Synthesis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Making choices</td>
<td>Evaluation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This threefold listing provides a convenient schema for diagraming the thought processes through which foreign language students pass in their largely inductive analysis of American and French culture. The teacher, who has made a preliminary analysis of the cultural pattern in the formal, informal, and technical aspects of its relationships with the others according to Hall's system, leads the students through these mental processes by questions of various levels.

The students learn facts, concepts, and generalizations pertaining to American or French civilization as they examine and "discover" cultural data. (The more abstract generalizations pertaining to anthropological theory are basic assumptions which are implicit in the teacher's design—ultimate rather than immediate goals.) The
mental processes through which students pass could be classified either according to the BASICS analysis or the Bloom taxonomy. The author chose to use both, incorporating the features of each which are adaptable to this approach. The BASICS breakdown of mental processes involved is helpful in learning facts and concepts about a foreign culture. This system was intended, the reader will recall, for children with difficulties in going from the perceptual to the conceptual; it is thus appropriate for students who in their initial contact with the foreign culture are undergoing some of the same processes. On the other hand, the mental processes required to learn generalizations are just as well classified under the higher levels of the Bloom taxonomy, particularly as these are explained in Mini-course Nine; the terminology of the BASICS levels which correspond to these (inferring causes, etc.) tends to be somewhat confining.

Thus, we are left with this type of outline which might be likened to Taba's "process map," specifying the mental processes through which students are led to think about the foreign culture:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Facts</th>
<th>Observing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Recalling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Noticing differences</td>
</tr>
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<td>Noticing similarities</td>
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<td>Concepts</td>
<td>Ordering</td>
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<td>Concept testing</td>
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<td>Generalizations:</td>
<td>Analysis</td>
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<td>Interpretation</td>
<td>(Synthesis)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Application</td>
<td>(Evaluation)</td>
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This process is followed primarily in reference to the foreign culture. The thinking which students are led to do about their own culture is somewhat more telescoped since they are assumed to have acquired a certain amount of knowledge about it.

C. Technique

The technique for eliciting thought and consequent discussion consists in questions of various levels. In fact, questions serve as the bridge between the content and process maps. Through questions, the mental processes become actualized, at the same time that the content is articulated. The Bloom taxonomy is used as an outline of question strategies, and particularly the useful adaptation of it made by the Far West Laboratory. It seems to parallel more than any other system the mental processes which the approach is trying to foster.

Students learn or are made aware of facts by answering questions asking them to observe, recall, notice differences or similarities. These questions belong to the realms of knowledge (by recall of facts or observations, or definitions, using the words "who?" "what?" "where?" "when?" "why?"—when the reason is given, or "define") or comprehension (requiring students to give descriptions, state main ideas, or compare).

Questions through which students learn concepts seem most appropriately grouped under those of application. Through ordering, grouping, concept labeling, classifying, and concept testing they learn to identify the criterial attributes of the components of cultural patterns which are typically French and to distinguish them from their American counterparts.
The interpretation of generalizations may best be classified under the process of analysis, for here the student must identify motives or causes (a mental process elicited most often by the question "why?" where the cause is not given), make inferences (by concluding or deriving by reasoning), or find evidence to support principles or generalizations. (This illustrates one use of deduction within an inductive approach.)

When applying generalizations that they have made, students are engaged in one of two mental processes—synthesis or evaluation. Through the process of synthesis problems are solved, predictions are made, or original communications are produced. Questions a student might be asked in this category are: "1. Can you think up (a title for this drawing)? 2. How can we solve (this dilemma)? 3. How can we improve (our experiment)? 4. What will happen (now that we've landed on the moon)? 5. What do you predict would happen (if this lake were to run dry)?"

Through the process of evaluation the student gives his opinion about issues or judges the validity of ideas, the merit of problem-solution, or the quality of art and other products. In other words, he is asked whether he agrees with a statement and what his opinion is on the matter. 21

The reader will recall that questions asking the student to analyze, synthesize, and evaluate are higher-level questions, to which more than one answer is possible. Since this type of question is a powerful stimulus to thought, it is most desirable, provided that students base their answers on some type of previously-acquired facts,
concepts, or generalizations. It would be a waste of time for them to invent answers without this basis. Also, there is no great dichotomy in use between generalizations of interpretation or application. Either type may be elicited through questions in random order as fit the occasion.

What the author's approach involves basically is applying these question strategies in the order of facts, concepts, and generalizations to lead students to the specifics about American and French culture which fill out the content map previously outlined. The behavioral objectives for any particular unit would require students to state certain facts about the cultural pattern, to classify data according to concepts they will have acquired, and to hypothesize or apply generalizations. In acquiring knowledge about one particular pattern or slice of life (the microcosm), the student also learns to understand the totality of culture (macrocosm) because each microcosm contains the macrocosm in a smaller version.

In the remainder of this chapter, the application of question strategies in eliciting facts, concepts, and generalizations will be used to teach the content map whose etic outline has already been made. Here, content will meet process.

D. Application in the Classroom

1. Introduction to Cross-cultural Study

In order for students to be able to use Hall's system of categories, they must understand the anthropological principles upon which it is built (anthropological generalizations 1, 2, and 3). It thus seems appropriate as an introduction to speak in general terms with
students about what culture is. They may ask, as the author's students did, why they are doing this in French class. Yet the foreign language classroom is indeed the ideal place for such a discussion, for relevant data are there to be used. Furthermore, language is one of the systems of culture. Finally, it seems pedagogically justifiable to incorporate this knowledge into cross-cultural comparison, using what the student knows about his own culture as a stepping-stone to the new knowledge.

Before one even mentions a particular culture, students should be made aware of the universality of mankind as witnessed in their common biological needs (anthropological generalization number one). This author chose to teach it by using an ape comparison. The following analysis question was put to the students: What are similarities and differences between the actions of man and ape? The purpose of the question was to elicit from the students a list of the activities of man which fulfill his needs, as opposed to those of the ape. This was done with a seventh-grade French I class, whose list remarkably paralleled that of Hall—a system, it will be remembered, which is based on the biological needs of man.

The next step in the structure of knowledge (anthropological generalization number two) would require the teacher to focus in on the definition of culture as systems-of-action. Here another analysis question: What were some of the difficulties the first human beings had in meeting their biological needs?—is followed by an evaluation one: in your opinion, did it become easier or more difficult for man to fulfill these needs as time went on?
Finally, students need to have some idea of the patterned nature of human activity (anthropological generalization number three). The following synthesis question might lead them to think about the necessity for patterned action, which makes it possible for individuals to get along as a group: What would the world be like if every person had not only his own language, but a different way of meeting his basic needs?

These three generalizations (the first three in our structure of knowledge) might be taught in one class period, or spread out over a number of days, depending upon the availability of time and the teacher's inclination. In view of the fact, however, that cultural analysis is only one of the skills to be taught in a foreign language classroom, and that time is therefore limited, it seems more expedient and appropriate to continue the build-up of the anthropological structure of knowledge (anthropological generalizations four and five) with direct reference to the cultures in question, and as soon as possible.

2. A Cross-cultural Illustrative Unit

A unit built around any pattern might consist of the following sections (the chief mental operations which are to be called into play are indicated in parentheses):

1. Introduction of the French pattern (observing)

2. Discussion of the American pattern (the entire gamut of mental operations)

3. Culture capsules
   A. The French pattern: teacher-written (knowledge)
   B. The American pattern: student-written (all mental operations)
IV. Cultural artifacts: the French pattern

(A. Concept-labeling, classifying, concept-testing)

(B. Ordering, grouping)

V. Discussion of French dinner habits (knowledge; comprehension, especially noticing differences and similarities; analysis; synthesis; evaluation)

A. Questions for class discussion

B. Questions for library research

VI. Application of the generalizations learned to another situation

A. French vs. American

B. French vs. French

VII. (Optional: to be done where appropriate) Application of the procedure to one cultural artifact

VIII. Review: Summary of comparative content maps

This format was chosen because it follows the order of mental operations ("process map") described previously. Students must learn facts and concepts before they can generalize, and they must learn the generalizations before they can apply them in new situations. In the course of learning facts, concepts, and generalizations about either culture, the students will acquire the fourth part of the structure of knowledge—the complexity of patterns as derived from its interrelationship with the totality of culture; their formal, informal, and technical aspects; and the cause-effect relationship of all of this with change. By engaging in cross-cultural comparison of the patterns, they will learn the final anthropological generalization, that is, that patterns must have functional equivalence if they are to be compared cross-culturally.
It was mentioned previously that one justification for doing cross-cultural comparison in the foreign language classroom is that anthropological data are intricately woven into any linguistic situation. Textbooks are full of possible jumping-off points for analysis. Teachers, too, usually have a supply of realia which they are constantly renewing. It was the choice of this author for the purposes of this study to use materials readily available to all teachers rather than her own slides or other cultural artifacts. This is by way of example, to facilitate teacher access to the illustrative materials and to show what can be done without making another trip to France. Yet it is hoped that teachers will be encouraged to use these illustrations as mere models for their own original analyses and cultural units.

The illustrative unit is based on comparative eating habits, which fits most appropriately into Hall's systemic focus number twenty-nine: the use of foods, resources, and equipment. The content map outline yielded by the analysis of this pattern has been included in Section A of this chapter. It is first introduced to the students (as Part I of the cross-cultural unit) through a picture of a French family at the dinner table. (The photograph, taken from page 8 of A-LM French: Level One, New Second Edition, is reproduced in Appendix D.)

Since this is the initial student contact with the pattern and corresponding web, the teacher's approach needs to be simple. In fact, the first step is comparable to that of the BASICS program (whose intention is to lead children from perceptual to conceptual operations), whereby students are asked to answer questions requiring them to observe, nothing more. Even though this is the introduction to a pattern,
and the students may not be aware of it, the questions are already spanning the cultural web contrived by the interrelationship of this pattern with the other systems of culture.

The following is a list of questions based on the photograph, with indication as to the system with which the pattern is being crossed. Since the questions here serve merely to introduce the cross-cultural unit, they are of a somewhat superficial nature, requiring answers that may be gleaned by mere observation, and a few by inference. Only the cultural systems that can be observed in the photographs are included here. Most of the questions are of the knowledge or comprehension variety, except those that require inference: these belong to the analysis level. (A number of "probing" questions are added to induce students to expand answers.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>System</th>
<th>Questions</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Exploitational</td>
<td>What are these people doing? What is being eaten? drunk?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Territorial</td>
<td>Where is this scene taking place? How do you know?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreational</td>
<td>Are the people doing anything besides eating?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exploitational</td>
<td>What kinds of objects are on the table? Are there any you don't recognize?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizational</td>
<td>What is the position of the hands of the people partaking of this meal? Is it uniform? Whose hand position differs?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instructional</td>
<td>If this latter individual is a guest, what might he be learning as he partakes of this scene?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interactional</td>
<td>Describe the facial expressions of those partaking of the meal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual</td>
<td>Are there any evident differences in the roles of men and women in this scene?</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The next step is to clue students in on the patterned nature of the questions they have been answering. Following the introductory discussion, students are already aware of the ten basic areas of human activity (as delineated by Hall), areas which satisfy man's primary needs. The relationship of needs to each other is best explained in two stages: the first is the derivation of the basic and systemic foci through intersection of man's primary needs with each other; the second stage involves showing how the systemic focus, which is obtained by the intersection of a primary with a secondary focus, or two needs with each other, is a tertiary system or patterned activity whose full impact and significance can be understood only when it in turn is crossed with the ten cultural systems.

For the purposes of demonstrating the first stage to the students, that of the "whole," or macrocosm of culture, the author plotted Hall's grid on a double wheel, each divided into ten color-coded sections. The primary and secondary message systems constitute the sections, and are color-coded as they correspond one to the other. For example, interaction and the interactional are overlapping orange slices; play and the recreational are overlapping green sections. The basic and systemic foci which are obtained by crossing the primary and secondary message systems are written in order around the bottom wheel. They thus form ten concentric rings. The core systems are closest to the center, followed by the orientational, then the expressional. Windows are cut in the top wheel so that when it is turned one can see the tertiary or systemic foci which result from the interaction of the two systems. By twirling the top wheel students can see in a
color-coded way how the interactional, organizational, economic, sexual, territorial, temporal, instructional, recreational, protective, and exploitational aspects of any of the primary systems form categories into which any pattern of any culture could fit. Since the whole of culture is depicted on this wheel, it is called the "maxi-wheel."

The second stage involves the interaction of one particular pattern with each of the ten systems of culture to form a microcosm. This interrelationship is depicted on a mini-wheel, color-coded to match the maxi-wheel. The teacher might explain and show this wheel in two steps—the first limited to the crossing of the pattern with each of the ten systems, and the second diagraming the formal, informal, and technical aspects of each interrelationship, much as outlined in the "web," discussed in Section A. The latter explanation, which can be quite complex, should be saved until the students are sufficiently sophisticated anthropologically to comprehend it. That does not mean, however, that the teacher should not use it in planning the questions. Students can be given the benefit of the knowledge without having to wrestle with the terminology.

(The wheels, maxi and mini, are found in Appendix D, as they look photographed. The actual wheels are too large for inclusion in the dissertation.)

The next part of the unit involves the analysis of the American pattern which is the functional counterpart of the French pattern that has just been introduced. Since the students are now familiar with the wheels, the teacher can once more point out on the maxi-wheel to remind the students, as they answer the questions, of the interrelation-
ship of the pattern with all systems of culture. In keeping with what was discussed above about the possible confusion that could be caused by introducing students too soon to formal, informal, and technical ramifications of a pattern, it is recommended that the teacher hold these in reserve during the initial discussion of the American pattern, concentrating only on the actual interrelationship phenomenon.

A photo of Americans at dinner could be used but is not necessary, since the students are familiar with the eating habits of Americans, at least of those they know and whose life they share. Besides, a picture might be somewhat inhibiting, if the photographed participants belonged to a different social stratum and manifested differences in their performance of the pattern from that of the students.

The following is a list of questions that might be asked relative to American eating habits, as directly contrasted with those illustrated in the photograph of the French family discussed earlier. The majority of the questions emphasize the process of noticing similarities and differences, but others of Bloom's categories are used also; it is assumed that students have at their command enough facts and concepts about American culture to be able to analyze, synthesize, and evaluate. The question categories are listed, as well as the cultural system whose interrelationship is being discussed.

Organizational (knowledge): Do Americans ordinarily eat salad on a dinner plate like the French? Where is the salad placed on an American table? When is it eaten?

Exploitational (comprehension): Describe the contents of a salad in the United States, as well as various salad dressings.

(evaluation): Could these dressings be called convenience foods, in your opinion?
(knowledge): Is bread eaten with dinner all the time in the United States?

(analysis): Why not?

(comprehension): Describe the typical American loaf of bread.

(knowledge): How is bread eaten, plain or with a spread on it?

Protective (evaluation): What is your opinion of the butter-margarine controversy?

Organizational (knowledge): Where is bread placed on an American table?

Exploitational (comprehension): Describe the typical contents and organization of a dinner in the United States.

(analysis): How is this related to what is eaten earlier in the day?

(knowledge): What is usually drunk with meals?

(analysis): Why are these beverages chosen, as opposed, for example, to alcoholic beverages?

Organizational (knowledge): Do adults and children drink the same thing?

Exploitational (comprehension): What objects on this French table would not be found on an American table?

(analysis): Why don't Americans usually use cloth napkins?

(evaluation): Which are nicer, in your opinion, paper or cloth napkins? plastic or cloth tablecloths?

Organizational (knowledge): Do American families eat together usually?

(analysis): Why or why not?

Territorial (knowledge): Where do they eat?

(analysis): Why is eating in the kitchen different from eating in the dining room?

Temporal (knowledge): What is the American dinner-hour? How about on Sunday?

(analysis): What factors determine the time at which Americans have dinner?

(comprehension): How do Americans spend the evening hours following dinner?

Recreational (evaluation): Is the pleasure aspect of eating important to Americans, in your opinion?

(analysis): What might this pleasure aspect consist in?

Instructional (knowledge): How many families do you know who watch television during the evening meal?

(synthesis): If television did not exist, would the dining habits of Americans be different?

(evaluation): Would Americans be better conversationalists if there were no television?
Instructional (comprehension): How do most American women learn to cook?
(evaluation): How important is it for an American woman to be a good cook?
Sexual (knowledge): Do American men share in the preparation of food?
Temporal (application): What percentage of time is spent, on the average, in the preparation of the evening meal? How about the noon meal?
Exploitational (analysis): How is this affected by what is available to the consumer in terms of convenience foods? refrigerator-freezer space?
(evaluation): In your opinion, is this a cause or effect of advanced technology?
(synthesis): How would our dinner habits be different if there were no convenience foods? no refrigerator or freezer?
Protective (evaluation): Which is the most important factor, as far as you as an American are concerned, in the choice of what is eaten—health, pleasure, cost, or the amount of trouble to prepare?
Economic (application): What percentage of the family budget is spent on food? (Make an estimate based on families that you know.)
Territorial (analysis): What functions do fast-food chains serve in the American economy?
Recreational (knowledge): How often do Americans entertain guests at dinner? Is this the usual way of entertaining guests?
(analyses): Why or why not?
(comprehension): Describe the alternative ways Americans have of entertaining guests.
Organizational (analysis): How does the presence of a guest change dining habits?
(comprehension): What rules of etiquette is one expected to observe in our country, including position of the hands?
(evaluation): How strict are these rules, in your opinion?
Interactional (knowledge): What are some of the polite phrases that recur at the table?

This enumeration of questions could continue indefinitely, in proportion to the teacher's imagination as well as the time available. It is suggested that one final summary question be posed having to do with change, so that students appreciate culture not as a static but
as a dynamic force. The question, a comprehension one, might be phrased as follows: What aspects of American eating habits have changed within your lifetime? An analytic follow-up might be: How and why did it change? A synthetic question would ask: Can you predict what changes might be made in the future? Here any of the elaborations of culture crossed with the pattern in question might be called into play. Later, as the students learn to refine their concept of pattern and web into formal, informal, and technical aspects, their thinking on change will be even more productive.

Before students can discuss a French cultural pattern in detail, they need more information. The culture capsule, which has been defined in the review of foreign language education literature dealing with the teaching of culture, is a convenient technique for conveying this information. The danger inherent in using culture capsules—summaries of behavior which are particularly susceptible to gross generalizations and stereotyping—in isolation and indiscriminately has always disturbed this author. Yet when placed within the context of total analysis of a cultural pattern, they acquire more validity. A sample culture capsule which might be used in the unit at this time may be found in Appendix D.

One change suggested here in the format of the culture capsule is that the students themselves be allowed to write the American counterpart, basing it on their own personal experience and eventually using the mini-wheel of culture as a guide. The teacher might then list the idiosyncrasies in each student's discussion, as well as the similarities, so that the class could witness firsthand how they
experience cultural patterning in their daily lives, patterning which is present despite some differences. (The teacher might thereby learn something about the students' lives!)

The fourth section of the unit consists of an exposition of relevant cultural artifacts, again with the purpose of informing students of facts they need to know about French culture, providing them also with the occasion to form concepts. In the matter of eating habits, not only foods but also eating and perhaps cooking utensils are both significant. Here visuals are important; magazine pictures and recipe books as well as the prepared dishes themselves might be used in teaching the first group of artifacts; a French department store catalog is useful with the second group. Teacher and students will engage in the following activities, both of which involve the mental operation of application, whose ramifications are more specifically delineated in parentheses:

1A. (Concept-labeling, classifying, concept-testing)
List the kinds of ... which are commonly served in France.
   a. hors-d'oeuvre
   b. potage
   c. plat principal
   d. dessert

1B. (Ordering, grouping)
Order and group these pictures into suitable menus for le déjeuner, le diner. Make your own menu for each meal.

2A. (Concept-labeling, classifying, concept-testing)
List the different kinds of ... used in France and how they are used.
   a. silverware
   b. dishes
   c. glassware

2B. (Ordering, grouping)
Set the table for le petit déjeuner/le déjeuner/le dîner in France. (Students draw pictures or use the objects if available.)
This section is heavily linguistically oriented, involving the vocabulary which is related to the concepts being developed. At this point the teaching of culture and the teaching of language share objectives.

Now that students have been exposed to some of the factual knowledge and concepts they need to know about a particular French cultural pattern, they should be ready to make generalizations. The teacher prepares questions calling for the higher mental operations, based on the etic content map cited earlier. These questions are higher-order, for here students are truly generalizing. Here also the French version of the map acquires its second, or emic, half—for students and teacher use it with the questions to get inside the web of a particular French cultural pattern. Hall's twenty-ninth category, the use of foods, resources, and equipment, is again crossed with each of the ten primary message systems.

Students are perhaps ready at this point for step two of the mini-wheel, which incorporates discussion of the formal, informal, and technical aspects of the web. Students do not necessarily have to be introduced to the terminology, but in answering the questions, they are, at least unknowingly, assessing the covert, in-between, and overt aspects of culture. As it is cumbersome as well as confusing, always to be pointing out the formal, informal, and technical categories during the course of the discussion, the teacher might do well to save explanation of this analytical breakdown for a summary period, to be done prior to the summary questions.

In these summary questions, students can gain some appreciation of how culture changes. As Hall and Trager explain, change is more
likely along the overt, or technical, fringes of the pattern. The formal, or core, elaborations of a pattern are less susceptible to change. The informal aspects have less of an emotional attachment and, though difficult to pinpoint at times, because they operate out-of-awareness, they change more rapidly than the formal. The summary questions can be used to synthesize the students' knowledge of facts, concepts, and generalizations about the pattern with their new awareness of the formal, informal, and technical aspects of culture.

It will be noticed that in order to convey necessary information, the teacher sometimes makes a statement before asking a question. Also, some questions are followed by an asterisk. In elaborating the unit at this point, certain questions are more suitable for research than class discussion. This research might be done in the library (sources that might be consulted are listed in Appendix E) or through interviews with native informants or those who have personal experience of the French culture. The level of question is indicated in parentheses. All of these questions are asked about the original picture of a French family around the dinner table. (A-LM French Level One, Revised Edition, p. 8) In order to demonstrate the breakdown of aspects, the questions are rather arbitrarily grouped here under the systems of culture. In actual practice it would be more natural for the teacher to follow an order like that of the earlier discussion of the American pattern. This order seems more random, but is actually more logical because it elicits better-connected thoughts.
The Use of Foods, Resources, and Equipment...

Territorially considered
a. Formal (analysis): Why do French families eat dinner around a table in the dining room? Why don't they eat in the kitchen?

b. Informal (synthesis): What are some of the circumstances under which they might not eat in the dining room?

(knowledge): *How often do French families eat out?
(analysis): What might be some reasons why this is not done more frequently in France?

c. Technical (analysis): What can you conclude about the typical house plan of a French home with respect to the provisions made for eating and cooking?

Temporally considered
a. Formal (analysis): Why do French families have dinner later than Americans?

(knowledge): *How long does dinner usually last in France?
(synthesis): What consequences might this have on evening activities in France?

c. Technical (synthesis): What changes in French life would occur if all factories, offices, stores, and schools went on the system of journée continue?

(analysis): Why has this system not caught on more universally?

b. Informal (knowledge): *What are some seasonal changes in the types of food eaten in France?

(knowledge): *What possibilities exist for preserving food in France so that they can be enjoyed in the off-season?

(analysis): Why hasn't this been developed more in France?

Organizationally considered
a. Formal (synthesis): If French families ordinarily eat together at least once, often (almost always on weekends) twice a day, what effects might this have on family life?

(analysis): What circumstances make it easier for all to be present, even teen-aged children?

(evaluation): Would it be easy or difficult for them to introduce a stranger into their midst, if they are used to spending so much time together?
b. Informal (analysis): Despite the fact that class and caste differences seem to be more marked in France than in the United States, eating habits across class-caste lines are not markedly different. What are some reasons for this?

c. Technical (synthesis): You know about the division of the meal into courses and about the wines which must be chosen with the food in mind. What analogy could you make to describe this custom, which allows for much diversity in unity?

(evaluation): What is your opinion of this way of eating?

(synthesis): How might a French person react if one served him cheese or salad first, as is sometimes done in the U.S.?

(comprehension): Describe the system whereby the quality of foods in restaurants is regulated. Is this done by a governmental or a private agency?

Interactionally considered

a. Formal (evaluation): In your opinion, would the French laugh more or less at mealtime than Americans?

c. Technical (knowledge): In our dialog and skit, we learned a number of the expressions which are used consistently at the table as formules de politesse. Which ones can you name?

b. Informal (comprehension): Examine pictures of French families eating (A-LM French Level I, New Edition, pp. 13-16 of supplement) and describe which of the gestures made at the table are different from American gestures.

(synthesis): What meaning might they convey?

Recreationally considered

b. Informal (synthesis): Which one of the persons at this table (A-LM p. 8) is probably a guest?

(analysis): Why do you think so?

(analysis): The French seem to use the dinner hour as a frequent occasion for entertaining guests. Why might this be so?

a. Formal (knowledge): It is said that the appearance of food in France is just as important as its taste in deriving pleasure from it. By examining pictures in recipe books of French cooking, make a list
of the trucs used by French chefs to enhance the appearance of a dish.

(a) Technical (knowledge): Why is this concern for appearance a logical aspect of eating customs in France?

(evaluation): In your opinion, to what extent does the time the French spend in eating contribute to the sensory pleasure they take in it? Which is cause, and which, effect?

(c) Technical (knowledge): Find out whether cooking contests are held in France.

(synthesis): If a cooking contest were held in France, what would be probable criteria by which an entry were judged?

(b) Informal (knowledge): What kinds of foods are served at picnics or parties? on holidays?

Exploitationally considered

a. Informal (analysis): We have studied the types of dishes that would be served as various courses in France, as well as the possible accompanying beverages. What could you conclude about the French agricultural system from what is served at the table?

(comprehension): Pick a wine or cheese and trace it through the stages of its production.

b. Technical (comprehension): Review some French recipes and make a list of the type of base (butter, oil, etc.), spices, and sauces used.

(application): Classify them according to region of origin.

(evaluation): How elaborate is the preparation of food in France in your opinion?

(synthesis): How would a Frenchman react to the food served in an American fast-food chain?

(knowledge): What kind of stove is used in France? cooking utensils? serving utensils?

(synthesis): What changes would be made in the cooking and serving apparatus if the cooking were more simplified?

(c. Formal (synthesis): How important is it to the French that the noon meal be a hot one?

(analysis): What kinds of concessions have to be made by the French to preserve this tradition?

(synthesis): How would a French person react to the American cold-if-any lunch tradition?
Economically considered:

a. Formal (knowledge): *Find out what percentage of their income the French spend on food. (analysis) What does this figure tell you about the importance of eating in France? (comprehension): *How has inflation affected the percentage of income spent on food in the average French family?

b. Informal (synthesis): Given the quantity and quality of time traditionally spent on cooking in France, what might be the reaction of the French housewife to convenience or frozen foods? (knowledge): *Do these exist in France? (analysis): How much work, both in cooking and shopping, would they save her? (analysis): What might be some of the reasons why the French housewife might react favorably to them? unfavorably?

c. Technical (knowledge): *Find out what standards cooks and waiters have to meet in France before finding gainful employment. (synthesis): How much prestige would these types of employment in France enjoy?

Sexually considered:

a. Formal (synthesis): Tradition dictates that it is the woman who cooks and serves the meal in France, and that this is done twice a day. What would have to change before the French woman could become liberated from this tradition?

c. Technical (comprehension): *According to what you observe in advertisements in French magazines, is there any evidence of changing male-female roles in the matter of food preparation?

b. Informal (comprehension): *Are there any differences in the quantity and quality of what men and women eat or drink in France?

Protectively considered:

a. Formal (comprehension): *How does food consumption in France coincide with nutritional requirements?

b. Informal (synthesis): Would taste or health considerations be more important to the French in their choice of food? (analysis): If food preparation is so elaborate, why does overweight not seem to be a big problem in France?
(synthesis): What consequences would this have on a dieting industry in France?

(knowledge): *To what extent is alcoholism a problem in France?

c. Technical (knowledge): What kind of food-packaging is practiced in France?

(analysis): Why isn't it more elaborate?

(analysis): What might be some of the reasons for the preference of bottled over spigot water in France?

Instructionally considered:

a. Formal (analysis): What could you conclude about the relative difficulty of learning how to cook in France compared with the United States? What would be some of the reasons? Is there a difference in the meaning of the verb "cook" in the two countries?

b. Informal (analysis): What part does mealtime play in the education (taken in its broad sense to mean everything that is learned) of a French child?

(synthesis): What might be some common topics of conversation at meals in France?

c. Technical (comprehension): *Describe the kinds of home economics courses available in French schools.

(application): What part do such courses play in the curriculum?

Summary questions

(synthesis): How might any of the aspects of the use of foods, resources, and equipment have changed since the present French grandparents were growing up? Remember that they probably occurred in the technical stratum of culture. If it were possible to do so, how would you verify this?

(evaluation): What aspects of French eating habits would you like to see adopted in this country?

(synthesis): How would the other elaborations of American culture have to change to accommodate your proposed changes?

The teacher may find in using these questions that there are too many, or simply that certain ones are more fruitful than others for discussion. It seems expedient in either circumstance to be flexible according to one's circumstances, including time available and
particular student interests, and to change the order when necessary. A summary content map of some of the cross-cultural information that might be generated from discussion evoked by this one photograph (A-LM, p. 8) is included in Appendix D.

To know generalizations is to be able to apply them in new situations. The students are probably ready at this point for some application of generalizations, yet this should be done gradually. One transitional activity would be to examine the same pattern with some differing foci. This author did so with a new photograph. At this point, since the students have examined both American and French patterns separately, they are asked to do more direct comparison, at least during the first stage. During the second stage, internal comparison (French vs. French) is pursued. The picture used in this discussion is again taken from A-LM French Level I, New Second Edition, p. 94; this picture is reproduced in Appendix D. The reader will note that here the opening questions give unity to the discussion. Also, some of the questions that earlier might have been categorized as analysis or synthesis are not classified as knowledge or comprehension, since students have learned the information necessary to respond to them.

Part VI: Section A: French vs. American

Introduction (application): Based on this photograph, which of the patterns of our maxi-wheel would best fit here in the center of our mini-wheel?

(analysis): This cafeteria is obviously in France. Why could it not be an American school cafeteria? Discuss this from the standpoint of each of the divisions of culture.
Exploitationally considered
a. Formal (knowledge):
   - What are the other alternatives an American student has?
(b. Informal (knowledge):
   - What is being eaten? Would American students be served a similar cut of meat at noon?
(c. Technical (comprehension):
   - What differences do you notice about the utensils being used by these students, as opposed to those which would be in evidence on an American table?
   - From what you know of French eating habits, how would each one be used?

Temporally considered
a. Formal (comprehension):
   - What is the difference in the amount of time allotted in the school schedule for the noon meal in the two countries?
(b. Informal (knowledge):
   - During what seasons of the year would this be in operation?
(c. Technical (analysis):
   - What differences would this make in the total school schedule?

Territorially considered
a. Formal (synthesis):
   - Given the differences in scheduling, what might be some of the differences in the amount of crowding or the types of problems created by crowding in the school cafeteria in the two countries?
(b. Informal (synthesis):
   - How would life in the countries be different if there were no provision made in schools for cafeterias?

(N.B. A transcription of the student discussion evoked by the latter question with the author's students is found in Appendix E.)
Organizationally considered
b. Informal (evaluation): To what extent is democracy of education a reality in the United States, so that students really get a chance to associate with others from different socio-economic backgrounds?
(synthesis): To what extent is this true in France?
a. Formal (evaluation): To what extent do students wish to associate with those of different backgrounds in the United States, in your opinion?
(synthesis): To what extent might they wish to do so in France?
c. Technical (analysis): What indications do you have in the picture that this is a multi-course meal? What other indications are there of differences in etiquette observed among French students as opposed to that of American students?
(evaluation): In your opinion, which seems to require more effort on the part of the students, American or French etiquette?

Interactionally considered
a. Formal (comprehension): Describe the type of communication and vocal qualifiers that seem to be being used in this photograph.
(comprehension): How would this compare with the decorum of the average American high school student?
b. Informal (comprehension): What differences in gestures are noticeable here among these French students at table?
c. Technical (synthesis): How might the differences in gestures and etiquette affect the language of students, both in the United States and in France? (i.e., What types of polite phrases would be needed?)

Economically considered
c. Technical (comprehension): Compare the cost of a school-cafeteria meal in the two countries.
(knowledge): How is it subsidized?
b. Informal (analysis): Why would the amount of work of a French mother be more affected than that of an American mother by the availability of a school lunch program?
a. Formal (analysis): What differences in skills would the cooks in French cafeterias have to have as opposed to those in American cafeterias?
Sexually considered
a. Formal (knowledge): This is evidently an all-boys' group in France, which, while no longer prevalent, still exists in some schools. How prevalent is non-coeducation in our country?
   (synthesis): What differences might the presence or absence of the opposite sex make in the language used at table? topics of discussion? etiquette?
   (evaluation): Would these differences be more marked in France or in the United States, in your opinion?

b. Informal (comprehension): Might there be any differences in the type or quantity of food served in an all boys' school?
   (evaluation): Could this be an advantage?

c. Technical (synthesis): Recently, girls were able to gain admittance both in France and in the United States to schools that had traditionally been for boys only. What predictions can you make about the changes to come in the future in these institutions?

Instructionally considered
a. Formal (synthesis): How might a student's comportment at the table reflect what he has been taught at home?
   (evaluation): In your opinion, would this influence be stronger among American or among French students?

b. Informal (synthesis): What types of learning might these students be engaged in as they partake of the noon meal?
   (evaluation): Would they learn more or less than their American counterparts?

c. Technical (knowledge): To what extent is table behavior regulated by the school in the United States?
   (synthesis): To what extent might it be done so in France?
   (synthesis): What percentage of what is learned in school takes place in the cafeteria in France? in the U.S.?

Recreationally considered
a. Formal (evaluation): Do the French students seem to derive more or less pleasure from their cafeteria experience than American students in your opinion?
What kind of pleasure?

To what extent does the cafeteria experience in the United States serve a recreational, as well as a nutritional, function?

To what extent might it do so in France?

How much time is left over for games or organized recreation at noon in France? in the United States?

Protectively considered

Compare the relative importance of the déjeuner in the daily nutrition of a French student and that of an American student. (Include food and drink.)

What factors determine this?

What are the inconveniences the French school system has to suffer in order to allow for this custom?

How would the American system's attitude have to change to allow for it?

What are comparative precautions taken to keep food, utensils, mapkins, etc. sanitary in French and American schools?

What difficulties might an American student have adjusting to the French student's déjeuner and vice versa?

At this point the student has been given two opportunities to fill in the emic cross-cultural content map. To make his French analysis even more complete, it seems appropriate to give him the opportunity to do an intra-cultural comparison. Here the formal-informal-technical considerations are abandoned since they have been previously developed, and questions are focused in just on the general cultural area. Comparison is implied in all the questions, yet since there is more than one answer for all, they are higher-cognitive questions. If the students had already been exposed to the answers, however, they would be lower-level (especially comprehension) questions.
Section B: French vs. French

Introductory question (synthesis):
If a French student had the chance, would he prefer having his déjeuner at school or at home? Discuss this from the standpoint of each of the cultural systems:

Territorial (comprehension):
How are the two places (dining room at home and cafeteria in school) different?

Temporal (comprehension):
Whose schedule besides the individual student's is involved?
(analysis):
How would the mother's schedule be affected?

Exploitational (synthesis):
What might be some differences in what is eaten?

Economical (analysis):
What would be the economic ramifications of having to go home versus staying at school?

Interactional (synthesis):
What might be some differences in the types of language used at table in school and at home?

Organizational (synthesis):
What would be the corresponding effects on family life of the two different territories for having the noon meal? also on peer-relationships?

Recreational (analysis):
What would be the advantages of either choice insofar as having fun is concerned?

Sexual (synthesis):
Might eating at home vs. not eating at home have an effect on a student's relationship with the opposite sex? on a French mother's activities?
Instructional (synthesis):
What might be some differences in what is learned at table in school and at home?

Protective (analysis):
Since the noon meal is the most important meal of the day in France, what precautions must a French mother take in meal-planning if her children eat at school?

Summary question (evaluation):
If you were a French student, which system—lunch at school or lunch at home—would you prefer, and why?

In the final section of this unit on the eating habits of the French, the teacher might make an icing-on-the-cake conclusion based on one particular artifact, and show how it can give a complete picture of the cultural patternning simply by being analyzed through the ten message systems. Let us take, by way of example, the most basic artifact of the French system of nourishment: le pain. This section of the unit will involve a somewhat condensed version, or mini-unit, of what has preceded.

The teacher shows pictures of French bread, as it looks on display in boulangeries, as it is carried in the street, as it is placed on the table. If possible, the teacher also brings a loaf of the authentic version to class. This time French is used as the language of communication, as it might be done with classes who are advanced in language skills. The gamut of question categories and question levels is run. In true kaleidoscopic fashion, the systems are introduced as they unfold in close relationship to each other; at times they are re-introduced to portray another facet of the pattern.
Section VII: A Cultural Artifact: le pain français

Exploitationally considered (comprehension):
Décrivez les différentes variétés du pain français.

(analysis):
Pourquoi y en a-t-il tellement?

(comprehension):
En quoi le pain français diffère-t-il du pain américain typique?

Temporally considered (knowledge):
Combien de fois par semaine doit-on acheter du pain en France pour qu'il soit bien frais?

Economically considered (analysis)
Le ménagère française se donne-t-elle plus ou moins de mal pour fournir cet aliment à sa famille que la ménagère américaine?

(comprehension):
La ménagère française fait-elle la maison plus ou moins souvent du pain que la ménagère américaine?

(evaluation):
D'après vous, le métier de boulanger aurait-il plus ou moins de prestige en France qu'aux États-Unis?

Territorially considered (knowledge):
Où est-ce qu'on achète du pain en France? aux USA?

Protectively considered (comprehension):
Comparez la manière d'emballer le pain en France et aux USA.

(analyses):
A quoi ces différences de coutume tiennent-elles?

Exploitationally considered (knowledge):
Combien de fois par jour mange-t-on du pain en France? aux USA?

(analysis):
Comment? (i.e., avec quoi?)

En quoi peut-on comparer le pain français à un outil de table?

Organizationally considered (knowledge):
Où met-on le pain pendant qu'on le mange en France? aux USA?

Exploitationally considered (analysis):
Quelles différences de service de table et d'appareils ménagers en résultent?
Protectively considered  
(application):  

Quel pourcentage de l'alimentation journalière le pain occupe-t-il en France? aux USA?

Interactionally considered  
(comprehension):  

Expliquez le dicton français: "Bon comme le pain"?

(evaluation):  

Pourrait-on en dire autant aux USA, à votre avis?

Instructionally considered  
(analysis):  

Comment un enfant français apprend-il à estimer le pain?

(application):  

Qu'est-ce qui remplit cette fonction aux USA?

Recreationally considered  
(comprehension):  

Quel rôle le pain joue-t-il dans les piques-ni ques en France et aux USA?

Summary questions:  
(synthesis):  

Comment la vie en France serait-elle différente s'il n'y avait pas de pain?  
Comment la vie aux USA serait-elle différente si le pain américain ressemblait au pain français?

(evaluation):  

Lequel des deux pains préférez-vous? Pourquoi?

As a final summary activity, the teacher might have the students fill in with emic details the content map on eating habits outlined earlier, making systematic comparisons of American and French differences, much like the one in Appendix D but including the entire unit's discussion. This will test what students have learned of content. The ultimate proof of whether or not they have learned the process could only be observed when they did another unit, covering a totally different pattern, and perhaps on their own. It has yet to be seen how much practice students need before they acquire the skill of analysis.

This cultural unit could probably be criticized from the standpoint of what it leaves out as well as what it contains, for it focuses
in on one cultural pattern in great detail, pre-empting time from others. Yet the thoroughness of the analysis allows the student to glimpse the macrocosm in the microcosm and, if the objectives are met, provides him with a process by which he can increase his own knowledge. Furthermore, it is not intended that the content be as orthodox as that which would be supplied by a trained anthropologist working in the field. One of the strong points of the approach is that it elicits thought on the part of the students. Although this thought may at times be erroneous, (and the teacher should correct it as much as possible!), the process is as important as the content. Besides, the content emphasis is not on specifics, important as these may be, but on the framework which provides both teacher and student a means of getting inside the culture to see a particular pattern in all its ramifications. Further discussion of the feasibility and implications of the approach will be made in Chapter V.
NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1 In this chapter it seems unnecessary to document sources for the approach which have already been cited. It is assumed that the reader has read Chapters II and III and is familiar with these names. The added sources, of course, will be referenced as usual.

2 Hall, Language, 174-5.


4 Ibid., p. 521.

5 Berry, p. 121.

6 Ibid., pp. 121-2.

7 Goldschmidt in Berry, p. 121.

8 Hall and Trager, Analysis, p. 6. (The Analysis of Culture, co-authored by Hall and Trager, is a pre-publication edition upon which much of The Silent Language is based. In the text, this author consistently refers to the map of culture published in The Silent Language as Hall's system or grid, whereas in reality Trager probably is responsible for some input into it. This seems both inevitable and justifiable in view of the fact that Hall singly published The Silent Language. This author apologizes, however, to Trager for any failure on her part to give him due credit.)

9 Ibid., pp. 7-8.

10 Ibid., p. 12.

11 Ibid., p. 17.

12 Ibid., p. 3.

13 Ibid., pp. 15-16.

14 Ibid., p. 19.
15 Ibid., pp. 19-20.
16 Ibid., p. 20.
17 Ibid., p. 34.
18 Ibid., p. 35.
20 Gall et al., p. 12.
21 Ibid., p. 261.
A. Summary

In Chapter I the need for more effective cross-cultural teaching in the foreign language classroom was evoked as the rationale for this study. This need has been publicized in such documents as the Kettering Report. It is felt above all by foreign language teachers, who want to know how to teach the fifth skill, that of analyzing cross-culturally. The objective of this study was to invent an approach to teaching this skill which would combine a bias-free system of cultural analysis with a method and technique of using it in the classroom. The system might be used as an etic entry into the American and the foreign cultures, which would then be analyzed emically to obtain an authentic picture; the method would have to account for stages of thought through which students would pass in order to meet this objective; questions could be used as a technique because of their proven ability to elicit thought. The approach would lend itself to cross-cultural comparison with any foreign way of life, but would be illustrated for the purposes of the study with the French culture. In addition to an explanation of the problem, rationale, and scope of the study, Chapter I contained a description of the limitations of the
study, an outline of the dissertation, and a glossary of terms.

In Chapter II the use of the question in the classroom was examined, especially as a stimulus for thought at different levels. This review included an enumeration of various systems for classification of questions according to thought levels. A number of these emphasize the process approach, which implies that the method used by a student to arrive at an answer is just as significant as the answer itself. Empirical results of studies on the use of higher-cognitive questions were found to be somewhat contradictory, indicating that the total teaching act is a greater factor in achievement than one specific behavior. Then some statements about the processes involved in thinking were summarized. A discussion of discovery learning and an addendum on questions in the foreign language classroom concluded the chapter.

In Chapter III a particular point of view of culture was described, a view emphasizing the more concrete "systems-of-action" approach over the abstract consideration of values, culture as "systems-of-meaning." This interpretation is that of the school of functionalism, which describes culture as a systematic way of fulfilling man's organic needs and uses a concrete, inductive method to study the system. Man's needs are fulfilled in patterns of activity of trait complexes, which have form, meaning, use, and function. The meaning of a pattern is derived from its functions, usually multiple, which are related to the whole of culture. To understand pattern in all its ramifications, then, one must look at the interrelationship of patterns, or web of culture. Culture change may be better explained also by following this route. This theory serves as a guide to any valid
method of cross-cultural, as well as intra-cultural, comparison. For behavior must be described emically, that is, from within the system, as opposed to etically—from without. Each trait complex or pattern can be described this way, as well as the interrelationship, or web, it forms with other systems of culture. It can best be understood by being analyzed in its relationships to these other systems. In doing cross-cultural research, only patterns with functional equivalence can be compared validly.

In the second part of Chapter III, the writing of foreign language educators in the area of teaching culture was summarized. Some follow the systems-of-meaning approach; others advocate a systems-of-action approach as an alternative way of entering into the foreign culture emically, at least as emically as possible. It has been proposed that a cultural event be analyzed according to its form, meaning, and function, and that the interrelationship of patterns be studied from within a culture. Various techniques, such as the culture capsule, the culture cluster, and audio-motor unit, and the inquiry approach were reviewed, as well as models providing bases for cultural analysis.

In Chapter IV the kaleidoscopic approach of the author—a synthesis of content, method, and technique—was described. The introduction explained the pedagogical rationale behind the approach, which takes advantage of the fact that students have some knowledge of culture. It also considered briefly the anthropological justification for cross-cultural analysis, a task made possible by the etic-emic distinction.
The content aspect of the approach is divided into two areas. One is an anthropological structure of knowledge, which includes awareness of what culture is and of how it organizes man's existence into patterns. Patterns are both observable and interrelated, and have formal, informal, and technical aspects. This structure forms the theoretical foundation and system for the other area—specific knowledge about the two cultures being compared. Hall's map of culture is proposed as the ideal system for obtaining specific knowledge about a culture. It is used by the teacher to plan the content of the culture unit by analyzing two functionally equivalent patterns into their formal, informal, and technical aspects.

The method or main teaching procedure is the process of induction, often called the discovery method. Facts must be learned before concepts, and concepts before generalizations. These three stages in the acquisition of knowledge dovetail with mental processes in an order of increasing complexity. Certain processes which are particularly appropriate for passing from the perceptual to the conceptual were combined with categories from Bloom's taxonomy in the cognitive domain to make a theoretical hierarchy which the teacher can follow in planning a unit.

The technique chosen for the implementation of the method is that of question strategies. Questions are directly related to the thought process they evoke, and they can be classified according to their cognitive level. Combined with the steps suggested by the method, they can provide the teacher with a means of eliciting thought and thereby facilitating the acquisition of cross-cultural knowledge.
An illustrative unit on French and American eating habits showed the teacher how to combine content, method, and technique. It suggested the teaching devices of maxi-wheel to depict the macrocosm, and mini-wheel, the microcosm of culture. It provided a variety of activities for learning facts, concepts, and generalizations about the French cultural pattern and comparing it with the functionally equivalent American one. In order to make the analysis as emic as possible, the student was even asked to compare idiosyncrasies within the French pattern itself, and learned to do a whole cultural analysis based on one artifact.

B. Feasibility

Although this was intended to be not a feasibility study, but a conceptualization, the illustrative unit was taught in a fairly integral version to a class of seventh-grade French students. These students were following a normal sequence of language learning which combined the course guide with A-LM French Level 1, New Second Edition. It might be appropriate here to discuss some positive and negative aspects of the approach as seen from a practical point of view before reviewing its implications for further study or research.

A very real positive contribution of the approach is that of a guide for planning. In fact, the teacher has three frameworks or models on which to rely: the unit outline, which furnishes a variety of activities; Hall's "map of culture," which has been converted into maxi- and mini-wheels; and the model of question categories such as that of the Far West Laboratory—all of which can serve as inspiration for ideas. In using these three aspects in combination the author was
able to plan a systematic unit on the comparison of American and French eating habits, and in the process, learned something about the act of making cross-cultural comparisons. In other words, the three-cornered approach, which comes to resemble a kaleidoscope in its unity in diversity when it is applied to a number of patterns, can be used as a means of planning and learning for the teacher—a feasible and productive device.

Like most approaches being tried out for the first time, it had certain flaws. The author was unsure, for example, of how much to do deductively and how much inductively; sometimes the phrasing of the questions was less clear than desirable; and at first the sheer complexity of trying to work as a unit with three systems proved mind-boggling! Yet the students seemed to take to it with enthusiasm. Some of the discussions were taped, and a transcription of an excerpt of one of them is included in Appendix E.

From the cognitive point of view, the students responded perceptively and actively to the questions, both on the American and French cultures. They showed themselves capable of performing higher cognitive operations in answer to questions. Since these questions by their very nature invite more than one possible answer, teacher talk was greatly reduced in favor of student talk. For the most part, the students had many ideas and were not hesitant about voicing them. (The teacher learned a lot about the students in the process!) Motivationally, also, the approach seemed to have great positive aspects. Some of the students who did less well in the language-learning part of the class outshone their classmates during the discussion times and
were quite enthusiastic about this opportunity to share ideas.

To implement the approach requires not only preparation time but also some prior training for the teacher, who must be familiar with the levels of questions as well as the kinds of interrogatory phrases associated with each level. Working through a programmed manual such as that of Gall et al.\(^2\) should provide sufficient training for a start; much is learned through experience and trial and error.

Furthermore, the teacher needs to be thoroughly familiar with the culture whose language is being taught—a knowledge based on personal experience whenever possible as well as on thoughtful reading of selected words. A brief list of those which might be helpful to a French teacher is given in Appendix E. This knowledge must necessarily be kept current, as changes are constantly occurring. Yet one must not overemphasize the requirement of a specified background, since the approach itself gives the teacher ideas on where to look for information not already possessed.

The problems encountered in the author's personal use of the approach are worthy of consideration. The time element was probably the hardest to overcome. The discussions that we are advocating, while most fruitful in seeming outcomes, both cognitive and affective, require a proportion of class time that may not be in harmony with the goals of the course. At the elementary levels of language learning these discussions are necessarily conducted in English and pre-empt time from the target language. Perhaps, especially in view of the Kettering Report, we need to rethink our linguistic goals and give higher priority to those pertaining to cross-cultural comparison. On
the other hand, perhaps a way could be found to unite this approach with the teaching of the language itself. Further discussion of this possibility will follow in the implications section of this chapter.

Another "problem" the author encountered lies in the nature of the higher-level questions. When a question calls for more than one answer, the teacher wants to encourage all pertinent answers, of course. Yet sometimes a student may give a "silly" or irrelevant answer. What is the teacher to do? Although the purpose of the questions is to elicit thought from students, it should be, after all, guided thought. The students should have some premise on which they are basing their answers. For example, by the time they are asked an analysis, synthesis, or evaluation question, they should know enough of the facts, concepts and generalizations that are necessary in order to make an intelligent response. If not, the teacher has a duty to intervene to give validity to the discussion; it seems pointless to allow students to babble on without saying anything of substance. In addition, the teacher must often interpret and summarize student remarks (this does not mean repeat the answer!) to keep the discussion on the track. It may happen also, of course, that the teacher simply does not know the answer to a question (students will come up with some of their own, too!). In that case, the professional thing to do is to table the discussion of that point until the information is located.

A further consideration comes in the area of flexibility. As the author and her students worked with this approach, sometimes a provocative unplanned question would creep into the discussion. At other times a planned question seemed to lead nowhere. Either
situation is a challenge. Encouragingly, experience teaches a lot, with this approach as with any other. After working with the culture wheels for a while, one becomes more adept at recognizing areas of greatest productivity in content for discussion, and at fielding unanticipated questions. It is important to follow up on an unanticipated question if it can be productive, and sometimes those prove to be the most productive. For example, as the author's students discussed the "where" of eating habits crossed with bisexuality, the question came up as to the changes that would have to be made in boys' schools if girls were admitted. The group took advantage of the opportunity to discuss these changes "around the wheel," considering every system of culture. (Exploitationally, the addition of girls' bathrooms was seen to be a necessity!) Flexibility, as well as prior planning, is a key to success.

Finally, a word might be added about the group size. The author's class was rather small (twenty) for a public school situation. Needless to say, this was a great advantage. While the discussions might have been more beneficial for each participant had the group been even smaller, practical considerations, not the least of which was the author's own inexperience with the approach, led her to teach the whole group with it. She thus avoided the possible confusion of a class division. However, with a larger class, the discussions could be done with smaller groups, divided however seems best for the particular situation. The idea is to get all students thinking and sharing their thoughts with the others.
The greatest incentive for any teaching method or approach is a student's saying, "When are we going to do that again?" This author heard that question more than once in the course of implementing this approach, as she desperately tried to develop materials to keep up with the students! More convincing to the specialists, however, would probably be empirical proof of the approach's positive benefits cognitively and affectively. Since the author did not test the results, she can only surmise that these students learned something about French eating habits and became more aware of their own eating patterns, as well as the ramifications of these on all systems of living. She can only intuit that they became less culture-bound in both knowledge and attitude through the discussions and other activities. The empirical aspect, missing thus far, will be discussed in the next section.

C. Implications for Further Development and Future Research

Any area--content, method, or technique--of this approach could have been pursued in itself with fruitful results. The author chose to combine several areas into a synthetic approach because she was intrigued by the combinational effects that could thereby be derived. However, in discussing the implications of this study for future work, one must consider the areas in themselves as well as in combination. Furthermore, any of them or all might be combined with a fourth area, that of linguistic development in the target language. Possibilities for expansion of the study are endless in almost any of these directions.
In the realm of question strategies combined with teaching the four linguistic skills of listening, speaking, reading, and writing the target language, for example, little has been done. Almost any of the areas enumerated in the introduction to Chapter II could furnish ideas for productive research. One area would be in teaching reading comprehension. At present it is debatable whether questions should be given to the students before or after they read a passage, or whether, on the other hand, they should be intermittent. Research would provide some answers which might be pertinent to teaching writing, also.

In the domain of the oral skills, research should be done on the amount of time (called "wait-time") that should be given to students before calling on them to answer. This seems especially significant in a foreign language class, where processes of both thinking and coding would be involved. Question strategies could also make contributions to research in the area of communicative competence. After all, when one asks students higher cognitive questions, one is requiring them to think original thoughts, which are much more interesting but more difficult to code than those evoked by often-insipid questions. Also, the problem of how much error to allow without inhibiting linguistic progress could be tested in conjunction with question strategies.

The content of the questions need not be cultural, as it was in this study. It could be literary or conversational in nature. If the questions were asked in the target language, the students would have to be more advanced linguistically than the seventh-graders with whom the author worked on this study. Nevertheless, such approaches to coding
in the target language at an advanced level should be the subject of experimentation. In fact, several noted foreign language educators have indicated the need to investigate this area of pedagogy, which is beyond the drill level of language acquisition. Jakobovits would perhaps not even wait until basic proficiency had been acquired. Rivers states, perhaps more realistically,

More recent methods have worked out techniques for developing the lower-level manipulative skill while leaving the student unpracticed in the making of decisions at the higher level. We need to give more thought to effective ways of inducing language behavior at the second level.

The object would be to enhance the learner's coordinate bilingualism, for he will code his pre-verbal thought directly into the target language. Belyayev describes succinctly this "second stage" in language learning and gives a rationale for it:

The second stage is that of direct (or non-translating) learning, because its characteristic is the establishment of a direct link between the foreign language and thought, as a result of which the need for translation disappears.

The basic defect of our present method of language teaching is that pupils are taught knowledge about a language more than they are taught to think in it, as a result of which the main aim of teaching is often not attained. In other words, pupils are principally taught the forms of a foreign language without attention being paid to the fact that practical mastery of these forms is only possible if they are directly linked with students' thought processes.

Much attention has been paid recently to the connection between thought and language. Brooks quotes Vygotsky's outline of phases of articulation from consciousness to thought to speech to writing. Asher reports on the work of Lado in this area and reacts to it this way: "Perhaps the ideal strategy is to acquire the linguistic code as incidental learning to thought processes." Asher also proposes that
we teach the student how to ask questions in order to prepare him for divergent thinking.\(^9\)

In the area of cultural content, also, much work needs to be done. How much easier the job of "analyzing cross-culturally" would be if teachers had access to data banks such as those described by Joyce and Joyce,\(^10\) or to the type of comparative analysis of societal characteristics of Bourguignon and Greenbaum.\(^11\) This type of content would ideally be kept up-to-date and would include statistical information which would be difficult to obtain otherwise. Perhaps eventually it could also be made available directly to students who might be doing individual projects in cross-cultural comparison. Data from all countries whose languages are commonly studied in the United States should be included. An attempt could possibly be made therein to distinguish between class or regional differences in cultural pattern so that the cross-cultural comparisons would attain greater consistency and validity.

In the area of culture also, research on the types of cultural materials which best lend themselves to cross-cultural comparison might be done. The unit in this study made use of photographs which were available to the teacher in the textbook she was using; it also included some consultation of recipe books and a department store catalog for examination of cultural artifacts. But other sources such as a foreign film, a comic strip, an advertisement, a child's report card—should be examined for their merit as means of entering into the foreign culture. Gall notes that a teacher's use of fact versus thought question depends to an extent on the type of materials to which they
have access and that it seems somewhat less difficult to write higher
cognitive questions on primary sources. 12

The approach itself needs empirical justification, both cogni-
tive and affective. The author would like to obtain measurable answers
to the following questions: To what extent is the approach emic?
Does it enable the learner to acquire an unbiased picture of the for-
eign culture? (i.e., How true a picture does one get from the "observ-
able"?) How much greater is a learner's awareness of the cultural
patterning in his own life as a result of his thinking about cross-
cultural comparisons? How much more cognitive knowledge of the foreign
culture can he gain through the approach? To what extent do his
thinking skills and knowledge of the process of cultural analysis trans-
fer to a situation where, on his own, he must take the initiative to do
the comparing? To what extent does his attitude change toward the
foreign culture and toward his own? What is the influence of the
evaluative questions in this regard? To what extent would his culture
shock be lessened if he were immersed in the foreign culture as a par-
ticipant following these analyses? To what extent does the presumed
improved motivation affect his achievement linguistically in the tar-
get language? Each of these questions could be the subject of an em-
pirical study, and hopefully, all will be answered some day.

It has been mentioned that the ideal use of this approach would
combine it with the teaching of the language itself. A textbook series
based on another synthesis—that of this approach and the best methods
for learning language—needs to be written. One feature of Hall's sys-
tem that would be distinctly favorable in this regard is the inclusion
of language in the guise of "interaction" within the ten divisions of culture. The linguistic components could be developed in conjunction with the cultural in an ever-widening kaleidoscope of facets, rooted in the wheels of culture. Perhaps also a simplified terminology could be found for the wheels, for as Dienes and Jeeves maintain, "The final test of whether a child understands a structure is his ability to handle that structure and not his ability to verbalize it in adult fashion." This new synthesis has yet to be made. Maybe some day it will appear, providing the student with the opportunity which Nelson Brooks would wish for him:

Sometimes I think of life as a statue that can be seen by the unilingual from one position only, but it has an additional meaning for the bilingual who can observe it from two different vantage points.

In the meantime, it is hoped that this study will offer teachers at least one way to answer the challenge of the Kettering Report, resulting not simply in an increased foreign language enrollment—not merely in an academically-improved student population—but especially in a more self-aware individual. Cognitively, the approach has the potential to lessen the mindlessness of which Silberman accused our schools. Affectively, it could cause positive attitudinal changes, if it is true that "Thinking and involvement with teachers in a cooperative educational effort lead a student to feel good," and that teachers who provide opportunities for students to think are aware that their charges are "meaning makers" rather than empty buckets. (There is said to be some correlation between cognitive and affective stimulation.) Most importantly, however, as Raths has shown, the
thinking occasions which the student is given should help him attain
greater maturity. In keeping with Rousseau's suggestion, the student
will know himself better if he sees himself as another. So be it.
NOTES TO CHAPTER V


2. *Minicourse Nine.*


10. Joyce and Joyce, *Data Banks.*


18 The Art, p. xiv.
APPENDIX A

Materials pertinent to the technique of the approach: systems for the analysis of questions into categories.
### SUMMARY CHART OF QUESTION TYPES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question Type</th>
<th>Student Activity</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Knowledge     | Recalling facts or observations. Recalling definitions. | 1. Who?  
2. What?  
3. Where?  
4. When?  
5. Why? (if cause is given.)  
6. Define (the word gubernatorial). |
2. What is the main idea (of this paragraph)?  
3. How are (these two countries) alike?  
How are they different? |
| Application   | Applying techniques and rules to solve problems that have a single correct answer. | 1. If (Bill has 49 cents), how many (8-cent balloons) can he buy?  
2. What is (the latitude of Moscow)?  
3. Classify (these poems as ballads, sonnets, or odes). |
| Analysis      | Identifying motives or causes. Making inferences. Finding evidence to support generalizations. | 1. Why (did the Bat-Foot write poems)?  
2. Now that we’ve studied this, what can we conclude about (life in Germany)?  
3. What does this tell us about (the author’s attitude toward war)?  
4. What evidence can you find to support (the principle that air expands when heated)? |
| Synthesis     | Solving problems. Making predictions. Producing original communications. | 1. Can you think up (a title for this drawing)?  
2. How can we solve (this dilemma)?  
3. How can we improve (our experiment)?  
4. What will happen (now that we’ve landed on the moon)?  
5. What do you predict would happen (if this lake were to run dry)? |
| Evaluation    | Giving opinions about issues. Judging the validity of ideas. Judging the merit of problem-solution. Judging the quality of art and other products. | 1. Do you agree (with Kathy)?  
2. Do you believe (that this is the best way to proceed)?  
3. Do you think (that it is right to execute convicted murderers)?  
4. What is your opinion (on this matter)?  
5. Would it be better (to do it this way)?  
6. Which (painting) do you like? |

APPENDIX B

Materials pertinent to the method of the approach: samples from process approaches to teaching.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THE PROCESS DIMENSION</th>
<th>Judging</th>
<th>Synthesizing</th>
<th>Analyzing</th>
<th>Solving</th>
<th>Understanding</th>
<th>Remembering</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Is the concept 'threshold' sufficiently precise to permit measurement?</strong></td>
<td>Assess the validity of the friction of distance principle by comparing it with 'the real world.'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Develop a procedure through which you could teach the idea of 'a nested hierarchy' to high school students.</strong></td>
<td>Formulate several testable hypotheses deriving from the assumptions of central place theory.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Outline the form of scientific explanation used in developing central place theory.</strong></td>
<td>&quot;If there were no Great Lakes, Chicago would still be a large city.&quot; What assumptions seem to be implicit in that statement?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Given a population distribution map and the assumptions of central place theory, construct the most probable urban hierarchy.</strong></td>
<td>How would a reduction in transport costs affect the range of a good?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Explain what is meant by 'a nested hierarchy.'</strong></td>
<td>Draw a graph showing the relationship between threshold level and range of a good.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The originator of central place theory was</strong></td>
<td><strong>State the definition of 'range of a good.'</strong></td>
<td><strong>List the assumptions of central place theory.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reprint of chart from p. 29 in "Classroom Questioning for Geography Teachers" by Gary Manson, Journal of Geography 72 (April 1973): 24-30, with permission of the National Council for Geographic Education.
### Overview of the Processes

#### INSTRUCTIONAL MODEL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cognitive Task</th>
<th>Operations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Concept Diagnosis</td>
<td>A series of questions which results in diagnostic data, focus on unit, exercise in analysis of relationships.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpretation of Data</td>
<td>A series of questions which results in the discovery of principles, generalizations and inferences from differentiating the data, relating points to each other, determining cause and effect and going beyond what is given.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

![Diagram showing the flow from Knowledge Organized by Conceptual Categories to Generalizations, then to Application of Knowledge and finally to Generalizations.](image)

Application of Knowledge: A question or series of questions which requires the application of previously discovered knowledge to a new situation.

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Reprint of p. 94 in Development of Higher Level Thinking Abilities. Instructor's Manual by John A. McCollum and Rose Marie Davis (Portland, Oregon: Commercial-Education Distributing Services for the Northwest Regional Laboratory, 1972), with permission of the Northwest Regional Laboratory.
## CONCEPT CONTENT FORM

### PROCESSES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Process</th>
<th>Sample Questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>OC</strong> - Observing</td>
<td><strong>OC</strong> - What are some things you notice about our habitat?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PL</strong> - Recalling</td>
<td><strong>PL</strong> - What did you see on your visit to the bakery?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DP</strong> - Noticing Differences</td>
<td><strong>DP</strong> - What are some ways these leaves are different? (leaf length)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SN</strong> - Noticing Similarities</td>
<td><strong>SN</strong> - What are some ways these are alike?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>OA</strong> - Ordering</td>
<td><strong>OA</strong> - How would you arrange these rocks if the heaviest went here and the lightest here?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GA</strong> - Grouping</td>
<td><strong>GA</strong> - Which of these living together because they are alike in some way? (objects, e.g., your clips, tape, pencil, erasers, ribbons, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LB</strong> - Concept Labeling</td>
<td><strong>LB</strong> - What would you call a group of objects (champagne, pencils, points, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CF</strong> - Classifying</td>
<td><strong>CF</strong> - What do you see in our room that could be called “living things”?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TS</strong> - Concept Testing</td>
<td><strong>TS</strong> - If our pets were known instead of heart and wise, would he still be a rabbit?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CS</strong> - Inferring Causes</td>
<td><strong>CS</strong> - Why do you think people colored the different animals in this picture?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>EF</strong> - Inferring Effects</td>
<td><strong>EF</strong> - What do you think happens because fish eat fish even if there are fish that are bigger than the top of the box?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FL</strong> - Inferring Feelings</td>
<td><strong>FL</strong> - How do you think they feel when we say “Happy Birthday” to him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CO</strong> - Concluding</td>
<td><strong>CO</strong> - What do you think you could do if the teacher asks us to work on our selective memory (facts actually observed)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GM</strong> - Generalizing</td>
<td><strong>GM</strong> - From what we’ve talked about, what would you say usually happens when we don’t put our floating objects (fishing to actual classroom situations)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>QS</strong> - Questioning</td>
<td><strong>QS</strong> - From what we found out about the birds in our celebration, what could we try to find out about this new project?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AM</strong> - Anticipating</td>
<td><strong>AM</strong> - What are some things you think will happen around here with winter coming?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NC</strong> - Making Choices</td>
<td><strong>NC</strong> - Which of these would you choose to eat (apples, trees, temperature, taste, etc.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**CONTENT FORM**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample questions:</th>
<th>Sample questions:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GS - What do you notice about the animal in this picture?</td>
<td>GS - Last picture. An object, event, etc. cannot be observed in a real world.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LS - What happened in the film about a baby?</td>
<td>LS - What happened in a baseball team match?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DP - What are some ways these leaves are different from each other?</td>
<td>DP - What are leaves in the fall different from those in spring?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DS - What is the object of the photographs in the film?</td>
<td>DS - Are there any objects in the current day?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| GS - Which of the objects shown in these pictures is the longest? | GS - Which happened first in the story you heard? |
| LS - Which of these objects is the largest? | LS - Which happened next in the story you heard? |
| DS - Which of these objects is the smallest? | DS - Which happened last in the story you heard? |

| GS - Which of the objects shown in these pictures is the longest? | GH - Which of these things is in the story you heard? |
| LS - Which of these objects is the largest? | GH - Which of these things is in the story you heard? |
| DS - Which of these objects is the smallest? | GH - Which of these things is in the story you heard? |

| CS - Thinking about the film you saw about a family, who do you think people have told these different stories to? | CS - How do you think people keep as many different kinds of animals as you see in the film? |
| EH - What are some laws you think people need because in your family you may | EH - What are some laws you think people need because in your family you may |
| OM - What do you think is the most important lack of law in your family? | OM - What do you think is the most important lack of law in your family? |

| GS - From what we said about what happened in the film, what could we say usually happens when people don't put things back where they belong? | GS - Thinking about what we first told about trees, what would you wonder about a tree you have not yet seen? |
| LS - Thinking of the story we told about a tree, what would you wonder about a tree you have not yet seen? | LS - Thinking of the story we told about a tree, what would you wonder about a tree you have not yet seen? |

---

APPENDIX C

Materials pertaining to the content of the approach: Hall's Map of Culture and Kosnik's Web of Culture based on Hall and Trager's analysis of culture.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Values</th>
<th>Symbols</th>
<th>Notations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Value 1</td>
<td>Symbol 1</td>
<td>Notation 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>Value 2</td>
<td>Symbol 2</td>
<td>Notation 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>Value 3</td>
<td>Symbol 3</td>
<td>Notation 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: Table values and notations are illustrative and not actual.*
APPENDIX D

Materials pertinent to the pedagogical application of the approach: A-LM photographs, photographs of the maxi- and mini-wheels, and culture capsules.
Diner in a French home

Maxl-wheel of Culture
Close-Up: Systemic focus #29 (Use of Foods, Resources, and Equipment) as Shown on the Maxi-Wheel of Culture
Mini-Wheel of Culture, as applied to systemic focus #29 (Use of Foods, Resources, and Equipment).

N.B. This is not shown to scale. The mini-wheel is actually about half the size of the maxi-wheel.
CULTURE CAPSULE: MEALS IN FRANCE

Most French people eat only two real meals a day. Since breakfast is quite small, it is not considered a meal as such. Consisting of coffee (either noir or café au lait), tartines de pain beurrées (slices of buttered bread) with or without jam, or croissants (crescent-shaped rolls) and brioches (an egg-flavored bread) on special occasions, it is sufficient to tide one over until the déjeuner (noon meal).

The déjeuner, first real meal of the day, is served at noontime. Families traditionally gather together for this purpose, and there is a two-hour break at school to allow students time to get home for it, or, if that is not possible, to have a full-course meal at school. The custom is losing ground in large cities, where many factories and businesses are adopting the journée continue, which allows workers only one-half hour for lunch. This prevents fathers and mothers who work from making the trip home for lunch. Yet the tradition of a family gathering at noon still seems entrenched in the provinces, and certainly during vacation time and on weekends families observe the custom.

The déjeuner is a multi-course meal. It begins with hors-d'oeuvre (such as carottes rapées, œufs durs à la mayonnaise, sardines, etc.), followed by a meat, fish, or poultry dish and vegetables (the latter served either separately or with the main dish, sometimes as part of the sauce); then salad is served, usually on the same plate, which has
been cleaned with the ever-present bread. (Bread accompanies all courses except dessert, and is placed on the table rather than on a bread plate.) Salad is followed by cheese and fruit or other dessert. Wine is the usual beverage, though children drink water; often bottled water is used. Coffee is served after the meal, and on Sundays a liqueur, may be consumed after that.

Dinner is not served until 7:30 or 8:00 p.m. To satisfy the hunger which may arrive at 4:00 in the afternoon, children have a special snack called the gouter, consisting of more tartines, or cookies and chocolate. If adults join them, they usually have tea at this time of day. Many men indulge in an apéritif at the neighborhood café or bar before going home for dinner.

Dinner, like the déjeuner, is served in courses. It usually begins with soup, followed by some sort of protein dish—either meat again, though often cold at night, or eggs, and a vegetable. Salad may or may not follow, but there is usually cheese and a dessert.

This usually ends food consumption for the day. If the French desire anything before bed, it will usually be an herb tea, called tisane, but nothing further is eaten as a general rule.

Questions:
1. Describe the French petit-dejeuner. Why is it not considered a full meal?
2. How does the French déjeuner differ from our lunch? Discuss both its importance and its contents.
3. Describe the gouter. What function does it fulfill in a French child's life?
4. How is the French \textit{dîner} different from the \textit{déjeuner}?

5. How would American snack foods fare in France?

CULTURE CAPSULE: Meals in the United States

Using the above as a model, describe American eating habits.
SUMMARY CONTENT MAP: INTERMEDIATE

These are some of the facts, concepts, and generalizations students would be expected to "discover" during the cross-cultural discussion evoked by the photograph of a French family at dinner used in the illustrative unit. It is thus not the unit content map, which includes eating at school, but an Intermediate one. Nor is discussion of change summarized here, since that is largely speculative.

It is suggested that before using cross-cultural questions with the students, the teacher test them for productivity by making one of these summaries. The author found, for example, that in trying to answer the questions herself the really significant conclusions became more clear, making it possible subsequently to take better aim with the questions. The cultural information is categorized according to the systems of culture, but it is difficult if not impossible to avoid crossing categories within a discussion because of their interrelationship. The reader may therefore expect some mixing of systems.

Exploitational

Americans eat salad with the main dish, or perhaps as a first course, though the meal is not usually served in a series of courses. Bottled salad dressings are common, and are appreciated because of the
convenience and variety (in terms of taste as well as number of calories) they provide. These dressings are popular despite the fact that they cost more than the homemade kind. In fact, American housewives probably don't know how to make dressing.

Bread is not always eaten with dinner, but is often replaced by some other starchy food such as potatoes, rice, or noodles (often coming out of a box). Bread is eaten, however, at breakfast, and often in a sandwich at lunch. When bread is eaten at dinner, it is usually spread with butter or margarine, and is typically placed on a bread plate. On formal occasions a butter knife may be provided. Many Americans prefer margarine to butter, not because of cost, but for health reasons; they seem willing to make do with less flavor for better health. Also, there are low-calorie margarines, which are becoming popular; Americans, who get little natural exercise, have to watch calories in order to maintain their proper weight.

Dinner is a hot meal, which is necessary because lunch is usually cold. Meat and vegetables are the usual fare, sometimes followed by dessert. Children usually drink milk; adults often have coffee, sometimes with the meal. Alcoholic beverages are ordinarily reserved for special occasions; they are fairly expensive and not considered a necessary accompaniment to food.

Organizational

Napkin rings are not ordinarily found in the American home, for paper napkins are preferred to cloth, for the sake of both convenience and
sanitariness. Furthermore, Americans seem to like to dispose of things when they have served their purpose: witness the proliferation of garage sales. A cloth tablecloth is usually reserved for special occasions; instead, place mats or plastic cloths are used. Etiquette is rather informal; expediency is important.

American families usually eat dinner together, but often jobs, either those of parents or children, keep part of the family away. Families do not ordinarily eat lunch together, except perhaps on Sunday.

**Territorial**

The place for eating can vary considerably. Usually breakfast is taken in the kitchen, and dinner may be eaten there or in the dining room. The kitchen is the more expedient place, as it is convenient to the stove, and Americans don't seem to mind the informality of the situation. Lunch is often eaten away from home. Inexpensive and convenient fast-food chains make it easy for Americans to "eat out" often, but restaurants are expensive.

**Temporal**

Americans usually have dinner about 5:30 or 6:00. As lunch is a light meal, they are ready to eat at this time. Factories and offices close at about 5:00, and children who have been home from school for a couple of hours are hungry by this time. Since dinner does not last long, there is much time between it and bedtime for evening activities. Americans often use this time for do-it-yourself chores, watching television, etc. Since they finish eating so early, snacking is common, and there are many varieties of snack foods available.
Recreational

Meals in the United States fulfill the primary function of providing nourishment; the pleasure aspect of enjoying food and the company of those present is often relegated to a minimal position, especially when families watch television as they eat dinner.

Instructional

When they cook, most American women follow recipe books, having learned the basic principles of cooking at school in a home economics course, or sometimes from their mother. However, real cooking is often reserved for special occasions, as many women work and serve foods that are easy to prepare, including convenience foods. American technology has developed these as a result of the needs of the housewife, and it has been possible to meet these needs because of the advanced stage of technology.

As far as what is learned at the table through conversation and observation is concerned, this is probably minimal, since mealtime is comparatively short, and since some families watch television at this time. Much might be learned if the program is educational, such as the news. This varies, however, from family to family.

Bisexuality

It is becoming acceptable for the man of the house to help with cooking and cleaning up, as with other chores. This change is caused somewhat by the economic necessity of the woman's working, but other factors enter in. Many women have degrees and self-fulfilling jobs that
they are not willing to give up in order to do housework. It is less an economic than a psychological necessity that they work. The man of the house is usually willing to accept this fact and the consequence that he must help with the chores.

**Economic**

American women (or men) usually engage in some preparations for breakfast, though even here convenience foods and diet substitutes are available. Lunch is prepared with a minimum of effort, and the amount of dinner preparations depends somewhat on time available, expected presence of a guest, special occasions, and so forth. As elaborated above, American technology has made convenience a part of most families' patterns of preparing foods. These cost more than the home-cooked variety, but the convenience makes it worthwhile.

**Protection**

Science reminds Americans constantly of the importance of food in staying healthy. As a result, technology has developed low-fat and low-calorie substitutes for various foods. Americans seem willing to sacrifice some of the sensory pleasure of the flavor of foods in the interests of staying well and thin.

**Interactional**

The language associated with eating in the United States would include vocabulary relevant to technological innovations, such as "TV dinner," and "frozen foods." When cooking is done, the vocabulary is fairly international in content, as Americans have adopted a number of
dishes from all over the world. Polite phrases at the table tend to be minimized, perhaps because of the expediency of the meal.

**FRENCH**

**Territorial**

Breakfast is the only expedient meal of the day in France; in fact, it is not really considered a meal, and may be taken at a small table in the kitchen rather than in the dining room. The *déjeuner* and *dîner* are ordinarily eaten around the dining room table. Parents and children often come home for lunch, and have to make the trip back to school or work for the afternoon session. If the *déjeuner* is not at home but at school or in a restaurant, it is also taken there at a table, and not at a lunch counter. Sometimes people don't have time for a meal at noon, however, and have a sandwich at a café, where they may sit at the bar. Fast food chains are not unheard of in France, but are much less prolific than in the United States. When people eat out, it is usually in a restaurant. Those, especially workers, who eat at the same restaurant every day, are often allowed to keep their same weekly cloth napkin in a cubby-hole in the restaurant, which serves somewhat as a home away from home.

Other occasions on which the French might not eat lunch at home would be on the occasion of picnics, where in contrast to elaborate home meals, food tends to be rather simple, consisting of bread and cheese, or pâté, and wine.
Temporal

The noon meal begins between noon and one o'clock, and may last an hour or longer, depending upon the occasion. Businesses, including banks and stores, usually close between 12:00 and 2:00 to allow the French to observe this custom. School breaks for two hours at noon. Thus, the school or working day ends later, and dinner is pushed back to 7:30 or 8:00. The exception is that some factories are on a system which permits workers only one-half hour for lunch. The sacrifice in time seems to be worthwhile to the French, probably since the meal fulfills more than the function of nourishment. It is an important social gathering.

Since dinner is so late, evening activities such as those enjoyed by Americans (sports, do-it-yourself chores) seem to be less popular, or else they are performed before dinner. Theater, movies, and other activities begin at a later hour. Since dinner ends so late, unless they are going out to some specific function like a movie or play, the French tend to stay at home for the remainder of the evening, and may engage in games, watch television, listen to records, or read. Students usually have a considerable amount of homework to complete.

As far as changes in available food are concerned, the French are probably less used to having seasonal foods all year long than Americans. Accustomed to daily shopping, they have only comparatively recently come to rely on refrigeration to answer a need for keeping foods longer. The older French housewife tends to mistrust frozen foods, and certainly most of the French prefer fresh foods. They have not had a
need for better packaging because of foods being bought daily. They have
been willing to accept the inconvenience of daily shopping in order to
preserve the freshness and flavor of foods.

Organizational

Families in France spend a relatively large amount of time to­
gether at the table; this adds to their togetherness, and probably makes
it harder for them to accept a newcomer in their midst. (This depends,
however, on the newcomer. A bond of friendship can be established
quickly if there is a mutual interest and attraction to each other.)
Since the society is less mobile, family togetherness tends to continue
throughout the lives of the French. Another contributing factor is
the economic dependence of the children on their parents. Part-time jobs,
while beginning to become available, are not very prevalent. Since
longer school hours and school year would make it difficult for students
to hold jobs, they spend more time at home and remain dependent upon
their parents longer than American children, for instance.

French etiquette dictates that meals are served in courses, and
an elaborate serving apparatus has been developed. There are glasses,
for example, that are suitable to drinking only one special kind of
wine, and are not used for serving another kind. The courses follow a
ritual sequence, and are accompanied by wines that complement the food.
(Even in schools this ritual is observed, and one sees a double plate
on the tables to accommodate multiple courses.) Rich and poor alike seem
to follow this ceremonious way of eating. In contrast to the American
custom, French etiquette dictates that hands be kept in view and not in one's lap.

**Interactional**

Food vocabulary in France tends to be somewhat elaborate, in accordance with the elaborate preparation and serving of food. Meals one has enjoyed previously are often discussed at the table. A popular expression to say at the start of a meal is "Bon appétit!" which serves as the opening of the overture to the symphony. Since conversation is an important accompaniment to meals, and a great part of their recreational aspect, a considerable amount of communication takes place at mealtime, by vocal qualifiers (laughter, etc.) and gesture as well as words.

**Recreational**

Meals serve a recreational as well as a nutritional function in France. There is great pleasure taken in both the appearance and taste of food; besides this, discussion of all sorts of topics is common. Sometimes the French watch television as they eat, but more often they share ideas with each other. It is popular to entertain guests at dinner, and the French housewife is probably more ready to do so since she is used to cooking daily for the family.

**Exploitational**

The French agricultural system provides a great variety of products for the table, and since the emphasis in France is on freshness, an elaborate marketing system has been developed. Abundant vineyards
make wines readily available, at a relatively inexpensive price, and these are used in cooking as well as at the table as the accompanying beverage. Cheese is also offered in many varieties, and bread is served at every meal. Since the bread is not doctored up with preservatives, it must be purchased daily.

The French are used to moderation in quantity—for example, the plate-sized steaks served in the United States for one person would be unheard-of in France—yet the quantity is so enhanced by creative cooking, especially sauces, that the preparation is more important than the food itself. Fast-food chains have not been developed to a great extent in France not only for technological reasons; they just cannot satisfy the Frenchman's habitual craving for well-cooked food. Also, the noon meal is ordinarily a hot one; the French would probably react with distaste to a cold lunch, unless it were a necessity caused by circumstances.

Economically

Food is an important part of the budget in France, where people are less used to saving money to own a house or car than in the United States. They have seen the deprivation of war, and are more inclined to value the immediate pleasure that can be derived from eating than from saving for an uncertain future. (This is not to say that they don't save, merely that they are willing to spend money on food.)

As far as the amount of work involved in the preparation of food is concerned, and the shopping required, this is not considered such an inconvenience, and at any rate, the importance of eating well makes it worthwhile.
Sexually

The woman ordinarily does the shopping and cooking in France. Even if she is employed, the time schedule of the French family allows for this. Roles are changing somewhat, however, with the influence of "women's lib" movement gaining ground, even in France.

Protective

French food tends to be very healthy since it consists mostly in fresh foodstuffs and dairy products. The French people snack much less than Americans and therefore tend to eat less sugar and starch. They have less of a weight problem for this reason, and also because they usually get more natural exercise in the form of walking than Americans. This is a consequence of people owning fewer cars; but in France cars are usually not an absolute necessity for transportation.

Instructional

Since food preparation is more elaborate, it requires more instruction. Ordinarily girls learn from their mothers, but home economics courses in schools are quite intensive. When cooking, Frenchwomen probably rely less on recipe books and more on what they have learned from mother or grandmother, as well as the inspiration of the moment.

Much in the way of informal instruction goes on at mealtime. Conversation is an art that is learned at the table in France, and the French are usually fairly articulate thanks to this practice. Of course, much of what is shared at the table depends on the particular educational background and interests of the family. In addition, children
learn how to conduct themselves at the table according to rules of French etiquette.
Déjeuner in a French lycée

APPENDIX E

Materials pertaining to the feasibility of the approach in the secondary school classroom: transcripted excerpt of a discussion and bibliography of materials useful to teacher and/or students for the implementation of the approach applied to eating habits.
TRANSCRIPTION OF A DISCUSSION EXCERPT

The following discussion ensued in the author's seventh-grade French class, with reference to just one of the higher-level questions listed in Chapter IV, i.e., "How would life in the [two] countries be different if there were no provision made in schools for cafeterias?"

The excerpt has been edited to avoid "uh's," ramblings, and awkward phrasing, but is essentially recorded as it took place.

Teacher: How would life in France be different if there were no cafeteria in School?

Student 1: Well, they [the students] wouldn't have a chance to communicate that much. They talk a whole lot at the table.

Student 2: They'd have an earlier dinner because if they don't eat lunch, they'd have to have something to fill them up earlier. Then they'd have a heavier breakfast, too.

Teacher: Would they necessarily not eat if there were no cafeteria?

Student 3: No, they wouldn't because they would go home and eat, I guess. They would go home and have lunch, but it wouldn't be the same because you know they talk to one another, so I guess it wouldn't be the same.

Student 4: But when they had cafeterias, they were losing their customs--they had a custom of coming home to eat for lunch and having a full-course meal. And it's better when they
come home, so that they can see their families.

Student 1: If they didn't have a cafeteria it would bring them closer to their parents if they had to go home for lunch.

Teacher: What would happen in our country if there were no cafeteria?

Student 3: It would be hectic, 'cause it's bad enough with them. Everybody's packed in on different shifts.

Student 5: Plus in America most people work further away... it would be too much for them to go home because they'd have to commute more.

Student 4: And it would cost... you would need more bus tickets, and it would cause traffic jams, and there would be another rush hour.

Student 3: There would be more cutting classes and hooking school, 'cause once they leave, they won't come back.

Teacher: In other words, our pattern of eating at noon... crosses the lines of culture -- [if changed] it would upset buses, transportation, your relations with your family, well, maybe not upsets them, but at least changes them.

Student 6: Lunch hour would have to be longer-- instead of fifteen minutes, an hour.

Teacher: So that would affect the time allowed for lunch, too. Good!

Student 3: One thing though... French people are used to coming home sometimes, but Americans are used to eating in the school, so it wouldn't be as much of a change for the French as it would be for us.

Teacher: Very good observation
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

EATING HABITS OF THE FRENCH

This bibliography is not intended to be exhaustive, but an indication to the interested teacher of sources for some of the information that might be needed to execute the unit on eating habits. Only sources pertaining to the French culture are included, since it is assumed that the American teacher and students know the comparable information about eating habits in the United States. Sections of this bibliography include pedagogical manuals intended for teacher use only, texts for student use, and general reference materials for the teacher's and/or advanced students' use. The ordering in each section is qualitative, starting with the most useful. The sources listed in the Alameda County publication, which is considered an indispensable source of information, are not repeated here.

A. Pedagogical Manuals

Cultural Understanding: French, Level I. Hayward County, California: Alameda County School Department (224 West Winton Avenue, 94544), 1971.

Includes specific information pertaining to patterns of daily living in France (eating habits, pp. 35-36, 42-50) and an extensive bibliography, pp. 88-89, on French culture.

Appearing eight times per year, this journal often has pedagogical articles on teaching culture which contain information about culture as well.

B. Student materials

1. Textbooks


Contains short culture capsules in English contrasting French and American cultural artifacts and patterns. Each culture capsule is accompanied by activities for students and illustrative drawings. Pertinent to eating habits are pages 1-22.


Articles by French authors reacting to American eating habits are found on pages 43-56.


Chapter 23 of Volume 2 contains a description of the importance of the table in France.

2. Periodicals

Scholastic Magazines (904 Sylvan Avenue, Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 07632).

La Vie (National Textbook Company, 8259 Niles Center Road, Skokie, Illinois 60076).

3. Materials with audio-visual supplement


Has color filmstrips of the pictures in the supplement, cassette tapes, and an activity book.
Toute la Bande (Scholastic Magazines, 904 Sylvan Avenue, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.).

A series of thirteen films on life in France, whose glimpses of eating habits may be commented upon, even though these may not be the particular subject of a film.

C. General reference materials

1. Books


Although this book is now dated, it contains an excellent compilation of facts, especially statistical information, a teacher would need to know about daily life in France. Material pertaining to food is found on pages 35-37. In addition, there are sections detailing differences between various strata of society as well as differences between country and city life.


French table etiquette is treated in detail on pages 13-26.


Has a chapter on nutrition which is a very complete treatment and includes statistics on the changes in dietary habits of the French, as well as changes across class and occupational lines.


A complete treatment of cultural and social institutions in France with many statistics.


Though dated, this source contains much of the information of a descriptive nature which a teacher would need to know in order to discuss patterns.

Is an interesting historical and pictorial treatment, and includes photographs and engravings which illustrate changes in agricultural and shopping patterns.

La Cuisine Française. The Cultural Services of the French Embassy, n.d.

Contains a short history of French cuisine and a description of various regional specialties.


Contains some information on innovations in eating habits.


A most perceptive analysis of American culture by a nineteenth-century French statesman. Though not specifically concerned with eating habits, it is an indispensable reference, in the opinion of this author, for all teachers of American-French cross-cultural understanding.

2. Periodicals

Elle

Réalités

3. Miscellaneous

Cookbooks, especially authentic French cookbooks

Film: "Four Families" (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959)

Though somewhat dated, this film gives a comparative picture of family life in India, France, Japan; and Canada.
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