E.D. Hirsch, Cultural Literacy: what Every American Needs to know. 1987.

₩ CHAPTER I

Literacy and Cultural Literacy

LA THE DECLINE OF LITERATE KNOWLEDGE

This book explains why we need to make some very specific educational changes in order to achieve a higher level of national literacy. It does not anatomize the literacy crisis or devote many pages to Scholastic Aptitude Test scores. It does not document at length what has already been established, that Americans do not read as well as they should. It takes no position about methods of initial reading instruction beyond insisting that content must receive as much emphasis as "skill." It does not discuss teacher training or educational funding or school governance. In fact, one of its major purposes is to break away entirely from what Jeanne S. Chall has called "the great debate" about methods of reading instruction. It focuses on what I conceive to be the great hidden problem in American education, and I hope that it reveals this problem so compellingly that anyone who is concerned about American education will be persuaded by the book's argument and act upon it.

The standard of literacy required by modern society has been rising throughout the developed world, but American literacy rates have not risen to meet this standard. What seemed an acceptable level in the 1950s is no longer acceptable in the late 1980s, when only highly literate societies can prosper economically. Much of Japan's industrial efficiency has been credited to its almost univer-

sally high level of literacy. But in the United States, only two thirds of our citizens are literate, and even among those the average level is too low and should be raised. The remaining third of our citizens need to be brought as close to true literacy as possible. Ultimately our aim should be to attain universal literacy at a very high level, to achieve not only greater economic prosperity but also greater social justice and more effective democracy. We Americans have long accepted literacy as a paramount aim of schooling, but only recently have some of us who have done research in the field begun to realize that literacy is far more than a skill and that it requires large amounts of specific information. That new insight is central to this book.

Professor Chall is one of several reading specialists who have observed that "world knowledge" is essential to the development of reading and writing skills. What she calls world knowledge I call cultural literacy, namely, the network of information that all competent readers possess. It is the background information, stored in their minds, that enables them to take up a newspaper and read it with an adequate level of comprehension, getting the point, grasping the implications, relating what they read to the unstated context which alone gives meaning to what they read. In describing the contents of this neglected domain of background information, I try to direct attention to a new opening that can help our schools make the significant improvement in education that has so far eluded us. The achievement of high universal literacy is the key to all other fundamental improvements in American education.

Why is literacy so important in the modern world? Some of the reasons, like the need to fill out forms or get a good job, are so obvious that they needn't be discussed. But the chief reason is broader. The complex undertakings of modern life depend on the cooperation of many people with different specialties in different places. Where communications fail, so do the undertakings. (That is the moral of the story of the Tower of Babel.) The function of national literacy is to foster effective nationwide communications. Our chief instrument of communication over time and space is the standard national language, which is sustained by national literacy. Mature literacy alone enables the tower to be built, the business to be well managed, and the airplane to fly without crashing. All nationwide communications, whether by telephone, radio, TV, or writing are

fundamentally dependent upon literacy, for the essence of literacy is not simply reading and writing but also the effective use of the standard literate language. In Spain and most of Latin America the literate language is standard written Spanish. In Japan it is standard written Japanese. In our country it is standard written English.

Linguists have used the term "standard written English" to describe both our written and spoken language, because they want to remind us that standard spoken English is based upon forms that have been fixed in dictionaries and grammars and are adhered to in books, magazines, and newspapers. Although standard written English has no intrinsic superiority to other languages and dialects, its stable written forms have now standardized the oral forms of the language spoken by educated Americans.² The chief function of literacy is to make us masters of this standard instrument of knowledge and communication, thereby enabling us to give and receive complex information orally and in writing over time and space. Advancing technology, with its constant need for fast and complex communications, has made literacy ever more essential to commerce and domestic life. The literate language is more, not less, central in our society now than it was in the days before television and the silicon chip.

The recently rediscovered insight that literacy is more than a skill is based upon knowledge that all of us unconsciously have about language. We know instinctively that to understand what somebody is saying, we must understand more than the surface meanings of words; we have to understand the context as well. The need for background information applies all the more to reading and writing. To grasp the words on a page we have to know a lot of information that isn't set down on the page.

Consider the implications of the following experiment described in an article in Scientific American.³ A researcher goes to Harvard Square in Cambridge, Massachusetts, with a tape recorder hidden in his coat pocket. Putting a copy of the Boston Globe under his arm, he pretends to be a native. He says to passers-by, "How do you get to Central Square?" The passers-by, thinking they are addressing a fellow Bostonian, don't even break their stride when they give their replies, which consist of a few words like "First stop on the subway."

The next day the researcher goes to the same spot, but this time

he presents himself as a tourist, obviously unfamiliar with the city. "I'm from out of town," he says. "Can you tell me how to get to Central Square?" This time the tapes show that people's answers are much longer and more rudimentary. A typical one goes, "Yes, well you go down on the subway. You can see the entrance over there, and when you get downstairs you buy a token, put it in the slot, and you go over to the side that says Quincy. You take the train headed for Quincy, but you get off very soon, just the first stop is Central Square, and be sure you get off there. You'll know it because there's a big sign on the wall. It says Central Square."

Passers-by were intuitively aware that communication between strangers requires an estimate of how much relevant information can be taken for granted in the other person. If they can take a lot for granted, their communications can be short and efficient, subtle and complex. But if strangers share very little knowledge, their communications must be long and relatively rudimentary.

In order to put in perspective the importance of background knowledge in language, I want to connect the lack of it with our recent lack of success in teaching mature literacy to all students. The most broadly based evidence about our teaching of literacy comes from the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP). This nationwide measurement, mandated by Congress, shows that between 1970 and 1980 seventeen-year-olds declined in their ability to understand written materials, and the decline was especially striking in the top group, those able to read at an "advanced" level.4 Although these scores have now begun to rise, they remain alarmingly low. Still more precise quantitative data have come from the scores of the verbal Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT). According to John B. Carroll, a distinguished psychometrician, the verbal SAT is essentially a test of "advanced vocabulary knowledge," which makes it a fairly sensitive instrument for measuring levels of literacy.3 It is well known that verbal SAT scores have declined dramatically in the past fifteen years, and though recent reports have shown them rising again, it is from a very low base. Moreover, performance on the verbal SAT has been slipping steadily at the top. Ever fewer numbers of our best and brightest students are making high scores on the test.

Before the College Board disclosed the full statistics in 1984, antialarmists could argue that the fall in average verbal scores could be explained by the rise in the number of disadvantaged students taking the SATs. That argument can no longer be made. It's now clear that not only our disadvantaged but also our best educated and most talented young people are showing diminished verbal skills. To be precise, out of a constant pool of about a million test takers each year, 56 percent more students scored above 600 in 1972 than did so in 1984. More startling yet, the percentage drop was even greater for those scoring above 650 — 73 percent.

In the mid 1980s American business leaders have become alarmed by the lack of communication skills in the young people they employ. Recently, top executives of some large U.S. companies, including CBS and Exxon, met to discuss the fact that their younger middle-level executives could no longer communicate their ideas effectively in speech or writing. This group of companies has made a grant to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences to analyze the causes of this growing problem. They want to know why, despite breathtaking advances in the technology of communication, the effectiveness of business communication has been slipping, to the detriment of our competitiveness in the world. The figures from NAEP surveys and the scores on the verbal SAT are solid evidence that literacy has been declining in this country just when our need for effective literacy has been sharply rising.

I now want to juxtapose some evidence for another kind of educational decline, one that is related to the drop in literacy. During the period 1970–1985, the amount of shared knowledge that we have been able to take for granted in communicating with our fellow citizens has also been declining. More and more of our young people don't know things we used to assume they knew.

A side effect of the diminution in shared information has been a noticeable increase in the number of articles in such publications as Newsweek and the Wall Street Journal about the surprising ignorance of the young. My son John, who recently taught Latin in high school and eighth grade, often told me of experiences which indicate that these articles are not exaggerated. In one of his classes he mentioned to his students that Latin, the language they were

studying, is a dead language that is no longer spoken. After his pupils had struggled for several weeks with Latin grammar and vocabulary, this news was hard for some of them to accept. One girl raised her hand to challenge my son's claim. "What do they speak in Latin America?" she demanded.

At least she had heard of Latin America. Another day my son asked his Latin class if they knew the name of an epic poem by Homer. One pupil shot up his hand and eagerly said, "The Alamo!" Was it just a slip for *The Iliad*? No, he didn't know what the Alamo was, either. To judge from other stories about information gaps in the young, many American schoolchildren are less well informed than this pupil. The following, by Benjamin J. Stein, is an excerpt from one of the most evocative recent accounts of youthful ignorance.

I spend a lot of time with teen agers. Besides employing three of them part-time, I frequently conduct focus groups at Los Angeles area high schools to learn about teen agers' attitudes towards movies or television shows or nuclear arms or politicians. . . .

I have not yet found one single student in Los Angeles, in either college or high school, who could tell me the years when World War II was fought. Nor have I found one who could tell me the years when World War I was fought. Nor have I found one who knew when the American Civil War was fought. . . .

A few have known how many U.S. senators California has, but none has known how many Nevada or Oregon has. ("Really? Even though they're so small?")... Only two could tell me where Chicago is, even in the vaguest terms. (My particular favorite geography lesson was the junior at the University of California at Los Angeles who thought that Toronto must be in Italy. My second-favorite geography lesson is the junior at USC, a pre-law student, who thought that Washington, D.C. was in Washington State.)...

Only two could even approximately identify Thomas Jefferson. Only one could place the date of the Declaration of Independence. None could name even one of the first ten

amendments to the Constitution or connect them with the Bill of Rights. . . .

On and on it went. On and on it goes. I have mixed up episodes of ignorance of facts with ignorance of concepts because it seems to me that there is a connection... The kids I saw (and there may be lots of others who are different) are not mentally prepared to continue the society because they basically do not understand the society well enough to value it.⁷

My son assures me that his pupils are not ignorant. They know a great deal. Like every other human group they share a tremendous amount of knowledge among themselves, much of it learned in school. The trouble is that, from the standpoint of their literacy and their ability to communicate with others in our culture, what they know is ephemeral and narrowly confined to their own generation. Many young people strikingly lack the information that writers of American books and newspapers have traditionally taken for granted among their readers from all generations. For reasons explained in this book, our children's lack of intergenerational information is a serious problem for the nation. The decline of literacy and the decline of shared knowledge are closely related, interdependent facts.

The evidence for the decline of shared knowledge is not just anecdotal. In 1978 NAEP issued a report which analyzed a large quantity of data showing that our children's knowledge of American civics had dropped significantly between 1969 and 1976.8 The performance of thirteen-year-olds had dropped an alarming 11 percentage points. That the drop has continued since 1976 was confirmed by preliminary results from a NAEP study conducted in late 1985. It was undertaken both because of concern about declining knowledge and because of the growing evidence of a causal connection between the drop in shared information and in literacy. The Foundations of Literacy project is measuring some of the specific information about history and literature that American seventeen-year-olds possess.

Although the full report will not be published until 1987, the preliminary field tests are disturbing. If these samplings hold up,

and there is no reason to think they will not, then the results we will be reading in 1987 will show that two thirds of our seventeen-year-olds do not know that the Civil War occurred between 1850 and 1900. Three quarters do not know what reconstruction means. Half do not know the meaning of Brown decision and cannot identify either Stalin or Churchill. Three quarters are unfamiliar with the names of standard American and British authors. Moreover, our seventeen-year-olds have little sense of geography or the relative chronology of major events. Reports of youthful ignorance can no longer be considered merely impression-istic. 10

My encounter in the seventies with this widening knowledge gap first caused me to recognize the connection between specific background knowledge and mature literacy. The research I was doing on the reading and writing abilities of college students made me realize two things. 11 First, we cannot assume that young people today know things that were known in the past by almost every literate person in the culture. For instance, in one experiment conducted in Richmond, Virginia, our seventeen- and eighteen-year-old subjects did not know who Grant and Lee were. Second, our results caused me to realize that we cannot treat reading and writing as empty skills, independent of specific knowledge. The reading skill of a person may vary greatly from task to task. The level of literacy exhibited in each task depends on the relevant background information that the person possesses.

The lack of wide-ranging background information among young men and women now in their twenties and thirties is an important cause of the illiteracy that large corporations are finding in their middle-level executives. In former days, when business people wrote and spoke to one another, they could be confident that they and their colleagues had studied many similar things in school. They could talk to one another with an efficiency similar to that of native Bostonians who speak to each other in the streets of Cambridge. But today's high school graduates do not reliably share much common information, even when they graduate from the same school. If young people meet as strangers, their communications resemble

the uncertain, rudimentary explanations recorded in the second part of the Cambridge experiment.

My father used to write business letters that alluded to Shake-speare. These allusions were effective for conveying complex messages to his associates, because, in his day, business people could make such allusions with every expectation of being understood. For instance, in my father's commodity business, the timing of sales and purchases was all-important, and he would sometimes write or say to his colleagues, "There is a tide," without further elaboration. Those four words carried not only a lot of complex information, but also the persuasive force of a proverb. In addition to the basic practical meaning, "Act now!" what came across was a lot of implicit reasons why immediate action was important.

For some of my younger readers who may not recognize the allusion, the passage from *Julius Caesar* is:

There is a tide in the affairs of men Which taken at the flood leads on to fortune; Omitted, all the voyage of their life Is bound in shallows and in miseries. On such a full sea are we now afloat, And we must take the current when it serves, Or lose our ventures.

To say "There is a tide" is better than saying "Buy (or sell) now and you'll cover expenses for the whole year, but if you fail to act right away, you may regret it the rest of your life." That would be twenty-seven words instead of four, and while the bare message of the longer statement would be conveyed, the persuasive force wouldn't. Think of the demands of such a business communication. To persuade somebody that your recommendation is wise and well-founded, you have to give lots of reasons and cite known examples and authorities. My father accomplished that and more in four words, which made quoting Shakespeare as effective as any efficiency consultant could wish. The moral of this tale is not that reading Shakespeare will help one rise in the business world. My point is a broader one. The fact that middle-level executives no

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L THE LIST

Actions speak louder than words. 1066 act of God 1492 actuary 1776 1861-1865 acupuncture* A.D. 1914-1918 ad absurdum 1939-1945 adagio 1984 (title) Adam and Eve Adams, John Aaron, Hank Abandon hope, all ye who enter Adams, John Quincy adaptation here. abbreviation Addams, Jane Aberdeen Addis Ababa Adeste Fideles (song) abolitionism abominable snowman ad hoc ad hominem abortion Absence makes the heart grow adieu ad infinitum fonder. adiós absenteeism Adirondack Mountains absolute monarchy adjective absolute zero Adonis abstract art adrenal gland abstract expressionism adrenaline (fight or flight) academic freedom adultery a capella accelerator, particle adverb accounting AEC (Atomic Energy Commission) acculturation Aegean, the Aeneas AC/DC Aeneid, The (title) Achilles aerobic Achilles' heel Aeschylus acid Aesop's fables acid rain aesthetics acquittal affirmative action acronym acrophobia affluent society Afghanistan Acropolis

aficionado alkaline AFL-CIO Allah Africa All animals are equal, but some Agamemnon animals are more equal than Age cannot wither her, nor custom others. stale/Her infinite variety. Allegheny Mountains aggression allegory allegro agnosticism Allen, Woody agreement agribusiness allergy Alliance for Progress Ahab, Captain alliteration AIDS air pollution allov All roads lead to Rome. Air Quality Index Akron, OH All's fair in love and war. Alabama All's well that ends well. à la carte All that glitters is not gold. all the news that's fit to print Aladdin's lamp All the world's a stage. Alamo Alaska all things to all men Alaskan pipeline allusion Alas, poor Yorick . . . All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy. Albania alma mater Albany, NY albatross around one's neck alpha and omega alpha radiation Albuquerque, NM Alps, the alchemy Alcott, Louisa May alter ego alternating current (AC) Aleutian Islands Alexander the Great alternator alto Alexandria, Egypt altruism al fresco Alzheimer's disease algae Alger, Horatio a.m. Amazing Grace (song) Algeria Amazonian Algiers Amazon (myth) alias Alice in Wonderland (title) Amazon River Alien and Sedition Acts America alienation American Gothic (image) Ali, Muhammad American Legion

animism

Ankara

American Revolution Annapolis Ann Arbor, MI American Stock Exchange anno domini (A.D.) America the Beautiful (song) annuity amicus curiae amino acids annus mirabilis Amish anon. amnesia anorexia amnesty Antarctica antebellum amniotic sac amoeba Anthony, Susan B. anthropology amok, run amortization anthropomorphism antiballistic missile (ABM) amp (ampere) antibiotic ampersand (&) amphibians antibody anticlericalism amplifier Amsterdam antigen anaerobic Antigone (myth) analogy Antigone (title) anal personality antimatter An apple a day keeps the doctor antiparticle away. antipodes anarchy anti-Semitism antitrust legislation An army travels on its stomach. Antony and Cleopatra (title) Anchorage, AK ancien régime antonym Antony's speech at Caesar's andante funeral Anderson, Hans Christian anxiety Andromeda And thereby hangs a tale. any port in a storm anecdote aorta anemia Apache Indians Angelou, Maya apartheid Anglican church (Church of aphorism aphrodisiac England, Episcopal church) Aphrodite (Venus) Angola apocalypse angst apocryphal animal kingdom Apollo animal/vegetable/mineral

Apollo program

Apostles, the Twelve

apostrophe (') art for art's sake Appalachian Mountains arthritis appeals, court of article (grammar) appeasement Articles of Confederation appendix (anatomy) artificial intelligence (AI) Appleseed, Johnny Art is long, life is short. Appomattox Court House asceticism apportionment ascorbic acid appraisal asexual reproduction appropriation As flies to wanton boys are we to April showers bring May flowers. the gods. Asia Aquinas, Saint Thomas Asia Minor Arabia Ask, and it shall be given. Arabian Nights Ask not what your country can do Arab-Israeli conflict for you . . . arbitration assessment arch assimilation Archduke Francis Ferdinand Astaire, Fred, and Ginger Rogers archetype asteroid belt Archimedes as the crow flies archipelago astrology Arctic, the asymmetry Arctic Circle As you make your bed so must Arctic Ocean vou lie in it. Argentina atheism агіа Athena (Minerva) aristocracy Athens Aristophanes A thing of beauty is a joy forever. Aristotle Atlanta, GA Arizona Atlantic Charter Arkansas Atlantic City, NI Armageddon at large Armenian massacres Atlas armistice atlas Armstrong, Louis atmosphere Arnold, Benedict atmospheric pressure arrivederci atoll Artemis (Diana) atom arteriosclerosis atomic bomb (A-bomb)

atomic number

artery

atomic weight atom smasher atrium (of heart) attaché

attaché AT&T

Attila the Hun

attorney general of the United

States Auckland audit auditory nerve

Audubon
auf Wiedersehen
Augean stables
Augustine, Saint
Augustus Caesar
Auld Lang Syne (song)

au revoir auricle

aurora borealis (northern lights)

Austen, Jane Austin, TX Australia autistic autobiography autocracy

automation autonomic nervous system

auxiliary verb

A word to the wise is sufficient.

axiom
Axis powers
azimuth
Azores
Aztecs

Baa, Baa, Black Sheep (text)

Babbitt (title)
Babel, Tower of
Babylon
bacchanalian

Bacchus (Dionysus)
Bach, Johann Sebastian

bacillus

Back to the drawing board.

Baconian method Bacon, Sir Francis bacterium

Bad news travels fast.

bad penny always turns up., A bad workman always blames his

tools., The
Baez, Joan
Baghdad
Bahamas
baker's dozen
Bakke case
balanced diet
balance of nature
balance of payments
balance of power
balance of terror
balance sheet
Balboa

balance sheet
Balboa
balkanization
Balkans
ballad
ballerina
ballet
ballistic missile

Baltimore, MD
Balzac, Honoré de
banana republic
Bangkok
banjo

banjo bank run bankruptcy Banneker, Benjamin

baptism Baptist

Barber of Seville, The (title)

Barcelona Bard of Avon, the baritone bark is worse than his bite., His

bar mitzvah Barnum, P. T. barometer baroque barrier island Barrymores, the

Bartlett's Familiar Quotations

(title) Barton, Clara basal metabolism

basalt
base
basilica
Basque
bas-relief
bass
bass drum
bass fiddle
basso
bassoon

basta Bastille, fall of the

batton battery Battle of Britain

Baudelaire, Charles
Bauhaus movement

Bavaria
Bay of Biscay
Bay of Pigs
bayou
Beale Street
bear market
beat around the bush

beat around the bush Beatitudes (text) Beatles, the

beaucoup

Beauty and the Beast (title) Beauty is but skin deep. Becket, Thomas à bed; You've made your ----, now

you must lie in it. bee in your bonnet Beethoven, Ludwig von Beggars can't be choosers.

beginning, In the beg the question behaviorism Beijing (Peking)

Beirut Belfast Belgium Belgrade

Bell, Alexander Graham

bell curve benign Bergen Bering Sea Berkeley, CA Berkshire Hills

Berlin
Berlin, Irving
Berlin airlift
Berlin Wall
Bermuda
Bernhardt, Sarah
Bernstein, Leonard
Berry, Chuck

best-laid plans of mice and men

oft' go awry., The best of friends must part best things in life are free., The beta radiation

bête noire Bethlehem Bethune, Mary Better late than never. Better safe than sorry.

between a rock and a hard place

Beverly Hills, CA

Beware of Greeks bearing gifts. Beware the Ides of March.

Bible Belt blackball bibliography blackbody radiation bicameral legislature Black Boy (title) big bad wolf black cat big bang theory Black Death Big Ben Black Hills, the big board black hole ·Big Brother is watching you. Black Hole of Calcutta big business blacklist Big Dipper, the black market bigger they come, the harder they **Black Muslims** fall.. The black power big-stick diplomacy Black Sea bilateralism black sheep bile Blake, William Bill of Rights blank verse Billy the Kid Blarney Stone biochemistry blasé biofeedback blind leading the blind biography blitzkrieg biology Blood is thicker than water. biomass blood, sweat, and tears biosphere blood type Birch Society, John blow hot and cold bird in the hand is worth two in Blue and the Gray, the the bush.. A Bluebeard Birds of a feather flock together. blue-chip stock Birmingham, AL blue-collar birth control blue laws birthday suit Blue Ridge Mountains Birth of a Nation, The (title) Blue-tailed Fly (song) Birth of Venus, The (image) boat people bishop Boers Bismarck, Otto Bogart, Humphrey bit between your teeth bohemian bit (computer term) Bohr, Niels bite the bullet Bohr atom bite the dust boiling point biting the hand that feeds you Boleyn, Anne Bizet, Georges Bolivia Black, Hugo **Bolsheviks**

bolt from the blue Bradley, Omar Brahmin Bombay Brahms, Johannes bona fide Braille bond (business) brain trust bond (chemical) brainwashing bone to pick Brasilia boniour brass band Bonn bonus brave new world Brazil Book of Common Prayer breach of contract boom (business) bread and circuses boom (sonic) break the ice Boone, Daniel Booth, John Wilkes Brer Rabbit Bordeaux Brevity is the soul of wit. Borgia, Cesare brinkmanship Brisbane Borgia, Lucretia Britain born-again Christian Britain, Battle of Borneo born with a silver spoon in one's British Columbia Broadway mouth Bosporus, the broker Boston, MA bronchial tubes Brontë, Charlotte and Emily Boston Massacre Bronx, The Boston Tea Party Bronze Age botany Brooklyn Botticelli Brooklyn Bridge bottleneck Brooks, Gwendolyn bottom line brother's keeper?, Am I my botulism Brown, John bounty Brownian movement Bourbon Browning, Elizabeth Barrett bourgeois bowdlerize Browning, Robert Brown v. Board of Education Bowery, the (Brown decision) boycott Brueghel, Pieter (the Elder) Boy Scouts of America Brussels Boys will be boys. Boy Who Cried "Wolf," The Brutus Bryan, William Jennings (title) bubble (business) brackets ([])