VALUE CLARIFICATION AND THE CLASSROOM

STUDY OF SOCIAL CONFLICT

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND RATIONALE

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Declaration of Independence

We the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

Constitution of the United States of America

These quotations from two documents that have served as the foundation stones of United States political thought express values that nearly all Americans will accept. Very few would object to a society in which these values were lived in its political and social life. The writers of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States wrote them in order to bring about conditions in which men's lives could be lived in accordance with the values they expressed.

What happens, however, if someone's pursuit of happiness infringes on my liberty, or if someone's liberty thwarts my pur-
suit of happiness? If insuring domestic tranquility helps maintain unjust conditions, what should I think? If attempts to secure a greater degree of justice result in less domestic tranquility, how should I act? What is to be done if providing for the common defense threatens my life? Can efforts to promote the general welfare be tolerated if they restrict my liberty?

Each of the above questions find concrete expression in the political and social life of our nation. These broad values, accepted by nearly everyone in our nation, overlap and conflict in their meaning. Obviously, men can not all be equal and completely free simultaneously. The problem of value conflict quickly arises if one person or group supports freedom over equality while another supports equality as a supreme value.

In this time of increasing automation, we find our value of work being questioned. Shortened working hours and the changing nature of occupations affect our concept of work. With the great increase in leisure time during the twentieth century, how can we work hard all the time? Is "work" the same as it used to be? This illustrates how values can change in their meaning and applicability. Are values actually timeless and eternally valid?

The purpose of this paper is to develop an approach to understanding and handling problems such as the ones discussed. In
preparation for devising teaching strategies for dealing with value laden social issues and problems, five questions need consideration: What is the nature of value conflict? How can social problems be analyzed to reveal the value problems they contain? How can the meaning and significance of values be clarified? How can values be intelligently chosen and justified? How can I decide how I shall act on my value choices and commitments?

It is the hope of the authors that this paper will contribute to the development of a systematic approach to value problems. A self-correcting system is needed that can be used to evaluate values themselves. New conditions often demand new approaches to old problems. Using time-worn, unquestioned values as guides for action is too risky and ineffective for the problems of the magnitude we face today. We must learn to make our value commitments intentionally and intelligently.

We will begin by discussing values as concepts we use to evaluate various facets of our experience. We use values as standards for behavior; that is, values are used to compare actual experience with our expectations. The origin of our values and their social nature will be examined. Special emphasis will be given to the reference groups which supply us with values. This will lead to the problem of value conflict.

In order to analyze values, we must understand how values
function in the lives of each of us and our society. A value concept does not always function as a value; this will necessitate a further clarification of concepts and values. The structure of value systems and the relationships between values in a system will be established in preparation for the justification process.

The remainder of the paper will consist of the clarification and decision-making model. Four questions must be answered by anyone who wishes to deal constructively with a value conflict problem: Do I want to clarify the confusion in this problem? How should I handle the problem for my individual situation? Should I take action to resolve the conflict on the societal level? What action shall I take?

Contrasting perspectives for social analysis will be evaluated in terms of their utility in clarifying value conflicts. Another major topic is how value commitments and appropriate action can be intelligently chosen and justified. This clarification and decision-making model will be followed by suggestions for teachers who wish to work with value clarification in their social studies classes. It should be understood that the research done in this paper is only in preparation for the construction of a teaching model for value clarification and decision-making. The teaching model is beyond the scope of the present work.

Many people have felt that values should not be involved in
the teaching of social studies. Values are personal and subjective, they say; consequently, they are not open to public inquiry. "Teach­ ing" values in the schools would be indoctrination and thus undemo­ cratic and certainly not the responsibility of a public institution such as the schools. Schools should present the facts and allow students to make their own decisions with no discussion of the values involved.

Other people believe that only certain values should be taught in school and those should be indoctrinated. These values are generally those of American nationalism, the ones expressed in the basic American documents and the American Creed. Other values are not considered legitimate concerns of public institu­ tions. Furthermore, evaluation of these value concepts is not acceptable and conflict among these basic national values is seldom recognized or acknowledged.

How can we justify treating value problems in the social studies? We believe neither of the two positions discussed are realistic or helpful in promoting the ends they espouse. The first position denies any direct relationship between information and values; this is unrealistic. It also does not help students learn how to make value decisions. The latter acknowledges the existence of values but says there is nothing new to learn in the value realm. If this is so, inquiry should produce evidence to
support that position. If it is not accurate, then it is dangerous
to the existence of our society not to question our standards of be-
havior. Furthermore, the latter position establishes a closed so-
ciety prohibiting free inquiry, a situation which conflicts with many
of the values it seeks to protect.

We believe values can be examined objectively and evaluated
in terms of their purposes. If reason and experience are guides
to greater understanding of our world, then they must be applied
to our values as well if we are to live as intelligent people. We be-
lieve values are related to concrete experience and are derived
from experience. Louis Raths urges us to use concrete data "'to
inform our values.""\(^1\) We assert that an open society is more
likely to grow and find successful solutions to its problems than
a society which can not take a hard look at itself and change when
necessary. Our work, then, is intended to enable men and women
to become competent in understanding the value problems of their
society and to become competent in constructively acting on the
basis of carefully, intentionally chosen values.

The schools are a central institution of our society and are
intended to prepare the young to live effective and worthwhile

\(^1\) Simon and M. Harmin, "To Study Controversial Issues
lives in the United States. Consequently, they must attempt to enable their students to deal with value conflicts. The clash of values is evident in nearly every facet of American life. By this is meant the deep-seated cleavages among Americans on such vital matters as religion and public education, sex morals and sex education, equality of opportunity for individuals of all groups, censorship and freedom of inquiry, loyalty and national security, America's role in world affairs, and the basic character and direction of public education itself.²

The social studies classroom seems to offer the best place to begin working toward a society of men and women competent to participate in the resolution of their conflicts. It is a place where knowledge and critical inquiry and evaluation can be learned to produce independent thinkers. Our purpose is to teach how to value and enable the student to intelligently choose what to value.

CHAPTER II

THE VALUE CONCEPT

VALUES AS CONCEPTS

In this paper, we will define values as concepts which are used as standards to determine appropriate behavior in any given context. We believe values can be meaningfully discussed only as concepts. This position has certain implications that we want to make explicit. Like concepts, values are devices constructed for ordering our experience. Values emerge from human experience. They are inherently neither right nor wrong. Values are useful only to the extent that they help fulfill purposes. When they are no longer useful, values are to be discarded. Values may become obsolete with the development of new circumstances. Thus, in bold strokes, we have set forth our position. The following discussion of concepts is intended to clarify the relationship of concepts and values and the assertions presented here.

A concept is a category defined by a set of criteria.\(^1\) If

something is described by the criteria provided by a concept, we can say that it can be placed in that unique conceptual category.

A concept is a description of an ideal state of affairs, a situation, or a particular ordering of facts. A concept, then, serves as a device for ordering the facts of our experience. Concepts are invented by men; they "are creative ways of structuring our perception of reality." For example, the concept of "nation" can be defined by the following criteria: a population living in a defined geographical area; the use of a common language; common customs; a common political structure; and a common economic system. When in our experience we encounter the United States, Great Britain, Egypt, Cambodia, Bolivia, and several dozen other entities with the above attributes, we can organize our experience by calling them "nations". "We simplify our environment and the signals from it by imposing an order or pattern that includes a manageable number of categories." By means of the concept of nation we have considerably simplified a large number of distinct facts.

Suppose we accept the above definition of nation and merrily classify objects as nations or non-nations. At some point in our

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2 Ibid., p. 85.

3 Ibid.
experience, we come upon something which certainly fits our definition of nation but differs from our other nations. This "nation" has aliens in most of its policy-making positions. Its economy seems geared toward providing raw materials to the alien nation and serving as a market for the alien manufacturers. To call early twentieth century India a nation still leaves confusion in our experience. Perhaps our concept of nation is not useful for our purpose any longer. In order to solve the problem, we invent a new concept called "colony" with the criteria of the obsolete nation concept plus the new criteria: aliens occupying most policy-making positions and an economy subservient to the foreign nation's economy. The concept of nation seems to need only a little refinement, so we add the new criteria of political independence.

The old concept of nation was discarded when it no longer adequately clarified the difference between nations and non-nations. The old concept was not right or wrong; we simply came to the conclusion that it was no longer adequate for our needs. A new experience, the discovery of early twentieth century India, caused our old concept of nation to become inadequate. Thus, by developing new concepts of nation and colony, the old concept became obsolete as well as inadequate.

We can define things in terms of their descriptive or qualitative characteristics as we defined nations. Hunt and Metcalf
referred to these characteristics of definition as the "intensional" meaning of a concept. Sometimes these qualitative characteristics are supplemented by a description of how the thing is used, that is, the functional characteristics of the category. A neutral ship in wartime can be described qualitatively in terms of what flag it flies, its armament, and its cargo. It can also be functionally described in terms of whose ports it enters for trading purposes. A neutral ship could be defined as any merchant ship of a non-belligerent nation which trades with all belligerents. This is a functional criterion and might also be part of the intensional definition.

Examples given to explain or clarify a concept constitute the "extensional" meaning. The extensional meaning of nation is made up of such examples as Canada, the Republic of Togoland, Haiti, and Liechtenstein. The extensional meaning of a concept is inadequate because of the difficulty in applying it to new situations. An intensional definition may be developed by comparing examples of the concept. Hunt and Metcalf have summed this up with a quote by Monroe and Elizabeth Beardsley. "The extension of a word [concept] is the set of things to which it is applied, according to

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4Ibid, p. 89.

5Ibid.
a rule; the intension is a set of characteristics that things must have in order for the word to apply correctly to them. Both the intensional and extensional meanings are necessary for an adequate understanding of a concept.

It should be recognized that concepts are analytical in nature. They are used as assumptions or axioms in thinking. Consequently, their truth or falsity is not questioned; they are true by definition. In analyzing population aggregates, the concept of nation is used as a formal and necessary truth for the sake of analysis. As we saw in our discussion of nations, a concept can be changed on the basis of our experience with it. We changed its definition when it was no longer adequate for our purposes. It did not become false; it only became more convenient for the sake of clarity in analysis to make it more precise. Concepts are not supported by evidence; they organize evidence.

To clarify this last point, let us examine the concept of work, how its adequacy has changed, and how it can be modified to meet the needs that have sprung from new social conditions. The work

6Ibid.

7Ibid., p. 88.

8Ibid.
concept has been used by many people as a very important value and, consequently, has been used to evaluate the worth of behavior. It became enshrined in the value system called the Protestant Ethic. By examining the concept of work, we can begin moving from the realm of concepts in general to the province of value concepts in particular.

Just as the nation concept described an ideal state of affairs by ordering a set of facts, work is a description of a desired state of affairs. Work is a concept and also a standard for determining the appropriateness or desirability of certain behavior. We shall define the work concept as purposeful mental or physical activity directed toward doing or making something essential and useful for members of the society. Activities such as plowing, planting, house-building, wood-chopping, thread spinning, sewing, and cooking fulfilled the definition of work on the early New England frontier. In addition, the Puritans added the criterion of sobriety. This serious approach to making a living was important for the sake of survival and was useful for determining "good" or appropriate behavior.

For Puritans, leisure time was a rarity. If someone was observed doing something impractical, one could be sure that the idle person was up to mischief. After all, "idle hands are the tools of the Devil." Not to use one's waking hours working was a danger to the society; therefore, the concept of work was a valuable means of regulating behavior in Puritan society.
Since seventeenth century New England, new conditions have emerged. With the growth of a prosperous industrial-urban society, leisure has been given in ever greater quantities to the working man. For many, the activity of "making a living" or work is the only valuable kind of occupation which they can conceive. For many people, leisure still has the connotation of time that is in some sense wasted. Either work or leisure needs to be redefined. Evaluating one's activity in terms of the work value concept of the past is not adequate for the needs of the present day United States. New value concepts are needed to give meaning and purpose to men's leisure time activity.

Hopefully, this discussion of concepts and values has clarified and supported the assertions made earlier in this paper. Values are artificial devices for ordering our experience. Values emerge from human experience and are based upon it. Values are inherently neither right nor wrong. Values are useful only to the extent that they help fulfill purposes. Values are to be discarded when they are no longer useful. Values may become obsolete with the development of new circumstances. It is now time to deal with the nature and function of value concepts.
THE SOCIAL NATURE AND ORIGINS OF VALUES

After considering values as concepts, we now turn to examining the social nature of values. Social values are the concepts which are used as standards by a society to communicate to its members the proper or normative forms of behavior. Inherent in this definition are several implications which deserve explicit discussion.

First, values are passed on to members of any society through the process of social learning. Desirable end-states, which we have named "values", are tagged "desirable" in the mind of the individual only after learning what those people around him in his environment find desirable. As Jacob and Flink point out, this learning process makes possible cultural continuity.

Values have the property of substantial continuity from generation to generation; but this continuity derives primarily from social learning - a process of interpersonal communication, usually employing symbols to represent the values communicated. Transmission of social values does not, according to the best evidence available, occur by genetic legacy. ⁹

These statements should not be construed to imply that because members of a society develop their values through a learning process, they all learn to value the same things. Rather, the individual discovers from his surroundings what things are

available to him to hold as values. The alternatives for valuing that a person will seriously consider are limited by the experience a person has in perceiving what others consider normal or possible. Out of these alternatives, each person develops, either consciously or unconsciously, his unique set of values. Rokeach puts it this way:

Similarities of culture, social system, caste and class, sex, occupation, education, religious upbringing and political organization are some of the major variables which are likely to shape in more or less similar ways the value systems of large numbers of people. We may thus expect that while personality factors will give rise to variations in individual value systems, cultural, institutional, and social factors will nevertheless restrict such variations to a reasonably small number. 10

As an example of this, consider the alternatives that American society provides for choosing a religious doctrine. The world has many religions, but very few Americans will learn much about any except Christianity and Judaism. Within these two religions, many varying opportunities exist for an individual to express his faith, thus providing for individual differences. Generally, however, the philosophies of Hinduism, Zoroastrianism, Shintoism, and Buddhism are not serious alternatives for American religious expression because they are not part of our culture.

This brings us to the question of how these normal and possible alternatives for action are communicated to members of the society. How does a person learn what social values to cherish? Who tells him the available options? The concept of "reference groups" is central to understanding the process of communicating values. A reference group is a group which a person looks to for models of behavior. For most children in our culture, the family comprises the first reference group since it is the source of the child's existence and the only behavioral model available. As the child grows, however, he begins to acquire new reference groups which determine his behavior in specific situations. From his playmates, he learns what he must do in order to be invited to play with them again. At school, he learns an elaborate system of actions which he must follow in order to be accepted by his classmates. Soon, he has a number of possible behavior models which he might choose as reference groups: the sincere Sunday School group which Mom and Dad praise, the insincere Sunday School group which often holds the majority, the school trouble makers that always get attention, the athletes that are rewarded with popularity, the young scholars who are praised by teachers but shunned by jealous students, and many others. These reference groups which are formed from close, personal relationships, such as the family,
are called primary reference groups. Groups which provide models for norms and values in impersonal, goal-directed situations, such as a labor union, are called secondary groups.

From this it is easy to see that a person can have several different types of reference groups. The influences of these reference groups often mix together in complex patterns to formulate behavior. Jacob and Flink point out the importance of these groups in establishing expected behavior:

If social role is to be a useful tool of analysis, there should probably be at least a major prescribing group whose expectations determine the general characteristics of the role. There may also be minor prescribing groups, however, whose expectations set certain aspects of the role toward which the major group is indifferent or not in agreement. 1

In this interplay of reference group influences, the individual often encounters issues for which his significant references prescribe opposing solutions. Consequently, choices must be made, either consciously or unconsciously, about which reference group to follow. These situations, in which the behavior model internalized from another reference group for handling the same issue, will be called value conflicts. Later sections of this paper focus on this concept which lies at the heart of the search for conflict

11Jacob and Flink, _ibid._, p. 25.
Chapter III will concern the clarification of value conflicts, and Chapter IV will deal with pedagogical techniques for dealing with value conflicts in the classroom.

Having discussed social values as the products of social learning through reference groups, we should now examine the differences between social values and personal values. We contend that social values and personal values are not two different entities. Rather, they are the same standards for guiding behavior viewed from two different perspectives. Those who see individuals first, rather than groups, will be concerned about the values that each person lives by and will be only secondarily interested in the way individuals happen to share many of the same values with their associates. To these people, the guides for behavior within each person, or personal values, are the concepts that have meaning. Raths, Simon, and Harmin ask some probing questions out of this perspective:

Why must teachers see their role only as putting things into the mind of the child? Why can't a role be defined that would help a child take all the confusion that already exists in his mind, remove it, look at it, examine it, turn it around, and make some order out of it? 12

"Social values" or "group values" lose significant meaning to people with this perspective because there is no such thing as a

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group mind which can deal with the values of the group or the society in the manner that the individual mind can deal with individual values. The society as a whole simply cannot think through and clarify its values as an individual can, and this makes the "social value" concept worthless to those with an individual perspective.

On the other hand, those who see the group structures around them before they see individuals will be concerned about the values of the reference groups. The values that happen to direct behavior in the case of any individuals are, in this view, only of secondary importance because these individual values are derived from the alternatives for behavior offered by the various reference groups. Rokeach spoke from this perspective when he said that, "while personality factors will give rise to variations in individual value systems, cultural, institutional, and social factors will nevertheless restrict such variations to a reasonably small number." The term "personal values" loses significance in this context. Individual value systems are only different combinations of values chosen from the available social values. This perspective avoids even referring to "personal values" because it is almost impossible

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13Rokeach, ibid., p. 18.
for anyone to know what values a person is employing in any given action. It is very difficult even for the person under scrutiny himself to analyze his own values. In contrast to this, the individual perspective likes to talk about "personal values"; this view thrives on clarifying what each person believes. It is not interested in comparing values of many individuals to discover a group norm or to examine group behavior. It is only interested that the person develop subjective insights into the consistency between his words and his actions.

Thus, hopefully, the terms "personal values" and "social values" have been clarified. They are simply the product of two different perspectives or orientations. When these terms are used hereinafter in this paper, the perspective being employed will, hopefully, be immediately evident.

FUNCTIONS OF VALUES

We have defined values to be concepts used as standards to determine the appropriateness of behavior in any given context. Let us further define values by discussing their functions. Human beings have to choose between alternative courses of action which are often mutually exclusive. Values serve as standards for choosing, judging, and evaluating. A resident of a segregated school district must decide whether to support, oppose, or remain
uninvolved in moves to integrate his district's schools. His values
can provide him with the criteria with which to make his evaluation
and choose the most appropriate course of action. Values and the
value systems they comprise serve to order the options available
and establish priorities of factors to be considered. \(^{14}\) The resi-
dent's values might give higher priority to his family's social
status than to the educational welfare of some unknown children.
Values and value systems provide a basis upon which evaluations
can be made and action can be taken.

Values as normative propositions establish what a group's
members ought to desire. \(^{15}\) These group values determine the
appropriateness of the hippies' long hair, bell-bottomed trousers,
beads, beards, and marijuana, or the business-men's more closely
cropped hair, dark suit with white shirt, conservative tie, diamond
cuff-links, and cigars. Again we see how choices are
ordered and limited by the values derived from one's reference
group.

To a very large extent, values are associated with
the roles which human beings fulfill in society or
which they aspire to fulfill. In this connection,
values have the property of imposing obligations.

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\(^{14}\) Jacob and Flink, \textit{ibid.}, p. 15.

\(^{15}\) \textit{Ibid.}, p. 22.
or defining what is socially expected of the person in a certain role.\textsuperscript{16}

To use an historical example, in the days of Southern slavery it was considered acceptable behavior for a Southern white gentleman to sexually exploit a Negro slave woman. At least there were no significant social sanctions to prevent or punish the behavior. However, for a Negro man to have any kind of intimate relationship with a white woman, even though she consented, was one of the highest crimes against the Southern way of life. The role of slave imposed a social obligation on the black woman to consent if a white man desired her. In this context, the values acknowledged by these people determined the appropriate behavior for them.

Values function as the basis for collective action.\textsuperscript{17} In times of national crisis, Americans hold the value that it is appropriate to rally behind the President. If a war is declared, very little opposition is openly expressed and most men accept the social obligation of becoming soldiers. If people did not hold the values of national security or the preservation of American society and institutions, the collective action required for defense would be impossible to obtain. It might be noted that these values will remain inoperative if the situation is not defined as a national crisis.

\textsuperscript{16}Ibid., p. 15.

emergency. The Vietnam conflict illustrates what happens when people are using different values as a result of defining the situation differently.

One's values and value system also give purpose to living; they are expressions of one's philosophy of life. One does what he thinks is important and worth doing. His values determine what he considers to be worthy of his attention. As we discussed earlier, values are based on the experience of life as it is conceived by a man. Consequently, each man acts in terms of the value-laden reality he accepts. It is his actions that, over a period of time, reveal both what he believes is and what he believes ought to be.

Through a man's actions we can see what he truly values and suggestions of what values he uses to guide his living.

In summary, then, values give the individual a sense of direction in living his life by establishing priorities for action. They give the members of a group a common orientation toward major issues of life, and provide a basis for individual action and unified collective action. They provide the criteria for evaluating the appropriateness of individual and group behavior. In their relationship to roles and reference groups, values enable the

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individual to know what to expect of others and how to conduct himself. Values establish "the sense of right and wrong, fair and foul, desirable and undesirable, moral and immoral."\(^{19}\)

Throughout this discussion of the function of values, it is obvious that conflicts between courses of actions exist, and, hence, conflicts between values exist. For the sake of clarifying how values function, this inevitable conflict has not been emphasized. Value conflict is a central concern of the authors and will be treated extensively later in this paper.

People often use values to guide their behavior without consciously realizing it. An inability to verbalize one's value concepts does not mean that one has no values. It may be that certain guides to choosing are so accepted and apparently unopposed that it is never necessary to formally recognize and examine those values. If one holds patriotism as a value, appropriate behavior would be speaking respectfully to important elected officials, standing during a rendition of the national anthem, and saluting the flag while reciting the pledge of allegiance. This value and its appropriate behaviors may be so unquestioned and accepted in one's reference groups that he does not have any reason to reconsider why he behaves as he does in these situations.

\(^{19}\)Palmer, ibid.
A man who accepts the value of white racial superiority may naturally expect people of other races to stand aside when he passes, move to the back of the bus, speak respectfully to him if he speaks to them, and be content with abridged civil liberties and fewer employment opportunities. If his reference groups accept this racist value concept and do not recognize the validity of any alternative values, then he will be unlikely to question it, especially if he is socially rewarded for his behavior in line with the value. Unless he experiences something which conflicts with his expectations, he will probably not even think about the reasons why he holds the value his behavior expresses.

People consciously use values that they recognize and openly advocate to guide their action. If the man in the previous example consciously supported his racist value and if he encountered a Negro who wanted to move into his neighborhood, he would take action to prevent this occurrence. He could try to persuade the Negro not to move in, he could threaten the man, put pressure on the real estate broker, or try to get a law passed to prohibit integrated neighborhoods. If he had not recognized his racist value before, he would probably recognize it now because of its conflict with another value conception. Having recognized it, he could use the value of white racial supremacy to serve as a rallying point for collective action.
Values also serve as the basis for "justifying one's own and other's actions and attitudes."\(^{20}\) Perhaps our racist really was a kindly man, but he felt that racial mixing must be stopped at all costs. After participating in violent action to maintain his value, he may regret the destruction or injury that was caused. However, he can justify this personally repulsive action by pointing out the necessity of upholding white racial supremacy.

The racist's attitude toward legislation, legislators, judges, and law enforcers who support the process of integration will be negative. Those organizations who oppose integration will find his attitudes toward them to be positive. Even things indirectly helpful or harmful to his value will be affected. Those people and organizations which do not endorse racism or segregation but do oppose federal intervention in civil rights cases will find our racist's attitudes toward them to be positive. The support of the Deep South for Barry Goldwater's presidential candidacy in 1964 is evidence of this phenomenon.

Values are used to influence other people's actions by appealing for support of shared values. If I can convince someone that my way of bringing into reality a value we both hold is better than his means, then I can influence his behavior in ways that I want. In a community, nearly everyone wants a good education for the

\(^{20}\)Rokeach, ibid., p. 16.
children. Sometimes there are differences between the teachers' organization and the school board over how to achieve this goal. Both groups try to influence the general public to support them because their means to the end of good education are better than those of the opposing group.

People sometimes try to influence the behavior of others by inducing the others to accept their values by inculcation or indoctrination. Parents expect their children to take on the parents' values without any special efforts generally being made. Children generally do accept most of their parents' values since their parents are their primary models for behavior. Religious groups often attempt to indoctrinate their members and others in order to induce acceptance of particular values and to affect behavior in desired ways. Other examples can be found in the activity of political parties, public speakers, temperance workers, Playboy representatives, and friends. Shared values are powerful means of influencing the behavior of individuals and groups.

Milton Rokeach has summed up the conscious and unconscious uses of values.

Once a value is internalized, it becomes, consciously or unconsciously, a standard or criterion for guiding action, for developing and maintaining attitudes toward relevant objects and situations, for justifying one's own and other's actions and attitudes, for morally judging self and others and for comparing oneself with others. Finally, a value is a standard
employed to influence the values, attitudes, and actions of at least some others. 21 Thus, we see the pervasive influence of values in our lives.

We have defined the term value to be a concept or category defined by a set of criteria which is used to determine the appropriateness of behavior. The evaluative criteria provided by a value describe a situation; thus, a value is a description of a desired situation, condition, state-of-being, or end-state. Values describe the ends or goals toward which behavior is directed.

Perhaps the condition of being wealthy is one of my values. If it is, my behavior will be directed toward accumulating large sums of money. Perhaps my goal is to possess one million dollars. Even if I can never achieve this envisaged state of affairs, my behavior will be directed toward this description of an end-state. If thrift is one of my values, my behavior will be directed in such a way that whenever I am expending resources, I will conserve them as much as possible. Thrift refers to the description of a condition of conserving resources. Salvation refers to an end-state of being saved in some manner. This value, too, has appropriate related behaviors for achieving it.

If belongingness is one of my values, then I will attempt to bring about a state of feeling like I belong in a group. Belonging

\[\text{\textsuperscript{21}Ibid.}\]
is a desired condition of my existence. This value could be defined more explicitly than a feeling by specifying criteria to be fulfilled such as: being welcomed into a lunch hour group, being asked to help on a project, receiving party invitations, being asked to join a fraternal organization, and being referred to in positive ways.

If the scientific method is one of my values, then I will attempt to establish a condition in which my thinking is in accordance with the scientific method. If I am a scientist and consider the community of scientists to be an important reference group, my behavior in my professional role will be heavily directed in ways consistent with the scientific method. I will attempt to achieve a state of thinking "scientifically" in all of my work. In summary, a value can be thought of as a description of a state in which a process is operating (i.e. the scientific method) or a state of maintaining a static set of conditions (i.e. salvation). By attempting to achieve these desired states whose descriptions we call values, one's behavior is evaluated and directed.

Even though value concepts are defined as end-states, they do not have to be ends in themselves. When a value concept is considered of importance in its own right, regardless of its relationship to any other values, it is said to be intrinsically valued. One is concerned with the particular value for its own sake. Honesty may be a value because people think it is always right
to be truthful; consequently, people holding this value will work toward a state of affairs in which they and others are honest.

Honesty is an intrinsic value.

If one's main concern is with justice being served by judicial processes, then honesty on the part of witnesses is essential to ascertain the facts. Honesty is an extrinsic value; that is, honesty is important because it helps support a higher value -- justice.

If a concept is used as a value to direct behavior because it helps realize a higher or more important value, it is an extrinsic value. Values, like honesty, subservient to other values are sometimes called instrumental values, because they are instrumental to the realization of other values.

Some people say that they hold "absolute values." These "absolute values" are ones that are said to be eternally valid and are to be used to direct behavior at all times in every situation. Some people say honesty is such a value -- "Honesty is the best policy."

Others would say that self-interest is the primary value by which one should live. Love is advocated as the guiding principle in all experience of life. The enhancement of human dignity and physical survival are others that have been suggested as the supreme standards for human behavior. These absolute values are valued intrinsically. Serious problems arise when individuals and groups with conflicting intrinsic values encounter each other. In pre-Revolutionary
America, the colonial rebels who valued political liberty conflicted irrevocably with the loyalists who valued obedience to royal authority absolutely.

It is most meaningful to speak of values functioning intrinsically or extrinsically since they can serve in both capacities depending on the context and scope of the situation. Perhaps another way of viewing the intrinsic and extrinsic functions is to consider values as both means and ends. A value functioning intrinsically serves the purpose of John Dewey's "aim." "The aim as a foreseen end gives direction to the activity; . . ."22 In the given situation, the intrinsic value-end is "a basis upon which to observe, to select, and to order objects and our capacities."23 In the courtroom, honesty can be an intrinsic value-end for the prosecutor and counsel. They both attempt to ascertain whether the witnesses in a trial are giving accurate, truthful testimony. Their actions are partially geared in this direction.

The extrinsic functioning of values can be seen as means to other value-ends. Honesty is valued and is used as a value in order to support and achieve justice which is considered to be a higher value. Justice in the courtroom is generally considered


23Ibid., p. 103.
to be an end-state worthy of existing for its own sake. However, justice can be an extrinsic value since it undergirds social stability. Social stability supported by justice may be viewed as enhancing human dignity which is a still higher value in a possible value heirarchy. Values functioning intrinsically as "ends-in-view"24 may be only steps or requirements necessary to achieve a higher value. A value is useful if it successfully directs activity; consequently, continuing the activity successfully is the real measure of a concept's usefulness as a value whether it is functioning intrinsically or extrinsically.

It is important not to confuse values with objects of value. Values are the standards by which the appropriateness of behavior (such as the act of choosing between objects) is determined. I may choose to display the flag of the United States rather than the flag of the Viet Cong because of my value of patriotism. The flag of the United States is not one of my values even though it is related to my value of patriotism. An object related to a value and used in behavior consistent with that value, is an object of value. A military medal may be an object of value, but it is only related to the value of honor which is a descriptive characteristic of a

24bid., p. 105.

25bid.
man's life. Belongingness may be symbolized by a fraternity pin, thus causing the pin to be an object of value in relation to the value (end-state) of belongingness.

In this paper we will be developing a process of valuing in relation to social issues. We find that several concepts may be capable of directing our behavior in a situation. We must decide which concept is the most appropriate for a given situation. Valuing is the process of choosing and evaluating concepts to serve as values to facilitate effective behavior on our part. To say that something is valued means that it possesses attributes or properties necessary for the establishment of the state of affairs described by a value or set of values we hold. A value concept may be valued just as a particular behavior or object may be valued.

Determining when a concept functions as a value and when it does not is a difficult problem. A concept is not being used as a value when it is being questioned or evaluated itself. If I doubt that nationalistic isolationism is an adequate concept to use in making foreign policy, then it is not serving as a value. If I have not rejected isolationism yet in favor of another value such as internationalism, perhaps I will still use the concept in evaluating policy decisions. However, when I am using the concept as

a value, I must temporarily put aside my doubts. When a concept functions as a value, evaluations are made in reference to it; it is not being questioned or evaluated itself. A concept, then, is a value when it is being used as a standard in the act of choosing and evaluating.

VALUE SYSTEMS AND HIERARCHIES

We have been discussing values as if they were independent entities. The existence of value conflict forces us to recognize the interrelationships between competing values and the problem of choice. The reason we have been discussing values individually is to clarify their characteristics and functions. Now we are ready to proceed to an exploration of their relationships in preparation for dealing with the problem of value conflicts in society.

In the previous discussion of intrinsic and extrinsic functioning of values, we suggested the existence of hierarchies of values. Honesty supports the higher value of justice in judicial processes which supports the still higher value of human dignity. Not only are these values ranked in an order of ascending priority but also in an order of increasing generality. The value of justice extends to matters far beyond questions of honesty. In discussing value conflict, Gunnar Myrdal deals with levels of value generality.

The basic difficulty in the attempt to present a logical order of valuation is, of course, that those valuations actually are conflicting . . . We shall
have to observe that the valuations simply can not be treated as if they existed on the same plane. They refer to different levels of the moral personality. The moral percepts contained in the respective valuations correspond to different degrees of generality of moral judgment. Some valuations concern human beings in general; others concern Negroes or women or foreigners; still others concern a particular group of Negroes or an individual Negro. Some valuations have general and eternal validity only for certain situations.27

It will be our task to decide upon a means of classifying values according to their generality.

Ethel Albert has developed an approach to classifying values in a value system for cultural anthropological studies.28 She begins on the broadest level with the value premises of the culture and then identifies the focal values supporting the premises. Below the focal values come two categories which complement each other; these are the character and directive values. In our discussion we will analyze in simplified form the value system of the colonial Puritans as Max Weber discussed them in his essay, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism.29

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Value premises are "the most general conceptions of desirable and undesirable modes, means, and ends of action", and "as the rationale of a value system, are existential statements defining the nature and locus of the valuable, and postulating 'ultimate' values." 30 As Weber observed the development of the Protestant Ethic, it appeared that one of the central value concepts was that of the calling or duty to the glorification of God. 31 This value concept ideally was to serve as the guiding principle for judging the appropriateness, the "rightness" or "wrongness", of all human behavior.

Below value premises in the hierarchy of our value system comes the category of focal values. Focal values are concepts that are intrinsically valued within a culture but also support the value premises. 32 They are used to "justify and explain (presumably) less central values" and "are treated by participants in the culture as self-evident, i.e., as self-justifying in the value system." 33 Weber identified focal values in the Protestant Ethic

30 Albert, ibid., p. 225.


32 Albert, ibid.

33 Ibid., pp. 225-226.
value system like work, duty to possessions, acquisition of possessions, and individualism.

Weber described how "hard work" was used as a standard to guide behavior in nearly any situation.

Along with a moderate diet and cold baths, the same prescription is given for all sexual temptations as is used against religious doubts and a sense of moral unworthiness: 'Work hard in your calling.' But the most important thing was that even beyond that labour came to be considered in itself the end of life, ordained as such by God.  

The acquisition of wealth was a focal value in that it also directed much human action. "Wealth ... as a performance of duty in a calling ... is not only morally permissible, but actually enjoined." Wealth was seen as a sign of God's grace having been bestowed upon a man and his life.

One's duty to his possessions explained the necessity of thrift and saving. Since wealth was seen as a gift of God's grace, one was to feel strictly accountable for the use of everything entrusted to him. "[I]t was at least hazardous to spend any of it for a purpose which [did] not serve the glory of God but only one's own enjoyment." One's state of grace was seen as an individual matter between God

34 Weber, ibid., p. 158-159.

35 Ibid., p. 163.

36 Ibid., p. 170.
and oneself; concomitantly, one's prosperity was an individual matter since it was an indication of grace.

It is true that the usefulness of a calling, and thus its favour in the sight of God, is measured primarily in moral terms, and thus in terms of the importance of the goods produced in it for the community. But a further, and, above all, in practice the most important criterion is found in private profitableness. 37

Individualism is a focal value that clearly runs through Puritan religious thought and its economic manifestations.

Another characteristic of focal values is their quality of importance. "Each is used as justification for the others, and there is no fixed hierarchial order within the set." 38 We can see how individualism and individual effort support each other.

The stewardship of possessions encouraged more work.

The greater the possessions the heavier, if the ascetic attitude toward life stands the test, the feeling of responsibility for them, for holding them undiminished for the glory of God and increasing them by restless effort.

Work, of course, was the socially acceptable means to prosperity; wealth as a public indication of grace encouraged work.

37 Ibid., p. 162.

38 Albert, ibid., p. 226.

The meshing of focal values in a complex network is one of their significant characteristics.

The next level of the value hierarchy is composed of directive and character values. Directives are "laws, commandments, rules of conduct, taboos, obligations and duties, rights and privileges, and any other rules or standards which are intended to regulate conduct." The Puritans are well known for their rules prohibiting displays of merriment even to the point of banning games and singing on Christmas Day. Other directives are illustrated in the sayings of Benjamin Franklin who translated much of Puritan ethics into a "this-worldly" morality. "A penny saved is a penny earned." "A stitch in time saves nine."

Character values and directives are complementary; that is, they support each other. "Character refers to the 'virtues' and 'vices,' the qualities of personality which are approved or disapproved, encouraged or suppressed, rewarded or punished." The qualities of character such as honesty, punctuality, sobriety, dependability, modesty, and frugality were all the subjects of laws, maxims, and moral preachments current in Puritan culture.

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40 Albert, ibid., p. 226.

41 Ibid.
and to a considerable extent in our own.

In summary, the structure we have presented for value systems is most general at the level of value premises. These premises outline the general end toward which all purposive behavior should be directed. Below the premises in the structure come the focal values which are subordinate to the premises but generally function intrinsically for most practical purposes. They further delineate the boundaries of appropriate behavior. Next come the directive and character values which give explicit directions and descriptions of desirable behavior and the qualities of character that undergird "right actions." A previously unmentioned category which can be placed in the structure is that of objects of value.42 These are not values since they derive their significance from values, but they are intimately involved in value situations. Consequently, we can include them in our value structure.

When we explore the subject of value conflict, we will see the need for a flexible value hierarchy. If circumstances can not qualify the hierarchical ordering of values, then conflicts not open to resolution develop.43 If a man holds the values of

42 Ibid.

43 Hunt and Metcalf, ibid., p. 124.
freedom and equality with equal fervor, then he is faced with a difficult value problem when he considers the current means of drafting young men for military service. The present system of deferments favors those with enough wealth and intelligence to go to college; this is hardly equality. On the other hand, for the United States to be strong and free, our most capable men need to be trained and given opportunities to use their superior skills and abilities. Unless our friend can decide how he can choose one of his cherished values over the other, he will be indecisive and ineffective in contributing to the welfare of his society in relation to this issue.

In our description of the structure of a value system, we need to deal with the relationships between the different levels of generality. The primary principle of relationship is logical dependence. The lower level values logically support the higher level values; they logically result from the higher level values. Honesty is a necessary supporting value of judicial justice. Social equality demands equality of educational opportunity. The stewardship of possessions requires the character value of frugality.

Later in this thesis, we will go into the details of justifying values. One of the ways values are justified is by means of the

logical relationship between values on lower and higher levels in the hierarchy of value generality. This is very useful because of a cultural characteristic discussed by Gunnar Myrdal.

In Western culture, people assume, as an abstract proposition, that the more general and timeless valuations are morally higher. We can, therefore, see that the motivation of valuations, already referred to, generally follows the pattern of trying to present the more specific valuations as inferences from the more general.45

Besides logical tests, we will later discuss evidential testing and character evaluation in justifying value choices.

Before leaving the topic of value generality, we must acknowledge a problem with very general values. It is often difficult to define precisely what a highly abstract value means in a concrete situation. Many people can not understand how becoming wealthy could be man's greatest fulfillment of his duty to God. Even more specifically, how much freedom of speech can be tolerated in a society valuing freedom? In the open housing controversy, what does "freedom for all" mean when members of one group want freedom to select the ethnic groups who may live in their neighborhood, and the members of another group want the freedom to live where they wish.

45 Oliver and Shaver, ibid.
Elliptical phrases at a high level of abstraction such as freedom of the mind, liberty, and the dignity and worth of the individual do not automatically reveal their meaning at another level of abstraction or in another form.

The problem of translating the meaning of a value concept from one level to another is one that needs to be studied in greater depth.

RELATED CONCEPTS

A concept closely related to value is attitude. An attitude is a positive or negative emotional response toward an object or situation. If one has a positive attitude toward something, he is likely to label it good, desirable, or attractive. If one holds equal opportunity in employment as a value, he will have a positive attitude toward legislation ensuring equal opportunity. Attitudes toward things are determined by values; values are determinants of attitudes as well as overt behavior.

One can also have attitudes toward concepts that usually function as values. However, when one has attitudes toward concepts, they are not functioning as values. If I hold the "one man, one vote" concept as a value, and if I possess an attitude toward it, then I am evaluating the concept in terms of a more comprehensive value such as equality, justice, or both. When

a concept functions as a value, there are no attitudes expressed toward it. If attitudes are expressed toward the concept, then it is being evaluated in terms of another value. This is another way of determining whether a value concept is functioning intrinsically or extrinsically.

Belief is another related concept and is defined as the acceptance of a proposition as true or accurate resulting in a "willingness to act" on the basis of that proposition. These propositions are held "by human beings regarding the structure and operation of the social and physical universe and one's place in it. If I believe that a non-violent demonstration in front of city hall will motivate the city council to increase the wages of city sanitation workers, then I will be more willing to participate than if I do not believe it. If I believe this action will be successful, it means that I accept the proposition that non-violent demonstrations encourage positive social change.

Value concepts are not believed; they are used to structure the social universe. I believe or disbelieve value statements. Certain concepts are said to be the "right" ways of structuring my social universe. The statement that a certain value concept

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48 Jacob and Flink, ibid., p. 23.
is the right one to use is a proposition to be believed or disbelieved. If one of my beliefs is that "Honesty is the best policy", then I am willing to act on that belief. Belief in relation to values, then concerns the acceptance of statements that certain concepts are the right ones to use as values for behavioral standards. Belief in those statements indicates a willingness to act on the basis of those statements.

49Hullfish and Smith, ibid.
CHAPTER III

CLARIFICATION AND DECISION-MAKING

We have thus far engaged in a discussion of the meaning and function of value concepts. Such a discussion is essential since ideas about the nature and origin of values have crucial implications for the way values and value conflicts will be handled by the individual and by the teacher in the classroom. Thus, having laid the conceptual groundwork, we now proceed to the presentation of a decision-making model, followed by some suggestions for teachers who would like their students to use this model to make decisions about value conflicts. This decision-making model is an outline of the process that an individual can follow in order to determine what action he should take to resolve a previously confusing or conflicting situation. While, ideally, a detailed discussion of teaching techniques for involving a class in value decisions should follow, such a discussion is unfortunately beyond the scope of this paper. We will, however, make some comments and suggestions about pedagogical techniques in order to emphasize the fact that
merely understanding the decision-making model will not prepare the teacher to communicate it in such a way that his students will find it useful. Learning the model and teaching it so that it means something to adolescents are two different operations. Unfortunately, the distinction between the two is seldom clearly drawn, and the assumption is made that he who once learns something can now teach it. We do not intend to fall into this trap, even though our discussion of pedagogy will, of necessity, be brief.

The method for making decisions through analysis of value conflicts which we set forth here is new only in the way it has been organized and stated. Many authors, such as those cited in this paper, have dealt with these ideas. However, we feel that for purposes of developing explicit methods and guidelines for instruction, further interpretation and analysis of these ideas would be helpful. Applying theories to behavior is difficult. We have found that the many theories about values and value conflicts form a confusing maze when the time comes to make a decision or to promote decision-making in the classroom. In thinking through this confusion, we have developed an analysis of value conflicts which aids the process of making decisions and which has promising implications for teaching techniques. We have found comfort in the advice of Oliver and Shaver when they state that "the most useful tools of analysis for each of us
are often the ones we invent ourselves." While we hesitate to
add to the proliferation of old analyses in new words which often
serve only to confuse the issue, we nevertheless join the mush-
rooming "theories race" with the hope that others might find this
tool as useful as we have.

The decision-making model is based on four key questions which
must be answered before a person can resolve a situation of con-
fusion and conflict. The questions are these:

I. Do I want to clarify the issue?

II. How should I handle the problem for my individual
situation?

III. Should I take action to resolve the conflict on the
societal level?

IV. What action should I take to resolve the societal
conflict?

By considering each of these questions in relation to a particular
issue, students, teachers, adolescents, and adults can all progress
toward the resolution of conflicts. Let us now look closely at each
question and some guidelines for answering it.

\[1\] Oliver and Shaver, ibid., p. 132.
I. DO I WANT TO CLARIFY THE ISSUE?

This is a basic question. It must first be answered affirmatively before the process toward intelligent action can begin. Despite the crucial nature of the question, however, it is seldom asked consciously. The world presents to each man innumerable situations of conflict, ambiguity, uncertainty, and confusion which he could potentially pursue for the purposes of clarification. In this situation of unlimited potential, many people unfortunately either ignore the conflicts or clarify only the issues which they must clarify in order to maintain their life style of comfort and security. We share the concern expressed by Raths, Simon, and Harmin when they say, "It is frightening to realize how few things most of us do indeed care deeply about."2 Those issues which are selected for examination are usually the results either of simple individual curiosity, such as a New Deal Democrat's interest in selecting a memorial to Franklin Delano Roosevelt, or of individual necessity, such as the current concern of most single males about changes in military draft procedures. The point is, these desires for clarification usually just happen. The question of whether or not clarification is wanted is answered subconsciously, and the answer is reflected in the action the person takes to pursue the problem.

2Raths, Harmin, and Simon, ibid., p. 86.
The authors take the position that the unconscious selection of issues to clarify is not bad. In deed, clarifications of personally felt problems is naturally pursued eagerly. The conscious selection of issues, however, is a more desirable approach because it promotes a deeper understanding within each individual of the purpose for the entire clarification. Asking the question, "Do I want to clarify this issue?" leads immediately to the question, "Why do I want to clarify this issue?". Each person must consider the answers to this question in light of what he thinks is important to have clarified as he sees his present needs. In other words, the first step is for each person to understand what his current needs for clarification are. This requires some self-analysis: Am I confused about the Vietnam War? Do campus disruptions really bug me? Are family relations my big hang-up? Why does my school have such incompetent teachers? Whether the issues are assassinations, ghetto riots, world hunger, teacher strikes, or getting a juke box in the cafeteria, a person must understand what he doesn't understand. In addition, he must understand which of these issues are most important for him to understand. This addition is necessary because each person does not have unlimited resources of time to travel around solving his problems. He must realistically fit the most important issues into the available time.
Thus, this first question of the decision-making model boils down to deciding what to decide about. The variables involved in this decision are (1) time available and (2) the relevancy of the issue to individual needs. Two judgments must be made, one to determine the order of importance of the issues and the other to determine which issues fall within the realistic amount of time available. A schematic diagram of this concept might look like this.

A CONTINUUM OF POTENTIAL ISSUES

Each person must decide where to place issues on the continuum and where to draw the time-limit line. Conscious consideration of all these factors is necessary for a rational answer to the first question of our decision-making model.

Answering this first question is instrumental toward intentionally placing our energies in the issues that most concern us. Raths, Simon, and Harmin express the lack of this intentional action in this way:
The problem is simply stated: What is to be done with one's life and force? Once a question mainly for philosophers, in these times of increasing complexity and change, and abundance, it is a question that challenges almost all of us, although often we move through our lives unaware of it. .... A growing tragedy is that it is not usually even asked.

It is the belief of the authors that asking the first question of our decision making model will lead to decisions concerning the importance and urgency of the many various issues which affect the lives of people.

3Ibid., p. 11.
II. HOW SHOULD I HANDLE THE PROBLEM FOR MY OWN INDIVIDUAL SITUATION?

Once the first question has been answered affirmatively, once a problem has been selected as a crucial issue which needs clarification and resolution, how then should a person proceed? What should be done to analyze the situation and to determine action? The process of finding an answer to this second question falls into three component procedures:

1. Clarifying the issue.

2. Clarifying the alternative means to reach the ideal solution.

3. Choosing the appropriate action.

Each procedure follows from the one before it. Let us examine each one carefully.

CLARIFYING THE ISSUE

It is our position that the clarification of values involved in any issue is at the heart of clarification of the issue itself. Values, as we have said, are concepts used as standards of behavior. Value conflicts occur when people acting on the same issue hold differing concepts of proper behavior. Thus, any controversial issue is actually a situation of value conflicts, and the values involved must be clarified before an individual can intelligently decide what action he can take to handle the problem.
The approach that a person takes to clarifying values in the controversy at hand, assuming for a minute that he has joined the minority and decided to make the attempt, is determined by whether he has an orientation toward the individual or an orientation toward the total group. The distinction which was drawn earlier between the personal value perspective and the social value perspective is helpful in describing these two orientations. If a person is oriented toward the individual, a stance that we will call a psychological orientation, his efforts to clarify values in a problem situation will consist of determining precisely what values he holds in connection with the issue and comparing the values to his actions. He will sort out his thoughts, and beliefs about the issue at hand. It is basically a self-contained, introspective process. His perspective leads him to see values as personal values.

If, on the other hand, a person is oriented toward group relationships, a stance that we will call a sociological orientation, his efforts to clarify values in the problem will consist of analyzing the various, often contradictory, expectations of his reference groups. His perspective leads him to see values as social values, that is, concepts of proper behavior which have been passed on to him through such reference groups as his family, his school buddies, his church, and his teachers. This process was described earlier in our discussion of reference groups. Thus, the person will clarify
his values on a particular issue by deciding which reference groups are influencing him on this issue and then examining in detail the expectations and pressures brought to bear on him by those reference groups.

Hence, two orientations for clarification of values have been described, the psychological and the sociological. An evaluation of these two approaches will be helpful toward our goal of finding the most useful method for clarifying values. We caution the reader that these orientations are ideal types, in accordance with Kahl's use of this term to mean an intellectual invention based on observations of reality. We have drawn the distinction between them only to assist us in analyzing the clarification process. Undoubtedly, the average person uses parts of each approach, but by considering them separately as ideal types, we can talk about the emphases and consequences of approaches which tend toward one extreme or the other.

The strength of the psychological orientation is that it encourages each person to face squarely the problems and choices of life as they come to him through his environment. He sits down and thinks through those beliefs he holds which are pertinent to the controversy. Introspective analysis is the key activity in this orientation. Raths, Simon, and Harmin express the need

for personal contemplation this way:

One does not get values in the business of a classroom discussion, especially a heated discussion. One needs quiet, hard thought and careful decisions if one is to have clear, persistent, and viable values.  

The model for clarifying values presented by Raths, Simon, and Harmin is essentially psychologically oriented. Their goal of having each individual sort out and make decisions about his individually perceived dilemmas is evident in their statement of the problem:

The real problem is almost no one sees the necessity for helping a child to make some order out of the confusion which has been created inside his head. Almost no one sees the necessity for questioning a child, to help him sort out and examine all those confusing ideas.  

In order to meet this problem, the three authors have developed a series of specific classroom techniques that can be employed to encourage students to examine their confusions. These techniques are designed to provoke individual soul-searching. While they might stimulate group discussion, they do not intend to stimulate group decisions. The goal is individual decisions.

The personal value perspective is used throughout; the term

5Raths, Harmin, and Simon, ibid., p. 106.

6Ibid., p. 24.
"social values" is simply not used.

It is evident that this approach has produced constructive, positive results in clarifying the values of those individuals involved. This is clear from both personal observations and from controlled experiments. After thinking through this approach, however, we find some limitations, and without taking away from the strengths, we would like to point out the consequences of these limitations.

Our discussion of problems with the psychological orientation falls into these major points:

1. The difficulty of clarifying broad social conflicts which the individual is unable to control.

2. The tendency to treat all problems as personal problems which can be remedied by direct individual action.

3. The limited ability to predict conflicts and problems before they occur.

4. The difficulty of envisioning all of the alternatives available for action.

LIMITATION 1:

In order to understand and clarify the many conflicts which confront a person, that person must be able to differentiate between those conflicts which lie within his own personal ability to resolve and those conflicts, inherent in the social milieu, which

7Ibid., p. 206.
are far beyond his influence to resolve. As an example of the first situation, let us consider the relationship of two co-workers in a business office after a serious argument over the proper way to complete a work assignment. Each one took the criticism from the other as a personal offense; each one felt that the other was wrong. Following some decidedly unpleasant verbalization, each one is faced with a decision between either preserving his pride by refusing to apologize or restoring a friendly working relationship by making a conciliatory gesture. This is a psychological tension which, no matter what procedure is used, each individual can introspectively clarify and change. It might be that the chosen action would create more hard feeling; perhaps it would restore peace. Either way, it is within the scope of the individuals involved to clarify their relationship and to bring about change. The psychological approach to value clarification, such as the method advocated by Raths, et al., seems to be a productive approach for clarifying values in this situation and in situations similar to it which frequently occur. The person might determine, for instance, that conciliatory gestures after acrimonious verbal exchanges would be the value he should adopt, or he might develop the value of conciliation before disagreements become bitter.

Now let us consider a different kind of conflict, a conflict which is beyond the ability of the individual to clarify through the
introspective analysis of his own experience. Even when a person faces the conflict squarely and sorts out all his beliefs about the confused situation, in the truest manner of the psychological orientation, the situation may still be too foreign to his experience to grasp. This is often the case with the broad social conflicts that are gripping the world. Consider this example. One of the authors attended a conference in the middle of Chicago's West Side on April 5, 1968. The previous evening, Dr. Martin Luther King had been assassinated in Memphis. Out of anger, frustration, and resentment, blacks in the West Side ghetto began burning and looting on the afternoon of the 5th. The whites who were caught in the situation were faced with a conflict that could not be resolved but only endured. When white men met a group of angry blacks, neither group saw the other as persons. Implementing the value of conciliatory gestures, which might have worked well in the office, would be useless in this situation. Everyone is viewed only as a member of a certain group. The blacks saw white men as part of the group which had institutionalized the white racist attitudes which killed Dr. King and which kept blacks in ghettos. The whites saw black men as part of the group which had become violently angry with whites. How can the conflict of values in this situation be clarified? Clearly the individual needs something more than the introspective analysis of his personal beliefs.
This social conflagration and situations like it are the results of conflicts between groups and can only be understood by examining the conflicting social values held by the members of the groups involved. The sociological orientation is very helpful in these situations. Using the sociological orientation, a person would see the values exhibited by individuals in the conflict as coming from the dominant reference groups of these individuals. In order to grasp the totality of the conflict, he would analyze precisely which groups were involved, what social values they promoted, and how the values of one group clashed with those of the other groups. This is an approach which looks outward to analyze individual behavior in terms of group norms and expectations. This is in obvious contrast to the psychological perspective which looks inward to analyze individual behavior in terms of unique sets of beliefs within each person. In order to clarify and comprehend the forces at work in such social conflagrations as the Vietnam War, the campus disruptions, inner-city riots, and the disintegration of organization within our major cities, the sociological orientation must be employed. Only by first understanding the value conflicts among groups in each situation can each person intelligently gain a basis for deciding what individual action to take.
LIMITATION 2:

Another limitation of the psychological orientation stems from its characteristic of assisting the person to sort out and resolve problems only as they come to him. The difficulty inherent in this is that it promotes the assumption that all problems are personal problems which direct individual action can remedy. Many problems, however, can not be looked at as personal problems. When an elderly matron makes a snide remark about a young man's shoulder-length hair as they pass on the street, she is exposing her feelings toward a group, and the young man should not take it personally. When a girl in an airbase town refuses to date anyone in uniform, she is exposing her wariness toward a group, and the airman should not attribute the refusal to bad breath or some other personal reason. When a junior high student on the first day of school insults with a wisecrack a teacher whom he doesn't know, the student is exposing his feelings toward the group of authority figures who ended his summer vacation, and the teacher should not take it personally. Generalizing, whenever a person responds in a peculiar way to someone he doesn't know personally, he must be responding to that other person as a member of a group. It is only through studying relationships between groups, social trends, and expectations of reference groups that this second person can fully understand and respond to the actions of the
first person. A strong point in the sociological orientation toward value clarification is that it promotes attention to these group relationships.

LIMITATION 3:

Another weakness of the psychological orientation is found in the way it prepares a person to meet problems and make decisions as life comes to him. Certainly, this is not bad, but a problem develops in the limited ability to predict conflicts and the limited ability to understand the reasons for possible problems before they actually occur. Only if the person can understand the relationships between various groups in the society at large will he be able to predict in which situations his personal life will be touched by impersonal social forces or, as C. Wright Mills puts it, where biography will intersect history. For example, white men should understand that they might someday be the victims of black violence just because they are members of the Caucasian group. The reasons for this violence can also be anticipated through the study of group relations. Whites should see from such a study that they would be paying the price of four-hundred years of white supremacy that has kept American Negroes as a group in the position of second-class citizens.

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Because unfortunately most white Americans do not hold equal treatment for whites and blacks as a value, black Africans who come to this country should understand, through the previous study of American social values, that if they identify themselves as Africans they will get better treatment. If an American Catholic studies the social values and prejudice patterns of Northern Ireland before venturing to visit his Catholic cousins there, he can, though it will be no less irritating, easily understand and predict how he will be treated by the Protestants in Ulster. The insults will not degrade his self-concept if he has properly prepared himself. He simply will not take it personally. Thus, understanding the attitudes and social values that large groups hold will enable the observant citizen to predict and understand many conflict situations, conflicts which often affect him in a personal way.

In addition to developing the skills to predict broad social conflicts such as those just illustrated, the understanding of the values of those reference groups which directly influence the action of the individual will enable each person to predict conflicts in his personal life. Conflicts caused by the differing expectations of such close reference groups as the family, the baseball team, the soda fountain crowd, school authorities, and the Sunday School class occur frequently, not only in the lives of adolescents, but with adults as well. The ability to analyze the values of these groups will
help each person predict where conflicts might arise. Following this prediction, either steps can be taken to prevent the conflict, or else the conflict can be survived more easily because of prior comprehension of the reasons for it. For example, if a teenage girl understands that her middle class parents and her school peers hold different standards concerning the length of hair on males, she can predict a conflict situation if she invites home for dinner a smiling lad whose ear lobes are barely visible. After foreseeing this confrontation, she might either avoid it by withdrawing the invitation or else go ahead as planned and carefully prepare her defense for the parental moralizing which is likely to follow.

LIMITATION 4:

This last example leads us directly into consideration of yet another limitation in the psychological approach: the difficulty of envisioning all of the alternatives available for action. A person might sincerely try to face his problem, sort out his beliefs, and select the best alternative, in the method of the psychological orientation. If this person, however, has limited experience or acquaintance with the problem, he may not understand the groups or the values which are influencing the conflict, and he may not recognize the impersonal social forces which affect the problem. In this case, trying to sort out only the beliefs and alternatives already present in the person's frame of reference will turn into