# The Criminologist

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## COMMENTS ON DIVERSITY TRAINING IN THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

Dorscine Spigner Littles, Ph.D. University of Oklahoma

Societal changes impacting relations between the criminal justice system and ethnic groups has increased awareness of the need for cultural sensitivity in law enforcement. In particular, many observers have come to recognize that understanding the nature of a multiethnic society increases the effectiveness of services delivered by criminal justice agencies and other human service organizations. Proponents of multicultural training believe that examining complex cultural relationships in a systematic way provides a crucial layer to understanding the fundamental problems, distress, and crises experienced by individuals or groups. This article is a brief synopsis of the diversity training literature for personnel currently working in the criminal justice system, most often law enforcement. Arguably, the ultimate goal would be to create a workforce and work environment that is more equitable, inclusive, responsive and accountable in its treatment of ethnic, cultural and racial minority groups.

An abbreviated literature review indicates that many areas of the criminal justice system have responded to the demographic changes present in society, as well as, to the changes in the ethnic composition of the justice system by providing race relations and sensitivity training to its workforce. The intent of the training is to establish positive relationships with people from ethnic, cultural and racial backgrounds and enhance the capacity of system personnel to serve diverse communities equally. Several authors (Scott, 1993; Stewart, 1994; and Bennett, 1995) reveal that cultural awareness training is being used to improve police officers' and certified law enforcement probation officers' safety and interactive potential with diverse communities. Barlow and Barlow (1993) found that cultural diversity training has been initiated to reduce incidents of racial bias and

## CHANGES IN THE EDITORSHIP OF CRIMINOLOGY

Robert J. Bursik, Jr.
Vice-President of the American Society of Criminology
University of Missouri-St. Louis

From its relatively humble beginnings in 1963, Criminology steadily has developed into its current status as the premier general journal in our field. While this may represent in part the significant growth in the sophistication of the theoretical orientations and analytic tools that have characterized criminological research since that time, to a much greater extent I believe that the prestige that currently is attached to a Criminology publication represents the cumulative effects of the visions for the journal that each of the past editors and their associates have brought to their roles, and the hard work and dedication that was invested so that these visions could be actualized.

Given this tradition, I am very honored (and more than a little humbled) to announce that at the end of Charles Tittle's tenure as editor, the offices of Criminology will be moved to the Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice at the University of Missouri-St. Louis, and that I will assume the primary responsibility for the journal. I am very aware that given the status of the journal, I will face enormously high expectations from the very beginning, perhaps greater than any that I have encountered during my career. Luckily, I have been able to recruit an extremely talented and dedicated group of associate editors to help me in this daunting enterprise: Janet Lauritsen, Cheryl Maxson, Ruth Peterson, and Rick Rosenfeld. Please note that the change does not become effective until April 1, 1997. Therefore, until then, all submissions should continue to be sent to Charles in Pullman.

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## AROUND THE ASC

Timothy Austin, professor of criminology at Indiana University of Pennsylvania, will spend the Spring semester of 1997 in the Southern Philippines under a two year grant from the National Science Foundation. He will explore peacemaking strategies in mixed Muslim-Christian villages.

Paul Cromwell, Professor of Sociology and Criminology and Director of the Criminology Program at the University of Miami (FL) has been appointed Professor and Director of the Hugo Wall School of Urban and Public Affairs at Wichita State University in Wichita, Kansas. Cromwell received the Ph.D. in Criminology from Florida State University in 1986. He had previously served as Commissioner and Chairman of the Texas Board of Pardons and Paroles. His recent books include In Their Own Words (Roxbury, 1996) and, with Roger Dunham, Crime and Justice in America (Prentice-Hall, 1996). Dunham.

Steven Egger, professor of criminal justice at the University of Illinois at Springfield, has been named interim dean of the School of Health and Human Services. His appointment was approved by the U of I Board of Trustees this spring.

Frank Schmalleger, executive director of the Justice Research Association, was this year's recipient of the Southern Criminal Justice Association's Outstanding Professional award at the group's annual meeting in Savannah, Georgia. His work in developing a world wide web site which has been nominated for "best academic site on the web" was also recognized. (The site can be accessed at http://www.prenhall.com/~cjtoday.)

The Behavioral Sciences and the Law journal announces that Dr. Alan J. Tomkins will be replacing Dr. Robert M. Wettstein as Editor. Dr. Alan R. Felthous will serve as the Co-Editor. Dr. Charles P. Ewing will assume the Senior Editor's title.

# CONFERENCES AND WORKSHOPS

The Western Society of Criminology will be holding their 1997 meetings in Honolulu, Hawaii at the Hawaii Prince Hotel. The Conference Theme will be "Crime, Justice, and Cultural Diversity: From the Wild West to the Pacific Rim." Conference dates are February 27 to March 2. The Hawaii Prince is a 4 star ocean front hotel located in beautiful Waikiki. Hotel rates for this conference are very attractive and flights are expected to be reasonable due to the season. A large turnout is expected, and it is suggested that reservations be made as early as possible. Those desiring conference information can reach the WSC through either their Web site at www.sonoma.edu/cja/wsc, or through the conference chair Candace Cross-Drew at (916) 262-2736. The WSC Web site lists the program session chairs and topics, and lots of other important and interesting information. Deadline for conference registration is January 15, 1997. Program session chairs request that abstracts be received no later than October 15, 1996.

# The Criminologist

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#### DIVERSITY TRAINING, continued from page 1

enhance operations in community and problem oriented policing. The central feature of such training is the art of communication. Communication increases the ability of officers to interact with ethnic communities and enables them to respond to needs, problems and cultural concerns.

Although there is no one standardized training model, typi-

cally in-service diversity training sessions are offered in 1 to 5 day sessions and usually offer a variation of one of four approaches. One model tries to increase participants' self-awareness of their own culture by helping participants articulate their cultural values and to help them become aware of ways their lives have been shaped by the culture into which they were born (Brislin and Yoshido 1994) . Information and exercises are used in these programs to enable participants to recognize the ways in which other cultures are both similar to and different from their own culture, to value the range of cultural and other group-based differences and to see these differences as providing essential contributions to society. Participants also become conscious of the dynamics that affect their perception and interpretation of the behavior of people from different cultural backgrounds (e.g. Gundykunst & Hammer, 1983). By accepting the culture of others, participants are encouraged to eliminate ethnocentric comparison as well as find ways to foster positive expressions of the differences between groups (Gay, 1994). The concept behind this approach is that when learners become aware of the basis for diversity of values, variations in interactional styles and differing cultural expectations, it will deepen their concern for the needs of all ethnic groups and make a crucial difference in their being more flexible, tolerant and creative persons with a different perception of self and others.

In the second model, trainers usually use a didactic method to examine the historical, socioeconomic, political and contemporary experiences of racial and ethnic groups and social classes in the United States. In addition, techniques are used to help participants understand the societal phenomena of prejudice, oppression, dominance and institutional racism. Developing a more in-depth knowledge base of ethnic, racial, cultural, psychological, social and behavioral factors have been described by several authors as acquiring the range of information, awareness, and understanding of the minority situational experience which is essential in order to contextualize, understand, and assess the behavior of ethnic and cultural groups.

Closely connected to self-awareness and knowledge based training is teaching how attitudes are formed. Carnevale and Stone (1994) describe this third form of training as revealing participants' unexamined assumptions and tendencies to stereotype. This model attempts to tackle directly the perceived roots of discriminatory conduct, beliefs and assumptions that are often subconscious. Participants are shown how subtle forms of such ideas pervade their culture and the systems in which they work. Through training exercises trainees are expected to confront their subconscious assumptions and to manage attitudes so that these attitudes do not obstruct non-discriminatory practice in their professional and occupational roles.

In general, the two major criticisms of diversity training models that utilize self awareness, knowledge development and attitude formation have been (1) there is very little consideration about how "cultural understanding" might actually occur, what

form it might take, what its limits are and indeed if such teaching actually has any significant impact in reducing prejudice and (2) participants do not know what to do with their new learning and how to apply it in the workplace (Troyna and Carrington, 1990; Rattansi, 1992; Carnevale and Stone, 1994). In short, the inherent criticism of the three models is that it is virtually impossible to change racial attitudes through short term information oriented programs.

In contrast, the fourth model of diversity training emphasizes problem solving and critical thinking to equip trainees with skills needed to interact effectively with other cultures. The content of the behavioral model for training offers exercises largely drawn from issues, events and situations that correspond to the work tasks the participants perform in their occupations. The goals are to alert participants to biases or discriminatory practices that they or their colleagues may engage in, and develop skills for adjusting behavior (Sue, 1991). Gaining competence in this area includes the ability to recognize and correct actions that exclude or discriminate against ethnic, cultural or racial group members. Many experts believe that this fourth approach is more realistic and likely to have the desired effect on eliminating discriminatory conduct than attempts to change beliefs or attitudes (Osgood Web Press, 1996).

Although the four models are widely used, evaluations from various police departments, which have the most well-established diversity training in the criminal justice system, reflect similar uncertainty of the effectiveness of their content and find them limited as a comprehensive training strategy. Bennett (1995) found that often diversity training has been ineffective in solving discrimination problems. In developing interactive skills, Bennett concluded that criminal justice workers in cross cultural settings must be prepared to adjust and learn through experience what they find to be most appropriate in social interactions and negotiations. Earlier, the work of Barlow and Barlow (1993) had shown that diversity training does not change the social conditions that perpetuate racism, ethnocentrism and other discriminatory attitudes. The consensus of the researchers was that in its present form diversity training is unlikely to change police behavior.

However, the impact of the training sessions on the individual criminal justice workers is varied. Many participants report that diversity training is a source of important insights into relationships among history, culture, institutions, individual attitudes and discriminatory behavior. But, some of its severest critics are among those who have been through the training sessions. Contributing factors may be that 1) some trainees with little prior understanding of systemic racism have difficulty relating past racist behavior to their everyday lives and work and 2) some find the approach too confrontational and react with defensiveness, denial or resistance to change. Paradoxically, there have been reports that the training may be potentially divisive by focusing on what makes people different and inadvertently promoting the attitudes and behaviors it tries to prevent (Osgood Web Press, 1996).

Perhaps Ahmed Gurnah, commenting on related training programs for the police in Britain, best summarizes the dilemma of in-service diversity training by stating the following:

There seems no clear strategic route from consciousnessraising session to political action. This is not to imply that all anti-racist education and all anti-racist consciousness training is ineffectual and harmful. Quite the contrary; both are extremely important, but need to be done in the context of concrete action... Multicultural experiences are emotionally intense and profoundly challenging for the participants and education for intercultural experiences requires content and pedagogy radically different from traditional practices (as quoted in Osgood Web Press, 1996).

Gurnah's statement is representative of many experts in the field who continue to support diversity training, but are realistic about the current state of multicultural training and are seeking educational strategies and techniques which produce desired course goals and outcomes. Multicultural specialists have stepped up their efforts to discern what specific knowledge and skills are necessary to work with different populations and improve intergroup relations. Researchers are also studying the processes and practices of education. This means they are attempting to devise an educational system that will incorporate the values of multicultural education, devise appropriate instructional materials, organizational structures and procedural rules to reflect pluralism and create a learning environment which facilitates the empowerment of individuals to become critical social thinkers.

However, the orientation and format of the short term diversity training does not seem to offer the same pattern or enough time to bridge the gap between knowledge and in-depth skill development. The four models of diversity training, together, represent what a typical cultural diversity course in a university setting tries to accomplish over a much longer period of time (a semester). Consequently, diversity training for criminal justice personnel has been a hit and miss approach with participants making uneven progress towards learning how to engage effectively across racial, ethnic and cultural lines on issues of diversity and inclusion as they apply to their work, as well as, personal lives. One remedy for this is that the criminal justice system should attempt to incorporate as many pedagogically sound multicultural training efforts into their programs as possible. A second recommendation is that diversity training class should engage participants in more interactive modes of learning that teaches behavioral skills.

Intercultural communication skills are necessary tools in today's society. Comprehensive training efforts with criminal justice workers are especially imperative since some aspects of cultural beliefs or attitudes may have a bearing on how officers deal with the mechanisms of social constraints over the various members of society. There can be little doubt that in the daily reality of working with a multiethnic population, more in-depth diversity training or multicultural education knowledge base has great potential to help criminal justice workers become more effective in their profession.

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Dorscine Spigner Littles, Ph.D. is an assistant professor in the department of human relations, University of Oklahoma, Norman. Her publications include articles on multiculturalism and multicultural education. She has co-authored "A Practitioner's Guide to Understanding Indigenous and Foreign Cultures". She is involved in research concerning an anti-racism training model for the reduction of prejudice and discrimination and creating a dialogic process that will enhance multicultural understanding. Dr. Spigner Littles received her master of education degree in counseling psychology and her Ph.D. in higher education administration from the University of Oklahoma.

#### EDITORSHIP OF CRIMINOLOGY, continued from page 1

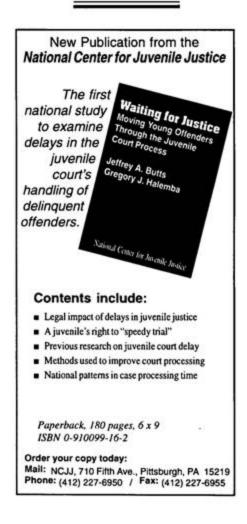
Members of the Society will note a significant degree of consistency between our editorial philosophy and that of Charles. In particular, I will retain the current emphasis on basic, rather than applied research. That is, articles appearing in the journal primarily should represent the development and testing of theories that foster the further understanding of the dynamics underlying the causes and consequences of crime. It is important to emphasize that such an orientation is not as restrictive as it may seem, for many important examples of applied research have appeared in the pages of the journal; an excellent example of such work is represented in the papers that have evaluated and replicated the Minnesota Domestic Violence experiment. However, in my opinion, these papers were relevant to the Criminology audience primarily to the extent that they generated a further understanding of the complexities of the deterrence process, and only secondarily to the extent that they judged the experiment a success or failure.

Given this emphasis, submissions to the journal will be judged primarily on the basis to which theoretical and empirical issues are integrated into a logically coherent and persuasive argument. I want to stress that empirical research does not necessarily imply quantitative analyses. In fact, although almost all of my own published work has been characterized by statistical analyses, my theoretical orientation has been shaped in an important manner by the findings of ethnographic and historical studies concerning the unfolding of local community dynamics. In addition, I want to emphasize that papers with a strictly theoretical orientation also will be welcome. However, it also is important to remember that several outlets for such papers already exist in the discipline (such as the Advances in Criminological Theory series published by Transaction). Therefore, the editorial board will take special care to ensure that such papers have a broad relevance to the Criminology readership.

However, the Criminology that I envision will differ in two important ways from its current structure. Although "Exchange" sections have appeared in the journal in the past (for example, see the February and May, 1996, issues), such interchanges have been relatively rare. I do not think that I am alone in believing that some of the most intellectually stimulating aspects of the annual meetings are the "Author Meets the Critics" sessions and the dialogues between presenters and discussants. If left to standard editorial practice, a response to a particular paper in Criminology may not appear in print for almost a year, thereby losing much of the immediacy and flavor of the debate. Therefore, as an ongoing feature of the journal, I will institute a "Comments" section, which will serve as an outlet for notes of eight pages or less that present major criticisms of the methods or conclusions of papers that have appeared in Criminology. To minimize the turnaround time of such papers, these will be reviewed solely by the editor, associate editors and one member of the editorial board. On rare occasions, we may also solicit a response to appear in the same issue as the original paper, such as in the case in which one reviewer of the paper in question strongly disagrees with the evaluations of the others. While the journal already is recognized as the primary outlet for the publication of articles on the cutting edge of contemporary criminology, I believe that the publication of such exchanges will broaden its contributions to the discipline by serving as a vehicle for timely, vigorous, and constructive intellectual debate.

The second change concerns the responsibility that I believe we as criminologists have in the creation of an informed public. It should go without saying that papers will not appear in the journal unless the reviewers and the editorial board consider them to be important contributions to our understanding of crime. Therefore, given the well-documented degree to which the public generally tends to be misinformed concerning our field, I believe it is incumbent on us to make such empirical and theoretical statements widely known. Therefore, after the review process is completed, I will ask the authors if they would compose a short version of the paper abstract suitable for non-experts in the field. Then, at the same time that each issue is published, our office will send out a press release with these abstracts, noting the name and institutional affiliation of each author in case the media outlets are interested in more information. Please be assured that newsworthiness will never be a consideration in the review process. and that the distribution of such an abstract would be strictly contingent on the voluntary agreement of the author. However, I feel that if a paper is important enough to appear in Criminology, it is important enough to have its position made more readily accessible to those outside our discipline.

On behalf of the editorial staff, I would like to express how excited we are at being selected to serve in this capacity for the Society. Any input or suggestions that the membership may have certainly will be welcome.



## NEWS FROM THE DIVISIONS

#### DIVISION OF CRITICAL CRIMINOLOGY

The Critical Criminology Division of the American Society of Criminology is pleased to announce the recipients of this year's honorees for the following awards:

#### Major Achievement Award

Signifying singular contributions to the development of critical criminology scholarship or pedagogy over time; or, contributions of an exceptional recent accomplishment (major scholarship or something exceptionally innovative).

To: Professor Cindy Struckman-Johnson (Psychology, University of South Dakota) for her research on sexual assault in the Nebraska prison system. Professor Struckman-Johnson's work has been described as "the most important and most comprehensive research ever published in the area of sexual victimization of state prisoners." Sadly, Stephen Donaldson, who nominated Professor Struckman-Johnson and who was himself both a scholar and an activist in the area of prison assaults, died shortly after submitting her name. We will miss Stephen and his reform efforts.

## Critical Criminologist Of The Year Award

Recognizing a scholar who has symbolized the spirit of the Division in some combination of scholarship, teaching, and/or service within the past year:

To: Professor Mark S. Hamm (Criminology, Indiana State University): Professor Hamm's 1995 book, "The Abandoned Ones: The Imprisonment and Uprising of the Mariel Boat People" is an exceptionally rich political and historical analysis of the 1987 riots of Cuban prisoners in Louisiana and Georgia federal penitentiaries. Unlike conventional studies of prison disturbances that focus on characteristics of prisoners or conditions, Professor Hamm traces the sources of the riots to US foreign policy, indifference to human rights, immigration policies, and questionable prison policies. Professor Hamm has also contributed to the Division in recent years with his skill as a musician at the annual meetings.

#### Student Paper Recognition

Recognizing graduate and undergraduate papers that best exemplify the spirit of the Division.

#### Graduate Award

First place: George S. Rigakos (Sociology, York University, Can): "New Right, New Left, New Challenges: Understanding and Responding to Neoconservativism in Contemporary Criminology." Mr. Rigakos examines the rise of neoconservative thought and argues that there is little "new" about the "new right." He develops New Left Realism as an antidote to new-right policies.

Second place (tie): Rosaria Arrabito (Sociology, Northern Illinois University): "Assistance to Whom?" Ms. Arrabito studies a Victim Witness program and argues that victims of domestic violence are not receiving the assistance they need.

Shadd Maruna (Human Development and Social Policy: Northwestern University): "Becoming (non-)Deviant: Self-Narratives of Desistance from Crime." Mr. Maruna draws from the auto-biographical tradition to show how the narratives that ex-offenders construct for themselves to describe their past actions may be instrumental in identifying ways to facilitate rehabilitation and reintegration into society.

#### Undergraduate Award

Allison Forker (Dept of Criminology, Northeastern Illinois University): "Chaos and Modeling Crime: Quinney's Class, State and Crime." This is an exceptionally ambitious and cogent attempt to integrate chaos theory with postmodernism and Richard Quinney's theory of Capitalism and the State.

#### DIVISION OF INTERNATIONAL CRIMINOLOGY

#### 1996 International Award Winners

The 1996 Distinguished International Scholar Award winner is Prof. Dr. K. Chockalingam, Department of Criminology, University of Madras, India.

The 1996 Distinguished International Book Award winner is Dr. Herman Franke, Netherlands' Universities Institute for Coordination of Research in Social Sciences (SISWO), for his book THE EMANCIPATION OF PRISONERS. A SOCIO-HISTORI-CAL ANALYSIS OF THE DUTCH PRISON EXPERIENCE. Edinburgh University Press (ISBN 0 7486 0614 9).

## Call For 1997 Distinguished International Scholar Award Nominations

The Division of International Criminology (DIC) is soliciting nominations for the DIC 1997 Distinguished International Scholar Award. The DIC offers the award of \$1000 to a non-United States scholar who has made a significant contribution to fostering research and exchange of information concerning criminology in an international perspective or a scholar whose work has been of particular interest to criminologists in the United States.

Before sending in a nomination, please do the following: (1) ascertain whether the scholar would be willing and able to come to the conference, (2) obtain a brief resume from the scholar. Please send nominations by March 15, 1997 to the Chair of the Distinguished International Scholar Award Committee: Dr. Richard Block, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Lake Short Campus, 6525 North Sheridan Road, Loyola University Chicago, Chicago, Illinois 60626 [E-mail: RBLOCK@WPO.IT.LUC.EDU]

## Call For 1997 Distinguished Book Award Nominations

The Division of International Criminology (DIC) is seeking nominations for the 1996 Distinguished Book Award. This award is offered for a comparative book on crime, deviance, or social control, published in 1996. Researchers from any country may be nominated. Please send nominations by March 15, 1997 to the Chair of the Distinguished Book Award Committee: Dr. Tim Hope, Department of Criminology, Keele University, Keele, Staffs., ST5 5BG, U.K. [E-mail: CRA09@KEELE.AC.UK]

## DIVISION ON WOMEN AND CRIME

#### Student Paper Competition Award

The Division on Women and Crime announced the winner of its first ever Division Student Paper Competition at its annual business meeting held in Chicago in November. We are pleased to announce here that the winner this year is Ms. Liena Gurevich, New York University. She will be receiving a prize of \$500 from the Division.

Helen Eigenberg, Chair of the Student Paper Competition Committee writes, "the Committee was highly impressed with your work and finds that it advances the body of feminist scholarship and makes an important contribution to the literature."

The Division decided last year to sponsor a Student Paper Competition in order to foster and reward research which is genderbased or focused on women in some aspect of the field or discipline. Deadlines for next year's competition will be advertised in upcoming issues of the Division newsletter and The Criminologist. All current students who are interested in gender-based or women-focused research are urged to enter this year's upcoming competition.

## IN THE CLASSROOM

#### BLOOM'S TAXONOMY: AN ASSESSMENT OF ITS USEFULNESS

One of the most difficult aspects of our profession is that many of us are required to teach, but few of us have been exposed to any formal training in instructional techniques. Mastering the factual tenants of criminology and criminal justice can be accomplished with dedicated study, but the attainment of expertise in teaching is a more complicated matter.

The field of criminology and criminal justice has become attuned to the complex issues related to teaching during the past several years. Literature, such as that contained within the Journal of Criminal Justice Education, has sought to encompass research pertaining to the lack of minority and gender representation in the criminal justice curriculum, the teaching methodology suitable to the field of criminology, and the overall utility of the curriculum for future criminal justice practitioners. While these topics are informative and essential to the development of our discipline, this discussion focuses on a fundamental element of curriculum development: a structural scheme for imparting educational objectives.

Decades of educational philosophy notwithstanding, a monograph, Benjamin Bloom's (1956) Taxonomy of Educational Objectives, has stood as a superior model for the genesis of teaching objectives. The now standardized model presented by the author, postulates that we should impart knowledge with the imperative of achieving the educational objectives of comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation (Bloom, 1956:9). Four decades subsequent to its publication in 1956, this work remains an eloquent reference utilized consistently for the development of curricular, teaching and teacher education. At the time of its publication, no other approach incorporated cognitive psychology in its postulates (Ormell, 1974).

Translating the tenets of Bloom's (1956) work to a criminal justice education curriculum remains a challenge. Fundamentally, for Bloom, the main purpose in constructing a taxonomy of educational objectives was to facilitate communication (1956:10) by establishing symbols and giving them precise and tenable definitions so as to secure the psychological consensus and understanding of the group which was to use them (1956:11). A criminal justice education is amenable to such a plan and Bloom's Taxonomy can be of use to the criminology and criminal justice instructor in a variety of ways.

In the criminal justice curriculum, foundation building classes generate a broad and inclusive footing from which concentration areas will be manifested. Introductory classes are organized in such a way as to incorporate the underlying goals of Bloom's (1956) educational taxonomy. That is, we impart knowledge with the aim of achieving the educational objectives of comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis and eventually evaluation of the material by the student body. A strict hierarchy is assumed, with the mastery of one level essential for the mastery of the next. Our goal here must be to manipulate educational behaviors so that a student's level of understanding proceeds from an initial familiarity with the subject matter to the integration of similarly simple ideas into more complex behavioral patterns. Therefore, the symbols we use must be internally consistent and logically developed so that they wholly reflect the system that we are attempting to represent. Finally, we are able to asses student performance accordingly at the five levels of the taxonomy.

Various presuppositions exist within the taxonomy. For example, that the performance of students faithfully reflects what they have learned; different types of learning are involved in the gamut of educational objectives delineated; said learning is achieved on a hierarchical basis, with knowledge at the first level and evaluation completing the cumulative picture. Ultimately, content-neutral critical thinking skills across a wide spectrum of domains is achieved (Bloom, 1956:40).

Perhaps the most prevalent and empirically supported supposition regarding the taxonomy is that different types of learning are involved in the gamut of educational objectives delineated. Anderson argues that "teaching methods that emphasize efficient one-way communication (e.g., lectures) are most useful in helping student acquire lower-order objectives while...two way communication (e.g. discussion) [is] more useful in helping students achieve higher-order objectives" (1994:126).