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Manuscript Preparation. Manuscripts should be prepared according to the guidelines set forth in the 6th edition of the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* (APA), should be approximately 15-25 pages in length, and must be accompanied by an abstract no longer than 200 words. A short biography of 2-3 sentences per author is requested. Manuscripts should be formatted for 8 ½" x 11" paper with 1" margins on all sides, and double-spaced using 12-point type. Manuscript files, and any accompanying files, should be in MS Word format: PDFs will not be accepted.

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Manuscript Review. Manuscripts submitted to JCRE for consideration are first reviewed internally by the editor. Those conforming to the initial review criteria and fulfilling the mission of JCRE will be submitted for external peer review. The criteria for judging the manuscripts include: (a) significance of research and/or theoretical contribution, (b) appropriateness of the research methodology, (c) clarity of the writing, (d) adherence to the guidelines set forth in the 6th edition of the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* (APA). Manuscripts meeting the criteria will be reviewed by at least two peers, a process that lasts from 6 -12 weeks.

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David Rock

Dean, School of Education
The University of Mississippi

Guest Column

We are living in a time when technology is changing almost faster than we can adapt. New products and upgrades are marketed at a startling pace. The level of complexity associated with some of the latest technology is so great that a product is not fully implemented and absorbed before its next generation is on the market. The third version of the iPad was unveiled while users were still purchasing the iPad 2. The diversity and depth of technology available to us are increasing at a seemingly exponential rate. This is particularly true in mathematics. In the late nineties and early part of this century, many new programmable graphing calculators (Casio, Hewlett Packard, Sharp, and Texas Instruments) were introduced. These new tools were powerful additions for the mathematics and science classrooms. The potential to unlock powerful teaching and learning seemed to have arrived. Calculator wars began, not only with respect to which brand of calculator but when these new devices should be used. Every time a new calculator was unveiled, the debate continued. The irony is that many classrooms did not fully utilized the power of the new hand-held tools available to students at this time. Why is this the case? In the last two years, the powerful push of tablets including the iPad, Xoom, TAB and Nexus has created a drive for hand held computer technology in the classroom. The technology arrived but have the educational applications for these devices followed this road-runner pace?

People in all walks of life will need a higher level of proficiency in mathematics and science because of the demands of our technological times. Mathematics is a key to the door of opportunity as students decide

about careers, learn to make informed decisions, and function as self-motivated, lifelong learners. “Working smarter” is replacing “working harder” mathematically, particularly where more menial tasks (arithmetic would be included here) are concerned. In working smarter, individuals must be mentally fit to absorb new ideas, adapt to change, cope with ambiguity, perceive patterns, and solve unconventional problems (MSEB, 1989). This was an expectation in the late 1980s and continues more than 30 years later. Have we used technology to embrace the idea of “working smarter” or do we continue to debate what technology should be used inside and outside of the classroom? Are we using technology to enhance teaching and learning? Have we embraced new technology for the benefits of our students? Are we pushing ourselves to examine new technology to create a greater learning environment? If not, what is stopping our community of educators from moving forward?

Should we embrace the movement and work to integrate technology into the curriculum? “Two parallel stories are told about a man and a woman. The man learned his arithmetic by doing hand calculations. As advances were made either in the ways in which the calculations were done or the materials available to do them with, the man clung to ‘his’ way of doing things—by hand, using paper and pencil only, no matter the size of the numbers. He persisted through the advent of the calculator, computer, and all other sorts of technological advancements that would have reduced the demand on his manual efforts. After all, he knew how to do it that way—why learn something new? At the same time, the woman, who was a master cook, learned on a wood stove but progressed through the innovative developments. Each new technological advancement was found in her kitchen during its time—gas stove, electric oven, convection oven, and a microwave oven. Certainly she could have continued with

the wood stove as her major cooking tool, but she opted to change with the times. Using the most efficient tools for the task, she can achieve the desired result in the least amount of expended effort.” (Rock & Brumbaugh, 2013, p. 90)

Do you know colleagues that do not have a cell phone? Do you use your cell phone to check e-mail or access the Internet? More importantly, do you allow your students to use mobile technology to do the same in class? Are students encouraged to use smart-phones and tablets in classrooms? Are we impeding progress by limiting access to technology in the classroom?

The creation of the mobile technology (Smartphones, iPad, Xoom, Kindle Fire, Galaxy Tab, Nexus etc.) have created the drive for powerful, hand-held technology for business and education. Ten-inch and seven-inch tablets are becoming a common multimedia tool for video, audio, and communication via e-mail and social networks. In addition, these ten- and seven-inch devices have powerful counterparts that fit in the palm of the hand. Portability and accessibility has become a driving tool for much of the newly developed devices. The hardware seems to go through new generations faster than the applicable software applications can keep pace. Hundreds of new applications are being created for these new devices. The question is how can these new applications be used for teaching and learning? If this is the case, why not allow students to use smartphones in class using apps that promote learning. These devices can run full motion video allowing students to watch tutorials. These devices give students the ability to communicate and share information with teachers and students. Applications powered by Google (Google Drive - <http://drive.google.com>) allow users to create, share, and edit documents, spreadsheets, presentations and forms all compatible with Microsoft Office products.

Does your school use clicker response systems? Using the site PollEverywhere (<http://www.polleverywhere.com/>) and a basic cellphone, you can replace hand-held clickers. Poll Everywhere is a free, Internet-based application that allows educators to create live, interactive polls in the classroom. The teacher is provided texting codes one the website that allows students to submit poll answers using cellphones to text responses directly to the site. Graphs are dynamically updated as responses are received.

Do you try to encourage your students to take notes in your class? Do you allow your students to create a shared document for class notes accessible by all students? A document in Google Drive can be viewed and edited by each student in the class simultaneously while participating in your live classroom. Are students spending more time hand writing notes than absorbing the concepts you are teaching?

Are these ideas limited to just the college environment? How many middle and high school students have cell phones? Are cell phones limited by socioeconomic status? The next time you are in a high school classroom, poll the students: How many of the students have cell phones? How many of the students have smart phones (ability to access the Internet). In less than two years, it will be very difficult to find a non-smartphone. If this is the case, how will you handle this in your class? If you are a student teacher or current educator, are cell phones allowed in the school where you teach? Should cell phones be allowed in class?

Think about this for a moment. If all cell phones will be smart phones in two years, this means that all cell phones will have access to all of the educational applications available for hand-held devices. Think of the power in the hand of the student.

With all of the possible teaching and learning opportunities using portable technology, how can we afford to ban the use in the classroom? Please remember, 12 years ago, many schools were searching for reasons to use or ban the Internet in schools. Educators were fearful of the negative possibilities of using the Internet.

As we are asked to constantly improve teaching and learning, we must find ways to engage the entire community to work together to provide effective training and guidelines for technology usage in schools? As educators, it is our task to examine the teaching and learning tools for our students. The job is yours.....but the excitement and reward will be our students'.

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Abstract

With relatively stagnant levels of reading achievement in the last twenty years, it is paramount that educators not only teach content but also comprehension strategies to struggling readers. Though there are innumerable strategies available to teachers, this eight-week investigation explores the use of an anticipatory reading guide on third grade struggling readers' performance on comprehension and vocabulary questions derived from a standardized state test. Results from the quasi-experimental designed study indicate that when struggling readers have practice opportunities to use and create anticipatory reading guides for thinking about what will be asked of them after reading, they perform at higher levels than their classmates not using this strategy. Findings are relevant to reading professionals working with struggling readers in the elementary grades.

Students in the lower elementary grades are now expected to be more proficient readers than ever before in the wake of common core state standards that have been adopted in the United States, alongside similar standards found internationally. Young children are expected to independently read across genres within fiction, nonfiction, procedural texts, and poetry. Although wide reading is highly recommended by most reading professionals, it is the accompanied examinations that have many educators seeking strategies to prepare their students for answering questions on high-stakes examinations that require integration, interpretation, critique, and evaluation of texts. To reach proficiency in reading, students must read and reflect critically about what is being presented as well as organize text, identify causal relationships, and recognize important details in texts, graphs, photos, and other materials (Raphael & Au, 2005).

Children are judged, labeled, and promoted based on their academic performance, as are teachers and schools. Reading ability is one of the greatest indicators of school-wide success. Compounding the issue, many learners of diverse backgrounds are at a disadvantage because they have not had equal exposure to quality literature and as a result, struggle to establish a repertoire of skills from which to

draw when reading a passage, chapter, or text. Therefore, specific skill instruction is needed for students to excel on tasks that involve reading, reflecting, and thinking.

Effective reading preparation to improve test performance can be connected to the student's reading ability, content knowledge, and "test-wiseness," defined as understanding the format of the test. Researchers recommend that reading strategies and test-taking strategies should be taught explicitly, often in a variety of contexts (Kontovourki & Campis, 2010). Still, teachers sometimes struggle with teaching reading comprehension strategies due to the complexity of designing purposeful instruction, and many programs become overwhelming when factoring in the required time to learn and implement the strategies (Scharlach, 2008). This research study attempts to determine the effectiveness of using an anticipatory reading guide on third grade struggling readers' performance on comprehension and vocabulary questions derived from a standardized test.

**THEORETICAL/CONCEPTUAL
FRAMEWORK**

This research investigation is grounded in cognitivist theories which are heavily influenced by the works of Anderson (2000),

Gagne and Briggs (1974), and Schank (1991), all of which contend that information is received, processed, mapped, and constructed into mental models. Reading skill acquisition is a progressive process from early stages of cognition to associative to autonomous stages of information processing (Fitts & Peterson, 1964). As readers progress in their skill development, they more easily refine their understandings through contextualization and reductionism as needed.

A rich history surrounds the study of explicit reading comprehension instruction and scaffolding students towards independent practice (Author, 2011; Author, 2012; Dole, Duffy, Roehler, & Pearson, 1991; Durkin, 1981; Goodin, Weber, Pearson, & Raphael, 2009; Gauthier, Schorzman, & Hutchison, 2003). Explicit teaching in this context is defined as “a systematic method for presenting material in small steps, pausing to check for understanding and eliciting active and successful participation from all students” (Rosenshine, 1986, p. 60). The underlying conception of knowledge on reading instruction is that without ample application and practice, comprehension can be affected (Quirk, Trimen, Weinberg, & Nalin, 1975).

As the nature of literacy has changed over the years, so must the methods for teaching comprehension (New London Group, 1996; Unsworth, 2002, 2006). The use of a scaffolded approach (Wood, Bruner, & Ross, 1976), where a child has temporary support as needed, follows Pearson and Gallagher’s (1983) Gradual Release of Responsibility model. Essentially, five levels of progression represent the instruction sequence—direct instruction and modeling, guided practice, consolidation, independent practice, and application (Pearson & Dole, 1987). This approach allows the teacher to activate children’s learning at their own pace while adjusting the amount of support given, which is a key component in differentiated instruction. Researchers suggest that instruction designed to engage students in targeted comprehension instruction that focuses on higher level thinking strategies will promote high levels of reading achievement for all

learners including struggling readers and diverse populations (Henry, 2006; Leu, Kinzer, Coiro, & Cammack, 2004).

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Reading Comprehension Instructional Strategies

Teaching comprehension strategies to students was largely unrecognized prior to Durkin’s (1978/1979) study. Although comprehension improves through extensive reading, efficient comprehension development requires that all students be taught to use comprehension strategies that good readers use (Scharlach, 2008). Reading comprehension strategies such as predicting/infering, visualizing, making connections, questioning, determining main idea, summarizing, checking predictions, and making judgments are fundamental to reading success.

Recognizing the difference between reading skills and reading strategies is indispensable—that strategies support skills (Afflerbach, Pearson, & Paris, 2008). When Afflerbach et al. (2008) asked what good readers do, survey respondents had a difficult time answering because their strategy utility had become automatic. Explicit instruction of strategies is especially effective for students whose comprehension proficiencies are still emerging (Barry, 2002). Not all strategies are effective for all students at all times; successful readers possess the ability to assess which strategies will be effective for the given task (Afflerbach et al., 2008). For example, Dole et al. (1991) noted children use different strategies when reading expository versus narrative text.

Scharlach (2008) suggested teachers often struggle with teaching reading comprehension strategies due to the complexity of designing purposeful comprehension strategy instruction. For reading comprehension to be achieved, it must be taught in a variety of ways. Teachers need to repeatedly model strategies, even simple ones like asking questions (Barry, 2002). To be effective in implementation, teachers must have a repertoire of strategies that can be modeled, explained, and used to scaffold

practice within the lesson (Scharlach, 2008), since reading comprehension should be the ultimate goal of any reading activity (Hock & Mellard, 2005).

Strategies cannot be taught in a lecture alone; they are to be embedded within engaging and interactive lessons (Barry, 2002). Teachers must use these experiential environments for scaffolding students to the metacognitive level of operations so they can then transfer the strategy to independent settings (Scharlach, 2008). When children are cognizant of their own thinking, they can determine when and where to use particular reading comprehension strategies.

Struggling Readers

It is clear that many school-age children struggle to read as over one-third of fourth graders and one-fourth of eighth graders cannot read at a basic level (National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 2005). Reading difficulties often persist from childhood through adulthood; approximately 23% of U.S. adults meet only basic reading proficiency levels (NCES, 2004; Pressley, Graham, & Harris, 2006). These issues have led to public concern and policy initiatives that emphasize the need for effective approaches to reading instruction beginning in the early elementary grades to prevent reading struggles and failure (Rapp, Broek, McMaster, Kendeou, & Espin, 2007).

The connection between question-answer-relationships is critical to guide students to higher levels of literacy (Raphael & Au, 2005). Carlise, Cortina, and Zeng (2010) conducted research on students in the Reading First program in Michigan. They found that the program showed success in students from high-poverty grades one and two but not grade three. The metacognition required to comprehend complex text begins for many readers at the third grade, so if children struggle to decode, they have no idea that there is really something to think about (Torgesen, 2001).

With many students, metacognitive awareness and use of strategies improve over time. Students become more cognizant of and

able to use reading strategies by early adolescence (Cantrell et al., 2010). Yet for others, the cycle of falling further behind their peers is destined to repeat as text difficulty increases and become more complex. This extended failure with reading comprehension can contribute to apathy and lack of motivation, which can stifle their progress and prevent any movement toward increased competence. Thus, high-quality reading comprehension instruction is mandatory to diminish the need for futuristic interventions.

Martin and Pappas (2006) found that when asked about reading, struggling readers responded: "This is boring and frustrating," "I will misbehave, so I won't have to read," "I can't understand this assignment," "I will never learn to read for the rest of my life," and "I'm stupid – this is stupid – you're stupid." This type of negative self-evaluation will not allow students to perform at optimum levels in classwork or on a test (Sena, Lowe, & Lee, 2007).

Test Preparation

Testing has become a central topic of public discussion with the intense accountability and high standards in the schools today (Author, 2012; Kontovourki & Campis, 2010), oft times more than instruction itself. Yet, teaching children to think critically in classroom activities can have advantageous outcomes for both content acquisition and test performance. Some schools are taking this approach and having successful results. In Iowa, Mayfair Academy began analyzing data and making improvements by targeting students who were two grade levels behind. The teachers were given time to work collaboratively to examine and interpret reading performance data through the use of substitute teachers, supplemental pay for the extra work hours, and weekly meetings with administrators. The dramatic results of this intervention after two years were as follows: 96% of kindergarteners ended at or above grade level, 94% of first graders, 88% of second graders, 92% of third graders, 95% of fourth graders, and 95% of fifth graders tested proficient or

advanced in reading on state tests (Mokhtari, Thoma, & Edwards, 2009).

The three thematic topics (strategies, struggling readers, and test preparation) discussed in this literature review are equally considered and are intertwined as part of this study. This research investigation was conducted to examine the effects of using one such explicit comprehension strategy, anticipatory guides, to increase the reading achievement of third grade struggling readers as measured by questions from a standardized state test.

METHODS

Participants

Twenty four third grade students ($n = 24$) from a small urban Title I school participated in this study and were selected for inclusion by having characteristics of struggling readers, defined as those previously retained for their lack of proficiency in literacy, and/or currently reading below the Fountas and Pinnell Guided Reading level - M.

Demographic characteristics of the third grade population include a male/female ratio of 55/45. The ethnicity composite included 52.9% White, Non-Hispanic; 41.4% Hispanic; 2.7% Asian; 2.2 % Black; and 0.7% Native American. Nine percent were considered to be Limited English Proficient. Sixty nine percent were considered economically disadvantaged.

Assessments

The measurements used in this research include: a) multiple-choice pretest derived from the first six weeks CSCOPE reading unit assessment, and b) a multiple-choice posttest benchmark taken from a complete released State of Texas Assessment of Academic Readiness (STAAR). STAAR tests are the new state-mandated standardized tests, given annually starting in third grade in the state of Texas (United States). A four-hour timeframe was permitted as specified by the Texas Education Agency for STAAR testing. T-test analysis of pretest scores indicated that there were no significant differences between two classes of

students ($n = 10$; $n = 14$); the two-tailed P value was equal to 0.2818 (see Table 1). Therefore, each class of students began the study with comparable levels of reading comprehension which provide equal baseline from which improvement can be measured equitably. Treatments were assigned randomly to the two classes.

Table 1. Pretest reading comprehension scores of third-grade participants.

Framework	M	SD	SEM
Control Group (n=10)	42	10.3	3.27
Treatment Group (n=14)	50	21.1	5.64

Instruction

Lesson plans for all participants (control and treatment groups) included passages and articles taken from the commercially produced resources Texas STAAR Coach and Buckle Down Texas STAAR. While content during the 90-minute reading block was identical between groups, an anticipatory reading guide was created for and utilized by treatment group students to provide scaffolded direction in an attempt to guide their reading focus (see Figure 1). The three-column handout informed students which paragraphs to read, what to look for, and space to record responses. Students in the treatment group took the guide and answered the multiple choice questions as part of the CSCOPE curriculum while students in the control group did not have an anticipatory guide during their reading or question answering activities. This technique was a modified version of previewing questions prior to the reading of an article. Over the course of eight weeks, students previewed the questions and

progressed to creating their own anticipatory reading guides to provide direction to their reading. Fidelity of implementation was verified using tally sheets to record when each student applied this strategy during lessons throughout the eight weeks of investigation. Data analyses resulted in over 80% application of anticipatory guide usage.

Control Group Conditions

The article or passage was distributed with the questions attached to students in the control group. Traditional classroom instruction included the following strategic steps: Students put their names on the paper as well as circling the title. Subheadings were underlined, if present. The teacher read paragraph by paragraph and together the class wrote the main idea of each paragraph in the margin. If a vocabulary word were present, visible by being bold or underlined, the students wrote a synonym or definition above the word (see Figure 2). When the entire passage or article was completed, the students individually answered the questions. Beginning on the fourth of eight weeks, students read the passages and wrote the main ideas before answering the questions, after which the teacher reviewed the main idea of the paragraphs and the correct answers to the questions. Children discussed any difficulties they had or misconceptions.

Treatment Group Conditions

The Treatment Group received a copy of the anticipatory reading guide and the article or passage. Questions were not distributed initially. The title was circled after the children put their name on the paper. The teacher first modeled and then directed the students in reading the anticipatory guide and completing each step in the stated order. Next, the questions were passed out and the students answered the questions completely independently. Four weeks into the investigation, the students began to complete the reading guide without teacher facilitation as well as the questions. During these lessons, teachers instructed them how to make their own reading guide using the

questions at the end of the passage/article to direct their focus.

Figure 1. Anticipatory reading guide.

Selective Reading Guide		
<i>Lord of the Taiga</i>		
Look at the title, subheadings, and photo	What genre is this article? What can you most likely learn from reading this article?	
Look at the subheadings	Where would I find information about the place where Amur tigers live?	
Read Paragraph 1 & Taiga, Not Jungle (2&3)	Why should the Amur tiger not be called "lord of the jungle"?	
Read In Danger – Subheading (5&6)	What is causing the tigers the greatest danger?	
Paragraph 5 - Prey	What word helps you know that prey means?	
Read A Success Story – Subheading (7&8)	Why is the story of the Amur tiger a success?	
Photograph & Caption	What can you learn from reading this?	
Read What You Can Do (9)	How can you help?	

Figure 2. Control group lesson activity.

Lesson 4 Review

Read the selection. Then read each question that follows the selection. Decide which is the best answer to each question. Mark the space for the answer you have chosen.

Lord of the Taiga
by Rachel Koch

1. Life in the Taiga
The tiger is sometimes known as the lord of the jungle. Some tigers, however, live far from the jungle's heat and rain. They live in cold, snowy areas. These tigers are known as Siberian tigers, or Amur tigers. They live in the eastern part of Russia, in northern China, and possibly in North Korea.

2. Taiga, Not Jungle
Amur tigers are the largest of all tigers. In fact, they are the largest of all the big cats in the world! They once roamed throughout the taiga of China, eastern Russia, and the Korean Peninsula.

3. Forests
Taiga is a kind of forest found in the cold, northern regions of the world. The trees that grow in the taiga are mostly ones that have needles rather than leaves. These include spruce, pine, and fir. The ground is swampy and is usually covered with plants that grow close to the ground.

4. Today
Today, the area where Amur tigers live is much smaller. They are mostly found around a mountain range called the Sikhote-Alin.

5. Homes
The forests where the tigers live are disappearing. People cut down the trees for the wood, to make way for roads, or to clear the land for farming. The tigers are losing their homes, and so are their prey, too. And for these large cats, less prey means they have less to eat.

6. Danger
Only about 450 Amur tigers are alive today. They are close to extinction. Although it is against the law to hunt them, Amur tigers are still in danger. Some people hunt them illegally. This is called poaching.

GO ON

72 Unit 2 Digging Deeper

RESULTS/DISCUSSION

This research investigation sought to determine the effectiveness of using an anticipatory reading guide on third grade struggling readers' achievement as measured by comprehension and vocabulary questions

derived from a standardized test. A comparison of mean gains for both control and treatment groups revealed that the treatment group scores ($M = 63.71$, $SD = 14.21$), which increased by 13.5 points were statistically significant to mean scores in the control group ($M = 48.8$, $SD = 20.38$), an increase of 6.8 points ($p = 0.04$, $CI_{95} = 0.31, 29.51$) following eight weeks of explicit comprehension instruction using anticipated reading guides. Further, Cohen's effect size value ($d = .43$) suggested a moderate to low practical significance. Therefore, the null hypothesis was rejected that there would be no difference in reading scores between the treatment group and the control group.

Data results suggest and provide further evidence that explicit instruction of comprehension strategies such as anticipatory reading guides can improve elementary reading achievement. The need to repeatedly model strategies cannot be understated. In this study children were taught to read the question and think what it was asking and where the answer would be located including examining the title, caption, paragraph, and entire passage. The explicit instruction of an anticipatory reading guide led students in the treatment group to significantly outperform their peers in the control group. These results suggest that thinking about one's reading can not only develop reading skills but increase performance on standardized tests.

Limitations

The participant population in this study was a convenience sampling of third-grade students in a Title I South Texas school district. The effects of small sample sizes for each group could not be eliminated. Replicating this study on a larger scale using numerous reading classes throughout district would render results with increased generalizability.

The intervention program lasted eight weeks in duration and results may have varied if additional time were provided for students to gain mastery of the application of an anticipatory reading guide. Many of the children expressed concerns of not having enough time to

complete and/or create their own anticipatory guides. The materials for the lessons could have been too difficult because it was beyond their reading level and they likely struggled with the text. More time would allow students to have material on their personal reading level and master the new strategy before complex reading material was presented.

Conclusion

Though comprehension is universally known as the ultimate goal of reading (Hock & Mellard, 2005), explicit instruction of comprehension reading strategies is not always provided in the elementary grades. Comprehension instruction, though, is particularly effective in developing struggling readers abilities to deconstruct both fiction and nonfiction texts (Kamps & Greenwood, 2005). Building a small repertoire of strategies is critical for success in all content areas (Scharlach, 2008).

The findings support the teaching of the “language of the test” which refers to the vocabulary and words commonly found in test questions that include “author’s purpose,” “according to,” “except,” etc. (Kontovourki & Campis, 2010). Teaching struggling readers what is being asked allows them to think about what would make sense. As one child stated about his strategy usage, “My brain is telling me to connect the reading to the question.” As students become more metacognitive in their approaches to reading, they become empowered rather than continue to struggle in their unsuccessful approaches to reading, allowing for increases in self-efficacy and academic performance.

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Abstract

This qualitative inquiry investigates shame theory and how societal shaming practices manifest themselves in our schools, examining specifically the negative effects of shame on human development. The researcher sought to understand the school-induced shaming experiences of recent high school graduates attending a four-year state university in the southern United States. Sixty-one college freshmen participated in the study. Written accounts of these individuals' shame experiences were collected with 9 participants interviewed individually and in a focus group setting. By analyzing the school-induced shaming experiences of these individuals, the researcher was able to identify school practices, teacher actions, and peer-interactions that induce feelings of shame in children.

Introduction

One could argue that no other social institution plays a greater role in influencing the course of a child's life than our school system. Today's schools are responsible for the intellectual, emotional, and physical development of the children they service. This enormous task brings with it enormous responsibility. Every tool, resource, strategy, practice, and word used with children has an impact on their development. Due to the amount of influence a single educator can have, it is important to evaluate the effectiveness and appropriateness of school practices and teacher actions.

The social and emotional development of children begins at home and is continued in the school setting. As many researchers have noted, school is often the first non-familial experience; it is our initiation into society. In school we are expected to learn and grow both intellectually and emotionally. Teachers and administrators are to guide us through this journey and support our efforts of self-discovery. Our experiences in school are meant to be positive and rewarding, but far too often, the very nature and structure of our schools creates a negative and unwelcoming environment. Underlying many of these negative

experiences in the schoolhouse is the emotion of shame.

Shame is as natural an emotion as anger or fear. In fact, psychologist Silvan Tomkins (1963) listed shame as one of the nine primary affects innate to all humans. Shame is felt when a weakness or personal flaw is exposed. Shame is characterized by a need to hide the exposed weakness and by a diminished sense of self. When a child sees himself as deficient or having failed in some way he experiences a sense of shame.

The study of shame and shame theory is an area of psychology that is often neglected. It was not until the early 1970s that psychologists began to uncover the mystery behind shame experiences. Since the 1970s inquiries into shame have given us a broad and in-depth look at an emotional experience that is universally shared. While most of us experience shame at one time or another, those who are repeatedly exposed to shame tend to suffer the most negative consequences (Lewis, 1971; Nathanson, 1992; Kaufman, 1992).

While many psychologists and researchers argue over the age at which humans first experience shame, all agree that by age two children have the capacity to be shamed (Broucek, 1997). These shame experiences can

have negative effects on an individual's physical and mental development. Shame has been associated with states of anger and aggression, depression, anxiety, and diminished self-worth (Andrews, Qian, & Valentine, 2002; Shelton, 2001; Tangney, Wagner, Barlow, Marschall, & Gramzow, 1996).

Because shame can be so destructive, it is important to understand what experiences elicit feelings of shame. Nathanson (2000) listed ability, skill levels, competition, sexuality, gender, personal attractiveness, and a sense of self as possible triggers of shame. Perceived failure or weakness in any of these areas can trigger a shame experience. We encounter these triggers in various settings and at different times in our lives. Interactions with parents, caregivers, siblings, teachers, peers, and even strangers color the way we see ourselves and have an impact on our emotional development.

Much of the empirical research on shame has focused on parent/child relationships and the dynamic of shame experiences in families (Mills, 2005). These studies have shown a connection between negative parenting styles and shame in young children as well as a connection between household conflict and shame (Mills, 2003; Grych, 1998). Research has also shown that insensitive parenting can foster shame feelings in children. Parents who call their children names, intentionally use negative language, or embarrass their children, can produce feelings of shame (Gilbert et al., 1996).

While these studies are important in understanding early shame experiences, they only focus on one area of a child's life. By the time a child reaches eighth grade, she has spent more than 9,000 hours in a classroom (U.S. Department of Education, 2004). Children spend much of this time interacting with teachers and peers. Because these interactions play an important role in the cognitive and emotional development of school-aged children it is

important to understand the dynamics of these interactions and the effect they can have on developing psyches.

The purpose of this phenomenological study is to explore the school-induced shaming experiences of recent high school graduates attending a four-year state university in the southern United States. Written accounts of individuals' shame experiences were collected from English Composition 101 classes. A select number of participants were interviewed in order to gain insight into their shame experiences and the effect these experiences have had on their lives. By analyzing the school-induced shaming experiences of these individuals, this researcher was able to identify school practices, teacher actions, and peer-interactions that induce feelings of shame in children.

Research Questions

This study was designed to answer the following questions:

1. What shame-based pedagogies, purposeful or not, are used in schools?
2. What teacher actions and attitudes, purposeful or not, induce shame in school-aged children?
3. What peer interactions at school elicit shame experiences in children?
4. What shame-triggering categories emerge from the reported school-induced shame experiences?

Method

Through this qualitative study, the researcher hoped to shed light on an often overlooked phenomenon. The hidden nature of shame is one reason for the lack of empirical research in the area of shame and shaming and the almost nonexistent research concerning school-induced shame (Shelton, 2001).

Phenomenological Approach

This research study involved a phenomenological examination of school-induced shame. By focusing on the singular phenomenon of shame, the researcher hoped to gain a better understanding of children's experiences in schools, to describe the practices, teacher actions, and peer-interactions that elicit shame in children, and to eventually set forth suggestions for improved educational practice.

Phenomenological research is focused on "exploring how human beings make sense of experience and transform experience into consciousness, both individually and as shared meaning" (Patton, 2002, p.104). The study of an emotion, such as shame, must be looked at individually and in the context of "shared meaning." Emotions are individually constructed. The human experience is subjective and reliant on the social context in which one lives. Shame is a reality only if a person feels he has experienced shame. On the other hand, all humans have the capacity to feel shame (Tomkins, 1963). By collecting individual stories of school-induced shame and then comparing these with other experiences, themes and patterns emerge. These themes and patterns define the essence of the shared phenomenon (Patton, 2002).

Participants

The research participants were college students taking an English Composition 101 course during the Fall of 2006. These students completed a class assignment requiring them to write a personal account of a school-induced shame experience encountered in grades K-12. A select number of participants were also interviewed during the Fall of 2006 in order to gain insight into their shame experiences and the effect these experiences have had on their lives.

English Composition 101 students were used for this study because most have just completed their K-12 school experience. Since every student at the university is required to take English Composition 101, the population from which the participants came reflects the diversity that exists at the institution. It was important to collect data from individuals with diverse cultural, social, and economic backgrounds.

It was also important that participants be old enough to reflect on and articulate prior school experience. Kaufman (1992) reminded us that the capacity to verbalize our shame experiences does not come until adolescence or adulthood. We have the capacity to feel shame at an early age, but not to articulate what we are feeling until much later. Because phenomenology is the study of lived experience, one cannot reflect on the phenomenon until he has experienced it. In other words, a person must be removed from the phenomenon in order to fully articulate what happened, how it felt, and who was involved (Patton, 2002).

Data Types

Written accounts of individuals' shame experiences were collected from English Composition 101 classes. Participants completed a class assignment requiring them to write a personal account of a school-induced shame experience encountered in grades K-12. Participants completed the narratives as a homework assignment and turned them in during the next class meeting. This allowed time for thoughtful reflection on the part of the participants. The written narratives were also convenient forms of data because they were typed, easy to read, and in the language of the participant.

Demographic data were collected from participants when they turned in their written narratives. A demographic questionnaire was

completed by each participant and attached to the written narrative. Information such as gender, race, age, and K-12 schools attended was collected. This demographic information sheds light on the background and historical context of each individual's shame narrative. The background and context of the experiences are essential to any phenomenological study with a constructivist framework.

Nine participants were also voluntarily interviewed in order to gain insight into their shame experiences. The interviews focused on the shame experiences participants wrote about in their English Composition 101 class and also involved conversations on other school-induced shame experiences. Through the interview process, the researcher gained an in-depth understanding of the shame experienced by the participants.

Once the individual interviews were completed, the interviewees were asked to participate in a focus group interview with other participants. Eight of the 9 agreed to participate in the focus group interview. During the focus group interview, participants were asked a series of focused questions relating to school experiences that elicit shame. The questions focused on the participants' perceptions of possible effects of these negative school experiences.

Data Analysis and Interpretation

By collecting individual stories of school-induced shame and then comparing these with others' experiences, themes and patterns emerged. These themes and patterns define the essence of the shared phenomenon (Patton, 2002). The 61 written narratives were used as a basis for the study. Themes and patterns emerged as similarities in the data became apparent. Individual interviews along with a focus group interview helped confirm and

solidify the themes and categories that were developed.

One of the more interesting aspects of the data was the consistency of themes across all genders, races, and school settings. As seen in table 1, the study participants varied greatly in terms of gender and school affiliation. There was not as much diversity in terms of race, but even in the experiences of the few minorities that participated, there was still a consistency of theme with the majority of the participants. In other words, the shame experiences of all participants centered on a few common themes.

Table 1
Demographic Data Collected from Participants

Gender		Race				School Type		
Male	Female	White	Black	Hisp.	Asian	Other	Public	Private
22	39	51	3	2	3	2	38	14
								9

Shame Triggers

Nathanson (1992) defined shame triggers as those experiences that one encounters through the normal process of development. Every aspect of human development elicits either a sense of pride in accomplishment or a sense of shame in perceived failure. Nathanson listed changes in size and strength, dexterity and skill, dependence vs. independence, and gender identity and sexuality as possible triggers of shame. When we reach each stage of development and feel we have succeeded, we feel pride. If we perceive a weakness or failure in any of these areas of development, we feel shame.

Nathanson's description of shame triggers holds true for the participants in this study. As seen in Table 2, the shame triggers

that were seen over and over again in the written accounts of the participants were academic struggles, physical or somatic differences, peer teasing and bullying, teacher apathy, and insensitive or hostile teachers and administrators.

Table 2

Number of Participants Reporting Each Shame Trigger

Shame Trigger	Number of Participants
Academic Struggles	19
Physical or Somatic Differences	12
Peer Teasing and Bullying	17
Teacher Apathy	8
Insensitive or Hostile Teachers and Administrators	21

Each of these triggers has been examined separately even though many are inter-related. The connections between the triggers will be discussed as they become apparent in the accounts of participants. Each specific shame trigger that emerged will be presented with supporting quotations from participants' written narratives, interview transcripts, and the existing literature on shame. The 9 participants who were interviewed have been identified by pseudonym while the remaining 52 participants have not been identified by name, but each will be referred to only as a participant.

Academic Struggles

Schools are institutions of learning and skill acquisition. School children are faced with challenges on a daily basis. With every new challenge comes the possibility of success or failure, and consequently pride or shame (Nathanson, 1992; Tangney & Dearing, 2002).

Broucek (1997) reminded us that the opposite of shame is pride. Broucek stated that in the school setting "Pride and shame are closely connected with issues of competence, efficacy, the successful meeting of standards and rules, and achievement of goals" (p.58). The concept of a shame/pride axis is essential to a study examining shame and education. For some children, the educational experience is enveloped by a sense of pride in one's achievements. For others, the educational experience elicits feelings of shame and self-doubt. All children enter a learning environment with a slight sense of shame in not knowing. When everyone is in the same boat, so to speak, the effect of shame is limited or completely diminished. It is when some learners advance and others do not that comparisons are made and shame is perpetuated.

For those learners who struggle to meet the challenges of classroom life, shame is inevitable. This sense of shame due to academic struggles was articulated by 19 study participants. Almost one third of the shame stories collected focused on academic struggle and failure. While this was not surprising due to the academic nature of school, what was surprising was the connection between academic struggles and perceived teacher insensitivity. Thirteen of the 19 participants who related an experience of shame due to academic struggles stated that an insensitive teacher made the situation worse and perpetuated the cycle of shame. The following is an excerpt from an interview with Rachel:

Researcher- You talk about your physical characteristics that made you stand out and a reading problem. What was the reading problem? When did this reading problem start?

Rachel- I guess the reading problem started before third grade because my parents realized I wasn't reading as well as everyone else. I kind

of have a degree of dyslexia. It took me longer to sound out words and I guess it went on to about the fourth grade when I started reading a lot.

Researcher- Do you think you became aware of your reading problem because adults told you or something that would happen in class?

Rachel- My teachers would get frustrated with me. I would have to go for tutoring. It was better when I had a special ed tutor. When I went to my own teacher after class they would get really frustrated because it was on their own time and they really didn't want to spend it with someone who can't sound out simple words. They would get really frustrated.

Researcher- What made you think they were frustrated?

Rachel- I remember one was like, "Look at this word. Can't you get this?" I had one that would have to get up and walk around.

While Rachel's academic problems made her feel ashamed and different from the other students, her teachers' frustrations and lack of sensitivity perpetuated her negative feelings and created in her a sense of despair.

The focus group interview brought up more issues with academic struggles and shame. The focus group participants felt that academic competitions brought shame to the forefront such as book reading contests, spelling bees, and poster contests. One focus group participant even stated that reading groups were seen as a form of competition to many children. Another issue that arose in the focus groups concerning academics and shame was that of round robin reading. Round robin reading is a term used to describe the age-old practice of going around the room and having each child read a section of the text aloud. Many in the focus group felt that this was a negative experience for them in

elementary school. Many reported physical reactions to round robin reading such as increased heart rate, stuttering, shaking, breathlessness, sweaty palms, and flushed faces.

Physical or Somatic Differences

Individuals who feel they have failed to develop properly or that their bodies are somehow inadequate compared to others can feel intense shame (Nathanson, 1992). These differences in physical appearance as well as physical functioning become apparent in the school setting. School is a place where children develop intellectually and physically. Compounding these feelings of shame is the teasing that many children suffer at the hands of their peers. All 12 participants who related a story of shame due to somatic differences discussed the impact that peer teasing had on their psyches. It was always the teasing that brought the differences to the forefront and made the situation ripe for shame.

We looked at Rachel's story in the previous section dealing with academic struggles. Not only did Rachel suffer shame because of her academic problems, but she also had to deal with her physical differences. In her written narrative Rachel wrote, "Shame was such a major part of my life because I didn't fit in with the other students because I was heavy, wore glasses, and had red hair; what a combination." In her one-on-one interview, Rachel discusses her physical differences.

Researcher- You mention that boys would say "You're fatter than Homer Simpson." How did that make you feel?

Rachel- The Homer Simpson comment, that one stood out to me. I remember that happened at lunch one day. I think a lot of kids in my class watched "The Simpsons." I didn't watch it very much but I knew who that was. It hurt just because I was in the third grade and I didn't see

myself as that fat. He did it really loud too. We were in the lunch line and everybody heard and laughed. I knew I was not perfectly thin but I didn't think I was hideous. I didn't think I was that big and when he said it, it was like , "Oh! I really am that big." I really wasn't that big I was just chubby. It really hurt.

A male study participant relates his issues with being overweight in the following quote from his written narrative.

"Most of my life I was a fat kid. This wasn't fun at all. I'm not just talking about being picked last for sports or on Valentine's Day or what not. It gets really hard when you start thinking about the girl situation in middle school. Almost every guy had a girl back in my middle school and I didn't. This can really hurt a man's confidence. Not just that but the fat jokes aren't cool either."

Big ears, cracking voices, and the wearing of glasses were all reported as somatic causes of shame for the participants. These participants spoke of not even being aware of their physical differences until these differences were pointed out by their peers. "I remember when my mom took me to get glasses. I thought that they might look pretty cool to the other kids. I remember the first day I wore them. I was walking to class and was made fun of because I was wearing glasses." Another participant wrote, "In elementary school around first grade it was brought to my attention that I have big ears. I didn't even realize it until I got made fun of for it."

Peer teasing and bullying

Because school is a place for socialization, the peer group can be a potential source of shame. Kaufman (1992) listed the formation of cliques, teasing and ridicule, and physical bullying as sources of "considerable shame" from one's own peers (p. 200). This type

of shame can be continuous and long-lasting as it is perpetuated year after year. In addition to the 12 participants that experienced shame in connection to physical differences and peer teasing, five others also wrote about peer teasing and bullying although not necessarily connected to a physical difference. Therefore, a total of 17 study participants wrote of experiencing peer teasing and bullying in the school setting. Of these 17 individuals, the most egregious case came from Jeff, an individual that submitted a written narrative and was also interviewed. Segments of Jeff's interview are below.

Researcher- You say that the largest source of shame for adolescents is their classmates. Why do you think this way?

Jeff- They're your age. They're your peers and you have known them all your life. You really want to have their approval and stuff like that.

Researcher- You talk about the pressure to fit in. Did you feel that pressure and when did it begin?

Jeff- Pretty early. I was probably around the third or fourth grade. I felt like I wanted to be like everyone else. You wanted their approval and stuff like that.

Researcher- You say that as a child you were continuously harassed by your fellow classmates. What would happen? How did it make you feel?

Jeff- They would pick on me, make fun of me, basically bully me and just made you feel real bad. It was pretty much all the way up from kindergarten to seventh grade. They called me stuff like "cry baby", "mama's boy". I just tried to get away from them. They would follow me and do it anyway because they saw it bothered me. It was pretty much the same group all the time. They tried to bully everybody just about. It was probably about three or four boys. They did

it to other people but I was the main one they did it to. I was in school with them from kindergarten to my senior year in high school. They grew up a little after seventh, eighth grade.

Researcher- How would you describe the type of bullying they would do?

Jeff- Usually they just made fun of me all day and the worst they would ever do is push me maybe.

Researcher- Where would this usually happen?

Jeff- Usually on the playground.

Researcher- You say you would have preferred to be physically bullied instead of mentally “tortured.” Why?

Jeff- If you are physically bullied it don’t last as long as mental. Like whenever you get hit it hurts for a while and then it goes away and you forget about it. But if you’re like made fun of you’ll remember that for a lifetime.

Jeff suffered the humiliation heaped on him for several years. In his written narrative he stated, “I was always made fun of and I always let the cruelty of my classmates get to me. I felt that shame every day and didn’t know why my classmates couldn’t accept me for who I was.” Jeff could not be expected to understand why his classmates made him suffer. A young child is developing his sense of self and relying on the relationships formed with others to help in this development. It was inevitable that Jeff would start to feel that there was something wrong with him even when there was not.

Teacher Apathy

After reading accounts of peer teasing and bullying like that of Jeff, one might wonder how this type of behavior can go on without teacher intervention. It is hard to believe that teachers or school personnel could be so

oblivious to these ongoing encounters. While it is possible that some teasing and even some academic struggles could go unnoticed by teachers who would otherwise intervene, a few participants felt that their teachers knew what was going on and chose not to help. Whether or not these participants were right, it was their perception of teacher apathy that caused compounded feelings of shame.

While Rachel was bullied on a daily basis from third grade until middle school, her teachers and school administrators never intervened on her behalf. Rachel saw this as a message that she was not worthy of assistance and that there must be some truth in what her bullies were telling her. She felt even more frustrated, isolated, and alone. The following are excerpts from Rachel’s interview when she discussed her attempts at soliciting help from her teachers to stop the teasing and bullying she was suffering.

Researcher- Did the teachers know this was going on? Did they do anything about it?

Rachel- The teachers knew because he (the bully) did it pretty loud and he did it at the beginning of class. I guess she was just overwhelmed and she would say that it was just kid stuff. I know she heard it at least once. I guess she just thought it was kids. I don’t know. She never said anything to him about it. I would complain to her about other stuff and she would just say, “Boys will be boys.” That was a big thing a lot of teachers said whenever I would complain. She said, “It must be something you’re doing wrong so just fix it.”

It is important to note that teachers are not the only school personnel that have a responsibility to keep children safe. Cafeteria staff, bus drivers, support staff, and administrators must be aware of the school environment and must take action when they see

a child in need. One particular participant was in dire need of such assistance from her bus driver. A section of her written narrative is below.

"The everyday ridicule on the bus was something I couldn't run from. Although I tried to sit in the front seat near the bus driver to avoid the scorn, it was no use because the shouts rained from the back of the bus. "You ugly little monster" some children would shout. I bowed my head as tears began to stream down my face. Everyday on the bus I felt worthless and lonely. The one particular incident I remember the most was in kindergarten. The children on the bus had been mocking me for weeks. With my head held low, I slid into the seat behind the bus driver. I kept my head held low praying that none of the bullies would see me. My hopes fell when I heard chuckles and saw the blood red backpack of my bully. His milky eyes pierced my heart as he pointed to the Barney on my shorts set. He continued to comment on my clothes as he went back to his seat. "Look at that ugly monkey with those coke bottles on her eyes" he shrieked. The bus roared with laughter as he shouted from the back of the bus. I know the bus driver heard every word but she said and did nothing."

Why did the bus driver not help this five-year-old? This was not an isolated incident. It was obvious that she knew what was happening. This kind of apathy is very harmful. Not only did the kindergartener not get relief from the shameful bullying, but she was also sent the message that adults do not care. She was not good enough, not worthy of assistance.

Insensitive or Hostile Teachers

Perhaps the most disturbing trend to surface when reading the participants' shame stories was that of insensitive or hostile teachers. Many participants experienced shame when teachers made hurtful comments about their intelligence, appearance, or character. These

types of negative comments can be sources of great shame. Teachers have tremendous emotional power in the classroom and this power is dangerous if it is used to control and demean children (Kaufman, 1992). Twenty-one of the 61 participants wrote about experiences with insensitive teachers or administrators. This number constitutes the largest percentage of participants that share a single shame trigger. Even more disturbing than the actual numbers are the hateful and destructive words uttered by supposed professional educators.

"Oh my god, it's a miracle you actually got something right."

"You know that liars go to hell."

"How could you not know the answer to this simple math problem. I have had three other brilliant students to complete this exact problem."

"Children, don't pay attention to Leigh because the stupid cooties will rub off on you and you will be like her."

"Are you stupid or something?"

"You'll never make anything of your life."

"Don't ask stupid questions."

These are just a few of the comments the participants remember hearing from teachers. These comments perpetuate the shame cycle and create a rift in the relationship between teacher and student. The human condition is defined by our need for relationships with significant others. A relationship develops based on the premise that the other person wants to be in a relationship with us. Kaufman (1992) calls this "mutuality of response." "Mutuality of response is indispensable to feeling that one is in a real relationship with another, in a word, to feeling

wanted for oneself" (p.13). When this type of relationship develops, the two parties form an interpersonal bridge between themselves. The bridge is based on understanding, respect, and openness.

The emotional connection and interpersonal bridge a child has with a caregiver is the basis for most of the learning and development that takes place in early childhood. The very open and trusting nature of the relationship, however, leaves both parties vulnerable. When the interpersonal bridge is severed by a disappointing glare, a hateful word, or a withdrawal of love, shame is induced. This inducement can shut down (temporarily or permanently) the exchange that promotes the development of one's sense of self-worth. When one's sense of self-worth is diminished, cognitive development is slowed or hindered (Broucek, 1997).

Whether or not teachers know that their words are causing damage to their students' psyches is irrelevant. As educators, they should know. Teachers are responsible for the intellectual, physical, and emotional development of their students. It is their job to know how their actions impact their students.

One participant wrote of a teacher that made his second-grade experience a living hell. In his written narrative he recounts his experience as a child with a chronic illness struggling to stay current with his school work.

"I was always in and out of the hospital prior to the second grade and it aided me not in keeping up with the other children. Mrs. Barrow did not have the slightest sympathy for me and she did not want to put up with a struggling student. I remember many times when Mrs. Barrow would make comments about how dumb and far behind the other children I was. She would also contact my parents about taking me

out of school because I was not smart enough to keep up. This would make me feel even more insecure about my existence. I also remember balling in tears one afternoon because my teacher called me worthless and she detained me in class while all the other children went to play during recess. I remember this particularly because she called me a thorn in her side and insisted on making me try to read without even helping me. I have never felt a greater sense of shame than when I was in the second grade."

These accounts are shocking and disturbing. It is hard to believe that those professionals to whom we entrust our most precious resource can be so cruel. Children enter the school setting with a natural tendency to trust teachers. It is especially hurtful and destructive when such a trusted individual turns against you. Negative and angry language coming from a caregiver or important person in an individual's life can create a sense of insecurity and fear. The once reliable relationship becomes unreliable and even hostile. A break in the interpersonal bridge is created and feelings of shame result. The feeling of shame comes from the feeling that we were wrong, weak, or stupid for blindly trusting the other individual. Shame can also result if the individual on the receiving end of the negative or angry language blames himself for the ill treatment. After all, "I must have done something to deserve this."

We have looked at the five shame triggers that surfaced during the analysis of data and in-depth reading of participants' school-induced shame stories. Academic struggles, physical or somatic differences, peer teasing and bullying, teacher apathy, and insensitive or hostile teachers have caused many students to feel the most negative and destructive of human emotions: shame.

Discussion/Conclusions

This study has helped shed light on the phenomenon of school-induced shame. The participants' stories have given us a greater insight into the triggers of school-induced shame. The patterns that emerged from the data were at times predictable and at times disturbing. While many individuals share positive school experiences, many others share negative experiences. Identifying school practices, teacher actions, and peer interactions that induce shame is the first step in making the schoolhouse a better place to learn and grow.

Social institutions, such as schools, have a responsibility to nurture and guide our youngest citizens. However, all too often, these very institutions instigate or perpetuate the cycle of shame. Acknowledging these failures and finding ways to stop the cycle are vital steps in the healing of shame. It is the fervent hope of this researcher that this study contributes to the literature on school-induced shame and offers real and needed solutions to eliminate shame in the school setting.

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Abstract

State social studies standards are reflective of the concepts of Bloom's taxonomy, emphasizing the development of higher order thinking skills. Standardized social studies tests, on the other hand, are not reflective of Bloom's taxonomy and almost exclusively test for memorization and identification. In other words, the standards target very different objectives than the standardized tests are designed to assess. If, then, the central objective is to achieve adequate or higher standardized test scores, we must admit that it is not "standards-based" education that is desired, but rather test-focused instruction.

In my social studies methods courses at Columbus State University in Georgia, I give my students a bold direction that is radical and revolutionary: "teach as the state standards dictate." But I follow that direction with an unexpected warning to my students: "If you teach what the state standards require you to teach, you might end up disappointing the powers that be." That warning may seem surprising, radical, or even absurd, especially to an administrator, but the object of this essay is to demonstrate that it is not only the reality, it is also symptomatic of a serious crisis in education. Given the political emphasis on standardized test scores, it is reasonable for administrators to desire adequate or higher standardized test scores, but this study will demonstrate conclusively that to teach to the standardized test requires a social studies teacher to disregard the *essence* of the state performance standards. The standardized tests are not keyed to the performance standards.

**CASE STUDY: Georgia Performance Standards vs. Georgia Standardized Tests
*Social Studies Standards Align with Bloom's Taxonomy***

For the sake of this particular study, I will carefully examine the case of 8th grade Georgia Performance Standards for social studies education. A similar examination could be made using any grade level standards. The 8th

grade social studies standards include twelve pertaining to history, two pertaining to geography, six pertaining to government, and five pertaining to economics. There are, then 25 total standards for 8th grade social studies (GPS8, 2012).

Bloom's revised taxonomy

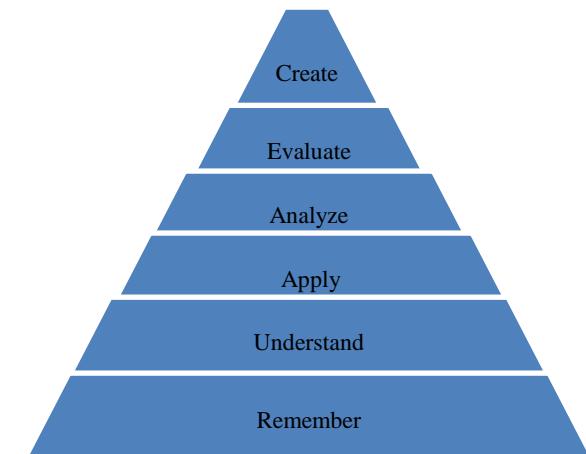


Figure 1: L. Anderson & D.A. Krathwohl, *Taxonomy for Learning, Teaching and Assessing: A Revision of Bloom's Taxonomy of Educational Objectives* (New York: Longman, 2001).

Based on the language of these standards, the authors were adherents of the concepts associated with Benjamin Bloom's taxonomy of learning objectives, pioneered in the 1950's and more recently revised and improved in 2001 (Bloom, 1956; Anderson, 2001). Since the original formulation of the taxonomy, it has been included in most mainstream teacher education programs, either in its original or revised form. Popularized by the representation of a pyramid (see figure 1), the implication of Bloom's taxonomy is that the objectives of learning only *begin* with memorization, recollection, and identification of facts and information. Hence, the ability to identify terms, for example, is what has come to be called "lower order" learning insofar as it represents the lowest tier on Dr. Bloom's taxonomy. Though the taxonomy illustrates that memorization is a fundamental objective at the base of all educational goals, it is but the first layer of a pyramid, upon which the more meaningful, useful, and valuable objectives of learning are achieved. Testing only to determine whether those lower order objectives have been met does not reveal whether learning has occurred because, according to Bloom, learning is holistic. It necessarily includes the entire taxonomy. Without achieving the higher order objectives, the lower order achievements are, in themselves, incomplete and not indicative of whether the objectives of learning have been met. For example, suppose I were to be asked whether I am capable of piloting an airplane. If my response is, "well, I can sit in a pilot's seat and buckle the seatbelt," most would not be content with that as an indication of my capacity to pilot the plane. Who would be willing to be a passenger on a plane piloted by me if the only known indication of my competency is that I know how to sit in a chair—a basic necessary task for piloting the plane? In view of that analogy, Bloom's taxonomy and the standards insist that teachers focus on teaching students to pilot planes but the CRCT doesn't test for any piloting skills. As such, the CRCT does not measure whether the teacher has achieved the objectives of learning. Before we consider the relationship of the standards and the CRCT to the taxonomy of learning objectives, let us

briefly review the pyramid associated with Bloom.

The pyramid begins with a foundation of memorization and identification of facts and information. But this is only the base. The student then should be taught to *comprehend* or *understand* what he or she has memorized. *Understanding* is the second tier on the pyramid. This objective indicates that a student has the ability to make causal connections, to explain states of affairs, and to make sense of the facts. *Understanding* is a "higher" level of thinking than *memorizing*. Needing only the capability of a parrot, history students can be taught to repeat back the words "veni, vidi, vici." But only when students are taught that these were the Latin words of Julius Caesar ("I came, I saw, I conquered") bragging about his swift military exploits, do students begin to *understand* the meaning of the words. Parrots can repeat terms, they cannot *understand* them.

Above the *understanding* tier, the student should then be taught to *apply* what she knows and understands. In the study of history, this might be accomplished by posing a hypothetical such as the following: after a student can identify who Abraham Lincoln was, and understand why Lincoln made the decisions that he made, the student should be able to give an answer to the question, "If Lincoln were alive today, what would be his approach to (insert any contemporary political controversy)?" If a student gives a reasoned answer to that question, she will have shown her ability to *apply* what she has identified and understood. This task, of course, is an even "higher order" of thinking than the skills upon which it is built.

Moving up still higher on the taxonomy pyramid, the teacher's objective should include that students are equipped to *analyze* what she knows, understands, and applies. Analysis is among the highest order of educational objectives. It requires the student to be able to go beyond understanding to the level of theorizing, to provide her own analysis of a situation which, by nature, usually involves some degree of subjectivity. For example, news media have political "analysts" whose roles

often include speculating who will likely win an election and why. Sports “analysts” predict who will win an important game, and when the game is over, they are called on to provide their expert explanation of the causes of the win or loss. In the discipline of history, we call analysts “interpreters” who theorize concerning what happened and why. These analysts (or interprets), however, very frequently disagree in their analyses, a fact that is characteristic of the very nature of higher order thinking such as analysis.

An even higher learning objective, according to Dr. Broom, is providing students the ability to *evaluate*. In Bloom’s original taxonomy, the evaluation objective was the highest order in the process. The 2001 revision reverses evaluation and synthesis and replaces synthesis with creation (Anderson, 2001). Evaluation implies the appropriation of a value judgments are rarely a matter of concrete certainty. Who was the better president: George Washington or Abraham Lincoln? That is a prime example of an *evaluative* question. What is the right answer? Professor John Yoo of University of California at Berkeley is convinced that Washington was the best (Yoo, 2011). Professor Thomas Krannawitter of the Claremont Institute is confident that Lincoln was the greatest (Krannawitter, 2010). Which of these scholars gives the wrong answer? Which is unlearned, ignorant of the truth? Neither. Evaluation is a skill that doesn’t always lead educated people to the same result. As such, it cannot be tested with a multiple-choice instrument.

Finally, Bloom’s revised pyramid tops out with the student being able to innovate, to take what she has known, understood, applied, analyzed and evaluated, and formulate her own novel insights about the subject that perhaps no one has ever considered before. This is the pinnacle of Bloom’s pyramid, the garden where genius like Edison’s sprouts. This is the source from which the United States has historically drawn its most valuable commodities (U.S. Dept. of Commerce, 2010).

Bloom’s Language in the 8th Grade Standards for Social Studies

Now let us return to our examination of the 8th Grade Georgia Performance Standards. Of the 25 standards, the largest portion of them begin with these words: “The student will *analyze...*” (GPS8, 2012). In other words, these standards call for a teacher to achieve higher order learning with their students, to make them into *analysts*. As shown already, analysis usually involves subjective reasoning rarely, if ever, capable of being reduced to a “right” answer. The next two largest portions of the 8th grade social studies standards require that students “explain” and “evaluate” certain concepts. The standards require teachers to make sure their students are not only *analysts*, but analysts who have the ability to assess the *value* of historic events, decisions, and people. Evaluation requires an ability to distinguish between good and bad, right and wrong. Was it right to drop a nuclear weapon on Japanese civilians in 1945? What is the correct answer to that question? Again, highly educated scholars disagree.

These higher order learning objectives are called for by 19 out of the 25 standards, or more than 3/4ths of them (GPS8, 2012). Only one of the 25 standards begins with the words “the student will *identify...*” (GPS8, 2012) signifying the first tier on Bloom’s taxonomy. Another begins with the words “the student will give examples” (GPS8, 2012) which might also be properly categorized as a lower order task. Four of the standards require a student to “describe,” a task that some might call lower order, but usually implies some degree of subjective perception.

The upshot of this examination is that the 8th grade Georgia Performance Standards for social studies mandate that teachers teach students to perform higher-order functions such as *analysis* and *evaluation*. These learning objectives cannot be measured by testing whether a student can identify “right” answers.

But if the teachers’ commission is to teach what the standards ask them to teach, the measure of whether they have done their job

must be correlated to what the standards require. This is not the case. In the context of the 8th grade social studies classroom in Georgia, the preferred instrument for determining whether the standard has been attained is the *Criterion Referenced Competency Test* (CRCT). We discover that this instrument does perhaps the opposite of determining whether a teacher has met the objective of the standard. Strangely, it seems that the CRCT scores determine, in the end, whether the teacher has ignored and neglected the standards.

The Criterion Referenced Competency Test and Bloom's Taxonomy

The Georgia Department of Education (GDOE) published a study guide for 8th grade students to prepare for their CRCT test (GDOE, 2007). The study guide includes ten questions that, according to the GDOE, are representative of the questions that are asked on the CRCT. This set of ten questions does, in fact, reflect the concepts and objectives that the test targets. Let's examine the questions.

The first question on the GDOE's CRCT sample test asks what condition led Oglethorpe to found the colony of Georgia. The answer, of course, is the abundance of debtors in England. This is a fact—nothing to be evaluated, analyzed or explained. Getting that right is a simple function of memorizing information.

The second question on the sample test asks the students to identify the purpose of Georgia land lotteries. However, the Georgia standard aligned to this question calls for 8th grade students to *evaluate* land lotteries. Does this test question determine whether a student has accomplished the ability to make a value judgment? What value judgment goes into knowing that the purpose of the land lotteries was to promote frontier settlement? This is a matter of identification, not evaluation, in spite of the fact that the GDOE claims that this question tests the student's ability to "Evaluate the impact of land policies pursued by Georgia. That is a clear misrepresentation by the GDOE. The question does not test for the

accomplishment of what the standard asks for *at all*.

The third question on the GDOE sample test asks the test taker to identify a particular historic woman. Three facts are given about the woman and the student has to select the right name from a list of four women. This is pure identification. Not a hint of value judgment is tested by this question, in spite of the fact that it allegedly checks the student for accomplishing standard SSH8H7a, "Evaluate the impact...Rebecca Latimer Felton... had on Georgia during this period" (GPS8, 2012). As a moderately educated person with a Ph.D., I cannot grasp how being able to identify the name of a person proves that I have achieved an ability to evaluate that person's significance in history. Who was the 16th president? Answer: Abraham Lincoln. Does the fact that I can answer that demonstrate in any way my competence for evaluating Lincoln as a president? Certainly not. The CRCT guide is disingenuous, at best, for suggesting that the question tests for the students' accomplishment of the standard.

The fourth question on the sample test asks the student to identify which factor figured into the Georgia farm crisis. The right answer is the boll weevil. Only the lowest order of learning is tested by this question.

The fifth question on the test requires that students find the Savannah River on a map. That skill has nothing at all to do with explaining, analyzing, evaluating, or even understanding. It is a low-order learning objective. It is, in fact, a kind of process that has been taught to animals.

The sixth question on the GDOE sample test asks the students to identify what the Fall Line provided for Georgians in the 1800s. We know this very well here in Columbus, Georgia. The simple and only correct answer is mills/industry. This answer tests for the accomplishment of Bloom's taxonomy, objective one: memorizing.

The seventh question on the sample test is "Who presides in the Georgia senate?" The

answer is the lieutenant governor. How is knowing the lieutenant governor presides over the state senate a matter of analysis or evaluation? The question has not tested for a student's accomplishment of the main objective of the standard.

The eighth question asks the student to identify a middle step in the process of a bill becoming a law. It's akin to the question, what letter comes after *a* but before *c*. It is a simple identification of a step – again level one of Bloom's taxonomy.

The ninth question asks the student to define a "special purpose government." What sort of analysis, application, evaluation, or innovation would a student need to do to arrive at a definition? None.

The final question on the sample tests asks the test taker to define "credit." Wow! All ten questions on this test, which according to the GDOE are a representative sample of every 8th grade Social Studies CRCT, tests only to see if students have accomplished level one objectives on Bloom's taxonomy: low order memorization and identification. The CRCT is in no way reflective of Bloom's taxonomy of learning objectives which emphasize higher-order skills.

Conclusion: The CRCT is Not Keyed to the Standards

The conclusion to the matter is this: none of the questions on the CRCT test what 90% of the standards require: understanding, application, analysis, evaluation, and innovation. Of the 25 standards in 8th grade social studies, only one targets students' ability to identify a certain term or concept. That's 4% of the standards. Of the CRCT questions, 10/10 target the students' ability to identify a certain term or concept. That's 100%. The writers of the CRCT can perhaps accurately claim that the *content* and *subject matter* is the same for both, but what the standards require teachers and students to do is not tested by CRCT.

But what results do administrators want to see from a teacher's classroom? Is it fair to say that high CRCT (or whatever standardized

acronym applies to the grade level) scores are often their priority? It's beyond dispute. But based on the CRCT test published by the Department of Education that we just examined, what skills would a teacher have to emphasize to get students to do well? If 100% of the questions are low-order identifications, what would a teacher need to spend most of their class time doing? One of my graduate students shared the following anecdote: "My fellow teacher has the best CRCT scores in our school for Social Studies. She has students create flip books, do memorization drills, and fill out blank maps. She is also well liked by the administration because of the 'results' she gets. If she suddenly shifted to teaching the standards as written then I doubt her CRCT scores would garner the positive attention she currently gets" (Childers, 2012). The main reason such a teacher is well-liked by her administration is, for the most part, because she focuses on the content related to the standards but neglects teaching the concepts that standards insist be taught.

But if a teacher instead follows the standards as a guide, only a small portion of their attention would be focused on low-order identifications, flash-cards, flip-charts, worksheets, and note-taking. Instead they would have to put most of their attention on the objectives stated in the standards: "students will analyze, evaluate, explain, etc." That would require more exercises in debating, discussing, dialoguing, arguing a case, analyzing, figuring out, and placing value judgments on events. If they spend significant class time doing those things as they should, however, students won't be as prepared for the low order CRCT as if they set the standards aside and just focus on identifications.

The fact is that administrators who prioritize CRCT scores do not wish for teachers to teach the standards, to have "standards-based" classroom, or to have the students focused on a standard every day. What they really wish for, if they are being truly honest about it, is that their teachers *disregard the higher order nature standards* and teach to the test. This article has demonstrated conclusively that teaching to the test is something very different than teaching the

standards. As a matter of fact, a teacher who teaches according to the standards is teaching material that is, as demonstrated in the case study above, rarely on the test at all. In social studies, when educators talk about being “standards-based,” what they really mean is emphasizing the *content* associated with the standards rather than the standards themselves. Any Georgia 8th grade social studies teacher who truly teaches the standards as written is putting her students at risk of being less prepared for the CRCT.

So I return to my original claim. If a social studies teacher teaches as the standards dictate and focuses on higher order thinking, formulation of value judgments, subjective opinions, innovation of new ideas, what will be the result on the CRCT which asks for *none of that*? It’s fair to say that the outcome of the CRCT might not be as favorable as if the teacher ignored the standards and taught low-order identifications. My original statement should now make abundant sense. Bureaucrats who desire high scores on CRCTs do not want teachers teaching as the state standards dictate. If the teacher teaches the standards, CRCT scores will suffer. In other words, *the CRCT is not keyed to the standards*. The standards were written by educators who had an eye to Bloom’s taxonomy. The CRCT was not.

My warning therefore stands. If my students use the state standards as the principal guide for what they teach, they may end up disappointing the bureaucrats. Nonetheless, I’m intending to keep daring my students to commit this radical and revolutionary act in their classrooms: actually teach precisely what the state standards require them to teach.

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Abstract

This article describes Graves' theory of sociological development and its applicability to leadership. The interrelationship of the most common levels of functioning, appropriate management techniques, and methods for facilitating the growth of organization members is examined.

Much of our work as professionals involves the identification and development of effective leadership skills, the creation of model organizations, and the search for the ideal leader. However, this quest is, to a great extent, tied to the human understanding of human behavior. In essence, to lead effectively, one must understand both self and others (Payne, 2004). While various psychological theories are available to allow professionals to explain and understand behavior, often these theories lack the flexibility to address the wide variety of diversity inherent in the human species. What is needed is a model or process by which the key factors in every situation that relate to appropriate leadership

The work of Graves (1966, 1970, 1972, and 1974) provides a framework for addressing the diversity of perception, interpretations, categorization, and reaction that exists within groups or organizations. Graves' work involves a model that emphasizes individual paradigms or value systems which cause persons to perceive, interpret, categorize, and react to a given situation in vastly different ways based upon their specific developmental levels. He described a balanced model of human development and the means by which humans attempt to address the ever-changing problems

in their environment. His position was that humans are evolving in a process that is essentially unending. An outline and description (including the different roles of leaders related to each level) of the most common of Graves' levels of development in Table 1.

Table 1

Graves' Levels of Socio-Biological Development

LEVEL 3 – The Powerful Self

Power and assertion of the self above others are the motivating factors. Leaders must demand respect and reward immediately.

LEVEL 4 – The Conforming Self

Following the prescribed rules and doing the "right thing" are the motivating factors. Leaders must strictly follow the regulations and provide the appropriate rewards and punishments.

LEVEL 5 – The Material Self

Material gain, success, and winning are motivating factors. Leaders must provide rewards, incentives, rank, power, and position for productivity.

LEVEL 6 – The Sociocentric Self

Collegial, harmonious social relationships with nature and other beings are the motivating factors. Leaders must be a collegial friend and show concern for the group and its members.

LEVEL 7 – The Cognitive Self

Gathering data and making independent, functional, principle-based choices are the motivating factors. Leaders must be competent associates and provide the resources to allow the individual to achieve results in their own way.

According to Payne, Cowan, Cox, and Jordan (1994), the most common paradigms among our current population are level 4, 5, and 6. Figure 1 illustrates the interrelationship between the different developmental levels.

[Insert Figure 1 here]

Graves (1970) states that all human beings are biologically “wired” for each of the different developmental levels, however the specific level of existence a person is operating from is determined by the nature of both the individual’s specific developmental process and personal experiences or intervening history (Shideler, 1988) that either facilitates or impedes developmental progress.

Blackbourn, Papasan, Vinson, and Blackbourn (2000) address the use of Graves’ theory by educational leaders. Leadership within this framework requires leaders to treat organizational members in a differential manner, according to their specific developmental level. In regard to the level 4 individual, Graves (1970) states: “He believes the task of living is to strive for perfection in his assigned role. He believes that salvation will come ultimately, regardless of his original position, to he who lives best by the rules of life prescribed for him. He who sacrifices his wants in the way authority prescribes is most revered.” (p. 148)

Level 4 individuals, due to their need to “do what’s right,” respond best to leadership that is directive and creates a work environment characterized by stability and order. These persons will be productive and perform their job well, as long as leadership can create an organizational climate that has clear parameters and standards for performance. However, leaders must be specific in their directions to level 4 persons, as they will seldom extend their performance beyond such instruction or beyond their specific job description. In addition,

persons functioning at level 4 will often ignore a problem or employ an ineffective, yet familiar solution, rather than address it. In illustrating this point Ossorio (1966, 1978) states in his maxims for behavior description, “If a situation calls for a person to do something he cannot do, he will do something he can do – if he does anything at all” (Maxim #5). Leaders must rigidly prescribe and enforce rules with level 4 persons in an organization. Level 4 persons assume it to be the leader’s responsibility to supervise their conduct in a fair and systematic manner.

Level 5 persons operate from a perspective that values personal prestige, image, rank, and power. According to Graves (1970), the level 5 individual’s value system addresses the need to “improve immeasurably man’s conditions for existence. They create wealth and lead to knowledge which improves the human condition.” (p. 150) Such persons can be the most productive members of any organization as they can clearly conceptualize the reward(s) present in a situation and direct their efforts to achieve their goals. Level 5 persons approach all situations with a “What’s in it for me” perspective and want to know the “rules” so they can “win.” Leaders must provide appropriate rewards (and limits) for such individuals to facilitate maximum productivity. In addition, leaders must also serve as a model of competence and productivity for level 5 persons. Leaders must assume an assertive role when dealing with level 5 members of an organization. Objective evaluation and clearly defined policies are a necessity when managing these persons. The hierarchical and bureaucratic structure of organizations provides an effective means of leading those functioning at level 5.

Graves (1970) describes the situation for persons functioning at level 6 as: “On the surface sociocratic values appear shallower, less serious, and even facile in

contrast to values at other levels because the surface aspect of them shifts as the ‘value-other’ changes his preference. But the central core of this system is a very solid process. It is being with, in-with, and within the feelings of his ‘valued other(s)’. He values interpersonal penetration, communication, committeeism, majority rule, the tender, the subjective, persuasion, softness over ‘cold rationality’, sensitivity in preference to objectivity, taste over wealth, respectability over power, and persons over things.” (p. 151)

Individuals functioning at level 6 value positive social contact in the work environment and the opportunity to work in self-directed teams. Consensual decision making and collegiality are the frameworks within which level 6 persons operate and feel most secure. When dealing with such persons, leaders must allow them to develop individual leadership skills and participate in self-governance abilities while working to secure those resources necessary for them to do their job to best of their capabilities. Level 6 individuals function best when leaders create a collaborative and collegial “team atmosphere” in an organization. Allowing for participation, group decision-making, and a democratic approach to leadership all enhance the management of level 6 persons.

A leader’s role not only involves differently meeting the needs of a diverse group of organizational stakeholders, but also in allowing group members to grow as persons and move forward developmentally (Hamby, Blackbourn, Edmundson, Hampton, & Reardon, 1977). This involves acting in concert with the person’s developmental level and also creating dissonance within them by structuring situations that require them to act in manners consistent with higher level behaviors.

For example, a level 5 person might be directed to act as a mentor for a level 4 person

and told that his performance bonus would depend, in large part, on the protégé’s performance. Conversely, a level 6 person might be allowed to work on a desired project in a self-directed group, with other person he enjoys socially. Yet, he might be given firm deadlines for project completion or the group and project would be abandoned. In both instances, the target person would have to exhibit specific behaviors associated with their current developmental level and also produce specific behavior associated with higher developmental levels. Figure 1 here

A further role for a leader would be to ensure or minimize the chance that individuals do not regress along the levels of existence. Graves holds that dissonance creates stress and that this stress is the catalyst for forward movement through the levels. However, excessive stress combined with a lack of support and direction could cause a person to move backwards (i.e., to drop a level or two). Within this framework, a level 6 person would drop to a level 4 person, or a level 5 person would drop to a level 3. For example, a leader functioning at level 5 might have expended a significant amount of time and effort on a high priority project with great profit potential. If the project failed or did not result in additional outcomes, the leader might replace his leadership team, fire the project staff, berate those involved with the project, or identify an individual as the primary cause and treat him as a scapegoat. All of these behaviors are typical of a level 3 person whose primary motivation is to exercise and demonstrate personal power.

The most effective type of leadership from Grave’s perspective is one that differentially addresses and manages each person in the organization individually. It should be rigid enough to accomplish the organization’s goals, yet flexible enough to enhance the growth of all organization members.

Payne, Mercer, and Epstein (1977) suggest it is healthy for an organization to suffer temporarily if it enhances organizational and personnel growth. This suggests the leaders must take employees where they are and lead in such a way that all may benefit.

From a Gravesian perspective, a leader must develop mature psychological behaviors and understand that human development is a constantly evolving process concerned with the solution of certain problems of existence at a given level. The process also produces new problems at future developmental levels to be solved as each individual experiences growth. Each and every human being's interpretation of the world is open to change. As levels of existence change, the problems to be solved change and the values change. New levels of existence require that problems be addressed within the limits of a person's available knowledge and the interrelated events within the environment. Addressing problems at each level of existence can be facilitated through an understanding and respect for the process of sociological development. Understanding this process leads to a better understanding of self and others.

Mature psychosocial behavior begins with understanding self, leading to understanding others, to the search for information about us all as an interrelated community. An effective leader understands how to use the abilities, skills, intelligence, energy, and creativity of each and every individual in an organization. Such an understanding changes us, our organization, and how we work together. It puts the individual at the center of the organizational operation and allows the leader to discharge their most important role, the identification, development, and utilization of the world's most important resources – human resources.

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