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## Representations of a Good Citizen: A Genealogy of Power and Critical Investigation of Pictographs, 1937-1942

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FLORIDA INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Miami, Florida

REPRESENTATIONS OF A GOOD CITIZEN: A GENEALOGY OF POWER AND  
CRITICAL INVESTIGATION OF PICTOGRAPHS, 1937-1942

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of

the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

CURRICULUM AND INSTRUCTION

by

Joselyn Naranjo

2020

To: Dean Michael R. Heithaus  
College of Arts, Sciences and Education

This dissertation, written by Joselyn Naranjo, and entitled *Representations of a Good Citizen: A Genealogy of Power and Critical Investigation of Pictographs, 1937-1942*, having been approved in respect to style and intellectual content, is referred to you for judgment.

We have read this dissertation and recommend that it be approved.

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Andrés G. Gil  
Vice President for Research and Economic Development  
and Dean of the University Graduate School

Florida International University, 2020

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## DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my husband and mother.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank the members of my committee for their feedback and support throughout this process. Dr. Mathews provided me with her experience in qualitative research and constantly reviewed my work, which allowed me to become more concise and communicate in a clearer fashion. Dr. Burns was especially helpful when it came to making sense of and implementing genealogy of power as a critical historical method. Dr. Lovett was very encouraging along the way and always made sure to bring things back to social justice. Although she arrived towards the end of my dissertation, I want to thank Dr. Friedman for joining in at such a point and providing me with her support. Last but not least, Dr. Morcillo's time, encouragement, and guidance was invaluable. Despite her short period on my committee, her efforts and advice will never be forgotten as I am sure others felt the same way.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION  
REPRESENTATIONS OF A GOOD CITIZEN: A GENEALOGY OF POWER AND  
CRITICAL INVESTIGATION OF PICTOGRAPHS, 1937-1942

by

Joselyn Naranjo

Florida International University, 2020

Miami, Florida

Professor Sarah A. Mathews, Major Professor

The study traced selected knowledge that influenced pictographs in social studies textbooks in the United States from 1937 through 1942. The qualitative study analyzed the messages in pictographs produced by Rudolf Modley's business - Pictorial Statistics, Incorporated. The study interpreted the underlying ideological management within pictographs to present a method of analysis for future research on other visual educational material. Foucault's (1980; 2003; Shiner, 1982) genealogy of power method addressed the different shifts in power and meaning making involved in communicating sociopolitical messages to the reader through pictographs while ideological management and governmentality informed Hsieh & Shannon's (2005) directed content analysis (Foucault, 1980; 2003; Shiner, 1982; Spring 1992) to code the messages in pictographs. The overarching theoretical lens of the study, ideological management and governmentality, interpreted and problematized the management of knowledge. The findings produced by the genealogy of power and the directed content analysis suggest that progressive education practices adopted pictographs because of their fact-based nature, ability to supplement the text, and add depth to classroom discussions. The social

studies curriculum of the 1930s and early 1940s focused on community engagement, contemporary American life, and the political and ideological dichotomy between democratic nations and rising authoritarian governments (Thornton, 2008). The 208 pictographs in the sample focus on general welfare, the United States' status in comparison to rival and subjugated nations, and the positive ties that the New Deal administration held with the public. These findings present pictographs as one way that the federal government and social organizations attempted to instill social values, a shared history of American exceptionalism, and a positive outlook on the nation's treatment of its citizens. Although various forms of innovative visual communication in education appear as objective forms of knowledge, this form of communication holds historical roots and implications. Tracing the historical nature of a visual medium exposes the dangers of taking for granted the knowledge that presents fact-based social expectations, norms, and views on different groups. Further use of a critical historical view on visuals enhances visual literacy skills that further develop synthesis and in-depth thinking to bring about civic, participatory, and social transformation.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I.	INTRODUCTION .....1
	Background to the Problem: The Historical Context of Pictographs .....6
	Statement of the Problem.....9
	Purpose of the Study .....12
	Primary Research Questions .....12
	Significance of the Study .....13
	Historical Background to Concepts .....14
	Ideological Management and Governmentality .....14
	Critical Literacy .....16
	Visual Literacy .....17
	Delimitations and Bounds of the Study .....19
II.	LITERATURE REVIEW .....21
	The Management of Knowledge and Ideology in Textbooks.....21
	State of the Literature.....24
	Citizenship Education, Identity, and the School as a Space of Power.....25
	Critical Literacy .....30
	Curriculum History: From the Great Depression to World War II.....35
	Review of the Relevant Research .....45
	Conclusion .....49
III.	METHODS .....52
	Methodological Framework.....53
	First Research Question and Framework .....54
	Second Research Question and Framework .....56
	Research Design.....58
	Rationale Behind the Research Design and Frameworks .....59
	Data Collection and Organization Procedures .....61
	Methods of Analysis .....67
	Data Analysis .....70
	Definitions.....72
	Data Considerations .....76
	Conclusion .....78
IV.	RUDOLF MODLEY, ISOTYPE PICTOGRAPHS, AND THE UNITED STATES: A GENEALOGY .....79
	Introduction.....80
	The Ideological Underpinnings of Pictographs .....82
	Modley, the New Deal, and the Americanization of Pictographs.....95

Pictographs and Education in the United States .....	100
The Decline of Pictographs in the United States .....	113
Summary of Findings.....	115
V. PICTOGRAPHIC MESSAGES IN DEPRESSION ERA TEXTBOOKS: A DIRECTED CONTENT ANALYSIS .....	117
Organization of Findings.....	120
Overview and Theme of Each Textbook.....	123
Politics: The New Deal Administration and Nationalism .....	133
Code – Political Lessons.....	135
Code – Nationalism in Pictographs.....	142
Subcode – Nationalism in Pictographs Through Othering .....	148
Subcode – Nationalism in Pictographs Through the New Deal Administration .....	153
Code – Anti-communism in Pictographs.....	162
Morality: Prescribing Social Purity and Sexual Values.....	168
Code – Social Purity .....	169
Code – Sexual Values .....	173
Society: Social Lessons, Stability, and Social Exclusion for Citizens .....	178
Code – Social Lessons as Both Social Commentary and Deterrent .....	179
Code – Social Stability for Social Order.....	189
Subcode – Socially Acceptable Vocation.....	193
Subcode – Self-awareness.....	199
Subcode - Progress.....	204
Code – Social Exclusion as Systemic Hegemony.....	208
Conclusion .....	212
VI. DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	215
Overview of the Study and Research Questions.....	215
First Research Question and Findings: Genealogy of Power .....	218
Second Research Question and Findings: Ideological Management and Governmentality .....	227
Pictographic Messages and Findings in Conversation with the Current Literature.....	234
Significance of Historical Pictographs.....	239
Pictographs and Areas of Implication: Theory, Research, and Practice.....	243
First Recommendation .....	246
Second Recommendation.....	246
Third Recommendation .....	247
Limitations .....	251
Conclusion .....	253
REFERENCES .....	255

VITA.....279

## LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE	PAGE
1. American Direct Investments from America, Its History and People (1940).....	4
2. Methodological Framework Flowchart.....	61
3. Coding Diagram Informed by Ideological Management and Governmentality .....	71
4. Hsieh & Shannon’s Directed Content Analysis Process.....	72
5. Volkergruppen der Erde (Population Groups of the World) from the atlas Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft (Society and Economy) (1930).....	89
6. Wirtschaftsformen der Erde (Economic Forms of the World) from the atlas Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft (Society and Economy) (1930).....	90
7. Religionen der Erde (Religions of the World) from the atlas Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft (Society and Economy) (1930) .....	90
8. The Travel Time to America from America and Britain: The Waves in One: Only an Ocean in Between (1932).....	93
9. Travel Time from Pictographs and Graphs (1937, republished in 1952) .....	102
10. Updated Framework Flowchart Informed by Ideological Management and Governmentality .....	122
11. Sources of Export from Exploring Geography (1937) .....	136
12. Growth of the American Merchant Marine from Government in Action (1938).....	139
13. Cotton Spinning Moves South from America, Its History and People (1942) .....	141
14. Increase in Arms Budget from Government in Action (1938) .....	143

15. Natural Resources of the United States from The Story of American Democracy (1942).....	145
16. Leading Agricultural States from The Story of American Democracy (1942) .....	146
17. Motor Vehicles from Exploring Geography (1937) .....	148
18. Expansion of Suffrage from Government in Action (1938).....	151
19. Estimated Unemployment from Government in Action (1938) .....	154
20. Unemployment from The Rise of American Democracy (1938) .....	156
21. Estimated Unemployment from Democracy At Work (1939).....	158
22. Unemployment from The Story of American Democracy (1942).....	160
23. Newspapers Published in the United States from This Government (1938) .....	163
24. Each Colony Supplied Troops to the Revolutionary Army from This Government (1938).....	164
25. Diphtheria Deaths in New York City from The Story of American Democracy (1942).....	166
26. Mr. Smith from Life and Growth (1941) .....	169
27. Marriages and Divorces from Democracy At Work (1939) .....	171
28. Growing Up with People from Life and Growth (1941) .....	174
29. The Social Security Program from Government in Action (1942).....	176
30. Equipment of Apartments and Homes / Farm Modernization in the United States from Government in Action (1942) .....	180

31. Accidents and Contagious Deaths from Government in Action (1938).....	183
32. Growth of Eastern Cities from The Rise of American Democracy (1938) .....	185
33. Growth of Eastern Cities from The Story of American Democracy (1942).....	185
34. Motor Vehicles Fatalities from Democracy At Work (1939).....	187
35. How Can the Voter Choose? from Government in Action (1938).....	190
36. Illiteracy Vanishing from Government in Action (1938).....	190
37. Incomes of All American Families in 1929 / Incomes of Federal Employees from Government in Action (1938).....	193
38. Father's Earnings and Infant Mortality from Democracy At Work (1939).....	196
39. When Boys and Girls Mature from Life and Growth (1941) .....	199
40. Proportion Changing/Proportion & Size Changing from Life and Growth (1941) ...	201
41. Immigration to the City from This Government (1938).....	204
42. Crossing Our Country from Government in Action (1938).....	206
43. Growth of Population from This Government (1938) .....	209
44. U.S. Cotton Production from The Rise of American Democracy (1938).....	211

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

In an age where unprecedented circumstances affect new modes of thinking and communication, one must consider the past and the power that it holds over the present. In our current visually driven period, images dominate various areas of most individuals' mundane activities. As of now, visuals appear in both informal and formal settings. Despite the proliferation and use of images within both public and private institutions, visuals remain overlooked and overshadowed by language and text in schools (Flynt & Brozo, 2010; Rowsell & Kendrick, 2013). The authority placed on textbooks by political interest groups automatically bestows a kind of "official" knowledge to everything contained within them (Apple, 1993). In the case of educational institutions, these official and politically sanctified spaces neutralize supplementary visuals within textbooks or the classroom (Apple, 1990, 1993, 2018). The act of neutralizing or legitimizing knowledge constitutes a subjective and political act. Therefore, images within textbooks do not steer away from subjectivity and bias. Images also serve as a means for the dominant social and political groups to exercise their power over the marginalized to maintain and perpetuate the current order of things (Tavin, 2000; Schieble, 2014).

Because images in textbooks transmit information about society and culture, they cannot be viewed as neutral aesthetically interesting information solely existing in a vacuum without a precedent or cause (Schieble, 2014; Tavin, 2000). Accepting such a

view is to imply a simplistic explanation of the existence, purpose, and function of images within textbooks. According to Duncum (2004), images are inherently multisemiotic and function as cultural sites of communication and meaning making where one must adopt a multimodal approach to interpreting visuals. With images also comes a kind of visual literacy or multiliteracy, which lies beyond text and sequence (Duncum, 2004). Visual literacy functions as the reading and understanding of symbol systems along with the significances and messages transmitted by such imagery. Visuals rely on position and familiarity to communicate connoted meanings that appear natural and unquestionable to the audience (Gilbert, 2013; Kress, 2003). This visual language presented by images, which Schieble (2014) refers to as *image syntax*, serves to promote a view, ideology, or discourse to justify, maintain, and perpetuate the traditional narrative and those interest groups that benefit from this narrative (Gilbert, 2013). The positioning and placement of familiar imagery is representative of ideological management. Therefore, without the application of a critical perspective that problematizes and historicizes images, educators and students fail to reposition themselves in this discourse as critical consumers that question visual narratives on identity, behavior, and values.

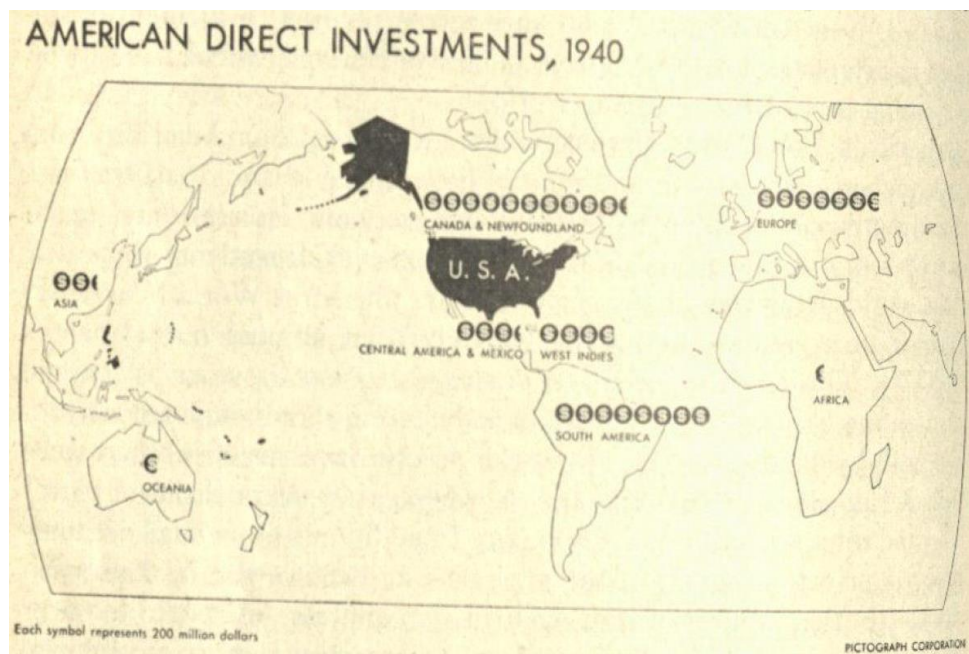
For the purpose of the present study, pictographs served as an example of the genealogy of power present in the use of images in social studies textbooks within the United States while directed content analysis interpreted the ideological management in pictographs. Viewing pictographs through Foucault's (1980; Shiner, 1982) genealogy of power does not mean that the study seeks to determine the truth behind the rise and demise of pictographs, but rather to view the discontinuous shifts in power and meaning behind pictographs and its implications upon the current use of visuals in education.



Foucault's understanding of the discontinuity and displacement of power further confirms the dynamic nature of pictographs. According to Foucault (2003), discontinuity and displacement of power refers to the transformation of power and knowledge over time, yet change over time does not preclude that power and knowledge are transferred in a seamless and orderly manner. Genealogies hold a fragmentary and disorderly nature that defies hierarchical, formal, and historical knowledges (Foucault, 2003). In the case of the present study, pictographs did not simply disappear from history but rather transformed much later into infographics or contemporary visual/graphic representations of data. Objects and processes are the product of temporal circumstances and rules set in place by changing power relations. Therefore, the process of critically historicizing and questioning pictographs also allows for the development of a deeper understanding of the power relations, spatial awareness, ideological management, and official knowledge at work within images between 1930 and 1942 in the United States.

Rather than viewing images within current social studies textbooks, the images under analysis in the current work come from social studies textbooks from 1937 through 1942. Pictographs present statistical information through colorful and modern icons or pictograms. Each pictogram, the icons within a pictograph, holds its ties to a "universal" symbol system that attempts to communicate beyond text, culture, and language (Bresnahan, 2011; Bolton, 1998; Cartwright et al., 1996; Jansen, 2009; Kindel, 2011; Lupton, 1986; Modley, & Lowenstein, 1952; Neurath, 2010; 1936; Neurath & Kinross, 2009; Nikolow, 2011; Uebel, 1991; Vossoughian, 2011). Most of the pictographs within the current study come from history, geography, sociology, and civics/government textbooks from the late 1930s and early 1940s. Because of the nature of these images and

the topics that they cover, critical literacy served as the primary conceptual framework that assisted in the analysis interpretation process. Critical literacy is the process of actively analyzing the text and language for any underlying narratives or power constructs intended to exclude or marginalize others. My study on pictographs demonstrates issues of spatial awareness, identity, official knowledge, and ideological management. With a critical literacy lens or paradigm, the present study problematized and historicized absolute truths, knowledge, power relations, and the meanings placed on language, spaces, and places in pictographs. As a conceptual framework for the current study, critical literacy historically situates and provides multiple possible meanings to the educational purpose and use of pictographs in textbooks.



*Figure 1.* American Direct Investments from America Its History and People (1940)

In the textbooks that contained pictographs like *Figure 1*, communicated examples of economic imperialism, intolerance, and social problems affecting some marginalized

groups through pictographs and text. *Figure 1* presents a critical view on economic imperialism and American investments. The text that accompanied this pictograph reads as follows:

The effects of the migration of capital [foreign investments] were bound to be far-reaching. In the first place, it increased our concern in the economic prosperity and political stability of the rest of the world, a concern which sometimes led, as it frequently has in the Caribbean countries, to actual military interference (Faulkner & Kepner, 1942, p. 808).

Critical thinking or student-centered activities are presented to the student at the end of the chapter in the textbook that contains *Figure 1*. Some of those questions appear to draw from the philosophy of progressive education by requiring students to debate, compare, and critically think through statements. Examples of such questions at the end of the chapter are students being asked to debate the following phrase “economic imperialism breeds hate” and compare the two maps in the chapter (one of those maps is the pictograph pictured above) and draw generalizations regarding the connection between American investments abroad and the volume of American trade (Faulkner & Kepner, 1942, p. 833).

Despite the efforts towards the critical examination of the inherent consequences that come with intolerance and imperialism, the pictographs in the present study are also Eurocentric when it comes to their image syntax or message communicated through the spatial arrangement of pictograms in the pictograph (Kress, 2003; Schiebale, 2014). In the case of the study, it is not that the pictograph is entirely disassociated from the text but

rather the pictograph can communicate an additional message that is related or nonrelated to the text. *Figure 1* helped to support the argument against economic imperialism, there is also a visual emphasis placed on the Americas as the area that holds the most U.S. direct investments. It also indicates a degree of isolationism since there is more investment in this hemisphere over Asia, Africa, and Europe.

In *Figure 1*, Africa, Oceania, and Asia are placed on the ends of the map to show distance and the Americas are at the center of the map while the United States is emphasized further as the only nation highlighted in black. Despite the image depicting U.S. investments throughout the world, the text only discusses Europe, Canada, and briefly the Caribbean (Faulkner & Kepner, 1942, pp 807-810). The pictograph and text are Eurocentric because the text excludes Asia, Oceania, and Africa. Therefore, its inclusion in the pictograph and exclusion in the text communicates a message of marginalization, power, and superiority. The visual message in *Figure 1* further perpetuates a Eurocentric view of the world by organizing regions according to first, second, and third world schemas with a focus on human-environment or human-economic relations (Kitchin, 1999; Lewis & Wigen, 1997; Rahme, 1999; Schmidt; 2010).

### **Background of the Problem: The Historical Context of Pictographs**

The economic, political, and social atmosphere of the 1930s made the arrival and use of pictographs in the United States a possibility. At the height of the 1920s, modernity and economic decline clashed with the onset of the Great Depression. Monopolies, public alienation, rampant poverty, and the elusive nature of the government dominated this period in the United States (Kern, 1983). The events that led to the Great

Depression challenged the core of American values and national cohesion. Prior to the 1930s the United States reflected corrupt companies and monopolies left untouched by a distant government, poverty, and the empty promises of modernity and prosperity that defined the 1920s (Barber, 1996; Bederman, 1995; Kern, 1983). A distraught public alienated itself from a government and society that failed them during the Stock Market Crash of 1929, producing the loss of a unified national identity (Graebner, 1987; Lipartito, 2012; McClay, 1994). The New Deal government that emerged in 1933 sought to reconnect with the public through social experimentation and public aid, known as the New Deal, such as work programs and education initiatives, which engaged its citizens and redirected them from isolationism towards internationalism (Davis, 1979).

The New Deal Administration welcomed social experimental programs and approaches, which included practices and theories within major disciplines such as education and economics (Barber 1996; Davis, 1979; Ewen, 1996). Because a social experimental perspective encouraged the application of unconventional methods for social and economic change, New Deal agencies adopted the informative visual language of pictographs to reduce the chasm between the government and its citizens, as well as limit the amount of public contestation against New Deal reforms (Charles & Giraud, 2013). According to Ewen (1996), Roosevelt and the New Deal Administration wanted to bring back the “forgotten man” by educating the people on civics and preparing them for social and political activism. During the New Deal administration, the forgotten man was coined by Roosevelt and came to represent both the general American workforce (agricultural and industrial labor) and American values, work relief, general welfare, institutions, and policies. These values and policies related to white male citizens that

were farmers, small business owners, blue collar workers, family men, and the unemployed that were disposed by the economic depression and marginalized by the previous administration's policies towards the working class and rising middle class (Allen, 2015).

Roosevelt transformed public relations to bring national cohesion through images and symbols over text and language (Ewen, 1996). His populist approach to public relations and education entailed extensive use of visual-oriented propaganda during a period outside of wartime (Charles & Giraud, 2013). To end public civic alienation brought on by big business and distrust in the federal government, the New Deal Administration sought to target and promote the social welfare and interest of the public through inclusive national public debate and civic education. Efforts such as government agencies and social organizations aimed at instilling civic responsibility and a sense of unity entailed the development of programs focused on visually informing the public about social and economic issues through the production of condensed educational literature containing pictographs (Charles & Giraud, 2013; Golec, 2013). Such forms of visual communication appeared in schools, the military, and government initiatives to civically educate, to develop a social consciousness, and to involve the public in civic engagement and community projects. Throughout these federal government initiatives, images served as a form of social commentary on the historical and social issues concerning capitalism, industrialization, and the people. Overall, images during the 1930s began to include the social experiences and hardships of those affected the most by the stock market crash. These efforts attempted to bring about national cohesion, trust in the

government, restore the single voice of the individual to democracy, and deter the development of fascism or totalitarianism (Ewen, 1996; McClay, 1994).

During 1930s, pictographs emerged as a response to the aftermath of World War I and the ailments brought on by modernity. While pictographs relayed socioeconomic information to the public, they also facilitated the reading and learning process in a modern world (Charles & Giraud, 2013; Hacker, Modley, & Taylor, 1937). Although the general public considered images a medium to inform an illiterate audience and professional statisticians viewed pictographs as graphs that trivialized the standardization of graphic design, the political and social legitimization of pictographs facilitated its use as a form of mass education (Brinton, 1939; Scates, 1942). The Great Depression brought on a shift in how images were used over language to communicate information.

According to Charles and Giraud (2013), other mediums of communication were generally bound in language or cumbersome terminology while images served as more efficient forms of communication because of their quick and direct means of communicating information. By the late 1930s, Rudolf Modley, along with several New Deal agencies and social scientists, popularized pictographs as a form of national awareness and cohesion in the United States. The driving force behind the development of pictographs and their proliferation lied in the need to directly convey contemporary social facts that related to current economic and societal concerns (Scates, 1942).

### **Statement of the Problem**

Whether it is political, social, or community based, all forms of education have sources of knowledge surging from power struggles between different groups (Levin,

2008; Spring, 1992). Several works on disciplinary literacy emphasize the importance of developing discipline reading adaptability, comprehending terminology, interpreting symbolism, and an understanding of discourse practices within a subject or area of study (Fang & Coatoam, 2013; Hynd-Shanahan, 2013; Shanahan & Shanahan, 2014). Critical literacy argues for the critical situating and historicizing of educational material culture and pedagogical practices (Apple, 1993; Helfenbein, 2006; Helfenbein & Taylor, 2009). Education material culture entails textbooks, maps, and images while pedagogical practices entail discourse and instruction. There is currently academic literature on the critical and historical analysis of images and visual literacy in education. Most of critical visual literacy literature critiques the visual discourse of the historical postcolonial imagination (Cosgrove & Ferguson, 1992; Dirlik, 2005; Duncan, 1993; Gupta & Ferguson, 1992; Jazeel, 2012; Lewis & Wigen, 1997; Rhame, 1999; Schmidt, 2010, 2011). Some of the critical historical works in education cover 19<sup>th</sup> century maps and paintings and their connection to postcolonial spaces, identity hybridity, and power relations or the critical examination of twentieth and twenty-first century visual representations of Asians and Asian Americans and its ties to race and identity politics (Duncan 1993; Jazeel, 2012; Schieble, 2014).

However, not all of the academic literature on visual literacy and images in education is historically situating or historicizing the recent proliferation and popularization of infographics. Most of the literature on the matter of media literacy, infographics, or other supplementary graphic statistical charts emphasizes their application and contributions to classroom instruction and learning (Davidson, 2014; Maltese et al., 2015; Miller et al., 2016). If images are not critically questioned, then one



cannot understand the hegemonic struggles, power contentions, and selective practices behind the use of images in textbooks. As of now, infographic charts in educational mediums appear as unprecedented and innovative supplementary educational statistical graphics that appear to hold no origin. Despite the popular use of infographics today, there is a need to critically problematize and historicize visual methods of presenting information by examining its predecessor – pictographs.

Otto Neurath was an Austrian socialist philosopher that merged icons and statistical information to create pictographs. Neurath crafted these pictographs through the Vienna Method or Isotype method. Pictographic statistical chart design relied heavily on the preservation of accurate information by producing repeated icons or pictograms on graphic charts that visually reflected clear statistical information. Pictographs from the 1930s and early 1940s depicted condensed statistical information on macro and micro historical and social information that related to the nation or community. Isotype pictographs, Neurath's graphic statistics method and design, held a very postcolonial and Eurocentric nature from its inception in the post-World War I atmosphere of Austria (Kindel, 2011; Nikolow, 2011). Neurath's Isotype pictographs ignored the nuances of local worlds for internationalism and universality and projected postcolonial understandings of the global order (Kindel, 2011; Nikolow, 2011). Therefore, Modley's pictographs in the United States cannot be viewed as distinctly untouched by its origins and historical context and the same can be said about its distant relative – infographics.

## **Purpose of the Study**

A genealogy of power of pictographs allows one to see when the ideologies and discourses came together and effected selected knowledge. This selected knowledge served as an extension of governmental disciplinary technology in textbook pictographs from 1937 through 1942 to communicate knowledges or ways of being that are expected by the reader through self-awareness. The purpose of the qualitative study is to determine the messages and influence that images hold in textbooks through the analysis of the pictographs produced by Modley's business – Pictorial Statistics, Inc. The intention of the current qualitative study is to interpret the underlying ideological management within pictographs to present a method of analysis for future research on infographics and other visual educational material. Although the purpose of this study is not to compare pictographs and infographics, my study seeks to understand, interpret, and critique the underlying selection of knowledge within pictographs to present a method of analysis for future research on infographics or other visual educational material. The adoption of critical historical methods holds the ability to determine through future research whether the curriculum has changed overtime or whether the same ideologies and master narrative continue to shape educational and social practices.

## **Primary Research Questions**

1. What led to the rise in popularity of Rudolf Modley's pictographs during a period of economic instability and political struggle, as well as their decline during the United States' involvement in World War II?
2. How did the New Deal administration from 1937 – 1942 manage knowledge in education through pictographs as a tactic to control public consciousness?

- i) What messages did pictographs in textbooks communicate to its audience?
- ii) What evidence of ideological management is present in pictographs in textbooks?

### **Significance of the Study**

Because images contain various levels of communication, interpretations, and meanings, images also allow the reader to engage in critical thinking and abstract extrapolation beyond what text and language conveys (Mathews, 2012; Werner, 2006). The current academic works on pictographs incorporate some aspects of critical questioning; however, none of these works critically examine pictographs in social studies textbooks from the United States during the 1930s and early 1940s (Bresnahan, 2011; Golec, 2013; Jansen, 2009; Lutpton, 1986; Neurath & Kinross, 2009; Vossoughian, 2011). The literature on pictographs and the United States focuses on New Deal agency campaigns and the use of pictographs (Bresnahan, 2011; Crawley, 1994; Ihara, 2009; Golec, 2013). The literature on pictographic design is about Neurath's contributions to statistical graphic methods and design or the problematic and postcolonial nature of Isotype pictographs throughout Europe and Africa (Jansen, 2009; Kindel, 2011; Lutpton, 1986; Neurath & Kinross, 2009; Nikolow, 2011; Vossoughian, 2011).

Overall, historicizing infographics through pictographs allows one to understand the social movements and events that brought about and shaped pictographs. A historical and genealogical approach as a method also brings to light the purpose, use, political struggles, and circumstances that made pictographs so popular or controversial during the 1930s and early 1940s. By tracing a genealogy of power, historicizing and situating pictographs provides the opportunity to critically question educational practices of the

past and perhaps develop an understanding about where educational practices are headed today in terms of visual literacy and infographics. The significance of this study is to contribute to the current gap in critical visual literacy in education. The analysis of pictographs shed further light on the connections that social education movements, such as progressive, social efficiency, and social transformation movements, held on the selection of knowledge in social studies textbooks, as well as a general understanding of the social, cultural, and economic values prescribed through these statistical presentations.

### **Historical Background to Concepts**

For the purpose of the present study, operational definitions and an explanation is provided for each conceptual framework, theory, and terminology utilized throughout the study, research process, and analysis. Each segment presents the importance, purpose, contributions, and differences among each concept throughout the study.

### **Ideological Management and Governmentality**

As a concept, ideological management takes on an interpretive approach where the purpose lies in achieving a deep understanding of the multiple realities, ideologies, and forces that shape discourse, ideas, and knowledge. Spring's (1992) work discusses the impact that political and economic interest groups hold on the distribution and circulation of ideas and values in society. He argues that these groups manage to disseminate sociopolitical values as information through ideological management. Ideological management is the control of ideas by certain groups who choose to use this control as a form of power over others. According to Spring (1992), ideological

management emerged in the modern world during the nineteenth century with the rise of both highly centralized and decentralized governments. In centralized governments, the education system and media are under its control while decentralized governments allow these sectors of society to remain under local governance. The move from centralization to decentralization throughout primarily democratic nations created an obstacle for various agents of political or economic power to disseminate the proper values and behaviors they expected from society. Without the uniform control afforded by centralized governments, interest groups vie for the power to communicate and maintain their values and norms within society. In this case, the attainment of power is often the result of conflict.

Spring's (1992) argument falls in line with Foucault's (2007) concept on the management of population and the state – governmentality. The concept of governmentality presents governing or managing the population as the expectations and limitations of rule and power over a nation-state (Joyce, 2014). Governmentality functions as a kind of political logic or rationality disseminated and enforced through interconnected institutions to regulate the population (Foucault, 2007). It is a rationality or logic devised by the state and it is carried out through interconnected apparatuses that police or regulate the population such as institutions, laws, ideas, and procedures. The final product of governmentality is the creation of a self-governing individual that rationalizes and abides by the state's prescribed actions, values, and behavior. Governmentality draws on technologies of discipline to regulate the population. An example of governmentality and such technologies stems from Foucault's (1995) discussion on the history of the prison system, which is itself a genealogy of power. The

prison system serves as an example and aspect of the disciplinary society that most of the western world inhabits. The traditional prison system is born from monasteries and military order where physical spaces and actions were highly regulated, routinized, and compartmentalized. The penal system was born from this style of regulating bodies in the eighteenth century to move away from the more violent spectacle of public punishment. Prior to the eighteenth century, monarchs attempted to reinforce their power through the physical and public punishment of those that choose to defy their authority. However, the penal system rose as a form of social control and to reinforce the social rules and contract set up between the state and its citizens. Imprisonment became a visual warning and reminder to the general public regarding what is considered inappropriate social conduct. The prison itself for the prisoner served as both a lesson towards reformation and a reminder that the state is aware of his every move and thought through the surveillance-styled (the panopticon) architecture of the prison and routine punishments. Today institutions such as schools, hospitals, and factories are modeled after this physical and figurative architecture of surveillance. Therefore, ideological management through images in classroom textbooks serves as one of the many tactics in governmentality. Ideological management functions as a form of social reproduction and as an extension of the government's power and self-regulatory surveillance over the population.

### **Critical Literacy**

Critical literacy seeks to uncover the deep-rooted power systems and relations that affect discourse, text, and language to develop counter-narratives to reintegrate oppressed and marginalized groups (Montgomery, 2014). The various structures of inequality that

subtly make their way into discourse and text determine the state and condition that the public lives in (Apple, 1993). However, these structures of inequality and the distribution of knowledge hold ties to historical contingencies and contentions. The education system strives to inculcate technocratic and efficiency-related values in the student body to maintain and perpetuate cultural and ideological hegemony (Apple, 1990, 1993, 2018). The selective tradition of portraying non-contradictory discourse and significant portions of the past in the textbook and through instruction maintains systemic and hegemonic control. Therefore, critical literacy disrupts the social organization of the education system and society by historicizing current issues, placing social movements at the source of these issues, and acting upon these issues to bring change to the community (Apple, 1993).

### **Visual Literacy**

John L. Debes first presented the concept of visual literacy in 1969 at the First National Conference on Visual Literacy. According to Debes (1969), visual literacy is a meaning-centered and multi-disciplinary concept. It is composed of semantics, linguistics, philosophy, psychology, art, psycholinguistics, and educational theory. Visual literacy is a developed ability where individuals incorporate vision and multiple sensory experiences to understand and interpret the world, as well as communicate with others (Debes, 1974).

The need for visual literacy teaching strategies emerged from the realization that the generation of the 1970s was far more visually inclined than the former generation (Debes, 1969; Franchesky & Debes, 1972). The modern human visual inclination is a product of

exposure to the television and visual media, as well as the idea that children develop a visual vocabulary before a verbal vocabulary. Because a visual vocabulary precedes that of a verbal vocabulary, Ladevich (1974) suggests that strengthening a child's visual vocabulary may further develop their verbal language and ability to organize ideas. Although Debes (1969) developed the concept of visual literacy, he is aware that the existence, use, and knowledge on visual language and literacy predated his work. Debes and others within the visual literacy field present a great concern for this new generation bombarded by visual media. Their concern lies in the supposition that the vision functions more on a verbal than a visual level (Debes, 1969). Because vision serves to receive verbal communication and information, educators at the time feared an eventual decline in academic interest among students because of written language's inability to keep up with the quick and constant pace of images projected by visual media.

Although the definition proposed by Debe's on visual literacy is far more common and presents a practical approach to its use, the present study defines visual literacy under a critical lens. The general definition for visual literacy is as follows, "This [visual literacy] is a skills-based approach in developing visual competence: an understanding of spatial construction, movement, film grammar, and so on" (Sholle & Denski, 1993, p. 303). For the purposes of the current study, visual literacy adopts a critical approach where its primary focus lies in the examination of images as ideological texts, as well as the relation between imagery and the media (Sholle & Denski, 1993). The justification for such a definition stems from the notion that images hold a multivocal, multimodal, layered, and beyond temporal nature where pictures hold multiple connoted and denoted meanings (Gilbert, 2013; Tavin, 2000; Werner, 2006). Overall, critical visual literacy



seeks to unravel the dominant institutions, interest groups, and discourses that shape the messages conveyed by images regarding identity (Gilbert, 2013; Schieble, 2014).

### **Delimitations and Bounds of the Study**

Most of the individuals that created or encountered pictographs in social studies textbooks or public settings are few and further out in years or are no longer in existence. Therefore, the possibility of conducting a general survey to extract and analyze the opinions of former students and educators exposed to pictographs during the 1930s and early 1940s presents itself as an impossible task. The use of interviews as a source would also provide another area from which to triangulate the findings from my study. Therefore, the scope of the study must remain to that of examining pictographs, their possible meanings, and ties to social movements of the period such as the progressive, social efficiency, and social transformation movements in education. Any connections made to specific entities and their intentions become speculation since most of these textbooks' publishing companies no longer exist or merged with other companies. My study is bound by the point in time when pictographs first emerged in American social studies textbooks (approximately 1937) until their complete disappearance from them. Different editions of these textbooks present a break from the use of pictographs after the nation's involvement in World War II (approximately after 1942). Moreover, the ceased use of pictographs as a change among textbooks editions further confirms the bounds that have been set on the present study. As of now, I am aware that eight social studies textbooks exist that contain various pictographs produced by Modley's company or other companies and organizations. Because these social studies textbooks contain a combined

total of 208 pictographs, the possible interpretations generated from this amount suffice for data saturation. Although other social studies textbooks containing pictographs may exist, the current textbooks in the current study exhaust all areas of social studies (geography, history, economics, civics/government, and sociology/human growth and development). Despite these circumstances, historicizing and interpreting pictographs opens the possibility of conducting future comparative studies that present the evolution of infographics and their current influence on the public in educational settings. These studies hold the potential to include the interviews and interpretations of students and teachers.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

This chapter presents the literature on ideological management and critical literacy. The first section is dedicated to the literature on ideological management. This concept lies at the heart of this study because it serves as phenomenon in question. This first part of the review presents how ideological management functions in textbooks as means for governmental bodies to effectuate power and disseminate information. The second half of this chapter explores critical literacy as a lens, which will be present throughout the research and analysis process. The portion on critical literacy in this chapter places a greater emphasis on its application and practice to analyze language and discourse. The intended byproduct of critical literacy is to bring about self-awareness and social transformation. Overall, addressing the literature on ideological management and critical literacy shows that currently there is a lack of research on the identity construction and official knowledge present in pictographs within textbooks from the United States during the 1930s and early 1940s. The next segment focuses on curriculum history in the United States to provide sociohistorical context for Chapter IV, as well as an overview of the leading discussions surrounding curriculum and instruction during the Great Depression and early years of World War II. The final section of this chapter goes further into the relevant research on the research methods applied to this study – genealogy of power and directed content analysis.

Although the works in this literature review do not cover research on pictographs in textbooks from that period, they present the need for the application, purpose, and

importance of such conceptual frameworks to unpack the possible meanings displayed by pictographs. Overall, overlooking the origins of the modern curriculum leads to a simplistic understanding of its current state (Evans, 2004; Kliebard, 1987; Spring, 1992; Tyack, 2003). By examining pictographs in social studies textbooks from the 1930s and early 1940s, one historicizes the spaces and ideologies that exist now in the current social studies curriculum. As of now, there is no literature in the discipline of education that discusses the application, use, meanings, and interpretations provided by pictographs in the classroom.

### **The Management of Knowledge and Ideology in Textbooks**

Symbols, imagery, and language saturate society with the intention of informing the public of accepted norms, practices, social relations, and the order of things. Therefore, who informs the knowledge that students receive in schools? According to Spring (1992), schools serve as institutions that disseminate prescribed ideas, knowledge, behavior, and values to the next generation, which in turn shapes society to maintain and reproduce a set of values and norms. Spring (1992) terms the control and dissemination of ideas as *ideological management* and argues that the ability to manage or control such knowledge is the source of power of most dominant groups. Giroux (1989) confirms Spring's (1992) argument by stating that struggles within politics and culture for power serve as the driving force behind the contestation, legitimization, and perpetuation of a specific social order in society between dominant and subordinate groups. Various social institutions, such as schools, are inadvertently involved in this struggle because they reflect much larger social functions. According to Apple (1990), education as an

institution and the knowledge that appears within the curriculum is far from neutral. Power lies at the root of both knowledge and schools and these two areas are part of a much larger social order intended to maintain social control (Apple, 1990, 2018). In education, language, literacy, and discourse function as forms of reinforcing and perpetuating the social order and relations. Although the dominant group and society wish to portray education and the knowledge taught in schools as objective and neutral, social and cultural norms determine the type of knowledge that appears within the curriculum. The determination of legitimate knowledge stems from what Apple (1990) terms *selective tradition*. The act of selective tradition purposely serves as a process that chooses which portion of events constitute as significant and cohesive to the grand narrative. Therefore, the combination of ideological management, hegemony, and selective tradition maintain and reproduce a form of social control that appears over time as natural and commonsense to society at large (Apple, 1990). This process then constantly legitimizes “legitimate” knowledge through society’s acknowledgment and promulgation of it, which then leads educators and intellectuals to further reinforce this legitimacy and begin the cycle of selective tradition and legitimate knowledge all over again. The social organization of the education system stems from the industrial economies that promote the development of a technocratic society simply built to learn technical skills and services for the purposes of maintaining and reproducing the current socioeconomic inequalities.

## State of the Literature

Despite these accelerated changes in approaches and perspectives within geography and geography education, the curriculum and textbooks within this field still present deep-rooted symptoms of modernity and ethnocentrism such as determinism, standardization, narratives of progress, linearity, and the remnants of the postcolonial mind (Schmidt, 2010). Although the revisionist and critical literature on ethnocentric values in geography education presents progress in terms of critically questioning these values, incorporating perspective consciousness, and decentering the postcolonial mind, geographic textbooks, curriculum, and national standards in the classroom present little to no change over time (Barton & Levstik; 2004; Kitchen, 1999; Mathews & Barrios, 2013; Rahme, 1999; Schmidt, 2010). For the purposes of this study, pictographs were examined in social studies textbooks from the late 1930s and early 1940s.

Although there is academic work that advocates for the need to historicize and problematize spaces, places, power, and identity, there is a lack of academic work viewing former textbooks to comprehend the unchanging nature of current social studies textbooks. As of now, there is no genealogical study on social studies textbooks that views visuals (in this study pictographs) and their connection to narratives of power. Overall, most of the literature discusses the use of critical approaches to develop better dispositions, as well as the unlearning of Eurocentric and ethnocentric values and pedagogies. The state of the literature currently lacks a study that presents the genealogy of power in social studies textbooks and their supplementary visuals. Perhaps such a study may indicate some of the origins and reasons for the current social studies

curriculum that appears to hold few changes in comparison to the social studies curriculum of the last 30 years.

### **Citizenship Education, Identity, and the School as a Space of Power**

Within the textbook and pictograph samples for this study, there are several instances of citizenship and identity tied to the nation-state. According to Schmidt (2011), various educators view citizenship education under the civics segment of social studies, yet collective identities hold ties to physical spaces and places. This phenomenon termed as “sense of place” affects the way an individual perceives space in relation to their understanding of citizenship and vice versa (Schmidt, 2011). In this case, holding a sense of place determines whether an individual chooses to act in accordance with the collective understanding of citizenship in a location or space. This sense of place can also dictate whether the individual chooses to contest or redefine the meaning of their act of citizenship in that space. According to Helfenbein (2006), space signifies the area that individuals choose to engage in discourse and symbolic interactions. This definition transforms an area into a physical place of cultural and social practice where individuals then continually devote their time and efforts. Identity then becomes the product of these physical and abstract areas because these spaces and places serve as the stage for cultural and social interactions, contestations, and struggles (Helfenbein, 2006; Helfenbein & Taylor, 2009). Therefore, citizenship identity holds the ability to develop in the classroom and school environment through visuals, textbooks, activities, and instruction.

To understand the complexity of citizenship and its presence in spaces such as the classroom, one must also consider its cultural element and implications. One cannot view

citizenship through a strictly political lens when examining citizenship education (Pykett, et al., 2010). A significant portion of citizenship education utilizes divisive language, a linear narrative, and focuses on the nation-state's definition or understanding of its placement in the world and its relation to other regions (Anderson et al., 2008; Schmidt, 2010). Viewing citizenship through this lens obscures or removes the connection that society's collective identity holds to the cultural sphere. In this case, the cultural sphere serves as a fluid space where power, social hierarchies, and values constantly shape and reconfigure the social relations, imaginary and physical barriers, and cultural practices that take place in a particular location (Kitchin, 1999; Helfenbein, 2006). Although the nation-state determines the status that individuals hold within their territorial boundaries, this static way of viewing identity limits the student from viewing citizenship as one formed in relation to other groups and global networks (Anderson, et al., 2008). Besides the influence of cultural rituals, discourse, and practices, this understanding of identity comes from whom the nation-state and culture decides to exclude or determine as the "other" (Pykett, et al., 2010). Because identity formation relies on cultural perceptions regarding physical attributes, excluded or non-excluded groups, and stereotypes, individuals choose to represent themselves in relation to others on these terms. Although this view of identity is fluid it is still predicated by the nation-state and curriculum, this view still asserts a binary understanding of the world.

The concept of space under the critical lens challenges and defies the tenets of modernity and structuralism by discarding the idea of pure and natural areas for a perspective that highlights fluidity, mutability, and intersection (Foucault, 1986). Such socially created spaces hold the power to transcend location and culture by holding a



temporal and finite nature that changes with time, contains multiple spaces or realities, connects to other spaces, and excludes/includes different groups of people (Foucault, 1986). Because of the fluid and malleable nature that space holds, Duncan (1993) argues that culture and human interaction alone does not create sites of representations, but rather that power relations and the manipulation of discourses over time begins, maintains, and ends the existence and purpose of spaces.

Although Foucault's (1986) work discusses the spatial nature of power and its presence within different spaces, Allen (2003) furthers this statement and suggests that power does not hold totalizing, uniform, continuous, and omnipresent nature. Proximity and interactions determine the kind of power and its location. Allen (2003) problematizes power and its geographies by arguing that there are different kinds of power (authority, domination, seduction, coercion, manipulation, etc.) and that each form of power dictates the distance to which dominant groups exercise it. Location affects power and human relations affect the modalities and peculiarities of power. Allen (2003) draws these distinctions by presenting different examples of power and their spatial characteristics. For example, manipulation requires an indirect reach while authority demands the use of interconnected relations through proximity and presence to effectively exercise power. This new definition, and reconfiguration of power dispels any notion that a centralized location produces power. Power then becomes intangible without a fixed source where it stems instead from mediated actions. Therefore, different geographies of power function as abstract spatial conceptions that place and define different individuals and groups of people.

The incorporation of critical and postmodern thinking in education takes into account the effects of places and space on student self-awareness and identity. Gruenewald's (2003) work utilizes a multi-disciplinary analysis to make the case for place-conscious education and its effects on the notions that students and teachers hold regarding their influence on the local sphere. Overall, Gruenewald (2003) argues that places and spaces hold both a pedagogical and malleable nature in the sense that they teach individuals about their identity while individuals simultaneously inform these spaces. The author seeks to bring to the forefront the notion that places contain fluid interactions that allow students and teachers to experience and learn about culture and identity in other constructed social settings outside of school and beyond acquisition of knowledge for testing purposes. Developing a deeper understanding of social spaces provides students with the potential to comprehend the influence of place on their identity and the dominant ideologies that reproduce hegemonic systems. The ability to engage in local and political experiences provides students with the opportunity to view themselves as place-makers or citizens with the agency to bring change to their community. This is possible by showing students the pedagogical nature of spaces. Because spaces teach people about their role within a community, spaces shape their identity and informs them of their responsibility and accountability to society (Gruenewald, 2003).

According to Gupta and Ferguson (1992), disciplines such as geography and anthropology still view spaces as natural and distinctive. This pure and homogenous view of spaces and the global order becomes problematic because it fails to consider borderlands, displacement, cultural differences within local spaces, the historical implications of colonial interactions, and the transnational nature of culture through

migration. This theorization of space brings the deterritorialization of space and identity, which leads to viewing spaces as culturally constructed places holding distinct identities shaped by interactions rather than through predetermined characteristics or borders (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992). This blurring of distinct borders and cultures problematizes the view that specific cultures and practices belong to a physical place or location. Through the application of spatial analysis or the theorization of space, Helfenbein and Taylor (2009) argue that spaces and places become fluid, intertwined, and undeterminable. Recent academic works argue for more inclusive and critical practices in the curriculum (Anderson, et al., 2008; Helfenbein, 2006; Jazeel, 2010; Pykett, et al., 2010). By overlooking or diminishing the importance of critically understanding the contestations and practices that take place in socio-spatial environments, students, researchers, teachers, etc. fail to see the exclusionary practices, meanings, messages, and symbols that society partakes in because these practices are part of the mundane not as a form of societal indoctrination (Kitchin, 1999).

Decentering the traditional geographic and historical conceptions of citizenship allow students to understand that places such as the classroom and curriculum inform the knowledge that they hold regarding themselves, others, and how they choose to represent themselves (Helfenbein, 2006; Jazeel, 2012). According to Jazeel's (2012) work, a critical lens approach to social studies material is a reversion or unlearning of the assumptions and knowledge that individuals carry in relation to the current historical, geographical, and hierarchy of power. This type of approach allows students and researchers to see that spaces, places, and identity do not develop in isolation or without interaction with one another.

## Critical Literacy

The literature on critical literacy presents itself as a mode of practice and analysis. Choosing to teach or not to teach the legitimate knowledge present in the chosen curriculum is an act of agency and it is political in nature. Giroux (1989) views educators and intellectuals as individuals that hold the agency to either reinforce certain master narratives and hierarchies or encourage social transformation. Part of this agency entails the use of language and literacy, which holds the ability to either empower or subjugate individuals (Giroux, 1993; McLaren & Lankshear, 1993). Because of this, Giroux (1993), among other critical theorists, emphasizes the need for critical literacy to problematize and complicate the nature of language and literacy. Critical literacy as a conceptual framework allows educators and students to develop self-awareness and a means to question socially accepted truths about social relations and differences. By understanding the discourse of difference and questioning socially constructed conventions and truths, educators hold the ability to examine master narratives and silenced histories to bring change, cultural awareness, and empowerment to others. This critical examination of literacy and language incorporates the contestation and negotiation of meaning in the discourse of difference.

Therefore, literacy is more than the development of basic grammar and reading mechanical skills to function in society. According to Apple (1993), literacy extends far beyond functionality because of its connection to value systems and power relations. Literacy is complex in nature and reflects the intricate relations, contestations, and struggles to produce and reproduce social inequality. Despite the positive guise that the

school system holds as a neutral unifier and gatekeeper of democracy, this constructed discourse and reality is far from the truth. The ideological process present in the selective tradition of the textbook serves to promote the pursuits and concerns of specific groups and classes. To maintain this “truth”, the textbook functions as the physical manifestation of the selective tradition that presents only the dominant and culturally meaningful events that display progress and an uncomplicated national history (Apple, 1993). Although most textbooks portray this discourse, Apple (1993) argues that conflicts over the selection and organization of the text show that there is a cultural politics at the center of this process. These conflicts and struggles arise only because most American institutions hold a decentralized organization, which leads to the development of various power struggles among different interest groups for the dissemination of ideology (Spring, 1992; 2017). Although the textbook and curriculum are fraught with conflicts and power struggles, Inglis (1985) argues that such conflicts are temporal and fluid in nature. According to Inglis (1985) on this matter, “...the curriculum as formally approved by the public educational system of a society is a product of the history of that society, and that as a history changes, so does a curriculum” (p. 21). Therefore, the textbook and the curriculum symbolically reflect the larger issues of national and community identity, as well as society’s ideologically dominant view on what knowledge and reality should look like. Because of these prescribed “truths” in the textbook, anything that strays from the curriculum immediately falls under the category of defiance. By drawing such unspoken distinctions early on, students, teachers, and parents maintain and reproduce the official knowledge for future generations. The dual nature that the education system holds, as both a public and political space, allows this official knowledge to continue within the

curriculum and schools to maintain its appearance as a neutral location where students hold the potential to become proper citizens.

Therefore, this suggests that the development of the textbook holds a fluid, problematic, and political nature. This political struggle entails maintaining or challenging patriotism, ethnocentrism, progress, etcetera. At the root of this political struggle for the official and legitimate knowledge in textbooks lies in the need to promote an ideology of difference. The dominant social group or class does not achieve the subtle incorporation of this ideology of difference by forcefully imposing their view, but rather through small compromises (Apple 1993, Giroux, 1993). Such concessions entail making sure to briefly mention the “sentimental firsts” or the select few (first Black president, first woman in space, first LGBTQ+ person to hold a political office, etc.) that represent marginalized groups in textbooks and school activities relating to heritage months (Coates, 2015). In recent years, academics and social justice journalists claim that this strategy masked under the guise of cultural education practices functions as a way of temporarily appeasing marginalized communities while perpetuating unequal relations by maintaining the overall structure of the dominant narrative (Coates, 2015; Busey & Russell, 2016). Overall, the textbook serves as the physical authority and absolute definer of knowledge in the classroom (Apple, 1993). The textbook sets the tone and precedent the way the teacher intends to organize their lessons. The textbook and the knowledge that it contains takes part in what Apple (1993) considers the *civilizing process*. By participating in learning the absolute knowledge, this act bestows the reader with a false sense of gaining cultural and social capital. However, this only furthers the argument that

the dominant culture is sustaining by being neutralized and perpetuated through the act of reading and text regulation.

Furthermore, literacy serves as the vehicle that allows individuals to determine their identity, contest discourse, and make meaning of social practices; however, McLaren and Lankshear (1993) argue that this identity exists intertwined in social constructs and institutions. Those well informed of the dominant discourse hold the cultural capital to engage in the arrangements of power predetermined by the master narrative and perpetuate this arrangement through social production (Lankshear, 1997). Without the adoption of critical literacy skills among educators, intellectuals, and students, detecting power relationships, inequality, and intentionality in language and discourse becomes an insurmountable task.

According to Lankshear (1997) and Giroux (1993), viewing one's culture through the lens of another allows one to question social practices and determine what language continues to maintain and reproduce disproportionate social relationships based on power. In this case, literacy lies at the heart of social practice and production, which allows the individual to define and take on different roles according to the cultural and societal context. Because culture and society influence language and literacy, critical literacy seeks to recognize these social practices and discourses to expose the chasm that lies between the subordinate and dominant groups, as well as present the way schools and education policy continue to maintain this chasm. Lankshear (1997) acknowledges that critical literacy serves as a powerful tool when used to question the purpose and language employed in standardized testing and institutional norms. The master narrative permeates

education and language policy. Therefore, the importance of critical literacy as both a strategy and perspective is that it grants the reader with the critical self-awareness required to unpack and understand the sociopolitical and racialized underpinnings in language within the curriculum and other informative mediums.

Because the current social issues in the Social Studies curriculum did not come about spontaneously in a vacuum, Apple (1990) proposes the situating of knowledge, schools, and educators in the larger context of its connection to social organization and hegemony. By situating and historicizing knowledge, schools, and educators, a problematized understanding arises on the role of the school. This perspective argues that the school promulgates specific policies, the curriculum informs students of norms and values while educators embody these policies and values by implementing and modeling these norms and values through their instruction (Apple, 1990). In this case, holding control over cornerstone cultural institutions, such as schools, allows the dominant group or class to prescribe a hidden curriculum that addresses the accepted norms and values. The ability to dictate such values grants the dominant group the ability to bestow a guise of neutrality and normalcy to the socioeconomic inequalities. Overall, the education system proves to function as a cog within a much larger social order. This suggests that the objective of the education system (the creation, maintenance, and transmission of knowledge) is interdependently tied to cultural and economic production.

Critical literacy provides one with a conceptual framework that allows the researcher to question the origin of knowledge, legitimacy, and authority in language, text, and imagery, as well as examine competing discourses for power within these



modes of communication. McLaren and Lankshear (1993) propose that researchers and intellectuals move away from some of the Eurocentric aspects of critical theory that only further solidify the present status of social relations and instead adopt the view that there are multiple literacies in existence. This view allows researchers and educators to use the positive aspects of critical theory and literacy, such as determining the root of constructed differences and ideologies, to bring light to the use of language, literacy, and discourse.

### **Curriculum History: From the Great Depression to World War II**

To understand Modley's corporation and its implications on United States' education during the 1930s and early 1940s, it is necessary to provide the historical context of the American curriculum. This historical context also situates and places pictographs in the larger sphere of the school as an institute within a much larger system or social organization. Historicizing the American curriculum also examines how this larger system legitimized and perpetuated an official knowledge through pictographs in Social Studies textbooks.

Public alienation, lack of national cohesion, and a desperate need for innovation characterized the overall economic, political, and societal atmosphere of the Great Depression in the United States (Barber, 1996; Evans, 2004; Kliebard; 1987; Lipartito, 2012; McClay, 1994). This national malaise significantly affected all aspects of society, including education. Among curriculum historians, there is a consensus that progressive education reforms and movements during the Great Depression and World War II not only reflected the cultural and societal concerns of their temporality but also functioned as the result of competing ideologies and philosophies (Evans, 2004; Kliebard, 1987;

Tyack, 2003). A seminal work on the topic is Henry M. Kliebard's *The Struggle for the American Curriculum 1893 – 1958*. Kliebard (1987) argues that during this period the changes that transpired in the curriculum significantly altered the way that individuals approached, participated, and negotiated curriculum construction, which in turn produced the modern curriculum of the twentieth century. In general, this period defined the great shift from the traditional curriculum, which involved memorization and recitation, to a more student-centered and critically engaging curriculum that sought to define citizenship, one's role in society, and social responsibility.

Prior to the progressive education movement and curriculum reforms, northeastern protestant-republican male community leaders, such as ministers, educators, historians, and large textbooks companies, dominated curriculum organization and content rather than teachers, communities, and cities (Tyack, 2003). Conformity defined the curriculum of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The rise of large textbook companies ensured that history textbooks followed the information and knowledge in popular history textbooks, which ensured the silencing of other histories or contradictory historical accounts. Therefore, the issue of foreign languages, cultures, and traditions became a threat to Americanism, which prompted the normalization of discrimination through the implementation of an education responsible for Americanizing a population of undesirables (Tyack, 2003). The rise of early pluralistic and progressive education during the early twentieth century combated discriminatory or assimilation education, which alienated rather than assimilated non-WASP (White Anglo-Saxon Protestant) groups into the dominant culture. Regardless of these changes, Tyack (2003) argues that the push for good behavior pervaded most of the curriculum and pedagogy

throughout American history whether it was during the period of common schooling or the administrative reforms of the early twentieth century. This form of education encouraged very little critical thinking from students and an impetus for future passive citizens complying with the law rather than questioning it. Despite Tyack's (2003) claims to the inculcation of passive citizenship in students and the lack of critical thinking analysis in the curriculum for most of the early twentieth century, the Great Depression period proved itself as an anomaly or exception to this statement.

During the 1930s, the United States' education system experienced a shift in curriculum content, as well as teacher and community involvement in the organization of the curriculum. Major characteristics or traits of this era include a national movement from the traditional curriculum to experimentation and the implementation of vocational learning, community participation, active citizenship, understanding life problems, individual interests, the human experience, and a contrasting perspective to totalitarianism. This period is fraught with struggles between different educators, education movements, and curriculum reforms. This demonstrates that curriculum construction and negotiation is far more complex and blurred in nature than definite or binary. In most instances, the experimental education programs and popular curricula that surged during the 1930s functioned as a combination of multiple competing contemporary education philosophies and ideologies (Kliebard, 1987). This period saw the rise of various education movements such as educational essentialism, stemming from social efficiency, progressive education (child-centered education), and the activity movement among others (Evans, 2004). The lack of cohesion, agreement, definition, and direction among various progressive education movements produced an amalgamation of

education philosophies in the traditional curriculum rather than establishing a set view in education throughout the nation.

This struggle over content and purpose in the curriculum transformed into a war against progressive education that still affects the present social studies curriculum (Evans, 2004). During the 1930s there was a significant emphasis on social transformation in education pushed by the progressive education movement and social reconstructionism (Evans, 2004). Both factions subscribed to the idea that hyper-individualism and the absence of social responsibility were responsible for the current societal ailments. However, George Count's reconstructionist approach demanded the need for a social orientation and purpose beyond the image of "progress" to attain social transformation. On the other hand, John Dewey's (1937, 1994; Stanley, 2005) view on progressive education proposed the inculcation of intellectual dispositions rather rebuilding society as a social outcome of education. Dewey's perspective was one that trumped social progress through experiential activities and intellectualism over the potential onset of social chaos and binary thinking brought on by reconstructionism. These movements sought to redefine the meaning and characteristics of citizenship, as well as prescribe its accompanying behaviors and actions through the implementation of an interdisciplinary issues-centered curriculum. This interdisciplinary approach, also known as social studies, attempted to instill in students a critical perspective to create socially responsible citizens capable of making community decisions for the public good and social change. This proposed interdisciplinary curriculum contested the necessity for traditional subject matter, such as Latin, ancient history, and medieval history, because it failed to relate to students and address any contemporary social problems. This

implication caused critics within and outside the progressive education movement to argue that such a curriculum devalued educational standards and could potentially lower student achievement.

As the end of the 1930s approached with the rise of totalitarian regimes abroad, social reconstructionist textbooks, such as the infamous Rugg textbooks, and progressive education, came under attack for its possible subversive nature. Progressive education factions argued over organized learning and curriculum construction through larger social concerns and interests. On the other end of this faction, curriculum traditionalists argued that the critical content in Rugg textbooks challenged the core values of American society. Critics of Rugg textbooks viewed its content as one suggesting that students partake in an overly critical perspective that questioned the government and social institutions to establish a new social order (Evans, 2004; Spring, 1992). Social reconstructionists viewed their methods to bring social transformation and social responsibility through social change and a critical perspective within students. However, traditionalists and patriotic organizations viewed their intentions as a source of social chaos and anti-democratic behavior, which posed a danger to democracy. This battle between traditionalists and social reconstructionists represented an ideological struggle in America between capitalism and collectivism, as well as who and what entailed a good citizen. Groups such as the American Legion, the Advertising Federation of America, and *Forbes Magazine* launched a propagandistic attack against Rugg textbooks and any other form of radical progressivism that they deemed totalitarian, communist, or authoritarian in nature. These ideological battles served as a reflection for the American need during

the twentieth century to socially engineering standards of conduct or creating good citizens by regulating or making human behavior and action predictable (Pinar, 2016).

Although social reconstructionist educators generally come across as a more radical form of progressive education (Bower, 1967; Evans, 2004; Kliebard, 1987; Stanley, 2005), Spring (1968) argues that reconstructionism may not be so different from social efficiency education. According to Spring (1968), prior to the Great Depression, social efficiency held its origins in early twentieth-century social movements such as the New Nationalism promulgated by Theodore Roosevelt's campaign party and administration. Social efficiency ideology focused on a progressive education centered on a merging of social service and social control for a collective society. In this case, social efficiency held a very technocratic view of collective societies and social responsibility. The social organization of this ideology relied on the development of a highly skilled and efficient society where all individuals held a very specific role to serve as cogs within a larger social and economic system. Social efficiency education returned during the Great Depression because of its view of social specialization during a time of economic hardship and national/societal anomie. The place of social studies education in this view required that history present the means of efficiently and successfully behaving, serving, and functioning (citizenship) within such a society. Even though social reconstruction education proposed the rebuilding of society through social transformation and the emancipation of all groups, Spring (1968) argues that this ideology during the Great Depression appeared at times more radical than practical.

Overall, certain aspects of progressive and social efficiency education appealed to the New Deal administration because it lent itself to addressing the some of the major social and economic issues. Although social efficiency or life adjustment education functioned outside of progressive education (the others included child-centered education, social reconstructionism, centrist progressive education, and administrative progressive education), the paradigm and ideology behind this form of education meshed well with the political agenda and needs of the New Deal administration (Evans, 2004; Ihara, 2009; Spring, 1968). At the time, the New Deal administration heavily focused on the economic crisis and the need to end social unrest. The principles present in social efficiency tackled these social and educational problems more so than social reconstructionism. Despite the growing popularity of social change and social reconstructionism, this view in progressive education appeared to place the burden of social action upon schools and it demanded an uprooting of society and education (Evans, 2004; Stanley, 2005). Social efficiency served as a more moderate and nationalist education approach during this period. This view acknowledged the need to place social problems at the root of social studies education while also emphasizing the importance of attaining a specialization within society to serve the community and nation (Spring 1968). Therefore, social efficiency sought to address common social problems while maintaining a nationalist perspective and bringing order to society through community or job specializations. The act of seeking an ideology intended to shape or engineering human behavior furthers the argument that the New Deal administration used the institution of the school to treat the development of good citizens as a social science or experiment (Pinar, 2016).

The onset of World War II in 1939 set the tone for the new changes that the curriculum of the 1940s experienced. Much like the political and societal atmosphere of the Great Depression, the immediate need for national unity and the defense of democracy characterized the drastic shift once again in the United States' curriculum. Despite both shifts originating from this need for unity and cohesion, the curriculum of the 1940s sought to establish conformity and unity by highlighting the positive aspects of American institutions and a sharp contrast between totalitarian and democratic governments (Spring, 1992). This view presented a major distinction to the progressive curriculum that encouraged questioning these institutions to build a socially responsible and judicious member of society. The United States required that all social institutions on the home front contribute to the war. Wartime education included vocational preparation, pre-induction programs for military, the war industry, consumer education, and basic living skills. The development of totalitarian governments abroad and the war, as well as the social hysteria aimed at progressive education, produced the antithesis of the progressive and experimental curriculum. Despite this drastic shift in curriculum and society, the war brought forth new concerns and roles for minorities and the precursor to multicultural education.

An example of such concerns for unity and cohesion lies in the imagery and representation of African Americans and women that changed as a way of integrating them into the war effort (Blankenship, 2016; Spring, 1992). These changes altered traditional gender roles and the perspective that African Americans and Whites held about each other. The choice to present racial equality without racial conflicts in film, radio, and television to the White middle class allowed this population to ignore the race



riots of the period and view African Americans as potentially loyal and necessary towards the war effort (Spring, 1992). In the case of gender, because of the male shortage on the home front and the necessary recruitment of unmarried women into the war industry, many schools chose to break with tradition and hired married women to fill in vacant teaching positions (Spring, 1992; Blankenship, 2016). To recruit women into the war effort, different forms of media portrayed the working woman in a positive light and promoted day care centers.

The need for national unity and cohesion also produced a push for inclusion and global awareness in schools. Pre-induction programs or organizations in schools like the Victory Corps reduced issues of social class in school social clubs by accepting students of all class backgrounds. In the case of the curriculum, social studies education focused more on recent or contemporary history through wartime and intercultural education. Evans (2004) argues that this turn in the curriculum contributed to the origins of multicultural education. Although Evans (2004) states that wartime education reduced progressive philosophies in the curriculum and Spring (1992) argues that the use of censorship and imagery through media and education served to protect the American way of life and preserve national unity, curriculum historian Blankenship (2015; 2016) argues otherwise. Blankenship (2015; 2016) recognizes that the war produced a drastic shift in the American curriculum to mobilize schools for all aspects of the war effort; however, there were instances where aspects of progressive education and critical thinking skills still managed to find a place in this new curriculum. Blankenship (2016) and Spring (1992) also argue that the need for national unity also brought about changes in the way society viewed gender and race.

Blankenship's (2015, 2016) historical case studies on school social clubs and social studies curriculum in the cities of Austin and Providence. Although Blankenship is unable to draw generalizations from these case studies, her work proves valuable to the field of curriculum history because it changes the general argument that progressive education faded during the 1940s. In "Social Studies Goes to War: An Analysis of the Pre-Induction Social Studies Curriculum of the Providence Public Schools", Blankenship (2015) applies Ben-Porath's (2006) concept of belligerent citizenship to students, education, and the wartime curriculum of the 1940s. Although Ben-Porath's concept states that during wartime and hysteria citizens become secondary to soldiers, extreme patriotic unity develops to maintain peace, and the suppression of deliberation takes place as a means to eliminate dissenting discourse, Blankenship (2015) argues that Providence district committees circumvented one aspect of belligerent citizenship, suppression of public deliberation. The National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) and the National Educational Association (NEA) cloaked progressive education principles under the language of extreme patriotism and national unity. This allowed students to receive an education that informed them about the histories and cultures of the major acting nations in the war to develop a uniform understanding of the United States issues and support the war effort. Even though the 1940s held an air of deliberation suppression through censorship in films, radio, and schools (Spring, 1992), the curriculum in the Providence districts also encouraged students to employ critical thinking skills in a democratic society to function as active citizens and begin preparations for a post-war world.

Because of the nature of Blankenship's research, it proves difficult to draw or project generalizations about progressive and traditionalist education throughout the

country in the early years of the war. The findings in Blankenship's work raises questions about progressive education and to what extent was it dormant or fading during the 1940s. Despite the distrust and negative perspective that Rugg Textbooks and progressive education received from critics and eventually the masses, the possible development of future case studies or microhistories on progressive education themes and principles in wartime textbooks and curriculum presents an opportunity to shed light on this topic, as well as draw generalizations.

Although Blankenship's works cover the period preceding that of this study, the social actions taken during 1942 and beyond potentially determined the fate of pictographs in education. Overall, Blankenship's (2015; 2016) research proves essential to this study because it presents the sudden shift in atmosphere, values, and norms in education that came with the onset of the United States' involvement in World War II. After 1942, pictographs no longer appeared in social studies textbooks despite their pervasive use throughout the 1930s and through different modes of communication and education. This shift in approaches towards teaching and learning prove pivotal to this study's interpretations and analysis of pictographs because it perhaps presents some of the reasons why pictographs seemed as either an irrelevant or dangerous means by which to supplement educational material in social studies textbooks during the war.

### **Review of the Relevant Research**

Although this study will incorporate a combination of various conceptual frameworks, theories, and methods together for the first time, there are various empirical and theoretical pieces that utilize these concepts, theories and approaches. The

examination of visuals through content analysis and genealogy of power appear to hold some literature. However, for genealogy of power, this literature appears more in the 1990s. The literature on visuals and the critical application of content analysis presents the use of different forms of content analysis, such as multilayered and conventional, to unearth gendered and oppressive practices (Chafetz et al., 1993; Jones, Cunningham, & Gallagher, 2010). The results from these studies that applied content analysis to media violence in film, television, video games, and the internet or work-related media such as advertisements and publications address normative marketing ethics and the inequitable portrayal of different genders. The literature suggests that application of content analysis in these studies allowed the researchers to compare visual depictions over a particular length of time, as well as identity patterns after codes manifested themselves and categories were established (Chafetz et al., 1993; Jones, Cunningham, & Gallagher, 2010). The application of content analysis for the purposes of critically questioning images and their use in advertising and other forms of media produced results that exposed socially systemic problems. Chafetz, Lorence, and Larosa's (1993) content analysis found the maintenance and perpetuation of women portrayed less favorably in occupation journals when one gender holds control over professional journals. Jones, Cunningham, and Gallagher's (2010) multilayered content analysis merged manifest, latent, and normative content analysis to cover as many aspects of violence in advertising. Each layer of this content analysis addressed to what extent, how often, and to what intensity violent advertisements are unethical. This research provides policymakers with a means of regulating this form of advertisement.

Critical literacy was also present in a study that employed Foucault's genealogy of power. Agnello's (2001) work looks at cultural literacy discourses through educational policies on literacy and their effects on teacher education. In her research, Agnello (2001) seeks to understand the discourses of literacy in both the modern and postmodern paradigms to draft a means of providing pre-service teachers with postmodern literacy practices. Agnello's (2001) archeology genealogy on modernist literacy allows pre-service teachers to view the historical and current literacy practices and pedagogy that do not acknowledge student knowledge or contestation in the classroom. By viewing this archeology of genealogy, preservice teachers become cognizant of their role in the classroom as an authority on social reproduction and the legitimization of knowledge. Much like Agnello's approach to genealogy, McLean (2016) crafts a genealogy of the Canadian government's effort from the 1940s through the 1980s to present Inuit adults with an education program. The overall purpose of McLean's (2016) work is to add on to the literature that problematizes the official discourse on adult education and its misconceptions on learner abilities and deficiencies within marginalized and oppressed groups. Genealogy of power allowed McLean (2016) to problematize the Canadian official discourse on adult education and its misconceptions on learner abilities and deficiencies among marginalized groups through three distinct segments in the official discourse over time: exclusion, cultural deprivation, and individualization of inadequacy. Through this genealogy, McLean (2016) determined three distinct points in the development of an official discourse over time: exclusion, cultural deprivation, and the individualization of inadequacy. Each of these stages further limits marginalized groups to a dominant narrative that stereotypes and oversimplifies their history and educational

abilities. This official discourse also provides justification for paternalistic interventions and presenting a group as the other by automatically showing their inability to conform to the dominant knowledge.

Regarding ideological management, other academics do not outright connect Spring's concept of ideological management to their own work. However, various academic works employ Spring's (1992) *Images of American Life* to support arguments that present the United States' utilization of mass media (propaganda), education, voluntary organizations, and government committees and agencies as a method for unification and national solidarity during different periods of uncertainty and instability. Most of these academic articles stem from journals from the disciplines of the visual arts, art education, and education. Overall, most of these articles utilize Spring's (1992) work on the history of ideological management in education as context for research on specific organizations, agencies, and schools from 1900 to the 1920s influenced by the three components of ideological management: politics, morality, and society.

Most of these arguments in these articles point to the hyper-involvement of non-profit and religious organizations and government agencies in the curriculum and instruction of the early and mid-twentieth century (Funk, 2009; 2011; Irwin, 2013; Spring, 1992). Such entities promoted the nationalism, patriotism, and exceptionalism in schools out of fear towards radical progressive and melioristic education groups seeking radical social reform. In Irwin's (2013) work, presents itself as an example of how Spring's findings are employed. Irwin (2013) not only provides the social and political context of schools and education from 1917 to the 1920s, but she specifically focuses on

the role of one specific organization during that period – the Junior Red Cross (JRC). According to Irwin (2013), the purpose of the JRC in schools during World War I and the interwar years was to infuse internationalism in education to combat the current state of isolationism in the nation and create a civic identity rooted in a global community. Despite the occasional controversial situations with the JRC at schools, the JRC functioned as a popular organization during war effort because of the current political and social state of the nation. During this period unquestioning loyalty to the war effort (which included a civic identity involved in international affairs) dominated the political sphere and promoted patriotism through international spread of democracy (Irwin, 2013). Despite the JRC's intention to encourage the development of a global community through correspondence between American and foreign students, various academics recognize that such actions promoted internationalism but failed to have students to critically consider the economic and social disparities and inequalities present between themselves and their mail correspondents. In a sense, it fostered paternalism, imperialism, and the need to civilize others.

### **Conclusion**

The application of critical literacy as a conceptual framework provides the means by which to comprehend the ideological management of the classroom during the Great Depression and early 1940s. Critical literacy will serve as the lens that critically analyzes and questions ideological management (practices of representation, visual literacy, and the knowledge) in civics, history, sociology, and geography textbooks presented through pictographs. According to Apple (1993), the purpose of adopting a critical perspective is

to go beyond critiquing and to arrive to the understanding that historical events and circumstances are part of the social power relations that create the social inequalities that the current world holds. Apple's (1993) work suggests the application of the following steps to reach a critical understanding of power and politics in relation to the education system, "First it valorizes historically specific, conjunctural struggles as the agenda setters for critical theory. Second, it puts social movements as the most important shapers of such conjunctural struggles as the subjects of critique. Third, it implies that it is in the crucible of political practice that critical theories meet the ultimate test of viability" (Apple, 1993, p. 8). In this view, Apple (1993) considers conjunctural struggles or moments in history as the crucial conflicts that entail a combination of societal institutions, interest groups, and external circumstances or social movements that affect social action and values. By historicizing issues and struggles, placing social movements at the root of social and cultural issues, and putting critical theory beyond theorization and into practice, this framework holds the ability to problematize practices of representation in educational pictographs.

Critical literacy and its sister branches (critical geography) in this study assist with the process of analyzing the types of spaces portrayed by pictographs, as well as the issues of power and identity present in them. Spaces, places, power, and identity hold an interconnected nature and respond in relation the Other. For Helfenbein (2006) a spatial lens questions the commonsense and neutrality of nation-states and borders by mapping relations of power and problematizing place-making by historicizing and politicizing these spaces and places. Overall, pictographs serve as an example of ideological production during the 1930s and 1940s and present an opportunity to examine struggles



for power through critical literacy and its implications for current social studies textbook practices today.

## **CHAPTER III**

### **METHODS**

Chapter III details the study's research questions, methodological framework, research design, procedures for data collection, and analytical process required for the investigation of pictographs and their purpose in textbooks during the late 1930s and early 1940s in the United States. The paradigm in the study – critical literacy stems from critical theory, which comes from a social philosophy standpoint where the relationship between language and power are inextricable. This paradigm challenges language (including visual communication) and critically questions its implication on institutions, culture, and equity. The overarching lens of the study draws on two theoretical concepts, ideological management and governmentality. Both frameworks seek to interpret and problematize the management of knowledge. Ideological management is the ability of interest groups to manage, determine, and diffuse knowledge while governmentality functions as the political rationality that prescribes self-regulation over bodies through policy and social norms.

The methods used to gather the primary sources, pictographs, for this study relied on historical research methods (Jordanova, 2012; King, 2012; Steedman, 2002; 2013). Once all the primary sources became available for reading, transcriptions and detailed note taking for each item took place. Both the pictographs and the accompanying text in their corresponding chapters were considered as the full message. After this process, pictographs were organized and classified according to the keywords derived from first surveying each item and then they were paired with the corresponding theme and codes

from ideological management. Foucault's genealogy of power addressed the first research question as a method that historically situated and interrogated the change in power over time using pictographs (Foucault, 1980; 1995; 2003). For the second research question, ideological management and governmentality informed the coding practices in the directed content analysis by interrogating and interpreting pictographs (Apple, 1990; 1993; Foucault, 1980; 1995; 2003; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Shiner, 1982; Spring 1992). Finally, ideological management and governmentality served as the critical interpretive and theoretical frameworks in the data analysis process that contextualized and problematized the coded data on pictographs.

### **Methodological Framework**

The following segment provides a detailed breakdown of the methodological framework and the different conceptual and theoretical frameworks that guided the study. The first segment below presents the application and purpose of Foucault's (1980; 2003; Shiner, 1982) genealogy of power as a method to address the first research question. For the second research question, ideological management and governmentality informed the coding practices in Hsieh & Shannon's (2005) directed content analysis (Foucault, 1980; 2003; Shiner, 1982; Spring 1992). The methods of the present study used a combination of historical, critical, and qualitative research methods. However, the overarching lens of the study stems from two theoretical concepts, ideological management and governmentality.

## First Research Question and Framework

To address the first research question, genealogy of power served as a framework that historically situated pictographs. Genealogy of power traced the evolution and shifts in power of pictographs in the United States similarly to Mclean's work (2016). Genealogy of power allows McLean (2016) to problematize the Canadian official discourse on adult education and its misconceptions on learner abilities and deficiencies among marginalized groups through three distinct segments in the official discourse over time: exclusion, cultural deprivation, and individualization of inadequacy. In my study, genealogy of power viewed the social emergence and shifts in meaning, historical context, and utilization of pictographs by different bodies of power from 1920 to 1945. Genealogy of power as a method provided an origin and located the selective knowledge in the use of pictographs in Chapter IV. Foucault's (1995; 2003) theoretical concept on the genealogy power first emerges in *Discipline and Punish*. According to Foucault (1995), power and knowledge are intertwined in the sense that power creates knowledge and that neither can exist without the other. One cannot view the object of power-knowledge relationships by concentrating on each entity by itself or focusing on a phenomenon or group at a particular moment in time. Instead, Foucault (1995) argues that the researcher must take a macro level approach to examine power and knowledge as a technology transformed and reshaped through historical transitions and political investments over time. By viewing power and knowledge through this lens, one sees the political and social contentions that affect knowledge, as well as what constitutes "knowledge" (Foucault, 1995). Foucault (2003; Shiner, 1982; Privitera, 1990) views genealogies not as entities that produce a pure origin with a linear progression, but rather

as an antiscience or phenomenon outside of linear and empirical understandings of history. Genealogies are instead both discontinuous and ever-changing. They are processes constructed and recycled over time. Therefore, knowledge should not be viewed exclusively through a linear understanding of history and time. Foucault's conception of genealogies of power refutes the idea that there is only one form of knowledge and that knowledge is pure or objective. Power relations and different entities throughout history determine proper forms of knowledge, which entails the disqualification of other knowledge. These marginalized forms of knowledge then become subjugated and turn into the antithesis of the centralized and institutionalized knowledge. Genealogy of power as a method also considers the effects of power and knowledge on the physical and mental body. As a method, Foucault's (1995) genealogy of disciplinary power views institutional practices and their ties to regulating individuals through knowledge. Although genealogy of power views the technologies of power by examining interconnected institutions, for the present study genealogy of power only viewed one institution (education) and as a historical perspective it presented the production of knowledge surging from a network of power over time (the New Deal Administration, social movements and ideologies of the period). The purpose of using genealogy of power as one of the approaches throughout the current study is to understand and interrogate the knowledges put forth by pictographs and to bring forth the subjugated knowledge that is missing within these images.

## Second Research Question and Framework

For the second research question, ideological management and governmentality informed the coding practices in Hsieh & Shannon's (2005) directed content analysis and provided the lens for interpretation in Chapter V (Foucault, 1980; 2003; Shiner, 1982; Spring 1992). Spring (1992) utilizes ideological management as an interpretive framework to unpack power struggles in modern education. It examines the intentions and conflicts between political and economic interest groups that sought to ideologically manage the public through social institutions, the advertising world, and the media throughout the twentieth century. Much like ideological management, governmentality concerns itself with the control of the population. However, governmentality functions as a form of political logic or rationality disseminated and enforced through interconnected institutions to regulate the population along with their behavior and identity construction (Foucault, 2007). The final product from governmentality is the development of the desired type of self-governing individual. Interwoven institutions are not enough to manage the public but rather it is the functions that each institution carries out and what it chooses to turn into an object of concern. Therefore, ideological management is as extension and a tactic of governmentality to control and regulate society. For the current study, the *institution* is the school. Schools serve as apparatuses of security and management that assist in the regulation of the population's understanding and participation in society. Institutions serve as an extension by the state to coordinate order. Therefore, Foucault (1978) views the knowledges produced in institutions as a technology of power. The functions pertaining to schools and its policies and procedures are tactics to control and regulate society by managing education or knowledge:

classroom management, instruction, and the curriculum. However, the only *function* examined in this present study is the use of pictographs through textbooks to manage knowledge and character. The *object* or social ill of concern is passive citizenship, wavering patriotism, alienation, social chaos, and sexual promiscuity. Below are definitions that provide context to each segment of governmentality:

The current study does not focus on examining interest groups present during the late 1930s and early 1940s. The interest groups that existed within the religious, political, economic, and publishing sectors of society are almost innumerable, which is not within the scope of my study (Evans, 2004; Kliebard, 1987). Rather than attempting to view interest groups, the study sought to unravel the systemic underpinnings behind pictographs and their ties to institutions, such as the school. Spring's interpretive framework served as another lens to examine and comprehend the concern present within these pictographs, which is whether the pictographs presented in these textbooks demonstrated any form of controlled or prescribed ideas and values, as well as disseminated any moral, social, or political ideas. Ideological management seeks to uncover the underlying master narrative that lies hidden behind neutral text, language, or images in social institutions (Spring, 1992). Such text and images continue to direct and ideologically manage the behavior, values, and perspective of the public. These visual narratives motivate them to participate in either passive, active citizens by critically questioning and upholding the law, or belligerent forms of citizenship where extreme patriotic unity pervades everyday life and citizens become secondary soldiers (Ben-Porath, 2009; Tyack, 2003).

## Research Design

The study used both a historical and qualitative approach to present a critical and contextualized understanding and analysis of pictographs in social studies textbooks during the late 1930s and early 1940s. The approach investigates and considers the visual instructional means by which education during this period sought to ideologically manage the future generation. Although the study relies on several critical concepts to answer the problems in question, each method remains consistent with one another because of their ties to critical and social theories. The general purpose of each of these concepts is that of dismantling the sense of normalcy and progression that the master narrative continually establishes within and through key social institutions to inform the public and marginalize groups without a voice or history.

The first step the study's research design entailed gathering the historical data or primary sources through a historical methods approach. The approach served as the appropriate method to collect historical data or primary sources located in archives and libraries. Historian Steedman's work (2002; 2013) informed the historical methods approach used during the data collection process. According to Steedman, historical data or primary sources require significant questioning into not only their authenticity but also their purpose during their former use. The act of questioning aligns itself with critical interrogation since one does not seek out solely the practical purpose of the object but also the connoted underlying meaning and use in the object (Steedman, 2013). It was far more applicable to use historical methods for the data collection procedures than a qualitative education research method because the latter as it exists is not focused on



archival research and the evaluation of historical material. The historical nature of pictographs determined the need for such methods because historical events and objects are incomplete, fragmented, or distorted pieces of the past that require extensive review and comparison according to context (Steedman, 2013).

### **Rationale Behind Research Design and Frameworks**

Steedman's (2002; 2013) historical methods served as the primary approach to gather and scrutinize data of a historical nature for both of my research questions. As a method, genealogy of power addressed the first question in Chapter IV. Ideological management and governmentality guided the directed content analysis in Chapter V. These frameworks also facilitated the development of codes, categories, and subcategories present within each pictograph's icons or pictograms, as well as the text that each pictograph contained. Once each pictograph is coded according to the critical conceptual frameworks, ideological management served as a form of analysis to address the second research question in Chapter V.

Apple's (1993) use of critical literacy as a lens demands the application of a critical historical perspective where power in education is historicized and major social events are placed at the forefront of changes in education as institution and in the knowledge that it puts forth. Furthermore, Apple's (1990) application of critical literacy historically situates knowledge and education by viewing the institutionalization of education and its ties to a larger hegemonic system. Critical literacy complements ideological management and governmentality by adding a second critical lens that will specifically examine the political and cultural meanings and discourse behind each

symbol and text in the pictographs. Symbolic engagement, such as pictographs in textbooks, transform physical locations into spaces of discourse and contestation (Helfenbien 2006; Taylor & Helfenbein, 2009). In the case of the current study, textbooks and their pictographs as the intangible space where these discourses potentially took place among students. Ideological management and governmentality for the coding and analysis process viewed different aspects in pictographs to provide an in-depth and exhaustive critical analysis that considered geographical and historical implications on the communication of knowledge

For the second research question, the present study applied Hsieh and Shannon's (2005) directed content analysis approach to organize the data after it was coded and categories informed by ideological management and governmentality. Pictographs were organized and divided by content subject and textbook. However, some of these pictographs, regardless of grouping, may address all or some of the tenants of ideological management: politics, society, and morality. Even though the individual pictographs were examined, the text surrounding these images in the chapters were also considered in the coding process. After the pictographs were organized and coded, they were grouped into categories (politics, morality, and society) and analyzed through the lens of critical literacy in the context of ideological management and governmentality to establish themes. See *Figure 2* for a detailed flow chart outlining the methodological framework applied in this study.

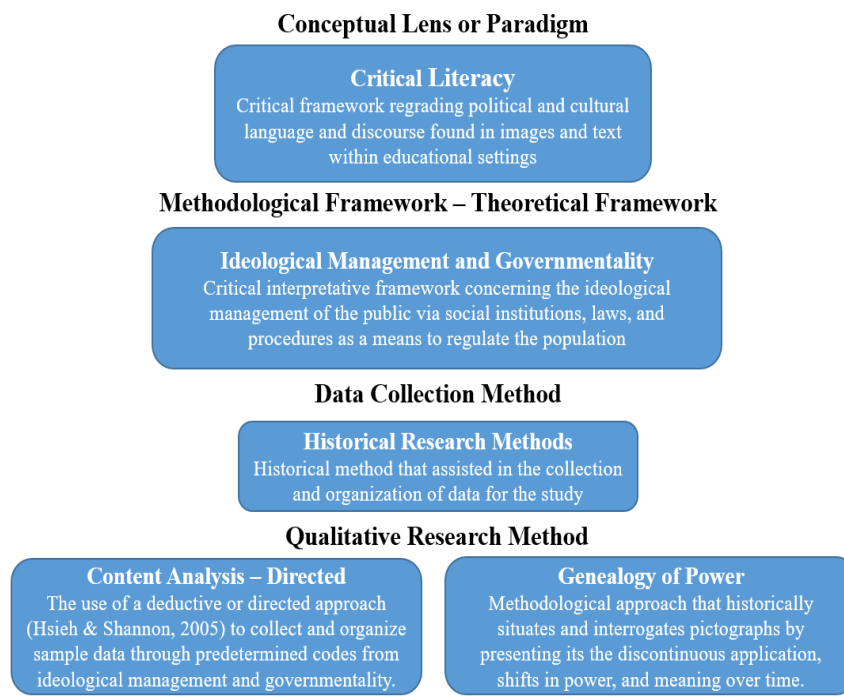


Figure 2. Methodological Framework Flowchart.

### **Data Collection and Organization Procedures**

Most of the data or primary sources in the study came from social studies textbooks published between 1937 and 1942. These data were used for the directed content analysis and these textbooks are described in more detail in Chapter V. The data utilized for the genealogy of power analysis in Chapter IV stemmed from secondary sources on each graphic designer that shaped pictographs and primary sources on Modley’s pictographic contributions to children’s nonfiction literature, as well as books and manuals on current political events abroad for military recruits and U.S. history and pictographic design for the general public. Although the textbooks served in the study as the primary objects of analysis, books and academic journals that included reviews or critiques on pictographs provided context and a better understanding of the general purpose and use of pictographs according to their creators and audience. These materials

were sourced through library databases containing academic journals, interlibrary loan, and visiting archives.

For gathering the textbooks, the Wolfsonian-Florida International University library provided access to several materials that contained pictographs. Because of the rarity of these textbooks, the first textbook, *Democracy at Work: Living in American Communities*, provided most of the keywords and information necessary to seek out other textbooks with contemporary pictographs. Each pictograph in *Democracy at Work* contains the name or source that produced the pictograph, as well as the author(s) and the name of the textbook from which the pictograph came from. Most of the pictographs in *Democracy at Work* come from other textbooks from the same period or from government agencies and committees. This initial textbook assisted in gathering and confirming other social studies textbooks that contained pictographs because under almost every pictograph credit is given to the company that developed the pictograph, as well as whether the pictograph also appeared in another textbook. The name of the textbooks, its authors, and the company that produced the pictographs served as key words when electronically searching through library catalogs and online databases. The exhaustive search generated eight textbooks and other primary sources such as children's literature, manuals, and general reading material for a public audience, which served as the sample data for the study.

The Center for Research Libraries (CRL) in Chicago, Illinois currently holds most of these textbooks, as well as other primary source literature on pictographs. However, these are potentially not the only textbooks containing pictographs from that period. As

of now, CRL is unable to confirm whether these textbooks belong to a donated collection in the library and whether these are the only textbooks from the period containing pictographs. Some of these textbooks were purged from university libraries from Minnesota and Wisconsin. Please see *Table 1* for a chronological listing the entire sample data gathered as of now that will be examined in this study.

**Table 1**

*Sample data table containing pictograph total in chronological order*

<b>Title</b>	<b>Author(s)</b>	<b>Type / Publisher / Location</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Textbook Pages Containing Pictographs</b>	<b>Total</b>
Exploring Geography	Mabel B. Casner & Roderick Peattie	Geography textbook – Harcourt, Brace and Company  Location: New York and Chicago	1937	i, 20, 30, 37, 46, 103, 104, 132, 133, 163, 177, 195, 216, 228, 233, 249, 252, 290, 292, 345, 349, 392, 396, 427	24
Government in Action: A Study of Problems in American Democracy	Robert E. Keohane, Mary Pieters Keohane, & Joseph D. McGoldrick	Government textbook – Harcourt, Brace and Company  Location: New York and Chicago	1938	11, 13, 34, 46, 47, 52, 70, 81, 135, 136, 156, 158, 170, 172, 184, 201, 209, 211, 223, 244, 272, 339, 378, 419, 422, 444, 445, 449, 452, 460, 461, 473, 485, 492, 497, 498, 500, 504, 515, 517, 520, 522, 526, 528, 531, 537, 542, 543, 551, 560, 569, 600, 608, 616, 617, 652, 654,	63

				658, 682, 723, 734, 749, 762	
The Rise of American Democracy	Mabel B. Casner & Ralph Henry Gabriel	Civics textbook-Harcourt, Brace and Company  Location: New York and Chicago	1938	83, 158, 213, 239, 241, 264, 265, 317, 333, 368, 422, 440, 454, 464, 466, 504, 505, 511, 566, 619, 623, 643, 647, 656, 658, 663 x 2	27
This Government	H. J. Eckenrode, DeWitt S. Morgan, & John. J. Corson	Government textbook – Johnson Publishing Company  Location: Richmond, Atlanta, Dallas, New York, and Chicago	1938	34, 57, 158, 234, 239, 272, 274, 285, 393, 410, 414, 439, 469, 474, 482, 487, 499, 511	18
Democracy At Work: Living in American Communities	Ernest B. Fincher, Russell E. Fraser & William G. Kimmel	Civics textbook – The John C. Winston Company  Location: Chicago, Philadelphia, Toronto, Atlanta, Los Angeles, and Dallas	1939	14, 15, 25, 29, 39, 70, 83, 115, 118, 126, 127, 161, 163, 167, 182, 196, 205, 211, 213, 221, 233, 272, 278, 279, 287, 322, 323, 327, 351, 352, 404, 517	32
Life and Growth	Alice V. Keliher with the Commission on Human Relations	Human development textbook – D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc.  Location: New York and London	1941	18, 21, 32, 50, 70, 107, 121, 123, 124, 159	10
The Story of American Democracy	Mabel B. Casner & Ralph	Civics textbook-Harcourt, Brace and Company	1942	19, 203, 210, 294, 355, 375 x 2, 381, 386, 387, 431,	20

	Henry Gabriel	Location: New York and Chicago		442, 446, 447, 462, 463, 466, 467, 471, 483	
America: Its History and People, A Unit Organization	Harold Underwood Faulkner & Tyler Kepner	History Textbook - Harper & Brothers Publishers  Location: New York and London	1942	73, 304, 376, 403, 408, 432, 468, 600, 683, 786, 778, 798, 805, 808	14

The Wolfsonian Library, the Florida International University Library catalog, and the Center for Research Libraries also assisted with the search for pictographs in items beyond textbooks. For the books on pictograph construction, techniques, and purpose, online library catalogs and database served as the only source to acquire these items. Publication date limits in these searches were from 1930 to 1945. Each database search query limited the language to English and included keywords such as “Rudolph Modley,” “Pictorial Statistics Inc.,” and “Pictographs.” In the case of academic journals, the search engines used were JSTOR and ERIC where searches also held the keywords such as “Pictographs,” “Otto Neurath,” “Vienna Method of Pictorial Statistics,” “Pictographic Charts,” “Isotype,” “Rudolph Modley,” “United States,” “Pictograph Corporation,” and “Pictorial Statistics Inc.” Once these search words and phrases exhausted the search findings, the names of some of the authors from the first textbooks that were found were placed in the search engines to generate other potential textbooks from the period that contained pictographs or pictorial charts.

Overall, the methods used to gather data for this study relied heavily on general historical research methods (Jordanova, 2012; King, 2012; Steedman, 2002; 2013). These methods include visiting archives and understanding that such spaces are incomplete, at

times disorganized, finite, and biased because of the entities that both produced the archived material and those that archived it (King, 2012). I visited the Wolfsonian Library and CRL to gather the primary sources for the study. Archives function as receptacles of fragmented memories. Because of the fragmentary nature of the archive, most archived items are the remains from a particular period and serve as possible moments of origin (Steedman, 2002). Because all archives follow different protocols and organize their materials in different ways, it is important to establish a strong familiarity with the historical artifact(s) in question by evaluating them against the evidentiary research present in the historiography (King, 2012). Prior to attending these archives and libraries, I established familiarization with secondary sources on Modley's work to develop key search words and aspects particular to artifacts that contained pictographs. In the case of my study, the archive serves as the ideal place to locate different points in time or aspects of a phenomenon that already took place. Going to the archive for a specific moment generates questions such as why or who archived the objects under examination and what is the relevance of the item (Steedman, 2002). Therefore, archiving the object or the textbooks at a specific moment in time produces its own kind of genealogy of power and knowledge. These questions further problematize the research questions in the present study and augment the relevance of the phenomenon in question. Although pictographs are no longer in use today, the outdated social studies textbooks that used them in are still relevant enough for libraries and archives to store them for researchers and/or the general public. Pictographs are historically relevant pieces that catalog a point in history and still affect knowledge today in what has taken on these



incarnations, such as of infographics, conventions or diagrams, and other forms of statistical graphic material in schools.

Regarding the more technical aspect of historical methods of data collection, the current study adopted Steedman's (2002; 2013) work on historical research methods in the archive. The brief surveying of each item called for retrieval from the archive generated keywords to search for other related items. A central part of historical methods regarding visual material entails the use of visual skills and focus to interrogate the source in question. According to Jordanova (2012), visuals hold their own historical commentary from its creator. Therefore, it is important to develop detailed descriptions when such sources are present and examine them across multiple contexts according to the historiography (Jordanova, 2012). Once all the primary sources became available for reading, transcriptions and detailed note taking for each item took place. After each item received a detailed note or transcription, they were organized and classified according to the themes or keywords derived from first surveying each item. Prior reading of the historiography, descriptive notes, transcriptions, the assistance of librarians and archivists, and comparing different pictographs and textbooks helped determine the authenticity of the primary sources (Jordanova, 2012; King, 2012; Steedman, 2013).

### **Methods of Analysis**

In the data analysis portion of the study, the coding and organization of collected data required the use of qualitative software. Regarding the data organization, the NVivo qualitative software served as the most efficient and effective method to organize and conduct the directed content analysis on the collected data. Such was the case because

NVivo functions as a tool that allows the researcher to upload or import large volumes of dense text and images to provide the researcher with a fast and effective mode to search and draw connections among non-numerical data. The NVivo software also provides the researcher with the ability to draw symbolic meanings or trends at the paragraph and sentence-level while also taking into consideration the examined text's relationship towards the span of collected documents (Durian, 2002). Particularly in the instance of the images or pictographs analyzed in this study, NVivo served as the best qualitative software because it provided a means to import images and create memos for each pictograph. Each memo contained a summary of the key words and icons (pictograms) present in the pictographs, as well as its ties to the codes and categories prescribed by the critical frameworks – ideological management and governmentality.

After collecting and confirming the authenticity of the primary sources, Spring's (1992) three pillars of ideological management (Politics, Morality, and Society) served as the categories or themes used to organizing each pictograph for the directed content analysis. Each theme already came with its own set of codes according to Spring's (1992), which can be seen in *Figure 4*. However, during the coding process some pictographs displayed patterns and themes that Spring's codes could not capture. Therefore, additional codes and subcodes emerged that were particular to the context and nature of pictographs in the United States during the 1930 and early 1940s, which can be seen in *Figure 10* in Chapter V where there is further discussion on these emerging codes and subcodes. For the interpretation and data analysis process, ideological management and governmentality served as the critical interpretive and theoretical frameworks that

contextualized and problematized the collected data on pictographs, as well as its significance to curriculum history.

The use of directed content analysis in the research design served as an efficient means to organize and categorize the large amount of data collected data. In general, content analysis serves as a method to examine social artifacts often from an inductive and subjective standpoint (White & Marsh, 2006). In the present study, the directed form of content analysis applied more of a deductive than inductive standpoint because it abided by the ideas present in ideological management and governmentality. These concepts will inform and develop the codes and themes for each aspect or pattern present within the compiled pictographs. Once these codes came into existence, the directed content analysis method will assist in the organization of each code by theme or category, which will determine the final meanings, message, or core concepts gathered from the collected data.

For the analysis, ideological management, governmentality, and genealogy of power provided context and relevance to the phenomenon in question. Overall, these concepts assisted in both the coding and interpretation of the data by utilizing a critical lens and the historical context and data generated from the genealogy of power in Chapter IV. Please see *Figure 3* for a flowchart of codes, categories, and subcategories informed by ideological management and governmentality.

Although the text and icons examined in the study pertain to the 1930s and early 1940s, the use of conceptual content analysis, along with the combination of the critical conceptual frameworks, sets the base to establish the origins in the genealogy of power

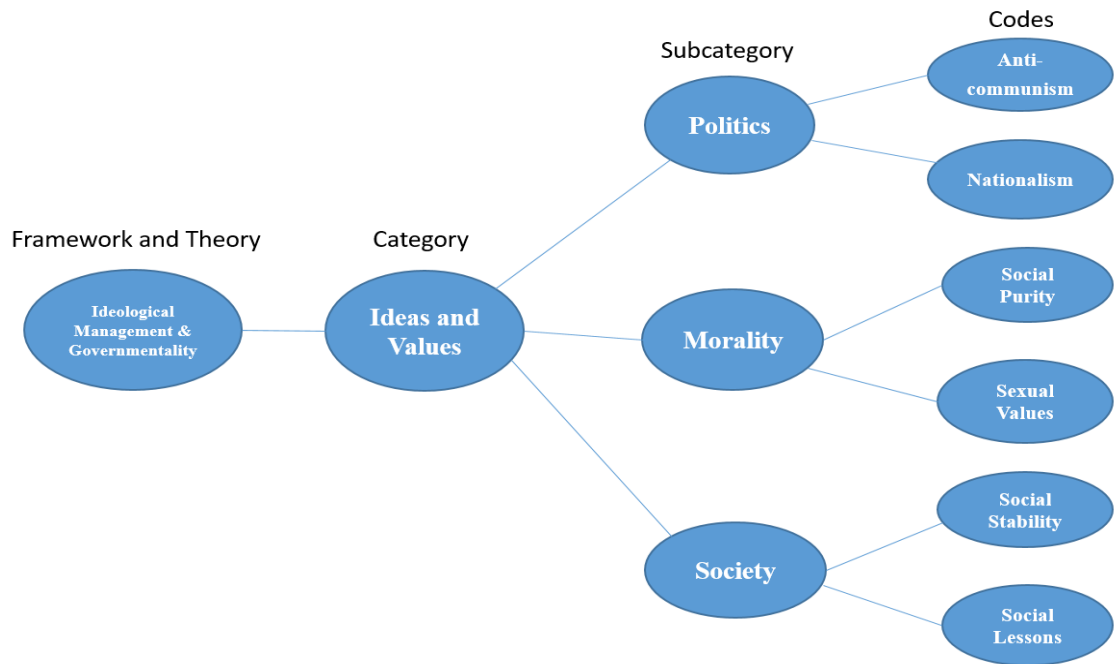
and knowledge emerging from pictographs. These frameworks also place pictographs in the context of visual literacy and curriculum history, as well as the use and purpose of supplementary visual information in textbooks. Overall, the use of ideological management, governmentality, and genealogy of power in the research design sought to present the power behind images, as well as how a phenomenon in curriculum history proves itself applicable to the current trends in curriculum and instruction.

### **Data Analysis**

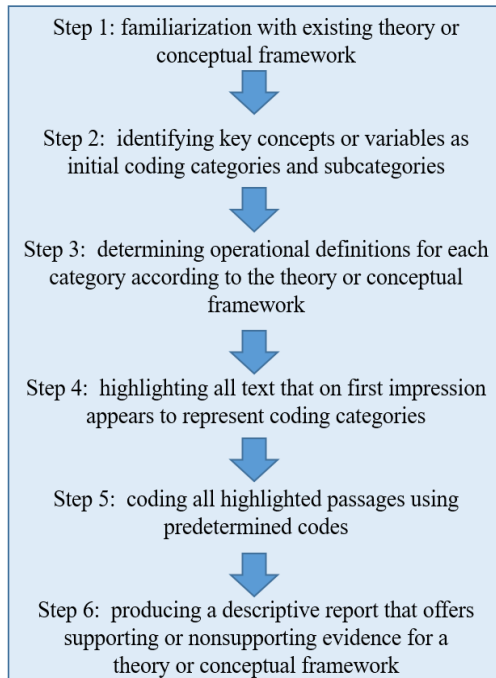
The analytic procedures utilized in the present study were directed content analysis with ideological management and governmentality as the critical conceptual frameworks that guided it. According to Stemler (2001), content analysis as a qualitative research method functions best when dealing with large amounts of data or documents where the researcher seeks to find trends and patterns. Furthermore, content analysis served as the most effective qualitative research method or technique regarding data reduction. In the case of the study, the application of directed content analysis set parameters to the data sample by requiring a guiding theory or conceptual framework to organize and define the data. See *Figure 4* for Hsieh & Shannon's (2005) process to directed qualitative content analysis. Although researchers typically employ directed content analysis to examine text, the codes and themes in this directed content analysis served to organize images for the analysis process. However, the pictographs in the sample represent these codes in the same way that text would in a study examining documents or transcribed interviews.

After establishing familiarization with ideological management and governmentality, key concepts from each framework provided codes, categories, and subcategories for the

data set to answer the second research question. Although these conceptual frameworks informed the predetermined codes, themes, and sub-themes, other themes emerged inductively throughout the coding and analysis process. Each concept provided a lens to view different but interrelated aspects in pictographs to answer the first and second research question. In Chapter IV, Genealogy of power contextualized and viewed the cultural and political discourses that shaped pictographs over time while in Chapter V ideological management and governmentality served to interpret the predominant ideology, the message, and its values present within the pictograph sample. See *Figure 4* for a flowchart detailing the initial codes, themes, and sub-themes prescribed by the two critical conceptual frameworks – ideological management and governmentality.



*Figure 3.* Coding Diagram Informed by Ideological Management and Governmentality



*Figure 4.* Hsieh & Shannon's Directed Content Analysis Process.

According to Hsieh & Shannon's (2005) process to directed qualitative content analysis (see *Figure 4*), the researcher must establish operational definitions for each category in accordance with the theory or conceptual framework applied to the study. The key concepts that stem from these three frameworks are as follow:

### **Definitions**

1. ***Anti-communism***: A conception that is malleable in nature and encourages a binary view of the world. Anti-communism presents the world in an inextricable struggle between good and evil. Because anti-communism holds a vague nature, it can be applied to any group. Under this ideology, American organizations labeled groups, movements, and nations that did not agree with their ideology as leftist

groups that threatened democracy. During the 1930s, interest groups such as the American Legion and state governments demanded loyalty oaths of teachers.

2. ***Nationalism***: According to Spring (1992), nationalism functions as an important tool in maintaining social stability and order. The purpose of nationalism is social cohesion and unification through established common values, views, and ideas. However, this form of unification and cooperation during the 1930s encouraged individuals to perceive democratic governments as spaces where they held the freedom to choose and explore various skills and interests that would align with the common good of the community and society. Therefore, finding one's place in the social order permitted society to run cohesively and in social unity. Overall, one's character, skills, and personality revolved around the social good. The act of developing class consciousness or inciting criticisms of the upper classes and governments were perceived as potential threats against the balance in the nation and society. For the purposes of this study and the emerging patterns that come through the coding of pictographs, nationalism is also perceived through pictographs as superiority over others specifically on an economic level.
  
3. ***Sexual values***: According to Spring (1992), the sexual values informed by the social purity movement and conservative religious groups of the 1930s were in response to the sexual values portrayed by the 1920s. During the 1920s, the feminist movement and women gaining suffrage provided women access to sexual advice and the media encouraged the tenacious expression of female sexuality. For this period, sex education encompassed connecting sexual activity

to solely to marriage and informing students that sexual reproduction is social obligation and benefit to society. Anything outside of this domain threatened the social stability of the nation and future families. Engaging in sexual activity outside of the bounds of major and/or failing to select the proper spouse (eugenics), the larger consequences of these choices entailed one contracting a venereal disease and/or the beginnings of a dysfunctional society lacking a stable future produced by properly bred generations. Under this view, one's sexual drive and sexuality is an object to society. It is not intended to be personal but rather for the benefit of society.

4. ***Social purity***: This concept is defined by protestant Christian values and morality and it stems from the social purity movement from in the late nineteenth century. Social purity sought to reform, curtail, and educate individuals on the sexual and behavioral ailments in society such as alcoholism, sexual promiscuity, prostitution, pornography, etc.
5. ***Social stability***: According to Spring (1992), social stability allows for the inclusion of free speech and expression. However, this free speech and expression could not be subversive or critical lest it upset the nation's social stability. Although social stability appears as its own code, it is also a concept that is present throughout the other categories. For the purposes of this study, social stability allows functions as the "natural" and appropriate progression of social behavior as a part of maintaining the social order.



6. *Social lessons*: Public and private interest groups and organizations utilized different communication mediums (the media, cinema, schools, radio, etc.) to present social lessons to the public (Spring, 1992). Under this context, social lessons appeared in relation to social ills and public concerns. These social problems that required the use of social lessons generally tackled a variety of issues such as the environment, substance abuse, violence, etc. Overall, social lessons presented a binary view of social concerns. Through censorship and script, these social lessons ensured that central characters operated within the law, obeyed authority, and that good always triumphed over evil. Therefore, entertainment and education began to hold a moral and political nature. This same schema applied to communities, international political concerns, and rising totalitarian and authoritarian governments.

According to Hsieh & Shannon's (2005) approach to directed content analysis, following the establishment of operational definitions for each theme or category according to the conceptual or theoretical framework, the researcher holds the ability at that point to begin highlighting all text or images that at first glance represents the established themes or categories. After the completion of this process, the researcher begins coding each highlighted item to produce a detailed report of the findings. Because of the large sample size in this project, thick description of the findings proves necessary in the analysis portion of the study. Overall, Hsieh and Shannon's (2005) approach to directed content analysis will determine whether the primary source sample presented signs of social control, perpetuation of social hierarchies, and ideological management during the late 1930s and World War II, as well as whether progressive movements of

social reconstructionism or the less student-centered movement of social efficiency informed each pictograph.

### **Data Considerations**

Although living individuals and their experiences were not part of the data sample, which made ethical issues less of a consideration, there were possibilities for concerns related to reliability and strong bias to arise during the study. However, because of the nature of the study and the images in question, bias is an inevitable part of the present study. To combat problems with reliability and trustworthiness, this study established familiarization with the conceptual frameworks and highlighting key text and icons prior to coding (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Prior understanding of the conceptual frameworks provided a second look or chance to develop subcategories and view all possible instances of the phenomenon under examination. Another method applied that ensured reliability and trustworthiness was the triangulation of the memos and findings generated from this study. Incorporating analytic memo writing into the coding process allows the researcher to reflect and establish a conversation on the progress of the coding process. Analytic memos served to jot down thoughts, points that require further investigation, and suggestions on the possible meanings drawn from codes. My implementation of analytic memos provided the ability to view emerging patterns in the data, engage in reflection, and develop dense portions of writing on the coding process that may turn into metamemos (Saldaña, 2009). The compilation of memos into metamemos produced a chronological order and development of the research thought process throughout the coding of pictographs, as well as provided the study with enough material to triangulate the findings to ensure reliability of the study and its findings

(Golafshani, 2003). The use of memos, reflection, and prior familiarization with the frameworks proved necessary to this study because of its use of multiple data sources, which confirmed and exposed contradictions in the findings of the study.

Another concern regarding the application of directed content analysis is its propensity toward bias. According to Hsieh and Shannon (2005), directed content analysis relies heavily on the chosen theory or conceptual framework, which leads the researcher to seek out evidence that serves as a contradiction to the theory or conceptual framework applied to the study. Some methods used to reduce bias and ensure reliability, confirmability, and transferability included thick description or external validity through the use of broad and exhaustive detail in the analysis portion of the study and the incorporation of peer debriefing into the research design (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Stemler, 2001). For the peer debriefing process, the methods and findings were presented to Dr. Mathews to impartially review the work and provide feedback. The review process confirmed the dependability of the research and findings in the study. Besides peer debriefing, it is important to partake in personal reflexivity, as well as examine any privileged knowledge. The use of analytic memos in the study allowed one to remain reflexive and aware of any personal biases.

Beyond issues or concerns with the application of directed content analysis, the essential makeup of the primary sources proved themselves far from all encompassing. In general, historical documents hold an inherently fragmentary nature, which only presents the researcher with a glimpse or partial view into the past (Steedman, 2013). The one-sided and fragmented nature of historical documents affects all historians seeking a

general picture or truth on whatever matter is in question. To counteract bias and the presentation of an incomplete understanding of the use of pictographs in the United States, the present study required a minimum of eight textbooks containing each at least over ten pictographs. Through continual research trips and interlibrary loan requests, this study now contains a total of eight textbooks, which amounts to a total of 208 pictographs. However, the pictograph total also includes repeated or recycled pictographs throughout the eight textbooks. The current data reached saturation because of the amount of recycled or reused pictographs that appear throughout the eight textbooks. The repetition or recycling of pictographs is most apparent among textbooks from 1938 and 1942.

### **Conclusion**

Overall, the ideological management as the theoretical framework guides and informs all areas of this study beyond methods. Although genealogy of power is not the primary lens or theoretical framework, it will also set the stage for critically historicizing and analyzing pictographs. While the previous chapters present an overview of the study, a literature review on the current standing of the current historical and critical analyses of images in textbooks, and the methodological process by which this study will be examined, the following chapter seeks to add an additional layer to the context and setup of this study. In this next chapter, the mindset established by ideological management and genealogy of power problematize and historically situate pictographs.

## CHAPTER IV

### **RUDOLPH MODLEY, ISOTYPE PICTOGRAPHS, AND THE UNITED STATES: A GENEALOGY**

To address the genealogy power in pictographs this chapter begins with a brief history of the onset of pictographs along with the historical and social context that shaped pictographs until 1945. By examining this historical transformation in pictographs, one can critically view and interpret the different power struggles and meaning making involved in communicating sociopolitical messages to the reader through this visual medium. The first segment in this chapter emphasizes the overarching historical and ideological influences on Modley's pictographs such as the post-World War I and economic depression environment, Neurath's Isotype method, and the global recognition of pictographs as a professional form of mass communication. This atmosphere paved the way for the adoption of Modley's pictographs into the American sociopolitical imagination through textbooks, pamphlets, posters, manuals, and children's literature. The latter portion of the chapter discusses Modley's business Pictorial Statistics, Inc. and it concludes with a summary of the historical findings from the genealogy of power. Overall, the purpose of organizing this chapter in a historical fashion presents to the reader change over time through the transformations that pictographs underwent and the consistent use of pictographs as a technology of power that served as a vehicle of social control through selective knowledge.

## Introduction

In the early twentieth century, pictographs functioned as pictorial representations of statistical data and as visual stimuli that posed the onset of solutions to social problems. Pictographs informed the public upon viewing and provoked further reading on the subjects presented within textbooks, pamphlets, and books (Neurath, 2010). This pictograph phenomenon found its way throughout most of Europe and reached the United States by the early 1930s. Most graphic presentations prior to the 1930s were flawed and biased in nature, but Neurath and Modley were the first to pioneer a method that attempted to resolve several of these issues (Brinton, 1939; Modley & Lowenstein, 1952; Neurath, 1936; Scates, 1942). For the first time, graphic presentations became a combination of statistical information, ideology, and art. Despite the push for objectivity or accuracy in a pictograph's design methodology as a necessary component of Modley and others' graphic work, ideology became an underlying and unavoidable aspect of pictographs (Modley & Lowenstein, 1937).

The search for objectivity and the exploration of different forms of statistical communication and pictorial presentations of information in the 1800s led to the creation of pictographs during the early twentieth century. However, Tufte (1983) argues that from the 1930s through 1970s graphic statistics became stagnant and presented inaccurate information because the primary objective of most graphic designers was the development of eye-catching and exaggerated graphs. Tufte refutes the claims of objectivity made by most graphic designers and statisticians of the period. Despite this claim, Reidhaar (1986) argues that Tufte (1983) brushes over several champions of

graphic presentation between the 1930s and 1970s and does not consider the value of their influence upon graphic presentation, which entailed the creation and introduction of pictographs. For the purposes of this historical genealogy pictographs are predominantly viewed and examined between the 1930s and early 1940s. Pictographic charts from that period presented the innovative use of modern human relatable symbols and charts to represent and interpret numerical data (Scates, 1942). Despite the flaws present in most statistical graphics, Neurath and Modley became innovators in graphic presentation and popularized a graphic method throughout Europe and the United States during a period of “bareness” in graphic statistics. What made Neurath and Modley’s pictographs so unique was that they depicted statistical information relevant to the community’s socioeconomic concerns. Full objectivity in pictographs was unlikely and more so when they took on assigned meanings holding roots to specific social and cultural groups. In this case, the designer became a kind of medium or transformer between the data and its pictorial representation (Neurath & Kinross, 2009). The politics, economic circumstances, and social values that shaped the identity and ideology of different nations partially determined the informational content and message portrayed by these pictographs and their designers. Therefore, regardless of this push for objectivity through Neurath’s Isotype pictograph design methodology, the societal structures and governments pertaining to these different locations created a subjective stance in the designer’s pictographic portrayal of information.

Pictographs between the 1800s and late 1930s underwent a transformation where placement in time, location, and ideologies determined their role. Under Modley’s

leading graphic business Pictorial Statistics Incorporated, pictographs transitioned from their strategic role as ideological social unifiers in Europe towards a more social transformation approach in the late 1930s and then into a socially efficient role during the early 1940s in the United States for the purposes of national cohesion (Cartwright et al., 1996; Evans, 2004; Kliebard, 1987). Prior to its popularization in the United States, Neurath's Isotype pictographic method served as a universal language driven by an ideological force where Neurath contextualized and conceptualized each pictograph according to the current events and social movements of the time (Lupton, 1986). Neurath's pictographs placed a strong emphasis on the social movements and political instability in Austria after World War I (Cartwright et al., 1996; Neurath & Kinross, 2009; Uebel, 1991; Vossoughian, 2011). Most of Neurath's pictographs achieved exposure in Vienna's Museum of Society and Economy.

### **The Ideological Underpinnings of Pictographs**

From its inception, western Europe viewed pictorial representations as invalid instructive sources of knowledge. Prior to the nineteenth century, pictorial representations of information remained in the shadows. Even by the early twentieth century, many felt that visual aids belittled or underestimated the intelligence of the reader (Neurath, 2010). This sudden transition from stigma to popularity occurred as late as the 1880s and early 1890s when European countries opted to use pictorial representations to raise the literacy rate (Brinton, 1939). Individuals viewed graphic presentations of information in a serious manner during the onset of the nineteenth century. By the late 1930s Isotype pictographs reached the United States through Modley's private business. Despite the popularity,



proliferation, and effectiveness of pictographs, professional statisticians and engineers felt wary about the information presented in pictographs. Most of these graphic designers and statisticians viewed pictographs as inaccurate and distracting presentations of information (Scates, 1942). However, educators found pictographs far more meaningful and efficient on the matter of mass instruction and communicating (Scates, 1942).

Although it is important to understand the social context that affected the messages and interpretations produced by pictographs, pictographic design is also a key part to grasping the relationship between method and ideology. According to Modley, Otto Neurath was the first individual to create a method for educational and socially informative pictographs (Haller, 1991). This method differed from its graphic predecessors because it focused only on pictographs and the information on these graphs applied to any age group (Brinton, 1939).

During the First Republic of Austria (1919-1934), Vienna embraced different aspects of socialism because of the Social Democratic Party's influence. Neurath belonged to the Vienna Circle - an intellectual collective comprised of social and natural scientists, mathematicians, and philosophers that met regularly at the University of Vienna. (Cartwright et al., 1996). The overall purpose of this group was to educate the working class and the public to have society break away with the absolute truths that held no foundation in experience or the empirical process. Through educational tools, the Vienna Circle sought a change in the minds and actions of individuals to transform their society (Uebel, 1991). Neurath's proposed solution was the unification of the entrepreneurial sector to end wage reduction, profit motive, and unemployment

(Cartwright et al., 1996). Neurath and the Circle's philosophy stemmed from logical empiricism or positivism, which held ties to scientific philosophy and social movements (Giere & Richardson, 1996; Stadler, 1991; Uebel, 1991). The Vienna Circle viewed rationalism as an instrument that perpetuated the bourgeois class and its hierarchical structure. The group's writings assisted proletariat movements by presenting the methodological problems within rationalism. These methodological problems consisted of viewing the world through the power of one's will upon his/her thoughts and actions (Cartwright et al., 1996; Stadler, 1991).

During Vienna's economic decline, Neurath became the creator and General Secretary of the Co-operative Housing and Allotment Association in 1921. The association promoted hygiene, housing improvements, communal vegetable gardens in urban areas, and addressed the community's social and economic problems through visual education (Vossoughian, 2011). Open exhibits informed the public of the association's activities and plans for the community's improvement. These open-air exhibits included informative visual aids such as pictographs and furnished model homes. By 1924, these same public exhibits became the Museum of Economy and Society.

Between 1925 and 1934, Neurath searched for a more effective method for visual education that cut across different age groups, levels of education, and languages. After the establishment of a permanent site for the museum, he created accessible itinerant public exhibits. These mobile exhibitions presented interactive pictographic displays and accommodated to the everyday lives and responsibilities of the public regardless of their social and economic status (Neurath & Kinross, 2009). As a decentralized and convenient

establishment that democratized knowledge, the museum fomented interconnectedness between pictographs and shared information (Vossoughian, 2011).

By the mid-1920s, the unity of science movement flourished through Neurath's participation in the Vienna Circle and the Research Institute for Social Economy. These organizations and institutions aligned with Neurath's ideology and facilitated most of his projects such as the Vienna Method (Cartwright et al., 1996). In 1936, Neurath renamed the Vienna method, which was named after the Museum of Society and Economy, as **Isotype (International System Of Typographic Picture Education)**. This method originated from the connection between power and education, as well as the need to create a universal form of scientific communication. (Cartwright et al., 1996). Neurath believed that the theories from different disciplines could be brought together because they were all the same in nature despite their differences in methodological approach. The promotion of such concepts incentivized different academic disciplines to cooperate and produce research of a larger magnitude to create a unified system of science to further society (Uebel, 1991).

Neurath's Isotype concept presented pictographs where pictograms served as the ideograms of information that produced unity rather than the spoken language or written text (Cacciari, 1996). Neurath implemented the Isotype method and attempted to eliminate the differences produced by language. Neurath created this method to visually instill unity, social equality, and mobilization within society (Cartwright et al., 1996). He embraced certain aspects of modernism and rejected metaphysics and epistemology. He found more power, reality, and soundness in logical empiricism than abstract and

subjective concepts, such as identity space, and time, presented by metaphysics. From its inception, Neurath's Isotype pictographs held in their design and ideology a distinct disposition towards framing statistical information through Western conceptions and philosophies that promulgated unification. Therefore, any other designer that applied Neurath's Isotype methods to their pictographs automatically incorporated the assumptions and tenants presented by the unity of science movement and Neurath's desire to make scientific language accessible to the public.

Neurath's Isotype pictographs read from left to right and top to bottom (Vossoughian, 2011). Specific colors holding universal meanings and its pairing with key descriptive words offered contrast, comparisons, and context to each pictograph. This method used simple icons as pictograms to present statistical data and socially relevant information. Symbols served as the vocabulary in this visual and "universal" system of communication while the organization of these symbols communicated the statistical information on either historical events, social concerns, or economic changes/progress (Neurath, 1936). The application of positivism and physicalism to this method rejected the use of metaphysical, abstract, and subjective understandings of the world. Neurath's adoption of physicalism and logical empiricism asserted that all logical reasoning held scientific proof and an empirical reality. Rather than focusing on the abstract and theorizing upon it, Neurath sought to bring together the laws of social and physical sciences to combat the absolute truths stemming from metaphysical conceptions and to bring about radical social transformation (Cartwright et al., 1996). Both philosophies influenced Isotype's method and role as a universal and logical form of communication (Cartwright et al., 1996; Lupton, 1986). Consequentially, the popularity of this method in

Europe allowed for its eventual practice in the United States. Despite Neurath's justification and application of such philosophies based, his universal communication system remained anchored to western understandings of society and the world order.

The statistical information in pictographs alone failed to establish order and unity within societies. The Isotype system served more as an ideology than a method because its primary purpose lay in bypassing the divisive nature present in language to statistically inform the public to socially empower them. According to Neurath, scientific or positivist statements translated far more to the physical language than abstract or metaphysical statements because of their subjective nature (Cartwright et al., 1996). For Neurath, the implementation of Isotype pictographs in public areas and institutions allowed for unification through a shared common or "universal" knowledge rooted in the physical world known to people (Neurath, 1936). Neurath believed that the biased nature of words hindered individuals from receiving pure information.

Despite Neurath's assertion that Isotype pictographs were fact based, these images held a comparative time-series (a graph that intends to show a change or trend over a specific rhythm of time) structure, which lacked causal explanations. Times-series graphs should not be viewed as causal explanations of an event or trend unless the reader knows that there is a specific force or contingency behind the subject (Tufte, 1983).

Neurath disapproved of using space to present magnitudes (Neurath, 2010). Graphic designs displaying information through areas presenting magnitude showed exaggerated images or icons of different sizes to present a change in trend. The application of this flawed method presented a conflict between data variation (numerical

information) and data design (icons or pictograms) (Tufte, 1983). These icons tended to exaggerate the numerical information. Neurath and Gerd Arntz, a German artist and designer, created pictograms that took on a modern fixed two-dimensional form to avoid confusion (Brinton, 1914). The usage of color and multiple same-sized pictograms represented quantity accurately rather than using the areas to present magnitude. The use of same-sized pictograms served as units of measure representing a specific and reliable quantity. The incorporation of a unit of measure made pictographs more accurate and reliable rather than comparing pictograms by magnitude.

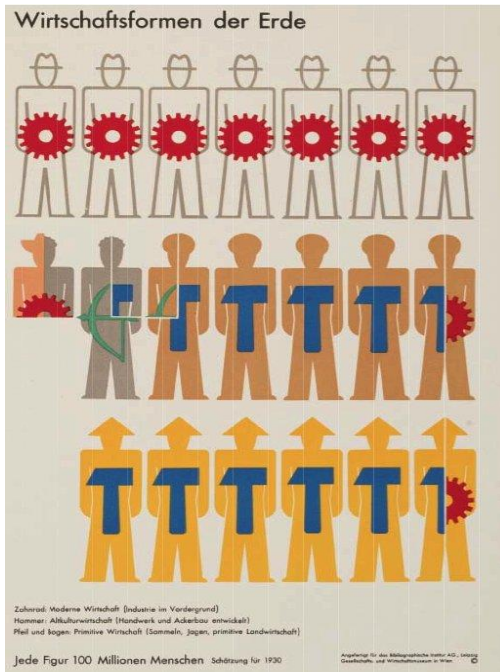
The idea and use of specific descriptive words for pictographs came from a recently invented language system - Basic English. This system condensed overly descriptive statements for the purpose of efficient trade, science, and daily life (Brinton, 1939). A guide at the bottom of each pictograph accompanied each set of pictograms for the reader, which provided the reader with a more accurate display of the information. Neurath's simple silhouette icons in symbolic colors held universal Western ideas on nations, occupations, ethnic groups, or races. This style provided clarity and efficiency by reusing stock symbols. The use of repetition and familiarity created a European "universal" meaning for most pictograms (Neurath & Kinross, 2009). Beyond design and word choice, the Isotype system also drew on Neurath's utopian concept of scientific unity. These movements and ideologies influencing unification systems reflected larger international, social, economic problems, and the discourse of the era.

Neurath's pictographs depicted pictorial representations of data and stood as contemporary temporal pieces that provided a conscious placement in time. The

horizontal presentation of pictograms dictated a form of linear progression throughout time up until the present day. In terms of time and space, Neurath's pictographs assisted in the creation of a temporal identity focused on modernity and progress to elicit a sense of shared knowledge, solidarity, and nationalism (Fritzsche, 2004; Ogle, 2013). Despite Neurath's innovative and visually striking pictographs, his pictorial statistics held a modern, postcolonial, and Eurocentric conception of the peoples, cultures, and the socioeconomic state of various nations (Kindel, 2011; Nikolow, 2011).



*Figure 5.* Völkergruppen der Erde (Population Groups of the World) from the atlas *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft* (Society and Economy) (1930)



Figures 6. Wirtschaftsformen der Erde (Economic Forms of the World) from the atlas Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft (Society and Economy) (1930)

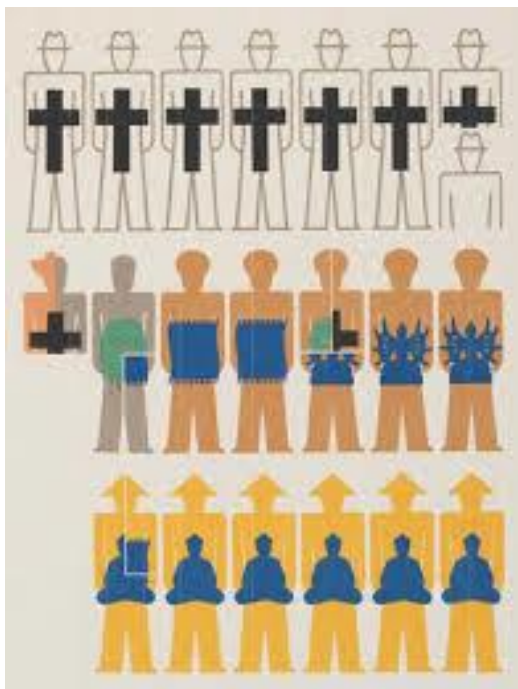


Figure 7. Religionen der Erde (Religions of the World) from the atlas Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft (Society and Economy) (1930)



Colors and symbols within each pictograph's pictogram dictated the relative location of a group or nation on the global socioeconomic scale. Neurath's Isotype pictographs placed modernity and progress at the heart of unity. This proves problematic to the goal of unifying people since modernity and progress hold roots in Western and Eurocentric philosophies that overlook systemic issues that affect race, ethnicity, and culture. The goal of progress and modernity is to present technological, social, and historical advancement, yet some of these pictographs used methods of comparison among different nations and groups to present leaps in progress such as *Figures 9, 10, and 11*. Despite the effort to unify different groups of people through a communication system composed of recognizable symbols, Neurath's isotype pictographs perpetuated Western dominance and influence over the rest of the world (Kindel, 2011; Nikolow, 2011). In this sense, Neurath's pictographs functioned as a constructed language that mirrored a Eurocentric culture, promoted a mental binary understanding of the world, and pertained exclusively to those within Europe and North America that culturally understood most of these symbols and their meanings prior to their creation.

In *Figures 5, 6, and 7*, the pictograms or icons of male figures in Neurath's pictographs from 1930 represented different races while also functioning as units of measure. *Figures 5, 6, and 7* also show the world represented through a masculine figure perhaps indicating that men serve as the appropriate representatives of the world. In *Figure 6*, symbols such as the hammer, bow and arrow, and an industrial wheel represent the different economic forms of the world. The same structure appears in Neurath's chart on population groups and religions of the world. In the case of the Economic Forms of the World chart, red represented industry while blue denoted forms of labor prior to

industrialization and green symbolized prehistoric or primitive labor practices (Neurath & Kinross, 2009). These symbols were self-explanatory to those that belonged to first-world or developed nations. Therefore, pictograms promoted a subtle form of othering. According to Marie Neurath, Neurath's wife and a producer of Isotype pictographs, specific colors accompanied each symbol for consistency and meaning (Neurath & Kinross, 2009). Although the chart was informative for the period, it created a division between civilized and primitive groups of people. For the sake of science, this chart displayed the different religions, economic forms, and populations of the world to educate the viewer, yet it simultaneously divided the world between developed and primitive. Neurath conveyed this statistical information by providing an antithesis or other to the developed races. By presenting the world in this manner, a comparison in one notion of progress becomes evident. Although this pictograph was not a literal map of the world and its national borders, the icons themselves functioned as geographical divisions within the world. Here civilized and developed nations are geographically divided and understood through pictograms (Lewis & Wigen, 1997).

Another characteristic present in these charts is the categorization of races. Despite Neurath's advocacy for universality, these charts presented a world divided and compartmentalized into three races. These pictographs emerged as remnants of an archaic form of categorizing humanity. Within these charts the nineteenth century anthropological phenotypes such as the Asian, Caucasian, and Black remerge but this time accompanied by two pictogram groups that represented Indians and the indigenous peoples of North and South America (Brace, 2005). The difference between Neurath's pictograms and the classic phenotypical representations of the three races based on

physical features was the choice to use material objects to depict ethnicity, religion, and economic progress for each pictogram's race. This division of races, technological advancements, and religions tied to countries and regions of the world lent itself to the categorization and compartmentalization of the world. Such pictographs represented the European cartography imposed on the world (Lewis & Wigen, 1997). Pictographs of this nature became popular and widely adopted by other institutions outside of Austria.

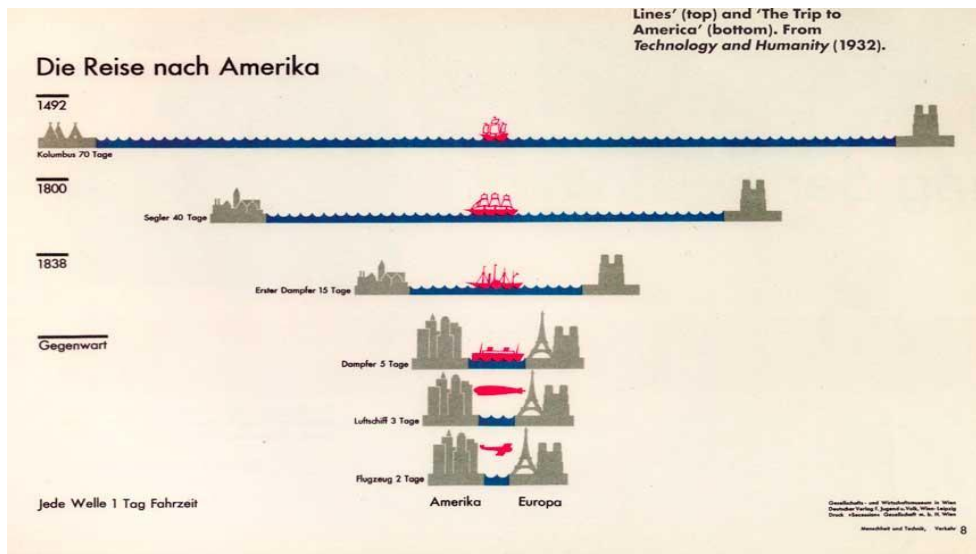


Figure 8. The Travel to America from America and Britain: Three Volumes in One: Only an Ocean in Between (1932)

In terms of progress and chronology, *Figure 8 Die Reise nach Amerika* (Trip to America) in 1932, presents the trip from Europe to America from 1492 through *gegenwart* (the present day). Pictographs of the sort not only assisted in developing public awareness on social, historical, and technological changes but also presented quick accessibility to multiple realities simultaneously in coexistence. Therefore, the eyes of progress shrunk the world and created an awareness of multiple realities occurring simultaneously in different spaces. The idea of absolute or finite space and a single

reality rendered itself incongruous with the development of time awareness and technology (Kern, 1983). In Figure 8, the length of the water represents distance and time from one point to another. In 1492, it took seventy days to arrive to America while in their present time it took only a few days depending on the mode of transportation. Neurath's pictograph depicts the present as a time of new possibilities and choices in comparison to the past. Here Neurath demonstrates three different modes of travel: steamboat, zeppelin, and airplane. This creates a sense of irreversibility and continuity in time while marking the present era as distinctive from its past in terms of technological progress (Fritzsche, 2004). Rather than fearing the past, there was hope in the present modern world. This pictographic reality was constructed to set the mind of the public on technological progress as a means of pushing through the difficulties and consequences presented after World War I.

By the 1930s, Isotype became a world-renowned innovative form of visual education. As the political situation worsened in Vienna, Neurath established international institutes and exhibitions in North America and several European nations that adopted this method and process of production (Cartwright et al., 1996). In 1930, Neurath's work with the Museum of Society and Economy led to the development of a large tome translated to *Society and economy: Elementary Statistics: The Society and Economy Museum in Vienna shows in 100 Color Pictographs: Forms of Production Society Systems and Cultural Steps for Life's Challenges*, which allowed others to understand and utilize his work. Other nations that established institutes or exhibitions included: the Netherlands, China, the United States, Amsterdam, Great Britain, and Mexico among many others.

The United States became familiar with Neurath through an exhibition on Tuberculosis preventative measures funded by the National Tuberculosis Association of America and the Oberlaender Trust in 1937. Because of the cost-effective process to produce pictographs and their international popularity in communicating information, it partly explains why the United States accepted this method of graphic presentation. In 1931, the USSR welcomed Neurath to establish the Izostat Institute, which lasted almost a decade. With the Social Democratic party's loss to the right wing and rising political tensions in 1936, the Vienna Circle separated and scattered throughout Europe. Neurath's final institute was the Isotype Institute located in Oxford, which opened in 1942. As seen in the following section, right before the Vienna Circle's dispersal and the occupation of Austria, Isotype pictographs reached the United States during the early 1930s and Rudolf Modley further promoted their popularity through his business.

### **Modley, the New Deal, and the Americanization of Pictographs**

The early twentieth century faced two major world wars, interwar conflicts, reparations, and societies lacking enough direction and knowledge to better their declining state. During times of uncertainty, pictographs educated, disseminated knowledge, and mobilized societies. This graphic representational form reached popular demand in such circumstances. Despite the social stigma tied to pictographs, many graphic designers considered its emergence inevitable because wartime, technological progress, social unrest, and capitalism factored in the push for the dissemination of information (Brinton, 1939). In the case of the United States, individuals sought condensed information, such as reviews and digest magazines because they lacked the

time to take in accessible information (Modley & Lowenstein, 1952). This high volume of information and demand for its comprehensibility caused its condensation in pictographic form. Pictographs served as the perfect combination of visual stimulation (design) and knowledge (statistical and social information), which allowed it to become a form of informational entertainment and education. This was only possible through the recent recognition of the discipline of statistics and economics as mature sciences. The discipline obtained this status through the application of scientific methods and extensive usage of quantitative data (Neurath & Kinross, 2009; Sewell, 2005). During the 1930s and 1940s, this was the case for these disciplines in the United States and Europe. Significant changes were underway in the government, society, and the discipline of economics as a product of uncertain times, a shift in methods, and the need for clarity.

Rudolf Modley, a researcher and graphic designer from Vienna, Austria, popularized pictographs in the United States. In Austria during the 1920s, Modley graduated from the University of Vienna with a law degree and served as Neurath's staff member/assistant in the Museum of Society and Economy up until his arrival to the United States in 1930 (Crawley, 1994). After being dismissed from the Museum of Society and Economy because of funding issues, Modley immigrated to the United States and first served as a social sciences curator for the Museum of Science and Industry in Chicago (Modley, 1938). Not long after, Modley launched his pictograph business in the United States with Neurath's support and assistance (Vossoughian, 2011). However, Charles and Giraud (2013) argue that Modley and Neurath's relationship was far more complex. Before establishing his business Pictorial Statistics, Inc., Modley faced some opposition from Neurath he discovered that Modley was working on pictographs on his

own. In New York City, Modley stood as Pictorial Statistics, Inc.'s executive director. His law degree and experience with pictographs contributed to his business's success. His private business predominantly provided pictographic design services to schools, authors, government agencies, and publishers (Charles & Giraud, 2013; Scates, 1942). The economic and social state of the United States resembled the one Modley left back in Vienna. Other contingent factors in Modley's favor included the economic depression, New Deal administration's adoption of unconventional methods, and the international popularization of Isotype pictographs.

Unlike Neurath's scientific and ideological approach to pictographs, Modley's proliferation of pictographs in the United State took a more capitalistic perspective and partly lead to the Americanization of pictographs. Despite the prevalence of pictographs in Europe and the United States, their deployment relied on the specifics of the nation's politics, society, technology, and the ideology of the designer (Crawley, 1994). The continual persistence in the reconciliation of ideologies and statistical data within government and public service, as well as the relationship between designers and their pictographs, exemplifies this situation. In this chaos, Modley, encountered this struggle for consolidation between objectivity (the scientific language) and the particularities of American society and culture (Bresnahan, 2011; Crawley 1994). Unlike other professional statisticians of that period, Modley's pictographs connected with the general public because of the information was displayed in a relatable manner and its simple application in the classroom (Scates, 1942). Modley's approach differed from Neurath's belief in a universal language because he constantly updated and altered pictograms

according to changes in society and the environment to relate and reach the American audience (Crawley, 1994). In his new role in the United States, Modley choose to deviate from Neurath's formula, as seen in the following statement:

The American development of pictorial statistics has tried to avoid overstandardization of symbols. It has not wanted to create an international picture language with all the rigid forms and abstract concepts which support that idea; it has wanted to bring symbols to life and to adapt them to each new audience (Modley & Lowenstein, 1937, p. 8).

Therefore, Modley adapted his pictographs according to the concerns of different corporations, schools, and government initiatives and publications. Despite Modley's push for dynamic pictographs, these pictographs still represented Eurocentric and ethnocentric values and norms.

Modley's methodology in the design and implementation of pictographs partially derived from Neurath, who also advocated for scientific objectivity and clarity in charts (Neurath, 1936). However, Modely's overall method and perspective on tailoring pictographs for the American public differed from Neurath's vision for an international picture language. Modley believed that to achieve an effective pictograph design one had to consider the context and culture of a local community or nation and implement standardization (Ihara, 2009). This attention to the local or national culture over an international perspective not only Americanized pictographs but it also spoke directly to the American public (Ihara, 2009). Unlike the approach that Neurath's Isotype method took, Modley advocated for collaboration among groups to come to a consensus and determine the best method to develop symbols. Despite Neurath and Modley's emphasis



on impartiality, their separate works did not go unscathed. When Neurath attempted to publish his autobiography in 1944, which included his work on pictographs, his publisher considered it another form of propaganda (Neurath, 2010). Professional statisticians viewed Modley's pictographs in the United States as a form of graphic design that grossly exaggerated or trivialized statistical information (Scates, 1942). Social involvement, political affiliations and the perspectives of these designers dictated their design choices and the ways in which they conveyed statistical information. Modley's pictographs remained subjective despite his use of objective and standardized design principles. Modley's claims to objectivity and effective communication also stems from the idea that the same basic 50 symbols or pictograms first presented to the previous generation appear most effective when graphic designers repeat them in their pictographs (Crawley, 1994). This concept does not present objectivity but rather the continuity and perpetuation of representing the world through specific symbolic representations.

Today Modley and Neurath's simple pictograms function as universal symbols of communication in public places such as those found outside of restrooms and street signs. Neurath's belief in the unity of science movement affected the development of the Isotype method which brought a definitive transformation to pictographs. Although Modley was Neurath's pupil and agreed with his ideology, his usage of pictographs significantly differed. Modley's ideology reflected the particularities of the United States and his past. Modley kept the method's structure of orderly and comparative pictogram that functioned as a whole. Modley took on a capitalistic and entrepreneurial position on graphic design in the United States. Most rules for pictorial and graphic statistics were for

specialists within the world of graphic design while Modley's method and pictographs targeted the public more than specialists (Brinton 1914; 1939). It is possible that Modley's interest in a hybrid audience stemmed from his complex identity as an exiled socialist immigrant and assimilating citizen in a modern world. Like most Austrians and Germans who fled to the United States, Modley experienced first-hand totalitarian regimes and liberal intellectual movements revolting against absolute truths (McClay, 1994). Through the United States' democratic and capitalistic nature, Modley's pictographs took on an entrepreneurial veneer, which attracted specialists in the field. At the same time, Modley's exposure to the wreckage and fear of totalitarian regimes upon dissenting intellectuals and undesirable minorities allowed his business to maintain a socialist essence while also catering to the public. Therefore, Modley's interest in a hybrid audience made his business and books far more popular than Brinton's.

### **Pictographs and Education in the United States**

While intellectual revolutions caused the reconceptualization of disciplines and their methods, the United States' government began to regulate the market (Barber, 1996). This period marked the alienation that ran rampantly throughout American citizen's lives. Modernity's disenchanting promise of progress and the fear of totalitarianism on American soil created the disconnected individual of the 1930s (Lipartito, 2012). Therefore, government agencies, magazines, and organizations solicited Rudolf Modley's business as a bonding agent for society (Charles & Giraud, 2013; Neurath & Kinross, 2009). These solicitors sought a revived nationalistic identity not a universal system of communication to bring peace and unity to the world (Brinton,

1939; Modley & Lowenstein, 1952). Modley (1938) and these agencies recognized the power that pictographs held on the masses' decision-making process. Pamphlets or books presenting pictographic and statistical information became forms of social research, knowledge, and persuasive literature that exerted social control over the masses (Lipartito, 2012). Therefore, the ideology and scientific rationale behind pictographs justified the need for social control. Such was the case with the influential leaders involved in the social research and subliminal advertising world of the 1950s. Several individuals within these public-centered occupations, such as social and consumer researchers Paul Lazarsfeld and Ernest Dichter, were Modley's Austrian immigrant contemporaries. The clinical nature and scientifically subversive form of social control experienced throughout the 1930s influenced these mid-century social researchers.

As the struggle for national cohesion continued, the United States' government agencies and organizations searched for effective methods fostering solidarity, identity creation, and national unity. Pictographs disseminated condensed visual information intended to transcend social, linguistic, and intelligence level barriers through the visual interpretation of scientific language and empirical findings (Cartwright et al., 1996; Charles & Giraud, 2013; Lupton 1986; Modley & Lowenstein, 1952; Neurath, 1936; Neurath, 2010). The preference for pictographs trumped language because word choice incentivized othering and division. The United States' ethnically diverse and economically distraught society required public unification in thought. Although pictographs utilized factual statistical information and minimal use of words, they still

served as instant identity generators for an alienated and disillusioned society because they also catered to the socioeconomic context of the audience.

Modley and other collaborating writers presented the government agencies and publisher's intentions as one that sought to advance the knowledge of literate adults without offending their level of intelligence through pictures (Hacker, Modley, & Taylor, 1937). By the late 1930s, Modley's pictographs appeared in teaching units that agencies and programs compiled into curriculums, children's books, general histories, and government booklets. During the United States' Homefront transition into total war in 1941, pictographs played a vital role that not only permeated major sectors of society but also everyday living, public institutions, and literature. This transitional period allowed the structure and concept of pictographs to remain the same while government agencies and organizations determined their purpose.

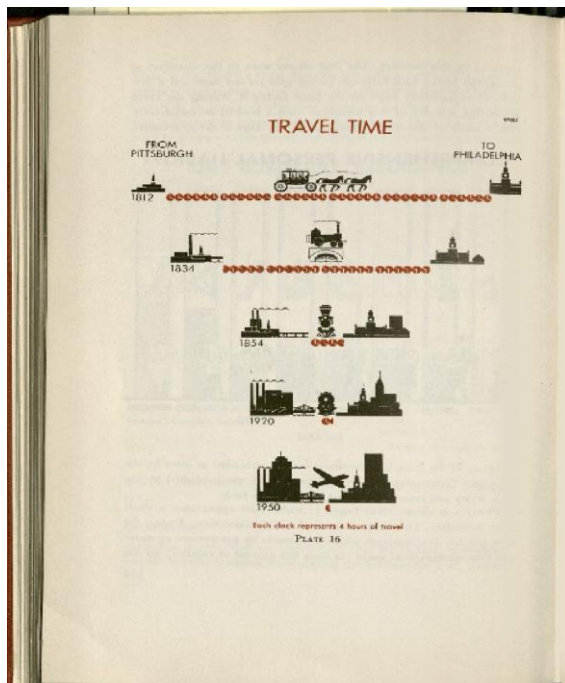


Figure 9. Travel Time from Pictographs and Graphs (1937, republished in 1952)

In *Figure 9*, *Travel Time*, Modley depicts the progression of technology through travel time's changes in speed, distance, and space from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia. Unlike Neurath's pictograph *Figure 8* *The Travel to America*, Modley plotted the changes in travel time since the early nineteenth century. The year 1812 served as a defining year in the history of the United States and its ties to the War of 1812. This war represented a powerful rising nation rather than the military struggle between the premature North American colonies and the British Empire during the Revolutionary War. In this pictograph, the red clock pictograms measure time and equate to four hours. According to Modley, a trip by carriage in 1812 from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh lasted six days compared to a mere two hours in 1950. Each depiction of travel presented a passing of time but also a linear progression towards modernity. This pictograph offered a change in the public's sense of time by presenting both an acceleration and deceleration of time. The acceleration of time correlates with progress and the present, while the slowing of time correlates with the premodern past and inefficiency (Kern, 1983). Despite this idea of obsolete technology through the notion of deceleration, this pictograph holds a dual nature in its presentation of information. Modley's pairing of past technologies with significant national dates induced nationalistic sentiments through nostalgia and the possibility of progression through reversibility.

By remembering and comparing the glories of the War of 1812 to a post-World War II nation, *Figure 13* served as a piece of national nostalgia that allowed one to look forward and develop a historical placement awareness. It is possible that the public viewed the present as a transitional progressive point from the past and into the future

where new forms of progress emerged through this pictograph (Fritzsche, 2004). In *Travel Time*, similar concepts and ideas arise such as the shortening of travel time and the shrinking of space. In this instance, Modley's pictograph presents the nation's flavoring of its temporality. Beyond progress, nationalism is the subtle yet significant aspect of this pictograph. Neurath's pictograph *Figure 8 The Travel to America* depicts globalization and internationalism while *Figure 9* emphasized nationally defining years and travel solely within the United States. Thus, nationalisms and ideologies shaped the temporalities of pictographs during the Great Depression and post-World War II years. The differences between these pictographs represent not only the ideological approaches of two graphic designers but also the social context of two different places – post World War I Europe and the economic depression in the United States.

Aside from Modley's rules and method for pictographs, one of his greatest achievements was his collaboration on a general history of the United States with pictographs. Modley's book *The United States: A Graphic History* functioned as a graphic history of capitalism's establishment, triumph, and current crisis. Modley's pictographs provided sound statistical information on the nation's progress and the necessary information to cope with the current economic crisis.

Pictographic New Deal literature served to mobilize and transition the nation into total war. Writers that produced this literature understood the United States' position in comparison with other nations and its own internal problems such as housing, population, the course of recovery, unemployment, relief cases, and Works Progress Administration (WPA) employment rates. This approach conveyed the government and organization's

message without confusing the masses and created well-informed citizens (Shanken, 2006). Unlike Neurath's abstract, philosophical, and utopian work, Modley's work was a form of New Deal literature, presented bureaucratic organization, national stability, and certainty (Shanken, 2006).

As the face of the nation, military recruits required guidance, defense preparations, and knowledge on the specifics of the current war. Modley's *A History of the War* was a graphic military history of World War II up until 1943. It first served as a series of pictographs in slide film format. These slide films were visual aids that supplemented fifteen lectures at orientation courses in army camps (Modley, 1943). In the summer of 1942, the Bureau of Public Relations distributed at least 40,000 copies to army camps. This was done with the intention that new military recruits would read it and pass it on to a friend in the armed forces or return it to the Commanding General of the Eighth Service Command for redistribution to army libraries (Modley, 1943). The book presented detailed information on the war to prevent misinformed individuals from disseminating the wrong facts (Modley, 1943)

The 1940 census contained a literacy question which census takers asked of those that completed less than five years of schooling. Although the literacy census data relied on estimation procedures and was only conducted as a sample survey, the census reports that only 2.9% of the United States was illiterate in comparison to 6% in 1920 (Snyder, 1993). Overall, this illiteracy percentage was only based on self-reported information and may not consider groups of people affected by Jim Crow laws. The census reports that only 11.5% of the Black and others population was illiterate yet this census was not as

exhaustive because of the estimation measures. Despite the low levels of illiteracy for the period, various professional statisticians simply viewed pictographs as trivial and distracting forms of statistical information only intended or directed at an audience with a low to nonexistent literacy (Scates, 1942). However, pictographs explained complex or overly descriptive concepts that took up large amounts of space and capital. Modley's business not only provided government agencies with an effective tool to inform the nation but also with a financial strategy during total war. A nation of unstable misinformed dissenters presented the government with future dissenters and chaos. A misinformed society added to the predicament of individuals facing a changing society transitioning into total war with a government in need of their support. Government agencies and programs fought undereducation by disseminating and encouraging the use of knowledge to understand national and social problems (Scates, 1942; Ralston, 2000). Pictographs in a book like this served as informational mediums that presented the techniques, tools, and organization of warfare in a condensed and self-explanatory manner. Overall, Pictographs informed individuals, allowed them to formulate the appropriate opinion, and incentivized group discussions leading to better decision-making communities.

New Deal literature also had plans for the younger generation. In the economic instability of the Great Depression and the political upheavals throughout Europe, the nation feared the choices and ideologies of the future generation. These concerns entailed the following generation's possible embrace of the totalitarian ideologies. Thus, it was imperative for the government and society to properly define and present concepts such as community, career choices, and citizenship to the new generation at an early age



(Stieglitz, 1999). Modley's *The Picture Fact Book* series provided children with information on different occupations along with its history, importance to the nation, wages, and hierarchy within the profession (Keliher et al., 1940, 1942). In this series, primary statistical information presented payroll comparisons between different jobs, the number of workers, and growth over time within the field. These books displayed the progress of each industry by presenting promising futures in each conclusion while subtly mentioning each field's relation to the war effort.

These guidebooks communicated different career paths deemed proper by these organizations and beneficial to the war effort and public morale. In the case of public broadcasting industry during the war period, the government expected amateur radio workers to refrain from transmitting messages about the war and instead report any strange wave messages possibly related to spies (Keilher, 1940). Other fields within this series, such as aviation, took on a more prestigious role in the war period. Some encouraged its readers through pictographs and key phrases to consider the profession (Keilher, 1942).

Government agencies created different mediums to eradicate undereducation and its connection to unemployment. The New Deal established various agencies contending with the youth problem such as the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) and the National Youth Administration (NYA) under the Workers Progress Administration (WPA). These government agencies provided the young adults with employment, relief money, and the opportunity to work one's way through high school and college. These agencies used group-work methods to produce initiative, responsibility, assimilation, and proper

citizenship. Progressive ideology and Democratic social engineering in search of solutions to social problems produced these values and strategies (Graebner, 1987). Several of Modley's pictographs depicted socioeconomic and cultural information regarding ecological problems, social roles, government organization, income distribution issues, and human and natural resources.

Through Roosevelt's administration, Progressivism seeped into various government agencies and organizations. According to Spring's (1992) work, there were two major factions in the education system: patriotic and progressive. Patriotic education promoted democratic citizenship through curriculums and class discussion on modern problems, citizenship, public opinion, and civil rights. The curriculum advocated by the patriotic societies aimed at presenting the potential problematic future brought on by embracing autocratic societies that subscribed to totalitarianism, fascism, and communism. Educators leaning towards progressive education argued for student engagement in active rather than passive learning (Perricone, 2009). Active learning discarded traditional methods, such as recitation, and taught students critical thinking skills by participating in the community. This form of instruction permitted the student to pursue his own interests while participating in collaborative work. Instead of using the archaic traditional learning method of recitation and memorization, students were encouraged to apply learned knowledge to situations in his or her environment (Kliebard, 1987). Active learning cemented empirical knowledge and critical thinking as vital parts of understanding and dealing with one's community rather than class status.

Regarding the overall curriculum, Spring (1992) argues that the United States censored and controlled the dissemination of knowledge in schools and media much like totalitarian governments. Through these curriculums, these educators pursued a benevolent cause and desired effective instruction in schools; nonetheless, they promoted a particular ideology. Patriotic groups not only feared their enemies abroad but also their “enemies” at home. Through these teaching methods and the push for a new social order, the progressivist liberal factions challenged this ideology. Patriotic organizations considered Progressive teaching units subversive in nature and targeted progressive educators, reformers, social meliorists, and liberal intellectuals such as John Dewey and Harold Rugg. Progressive educators advocated against totalitarianism and offered solutions, yet their approach to education appeared dangerous to patriotic organizations.

Patriotic groups denounced the subversive tendencies of Rugg’s social science textbooks for its emphasis on collective cooperation rather than individualism and private industry. In the case of Dewey, Patriotic organizations viewed his adoption of universal science and his platform against political absolutism and the theological cast of minds as a dangerous break with traditional education (McClay, 1994). During this period, subversion functioned as any form of heterodox behavior or idea that discarded the emphasis on the individual or individualism and leaned towards an emphasis on the individual’s connection and contribution to the collective environment (McClay, 1994; Spring 1992). Progressivism at first appears as a danger to society because of its ties to socialist or collectivist ideologies.

Modley collaborated with several Progressive educators and advocates affiliated with Columbia University. Pictorial Statistics, Inc. provided pictographs for teaching units that became hardbound civics textbooks as part of the new curriculum. Pictographs in these teaching units presented change over time or comparisons and mostly displayed statistical facts in linear progression. During the 1930s, progress was a common theme in pictographs, yet not all Modley's charts indicated progress. In the textbook *Government in Action*, Modley provided statistical information on high unemployment and urban population rates in the United States to show the legitimacy of government relief programs such as the WPA (Keohane et al., 1938). Textbooks like *Government in Action* and *Democracy at Work*, instilled Progressive ideology, encouraged critical thinking, and community involvement through facts and basic principles. These textbooks displayed the political instability produced by totalitarian governments and questionable ideologies throughout Europe, as well as the importance of democratic government intervention.

In 1939, Modley's ideology and work appeared on two occasions in the *National Municipal Review*. Here Elsie Parker (1940) viewed Modley's latest work as an unconventional breakthrough in political science and the representation of information on progress and change in the New York State school system to the people (Parker, 1940). Modley's collaboration with Luther Gulick in *New York Primer* presented faults within the New York State school system and its necessary reformation. In this work, Modley uses fluid pictures that include pictograms without charts or statistical information. Despite Modley's daring break with his usual method, this new choice in information presentation proved to hold significant problems since it only displayed facts and not

data. Parker (1940) critiques Modley's work for lacking raw statistical information as his charts always did. Regardless of this discrepancy, Parker (1940) recognized that this information, whether statistically accurate or not, challenged the reader to take on a more active role in New York's education system.

Modley's work serves as a temporal example of a particular form of propaganda advocating for progressive education and reform, "Colleges jam the state, but tuition and living costs keep many students away. More and better scholarships are required" (Gulick & Modley, 1940, p. 23). The collaboration between Gulick and Modley was not the first or last where pictographic propaganda and condensed literature attempted to plant seeds of progressive ideology to mobilize local communities and states. *The Municipal Review's* attention towards Modley's work did not end there. In 1940 by W. Richard Lomax provided a more positive review on one of Modley's curriculum collaborations, *Democracy at Work*, appears throughout the volume. Despite Modley's pictographic contributions to the compiled curriculum in review, he remained unmentioned. In this review, Lomax (1940) not only supported the storytelling style, illustrations, and use of pictographs in the civics textbook but also acknowledged the connection between the government and its citizens. Lomax (1940) addressed the alienation and lack of nationalism that American citizens experienced throughout the Great Depression by expressing the present need for the young individual to identify with its government and understand its function through textbooks of the sort (Lomax, 1940).

By this point, Modley held a repertoire of several publications on Progressive and socialist reform for the younger generation. Modley's ties to Neurath and Roosevelt's

New Deal agencies serve as plausible indicators of his socialist or Progressive political and ideological inclinations. At the same time, Modley chose a more capitalistic path and reaped the benefits from the government agency's need for his services. Coincidentally, the socialist nature of these agencies perhaps concurred with Modley's ideology and allowed him to capitalize off his business (U.S. Census Bureau, 1940.).

The nature of the New Deal's ideology assisted in the Americanization and transformation of Modley's pictographs. Isotype pictographs no longer represented a universal language system, but rather depicted progression, the organizational structure of different industries, and solutions centered on the United States. *Figures 8 and 9* present significant differences between Neurath's and Modley's focus and choice on pictographs. Both Isotype pictographs represented progression in travel technology, yet each incited different meanings to the reader. In *Figure 8*, Neurath's utopian vision of a connected world emanates from his pictograph while Modley's pictograph represented the United States as a lone powerhouse of progression.

Modley's style and method established a template for others to adopt. Golec (2013) explains that Lester Beall's posters for Rural Electrification Administration posters in the United States came shortly after Modley's work and resembled his method of communication through pictographs. Beall created informative pictorial posters on the adoption of electricity in rural areas for illiterate farmers. According to Golec (2013), these pictographs functioned as image and imaginary where they communicated social constructs and the ideas of the designer while representing a social reality and creating a form of social awareness. In the United States, pictographs represented the power of

visualizing information. Through the adoption of Modley's style by others, pictographs functioned under a dual nature where they served as both objective and subjective forms of data presentation while marketing social problems in the United States to guide the public into a future beyond the Depression.

### **The Decline of Pictographs in the United States**

Although Jansen (2009) argues that the demise of isotype pictographs in the Western hemisphere transpired during the 1960s with the onset of the cold war and the leftist ties that Neurath and his team held with Germany, Austria, and the Soviet Union. The genealogy in this study indicates that, in the case of the United States, its end was premature. Overall, Modley's business survived through commissions from government agencies and organizations. His business reflected his ideology, his connection to likeminded agencies, and the state of the nation. By 1943, New Deal programs and government agencies lived their final days and Modley's business ceased production in 1945 with the end of World War II. Without government these agencies' solicitations, Modley's business rendered itself unprofitable. After 1945, the United States emerged unified and triumphant from the war. Modley's pictographs no longer needed to subtly inculcate the proper ideology into American citizens. The war was a lesson and proved to American citizens the dangers of totalitarian ideologies. As a result, Modley's pictographs faded with the brief and temporal world of the Great Depression. After Modley ended his business, he began a newsletter, "*Glyphs*", and he also published a pictograph reference book. Both products promulgated his international picture language,

which ran along similar ideological and methodological characteristics as Neurath's Isotype pictographs (Crawley; 1994; Modley, 1960, 1976).

After 1945, pictographs became obsolete and disappeared from future textbooks. When the United States found itself plunging into uncertainty and societal instability again in the 1950s, Modley's contemporaries, Lazarsfeld and Dichter, resorted to similar scientific and statistical methods of propaganda and social control in the advertising world (Lipartito, 2012). By the 1960s and 1970s, brand-identities produced by the 1940s consumer culture trumped pictographs through constant media exposure and carried the United States' national identity by serving as a piece of Americana (Bresnahan, 2011). With the rise of the Cold War, paranoia towards communism stigmatized Isotype pictographs as Soviet propaganda because of its socialist origins (Jansen, 2009). After Neurath's wife, Marie, decided to retire, the Isotype Institute closed in the mid-1970s. Pictographs underwent a final transformation in the twentieth century, one that placed it in the world of design and aesthetics rather than philosophy and education. Kinross believes that Isotype pictographs are malleable enough to serve as an approach to design in any part of graphic design or any field that incorporates design into their communication methods (Neurath & Kinross, 2009). Such was the case with Ivan Navarro's fluorescent pictogram light sculptures from the late 2000s that represented the 1976 sports pictograms by Otl Aicher for the Munich Olympics (Herzberg, 2012). Navarro's pictogram light sculptures are based on German graphic artist's, Otl Aicher, pictograms in action which were intended as a universal visual language or interpretation depicting sports or activities. Although not directly indicated, Neurath's Isotype method potentially influenced Aicher's graphic designs for pictograms as a visual language for



the 1972 Munich Olympics, which in turn is now in the 2010s shaping Navarro's pictogram fluorescent light sculptures that represent an installation medium of Aicher's pictograms in motion.

Isotype pictographs began in museums as sources of unifying information and today they are in museums as aesthetically pleasing remnants of utopian goals and propaganda or as informative infographics through different forms of media and educational settings. Aspects of Neurath and Modley's designs and methodology dominate the modern advertising world in educational institutes and companies as innovative and informative infographics, or digital pictograms accompanied by brief instructions, facts, or key phrases. In this case, the use and meaning of pictographs is once again contingent upon the ever-changing tides of technology, location, society, and socioeconomic conflict.

### **Summary of Findings**

This genealogy of power concerning Modley's pictographs and his business indicates several issues and points related to social control, power, and the paradox of pictographs and their transformation over time. After World War I, most of Europe was left to deal with the economic and social aftermath brought by the destruction of the war. This dispersal and disorientation required inspired the development of Neurath's Vienna or Isotype method for pictographs, which sought to use pictographs as a universal language to communicate factual economic and social messages to the public through the most direct and unencumbered way as possible. During the early 1930s, Modley left for the United States and began his pictograph business (Pictorial Statistics, Inc.), which served to meet the needs of American social scientists and the New Deal agencies'

attempts to communicate socioeconomic facts and socially control the public during an economic crisis.

Despite each of these men's attempts to create an objective method of communicating accurate statistical information about economic and social problems, each pictograph was shaped by the context of the period, sociopolitical belief systems set in place, and the entity that wanted this information to be communicated to its audience. Unlike Neurath, Modley believed that considering and adopting the social, economic, and historical context of the public's nation to create pictographs led to better results in communicating and disseminating information.

Although not particular to the findings of this study, Modley's strategy led to the Americanization and popularization of pictographs in the United States. Despite pictographs being predominantly a European phenomenon, the competing education philosophies of the 1930s and the New Deal administration's attempts to recapture the trust of the American public served as a welcoming ground for Modley's pictographs. The New Deal administration sought to utilize propaganda and visuals during an economic crisis to create cohesion, unity, and bring up morale in a country facing uncertainty and distrust towards the federal government. The use of pictographs through education served as a way fostering unity through a common history (nationalism), as well as building citizens that could engineer solutions to social problems and identify extremist political ideologies that threatened democracy.

## CHAPTER V

### **PICTOGRAPHIC MESSAGES IN DEPRESSION ERA TEXTBOOKS: A DIRECTED CONTENT ANALYSIS**

Social studies textbooks communicate much more than information that addresses facts and processes in relation to society, human behavior, and civic competence. They serve as mediums of ideological management that disseminate messages and meanings to its readers regarding social, moral, and political values to preserve social control (Apple, 1990, 1993, 2018; Funk, 2009, 2011; Irwin, 2013; Spring, 1992, 2017). In the case of this study, social studies textbooks from the United States that contained pictographs also communicated specific social and civic values to its reader between 1937 and 1942. The spatial arrangement of symbols and icons can also determine the type of message that these images communicate. In the case of this sample, the pictographs tend to support the text, but their multilayered nature also allows them to communicate an additional message that is related or nonrelated to the text. The findings derived from 205 pictographs contained in eight social studies textbooks suggests that values leaned more towards social efficiency than progressive social transformation. While each textbook and its pictographs held its own theme, these images and text communicated different social efficiency and progressive education messages according to whether they tackled one of ideological management's three themes (politics, society, or morality) as issues. Another important finding is that these messages based on self-development and engagement or understanding the needs of the community (Martin, 2002) were not linear and consistent between 1937 and 1942. As the years of these textbooks drew closer to the United States' involvement in World War II, progressive messages encouraging

community involvement transformed into one laden with social efficiency, nationalistic, and belligerent citizenship, which entailed unquestionable patriotism during tenuous moments (Ben-Porath, 2009).

In terms of subject content, out of the eight social studies textbooks that contained a total of 205 pictographs, 75% of the total pictographs (154 pictographs) were located in textbooks that concerned government and civics. For the other subjects, 12% (25 pictographs) were present in geography textbooks, 8% (16 pictographs) were in history textbooks, and 5% (10 pictographs) fell under the area of sociology, anthropology, and human development. Although economics is a segment of social studies, none of the textbooks in the study fall under the subject of economics. However, 12 pictographs in the textbook *This Government* (1938) and *Democracy at Work* (1939) (both are government and civics textbooks) addressed some topics in economics such as family income, national expenditures, wage increases, national debt, and how far the family dollar goes. Although it is not mentioned in the preface of each textbook, most of these textbooks state that the material and content is directed for students at the seventh and eighth grade level or for those at the eleventh and twelfth grade level.

Regarding the year of publication and pictograph proliferation, out of the total 205 pictographs about 12% (25 pictographs) appeared in textbooks from 1937. Textbooks from 1938 presented the highest usage of pictographs at 49% (101 pictographs). The textbook from 1939 comprised 16% (32 pictographs) and the textbook from 1941 only represented about 5% (10 pictographs) from the total. For the textbooks from 1942, the pictograph percentage total is 18% (37 pictographs). The study suggests that this increase

in pictographs in 1938 and 1942, as well as the predominance of government and civic textbooks over other subjects in social studies, is indicative of the time period and the call to social order and stability. *Table 2* reflects a sampling of states and their textbook adoption lists that included the textbooks this study. This table provides an overview of the extensive use of these textbooks throughout the nation. This list includes a sample of the textbook adoptions in programs of studies, state libraries, and curricula. It serves as an indicator of wide awareness and usage that these textbooks held across the nation.

**Table 2**

*Sample of textbooks from the study and their adoption by state from 1937-1945*

<b>Title</b>	<b>Author(s)</b>	<b>Publication Year</b>	<b>Textbook Adoption by State</b>	<b>Years of Adoption</b>
Exploring Geography	Mabel B. Casner & Roderick Peattie	1937	New Hampshire (recommended program of study for social studies) 7 <sup>th</sup> - 12 <sup>th</sup> grade	1938-1940
			New York (secondary curriculum bibliography)	1940
			California (high school)	1942
Government in Action: A Study of Problems in American Democracy	Robert E. Keohane, Mary Pieters Keohane, & Joseph D. McGoldrick	1938	Texas (number of copies unknown) 11 <sup>th</sup> grade	1939-1945
The Rise of American Democracy	Mabel B. Casner & Ralph Henry Gabriel	1938	New York (eighth grade social studies)	1938

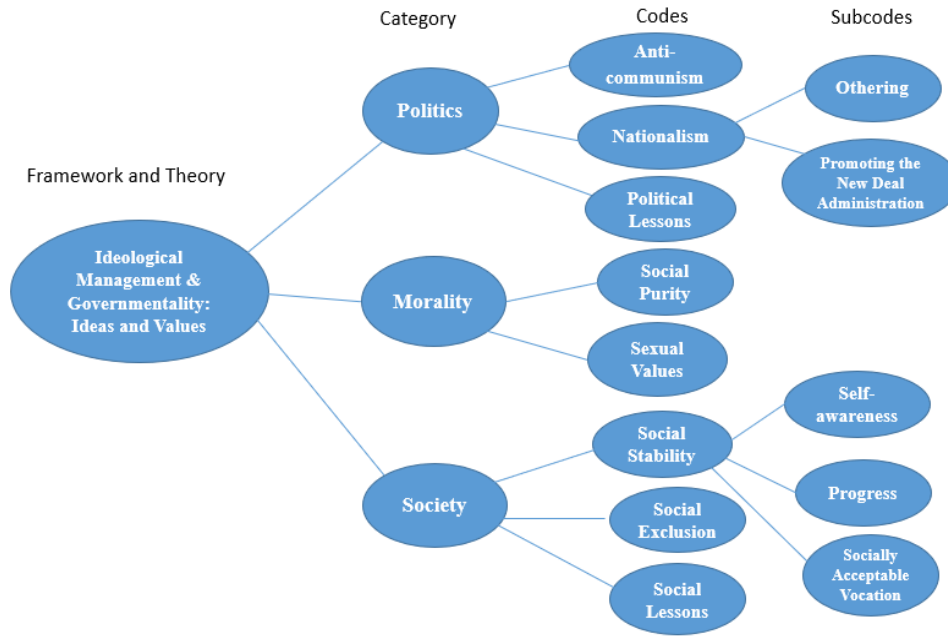
This Government	H. J. Eckenrode, DeWitt S. Morgan, & John. J. Corson	1938	Texas (education bulletin for teaching social studies at the junior and senior level)	1938
Democracy At Work: Living in American Communities	Ernest B. Fincher, Russell E. Fraser & William G. Kimmel	1939	Missouri (secondary education)	1941
Life and Growth	Alice V. Keliher with the Commission on Human Relations	1941	Florida (public library)	1942
The Story of American Democracy	Mabel B. Casner & Ralph Henry Gabriel	1942	California (high school)	1942
			Oregon (program of study for eighth grade social studies)	1944
America: Its History and People, A Unit Organization	Harold Underwood Faulkner & Tyler Kepner	1942	Texas (11,694 copies) high school	1935-39

### **Organization of Findings**

Because of the shifts and changes within the messages in each textbook, the first segment of this chapter discusses the overall nature, theme, subject, and message particular to each textbook. This serves to retain the context and nature of each textbook without disconnecting it from the larger findings produced by the examination of the aggregated pictographs from all the textbooks. After this segment, the chapter presents segments detailing the findings for each theme (social, moral, and political) in ideological

management along with each theme's codes and sub-codes. These findings are in accordance with the methodological framework set by the different segments (political, social, and moral) of ideological management. Ideological management functions as a form of democratic social engineering. It is how the elite generate consent from the public on specific ideological individual values, behavior patterns, goals, and national history through social organizations to serve as a mechanism of governmentality and maintain traditional authority (Graebner, 1987).

Below is *Figure 10* which depicts a flowchart serving as a visual reminder of the codes under each subcategory or theme present in ideological management. This chart presents the original category, subcategories, and codes from chapter. However, *Figure 14* holds some additional codes and subcodes that emerged from pictographs and text throughout the coding process. Although these are not codes and subcodes prescribed from Spring's (1992) work, they stem from the concepts and subcategories from ideological management. The codes and subcodes also conform to the concerns and context of the time period, as well as the unique nature of pictographs as mediums of communication.



*Figure 10.* Updated Framework Flowchart Informed by Ideological Management and Governmentality

The second segment in this chapter presents the message of anti-communism, nationalism, and othering present in the text and pictographs to bolster the contributions of the New Deal administration or mobilize the next generation towards national unity. This section addresses the politics subcategory in ideological management’s ideas and values. The third segment discusses the messages of sexual values and social purity in these textbooks that furthers a specific vision of social and physical morality. Sexual values and social purity correspond to the morality subcategory. Although morality is the least dominant theme throughout all the textbooks in this study, it was predominantly present in textbooks or chapters that addressed physical development and the family in society. The fourth segment will tackle the message of progress, social lessons and social exclusion present in the pictographs to maintain social stability during the Great



Depression and the early years of World War II. This segment focuses on the society subcategory.

### **Overview and Theme of Each Textbook**

The first textbook chronologically within the study is *Exploring Geography* (1937) and it is the only textbook in the set that specifically addresses the subject of geography. A significant portion of the text and its supporting pictographs focuses on agricultural practices, climates, and the environment throughout different regions in the United States. This focus on farming and the environment in the text and pictographs is perhaps a response to the Great Depression and the ecological events that transpired during the dust bowl and its effects on the average farmer and the environment.

Investigation shows that land in the United States is wearing out at the rate of 200,000 acres a year. The destroyed areas lie mostly in the back country. There we find the dilapidated buildings which house the poorly nourished families of farmers who are trying to grow crops where soil conditions prevent them from making an income sufficient to provide a living. Many communities have abandoned farms where once there were fertile acres. (Casner & Peattie, 1937, p. 46)

During the Great Depression, farmers and agricultural families suffered the most from the dust bowl and the economic depression. The farmer can also be considered another type of “Forgotten Man” from that period that the federal government attempted to reconnect with and restore their livelihood through policies and the American political philosophy and imagination (Allen, 2015). The focus of this textbook is not only to

prevent future economic and environmental disasters but to also bring back the forgotten man into the fold of democracy and civic duty as is present in the following text:

The cooperative movements just described come from farmers themselves. They are brought about principally to overcome economic difficulties. Some of these difficulties, such as seasonal low prices and the need of storage, the spoiling of fruits, or the distance from market, are geographical. There are, however, many difficulties facing the farmer which are too great for even a group of men to overcome. Here the Government with its great resources may step in to help. (Casner & Peattie, 1937, p. 196)

Besides the primary focus of this textbook on the environment, the farmer, and agricultural practices, the text and pictographs also present major comparisons between the United States and other countries in terms of natural resources and technological advancements to create a distinction in progress, power, and modernization. These comparisons function as a means of visually communicating to the reader difference and exceptionalism. Examples depicting such messages to the reader appear further in this chapter.

*Government in Action* (1938) is the second textbook in this study and it is one of several that covers government and civics areas. Although this is a government and civics textbook, its primary focus and pictographs are on how our government functions, the rights that citizens hold within this system, and social ills related to unemployment, healthcare, and the general welfare of the public. This textbook reminds the reader that aiding the underprivileged is not only the social responsibility of the federal government

and community, but it is also a way to maintain and preserve democracy, dignity, and well-being in a time of turmoil.

During the depression great numbers of old people lost their jobs and were unable to secure others. The increasing number of dependent old people speeded up the process. In June 1938, forty-six states had old-age pension systems, and in March of the same year 1,656,053 aged persons drew more than \$31,000,000 from public funds...However, these funds are sufficient to enable many old people to live with relatives who could not assume the full burden of their support. (Keohane et al., 1938, p. 516)

*The Rise of American Democracy* (1938) is a textbook that falls under the government and civics subject and the general themes that appear are in relation to the New Deal administration's relationship and aid towards society. Some aspects of this relationship between the New Deal and the public include the social security act as a sign of responsibility from the part of the government towards the elderly, unemployed, and single mothers. Although there is a significant emphasis on the New Deal administration, its concerns over public welfare, and its aim to instill social stability, this is also chronologically the first textbook in the sample to present a push towards emphasizing American exceptionalism on a national and international level. There are 5 out of 23 pictographs that serve as instances of Othering immigrants and the importance in assimilating or Americanizing this segment of the population for the sake of the nation's democracy and values.

When the war was over [World War I], thousands of people who had been impoverished by the conflict in Europe wished to come to America where living and working conditions were better. American wage-earners objected to having foreigners take away their jobs. The laborers demanded that only a few newcomers be admitted. Americans of all classes urged that the United States absorb and Americanize the immigrants already here before again opening the gates. (Casner & Gabriel, 1938, p.618)

American values and characteristics are also present throughout the textbook such as industriousness, ingenuity, and exceptionalism. The text goes on to mention that such a lifestyle and opportunities led men to develop a habit of self-reliance, the spirit of equality, the habit of self-government, and faith in the common man (Casner & Gabriel, 1938, pp. 455-456). Another major theme in the textbook is the need to make civic choices in accordance with the values of American democracy rather than appeasing all parts of the public to keep the peace.

The West developed the spirit of enterprise. Americans learned to think of the undeveloped possibilities of the West. They became accustomed to the idea that any man of sound health, strong character, and intelligence could find new and greater opportunities in the West. In this was every American was constantly stimulated to take advantage of opportunities at home, if he preferred to stay in the East, or to seek out new opportunities on the frontier. (Casner & Gabriel, 1938, p.455)

The textbook *This Government* (1938) also belongs to the subject of government and civics. The main themes present throughout the textbook include the promotion of

the New Deal administration along with its programs and policies, government transparency, public welfare, and the breakdown of governmental processes. Overall, these themes are tied to some form of social stability, progress, nationalism, and/or social lesson communicated through the text and pictographs. The common social lesson that runs throughout this textbook is the importance of protecting public welfare and democracy of the nation.

The attorneys general of the several states and the local prosecutors or commonwealth's attorneys, sheriffs, coroners, and recorders of deeds all play important parts in ensuring each citizen justice under the law... It has been only a short time since the government of this country accepted the function of preserving and promoting the physical well-being of its citizens. Now this is an acknowledged duty of government. (Eckenrode et al., 1938, p. 235)

The forgotten man or those that the economic depression (generally farmers, blue-collar workers, families in poverty, the elderly, etc.) significantly affected appear through various messages in the text and pictographs. This textbook repeatedly presents pictographic examples of working and impoverished families to support the New Deal administration in reminding the reader that this segment of the population requires aid. Without this portion of the population living a socially and economically stable life, the nation's democracy remains unstable and in danger of collapsing (Eckenrode et al., 1938, p. 479). Overall, this segment of the population heavily served in both industrial and agricultural sectors, which served to suffer the most from the economic depression and unemployment. This sentiment is present in the following text:

First, some citizens cannot afford to pay for what they get. The destitute for example, cannot pay for the relief that they receive, yet we cannot let them starve. Many impoverished families with large numbers of children could not pay their share of the costs of schools, yet we consider it essential that every boy and girl should have an opportunity to go to school. Second, it is impossible to apportion the costs of some governmental services among the citizens... Most governmental services, however, are financed by taxation without relation to what the individual taxpayer, in turn, receives. (Eckenrode et al., 1938, pp. 479-480).

Overall, the textbook *This Government*, sheds light on the current affairs of working-class families, social reform and change in perspective towards the impoverished, and defining what constitutes social responsibility and welfare for the public. Rather than providing an overview of grand histories or major global comparisons, this textbook addressed social, civic, and community problems and how governmental services can aid larger issues within these areas. Such visual messages and their text on the importance of social problems are tied to addressing the progress and prosperity of the nation. By arguing that the New Deal administration recognizes major socioeconomic issues that ail the public, the message in the textbook restores trust in the federal government.

Out of all the textbooks in this study, *Democracy At Work* (1939) presents social lessons, social concerns, and social ills that must be addressed by society and communities or that the federal government is currently working on mitigating. *Democracy At Work* (1939) does not glorify American progress, ingenuity,

modernization, and exceptionalism. There are several concerns and issues present in the textbook that challenge the narrative of progress and modernization such as accessible healthcare, public safety, and unemployment. Some of the pictographs and text in this textbook present social ills and concerns that emerged as products of rapid modernization and technological progress. A discussion of these themes appears in the subsequent segments in this chapter, yet below there is text from the textbook that challenges the narrative of progress.

Americans are proud of the fact that they have more radios, autos, telephones, and other mechanical improvements than the citizens of any other nation. We boast that our standard of living is higher than that of other countries, Why, then, do one third of our people live in houses unfit for human use? (Fincher et al., 1939, p. 162)

Despite occasions where the text critiques American progress and exceptionalism, nine out of the 32 pictographs in this set extol progress without addressing the economic depression and the social concerns from that period. This is perhaps the case because a lot of the pictographs that appear in this textbook are from Hacker, Modley, and Taylor's (1937) pictographic history of the United States, *The United States: A Graphic History*, which positively represents the nation through pictographs of progress.

*Life and Growth* (1941) is the only textbook in this bound set that belongs to the social studies focused on sociology, anthropology, and human development. Through the text and pictographs, the emphasis is placed on social interactions and understandings at the local and familial level in relation to gender, sex, physical development, and physical exchanges. The overall message that this textbook and its pictographs communicate to

students or young adults is to maintain and perpetuate the current sexual and social order in society, such as finding a suitable partner and fulfilling parental and societal expectations.

In our society the approach to adult responsibility and the deepening of the love channel into a desire for marriage and parenthood often come together. Many of our young people are facing uncertainties and delays in both. Many who have found their design for living and have found the partner who is part of that design are faced with the complexities of our social system, complexities that lead to cycles of depression and prosperity, cycles of opportunity and deprivation. (Keliher, 1941, p. 72)

Throughout the entire text, the narrative is directed to all students, yet the examples and pronouns used in the text are generally geared toward male readers. Therefore, any person or student could read the textbook, yet the text predominantly utilizes male pronouns and behavioral male examples. For example, one passage reads:

Follow a high school boy through parts of his day. He may debate about getting up when his alarm rings. If he has built a habit of getting up then no thought or decision is needed...When he is up, he goes about bathing and dressing. A good part of this is habit, but he must use some judgement, perhaps very little, perhaps much. (Keliher, 1941, p.31).

Out of the total 10 pictographs for this textbook, seven pictographs address examples and statistical information that deals with male physical and social development along with the interactions that a boy and adult man must have in relation to others and the family. Within the pictograph total, there are five pictographs that present female pictograms.



However, within those five pictographs, only two use statistical information regarding female students and their physical maturation and development in comparison to male bodies. The remaining three pictographs depict female pictograms as secondary or supporting actors in the statistical information directed at male readers. The female reader is rarely acknowledged in the text yet there are at least four pictographs and images addressing changes in the female body.

Unlike other textbooks in the sample, *The Story of American Democracy* (1942) is a revised edition of *The Rise of American Democracy* (1938) and it does not discuss the New Deal administration and its efforts as the other textbooks in this study from the 1930s. The preface of this textbook mentions the United States' recent involvement in World War II and the importance of protecting democracy. Because of the war, the economic depression, and the current sociopolitical circumstances (total war perspective), the text and pictographs place less emphasis on regaining the trust of the public through a visual language and textual phrases that promote the New Deal administration. Overall, only three pictographs out of the 21 total pictographs in the entire textbook place a positive emphasis on the New Deal administration and its programs. The general message that the textbook communicates is the preservation of the democracy, instilling nationalism through American exceptionalism, and othering. An example of such themes is present in the following text, "American families can buy things and do things that are beyond the consideration of the average Chinese or Hindu family" (Casner & Gabriel, 1942, p. 461). Expansion, development and growth of the nation are major themes within this textbook. These recurring themes and messages in the text and pictographs present a

sense of social stability through progress, as well as the innate greatness and superiority of the American nation and its people.

With U.S. involvement in World War II, the tone, information, and message become centered around the war effort and the image of the nation in the home front. *America, Its History and People* (1942) is the final textbook in this study and the only one under the subject of history. Progress, the birth of democracy in the United States, unity, and nationalism serve as some of the major themes present throughout the text and pictographs in this textbook. Nationalism in this textbook appears most often because of all the pictographs presenting the nation's westward movement and Manifest Destiny serves as the justification for this geographical expansion. This positive focus on expansion leads the reader to correlate that this necessary westward movement is synonymous with progress and exceptionalism as seen in the statement below:

Of all the factors which have gone into the making of America as we know it today, none has been more important than the continual movement toward the west which began with the earliest settlers and lasted for almost three centuries...It is this factor which has been chiefly influential in producing a distinct American civilization – not a New England, a New France, or a New Netherland, but a new nation – America.  
(Faulkner & Kepner, 1942, p. 369)

Such an affirmative view on western expansion and the general movement from outside of the United States overshadows much larger issues tied to the extension of a nation's territory. In this textbook, 9 out of the 18 pictographs that present progress and nationalism regarding westward expansion and neo-imperialism do not mention

indigenous peoples or the consequences brought on by displacing such groups. These pictographs present the westward movement for pioneers as a seamless process or event in American history. The same principle is present with the movement towards cities or urbanization. These migrations are viewed as inevitable and positive outcomes of the exceptionalism, modernization, and industriousness present in the nation.

Not alone were the working hours of mankind being subordinated to the new machinery; their play and intellectual life were also becoming standardized.

Improvements in transportation and communication, along with machine production, made it not only possible, but inevitable that the small-town merchant should dress like a Wall Street banker and also think like him. (Faulkner & Kepner, 1942, p.589)

The last major theme present in this textbook is democracy and the centralization of the government. Through various pictographs, there is a push or indication to bring the public back into the fold of democracy and to instill trust in the federal government. The following segments that breakdown each code discuss these themes in further detail through text and pictograph examples.

### **Politics: The New Deal Administration and Nationalism**

Within the category or theme of politics, there are three codes: political lessons, anti-communism, and nationalism. Political lessons signify concerns and consequences regarding the way the United States' government affects policy within the nation and towards other nations through international involvement. Anti-communism as a code presents the conception of a binary understanding of the world where democracies and totalitarian governments exist in a struggle for control over the public (Spring, 1992).

This international struggle places democracies at risk. Therefore, anti-communism represents any examples or statements in relation to the preservation of democracy by villainizing, othering, or undermining foreign governments and nations under totalitarian or fascist regimes. The concept of anti-communism and communism are perhaps still too early to be applicable to this time period because they are part of the post-world political culture. According to Doody (2013), unemployment, the national distrust towards a capitalistic government, and the rising of unions brought on by the Great Depression along with the lack of civil rights present in other parties fueled the membership of the Communist party in the United States. Therefore, Spring's (1992) understanding and explanation of anti-communism can be applied to this study because through these pictographs and textbooks one sees the beginnings of what anti-communism would come to represent during the Cold War.

For the purposes of this study, nationalism is understood according to Spring's (1992) work and the progressive education values of the period as national social cohesion and unification through common values and goals in a democratic space where one can explore various skills and interests that address the common good of the community and nation (Martin, 2002). Within the code of nationalism, there are two subcodes that address specific forms or expressions of communicating the sentiment of nationalism in accordance with the period: Othering and promoting the New Deal administration. Between the two major codes, nationalism appeared in pictographs in this set of textbooks on 49 occasions, political lessons emerged 15 times, and anti-communism appeared a total of 5 times. Within nationalism's two subcodes, promoting the New Deal administration appeared 40 times and othering appeared in 23 instances.

The category of politics and its corresponding codes and subcodes appeared predominantly in textbooks under the subject of government and civics. On 26 occasions these codes and subcodes related to the theme of politics were present in textbooks under the subject of geography and history. Textbooks published in 1938 and 1942 presented the highest instances where the theme of politics and its various expressions according to ideological management and the nature of the textbooks. Specific examples of these themes appear in the following code segments: political lessons, anti-communism, and nationalism.

### **Code - Political Lessons**

Political lessons in pictographs and textbooks emerge as concerns regarding isolationism, world trade, imperialism, the price of war, and issues within the political and federal system. This code appears throughout the sample 15 times primarily in textbooks under the subjects of history and civics in 1938 and 1942. From further reading and analysis, the pictographs and text present to the reader that the United States must remain involved with other nations on a diplomatic, economic, and international level. However, this is not to say that the United States needs to be involved in this interdependent relationship because the United States is lacking certain resources, human capital, or requires financial aid from other nations. Instead, the text and pictographs communicate that the United States seeks to maintain this global interdependence to progress as effectively as possible as a stable economic power, which is present in the following text:

These paragraphs indicate a few of the great many ways in which we depend upon the world for our commodities, either because we lack certain commodities or because the other produce them more easily. We could produce silk, tea, and rubber in this country, but by processes too expensive to interest us. It is clear that the United States may be more or less independent, but it is not completely independent. (Casner & Peattie, 1937, p. 350)

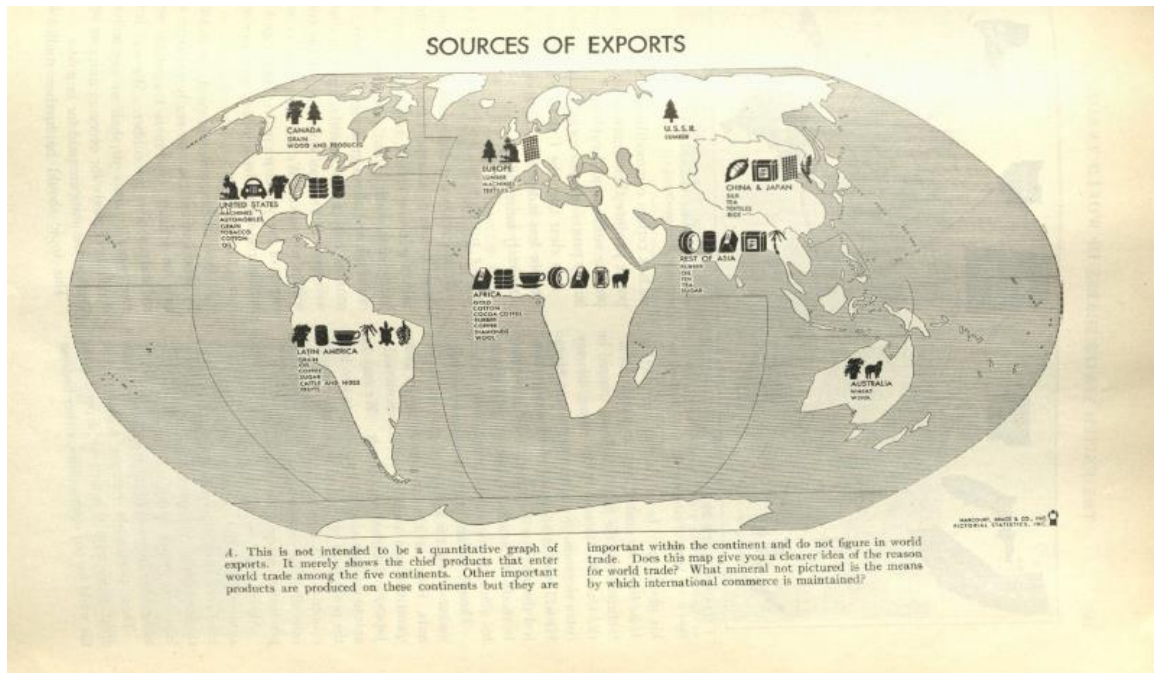


Figure 11. Sources of Export from Exploring Geography (1937)

Figure 11 is a pictographic representation of the economic world order. Like most Mercator map projections, North America is not spatially placed at the center of the image. However, based on exported items and resources from each region, the pictograph indicates both a sense of interdependence and vagueness. The pictograph shows that there are items that the United States does not possess and vice versa, which requires an international economic relationship between the United States and other countries. These

items of export are divided by nation and landmass. The United States holds a significant portion of exports while Central America is barely visible on the pictograph. Western Europe (listed as Europe) appears to have some sources of export but the remainder of Central and Eastern Europe falls under the label of U.S.S.R and only possesses timber. Asia is divided into China and Japan and the other half of the landmass is listed as Rest of Asia. Only the United States and Europe appear to hold the pictogram for machines (industrialization and modernization) while the other nations and landmasses have pictograms related to raw materials or resources.

In these pictographs and text that indicate political lessons, the message on world trade and imperialism is that the United States functions more from a paternal and superior standpoint where it serves as a global arbiter. The United States remains involved in such international relations and laws to avoid isolationism and to protect the rising democracies in nations under the threat of imperialism and totalitarianism, which is in the text below.

After the Spanish-American War in 1898, our policy of isolation was somewhat modified. Acquisition of the Philippines, the Open Door policy, and our part in the suppression of the Boxer Rebellion made clear that we intended to have a hand settling some of the problems out Far East. (Keohane et al., 1938, p. 646)

Another political lesson present in the text and *Figure 15* pictograph is that the United States is not an entirely independent power. To participate in world trade, it must engage in the exporting of goods to other countries. The pictograph's supporting text

argues that this international interdependence is for economic and capitalistic reasons rather than because the nation is lacking land and natural resources. The text reads:

We do not want independence. This is shown by our great export trade. We export half of our raw cotton, one-third of our pork products and of our oil, and also a great deal of wheat...Most of these goods are paid for in kind. By this is meant that we really exchange article for article. (Casner & Peattie, 1937, p. 350)

The text also places the United States in a position of power by arguing that the United States can remain independent if it so desired (Exploring Geography, p. 351). Although this specific message is not present in the Sources of Export pictograph by itself, the pictograph shows specific icons of export that other regions do not have such as automobiles and machines. In comparison to other nations that export goods on this pictographic map, the United States appears to offer more variety and technological advancements to its international neighbors than they have to offer the United States. Although the paragraph below the pictograph claims that this is not a quantitative map of the exports produced by each continent, the divisions on this map are not in relation to continents. The world is divided through specific labels. Although North America is one continent according to the conception of seven continents in the world according to geographic divisions, a distinction is made between Canada and the United States. Mexico and Central America appear to be absorbed by the United States and Latin America begins in South America. The U.S.S.R. is not considered part of Europe or Asia and a major distinction is made between China, Japan, and the remaining countries in Asia. These pictographic differentiations perhaps reflect the political and international



events brought on by the First Sino-Japanese War (1894 - 1895), Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945), Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), and the Russian Revolution (1917). All these events garnered international attention, yet the remaining parts of Asia are relegated to the label – Rest of Asia. This way of distinguishing regions or countries shows the primary actors in world trade, politics, and international interdependence.

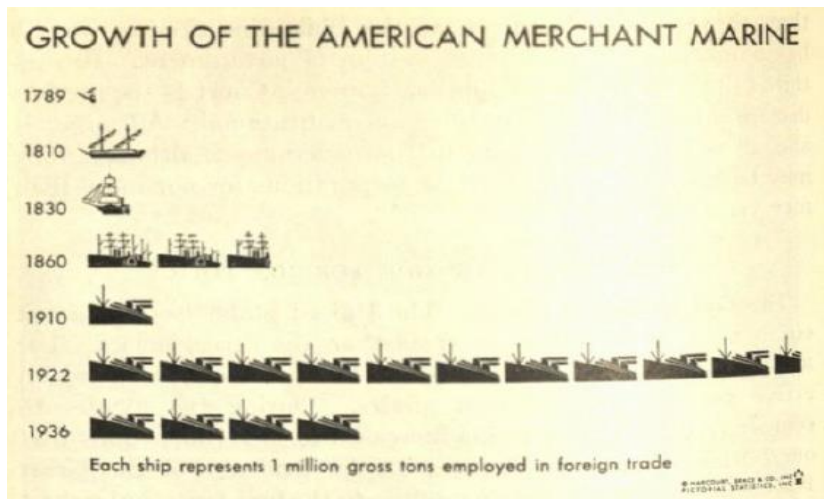


Figure 12. Growth of the American Merchant Marine from *Government in Action* (1938)

In the case of the pictograph Growth of the Merchant Marine in the *Government in Action* textbook (1938), the pictograph is in a chapter titled “The United States is a Great Power”. In this pictograph, modernization and progress immediately stand out as one sees the technological evolution of the American merchant marine ships. However, there appears to be a decline in 1936 perhaps because of the economic depression. Although this is one of the most immediate impressions that one gathers from this image, this pictograph is intended to support the text regarding how imperialism affects democracy in the western hemisphere. For example, the text reads:

On the other hand, he [President Monroe] made clear that the Americas were no longer open to further colonization and that we would consider any attempt by European powers to acquire colonies or control the free and independent republics of this hemisphere as an “unfriendly act.” In short, we indicated that we would aid the new Spanish American republics to defend themselves against European aggression. (Keohane et al., pp.616-617)

The execution of the Monroe Doctrine supported and aided Spanish-American countries striving for independence from Spain. The text suggests that this form of foreign policy is one that imposed itself over the western hemisphere yet was not considered international law, “The Monroe doctrine was merely a declaration of our policy; it was contained in no treaty; it was not part of our law, nor could it claim any standing in international law” (Keohane et al., 1938, p. 617). The growth of the American merchant marine (although in the pictograph the western hemisphere is not specified yet it is an important topic in the text that accompanies *Figure 15*) significantly increase during the twentieth century with the rise of the Monroe Doctrine and the Good Neighbor policy. The political lesson is that the United States, as a global power, is responsible for its neighboring countries whose democracies are at risk. Although the pictograph does not outright indicate this, the text justifies U.S. involvement abroad while the pictograph supports the text through the number of pictograms depicting the growth of foreign trade over time to show the United States’ power in the foreign trade and international arena.

Overall, this pictograph and the text represents paternalism and a strengthening of nationalism. This political lesson serves as another form of neo-imperialism or

neocolonialism where the United States can justify the forcible removal of external powers through foreign policy.

Other types of political lessons that arise through pictographs and the text also deal with national and internal issues such as the toll of war and national dissention. Such is the case in the pictograph below Cotton Spinning Moves South in the textbook *American Its History and People* (1942). This pictograph represents a political lesson regarding the consequences to dissention and seceding from the Union. Although this is a historical political lesson, it is also a reminder about how important it is to protect democracy and it also brings up what becomes of those that jeopardize democracy.

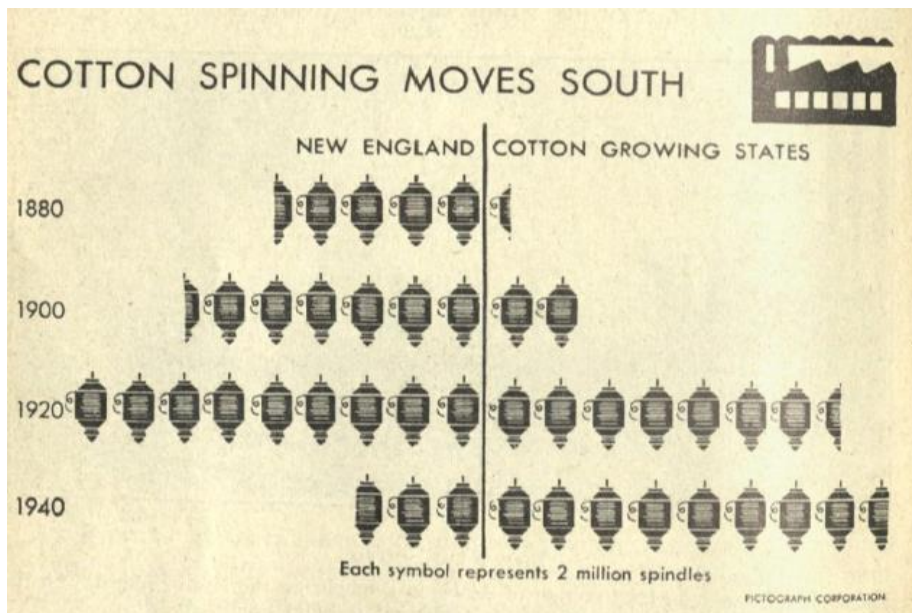


Figure 13. Cotton Spinning Moves South from America, Its History and People (1942)

At first glance, this pictograph statistically represents the rise of cotton spinning in the South from the New England region (the North). The text utilizes this pictograph to support its claims on how the South succeeded from the Union, lost the Civil War, and its industries were left prostrate after the war.

While the war brought great economic prosperity to the North, it brought only suffering to the South. An agricultural section before the war with but slight industrial development, the South had to provide herself with the necessities of war either by importation or by the construction of factories...The Civil War left the South prostrate. For the South, the 20 years following the Civil War were a time to try men's souls, but out of this economic collapse there emerged a new South. (Faulkner & Kepner p. 407).

However, the text also argues that after the war men from former Confederate states moved to the North and brought their experience with them to the cotton industry, which allowed the cotton industry to significantly increase in the North than the South after the end of Reconstruction (p. 408). This can be seen from the years 1880 through 1900 in the pictograph. The text goes on to state that the South underwent a great industrial change during the early 1900s and many northerners began to invest in Southern industries (p. 408). In 1920, one can see that both the North and South equally flourished from the cotton industry. Overall, this pictograph and its text suggest a cautionary political lesson regarding the consequences brought on by secession, as well as the progress that can be attained solely through national unity and democracy.

### **Code - Nationalism in Pictographs**

The code nationalism emerged predominantly in pictographs from 1938 in government and civics textbooks, which included a total of 49 instances. A smaller percentage appeared in the geography textbook from 1937, as well as the history and government and civics textbooks from 1942. The code nationalism also carried two

subcodes promoting the New Deal administration and othering, which have their own segments in this chapter. Nationalism in these textbooks entailed a sense of geographic, economic, political, and social superiority and exceptionalism in comparison to other regions of comparable status or of lesser standing in the global world order. In the cases where comparisons were not present, nationalism represented the proper civic and social traits of an American citizen. At times, nationalism in the pictograph and text further reinforced nationalism through othering or promoting the New Deal government and its contributions to social and political improvements. Instances of nationalism without othering or promoting the New Deal administration appear in Increase in Arms Budget from *Government in Action* (1938) and Leading Agricultural States / Natural Resources of the United States in *The Story of American Democracy* (1942).

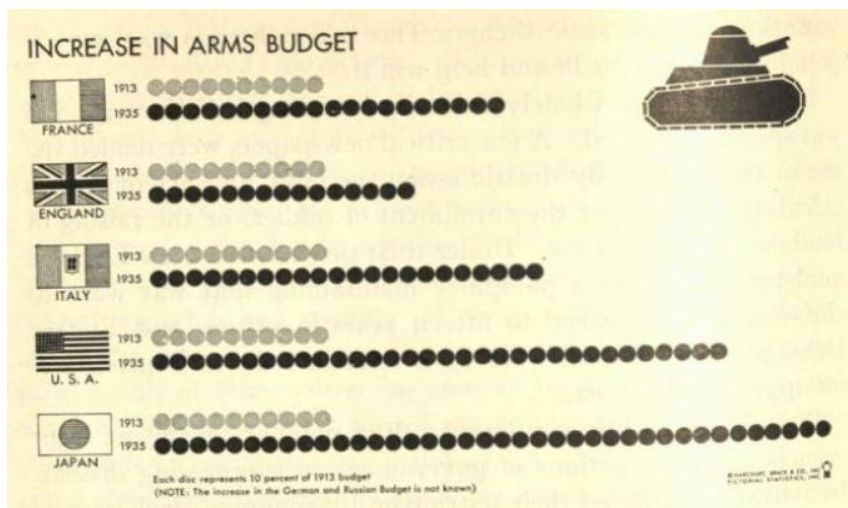


Figure 14. Increase in Arms Budget from *Government in Action* (1938)

In the Increase in Arms Budget pictograph and the text in the ‘War and Peace’ chapter, the primary focus of the text is to discuss the importance of mobilizing for the next potential war. For example, in the following statement, “Drastic as was governmental regulation of individual lives during the last war, proposals are now being

made to make it far stricter during the next” (Keohane et al., 1938, p. 658). This pictograph is perhaps a product of the tensions rising from totalitarian governments and their neighboring countries in Europe and the Pacific. Through this pictograph, the reader only views one facet of preparation for total war – the arms budget. In comparison to other countries, the United States (other than Japan) has been leading in the increments of their arms budget. In the image alone, the comparison is only made among leading powers that are either former empires or political world threats. The pictograph includes France, the United States, Japan, Italy, and England, but it excludes the U.S.S.R., Germany, and other democratic countries. This is perhaps the case because by 1938 Japan and Italy had already invaded other countries and posed a threat to global peace while France, England, and the United States were former allies during World War I. Although Russia was part of this alliance, the country is no longer the former imperial power that it was at the beginning of World War I and instead is now under a communist regime attempting to forge relations with Nazi Germany. The text also brings up other areas that the United States is preparing for under the umbrella of military combat such as universal service and military drafts in the following example.

The American Legion, in its 1934 convention, declared itself in favor of a “universal draft” by which money, industrial equipment such as factories and railroads, agriculture, and man power would all be used for the service of the government without special preference or profit. (Keohane et al., pp. 658-659).

Although the purpose of total war is the protection of the nation’s democracy and its people, during wartime anything that is deemed necessary to win the war is acceptable

even if it may violate constitutional rights (Ben-Porath, 2009; Blankenship, 2015; 2016). Despite the 1930s being the interwar period, the text argues that it is always necessary to prepare for potential wars. For the purposes of total war, the text argues that national cohesion and support is required to be prepared and successful (Keohane et al., p. 660). The Increase in Arms Budget pictograph shows that the U.S. has exponentially grown the nation's arms budget between 1913 and 1935 almost as much as Japan has done during the same interval. Perhaps this is a direct preventative action because of World War I or the image and text can be interpreted as the U.S. anticipating a potential war in the future.

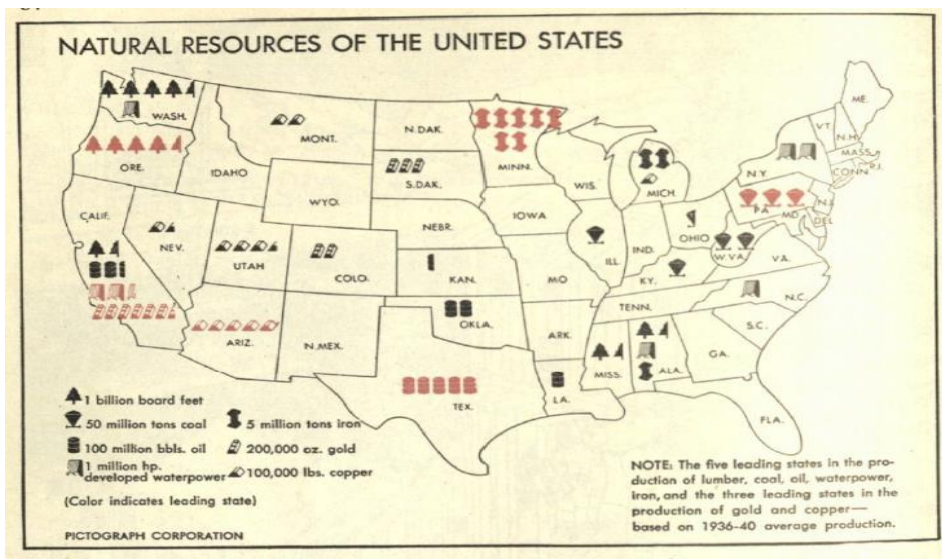
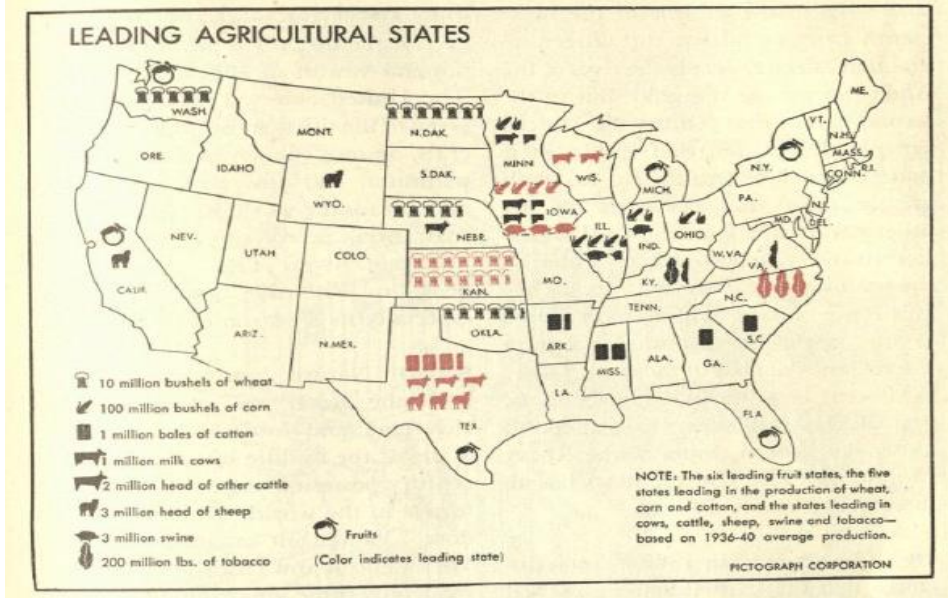


Figure 15. Natural Resources of the United States from The Story of American Democracy (1942)



*Figure 16.* Leading Agricultural States from *The Story of American Democracy* (1942)

In *Leading Agricultural States* and *Natural Resources of the United States*, the pictographs and the text represent nationalism and communicate exceptionalism and determinism through all the natural resources and land that belongs to the United States. The title of both segments in the chapter that contains these pictographs are “The United States Possesses the Resources Essential for Great Industries” and “Steel Supplies the Foundation for Industrializing America”. It appears that power, the ability to modernize, and possess greatness lies in the innate exceptionalism and ability of the nation to acquire land and resources, along with the application of American ingenuity and industriousness. Such innate qualities are present in the following two passages that correspond to both pictographs:

The railroads built after 1865 made possible the development of natural resources practically untouched before then. The greatest of the resources of the American



nation is land. The value of this resource Americans had early recognized and had long put to use. (Casner & Gabriel, p. 375)

The 1940 production [of steel], however, was used mainly for the production of tanks, guns, warships, and other machines of war. Since the United States produces over 40 per cent of the steel production of the world, it occupies a position of great power in the world. (Casner & Gabriel, p. 379)

Once American explorers and pioneers discovered these natural resources, the nation's government immediately designed expeditions and organizations to manage these resources. The Leading Agricultural States pictograph presents the reader with statistical information regarding agricultural resources and land from 1936-1940. This image not only displays a bounty of resources and the nation's access to it, but it also serves as a reminder to the public that the nation is still powerful and stable through its naturally given resources during the economic depression. The pictograph Natural Resources of the United States also communicates a similar statistical message for the years 1936-1940 but through large quantities of natural resources as opposed to access to agricultural land and resources. This image reinforces the message from Leading Agricultural States and it further promotes the sense of greatness in the United States by communicating exceptionalism, stability, and progress. Access to such land and agricultural resources under this message automatically gives the reader the following logic: access to almost limitless land and resources leads to modernization, which leads to progress and results in power. This visual and textual narrative based in determinism

communicates the nation's destiny to further build up the nationalist imagination and forge an identity founded on supremacy and exceptionalism.

### Subcode - Nationalism in Pictographs Through Othering

In this study, othering emerged as a subcode of nationalism and it serves to highlight negative distinctions such as inferiority and underdevelopment among groups and nations. Othering appeared among these textbooks a total of 23 times predominantly within textbooks under the subjects of geography and civics and government in 1937 and 1938. Prime examples of such forms of othering appear in the pictographs Motor Vehicles from the *textbook Exploring Geography* (1937) and Expansion of Suffrage from the *textbook Government in Action* (1938).

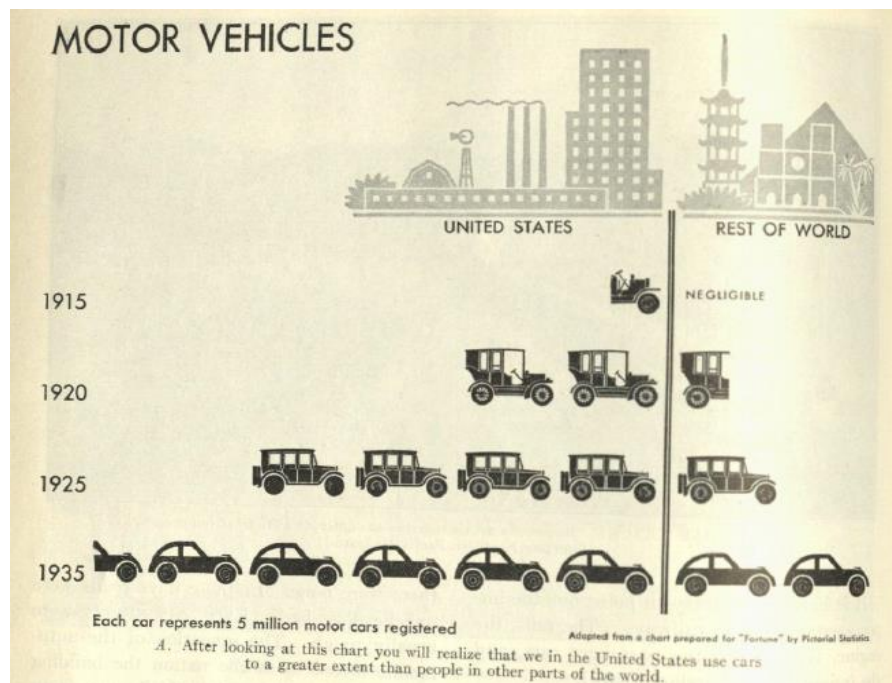


Figure 17. Motor Vehicles from Exploring Geography (1937)

In the pictograph Motor Vehicles, the immediate message communicated through the pictograph alone is a statistical comparison between the rest of the world and the United States regarding the production and use of automobiles. The rest of the world (everyone except for the United States) is lumped together under vague and all-encompassing term “rest of world”, which holds the possibility of being understood as that which is other than the United States. The rest of the world is visually labeled and identified through pictograms that representing historical landmarks such as pyramids (Africa), pagodas (Asia), and the Notre-Dame Cathedral (Europe). On the other hand, the United States is represented through pictograms of non-historical landmarks - farms, factories, and skyscrapers. Without one looking towards the statistical and comparative representation of automobiles between the United States and the rest of the world, the first message communicated to the reader is that places outside of the United States only have historical wonders to offer world. These nations and regions are presented as areas that are lagging in advancement in the following areas: technology, production, and modernization. Therefore, the United States appears as the representation of progress and industry while the rest of the world holds exotic historical landmarks that are not available in the United States. Perhaps this initial comparison is also intended to indicate how much older the rest of the world is, as well as the remnants of long-gone civilizations and eras history.

For the purposes of this pictograph, the increase and technological development of the automobiles (among other technological advancements) has brought the United States into the modern world and has uniformly changed the physical socio-economic makeup of the United States. Perhaps this lack of modernization is why the “rest of

world” has been left behind. The text under the pictograph reminds the reader that other parts of the world use cars to a lesser extent than the United States. “After looking at this chart you will realize that we in the United States use cars to a greater extent than people in other parts of the world” (Casner & Peattie, 1937, p. 252). However, no explanation is provided as to why this is the case. Furthermore, this pictograph visually cements the assumption that the rest of the world is technologically behind and inferior to the United States. As the pictograph indicates, by 1935 the rest of the world only adds up to 10 million registered motor cars while the United States has about 27 million motor cars under one nation.

At the same time, the text also implies that the automobile provides average individual in the United States with a form of modern sociocultural capital and mobility in the following statement:

Today, the farmer runs into town for groceries or a bolt for his mowing machine, the farmer’s wife visits the markets frequently and goes to the movies or to church. The terrible isolation of the farm is broken down. The city or town also comes to the farmer, thanks to gasoline... Thus not only is the economic life of the farmer changed by gasoline but his whole social life as well. (Casner & Peattie, 1937, pp. 251-252)

Therefore, the lack of modern technology, such as the automobile leads to one’s logic deducing that the “rest of the world” is petrified in time because of the isolationism brought on by the lack of automobile or other innovative transportation usage. It does not consider the infrastructure of older cities in other parts of the world or even the sociocultural nature of travel and transportation in these locations.

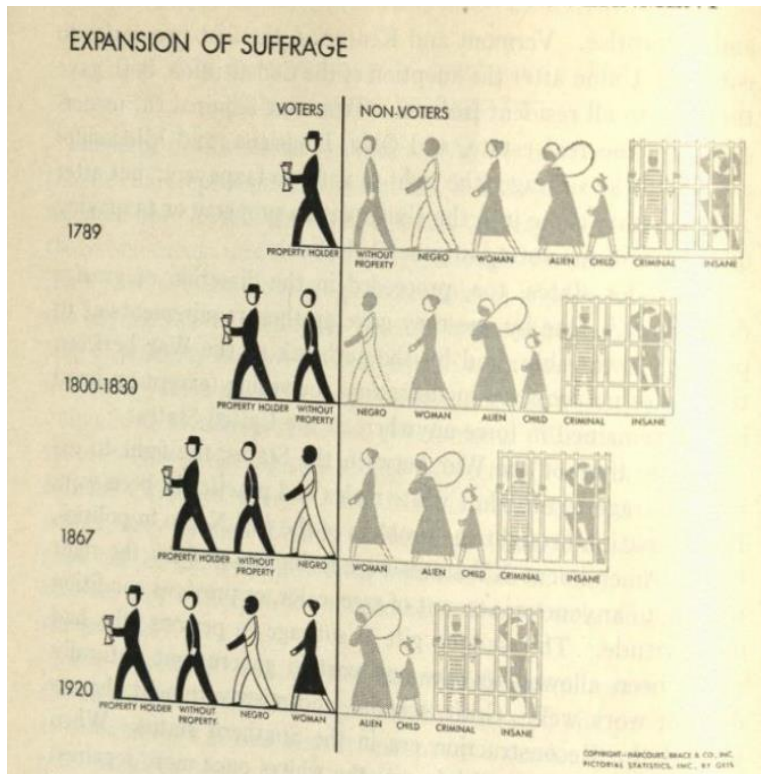


Figure 18. Expansion of Suffrage from Government in Action (1938)

The Expansion of Suffrage pictograph is in the ‘Representative Democracy’ chapter. Although the pictograph is straightforward regarding the expansion of suffrage to other groups of people over time, various social issues and othering appear in the text and pictograph. In this image and text, African Americans are labeled as “Negros” and according to the text the right to vote was “thrustured” upon this population. The text furthers this argument by stating that the African American population did not fight for their right to vote as women did prior to 1920, “Unlike the Negroes, who had the suffrage thrustured upon them, American women won it by their own efforts” (Keohane et al., 1938, p. 70). This not only serves to make distinctions among minorities, but it is also another way to reinforce specific stereotypes about the African American population such as laziness, ignorance, and their need for a paternal governmental figure (Bernstein, 2011).

The text also recognizes that there are other laws in place (particularly in the South) that prevent African Americans from having access to vote. Such regulations further perpetuate their oppression and inability to exercise their right to voice concerns about local, state, and national issues in the following statement:

A white voter may be accepted on trust by the election officials while a Negro is required to show his tax receipt or display an understanding of the Constitution worth of a technical expert. Those Negroes who could pass the election board may be kept away from the polls by fear of punishment in the form of losing jobs or business. The net result of these regulations and discriminations is that the great majority of Southern Negroes do not vote. (Keohane et al., 1938, pp. 69-70).

By presenting this distinction between two minorities and subtly arguing that one holds more privilege over the other over their right to suffrage, the text and pictograph create an atmosphere that creates strife, conflict, and division between two oppressed groups. In the pictograph and text, aliens (immigrants), children, individuals with mental health problems, and criminals are barred from any form of suffrage. (Keohane et al., 1938, p. 71).

The pictograph also presents a second message regarding ableism (mental stability and/or mental capacity for children and those labeled as insane) and who is worthy of having their voice heard. Overall, the text suggests that the United States has finally reached representative democracy by having about 40% to 45% of the population voting as opposed to previously having 6% of the population with the access to vote in 1783 (Keohane et al., 1938, p. 71). Although the text considers this to be a major feat,

there is a significant portion of the population that is excluded and silenced. This message gives the image that in a world with totalitarian, communist, and fascist governments on the rise, the United States continues to be at the forefront and vanguard of democracy for all. This image and text serve as a temporary band aid over much larger deep-rooted issues with suffrage, access, and oppressed groups on the Homefront.

### **Subcode - Nationalism in Pictographs: Promoting the New Deal Administration**

From the coded total pictographs in this study, nationalism through the promotion of the New Deal administration appeared predominantly in textbooks from 1938 related to the subject of government and civics with a total of 40 incidents. Promoting the New Deal as a form of nationalism does not appear again until 1942 in history and government and civics textbooks. The breakdown for the times of emergence of this code is 3% in Geography textbooks from 1937, 81% in government and civics textbooks from 1938, 9% in government and civics textbooks from 1942, and 7% in history textbooks from 1942. This form of nationalism appears more in the late 1930s over the early 1940s because the government is still in the process of reinforcing national cohesion and unity by placing trust in the government through the success of New Deal programs. In the case of promoting the New Deal administration through pictographs, this form of nationalism communicates to its readers that the federal government is aware and concerned over its citizens. This emphasis on the New Deal government's interest in the public and regaining their trust appears through the pictograph Unemployment or Estimated Unemployment. This pictograph is one of the more popular recycled images that reappears in the following textbooks over time: *Government in Action* (1938), *The Rise of*

*American Democracy* (1938), *Democracy at Work* (1939), and *The Story of American Democracy* (1942). For the purposes of this chapter, the comparison of the same pictograph is made between all four of its iterations from 1938 to 1942.



Figure 19. Estimated Unemployment from *Government in Action* (1938)

In the 1938 version of Unemployment in the textbook *Government in Action*, the pictograph and text are in the “Aiding the Underprivileged” chapter. For this pictograph, one sees that the pictogram used to represent the unemployed is a hunched blue-collar worker. This pictogram also may represent as a catch-all the forgotten man of the 1930s. Through this image, one sees when the unemployment rate began to rise and reached its peak. However, the pictograph also presents some unemployment reduction between 1933 and 1936. Some of the social lessons or concerns that the text addresses refer to the correlation regarding high unemployment and its aftermath, “The meaning of those unemployment statistics is too familiar to be elaborated. Undernourishment, disease, and



despair follow in their train” (Keohane et al., 1938, p. 522). Because of these social issues, the text argues that it is the government’s responsibility and moral duty to look after the unemployed and their dependents because at some point the states and local governments could no longer financially assist with the growing number of unemployed citizens, which is present in the following statement:

Even in large and medium-sized cities during prosperous time local governments raised 76 per cent of the funds used for relief, while private charities contributed the rest... But as unemployment grew, local tax funds ran short, and the states were obliged to contribute. Then, as the credit of many states also became strained, the national government entered the picture – first with loans to the states, then with direct grants. (Keohane et al., 1938, pp. 523-525).

To aid unemployment, the New Deal administration sought to provide such families with emergency relief, as well as create jobs through government public works projects. Therefore, this statement serves as evidence to the reader/public that the federal government through the New Deal administration recognizes that the burden of economic stability and reparations does not solely fall on communities and their local governments. The federal government is functioning in this scenario, like most centralized and authoritarian regimes of the period, as the national entity that holds the interest and greater good of each community and its citizens. According to the text and pictograph, the centralized efforts and provisions provided by the New Deal administration have afforded the nation and its citizens dignity and well-being over time through federal unemployment and welfare programs. Overall, the federal government has sustained the

nation in areas where even the most prosperous local governments failed to do so. This functions as another means of regaining the social and national trust of each citizen towards the federal government.



Figure 20. Unemployment from *The Rise of American Democracy* (1938)

In the other 1938 version of the pictograph Unemployment in the textbook *The Rise of American Democracy*, social concerns emerge again yet the text below provides a specific causes or factors for the economic depression and the rise of unemployment.

In the years from 1919 to 1929 Americans became too confident. Manufacturers made more goods than they could sell. The people bought more goods than they could pay for. When at last in 1929 the time came for accounts to be settled, Americans found themselves unable to sell the goods they had made or to pay many of the debts they owed (Casner & Gabriel, 1938, p. 649).

Here the text warns against the social and economic consequences brought on by avarice and exorbitance. Unbridled spending and the amassing of wealth among concentrated groups and businesses marked the socio-economic atmosphere of the 1920s, which partly brought on the economic depression. Unlike the previous 1938 version of this pictograph, this edition makes the connection through FDR's inauguration and the peak of unemployment in the United States. From this point on, the unemployment rate began to drop between 1933 and 1936. This pictograph is also accompanied by a hypothetical scenario intended to be exemplary of a family living through the economic depression. This family's story highlights the importance and value of the New Deal programs such as the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). In the story, projects and program like the CCC provided young men with employment and confidence to support their families. This pictograph and story present a sense of social stability and trust in the government, which is afforded through the New Deal administration. This further reinforces the sentiment that the federal government and New Deal administration care about the general public welfare. The message communicated through the pictograph and text promotes the efforts and actions of the New Deal administration. This message is indicative of this study's understanding of nationalism during this period as form of social cohesion through set values and ideas based on an individual's participation in democratic spaces in their community where they contribute their abilities and time are for the benefit of society.

Although the pictograph and text present a bleak view of the causes that brought on the economic depression, unemployment is at its highest in 1933 yet it begins to consistently drop during Roosevelt's time in office. This statistical information is

intended to provide the reader with a positive correlation between the New Deal administration and the improvement of the economy during the Great Depression. The emergence of the New Deal administration, WPA, and regulations related to the work environment and the general welfare of the worker serve as mechanisms to foster national social cohesion and unity in spaces or groups such as the CCC that provide common national and social values.

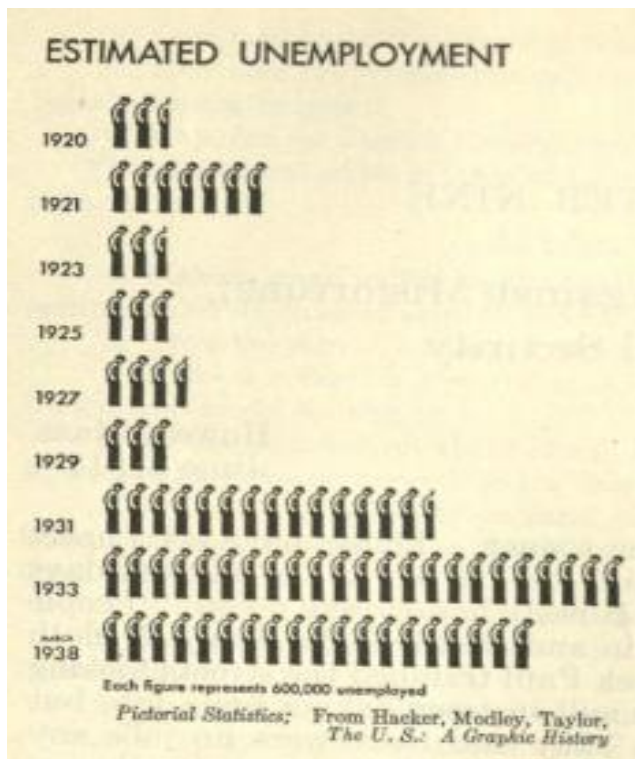


Figure 21. Estimated Unemployment from Democracy At Work (1939)

The 1939 version of the Unemployment pictograph is now titled Estimated Unemployment and it was published in 1939 in the textbook *Democracy At Work*. In the other three versions of this pictograph, the 1936 or 1937 estimate for unemployment is inconsistent. In *Government in Action* (1938) about 11.5 million individuals are unemployed in 1936, in *The Rise of American Democracy* (1938) about 9.6 million

individuals are unemployed in 1937, and in *The Story of American Democracy* (1942) about 7.8 million individuals are unemployed in 1937. However, in this 1939 version about 11.5 million people are unemployed in 1938. This inconsistency among similar versions of the Estimated Unemployment pictograph across different textbooks containing statistical information for the years 1936 - 1938 suggests that pictographs are frequently updated or are open to manipulation and exaggeration according to some critics of pictographs during that period (Brinton, 1939; Scates, 1942). Overall, the purpose of this pictograph and its previous versions is to display some form of economic progress and stability. Although there is some statistical reduction in unemployment overtime, this is still intended to provide the reader with a sense that the United States' economic situation is moving in a positive direction. The social lesson that the text presents for this pictograph is that unemployment is not a symptom of laziness or poor character but rather it is a byproduct of an economic depression, environmental disasters, high modernization, and the beginnings of overpopulation as seen in the statement below:

In an earlier day, most Americans believed that any man could get a job if he actually wanted to work. Many Americans continued to hold this belief until 1929. Then they were forced to change their minds, for they saw that most people lost their jobs through no fault of their own. They realized that millions of people were unemployed, not because they were lazy, but because there were no jobs. (Fincher et al., 1939, p. 186).

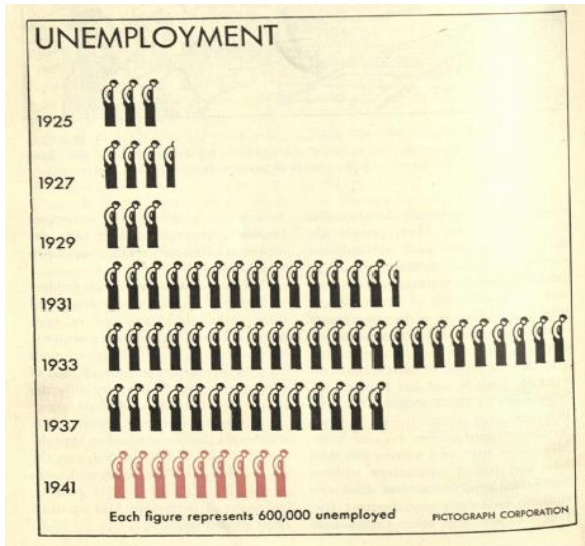


Figure 22. Unemployment from *The Story of American Democracy* (1942)

In the 1942 version of Unemployment in *The Story of American Democracy*, the pictograph is now titled Estimated Unemployment. Much like the previous three versions of the Unemployment pictograph, this image also presents the forgotten man (FDR's all-encompassing term for those that have been neglected socially and economically by the state) through the same pictogram to represent the statistical number of unemployed individuals. Through this pictograph, one sees that unemployment began to take off between 1931 and 1933. FDR came into of the presidential office in 1933 and according to the pictograph began to decrease between 1937 and 1941. As the United States approaches its involvement in World War II, this image serves as a reminder to the public to place their trust and concerns with the federal government and the New Deal administration. This pictograph functions as a statistical fact that proves how effective and concerned the federal government is over the well-being of its people. The last statistical segment of the pictograph is represented by red pictograms of the forgotten

man or blue-collar working men. This is the only pictograph that holds pictograms in red as opposed to black like its predecessors.

Another social lesson or concern that arises in the text is that of the stigma tied to receiving monetary relief from charities or the federal government, which is present as follows:

The act [social security] places the responsibility on the Government of the United States to reduce as much as possible the risks of unemployment and old age...In addition to these major provisions, the act attempts to give some aid to dependent mothers and children, to crippled children, to the blind, and to the public health work of the various states. (Casner & Gabriel, 1942, p. 448)

The pictograph and text attempt to dispel the misconception that only those who were indolent or unwilling to find work generally received monetary relief. Both the text and pictograph dismiss this social myth by arguing in favor of the federal government and claiming that monetary relief to struggling and aging families serves as a form of social responsibility and welfare. This form of social and economic support was presented with the intention to economically stimulate the nation and the dignity of each person.

Overall, most pictographs that presented nationalism through the promotion of the New Deal administration generally did so by bringing up a new government agency intended to mitigate different social, economic, and environmental issues for the public good. These agencies were used to provide farmers and the general public with information and instruction on pertinent issues. These pictographs and text informed the public on the aid and instruction that New Deal government agencies provided to local,

state, and national causes. The promotion of the New Deal administration as nationalism also appears as major improvements in policy regarding labor laws and human rights for the sake of the public's general welfare.

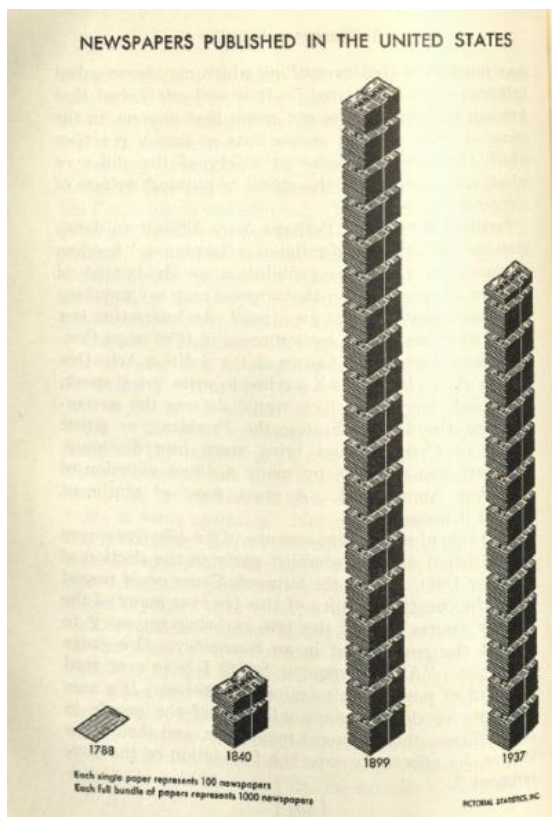
In the case of these pictographs and this period, nationalism through Othering serves as another way to create a distinction and exceptionalism between those that belong to the United States and those that are classified as the other through lack of progress, natural resources, and non-democratic governments. There were also forms of Othering that addressed those within the borders of the nation, such as criminals, the mentally insane, people of color, women, etc. While the external form of Othering (which addressed other nations and international groups of people) served as a form of generating national exceptionalism, Othering from within the nation's citizenry functioned to generate a sociocultural hierarchy. In the context of the textbooks and their content, the text and pictographs communicate a message of national unity, trust in the federal government, and social cohesion through social and general welfare programs. The other side of nationalism that was present in these pictographs functioned to generate cohesion, unity, and trust towards the government by addressing concerns regarding the general public welfare and how those needs could be met through federal government programs such as the New Deal.

### **Code - Anti-Communism in Pictographs**

Within the set of textbooks for this study, anti-communism did not emerge as many times as other codes and subcodes (a total of five times) within the category of Politics. Most of the pictographs containing this code were in textbooks from the years



1938 and 1942 under the subject of government and civics. This is perhaps the case because the concept of anti-communism fits more with the Cold War period as is present in Spring's (1992) work. The general message and sentiment present in such pictographs were concerns over rising totalitarian governments, their threat to American democracy, and the need for the federal government to curtail inflammatory public actions and speech that jeopardize democratic freedom. Such is the case in the following statement that accompanied the pictograph Newspapers Published in the United States, which is seen below and reads:



*Figure 23.* Newspapers Published in the United States from This Government (1938)

Inflammatory publications, the object of which is to excite sedition against the government, to stir up resistance to its laws, to urge on conspiracies to destroy it, to

create odium and indignation against virtuous citizens, to compel them to yield up their rights, to make them the object of popular vengeance. (Eckenrode et al., 1938, p. 159)

Examples of anti-communism are present in the pictographs Each Colony Supplied Troops to the Revolutionary Army in the textbook *This Government* (1938) and Diphtheria Deaths in New York in the textbook *The Story of American Democracy* (1942). Both pictographs serve as reminders of the efforts taken to secure and maintain democratic values and freedom in the United States, as well as the external authoritarian forces that are growing in influence abroad.

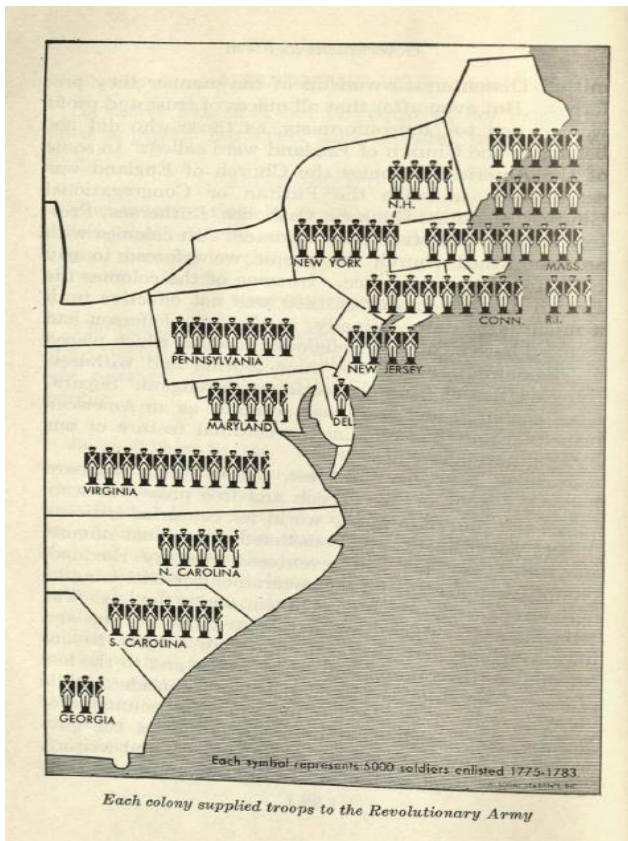
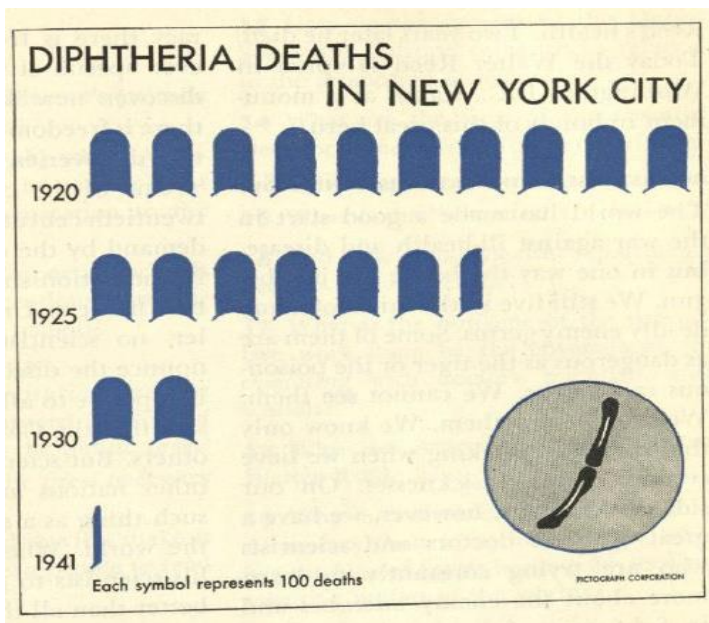


Figure 24. Each Colony Supplied Troops to the Revolutionary Army from This Government (1938)

In the pictograph *Each Colony Supplied Troops to the Revolutionary Army*, the image represents a sense of nationalism because it serves as a reminder to the reader of their democratic roots and the liberties that were afforded to them through such physical human sacrifice. The pictograph displays and reads that the United States supplies its own troops; it does not have a need for a standing army and men of a certain age must be trained to serve in the militia if necessary (Eckenrode et al., 1938, p. 35). The text following the pictograph mentions the recent governments that have risen abroad as a product of World War I in Europe that have eliminated a series of democratic rights that were afforded to “civilized” countries (Eckenrode et al., 1938, p.35). Furthermore, the text argues that several European countries during the revolutionary period required permanent standing armies to maintain order, suppress the public, and ensure that the people do not revolt against their government or monarch. The text reminds the reader that the United States still functions off a militia system that believes in having its own citizens defend the nation rather than maintaining a standing army. This pictograph is placed in a segment of the textbook that breaks down each amendment and is also a representation of the right to bear arms and freedom of speech and press. Most of the amendments that go before and after this pictograph discuss how the United States is different from Europe (particularly pre-twentieth century England) in terms of democratic rights and liberties (Eckenrode et al., 1938, pp. 32-38). The pictograph alone without the text presents information regarding the second amendment, militia, and the American Revolutionary period. However, coupled with the text, the pictograph supports historical information and relates it back to current international concerns regarding rising authoritarian and fascist regimes, communicates a message intended to stir both

nationalism and apprehension in the reader through anti-communist sentiments. These anti-communist or anti-authoritarian understandings of undemocratic nations from the late 1930s present a disquietude towards the dismantling aboard of civic rights and democratic freedom.



*Figure 25. Diphtheria Deaths in New York City from The Story of American Democracy (1942)*

In the pictograph Diphtheria Deaths in New York, anti-communism emerges again but through a current social issue instead of a historical event. Much like other pictographs in this textbook sample, this pictograph addresses disease and its gradual reduction over time through new medical practices, technological innovations, and the freedom afforded by democracy. Although this pictograph could fall under the code of progress or nationalism, what sets it apart and into the code of anti-communism is the focus that the text places on authoritarian governments abroad and their detrimental effects on public health, progress, and democracy. The text utilizes this topic to remind

the public of the social stability brought on by the great strides in health education and sanitation. As is present in the following text:

The United States government has played an extremely important part in guarding the health of its citizens. It has established the Bureau of Health, which carries on an endless nationwide war against disease. Laws have been passed to stop the manufacture and sale of harmful medicines...The modern public-health services of the local communities and of the nation have done much to prolong the life of its citizens...Medical science has made a great progress in removing superstition and magic as cure for sickness. (Casner & Gabriel, 1942, p. 481)

This pictograph and text are also a reminder to the reader that there is no need to be wary of the federal government and scientific developments or experimentations. This image presents the benefits that come with allowing the federal government to intervene in social matters such as public sanitation and hygiene. Without such intervention, the average life span for most would suffer from a severe reduction. Although this pictograph on its own presents an aspect of social welfare, coupled with the text transforms the message of this pictograph as one that cautions the reader against the dictatorships abroad and the text utilizes this image to prompt the reader that democracy requires protection, which is present in the following statement:

One of the chief characteristics of twentieth-century dictatorships is the demand of the dictator that everyone in the nation shall think alike in certain matters. Under the dictator Hitler, no scientist would dare to announce the discovery that no one human race is superior to all others, for Hitler insists that the German race is above all

others...When the dictator orders his scientists to prove that one race is better than all the rest, these scientists can no longer be gatherers of knowledge. They become distributors of propaganda. (Casner & Gabriel, 1942, p. 484)

The text claims that under dictatorships scientific advancements, sanitation practices, and innovations in the medical field for the public good are not possible. The text also reminds the reader of America's prowess in leading scientific advancements across the world. Such claims illicit sentiments of American exceptionalism and that the United States serves as the primary defender of democracy.

### **Morality: Prescribing Social Purity and Sexual Values**

On the spectrum of ideological management, forms of morality appeared in these pictographs in messages of social purity and sexual values. However, out of the three categories, the codes representing morality emerged the least. Overall, sexual values appeared 9 times and social purity emerged 12 times throughout the total sample of pictographs in this study. Morality and its representations, sexual values and social purity, educate and communicate to its readers acceptable and unacceptable sociosexual behaviors. Social purity covers the sexual and social behaviors deemed unacceptable by society such as alcoholism, divorce, intolerance, and wavering in personal convictions. Sexual values communicate the selection of proper spouses, sexual activity and its strict ties to marriage, and the message that sexuality and sexual obligations are not personal but rather for the general good of society and the nation. Examples of such visual messages follow in the upcoming segments.

## Code – Social Purity

Pictographic examples of social purity include Mr. Smith from the textbook *Life and Growth* (1941) and *Marriages and Divorces* from the textbook *Democracy At Work* (1939).

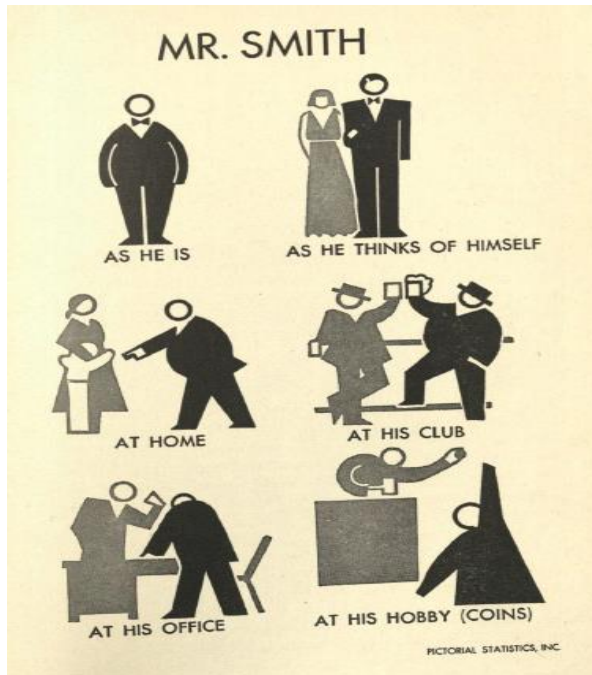


Figure 26. Mr. Smith from *Life and Growth* (1941)

The pictograph Mr. Smith serves a social lesson on social purity regarding one's self-awareness, as well as one's behavior at home and in the community. To the reader, Mr. Smith initially appears as an overweight male pictogram by himself. On the right-hand side, the pictograph portrays Mr. Smith's image of himself as one who is physically proportional and accompanied by another woman (perhaps his wife). However, as one moves through the pictograms in the pictograph, there is a significant inconsistency between Mr. Smith's view of himself and his actions. Most of the pictograms indicate singular activities. In these different interactions, Mr. Smith is not

serving as an exemplary father figure within his family (i.e., both the mother and child appear upset through the accusatory gestures made by Mr. Smith), he enjoys drinking, attending auctions (i.e., Mr. Smith may have a spending problem), and he appears overly assertive at his job.

In the pictograph, the reader sees that Mr. Smith holds a skewed vision of himself and is also unaware of how his family and society perceives him. From the pictograph, one sees that Mr. Smith is not a model citizen and it is because of his behavior during various types of social interactions. This pictograph in relation to the text serves as an example and analogy regarding the consequences that arise from the inconsistencies in one's behavior in society. The text furthers this claim by arguing that such inconsistencies in one's behavior, choices, and intolerance towards others within one's community may lead to unnecessary suspicions and rifts within the community, which is present in the following text:

Most of us are inconsistent in our beliefs and actions especially today when knowledge is so uncertain and transient ... This pigeon-holing of our behavior leads us to ignoring inconsistencies, and it often makes change difficult. Instead of seeing a problem as a whole, we look at it with a compartmental and biased set of ideas. Then we oppose the "different" because our special set of ideas seems to have served best. (Keliher, 1941, p. 22)

The message is one that cautions against the potential deterioration of the nation because of intolerance and lack of cooperation within communities. Overall, the major part of the message indicates that inconsistencies and wavering convictions in one's



character leads to failed families and communities. Such varying and contradictory degrees in one's interaction with family, colleagues, and neighbors (especially if this characteristic is present among several members in a community) creates the opportunity for the development of dissent and intolerance within local communities and eventually the decline of the nation. This failure at the level of the nuclear family functions as a form of biopolitics and technology of power from the state where society is put in order through the population's physical bodies and actions regarding reproduction and family rearing (Foucault, 2003).

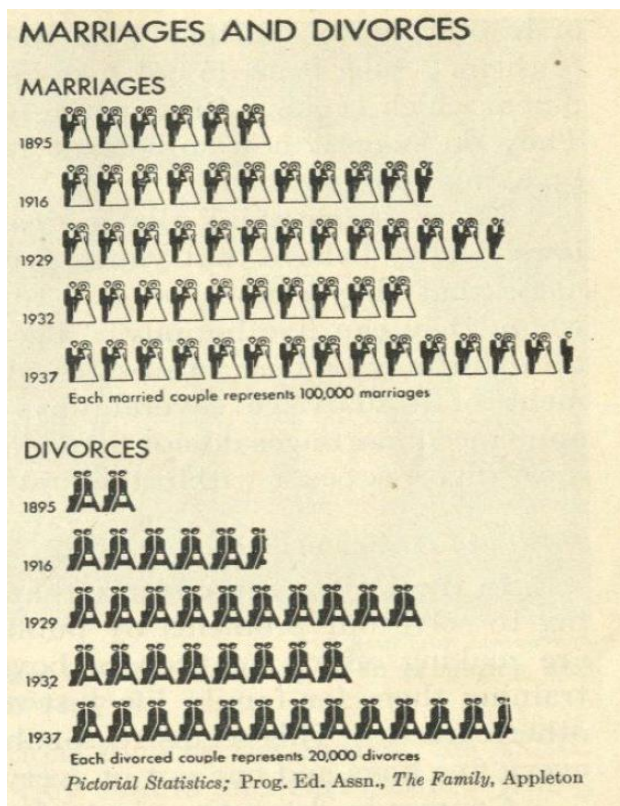


Figure 27. Marriages and Divorces from Democracy At Work (1939)

Furthermore, the same biopolitical message regarding the family, one's behavior, and its ties to the nation's general welfare and prosperity is present in the pictograph Marriages and Divorces. In this pictograph there is another social lesson tied to social

purity. Other than heteronormativity being at the core of this image, the pictograph also presents a social ill and concern through its statistics regarding the rates of marriages and the rise of divorces between 1895 and 1937. The social ill according to the text is broken homes emerging through divorces. In addition, these broken homes produce inefficient or problematic citizens, which is reflected in the following text:

From these homes will come a large portion of boys and girls who will become delinquents; that is, who will break laws or in some other ways fail to live up to what the community expects of them. Such facts do not take into consideration other unhappiness which broken homes cause for both parents and children. They do suggest how important it is to prevent families from breaking up. (Fincher et al., 1939, pp. 29-30).

According to the text, at the root of this problem lies other social issues such as alcoholism, the overspending of money on frivolous items, religious differences, and/or conflict through different approaches to raising children (Fincher et al., 1939, p. 29). Therefore, the text argues that the nation proposed crafting an educational program in schools to prepare young adults for marriage and housekeeping (Fincher et al., 1939, pp. 30-31). There is also a proposal to create policy and regulations that deter the development of bad marriages because of people wanting to marry in haste. The text brings up such policy as parameters and these new educational programs to standardize and sift through those that are unfit to marry. Marriage and the family function as the core of American society and the physical nuclear family structure serves as a microcosm of good governance. A good American family where the husband and wife are prepared

for marriage and the rearing of good citizens serves as a reflection of a good and active society. Overall, the text appears to communicate a biopolitical message that marriage and family hold the ability to sustain good values and bring the nation into progress and prosperity. However, the text and pictograph suggest that the lack of a home comprising of a harmonious or well-balanced marriage may bring about immorality and produce citizens that lack civic duty and responsibility towards their community and nation.

### **Code – Sexual Values**

For sexual values, examples of this code include The Social Security Program from the textbook *Government in Action* (1942) and Growing Up with People in the textbook *Life and Growth* (1941). The pictograph Growing Up with People serves as a general example of the importance of communicating messages that provided boundaries and characteristics to one's sexuality and sexual behavior in society.



Figure 28. Growing Up with People from Life and Growth (1941)

The message this pictograph communicates to the reader is one bound by the context in the text. Along with the pictograph, the text provides the reader with the types of relationships and forms of displaying affection that develop throughout one's life:

Just as a young person may satisfy his persistent need for love though other channels, he may meet it through an affectionate friendship with one of his own sex his own age. It is a perfectly natural that for many there is this particular expression of the need for love... Girls have particular girl friends, boys have particular boy friends. As the adolescent years move on, though, the love need again finds a new channel, and its expression is directed towards a member of the opposite sex. When this channeling of the need for love comes, the person has reached the mature form of love expression. (Keliher, 1941, pp. 69-72)

Overall, this pictograph can be viewed from a cyclical standpoint. The final pane can be used to restart the social and reproductive life cycle of a young male. The first pane displays the appropriate beginnings of a male child along with his initial interactions with individuals belonging to the female sex. Women in each pane take on the roles in the sphere of domesticity and the feminine by serving as either mother, wife, sister, or love interest. The role that women play in each pane is that of a supporting actor rather than as a primary actor with agency. The relationship between men and women in relation to society is both biological and social. Sexual reproduction in this case perpetuates values and restarts the appropriate life cycle of a male. This pictograph also ends with a pane showing the birth of a child, yet no other pane is provided afterwards. There appears to be no need to add another pane because it is expected this new child's life cycle will be the same as his parents (initial pane). This pictograph communicates the reproduction and reinforcement of the current social order.

Although the text is intended for both sexes, the pictograph displays a male pictogram as the primary actor with agency in each pane. This assessment is further reinforced because the male pictogram has a black silhouette in each pane while other pictograms are greyed-out. This pictograph communicates the natural or expected progression of a male individual's social interactions and engagement with society. This image also serves as a reminder of the importance placed on male/female relationships in relation to biological reproduction and the perpetuation of good social values.

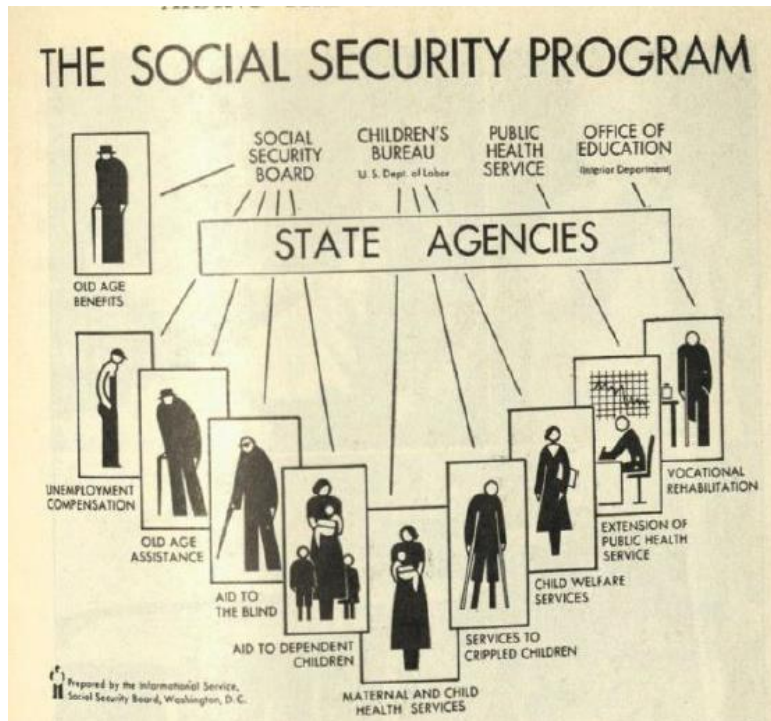


Figure 29. The Social Security Program from Government in Action (1942)

The Social Security Program pictograph also presents characteristics of sexual values through its pictograms. This pictograph is in the chapter “Aiding the Underprivileged.” In the pictograph alone, women (single mothers), the elderly, unemployed individuals, and the disabled are all present. All the pictograms in this image are white and not representative of other groups. Other issues also arise in this pictograph such as who is more deserving of federal aid and who is not represented in this image? Although female pictograms are represented, does this make other unrepresented groups less deserving of federal aid?

Female pictograms represent aid to dependent children, maternal and child health services, and child welfare services. This communicates sexual values because only the female body is utilized to represent all things related to the sphere of domesticity – children, child-rearing, and motherhood while male pictograms represent spheres outside

of the home and childrearing. In addition, the Extension of Public Health Services (a non-domestic sphere) is represented by a working male pictogram. Overall, this image communicates sexual values regarding the female body and its role to a singular sphere – the domestic and feminine.

This pictograph also communicates the promotion of the New Deal administration and its efforts to revitalize and restore trust between the government and its citizens through federal programs such as the Social Security program. The image and text convey a sense of social stability by reminding the reader that the government is aware of the current economic standing of the nation and it is currently working on a way to provide economic stability and dignity to families and underprivileged populations, which is present in the text below:

During the winter of 1928-29, the United States Children's Bureau studied 550 families of workers earning from \$500 to \$2,500 during the year. The investigators found that their homes "seldom met any recognized housing standard" – fewer than half had running water, and few than out of five boasted a bathtub. One hundred and forty-four families were found to have a 'seriously deficient' diet, and only 42 in the highest income group met minimum standards of food, clothing, and shelter. Children from such families, as well as children of the unemployed, need outside assistance if they are to have "equal opportunity" with those from more comfortable homes.

(Keohane et al., 1938, pp. 531-533)

### **Society: Social Lessons, Stability, and Social Exclusion for Citizens**

The final category in ideological management is society. In this category, social stability and social lessons served as the primary codes provided by Spring's (1992) work. However, other codes and subcodes emerged during the coding process. Social exclusion is a code that emerged throughout the coding process and it represents a type of othering that occurs of the social and community level not in the national or political sphere. Examples of social exclusion entail the text discussing other groups or marginalized groups in relation to a program, law, or event, yet the supplementary pictograph does not contain a visual representation of this group. Within social stability, subcodes such as progress, self-awareness, and socially acceptable vocations emerged as expressions or forms of social stability.

The society category generated the most codes from the pictographs than politics and morality. In general, there were 87 instances of social lessons, 82 occurrences of social stability through progress, 67 incidents of social stability, and 24 appearances of social exclusion. In the case of social stability through self-awareness and socially acceptable vocations, there were only 7 incidents of self-awareness and 4 occurrences of socially acceptable vocations. Because so many codes emerged for the society category, this provided the study with trends and changes over time regarding the communication of social values and behavior between 1937 and 1942. For social stability, this code and its respective subcodes emerged the most in 1937 and 1938 in geography and government and civics textbooks. The same trend appears in social exclusion and social lessons. Any code or subcode related to the category of society does not emerge again until 1942.



However, the number of instances that codes and subcodes appear for the category society is about half of the total amount between 1937 and 1938.

### **Code - Social Lessons as Both Social Commentary and Deterrent**

The code social lessons represent warnings and cautionary tales in relation to social ills and their effects on the community and nation. Depending on the context and statistical information on the pictograph, social lessons can be geared to a mixed audience: the individual, communities, local and state governments, or private businesses. A total of 87 pictographs present or support social lessons in textbooks from 1937 and 1938. Such pictographs support the text that brings up concerns with the public general welfare in relation to farming and rural families, the environment, medical care, and quality of life in cities. Examples of such social lessons appear in the pictographs Equipment of Apartments and Homes / Farm Modernization in the United States and Accidents and Contagious Diseases from *Government in Action* (1938). Textbooks from 1942 brought up social lessons that addressed civic behavior and the human condition. Pictographs like Growth of Eastern Cities from *The Story of American Democracy* (1942) and Motor Vehicles Fatalities from *Democracy At Work* (1939).

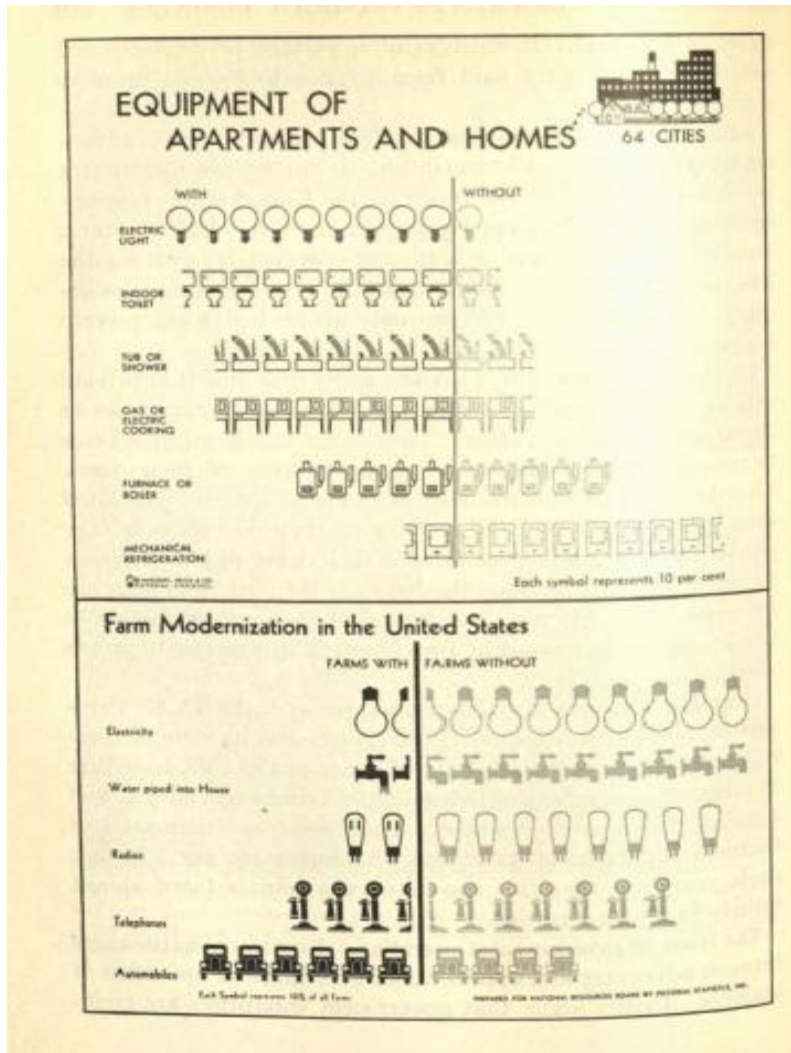


Figure 30. Equipment of Apartments and Homes / Farm Modernization in the United States from Government in Action (1942)

The pictograph Equipment of Apartments and Homes / Farm Modernization in the United States is in the chapter “How Our Governments Conduct Business”. This pictograph displays various visual claims. The first visual claim connotes that there is a disparity between the utilities and modern equipment that people in cities have in their homes compared to the modern technologies that recently reached rural areas. Basic amenities such as electricity, water piped into the house, and devices of communication are viewed as expected features in any city apartment. They are not even considered as

part of modern equipment in the pictograph presenting statistics on equipment of apartments and homes. However, these basic amenities in cities are considered major forms of modernization that are lacking in rural areas. The text that this pictograph accompanies delves into government enterprises and the relationships that these enterprises entail. The text argues that there are different visions or means of solving an issue between business management and government officials. When these sectors are not in unison (this includes corrupt politicians, poor accounting practices, and the use of incompetent officials) the general public pays for these mistakes and mishandling of public services (Keohane et al., 1938, p. 601). The text and message relate back to the pictograph. Despite the pictograph indicating progress when it comes to modernization and technological advancements in rural homes, the amenities provided to families in cities is still far more comprehensive and up to the current advancements of the period. For example, piped water into the rural home for the 1930s is a major accomplishment while in cities they have moved on from piped water to incorporating tubs/showers, toilets, and furnaces/boilers. This indicates a disparity in the appropriation and handling of public services and amenities to communities.

Another issue related to this discrepancy is that many private companies do not view installing electricity or considering the general welfare of populations in isolated or rural areas as a profitable venture, which is present in the following text:

Managers of private power companies do not attempt soil conservation. They do not engage social workers to relocate farmers dislodged by the building of their dams.

They do not build transmission lines to serve sparsely populated areas unlikely to

repay the cost. And they do not, as a rule, provide model homes for workers on their dams, or hire airplanes for malaria-control work on the banks of streams, They are not expected to do all these things, because their motive is simple – to make a profit by providing efficient service to people who can pay for it. (Keohane et al., 1938, pp. 599)

Therefore, it is left to federal projects such as the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) to meet this issue and to bring families in rural areas basic modern amenities, as well as ensure through modernization that soil and nature remains conserved. The general message that stems from the text and is supplementary pictographs is that the lack of regulation of big private business and poorly run local governments keeps farms from living in the present and progressing into the future. Therefore, the burden of trust and aid falls on the federal government. This social lesson functions as social commentary on the current practices that large private businesses partake in, as well as the lack of federal oversight towards these businesses. It is a social lesson not geared towards the individual or communities but rather the impact that larger institutions have on these communities and their means of thriving.

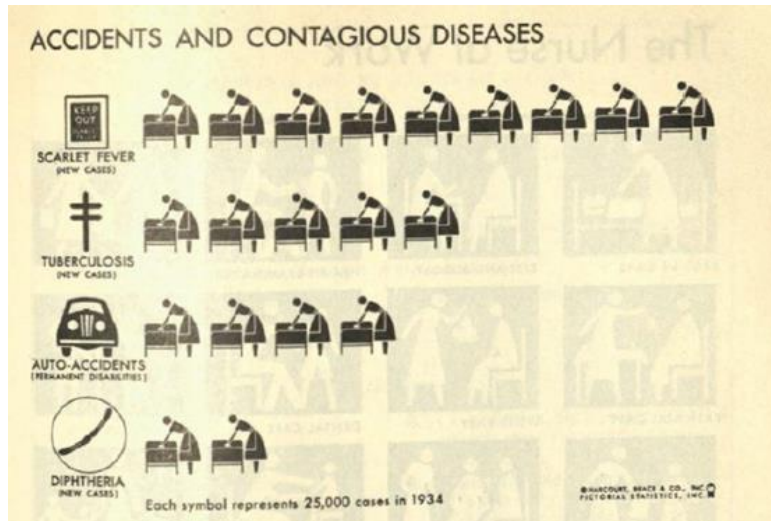


Figure 31. Accidents and Contagious Diseases from Government in Action (1938)

In the Accidents and Contagious Diseases pictograph, the text and pictograph communicate a similar message regarding the consequences that come with neglecting or mismanaging public welfare. In this pictograph, the reader sees the sheer number of cases related to preventable accidents and diseases. The text argues that illnesses such as tuberculosis and diphtheria run rampant in cities and even rural communities as a byproduct of poor hygiene practices, lack of access to medical services and health instruction, inefficient organization of health services in rural districts, uneven costs in medical care, or poor finances to afford medical expenses (Keohane et al., 1938, pp. 497-498). The long-term social concern that arises from this text and pictograph is that if families cannot prepare for illness through preventative care or even save up for medical costs, then cities will remain as places related to sickness and slums where diseases and illness is constantly battled against. One of the primary messages communicated through the text and pictograph is that the lack of affordable healthcare impedes the nation from modernizing and progressing, which appears in the text below:

The plain fact must be faced that notwithstanding great advances in medicine and public health protection, the American people are not as healthy as they have a right to be. Millions of them are suffering from diseases and thousands annually die from causes that are preventable through the use of existing scientific knowledge and the application of common social sense. (Keohane et al., 1938, p. 497)

Although this pictograph is presented as sounding the alarm for social problems and the need to establish some form of social welfare, this lack of healthcare organization and affordability for the public reflects poorly on the nation's image as a global power. The social lesson for this pictograph and text serves as social commentary on the basic human rights to general welfare, which in this case focuses on affordability and access to preventative health services. Without access or affordability of preventative health services during an economic depression, both cities and rural areas will eventually be overrun with advanced health problems beyond mitigation. Therefore, these messages presented by pictographs and the text show the reader the importance of the federal government stepping in to restructure the medical system and provide healthcare education at the local and state government levels for the sake of maintaining the public's general welfare and dispense the dignity and social stability that families and communities deserve as basic human rights.

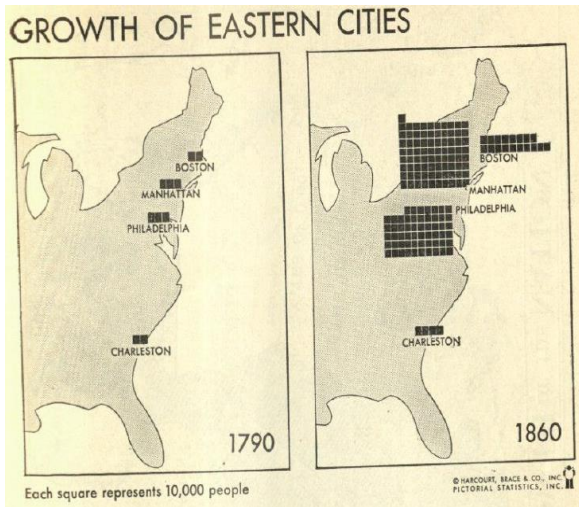


Figure 32. Growth of Eastern Cities from *The Rise of American Democracy* (1938)

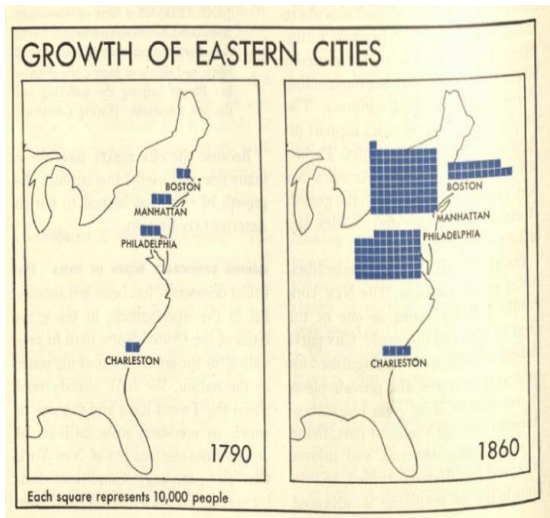


Figure 33. Growth of Eastern Cities from *The Story of American Democracy* (1942)

By 1942, pictographs and text presenting social lessons focused more on the effects of government/business actions on civic behavior and the consequences produced by modernization desensitizing human emotions. This can be seen by drawing a comparison between the same pictograph (*Growth of Eastern Cities*) in different textbooks. In *Growth of Eastern Cities* the 1942 version of this pictograph from *The Story of American Democracy* presents a different view on the same pictograph. The 1938

textbook *The Rise of American Democracy*. The 1938 version of this pictograph positively represents American industriousness and social stability through progress. The growth of eastern cities serves as an advancement and asset to the greatness and progress of the nation. Industriousness and advancement in the text and pictograph functions as the solution to the American geographical problem with distance. However, in the 1942 version of *Growth of Eastern Cities*, the text describes the development of cities as both a detriment and major benefit to society and its progress into modernization, scientific advancements, and cultural capital. This is especially the case in major eastern cities as seen in the pictograph and text below:

When large numbers of people live together in cities, it is possible to do many things impossible for a scattered rural population. Many cities have built museums of natural history and have established zoos where nature can be studied in many forms...Because the city makes possible so many fine and useful institutions, the growth of cities has helped to enrich the American civilization. (Casner & Gabriel, 1942, p. 465).

Unlike other pictographs in the textbook that utilized male pictograms to represent growth, such as *Growth of the Population East of the Mississippi* and *Growth of the Population West of the Mississippi*, this pictograph employs blue square pictograms to quantify and display growth. This distinction is perhaps tied to the claims made by the text in relation to city growth and corruption. By using squares instead of pictograms, the pictogram squares overwhelm the pictograph to show a spike in population growth in 1860, which correlates immoral behavior in cities. The text below



delves into the social ills present in cities such as the corruption of city officials and the lack of social purity.

Political democracy has been less successful in the management of great cities in the United States than in providing for the government of the states or nation... Sometimes the criminal elements of a city pay money to city officials in return for being permitted to carry on their evil practices. Such conditions are primarily a result of the carelessness of the decent citizens. (Casner & Gabriel, 1942, pp. 465-466)

It appears that the criminal element has made governance and the management of cities a difficult task. The social lesson is that “decent” citizens (not the local government since it has failed through corruption according to the text) have been careless regarding their civic duties (voting, keeping a watchful eye on the neighborhood, and taking an interest in the community; Casner & Gabriel, 1942, p. 466).

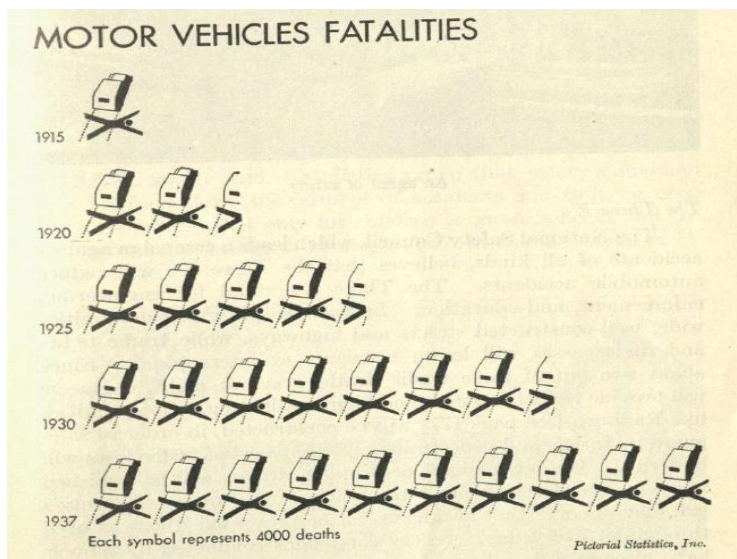


Figure 34. Motor Vehicles Fatalities from Democracy At Work (1939)

A similar message appears in *Motor Vehicles Fatalities*, which presents another social concern with growth, progress, and modernization and its effects on communities. The subtitle of this segment in the chapter is “The Dark Side of the Picture” in reference to the misuse of technology through lack of social responsibility. While the improvement of child safety and education has helped decline the death of children by automobiles or traffic situations, the proliferation of motor vehicles have increased pedestrian death according to the text and pictograph (Fincher et al., 1939, p. 81). However, the text does not criticize technology or modernization but rather it condemns the lack of social responsibility that individuals have developed within their communities. Despite the nation developing modern highways and producing cars, the statistical incidents prove that motorists and their lack of caution are to blame for the increase over time in pedestrian deaths as is seen in the following text:

It seems unbelievable, four out of every five automobile accidents happen on dry roads in clear weather. Almost every mishap occurs when the car is going straight ahead. Apparently these facts indicate that the person behind the driver’s wheel is more responsible for accidents than the weather, the condition of the road, or the automobile itself. Unless the driver is cautious, the best highway in the world, the finest automobile, and the best weather conditions will not prevent his having an accident. (Fincher et al., 1939, p. 83)

The text also discusses the carelessness on the part of pedestrians when they do not look both ways when crossing a street or when they choose to cross a street even though the traffic light is red (Fincher et al., 1939, p. 82). These individuals are perceived

as acting socially irresponsible and out of line with conventional civic duties. This pictograph and the examples presented through the text serve as a lesson to students so that they learn civic responsibility, but it is also a judgement on society and the effects that such decision-making affects modernization. The pictorial comparison of motor vehicle fatalities in 1915 to the astronomical increase of vehicle related deaths by 1937 visually confirms the message that social responsibility towards one's community or the public is in danger.

### **Code- Social Stability for Social Order**

In this study, there are 67 pictographs that represent social stability. The code social stability within the society category represents all the means by which an individual expresses good or proper social behavior to maintain the current social order. This appropriate social behavior excludes any form of public dissent or criticism towards the government. After a closer look into the nature of the messages from each textbook, social stability messages can also take on different forms such as progress (82 pictographs), the self-awareness (seven pictographs) that one should have of oneself, and the appropriate vocations (four pictographs) that a good citizen should take on. Pictographs such as *Illiteracy Vanishing* and *How Can the Voter Choose?* from the textbook *Government in Action* (1938) represents the general concept of social stability related to civic duty without including other messages such as progress, individual self-awareness, and acceptable vocations. Both pictographs are in the chapter 'Making Democracy More Democratic' and they both tackle basic civic duties such as voting and making informed decisions prior to voting.

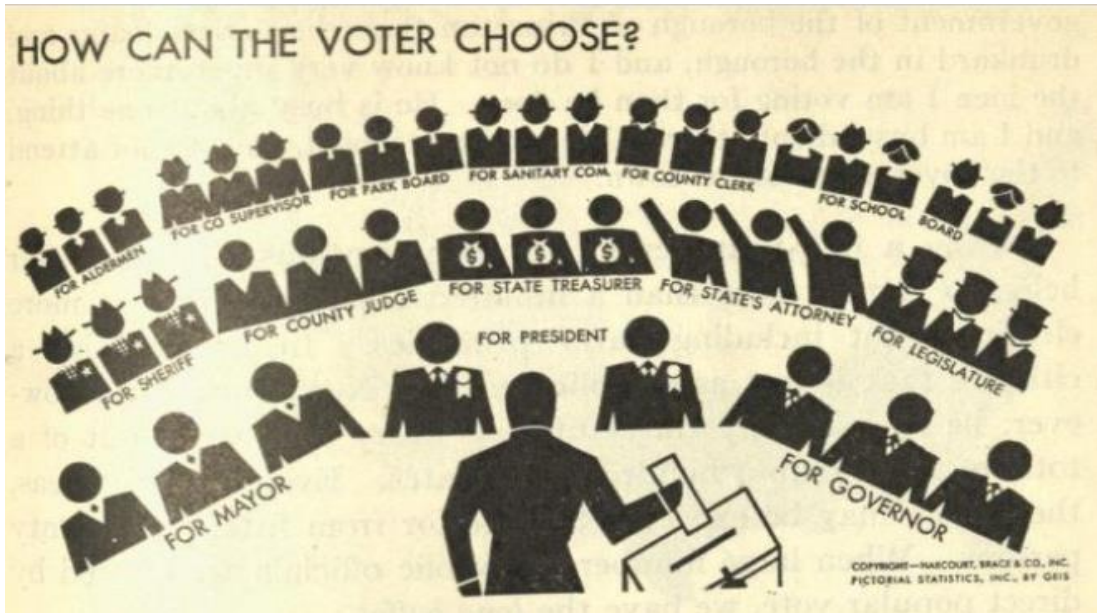


Figure 35. How Can the Voter Choose? from Government in Action (1938)

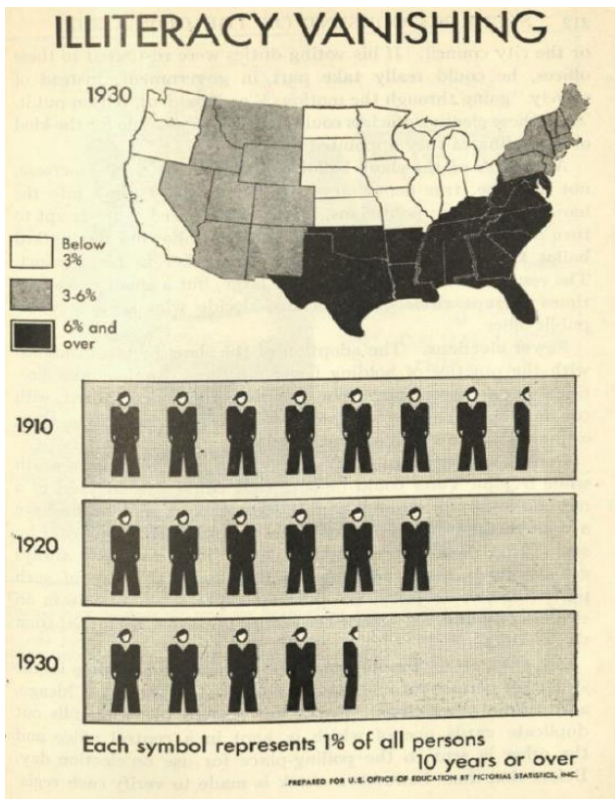


Figure 36. Illiteracy Vanishing from Government in Action (1938)

In the pictograph *How Can the Voter Choose?*, this pictograph is in a segment of the chapter that focuses on one's civic duty to vote. From the text, there are various discussions on the importance of voting, why it can be difficult at times to vote, what deters people from voting, improving voting habits, and the amount of information required to make an informed decision when voting (pp. 207-215). The text is concerned with increasing the citizenry's interest in voting. Through this pictograph, one can see that the average citizen is responsible for making various informed decisions regarding a large array of governmental positions at the local, state, and national level. The pictograph presents each governmental position that one is responsible to vote in and the potential number of candidates that may campaign for that position. This pictograph not only displays the weight of responsibility placed on the voter's decision-making process, but it also can appear as an overwhelming responsibility to the reader. The text then argues this form of direct voting (the long ballot) is not helpful and further complicates the voter's decision. Instead the text below encourages more representative control and fewer positions that require a direct vote from the public.

One of the chief reasons for lack of interest in voting is the difficulty of voting intelligently. Even Woodrow Wilson, who was a professor of political science at Princeton University for many years before he became President of the United States, declared the task was beyond his powers... Many thoughtful people today urge the return to the short ballot of our forefathers. They want to give executives, such as governors, power to appoint many subordinates, and so limit the voter's task to the choice of a very few – perhaps five or fewer – really important officers at a time. (Keohane et al., 1938, p. 209-210)

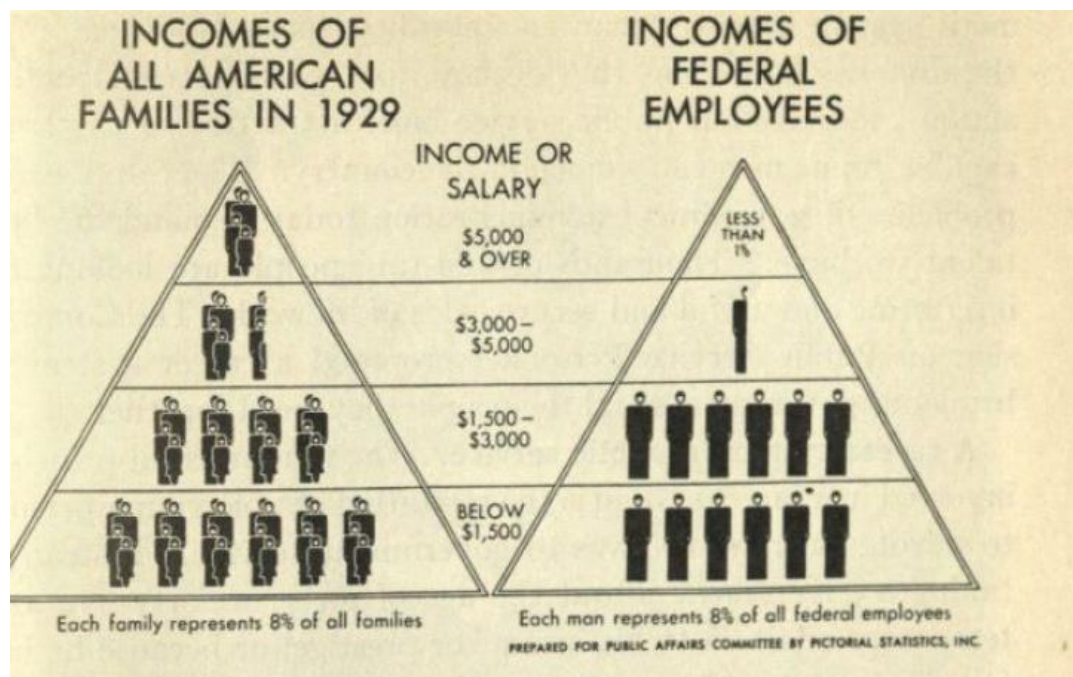
The overall message communicated by this pictograph is one that promotes more representative and governmental control over the people to ease the overwhelming processes of voting for the citizen. The pictograph alone presents an overwhelming image to the reader by showing each position through a male silhouette pictogram for each position.

A similar message is present in the pictograph *Illiteracy Vanishing* from the same textbook and chapter. Although there is no direct discussion in the text regarding the literacy rates in the United States, the text discusses one's civic duty to vote, "Our representative democracy operates through political parties. If the masses or citizens are to rule, they must control the existing parties or, as in Cincinnati, build their own. That is the only way to translate democracy from an ideal to a fact. The persons who are really responsible for the corruption of American politics today are the respectable citizens who self-righteously condemn dirty politics but refuse to take the trouble involved in governing themselves" (p. 231). Literacy is never directly mentioned as a required skill for voting nor does it argue that illiteracy functions as a deterrent to vote. It is possible that the pictographs may be communicating that literacy allows one to make more well-informed and judicious decisions. Perhaps attaining literacy functions as the first step in making future informed and sound decisions. However, literacy is not a requirement to vote. Without the text explicitly bringing up literacy and its part in voting, the reader can perpetuate the assumption that literacy is required to vote. This assumption historically has led others to prevent minorities and naturalized immigrants from voting because of their lack of literacy through literacy tests among other forms of disenfranchisement conventions (Goldman, 2004). While this pictograph communicates good voting habits it

also perpetuates misunderstandings that lead to further oppression of other groups.

Overall, this pictograph and text are representative of social stability because they set for the reader the expectation and importance of voting to both protect democracy and ensure that the public continues to make civic decisions that puts the right government representatives in local, state, and federal offices.

### Subcode – Socially Acceptable Vocation



*Figure 37. Incomes of All American Families in 1929 / Incomes of Federal Employees from Government in Action (1938)*

Another expression of social stability emerges through the subcode socially acceptable vocation. Although this form of social stability does not appear often, it manifests itself to communicate to the young reader the specific jobs or careers that aid and benefit the community and government. At the same time, these text and visual messages also remind the reader of the personal and monetary benefits that accompany

such careers. These jobs and careers generally fall under the sphere of public administration, New Deal agencies, or other forms of government service. The case or argument made for acquiring a job in this area is generally presented through a comparison approach. When jobs in public services are compared to other forms of labor in terms of financial earnings, job security, career mobility, and social perception, the government career or job appears far more appealing and stable than those outside of that sphere. Such is the case in the pictograph *Incomes of All American Families in 1929 / Incomes of Federal Employees* from the textbook *Government in Action* (1938). This pictograph is in the 'Vocation and Avocation' chapter and directly under the pictograph there is a statement, "Widening opportunities in government service". This pictograph supports the message present by the text regarding the progress that the nation has made in moving away from the spoils system (giving positions of power in government to political supporters) to the merit system (awarding positions of power in government to those that earn it based on performance), which has allowed individuals in government service to receive well-paying positions in the government through their skills. Although the statistics are for the year 1929, the pictograph shows that about 48% of middle-earning federal employees annually make \$3,000 to \$5,000 as opposed to 32% of middle-earning American families earning the same annual income. The pictograph also shows that 2% of federal employees make high incomes while 8% of American families annually earn high incomes of \$5,000 or above. Despite there being a higher opportunity to earn higher paying employment outside of public service or administration, there is a higher percentage of federal employees than American families that fall under the middle



and high middle-class range. This statistical comparison allows the reader to perceive federal work as a stable, profitable, and respectable endeavor

However, the following text argues that there are still some concerns with bureaucracy in the federal employment system, which at times complicates or prolongs the promotion of its workers.

Many of the highest positions in public administration are outside its provisions and are filled by election or by appointment on a party basis. Sometimes the regulations of a Civil Service Commission prove to be so involved in red tape and so hampering to the conscientious executive that he cannot dismiss second-rate employees or promote able ones. (Keohane et al., 1938, p.749)

This claim in the text can also be extrapolated from the pictograph. In the comparison of both pictogram pyramids, less than 2% of federal employees make \$5,000 or more while 8% of American families annually earn more than \$5,000. Upward mobility in federal service jobs are either very limited in availability or the bureaucratic system may prevent employees from pursuing higher paying positions. This pictograph and text are also intended to recruit students to consider working in public service and administration positions. Not only does the pictograph indicate the likelihood of a well-paying job if one merits it, but it also suggests that this is socially and nationally a worthy form of employment that provides a hiring ladder, “The fundamental principle involved in a career system is the recruiting of able young persons to devote their whole lives to government service” (Keohane et al., 1938, p.750). The text and pictograph present students with the financial outcomes and prestige associated with this type of work.

Furthermore, the text and pictograph communicate to students that government service can become a successful and stable career not simply a temporary entry-level job that may lead to private sector employment.

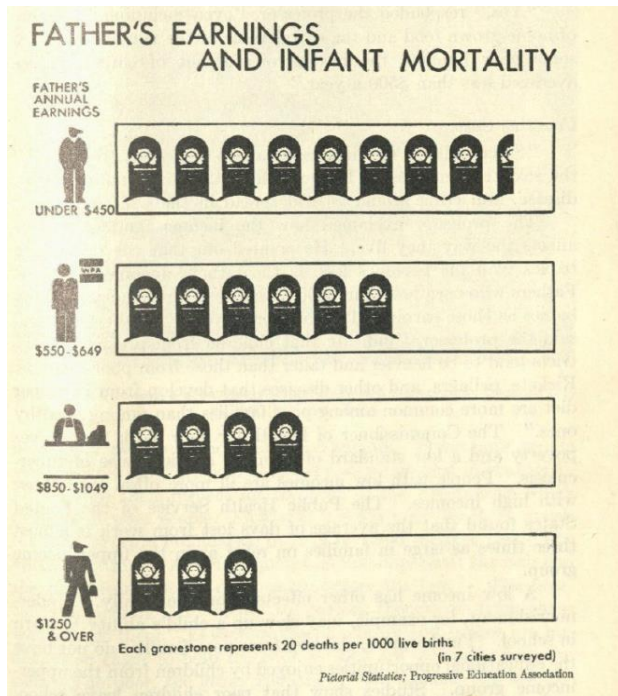


Figure 38. Father's Earning and Infant Mortality from *Democracy At Work* (1939)

A similar message also appears in the pictograph *Father's Earnings and Infant Mortality* from the textbook *Democracy At Work* (1939). This pictograph not only highlights through its pictograms jobs that are highly regarded in socioeconomic terms, but it includes New Deal agency jobs and their stable nature because of their ties to the federal government. Furthermore, this pictograph promotes the New Deal administration by statistically arguing that a father employed under the WPA program potentially will earn more over time than a father making an annual earning under \$450. The pictograph also makes a correlation between a father's annual earning and the mortality rate of his children. For those making under \$450 year, it is more likely that the infant mortality rate

is higher than that of men employed by the WPA. For each jump in annual earnings, there is a male pictogram to accompany it. Fathers making under \$450 a year are depicted by a pictogram that appears to look slumped with loose fitted clothing. This is perhaps a blue-collar worker or unemployed man that is struggling with employment or working more than one job. On the other hand, the WPA worker is making only \$100 to \$200 more than the non WPA worker. However, this pictogram presents a regular man with no distinguishable clothing or characteristics. The only aspect that makes this pictogram stand out is the WPA symbol. This is perhaps to indicate that New Deal agencies will offer a job to any man that is willing to work. As one moves through the remaining pictograms that represent an increase in a father's annual earnings, the last two male pictograms appear to hold more confident poses and higher paying occupations in what appears to be small business management and heavy labor. Although it is also possible to interpret the pictograph by arguing that perhaps the message is one that encourages workers to seek higher paying jobs beyond those offered by the WPA. However, the literature indicates that this is a period where the New Deal administration and federal government are seeking to reconnect with the people and demonstrate that it can provide stability during a time of economic uncertainty (Ewen, 1996; Davis, 1979; Graebner, 1987; Lipartito, 2012; McClay, 1994). Therefore, it is possible that the male worker pictogram accompanied by the WPA symbol is there to indicate that the government can provide people a reasonable wage and honest job. These pictograms of the general public (blue-collar worker, the unemployed, and white-collar worker/clerk) represent that the federal government recognizes the socioeconomic issues that affect all segments of society.

For this image, the text also presents a social lesson. Rather than casting the impoverished in a negative light, the text takes on a progressive outlook and suggests that people in poverty may turn to criminal activity to survive (Fincher et al., 1939, p.215). However, the text also argues that this is not necessarily the case for every impoverished individual. Furthermore, the text claims that individuals choose to remain in this financial state because they are unaware of their rights and feel that the law is against them, “The administration of American justice is not impartial; the rich and the poor do not stand on equality before the law” (Fincher et al., 1939, p. 215). The poor, the study finds are unable to protect themselves from those who wrong them. Law-enforcement officers and judges are not always so eager to help the poor as they are willing to help the rich. In the textbook, the study describes the poor as people who, “are against the law because they consider the law against them. A belief spreads that there is one law for the rich and another of the poor” (Fincher et al., 1939, p. 215). The text further explains this statement by arguing that law enforcement and public service fail to assist the impoverished because of negative social stereotypes. This implication makes it less likely for this population to seek out the government for aid and employment.

Overall, this environment (corrupt city officials, laws that discriminate the poor, and social stereotypes regarding the impoverished and their behaviors) promotes a sense of distrust and apathy on the end of those that are impoverished. It also supports the argument that men making annually under \$450 have the potential to join New Deal agencies yet the text argues that these men may fail to do so because of their social distrust towards the government. The pictogram that represents the WPA worker is a simple male silhouette icon perhaps intended to not discriminate against any specific

unemployed person or worker making less than \$450 a year. For the time period, this simple pictogram serves as an invitation to all who intend to financially better themselves by placing their trust in a federally managed and funded occupation. This pictograph shows gainful and stable employment through the WPA, as well as that notion that jobs in this sphere bring dignity to the worker and it increases the chances of his family surviving through the economic depression. This pictograph attempts to forge trust between the reader and the federal government through the stability in a socially acceptable vocation.

### Subcode – Self-awareness

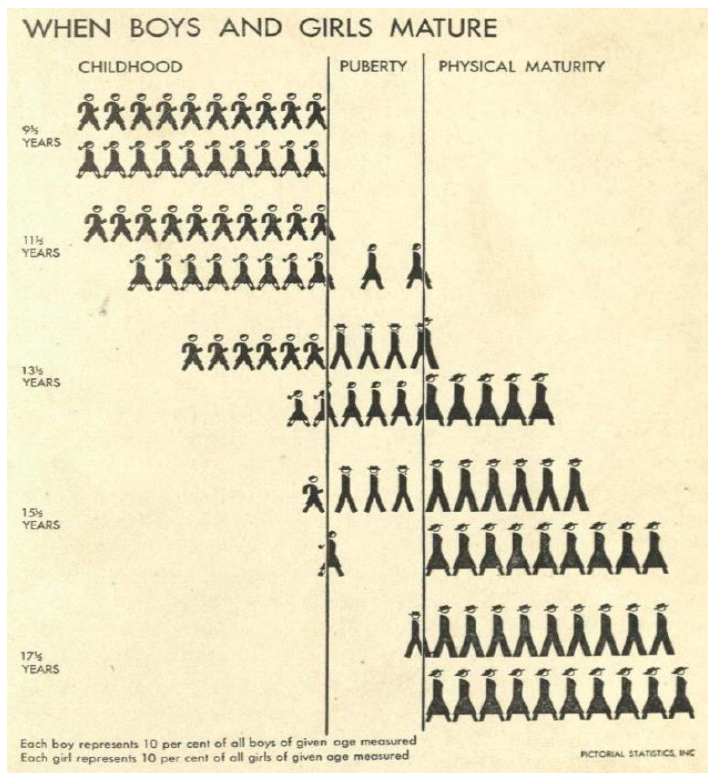
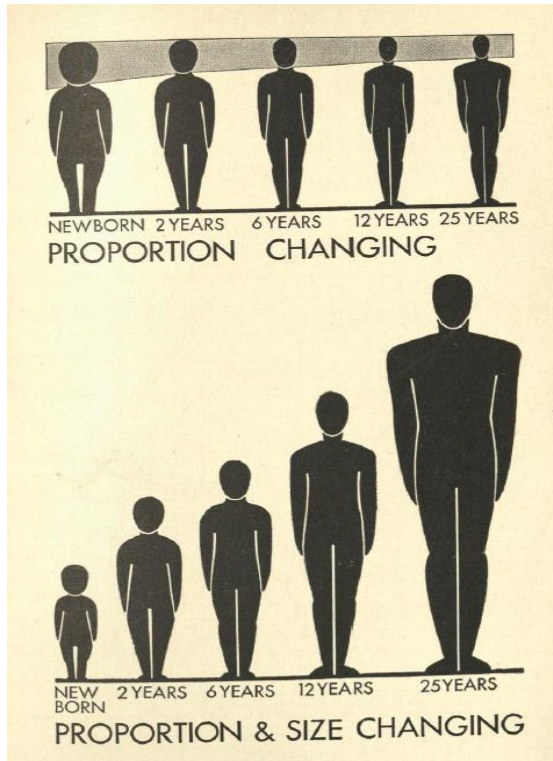


Figure 39. When Boys and Girls Mature from Life and Growth (1941)

Another form of communicating social stability in pictographs is one's social perception and awareness of oneself. Pictographs that displayed these messages

predominantly stemmed from the Life and Growth (1941) textbook that deals with social interactions in terms of human development and behavior within and outside from one's group. These messages are present in the pictographs Proportion Changing / Proportion and Size Changing and When Boys and Girls Mature. The primary message or conception that a young individual should have of themselves and their body is related to normativity, proportion, and standardization rather than individualism or difference. In the pictograph When Boys and Girls Mature, physical development appears as an unavoidable part of life. However, the text assures the reader that physical beauty or attractiveness is not the end goal, but rather proportion is what should be desired and attained, "The capacity of the person to live a vigorous, healthy, happy life is far more important than his external measurements. As for appearance, proportion is really the important thing" (Keliher, 1941, p.125). The physical development projected to students through this pictograph provides them with an expectation regarding how they should physically look like or be perceived by the end of adolescence. This pictograph not only represents the standard way male and female students should look like over time, but it also provides a sense of linearity and progress regarding physical development and maturation. Students at any age can or may be expected to identify with this pictograph because it displays male and female pictograms of all ages or at least how female and male students of all ages should enter different stages of physical development. With this sense of linearity, progress, and standardization also comes a sense of inevitability and the potential for different student situation where they may not fit the norm. Failing to fit into the parameters of proportion and standardization gives rise to other through physical anomalies or abnormalities. The text describes the period of adolescence and physical

maturation as one of great difficulty and discomfort, yet it presents the reader with the promise of this phase ending as soon as one reaches the end of puberty.



*Figure 40. Proportion Changing / Proportion & Size Changing from Life and Growth (1941)*

Despite these reassurances in the textbook, the text does not describe situations or cases regarding individuals that fail to meet maturation and proportion in the expected time or even develop according to what is considered proportional. However, a similar message is present in the pictograph *Proportion Changing / Proportion and Size Changing*. Through this pictograph, young male students view their expected physical developmental projection and how this development should progress over time. The text argues that physical disproportions during adolescence are normal and that such disproportions will eventually even out (Keliher, 1941, p. 122). This pictograph represents a standard for the male body's development. With the text, the pictograph

displays societal expectations regarding the way that an average male body should appear by the end of its developmental cycle, which is present in the text below:

There often comes a time when spurts of growth occur... But the thing to remember is that growth keeps going on until at least twenty and that much of growth is change in proportion. The painfully fat boy of thirteen or fourteen may turn out to be a tall, solidly built man; the girl who is tall and stoopy in early years may not add more height but will continue to take proportions as she takes on a more mature form. (Keliher, 1941, p. 122)

This pictograph also excluded any other forms of physical development and the deterioration that happens to the body over time. Not only does this pictograph present the socially acceptable form of the male body, but the text also goes into further detail about different male body types. The text presents a case in history regarding outlier proportions or anomalies such as the thinnest man alive at the time. Although the text presented this example, it also reminded the reader that even individuals that do not meet the average body are still able to contribute to society and produce many offspring as is present in the text below:

The studies show that except for rare extremes body build is no indication of the ability of the body to function well in life. People of all builds live healthy lives, mature, marry, and have children in whom, more than likely, more differences will be perpetuated. The thinnest man in medical history weighed forty-two pounds, was five feet four inches tall, healthy, and the father of several children! (Keliher, 1941, pp. 125-126)



In the portion of the pictograph where the final phase of development is depicted, the final phase presents a much larger and proportional male pictogram towering over its previous stages in male physical development. This pictogram is not statistically in proportion with the previous pictograms depicting size and proportion in each stage. Such an exaggerated pictogram emphasizes the epitome of a young man reaching the final developmental stage and its importance to society. Through this pictograph, both male and female students see the ideal male body and the point in time when the male body has reached maturation. The concept of proportion provides the reader with social stability on the level of self-awareness regarding the expectations, progress, and maturation related to the body. This pictograph communicates that proportion and attaining the average standard figure is both an eventuality and a social expectation for almost every person. The message communicated through the pictograph and text indicate that the physical proportion of the body is a necessary part of being a normal functioning adult in society: reproduction and visual standardization.

## Subcode – Progress

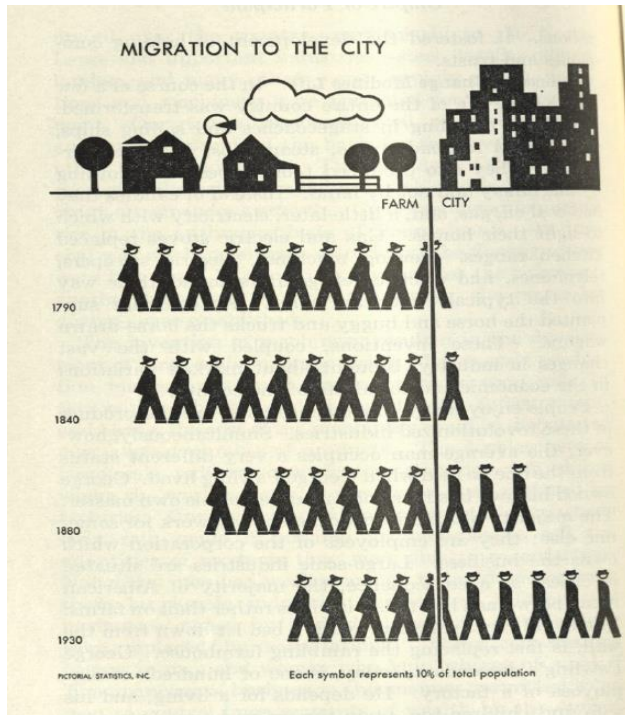


Figure 41. Immigration to the City from This Government (1938)

The final expression of social stability present in these pictographs is progress. The message of social stability through progress communicates more than just modernization and linearity it also communicates innovation and its connection to national cohesion, control, and the improvement of the general public's life. Such messages appear in the pictographs *Crossing Our Country* from the textbook *Government in Action* (1938) and *Immigration to the City* from the textbook *This Government* (1938). In the pictograph *Immigration to the City*, urbanization and industrial advancements appear positive forms of social progress. Over time the pictograph displays a rapid increase in population growth between 1790 and 1930 in urban centers. The pictograms are all male symbols to represent change in population growth and characteristics. The male pictograms living in rural areas have work-related straw hats while the male

pictograms in the city wear fashionable hats. The text describes industrialization, changes in social life, and the growth of urban areas as an inevitable byproduct of modernization and industrialization (Eckenrode et al., 1938, p. 409).

The text does not discuss social problems related to hyper urbanization and population decline in rural areas. Although the image does not present expected social behaviors, the text below discusses expectations and responsibilities regarding city men and their families.

He does not make the food, clothing, and shelter which constitutes his living. Instead he makes, let us say, a particular kind of chair, day after day. For his labor he receives a weekly wage in money. This money he uses to buy food and clothing, and to pay the rent of his apartment. From this weekly he must, after paying all the family's bills, save, if he can, in order to provide against the prospect of unemployment and against the time when he will no longer be able to work. If his work stops, his earnings stop; he has nothing with which to make a living. He may, in time, receive an old-age pension. (Eckenrode et al., 1938, pp. 409-411).

The rugged individualism associated with the days of pioneering and nation building is no longer present in this modern world. Instead, individualism and self-sufficiency has been replaced with specialization, standardization, and cohesion, which require federal control, regulation, and oversight to preserve human dignity and the nation. For the purposes of maintaining social order, stability, and control over the public, individualism must be supplanted by national unity and a people that conform to specific

social expectations. Although women and other groups exist in cities and farms, they also remain excluded from this pictograph.

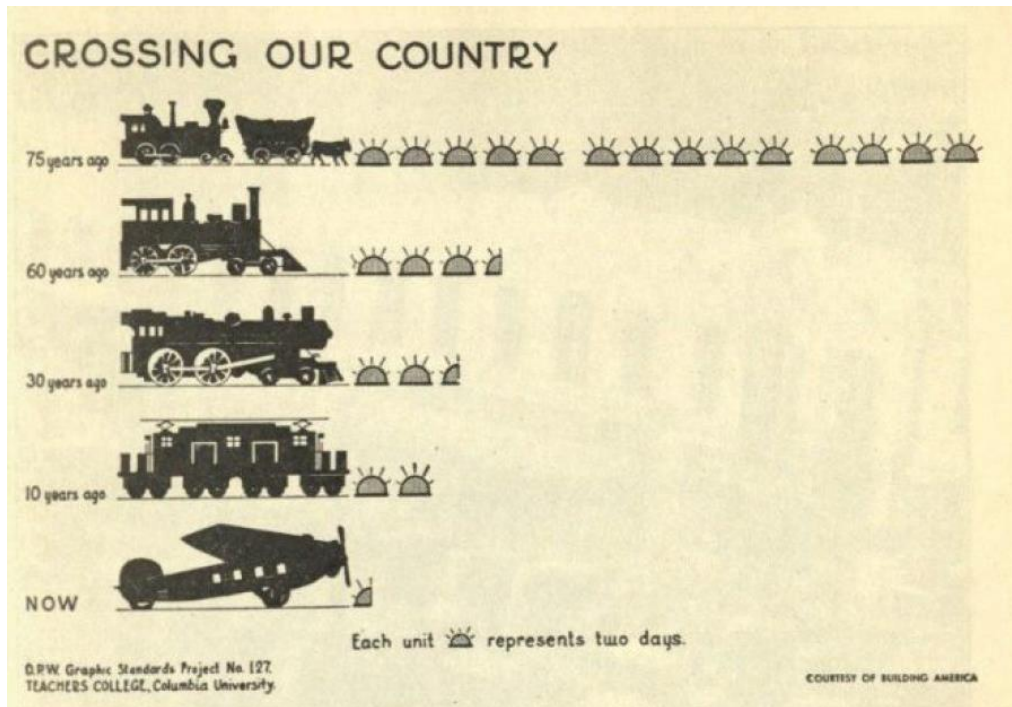


Figure 42. Crossing Our Country from Government in Action (1938)

The conversation and theme of progress, its relationship to the betterment of society through control, and standardization appears in the pictograph Crossing Our Country. In this chapter there is no direct discussion in the text regarding technological advancements in transportation reducing the amount of time it takes to travel across the country. Despite the lack of text relating back to the pictograph, the image alone communicates its own message regarding the short amount of time that transportation has advanced in respect to reducing travel time and options (land and air travel). In terms of space and time, the advancements in travel time and transportation are presented within a span of 75 years. Although the bookend years are not explicitly marked by the image, the pictograph presents change over time from at least 1863 (Civil War period) to 1938.

Perhaps this starting point of 75 years ago connotes the United States growing pains to launch into progress and unity as a country.

This segment of the chapter also shows pictures of how major cities were in the past and how they look in the present. Progress is major component in this pictograph. However, the text is far more focused on Benjamin Franklin and his contributions to the nation and democracy through some of his innovative ideas and inventions (Keohane et al., 1938, pp. 3-11). Most of these innovations or the implementation of such innovations were only possible through laws and policies that Franklin drew up. Such innovations improved daily life for the public. This same message is reinforced through the pictograph and part of its communication is to show that the government is not only interested in progress and modernization, but it is also concerned with the use of such technology for the improvement of the public's life, which is present in the following text below:

Another cause of greater popular demand for governmental services has been the progress of science and invention. Before the invention of the automobile, governments were not asked to spend millions of dollars for paved highways. Before the discovery of the cause and cure of tuberculosis, there was no demand for free public antituberculosis clinics. The invention of the radio brought with it the need for allotment of wave lengths and regulation of broadcasting, and our national government was the only agency competent to deal with this problem. Science and invention have created new demands on government. (Keohane et al., 1938, p. 18).

Transportation serves as one of these innovations that has made traveling and transporting goods more accessible to the public and small businesses. Therefore, to attain social stability and access through progress, government services, policies, and technological advancements must be regulated and advocated for by the federal government.

### **Code - Social Exclusion as Systemic Hegemony**

Although not as prevalent as social stability and social lessons, visual representations of social exclusion appear specifically throughout textbooks pertaining to government and civics primarily from 1938, which includes a total of 24 instances. Social exclusion functions as a social othering to maintain a social order within society and the community. Whether the reader is aware of other groups within his or her community or the text discusses other groups in relation to a program, law, or event, the pictographs accompanying this text lack or omit the groups in question. Examples of social exclusion emerge in pictographs such as Growth of Population in the textbook *This Government* (1938) and U.S. Cotton Production in the textbook *The Rise of American Democracy* (1938).

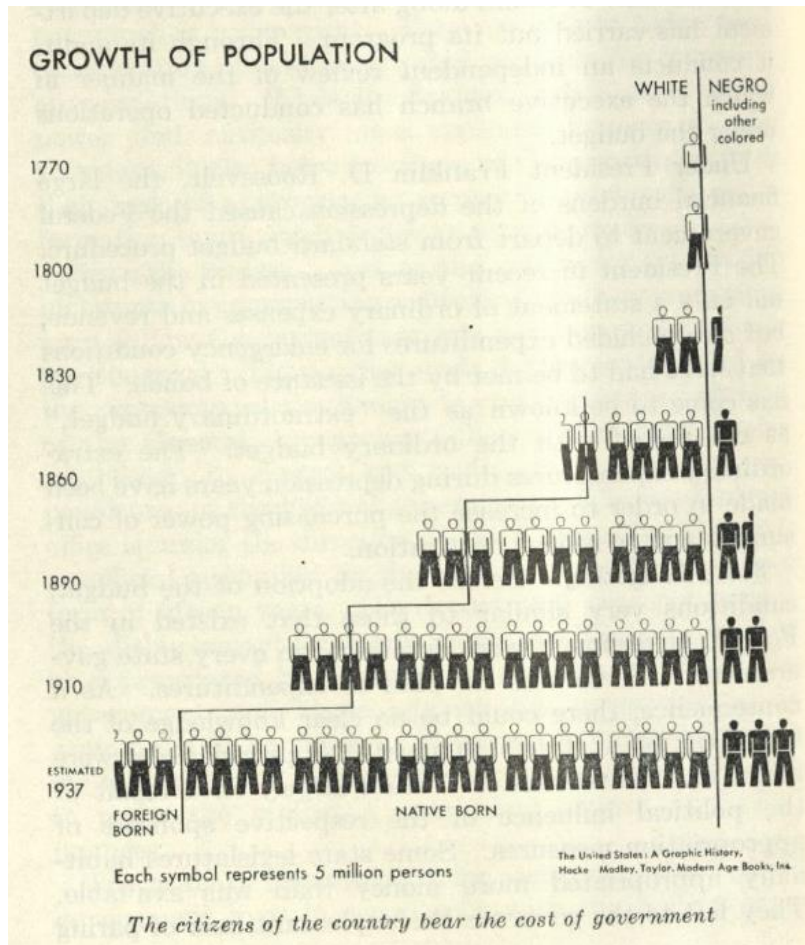


Figure 43. Growth of Population from This Government (1938)

In the pictograph Growth of Population, there is an underlying message that visually and socially excludes all non-white groups and immigrant communities. The text below does not directly discuss population growth, yet it brings up the importance of local, state, and national budgeting and how the public affects its allocation and use.

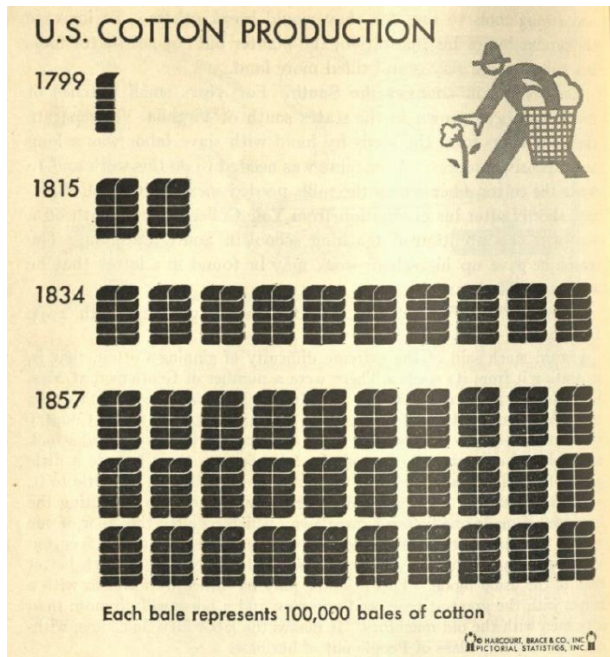
Democratic government will permanently survive only if it can render its citizens essential services efficiently and economically. By contributing to the efficiency of the machinery of government, the budget strengthens democracy (Eckenrode et al., 1938, p. 476).

Although the pictograph may be intended to reinforce the importance of the people and how much more accountability is placed on the government with population increases, the text does not discuss the divisions in the pictograph that separates certain groups nor how this delineation among groups affects governmental budgeting matters. The pictograph alone is exclusionary and Eurocentric in perspective. Native-born whites are placed at the center of the pictograph and the population is represented through male pictograms. This is also a pictograph that does not acknowledge indigenous people prior to 1770, yet the United States did not declare independence until 1776. It is possible that the indigenous are either grouped with the native-born population or with the negro (including other colored) population segment centered towards the left in the pictograph. This image also fails to include any period distinctions or events, such as slavery and whether slaves were considered part of the population. The foreign-born are placed on the far right and they are also represented by white male pictograms. Perhaps this is to signify that all immigrants are white Europeans and Asians. Other ethnic native-born populations remain omitted and placing them in either the white or negro including other colored categories becomes problematic.

Schools at this point are not racially integrated and generally schools attended by minorities and African Americans lacked the resources and access to afford textbooks such as the ones in this study (Tyack, 2003). The message in this pictograph is not for all students but rather for white students. Through this pictograph white male students identify with the pictograms in this pictograph and they potentially view the other delineated groups and the omitted groups as 'other' to white. This pictograph is an



example of pictographic images in the textbook sample for this study that presents an additional covert message beyond the text.



*Figure 44.* U.S. Cotton Production from *The Rise of American Democracy* (1938)

In the U.S. Cotton Production pictograph, after the development of the cotton gin in 1793, the production of cotton began to steadily increase. By 1857, the amount of cotton produced in comparison to that of 1799 presented a vast disparity in progress and production. Despite the development of the cotton gin, planters still required the labor of slaves. Although this is mentioned in the text, the one human pictogram that is present in the pictograph is white and the production of cotton is represented through pictograms of cotton bales rather than through physical human labor, “In the South the small farmer owned a slave or two and worked beside the Negroes in the fields. But the great planters had many slaves, who worked in gangs under that watchful eye of one placed in control, called an overseer” (Casner & Gabriel, 1938, p. 262). The text also proceeds to mention the low intelligence of slaves and the means by which they labored, “The slaves were

ignorant and careless. The planter gave them only simple and strong tools to use, for they could break others" (Casner & Gabriel, 1938, pp. 262-263). Through this pictograph, progress and modernization are the primary themes, but there is also racial social exclusion at work through this image. It appears that during this period it appears that pictographs and text in textbooks focus on communicating the technological advancements and progress that the nation has achieved. However, there is no reflective recognition or acknowledgment that most of this progress has been attained through inhumane practices. By omitting African Americans from the pictogram and briefly referring to their intelligence level in a paternalistic manner, the pictograph and text socially exclude African Americans and their history, as well as write-off any form of oppression and marginalization that they endured.

### **Conclusion**

Overall, the sample pictographs from the eight textbooks from 1937 to 1942 presented a general progression from earlier textbooks focusing predominantly on socioeconomic issues related to the public's general welfare to a heavier emphasis on nationalism and civic duty in the textbooks produced in 1942. These shifts in messages relate to historical movements and events from that period. In the late 1930s, the nation and New Deal Administration are working towards unity, cohesion, public welfare, and economic stability. By the early 1940s, totalitarian and fascist regimes have settled in parts of Europe. World War II is taking place on the other side of the world and these implications are threatening the social stability and democracy of the nation.

Pictographic messages related to the theme of politics, communicated messages that addressed nationalism among citizens social cohesion and unification through policies and common values in the sphere of democracy where citizens explore or utilize their skills and interests through civic acts and vocation that primarily benefit the community and nation. This theme also communicated the nation's political relationship with other countries. Depending on the nation or region, this international and political relationship entailed superiority and paternalism on the end of the United States while other nations appeared under a binary view as either a threat to American democracy or as economically and socially developing former colonies open to exploitation and dependent on the protection and dominion of the United States. Although these comparisons presented at outward look towards the world, pictographs that promoted the New Deal administration provided the reader with an inward look into the nation and how the federal government attempts to maintain economic stability and democracy by ensuring the public's general welfare through the regulation of private industries, providing work to the unemployed, and supply aid to the people or restructure public institutions when state and local governments fail.

The categories of society and morality included various prescriptive messages connoted and denoted through the pictographs and the text in the chapters within these textbooks. Under the theme of morality, one's perception of the human body as an object and instrument in relation to reproduction, sexuality, heteronormative practices, and standardization. The category of society addressed social order within society and the community by excluding groups and the status of such groups in relation to white male citizens. This theme also prescribed the social behavior expected from a proper citizen

such as avoiding or condemning any form of public dissent or criticism towards the government. To maintain social order, social lessons geared to a wide public (at the individual, local, and governmental level) to address issues related to social responsibility and civic duty.

## **CHAPTER VI**

### **DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

This chapter is divided into seven sections. The first segment gives a general overview of the purpose of the study and connects the primary research questions to the purpose of the study and findings. The second section focuses on the findings produced by the study and its relation to the research questions, which informs the third segment that places the study's findings in conversation with the current literature on critical literacy and genealogy of power. The fourth section of this chapter addresses the significance and importance of pictographs to curriculum history while the fifth section is divided into three subsections that discuss the implications that pictographs have on research, theory, and practice in education. The sixth section presents limitations related to the study and recommendations for future studies examining pictographs, infographics, or other forms of visual communication in the realm of curriculum and instruction. The final segment summarizes the chapter and includes final thoughts and a reflection on the study.

#### **Overview of the Study and Research Questions**

The current literature suggests that schools disseminate prescribed knowledge, behavior, and values to maintain and reproduce a set of societal norms and expectations (Apple, 2018; Funk, 2009, 2011; Irwin, 2013; Spring, 1992, 2017). Spring (1992) argues that the ability to manage knowledge is a source of power for most dominant groups. The primary areas of control in ideological management are politics, morality, and society.

Therefore, critical visual literacy provides students and educators with a lens from which to understand and contest how power is represented through images (Kibbey, 2011; Schieble, 2014). This study investigated pictographs from social studies textbooks in the United States from the years 1937-1942. Through Foucault's (1980) genealogy of power, this study examined the shifts in power and meaning through pictographs and its implications on the use of visuals in education during that time period (McLean, 2016; Shiner, 1982). The following research questions sought to investigate and interpret the messages communicated by pictographs in relation the genealogical evolution of pictographs and the messages that attempted to ideologically manage students and teachers.

- 1) What led to the rise in popularity of Rudolf Modley's pictographs during a period of economic instability and political struggle, as well as their decline during the United States' involvement in World War II?
- 2) How did the New Deal administration from 1937 – 1942 manage knowledge in education through pictographs as a tactic to control public consciousness?
  - i) What messages did pictographs in textbooks communicate to its audience?
  - ii) What evidence of ideological management is present in pictographs in textbooks?

Schools function as official spaces that neutralize the information and visuals presented in textbooks (Apple, 1990). Political interest groups grant authenticity and a finite tone to the knowledge and content present in textbooks while the spatial

arrangement of an image in the textbook situates the reader within its discourse (Apple, 1993; Kress, 2003). This finite or absolute tone communicated through text and visuals creates certainty for the reader/learner, which leads to a lack of questioning (Eisner, 1989). This visual language promotes a particular ideology to maintain and perpetuate the traditional narrative and its respective interest groups (Schieble, 2014).

As a historical method, genealogy of power addressed how power and knowledge in pictographs served as a technology or practice of human behavior where action is transformed through historical transitions and political investments (Foucault, 1995; Mitcham, 1994). While genealogy of power addressed shifts and transformations in power over time, directed content analysis informed by ideological management identified the management of knowledge and messages in pictographs (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Spring, 1992). Pictographs served as an example of the ideological management (the control and dissemination of ideas) present in the use of images in social studies textbooks in the United States during a period of economic instability, nation building after an economic collapse, and rise of totalitarian and fascist governments abroad (Spring 1992). During the 1930s and early 1940s, pictographs used modern silhouette icons to depict and quantify statistical information on the economic and societal concerns in the nation (Hacker, Modley, & Taylor, 1937; Scates, 1942). Although statisticians argued that pictographs exaggerated information and trivialized the standardization of graphic design, New Deal agencies and social organizations legitimized this visual presentation of knowledge as a form of effective mass education (Brinton, 1939; Scates,

1942). By the late 1930s, Modley and the New Deal administration popularized and proliferated pictographs in the United States.

### **First Research Question and Findings: Genealogy of Power**

Which historical factors led to the rise and decline in popularity of pictographs during a period of economic instability and political struggle in the United States from 1930 to 1945?

For the first research question, the historical method genealogy of power utilized McLean's (2016) approach to genealogy of power to trace the evolution and shifts in power of pictographs in the United States over time. For the purposes of this dissertation, genealogy of power viewed and examined the social emergence and shifts in meaning, historical context, and utilization of pictographs by different bodies of power and the individuals that developed these pictographic informational messages from 1920 to 1945. Like McLean's (2016) work, this study also compiled archival material (textbooks and books) related to pictographs with an emphasis on social studies education. Once these documents were acquired, the pictographs in each textbook were examined to trace a history of pictographs and to deconstruct the discourse that these images communicated to students and teachers. Genealogy of power unearthed various claims or narratives within pictographs, connected these claims to larger historical social problems and issues of power in ideologically managing the public, and showed how these claims changed over time according to shifts in thought (Foucault, 1995; McLean, 2016). Overall, this method located the selective knowledge present in pictographs and their historical origin.



From the findings produced by genealogy of power, pictographs took on multiple iterations and purposes between the early nineteenth century in Europe and mid 1940s in the United States. However, the genealogy of power in this study primarily focused on Modley's business and his pictographs for New Deal agencies and organizations. The general utilitarian purpose of pictographs was to communicate statistical information in a visual manner. Although the visual medium remained the same, the purpose and audience changed over time. Early statistical charts served as the template for future pictographs and as a visual means to support social and political arguments, trends, and claims made by statisticians, economists, and engineers for a middlebrow audience (Brinton 1914, 1939; Mulhall, 1884; Playfair, 1805). Early statistical charts served under a functional or practical nature that supported claims through visual statistics for decision making purposes. The dominant group that influenced this period in information graphics and the messages that they displayed constituted individuals belonging to or commissioned by governmental bodies to produce statistical charts presenting demographic data such as moral statistics (crime, literacy, disease, and poverty rates; Friendly, 2008). These statisticians, political economists, and engineers collected demographic information associated with the nation and economy for the government not for the general public.

By the late nineteenth century, statistical charts broke off into different forms of visual presentation. One of these forms was the pictographic presentation of statistical information. Pictographs moved into the realm of lowbrow literature without rules or guidelines through mediums such as magazines and newspapers. These pictographs portrayed inaccurate or misleading statistical information through exaggerated

pictograms that were not scaled, or the reader was not given a key to understand the magnitude and value of each pictogram (Brinton, 1939; Reidhaar, 1986; Tufte, 1983).

In this case, pictographs served as vehicles of persuasion in the world of advertising where hyperbole reigned over facts and accurate presentations of statistical information. During this period, pictographs were subject to gross misrepresentation of information and were predominantly in the hands of companies producing periodical publications or newspapers (Bailey, 1914; Brinton 1914, 1939). Such messages in *Good Housekeeping*, *The Scientific American*, and *The Independent* were tailored to a specific audience such as businessmen, inventors, or homemakers seeking information on health, diet, and recipes for the purposes of informing and persuading.

As a product of World War I, the rise of new socioeconomic ills, social movements, and governments in Europe affected the purpose, status, and use of pictographs. In the aftermath of the war, Austrian philosopher and political economist Neurath developed the Isotype system and rules to generate pictographs that addressed social problems and communicated condensed basic information to the general public. Neurath's pictographs as social education were far from neutral statistical visuals that communicated information on public hygiene, social problems, population statistics, and the economic standing of the country. Isotype pictographs democratized education, they functioned as social emancipators, and they sought to bring international unity through a common visual language dictating scientifically proven information (Cartwright et al., 1996). Despite this attempt at unification through a common language and logical empiricism, Neurath's pictograms also held subjective ties to absolutism and Eurocentric

conceptions of the world (Kindel, 2011, Nikolow, 2011). Although isotype pictographs incited critical thinking, public discussion, and mobilization on social matters, Neurath's pictographs push for unification in Europe through universal knowledge and a universal language of images and statistics failed at eliminating geographic and cultural divisions. Pictographs that presented global population statistics such as race, ethnicity, religion, and economic were represented through pictograms and symbols that held Eurocentric and western understanding of other cultures and peoples. The ideology driving isotype pictographs was a combination of the scientific unity movement, modernization, and progress through shared knowledge and language (Lupton, 1986; Neurath 1939). However, this shared knowledge of the one's self and the world further cemented systemic socioeconomic problems such as the progress and advancement of western countries over the rest of the world. Other problematic aspects with these pictograms and the universal language propagated by Neurath was that these symbols were familiar to Western Europe and the Americas but possibly not for other parts of the world. Isotype pictographs both propelled Western Europe into the future and reinforced archaic conceptions of categorizing and defining humanity. This view on pictographs took on a lofty and ideological turn where social reformers and philosophers like Neurath sought to democratize information through a common language and knowledge.

Much like Europe after World War I, the United States encountered a period of anomie and disassociation between the public and federal government because of the economic depression (McCaly, 1994). During this period of economic uncertainty and democracies at risk, the New Deal administration sought means by which to foster a connection with the public and provide forms of civic education on a large scale

(Graebner, 1987; Kunzman & Tyack, 2005; Ralston, 2000; Scates, 1942). One of these attempted connections was through mass education in a targeted and concise manner. Because of Neurath's modern and streamlined isotype design and his commitment to the unity of science movement, pictographs came across as the perfect vehicle to bring about both social reform and an understanding of the federal government's efforts towards the general welfare of the public. However, pictographs in the United States did not entirely hold the lofty ideals propagated by Neurath.

In the United States, Modley Americanized pictographs through a capitalistic approach with pictographs. Although Modley trained under Neurath, he was commissioned by the New Deal administration and textbook publishers to produce supplementary pictographs that supported the text and connected with the American public. The innovative and practical nature of pictographic design appealed to the United States government and organizations. This period of public alienation, discord, social abandonment, and the need for innovative collaboration defined the essence of the Great Depression in the United States (Barber, 1996; Evans, 2004; Kliebard; 1987; Lipartito, 2012; McClay, 1994). The purpose and content in Modley's pictographs differed from Neurath's of philosophy in pictographs serving as a universal language. Neurath held full creative control over his pictographs and the institutes that he ran while Modley's business (Pictorial Statistics, Inc.) served to provide a product based on the needs of New Deal government agencies and organizations. Modley based his alterations of the isotype pictogram designs on the understanding of the specific cultural context and community of the audience (Ihara, 2009). Rather than utilizing universal pictogram symbols, Modley intended these pictogram alterations to incorporate cultural or social symbols particular to

a group, community, or nation to communicate and connect effectively to his audience. This new premise to pictographs that Modley developed contradicted Neurath's ideology in a universal picture language. Modley Americanized pictographs by incorporating the audience's national culture and policies to relate to the American public (Ihara, 2009). The goal of Modley's American pictographs was not to develop international and borderless ties between the United States and the rest of the world, but rather to meet the needs of New Deal agencies by communicating through pictographs American values, patriotism, consensus, and unity within the nation for the federal government.

With the rise of progressive education reforms and competing education philosophies, social studies education included a more student-centered curriculum and focused on civic duty, as well as the citizen's identity and role within the community and nation (Evans, 2004; Kliebard, 1987; Tyack; 2003). During this period, various ideological and social movements related to education shaped the way the curriculum and instruction addressed the official knowledge that was presented to students. Major curriculum ideologies such as social reconstruction and social efficiency stemmed from the various education movements of the period but sought different ends. Social reconstruction pushed for the transformation of society through the emancipation of silenced groups and the end of the current order while social efficiency focused on developing good citizens through a combination of community involvement and social control (Bower, 1967; Evans, 2004; Kliebard, 1987; Spring, 1968; Stanley, 2005). Social efficiency encouraged teachers to instruct students on the basic skills required to pursue vocational and specialized occupations in the workforce to improve the economic system through a specific role in society. This concept of social specialization applied to various

areas of the individual's life: work, community, and family. Although Modley's pictographs did not indicate social transformation they did communicate social roles and specializations within society and the local community.

In a world where totalitarian and fascist governments were multiplying and manipulating public media, education, and information, the United States government and social organizations also censored and controlled the knowledge presented in schools and the media (McClay, 1994; Spring, 1992). With these centralized governments on the rise, patriotic groups not only feared hostile nations abroad but also potential dissenters at home. Through these semi-censored curriculums influenced by patriotic organizations, class discussions addressed civic and contemporary social issues on the role of citizenship and public opinion (Blankenship, 2015, 2016; Spring, 1992). Patriotic societies presented concerns with the possible rise of an American totalitarian society by discussing the problems associated with accepting the ideologies or philosophies embraced by these recently formed authoritarian governments in the eastern and western hemisphere of the world (Spring, 1992). Because of these concerns, federal government agencies, organizations, and companies sought out Modley's business to generate social cohesion and awaken the public's dormant national identity through images that communicated the efforts and progress of the nation through objective facts (Brinton, 1939; Modley & Lowenstein, 1952). By the late 1930s, Pictorial Statistics, Incorporated produced various pictographs for teaching units (later collected into textbooks), government or military literature, reports, general history booklets, and children's books on occupations. By having access to different audiences through various forms of literature, Pictorial Statistics, Inc. disseminated information to society through public

institutions and organizations. Between 1937 and 1945, pictographs remained the same in design, but their messages adjusted according to the federal agencies and social organizations that evolved over that period.

Modley's pictographs were indicative of the socioeconomic and civic problems of the 1930s and early 1940s. In the pictographs that Pictorial Statistics, Inc. provided to textbook companies, organizations, and other entities, progress appeared as a recurring message in these pictographs, as well as how citizens' socioeconomic concerns were being addressed by the government (Keohane et al., 1938). These pictographs that accompanied the text in these textbooks presented an ideology influenced by both progressive and patriotic education movements that encouraged critical thinking, community involvement, and one's role in society and the nation through statistical facts. Overall, the environment produced by the economic depression, the concerns over the authoritarian governments abroad, and the New Deal's ideology transformed the nature and purpose of pictographs. Isotype-styled pictographs in the United States moved away from unification with other countries and cultures. Instead these pictorial graphs embraced an approach that afforded national cohesion through pictographic depictions of political and social order, the organizational structure of industries, and the mission of federal agencies in the United States.

The literature argues that the atmosphere of the Cold War in the midcentury further enhanced the push away from pictographs because of Neurath's universal language philosophy and his ties to former and current authoritarian and communist regimes, yet the genealogical findings from this study suggests otherwise (Jansen, 2009).

The demise of pictographs in the United States did not transpire in the 1960s but rather by the end of World War II.

With the onset of the United States involvement in World War II and the home front's mobilization towards total war, in 1943 New Deal program and agencies capitulated and by 1945 Pictorial Statistics, Inc. ceased production. Without this relationship with New Deal agencies and social organizations that required a medium to communicate and create a common national identity during the economic depression and major war, Pictorial Statistics, Inc. came to an end with the rise of the United States as a military power and the hyper-growth of the postwar economy. Although Modley's Americanized isotype pictographs dissipated with the end of the economic depression and war, this transformation that pictographs underwent through Modley's business reflected the concerns and knowledge that the federal government and social organization were trying to convey and contain at the time. Examples of the information and values communicated through Modley's pictographs for an American audience are wariness towards rising authoritarian regimes, American exceptionalism, progress through modernization, the social role of the body and relationships in the community, grasping the importance of industrial and agricultural occupations, and understanding ecological and environmental changes. This genealogy of pictographs further supports the claim that images (in this case pictographs) are powerful, fluid, and malleable mediums of communication that can receive legitimacy under the supervision of social institutions.



## **Second Research Question and Findings: Ideological Management and Governmentality**

How did the New Deal administration from 1937 – 1942 manage knowledge in education through pictographs as a tactic to control public consciousness?

- i) What messages did pictographs in textbooks communicate to its audience?
- ii) What evidence of ideological management is present in pictographs in textbooks?

For the second research question and its sub-questions, ideological management and governmentality informed the coding practices in Hsieh & Shannon's (2005) directed content analysis (Foucault, 1980; 2003; Shiner, 1982; Spring 1992). Once familiarization was established with the theories and conceptual frameworks, initial coding was conducted on each pictograph (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). The process of following the framework of ideological management provided the study with three categories or themes (politics, society, and morality) and initial coding practices guided by this framework generated codes related to these themes (social lessons, nationalism, sexual morality, etcetera).

Although ideological management provided the predetermined categories or themes, some themes were more prevalent than others in the collection of pictographic messages. Each category holds a combination of predetermined and emergent codes and subcodes to apply the concept of ideological management while adhering to the historical

context and particularity of pictographs. Because the topics of these textbooks fell under the realm of social studies (history, civics, geography, etc.) most of these pictographs addressed issues, facts, and values relating to politics and society more than morality. Overall, the findings and interpretation of the pictograph sample indicates these images held a dual nature rooted in both contemporary progressive values and traditional Eurocentric and ethnocentric perceptions of the self and the world. These ethnocentric progressive messages reflected more of a social efficiency outlook on citizenship than one that encouraged major social transformation. Progressive and ethnocentric messages coexisted in these pictographs through a combination of Eurocentric symbols and their spatial placement (the United States placed in the center of a pictograph world map) on the pictograph coupled with the image's message. These messages ranged from social problems (general welfare, access to medical services, public hygiene, etc.) and political perceptions (concerns over neoimperialism, fear of rising authoritarian governments, and technological progress over other nations) to moral guidelines (the social and sexual development of male and female adolescents, as well as their contribution to the community and nation). In several cases, there were pictographs that were related to the chapter but not entirely to the text. The implications brought on by a message unrelated or excluded from the text entailed two potential outcomes. The first outcome being that the pictograph was recycled (utilized in an earlier edition of the textbook or another book where the pictographic message related more to the text), but it could still be connected to the text because of its content. The second outcome is that these pictographs were approved by the New Deal organization and publishers because it contributed an additional statistical fact or message that added another dimension to the text. By

presenting these political, moral, and social values to the public through and official institution and representatives of that institution (schools, teachers, and the administration), not only do social organizations, the state, and its institutions reach large segments of the population through the widespread use of such textbooks but they also manage to generate social consent from the public on these prescribed national values and perceptions (Graebner, 1987). The social engineering of consent through official knowledge allows the federal government to maintain its authority and legitimacy by using ideological management as a tactic of governmentality to achieve a cohesive public view of national identity, history, and values.

Each theme and their corresponding codes cut across the social and political mind on the public. In the case of the politics theme, pictographs addressed political lessons by depicting the United States as a paternalistic figure responsible for weaker nations at risk of falling under the yoke of older empires or protecting those nations from an authoritarian uprising. Other areas of politics included nationalism and anti-communism. Through these pictographs, nationalism took on a geographic, political, and economic comparative approach to the rest of the world. In Chapter V of this study, the Motor Vehicles pictograph from the *Exploring Geography* textbook is a prime example of the United States relation with the “rest of world” (as it is titled in the pictograph) on the level of progress towards modernization and productivity, as well the way the United States views foreign nations. In this pictograph, the United States is depicted through pictograms that portray it as an industrial giant while Asia, Europe, and Africa (Latin America and Australia do not have pictograms representing them) appear as former high civilizations or imperial powers (pictograms include a pyramid, Notre Dame, and a

pagoda) forgotten by time or seen as exotic places to visit. This pictograph implies through its visual message that nations outside of the United States are behind on several levels of progress and power in the twentieth century.

Other characteristics that generally defined the United States in these pictographs included exceptionalism, progress, and improvements to the public's general welfare. At times, othering appeared to foment nationalism by either reminding the public of the positive strides the New Deal administration has made for the nation or by denoting subhuman, inferiority, and underdevelopment as innate characteristics of other nations and peoples. Under politics, anti-communism served to alert the reader about the threats to democracy from abroad and within. This entailed being wary of newly established authoritarian governments and denouncing any incendiary actions or speech that could cause dissent within the nation.

The morality theme defined and represented pictographs that communicated the expectations and behaviors related to the sociosexual sphere of ideological management that molds gender performance and rehearsal for the purposes of maintaining conventional gender relations (Shields, 2015; Spring, 1992). Such sociosexual behaviors were divided among the segments of social purity and sexual morality. The study's interpretation of these forms of morality in ideological management presented that such pictographs depicted sociosexual scripts that relegated the female body and individual to a gender value system (virtuousness, selflessness, maintained social relations within the community, served as an exemplary mother and wife, and a housekeeper) intended to keep in line with the sphere of domesticity (Ulrich, 1982). The social purity section

addressed social behaviors detrimental to the betterment of society such as alcoholism, divorce, lack of knowledge regarding the domestic sphere, and sexual promiscuity. The sexual values segment covered all actions and choices related to reproduction and its impact on the community and nation such as selecting a spouse, ensuring a good marriage, and remembering one's sexual obligations. These pictographs portray all the dimensions related to one's sociosexual choices and behaviors as actions that have direct consequences on the stability and progress of the nation. An example from Chapter V that presents some of these findings regarding the theme of morality is the pictograph Growing Up with People from the textbook *Life and Growth*. In this pictograph, lifecycle sociosexual scripts are provided to both female and male students by indicating to the reader through pictograms social relations and emotions shared with family and friends at different points in the life, as well as the emphasis placed on the expected interactions in the male/female relationship. This relationship between men and women in the pictographs entails two major contributions to the moral and social well-being of the nation: biological reproduction between a married man and woman and the reinforcement proper social values through this union and its propagation.

For the society theme, social lessons in pictographs reflected concerns and consequences regarding the human impact on the environment, the effects of urbanization and the economic depression on rural and farming communities, financially feasible medical services, and social ills in the city. An example from Chapter V on the society theme and the different characteristics present in these pictographs is Accidents and Contagious Diseases from the textbook *This Government*. The pictograph statistically depicts the number of cases related to diphtheria, scarlet fever, tuberculosis, and

automobile accidents in 1934. This pictograph supports the textbook's claim that poor hygiene, lack of programs that address preventative care, underdeveloped health services in rural segments of the country, and unaffordable medical services lead to higher cases of contagious diseases and accidents that can easily be reduced or prevented. The major social problem put forth by this premise is that the nation will cease to advance in modernization, culture, and democracy if its citizens cannot access preventative care services at an affordable or consistent cost. This pictograph serves as an example of the public's awareness and the federal government's responsibility to institute social welfare the areas of healthcare to ensure the safety of its people and democracy.

Social exclusion also appeared as a component of the society theme. Despite various progressive messages, social exclusion was present in these pictographs and text and it represented social othering to preserve traditional understandings of other groups and maintain social order. This form of social exclusion in pictographs regarding programs or laws entailed omitting a pictogram representing a minority, grouping various minorities into one category or pictogram, or depicting the group as a product of the historical past and not the present (i.e. indigenous groups). The final segment of the society theme is social stability. This code in pictographs represented all the ways a good citizen displays civic duty within his or her community to maintain the social stability of the nation. This proper civic and social behavior encourages choosing a vocation related to public service and the community and recognizing one's identity and role as a citizen.

During this period, civic engagement entailed public participation in discussions to critically think through social problems from an objective standpoint while respecting

the opinions of others (Kunzman & Tyack, 2005). This form of democratic participation and application of civic literacy gave the perception to the public that they were engaged in an act of fully agency while, in fact, this was only intended to steer them away from more extreme ideologies and conceptions (Kunzman & Tyack, 2005). For progressive education, one's vocation was not simply an act of choosing an occupation but rather a commitment to a work that is true to one's talent and intellectual endeavors while serving the community (Morris, 2016). The social efficiency spectrum of education during this period also encouraged vocation. However, vocation under social efficiency appeared more as a moral or redemptive act that both oppressed minorities and helped to build a more technocratic society (Morris, 2016).

These pictographs that expressed social stability also presented statistical facts related to social and technological progress within the United States. All these visual expressions related to social stability encouraged civic participation and responsibilities related to the citizen itself, which prompted the development of a personally responsible citizen that is actively following the laws and potentially participating in the community yet not socially responsible enough to critically question the government or address injustice (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004).

Overall, each textbook's year and subject determined how the pictographs represented society, politics, and morality. Therefore, these pictographs were not only examined individually but also as part of a larger narrative pertaining to the textbook and the events of the period. The same way that the social studies subject and social concerns of the period shaped each pictographic message so did the narrative of each textbook as it

drew closer to World War II. Although social efficiency remained central to various pictographic messages about civic responsibility, vocation, and society, pictographs that closer to 1942 held an underlying sense of hyper nationalism and patriotic unity as the nation plunged into a total war home front.

### **Pictographic Messages and Findings in Conversation with the Current Literature**

The current literature about images and the critical examination of how they interact with language, text, spatial placement, and the identity and interpretations of the reader is growing (Dancum, 2004; Flynt & Brozo, 2010; Kress, 2003; Kibbey, 2011; Roswell & Kendrick, 2013; Schieble, 2014; Tavin, 2000; Werner, 2006). However, there is a lack of discussion on the matter of critically questioning images in the United States early curriculum. Most of the literature on genealogies of power focus on historically systemic and gendered sociocultural and public policy problems (Agnello 2001; Avallone, 1997; Mclean, 2016; Raibmon, 2008). Despite this implication, various studies that utilized content analysis and examined sociocultural or socioeconomic systemic issues even over a short period of time indicated that the actions, values, and premises made in the recent past either perpetuated or reproduced inequality, stereotypes, and oppression (Chafetz et al., 1993; Jones, Cunnigham, & Gallagher, 2010; Muhammad, 2012; Thomas, 2015). Although these genealogies of power and content analysis studies examine policy, norms, and values over time in the realm of the socioeconomic and sociocultural concerns, this study utilizes these methods and conceptual frameworks to examine one of the major institutional pillars of this nation through pictographs— public education. The overall purpose of genealogies of power are not to bring legitimacy to an argument, establish the evolution of a practice, or to disprove accepted truths (Koopman,



2013). As a method, genealogy of power is not utilized for the purposes of determining or assessing the present, but rather it is to problematize and complicate present sociocultural practices, policies, and procedures through its history (Koopman, 2013). The findings in this study contribute to the literature by complicating the use of images in textbooks through a curriculum history on pictographs. The genealogy of power and directed content analysis findings indicate that pictographs in textbooks between 1937 and 1942 communicated to the reader desirable and unacceptable behaviors, actions, and choices that reflected the social, political, and moral concerns that troubled social organizations and the New Deal administration. Therefore, to what extent has years of curriculum history had on the current curriculum? Curriculum history as a form of complicating and interrogating current practices in curriculum and instruction, as well as how this past official knowledge affects the current construction and practices in creating and maintaining today's official knowledge in schools. Although pictographs make up a small portion of the United States curriculum history, its presence during the 1930s and early 1940s potentially hold an impact on supplementary images (i.e. infographics) in textbooks today.

This premise veers into issues in critical literacy and curriculum history. Major works on social studies curriculum history argue that the curriculum was always affected by external forces holding institutional and social power. The curriculum was geared towards shaping proper citizens, yet the rise of progressive education practices encouraged active participation, critical thinking, and active learning over recitation and memorization (Evans, 2004; Kliebard, 1987; Spring, 1992, 2017; Tyack, 2003). This period allowed the rise of education geared towards social transformation and community

engagement to combat the negative social traits such as hyper-individualism and social responsibility that partly brought on the economic depression (Evans, 2004). This shift in pedagogy also brought on other social concerns during the precarious sociopolitical and economic atmosphere of the Great Depression. Although critical thinking and active participation in the community was encouraged, the federal government required more than an active citizen. In a time of economic instability and the rise of authoritarian control over nations abroad, the state and its institutions demanded loyalty, patriotism, and unity from its citizens (Blankenship, 2015, 2016). Although various works examine the text and language in textbooks and the literature produced by various social organizations that lobbied for the government, an in-depth examination of images from this period has not been considered as a more covert means of propaganda and as a form of public relations for the New Deal administration.

The findings produced by the genealogy of power and the directed content analysis of Modley's pictographs suggests that these images thrived during the Great Depression and were easily adopted by progressive education practices because of their statistical fact-based nature, malleability, and function to supplement the text and add depth to classroom discussions. The social studies curriculum of the 1930s and early 1940s shifted from grand narratives of war and politics to civics, community engagement, and contemporary American life, as well as the political and ideological dichotomy between democratic nations and rising authoritarian governments (Thornton, 2008). This new curriculum placed its focus on how historical events related back to current economic, international, and social problems (Thornton, 2008). Various textbooks from the sample in this study, focus their attention on issues surrounding general welfare, the

United States' status in comparison to both rival and subjugated nations, and the positive ties that the New Deal administration has with its people. Therefore, these findings not only confirm the experimental and progressive nature of the practice in curriculum and instruction, but also the means by which the federal government and social organizations attempted to instill specific social values, a shared history of American exceptionalism, and a positive outlook on the nation's treatment and protection of its citizens. While various works on curriculum history argue about the layered and complicated nature of education movements during the early twentieth century and the Great Depression, this study adds another layer to this complicated history by arguing that these curriculum ideologies were not mutually exclusive in this textbook sample. As Spring (1992, 2017) argues that the decentralized nature of governmental powers and institutions in this nation creates a competition for power and instituting the social group or institution's preferred official knowledge or narrative, these textbooks and their pictographs serve as the physical manifestation of this power competition. Depending on the social concerns of each year, pictographs and the language in these textbooks presented various combinations of hyper nationalism, social efficiency, social transformation, social responsibility, and social exclusion.

This study reinforces certain discussions in curriculum history and complicates the power struggles and messages produced by the federal government, social organizations, and the progressive education movement. Overall, the study also adds to the literature on critical literacy and critical visual literacy by showing that pictographs during the 1930s and early 1940s both mediated the official knowledge of the time and served as part of the civilizing process. This process was intended to condition and

regulate the reader to consider these facts presented by the text and pictographs as absolute knowledge. These pictographs reinforced the value systems and power relations set forth through reading and subliminally intaking the spatial arrangement and representations of other groups, nations, social issues, and the government. This form of visual educational literature represented which groups were supposed to be socially responsible, who was deserving of general welfare, and who was deserving of human rights. The current literature on critical literacy and visual critical literacy argues about the complicated ties between literacy and social inequality. Language and literacy in the realm of education either empowers or subjugates groups of people (Giroux, 1993; McLaren & Lankshear, 1993). Because the curriculum is a fluid space temporarily affected by the ever-changing sociopolitical concerns of each period, the textbook functions as a product of history, social change, and time (Inglis, 1985). Therefore, the textbook and curriculum serve as spaces of contestation, they mirror national concerns over identity and community, and they display the master narrative on what constitutes knowledge (Apple, 1990, 1993).

Although schools are both public and political spaces for discussion, critical thinking, and the development of informed citizens, the contradictory presence of an official knowledge in the curriculum only serves to generate mass consensus regarding citizenship. This narrative on citizenship entails who is or is not a citizen (both figuratively and literally), what constitutes a citizen, what are the rights of a citizen, what are the duties of a citizen, and who lives outside of this realm. Overall, the pictographs in this study visually mediate this type of socially constructed information. By viewing the discourse of difference and the accepted social mores and values in the pictographs and

text in each textbook, the textbooks and their pictographs display a progressive master narrative and silenced histories from the 1930s and early 1940s. These visual and textual narratives not only confirm the discourse of difference and its historical tradition in the American curriculum but it also shows the accepted convention of presenting linear and uncomplicated histories to maintain the current social order and perpetuate the cycle of building good citizens (Apple, 1993). Although the tradition of selecting knowledge and how it should be presented serves as an issue of conflict among social organizations, government agencies, and political factions, the findings from this study suggest that these institutions with varying ideologies may have a similar interest in periods of social unrest and the potential for dissent. In the case of the 1930s and early 1940s, despite the ideological differences between reconstructionism, social efficiency, religious groups, and social organizations, these textbooks and their pictographs not only displayed their values but also indicated that the primary interest was restoring social peace and nationalist sentiments by ideologically addressing major values and thoughts regarding society, morality, and politics.

### **Significance of Historical Pictographs**

Images serve as powerful multimedial forms of communication that transcends language by transporting the reader to a metaphysical plane where meaning and interpretations of society, culture, and norms are contested, prescribed, or enforced (Duncum, 2004). This complex plane in images that straddles language, messages, and identity causes its audience to critically contemplate and reason through the messages communicated by images that go beyond the obvious and into the world of the subjective

(Mathews, 2012; Werner, 2006). Here the reader consciously or subconsciously grapples with their identity and role in relation to the message prescribed to them as well as their final interpretation of this message. The current literature about visuals in curriculum and instruction promote a more critical reading of historical and current imagery (Kibbey, 2011; Schieble, 2014; Sweeny, 2006). However, pictographs as instructional tools in the classroom are nonexistent in the current academic literature on curriculum history and social studies education. There are works on curriculum history and social studies education in relation to one another, but pictographs are generally examined on their own through the lens of design and communication arts (Bresnahan, 2011; Evans, 2004; Golec, 2013; Jansen, 2009; Lutpton, 1986; Neurath & Kinross, 2009; Tyack, 2003; Vossoughian, 2011). The research focus includes employing critical literacy towards historical images, the New Deal administration's use of pictographs in their hygiene, rural electrification, and medical campaigns, Neurath's ideological and aesthetic addition to the world of visual statistic presentations, as well as the critique of Neurath's isotype method as a universal language (Golec, 2013; Jansen, 2009; Kibbey, 2011; Kindel, 2011; Lutpton, 1986; Neurath & Kinross, 2009; Nikolow, 2011; Schieble, 2014; Vossoughian, 2011).

Historicizing pictographs in this study contributes to the literature and it challenges scholars and educators to look beyond the text and consider examining other historical visual mediums or the current use of images in education (Flynt & Brozo, 2010; Rowsell & Kendrick, 2013; Schieble, 2014; Tavin, 2000). Through the application of genealogy of power and directed content analysis, the findings from this study prove significant to the field of curriculum and instruction because it suggests that social studies

curriculum and instruction practices regarding images today are affected by external groups. By historicizing and interpreting pictographs through the social movements, individuals and organizations, and ideologies that constantly shaped them over time, one not only perceives the groups vying for power and how they are supplanted or transformed over time but also the communicated values, norms, identity, and behaviors that perpetuate the social exclusion of minorities and promote a social order that benefits some groups over others. This method of historicizing pictographs situates and critically questions curriculum and instruction from the past to allow future research to determine how the current educational practices on images today reflects the methods and techniques of the past. This critical and historical questioning of the curriculum seeks to unearth these practices of disseminating knowledge that are taken as absolute truth, but not reestablish or reify the past or present on the future of curriculum and instruction. Not only has this study added a new chapter in curriculum history but it has also produced findings that complicate knowledge and power. These findings suggest that pictographs, Pictorial Statistics, Incorporated, and textbooks between 1937 and 1942 reflected an amalgamation of various social movements and social concerns, as well as what the federal government and major social organizations desired from the nation's future citizens. The significance of this study on historical pictographs is that it demonstrates through the genealogy of power and directed content analysis the images function as another tool of ideological management and governmentality. They are not objective mediums that statistically support claims made by language and text, but rather they are fluid and temporal objects influenced by time, location, and competing ideologies that determine their message and use. Since images are layered in meanings and subjective, it

is not to argue that they are simply problematic and must be eliminated but rather we should first teach from that standpoint and give students the critical tools to unpack and question what they see before them.

Between 1937 and 1942, pictographs displayed a combination of ideologies that shaped them. Pictographs in these textbooks attempted to reconcile progressive ideologies and capitalist technocratic visions while socially excluding or othering groups and nations. This combination of unlikely beliefs and ideologies forged pictographs in textbooks that highlighted the importance of human rights to affordable medical care, civic participation in the community, and general welfare from the government. This mingling of ideologies also entailed portraying foreign nations through a neoimperialist lens and reinforcing heteronormative values and stereotypes. From this study, social efficiency is prevalent through the textbooks and their pictographic messages. However, the findings indicate that these messages are more complex and cannot be labeled as simply a manifestation of social efficiency. The best way to define these pictographic messages intended to ideologically manage the public is by arguing that they are a hybridization of the period. They are both progressive, neoimperialist, Eurocentric, and technocratic all at once. These hybrid ideological messages through pictographs not only complicate curriculum and instruction during the Great Depression and World War II, but they also may reflect the ideological struggles for the curriculum in the present day. Although not quite like Apple's (2006) conception of conservative modernization because the data in question predates his work, the ideological struggles between interest groups and the use of pictographs in schools as a technology of power by the state also function in a similar way. Apple's (2006) argues that conservative modernization



operates on the need for a coalition of interest groups seeking to overcome their internal inconsistencies or disagreements by crafting a common message or knowledge to create a more technocratic and standardized society. Much like Apple's (2006) view of today, the state or New Deal administration, its institutions, and the social organization during the 1930s and early 1940s held contradictory progressive and Eurocentric views but they came together for the same goal – to disseminate values and behaviors capable of creating a more united, socially efficient, and patriotic society. Because of the decentralized nature of the government and major institutions, major entities and social groups constantly compete to instill their version of knowledge (Spring, 1992). Therefore, this decentralized environment creates a limbo where ideologies, values, norms, and perceptions compete with one another and (in the case of pictographs) most may manifest themselves through language, text, and imagery.

### **Pictographs and Areas of Implication: Theory, Research, and Practice**

From this study, there were some additions that contribute to the theories of ideological management and governmentally. Some of these additional or recommended building materials for the application of governmentality and ideological management is the use of a historical perspective to produce a schema and codes that are congruent to the case in question. The incorporation of a historical lens on these theories not only allows for their application during different periods and contexts but it also builds a larger historical network over time related to ideological management and governmentality in education. Although ideological management came with its primary themes (politics, morality, and society) that address different aspects of managing the public's values,

norms, and beliefs, the fluid nature of this conceptual framework allows for its application in any historical context where one can enhance or tailor the framework. In the case of this study and the context of pictographs, Spring's (1992) ideological management lens and concept was transformed into a working framework for coding that both addressed pictographs, the conditions of the Great Depression, and social movements. The codes and subcodes that were added to this study through emerging coding and historical context were from the subcategories of Politics and Society: political lessons, othering, promoting the New Deal administration, progress, social exclusion, self-awareness, and socially acceptable vocation. An example of an emerging code that met the concept of ideological management and nature of pictographs during the Great Depression was the anti-communism code from the politics theme. According to Spring's (1992) conception of anti-communism, this phenomenon surges during the mid-century with the rise Cold War and it is defined through a binary view of the world and at the heart of this view lies a conflict between good and evil. Although the rise of anti-communism is tied to the Cold War, this study claims that the same binary and paranoiac concern over the enemy abroad as a danger to democracy is also present during the 1930s and 1940s and its visage includes rising authoritarian and fascist regimes abroad.

In the case of Foucault's theory on governmentality, this study contributes to its complicated and abstract nature by accompanying the conceptual framework of ideological management and the propagandistic nature of pictographs. Each segment of governmentality (institutions, functions, and objects) emerge in American social studies education and its adoption of pictographs. Schools serve as institutions that function as

both extensions of federal control and management of the public but also as a ground for contestation in a decentralized democracy. In this case, the curriculum is a function of this technology of power and functions as one of the strategies of control. Within this strategy lies the textbook and its pictographs, which is the object that makes citizenship, sociocultural behavior, and perceptions of other groups as objective, knowable, observable, and quantifiable through pictographs. This also opens for further discussion and research on Foucault's (2007) concept of counter-conduct. Rather than focusing on overt forms of subversion and contestation such as protests and social movements, the choice to reject or question pictographs in the curriculum and other forms of visual communication in the textbook and classroom serve as quiet subversions at the personal level where one refuses to be governed or managed by resisting to adopt at face-value a premise or truth presented by the state and its institutions. It is time to view the school and classrooms as potential spaces of resistance and everyday counter-conduct.

This study adopted the research methods genealogy of power and directed content analysis to understand the shifts in power through the evolution of pictographs and the messages that these pictographs conveyed to its audience. However, this is only one of many ways to interpret how pictographs were used by specific groups with power, as well as what they attempted to communicate. Perhaps other conceptual frameworks or theories may derive other interpretations on these messages. The following segments lists recommendations and other means of conducting research with pictographs from this period.

### **First Recommendation**

Future research that extends this study could entail conducting primary research on the companies that published these textbooks and their relation to Modley's business, federal government agencies, and social organizations. Although most of these companies are defunct or merged with much larger corporations, there may be archival documentation indicating the type of product, buyer, and audience that these publishing companies, government agencies, and social organizations they were trying to reach or market and sell to within the sphere of education and schooling. This approach would add a dimension exploring business, capitalism, contestation over textbook adoptions, and social movements of the period and their relation to pictographs.

### **Second Recommendation**

Pictographs also appeared through various mediums during this period such as military manuals, children's literature, and federal initiative programs. All these materials that contained pictographs functioned as educational mediums to instruct different sectors of the public. Further research on this literature adds a new dimension this study by considering different age groups and sectors of society. Examining non-textbook literature that included pictographs may draw connections between the larger narrative present in textbooks of that time or the different forms that the narrative takes on according to its audience.

### **Third Recommendation**

To expand this study, research can be done by seeking out textbooks outside of the realm of social studies from the 1930s and early 1940s. Such a study could probe further to determine if pictographs were also present in the hard sciences. Further review of such textbooks in these subject areas that included pictographs could also shed further light on whether there were different variations of the same linear and uncomplicated narrative.

These different avenues for research or expansion on this study can be done through the lens of ideological management and governmentality. The final major direction that can be taken with pictographs is on a much larger scale. This additional form of research would entail examining pictographs and infographics in the efforts to determine whether there is a correlation and genealogy of power present between both mediums of visual statistics. Such a study can also involve human subjects along with their understanding and interpretation of the infographics created or employed in the classroom.

In terms of practice, the findings from this study indicate the importance of interrogating present visual practices in representation through their historical past. Although various works suggest the value of applying critical literacy to historical and current images, perhaps a step can be taken further in the classroom by having students view both historical and current images as one and the same (Garland, 2014; Kress, 2003; Schieble, 2014; Young, 2012). Most of the current work or studies on visual literacy focus more on interpretation, multimodality, and meaning making without the historical

component (Burke, 2013; Kibbey 2011; Ravas & Stark, 2012). The use of a critical visual literacy approach to images can serve as a source of empowerment and self-awareness or its absence can perpetuate systemic sociocultural problems and reify social constructions (Kibbey, 2004; Knochel, 2013; Roswell & Kendrick, 2013; Twine, 2016).

As we attempt to move towards a more inclusive and just society, through contestation images will either continue to serve as magnifiers of difference or as mediators of social change. The adoption of critical literacy in the classroom provides teachers and students the means to develop self-awareness and agency, as well as challenge absolute truths regarding policy, other groups, and social order. The self is inextricably connected to society. Therefore, the state and the public influences the subjectivity of the self, but a critical lens in a sphere of contestation (the classroom) regarding images can lead to personal social reconstruction as one sees or does not see themselves reflected through visual representations (Pinar, 2012). By questioning images through critical visual literacy methods, students can derive, contest, or negotiate the meanings and messages presented through visuals. This action in the classroom environment holds the potential to serve as a tool in reducing the power of the discourse of difference. The use of critical visual literacy with an emphasis on historicizing images allows both educators and students to recognize the relations of power, sociocultural disparities, and the deliberate connotations in visual language of discourse. By acknowledging the presence of the discourse of difference in images through critical literacy methods in the classroom, students are able to view their identity and culture through images of other groups and it provides the space to question social practices present in visual language that maintains or perpetuates socioeconomic and sociocultural

relationships based on power and oppression (Giroux, 1993; Lankshear, 1997). If language, discourse, and literacy lie at the core of reproducing social practices, then visuals only serve as another form of portraying and defining the social practices encouraged by the groups that choose or contest the messages in educational images. Because larger cultural and social institutions shape language and literacy, critical literacy and genealogy of power not only brings to light the discourse of difference and its long history, but it also exposes the larger apparatus that maintains such conceptions of difference-education policy and schools. The issues of power relations, discourse of difference, and contestation over meaning in the curriculum did not come about recently without a precedent. Therefore, it is important to historically situate, contextualize, and question images in textbooks and the classroom in relation to its historical context and ties to larger social organizations and institutions (Apple, 1990).

This study presents various implications on the use of images in textbooks and the classroom. There are various studies on visuals employed as neutral supplementary learning aids in the science classroom (Davidson, 2014; Maltese et al., 2015; Miller et al., 2016). Such visuals include infographics (the progenitor of pictographs), conventions of diagrammatic (COD) instruction, paintings, graphs, and schemes among others. There are various textbooks that utilize such visual displays of information to convey the dense and complex scientific concepts found in theories. There is currently a strong argument for the use of such visuals in the classroom and textbooks to comprehend and interpret the terminology present in the sciences and other disciplines (Davidson, 2014; Maltese et al., 2015; Miller et al., 2016). Such is the case with CODs where Miller, Cromley, and Newcombe (2016) assert the significance of such diagrams by arguing that visual

representations of information without diagram comprehension are meaningless. Diagrams contain universal symbols that convey information; however, these meanings are not intrinsic to individuals. Miller, Cromley, and Newcombe (2016) state that CODs serve as a domain general knowledge that helps develop visualization comprehension. A similar pattern in reasoning regarding visuals as learning aids emerges in Davidson's work on infographics. Davidson (2014) suggests that infographics allow students to effectively engage and comprehend information more than traditional sources of information such as textbooks. The author defines infographics as aesthetic visual images that incorporate information or data in a diagram format. According to Davidson (2014), infographics prove meaningful and useful in the classroom environment because they display complicated information through a combination of words and visuals in a clear and condensed manner. Because of the brief, compact, and visual nature of infographics, Davidson (2016) also proposes that the construction of these information graphics compels students to decide which information serves as most important to incorporate. Davidson (2016) argues that classroom projects requiring the creation of infographics allow students to meet several science objectives, concepts, and standards. Furthermore, Davidson (2016) indicates that infographics typically address trends, science and media literacy, model construction, quantification, the development of research skills, the interpretation and presentation of data, and the concept of cause and effect.

However, despite the promulgation of infographics and CODs in the curriculum as statistically sound and neutral images, this pragmatic approach takes for granted the power contestation, meanings assigned to symbols, and the historical workings behind the application and purpose of these visual aids. Although pictographs during the 1930s



and 40s were viewed by statisticians and engineers as exaggerated or misrepresented statistical information, New Deal agencies and initiatives, school textbooks, children's literature, and military manuals contained a variety of pictographs produced by Modley's business. Therefore, from the findings produced by study, the pervasiveness of pictographs in various forms of literature does not suggest that their proliferation and use by official entities proved that they were accurate or true but rather that such wide use by these institutions gave pictographs the seal of official knowledge. Because of these implications, it is important to question and historicize the use and application of images and visual graphics beyond their utilitarian purpose, message, how they communicate information, who is excluded from its message, and whether the information in such images function as privileged knowledge. Overall, the same methods of communication presented by those that use CODs and infographics as supplementary forms of facilitating learning through universal symbols to convey complex or dense information are reminiscent of the ideology behind the Neurath's Isotype system (Davidson, 2014; Maltese et al., 2015; Miller et al., 2016). This is not to argue that visual are dangerous in the classroom setting, but rather that the information and messages displayed should not be taken at face value without the use of critical literacy.

### **Limitations**

This study was bound between 1937 to 1942 because of the eight social studies textbooks selected for this study. These textbooks produced a sample size of 208 pictographs. However, because these textbooks are rare, it is possible that there may be other social studies textbooks from the period containing pictographs or even textbooks

from other subjects that used pictographs. Therefore, expanding the study to include other subjects was beyond the scope of the primary questions but for future studies pictographic messages in other textbook subjects may provide a more comprehensive outlook on the message that social organizations and the New Deal administration were attempting to communicate to American students.

Other limitations in this study include the lack of data from oral histories or interviews from participants that encountered pictographs in school as a form of instruction. However, because of the age of these pictographs and the age group that encountered them between 1937 and 1942 (students from grades 7<sup>th</sup> through 12<sup>th</sup>), it is unlikely that there are individuals still alive that may remember encountering these pictographs during their time in school. Because of this circumstance, it is not possible to know how young students perceived pictographs or how they were utilized in the classroom.

Furthermore, pictographic messages are subjective in nature and history itself holds a fragmentary or incomplete essence (Steedman, 2002). It is not possible to provide this study with a definitive and absolute answer regarding the purpose of pictographs and their messages. The most obvious and utilitarian purpose that pictographs between 1937 and 1942 held was that of serving as condensed visual and statistical information that supported the claims made by the text (Brinton, 1939; Cartwright et al., 1996; Lupton 1986; Modley & Lowenstein, 1952; Neurath, 1936, 2010). However, this study also recognizes that their emergence and demise is correlated to social movements and socioeconomic problems of that period. Because this study was conducted decades after

the deaths of pictograph designers, it was impossible to interview Neurath and, most importantly, Modley for their perspectives on their intentions and purposes behind the use of pictographs in public spaces and education.

### **Conclusion**

There is a push for incorporating visual literacy in the classroom to enhance students' critical thinking skills, abstraction, and ability to integrate information (Goldstone, 1989; Moore-Russo & Shanahan, 2014). One of the primary reasons behind this argument, is that the professional world is moving towards a greater use of graphs and pictorial representations of information. Therefore, the student's future academic and professional success is dependent on the ability to read and interpret such images on a literate level. However, the push towards a critical literacy perspective towards visuals appears to be an afterthought or a secondary argument when it comes introducing visual literacy in the classroom. Even less of a concern is the application of a critical historical viewing of visuals in textbooks to develop a critical, socially just, and self-aware individual. Although various forms of innovative visual communication in education appear as objective forms of knowledge situated in the present, these visual forms of communication hold historical roots and implications. Tracing the historical nature of a visual medium is to develop a genealogy of power, the contestations over knowledge, and expose the dangers of taking for granted the knowledge that presents fact-based social expectations, behavior, norms, and views on different segments of the population. Further use of a critical historical or genealogical view on such visuals is not intended to disqualify their information but rather enhance the visual literacy skills that further

develop synthesis and in-depth thinking with a critical lens to bring about civic, participatory, and social transformation.

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