

T&amp;F PROOFS. NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION.

1 Citation: Chi, M. T. H. (2013). Two kinds and four sub-types of misconcieved  
 2 knowledge, ways to change it, and the learning outcomes. In S. Vosniadou (Ed.),  
 3 *International handbook of research on conceptual change* (2nd ed., pp. 49-70).  
 4 New York, NY: Psychology Press.  
 5  
 6  
 7  
 8  
 9

# 3

## TWO KINDS AND FOUR SUB-TYPES OF MISCONCEIVED KNOWLEDGE, WAYS TO CHANGE IT, AND THE LEARNING OUTCOMES

*Michelene T. H. Chi, Arizona State University*

### CONCEPTUAL KIND OF LEARNING

23 Learning of complex material, such as concepts encountered in science classrooms, can  
 24 occur under at least two different conditions of prior knowledge. In one case, a student  
 25 may have some prior knowledge of the to-be-learned concepts, but it is *incomplete*. In this  
 26 incomplete knowledge case, learning can be conceived of as gap filling, and Carey (1991)  
 27 had referred to this case of knowledge acquisition as the enriching kind. In a second case,  
 28 a student may have already acquired some naive ideas, either in school or from everyday  
 29 experiences, that are “in conflict with” the to-be-learned concepts (Vosniadou, 2004). It  
 30 is customary to assume that the naive “conflicting” knowledge is incorrect, by some  
 31 normative standard. Thus, learning in this second case is not adding missing knowledge  
 32 or gap filling; rather, learning is changing naive conflicting knowledge to correct know-  
 33 ledge. This chapter focuses on this conceptual change kind of learning.

34 Although this definition of conceptual change appears straightforward, learning via  
 35 conceptual change entails several complex, non-transparent, and interleaved issues. The  
 36 existence of decades of research on conceptual change speaks to the complexity of these  
 37 issues. We pose some of the key non-transparent questions as follows: (a) In what ways  
 38 does naïve knowledge “conflict with” the to-be-learned materials? That is, why is con-  
 39 flicting knowledge *misconceived* and not merely *incorrect*? We will address the difference  
 40 between incorrect knowledge versus misconceived conflicting knowledge. (b) Is  
 41 misconceived knowledge always resistant to change, or is some misconceived knowledge  
 42 more easily changed? (c) How should instruction be designed to promote conceptual  
 43 change? This chapter hopes to add clarity to some of these questions by offering a theo-  
 44 retical framework that lays out two different kinds of conceptual change, with two sub-  
 45 types for each kind, as a function of how conflicting knowledge is defined. Furthermore,  
 46 we postulate the processes by which such conflicting knowledge can be changed, and  
 47 speculate on the kind of instruction that might achieve such change.

## T&amp;F PROOFS. NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION.

50 • Chi

**FOUR TYPES OF MISCONCEIVED KNOWLEDGE AND HOW THEY MIGHT BE CHANGED**

Superficially, the notion of misconceived knowledge seems easy to define objectively, in that it is incorrect from the perspective of the correct to-be-learned material. However, characterizing misconceived knowledge as incorrect is simplistic because it cannot explain why misconceived knowledge is often so resistant to change. To understand why misconceived knowledge is resistant to change, we propose that there are two kinds of incorrectness: (1) knowledge can be *inaccurate* compared to correct information or to reality, such as in having an incorrect value on an appropriate property or dimension, or (2) knowledge can be *incommensurate* with correct information in not having the appropriate dimensions. “Dimension” is used here to refer to a plausible property of a concept in general, rather than the specific value on a dimension. For example, living things have the capacity (or dimensions) to “move on their own volition,” “be responsive,” and “reproduce,” whereas artifacts cannot even have these dimensions, whereas the value of a dimension is a specific feature or attribute. For the dimension of “reproducing,” the specific attribute for fish is to lay eggs, while the specific attribute for dogs is to give birth to live young. Thus, to say that *a whale is the same size as a salmon* is “inaccurate”, whereas to say that *a whale is a fish like a salmon* is “incommensurate.”

Based on these two kinds of incorrectness (*inaccurate* and *incommensurate*), conflicting knowledge can be examined in terms of four sub-types, in terms of representations of knowledge that are commonly discussed in the cognitive science literature, such as individual propositions or statements, mental models, categories, and schemas. Corresponding to these four types of representations, we refer to prior conflicting knowledge as either *false beliefs* (at the statement level), *flawed mental models* (at the mental model level), *category mistakes* (at the categorical level), or *missing schemas* (at the schema level). *False beliefs* and *flawed mental models* kinds of conflicting knowledge are “inaccurate,” whereas *category mistakes* and *missing schemas* kinds of conflicting knowledge are “incommensurate.” Although our framework does not necessarily commit to any notions of hierarchy in the grain sizes of these representations, what is critical is our proposal that the grain size at which conflict is defined (between incorrect knowledge and the to-be-learned correct material) determines how instruction should be designed to change misconceptions.

Using these four different representational formats, we examine the key questions of: in what ways do students’ naïve ideas conflict with the to-be-learned materials, the ease with which such conflicting knowledge can be changed, and the type of instruction or confrontation that might trigger conceptual change. In the discussion below, our examples will be drawn primarily from science domains for three reasons. First, it is relatively easy to agree on what is considered correct or normative scientific information, and thus to contrast it with misconceived knowledge, which, by definition, implies prior knowledge that is incorrect as compared to some normative or scientifically based information. Second, misconceptions historically were recognized largely in science domains. Third, we draw our examples from science domains for which we have some data, primarily taken from concepts such as the human circulatory system and diffusion. For the headings of the three sections below, the first segment serves as a label for how knowledge is misconceived, the second segment describes the kind of conceptual change that can occur, and the third segment refers to the kind of confrontation and/or instruction that may produce conceptual change.

## T&amp;F PROOFS. NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION.

Kinds and sub-types of misconceived knowledge • 51

## 1 FALSE BELIEFS: BELIEF REVISION FROM REFUTATION

2 Students' naive knowledge can be represented at the grain size of a single idea, corres-  
3 ponding more or less to information specified in a single sentence or statement. We will  
4 refer to single ideas as "beliefs," and, when they are incorrect, as *false beliefs*. With respect  
5 to the human circulatory system, false beliefs might be knowing that "the *heart* is  
6 responsible for re-oxygenating blood" or that "*all* blood vessels have valves." Such false  
7 beliefs are incorrect because it is the *lungs* that are responsible for oxygenating blood and  
8 only *veins* but not arteries have valves (Chi, de Leeuw, Chiu, & LaVancher, 1994; Chi &  
9 Roscoe, 2002). So in what sense do these false beliefs conflict with correct information?  
10 One can think of understanding a system (such as the circulatory system) as forming a  
11 complete schema or mental model with slots (or dimensions) and features/values for  
12 each slot/dimension, such as that there is an organ (or an agent) that is responsible for  
13 oxygenation. That is, *having an agent as the cause* of oxygenation is the dimension, and  
14 the specific *organ* is the property on that dimension. Thus, the false belief that "the *heart*  
15 is responsible for re-oxygenating blood" is compatible with the dimension of having an  
16 organ as the responsible agent. Therefore, the naïve belief about the *heart* as the  
17 responsible agent is simply *false* on the same dimension, in the sense that it is *inaccurate*  
18 or *contradictory*. The correct knowledge is that it is the *lungs* and not the *heart* that  
19 oxygenate blood.

20 If false beliefs and correct information contradict each other on the same dimension,  
21 then one would expect that designing instruction that is targeted at *refuting* false beliefs  
22 might succeed at correcting them, resulting in *belief revision*. It appears that this is true  
23 (Broughton, Sinatra, & Reynolds, 2007; Guzetti, Snyder, Glass, & Gamas, 1993). That is,  
24 false beliefs for some topics can be corrected when learners are explicitly confronted with  
25 the correct information by direct contradiction or explicit refutation, and even implicit  
26 refutation. Direct refutation would be saying something in the text such as *The heart does*  
27 *not oxygenate blood*, and implicit refutation may simply be not mentioning *the heart* as  
28 oxygenating blood, and only mentioning *the lungs* as oxygenating blood. We have  
29 reported evidence obtained by de Leeuw (in Chi & Roscoe, 2002) for the success of both  
30 explicit and implicit types of refutations. The successful outcome of refutation can be  
31 called belief revision (see Table 3.1).

32 However, there are many other incorrect beliefs in other domains that are not so  
33 readily revised by refutation, even though they can be stated at the grain size of a single  
34 idea. Consider, for example, conflicting beliefs such as *a thrown object acquires or contains*  
35 *some internal force* or *coldness from the ice flows into the water, making the water colder*.  
36 Although students can readily learn by adding new beliefs about "internal force," such as  
37 the equation for its relation to mass and acceleration, the definition of acceleration, and  
38 so on, these newly added beliefs cannot correct a student's conflicting belief that *a thrown*  
39 *object acquires or contains some internal force*. Moreover, such conflicting beliefs cannot  
40 be easily denied or refuted by contradiction. For example, stating that "a thrown object  
41 does not acquire or contain internal forces," or stating that "a thrown object contains  
42 some other kind of forces" will not succeed in helping students achieve correct under-  
43 standing because these two examples of refutation contradict the conflicting beliefs on  
44 the same dimension, whereas the conflicting belief is incorrect in that it should not have  
45 that dimension at all; that is, the incorrect dimension and the correct dimension are  
46 *incommensurate*. That is, it does not make sense to talk about an object as containing  
47 or not containing forces because forces cannot be contained in objects. Thus, some

## T&amp;F PROOFS. NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION.

52 • Chi

**Table 3.1** Five attributes characterizing the inter-level causal explanations relating the agents' interactions (at the micro level) and the pattern (at the macro level)

Emergent causal explanations	Direct causal explanations
1. The entire collection or all the agents together "cause" the observable global pattern	1. A single agent or a subgroup of agents can "cause" the global observable pattern
2. All agents have equal status with respect to the pattern	2. One or more agents have special status with respect to the pattern
3. Local events and the global pattern can behave in disjoint non-matching ways	3. Local events and the global pattern behave in a corresponding matched way
4. Agents interact to intentionally achieve local goals; ignorant of the global pattern	4. Some agents interact to intentionally achieve the global goal and direct their interactions at producing the global pattern
5. Mechanism producing the global pattern: proportional change (collective summing across time)	5. Mechanism producing the global pattern: incremental change (additive summing across time)

conflicting beliefs are not incorrect in the *false* or "inaccurate" sense, therefore they cannot be explicitly or implicitly refuted. Rather, they are incorrect in the "incommensurate" sense, to be addressed in a later section below.

### FLAWED MENTAL MODELS: MENTAL MODEL TRANSFORMATION FROM ACCUMULATION OF BELIEF REVISIONS

An organized collection of individual beliefs can be viewed as forming a mental model. A mental model is an internal representation of a concept (such as the *earth*), or an interrelated system of concepts (such as the *circulatory system*) that corresponds in some way to the external structure that it represents (Gentner & Stevens, 1983). Mental models can be "run" mentally, much like an animated simulation, to depict changes and generate predictions and outcomes, such as the direction of blood flow. A mental model can also have some underlying assumptions, in much the same way that an external model can.

A mental model can be so sparse and incomplete that learning would begin by *adding* and *filling-in gaps* in knowledge. However, adding and gap-filling a mental model would not constitute conceptual change. Therefore, in what other ways can mental models be incorrect so that learning is the conceptual change kind and not merely the enriching kind? Mental models can conflict with the normative correct model in being *flawed*. We define *flawed* to mean that the core assumptions of the *flawed model* are not only incorrect but also *coherent* in that they do not contradict each other, even though they may contradict the assumptions of the correct model. Moreover, students can use their naïve but coherent *flawed* mental model to offer similar and consistently incorrect explanations and predictions in response to a variety of questions. Thus, a *flawed mental model* is an incorrect naïve model that has *coherence* among its assumptions and *consistency* in its predictions and explanations.

We can capture the structure of a student's flawed mental model by examining the pattern and consistency of the generated explanations and predictions (Chi, 2000; Chi, Slotta, & de Leeuw, 1994; Vosniadou & Brewer, 1992, 1994). The accuracy of the flawed

## T&amp;F PROOFS. NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION.

Kinds and sub-types of misconceived knowledge • 53

1 mental model can be further validated by predicting and testing how that student will  
2 respond to additional questions. For example, about half of the participants in our  
3 studies had an initial “single-loop” model of the human circulatory system. According  
4 to this flawed model, blood goes to the heart to be oxygenated, then it is pumped to the  
5 rest of the body, then back to the heart. (In contrast, the correct “double-loop” model  
6 has two paths. One path leads from the heart to the lungs, where blood is oxygenated  
7 before returning to the heart. The second path leads from the heart to the rest of the body  
8 and back to the heart.) In order to confirm that our assessment of the flawed “single-  
9 loop” model is accurate, we can design additional questions to see if students will respond  
10 as expected, on the basis of the “single-loop” model.

11 In what way does a flawed “single-loop” model conflict with the correct “double-loop”  
12 model? We propose that the flawed model conflicts with the correct model in that their  
13 core underlying assumptions contradict each other. For example, the three fundamental  
14 assumptions underlying a flawed single loop model are that it is the *heart* that oxygenates  
15 blood, therefore there is only *one loop*, and that lungs serve no special purpose other than  
16 as a *destination* to which blood has to deliver oxygen. In contrast, the correct double loop  
17 model holds three contradictory assumptions, that it is the *lungs* that oxygenate blood,  
18 that there are *two loops*, and that lungs play an important role as the *site of oxygenation*.

19 These different core assumptions result in different predictions about where blood  
20 goes after it leaves the heart, different explanations with respect to where blood is  
21 oxygenated, and different elements in terms of whether or not lungs play an important  
22 role in oxygenation. Thus, in an alternative way to characterize the differences in the  
23 underlying assumptions of the two models, one could instead say that two models are “in  
24 conflict with” each other because they (a) make different predictions, (b) generate  
25 different explanations, and (c) use different elements in their explanations. Notice that  
26 these criteria of conflict—different predictions, different explanations containing dif-  
27 ferent elements – are the ones mentioned by Carey (1985) as compatible with the notion  
28 of “incommensurate” from the philosophy of science. In our framework here, we propose  
29 that these two conflicting models are *not* incommensurate because their underlying  
30 assumptions contradict each other on the same dimensions, even though the different  
31 assumptions do generate different predictions, explanations, and elements. Instead, we  
32 would reserve the term “incommensurate” for knowledge that is “in conflict” either  
33 laterally or ontologically, to be discussed in a following section.

34 Likewise, Vosniadou and Brewer (1992) have shown that young children have flawed  
35 mental models of the earth, such as a flattened square disk model. Based on what  
36 children say, one could infer that the fundamental assumption underlying a flattened  
37 disk model is that the shape of the earth is flat and finite in size, therefore predictions  
38 from such a “flat earth” model would be that one should look down to see the earth and  
39 that there is an edge from which people can potentially fall off. In short, flawed mental  
40 models are *coherent* in the sense that their underlying assumptions do not contradict  
41 each other, and *consistent* in that students retrieve and use them repeatedly to answer  
42 questions and make predictions, allowing researchers to capture the structure of their  
43 mental models by analyzing the systematicity in the pattern of their responses (see also  
44 McCloskey, 1983; Samarapungavan & Wiers, 1997; Vosniadou & Brewer, 1992; Wiser,  
45 1987). Thus, a flawed mental model “is in conflict” with the correct model in the sense  
46 that the two models hold different assumptions, thus generating different predictions  
47 and explanations.

## T&amp;F PROOFS. NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION.

54 • Chi

1 We refer to successful modification of a flawed mental model as mental model *trans-*  
2 *formation*. But how should we design instruction to induce mental model transfor-  
3 mation? There are three ways. First, one could refute many false beliefs in the same way  
4 one would refute a single false belief, as discussed in the previous section. Cumulatively,  
5 the many belief revisions can change the flawed model to the correct model. A second  
6 method is to confront the naïve flawed model holistically. And a third method might be  
7 to refute the basic assumptions. There is scant evidence on these instructional approaches  
8 and they are briefly described next.

*Accumulation of Many Individual Belief Revisions*

10 Although we have described conflicting mental models at the mental-model level (such  
11 as a flat earth vs. a spherical earth and a single loop vs. a double loop), traditional  
12 instruction typically consists of a description of the correct model one sentence at a time,  
13 ignoring what individual students' flawed models are. This means that a learner's flawed  
14 model is confronted with a description of the correct model presented one sentence at a  
15 time, such that each sentence can either refute (explicitly or implicitly) an existing belief  
16 or not, as discussed in the preceding section on belief revision.

17 From the perspective of a mental model, there are two possible outcomes when  
18 instruction is presented sentence-by-sentence. In the first case, information presented in  
19 a given sentence or sentences may not refute (explicitly or implicitly) any of the learner's  
20 prior beliefs. Instead, the information might be new or more elaborated than what the  
21 learner knows. In such a case, the learner can assimilate by embedding or adding the new  
22 information from the sentences into her existing flawed model, so that her mental model  
23 is enriched, but continues to be flawed. For example, in the case of a "single-loop" flawed  
24 model, learners assume that blood from the heart goes to the rest of the body to deliver  
25 oxygen. Such models lack the idea that blood also goes to the lungs, not to deliver oxygen  
26 but to receive oxygen. Upon reading a sentence such as "The right side [of the heart]  
27 pumps blood to the lungs and the left side pumps blood to other parts of the body,"  
28 students with a "single-loop" model may not find it to contradict any beliefs in their  
29 flawed single-loop model, since they interpret the sentence to mean that the right side  
30 pumps blood to the lungs to deliver oxygen (rather than to receive oxygen), just as it does  
31 to the rest of the body. Therefore, even though at the mental model level, the sentence  
32 conflicts with the learner's flawed model, at the belief level, the sentence does not directly  
33 contradict the learner's prior beliefs. Thus the learner does not perceive a conflict, and the  
34 new information is assimilated into the flawed model (Chi, 2000). In short, assimilation  
35 of new information occurs when a learner does not perceive a conflict at the belief level,  
36 even though from the researcher's perspective, the new information is in conflict with the  
37 learner's flawed mental model.

38 The second possible outcome of sentence-by-sentence instruction is that new infor-  
39 mation presented does refute a learner's false beliefs and the learner recognizes the  
40 contradiction. Under such circumstances, as described in the preceding section, false  
41 beliefs that are explicitly or implicitly refuted (or ignored) do predominantly get revised  
42 (de Leeuw, 1993). The relevant question with respect to mental models is: Does the  
43 accumulation of numerous belief revisions eventually result in the transformation of a  
44 student's flawed mental model to the correct model? The answer is yes, by and large.  
45  
46  
47

## T&amp;F PROOFS. NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION.

Kinds and sub-types of misconceived knowledge • 55

1 According to our data, by reading and self-explaining a text passage about the human  
2 circulatory system, five of eight students (62.5%) with a prior flawed “single-loop” model  
3 transformed their flawed models to the correct model. Similarly, in Vosniadou and  
4 Brewer’s (1992) data, 12 of 20 children (60%) developmentally acquired the correct  
5 spherical model of the earth by the fifth grade, suggesting that their flawed mental models  
6 had undergone transformation. In short, again, for domains such as the circulatory  
7 system and the earth, coherently flawed mental models can be successfully corrected and  
8 transformed into the correct model, in over 60% of the population, with either relatively  
9 brief instruction from text (in the case of the circulatory system) or from general  
10 development and learning in school (in the case of the earth). Thus, conceptual change  
11 can be achieved in that conflicting flawed mental models can be transformed into the  
12 correct model when false beliefs within a flawed model are refuted by instruction and  
13 recognized by students as contradictions, so that the students can self-repair their flawed  
14 mental models (Chi, 2000) by revising their individual false beliefs.

*Holistic Confrontation*

15  
16  
17 Since flawed models and the correct model conflict at the mental model level (flat earth  
18 vs. spherical earth; single loop vs. double loop), an instructional method based on holistic  
19 confrontation may induce successful model transformation. One way to design a holistic  
20 confrontation is to have students examine a visual depiction (e.g., a diagram) of their  
21 own flawed mental model, then compare and contrast it with a diagram of the correct  
22 model. We conducted a study using holistic confrontation in the following way. We pre-  
23 selected college students who had a flawed single-loop model of the circulatory system.  
24 Prior to reading a text passage about the circulatory system, we had them compare and  
25 contrast a diagram of the flawed single-loop model, which they agreed was their model,  
26 with the diagram of the correct double-loop model. We compared their learning gains  
27 with a control group who self-explained a diagram of the correct double-loop model. We  
28 found the compare-and-contrast group to learn more than the self-explain group  
29 (Gadgil, Nokes, & Chi, 2011). So holistic confrontation might be a feasible way to achieve  
30 mental model transformation.

*Refuting the Underlying Core Assumptions*

31  
32  
33 A third method to transform a flawed mental model might be to refute the underlying  
34 assumptions. Although a flawed mental model is composed of many correct and many  
35 false beliefs, it appears that the core assumptions are the most critical in determining the  
36 extent to which a model is flawed. For example, across the various studies for which we  
37 have assessed students’ initial mental models of the circulatory system, we found 22  
38 students (about 50%) to have the flawed “single-loop” model prior to instruction. The  
39 number of correct beliefs held by these 22 students varied widely, ranging from five to 35.  
40 For example, five students held between 10 and 15 correct beliefs, and four students held  
41 between 25 and 35 correct beliefs, yet these false beliefs are all embedded within the  
42 flawed “single-loop” model (see Figure 2 in Chi & Roscoe, 2002). This variability suggests  
43 that knowing and learning many correct beliefs does not guarantee successful trans-  
44 formation of a flawed mental model to the correct model, unless the false assump-  
45 tions are revised. We know of no study that has attempted to refute the underlying  
46 assumptions directly. However, we do know that when the core assumptions are not  
47

T&F PROOFS. NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION.

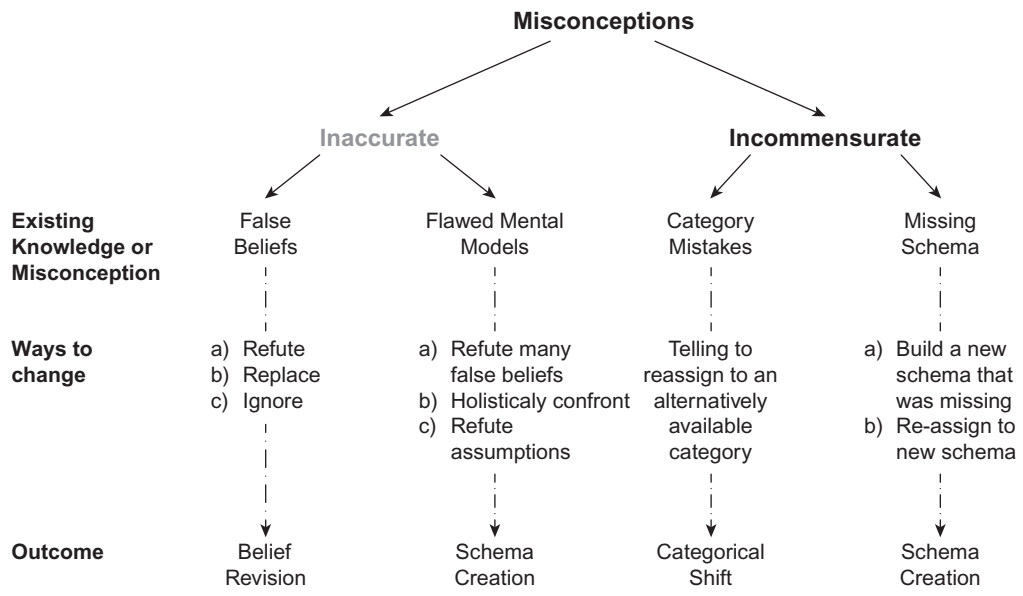
56 • Chi

1 refuted, then mental model transformation is not successful. For example, when young  
 2 children are told that the earth is round, they then think that the earth is round and flat  
 3 like a pancake. Thus, such instruction does not violate their core assumption that the  
 4 earth is flat, therefore their revised mental model continues to be flawed (Vosniadou &  
 5 Brewer, 1992).

6 To recap, students' knowledge can consist of an interrelated system of false beliefs and  
 7 correct beliefs, forming a flawed mental model. A flawed mental model can be said to  
 8 conflict with a normative model if it is incorrect but coherent, in the sense that the  
 9 underlying assumptions do not contradict each other, and the model consistently leads  
 10 to incorrect predictions and explanations and contains elements different from the  
 11 elements of a correct model. During instruction, when a specific sentence contradicts a  
 12 false belief through explicit or implicit refutation, the accumulation of multiple belief  
 13 revisions through refutations can lead eventually to a transformation of a flawed mental  
 14 model to the correct model for over 60% of the students, either through direct instruc-  
 15 tion (in the case of the circulatory system) or from exposure to everyday experiences (as  
 16 perhaps in the case of the earth). There may be other ways to design instruction, such as  
 17 through holistic confrontation, or direct refutation of the underlying assumptions, that  
 18 may encourage revision and reduce the likelihood of assimilation or adding to a flawed  
 19 model, so that successful transformation can be achieved by all students. These ideas are  
 20 shown in column 2 of Figure. 3.1.

22 **CATEGORY MISTAKES: CATEGORICAL SHIFT FROM AWARENESS AND**  
 23 **AVAILABLE KNOWLEDGE**

25 The preceding sections described two types of conflicting knowledge for which concep-  
 26 tual change can be achieved relatively successfully, mainly because conflicting knowledge,  
 27



28 **Figure 3.1** Four types of conflicting knowledge, ways to change it, and the outcome



## T&amp;F PROOFS. NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION.

Kinds and sub-types of misconceived knowledge • 57

1 as *false beliefs* and *flawed mental models*, is incorrect in being *inaccurate*. For these two  
 2 types of conflicting knowledge, the incorrectness is a matter of *inaccurate* values on some  
 3 appropriate dimensions or properties. Thus, refutations that contradict the values were  
 4 successful at achieving conceptual change.

5 However, we have also mentioned above that there are numerous *false beliefs* about  
 6 concepts such as *force-and-motion* or *heat-and-temperature* across a variety of domains  
 7 for which conceptual change cannot be achieved. The robustness of such misconceptions  
 8 has been demonstrated in literally thousands of studies, about all kinds of science  
 9 concepts and phenomena, beginning with a book by Novak (1977) and a review by  
 10 Driver and Easley (1978), both published over three decades ago. By 2008, there were over  
 11 8,000 publications describing students' incorrect ideas and instructional attempts to  
 12 change them (Confrey, 1990; Driver, Squires, Rushworth, & Wood-Robinson, 1994; Duit,  
 13 2008; Ram, Nersessian, & Keil, 1997), indicating that conceptual understanding in the  
 14 presence of misconceptions remains a challenging problem. We propose the operational  
 15 definition that certain misconceptions are robust and difficult to change because they  
 16 have been mistakenly assigned to an inappropriate "lateral" category.

17 By a "lateral" category, we mean a category that is not hierarchically related to the  
 18 category to which the concept belongs; instead it is parallel to the category to which the  
 19 concept belongs. For example, *artifacts* can be considered a lateral category more or less  
 20 "parallel" to *living beings*. *Artifacts* does not include the subcategories of *living beings*,  
 21 such as *animals*, *reptiles*, or *robins*. Instead, *artifacts* includes a different set of sub-  
 22 categories, such as *furniture* and *toys*, and *furniture* includes subcategories such as *tables*  
 23 and *chairs* (see Figure 3.1). In short, *artifacts* and *living beings* can be thought of as  
 24 occupying different branches of the same hierarchical tree (Thagard, 1990), in this case  
 25 the *Entities* tree. We will refer to categories on different branches as "lateral" (vs.  
 26 hierarchical) categories, and when lateral categories occur at about the same level within  
 27 a tree, we will refer to them as "parallel."

28 Although *artifacts* and *living beings* can both be subsumed under the higher-level  
 29 category of *objects* and therefore share many higher-level dimensions of *objects* such as  
 30 "having shape" and "can be thrown," *artifacts* and *living beings* do have distinct and  
 31 mutually exclusive dimensions as well. For example, *living beings* have the capacity to  
 32 "move on their own volition," be "responsive," and "capable of reproducing," whereas  
 33 *artifacts* cannot.

34 Lateral categories can sometimes be referred to as ontologically distinct, in that they  
 35 conflict by definition in *kind* and/or *ontology*. This means that conceptual change  
 36 requires a shift across lateral or ontological categories. In order to support this claim that  
 37 robust misconception is miscategorization across lateral/ontological categories, we have  
 38 to characterize the nature of misconceptions and the nature of correct information to see  
 39 whether they in fact belong to two categories that differ either in kind or in ontology, and  
 40 thereby are "in conflict."

41  
 42 ***The Lateral Categories to which Misconceptions and Correct Scientific***  
 43 ***Conceptions are Assigned***  
 44

45 In order to characterize the nature of robust science misconceptions in terms of the  
 46 category to which they have been mistakenly assigned, and also to characterize the nature  
 47 of scientific conceptions in terms of the category to which they should be assigned,

T&F PROOFS. NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION.

58 • Chi

1 we analyzed students' misconceptions for a variety of science concepts, consolidated  
 2 researchers' findings on misconceptions, and examined the history and philosophy of  
 3 science literature, to induce the properties of both the mistaken category and the correct  
 4 category. The two broad conflicting categories appear to be *Entities* (the misconceived  
 5 view) and *Processes* (the correct view).

6 How are Entity-based misconceptions in conflict with scientific conceptions? Our  
 7 initial conjecture was that scientists view many of these concepts as *Processes* rather than  
 8 *Entities*. *Processes* can be conceived of as an ontological tree distinct from *Entities*,  
 9 verifiable by the predicate test indicating the inappropriateness of some dimensions (see  
 10 Figure 3.2). For example, *heat* or the sensation of "hotness" is the speed at which  
 11 molecules jostle: the higher the speed, the "hotter" the molecules feel. Thus, heat is not  
 12 "hot molecules" or "hot stuff" (an *Entity*), but more accurately, the speed of molecules  
 13 (a *Process*).

14 *Entities* are objects or substances that have various attributes and behave in various  
 15 ways (see Figure 3.2, the *Entities* tree). For example, a ball is a physical *object* with  
 16 attributes such as mass, volume, shape, and behaviors such as bouncing and rolling. On  
 17 the basis of our analyses across four science concepts – force, heat, electricity, and light –  
 18 we arrived at the commonality that students mistakenly categorize these concepts as  
 19 *Entities* (Reiner, Slotta, Chi, & Resnick, 2000). For example, many students view force as  
 20 a *substance* kind of *Entity* that can be possessed, transferred, and dissipated. Students  
 21 often explain that a moving *object* slows down because it has "used up all its force"  
 22 (McCloskey, 1983), as if force were like a fuel that is consumed. Similarly, students think  
 23 of heat as physical objects such as "hot molecules" or a material substance such as "hot  
 24 stuff" or "hotness" (Wiser & Amin, 2001), as indicated by phrases such as "molecules of  
 25

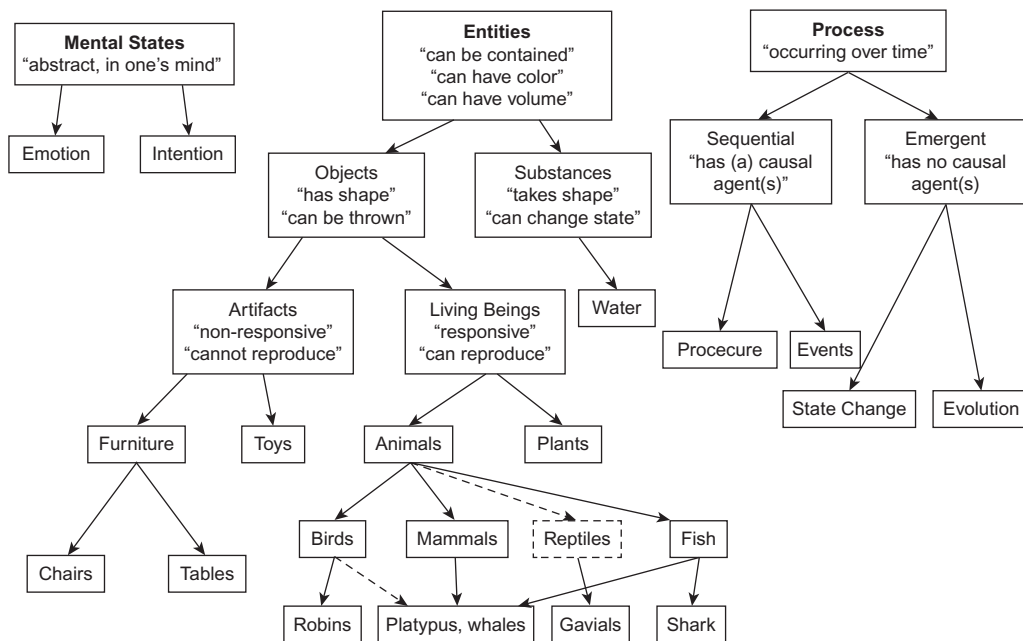


Figure 3.2 Distinct ontological trees: hierarchical and lateral categories within a tree and between trees

## T&amp;F PROOFS. NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION.

Kinds and sub-types of misconceived knowledge • 59

1 heat” or expressions such as “Close the door, you’re letting all the heat out.” The mis-  
 2 conception is that heat can be “contained,” as if it were *objects* like marbles or *substances*  
 3 like sand or water. In either case, heat is misconceived as a kind of *Entity*.

4 Misconceiving a concept such as *force* or *heat* as a kind of *substance* or *Entity* is serious  
 5 because *Entities* and *Processes* essentially share no common dimensions. *Entities* have  
 6 dimensions such as “can be contained,” “can have color,” and “can have volume,” while  
 7 *Processes* have dimensions such as “occurring over time.” Thus, no *Process*, whether it’s  
 8 an *event* such as a baseball game, a *procedure* such as baking a cake, or a *state change* such  
 9 as melting, can have the dimensions of “having volume,” “having color,” or “can be  
 10 contained,” whereas no *Entity*, such as a cake or a ball, can have the dimension of “having  
 11 certain duration,” such as lasting two hours. (Of course, while *Entities* don’t occur  
 12 through time, the *Process* of living for *living beings* can have duration.) Thus, each tree  
 13 might be considered an “ontology,” (and its name will be capitalized) in that the trees  
 14 have mutually exclusive dimensions. This is the definition of ontology used in this  
 15 framework. Generally, philosophers use the term “ontology” to refer to a system of  
 16 taxonomic categories for certain existences in the world (Sommers, 1971). However, in  
 17 this chapter, we will refer to categories that occupy different trees as different “ontologi-  
 18 cally” (Chi, 1997, 2005), and categories that occupy parallel branches within a tree as  
 19 different “laterally” or in “kind” (Gelman, 1988; Schwartz, 1977). Unlike categories on  
 20 different trees, parallel categories within a tree do share overlapping dimensions (for  
 21 example, the parallel categories *Artifacts* and *Living Beings* share the dimensions “having  
 22 shape” and “can be thrown” – see Figure 3.2 again).

23 We claim that this is why some misconceptions are so robust – because the naïve  
 24 conceptions are miscategorized into an ontologically distinct tree. Such Entity-based  
 25 misconceptions not only occur for a variety of concepts across a variety of disciplines, but  
 26 they are held across grade levels, from elementary to college students (Chi et al., 1994),  
 27 as well as across historical periods (Chi, 1992). They may even account for barriers that  
 28 were only overcome by scientific discoveries (Chi & Hausmann, 2003). In short, robust  
 29 misconceptions of the ontologically miscategorized kind are extremely resistant to  
 30 change, so that everyday experiences encountered during developmental maturation and  
 31 formal schooling seem powerless to change them (in contrast to the success with which  
 32 flawed mental models can be transformed from everyday experiences or formal  
 33 schooling, as described above).

### 34 35 36 *Telling Students to Shift Categories*

37 How can instruction facilitate shifts across lateral or ontological categories? If miscon-  
 38 ceptions occur as the result of category mistakes, then instruction needs to focus at the  
 39 categorical level. When students’ misconceived ideas conflict with correct ideas at the  
 40 lateral category level, then refutation at the belief level will not promote conceptual  
 41 change. This is because refutation at the belief level can only cause local revisions of the  
 42 features/attributes/values of certain dimensions, whereas conceptual change of category  
 43 mistakes requires changing the dimensions, which may require a categorical shift.  
 44 Consider the misconception that “coldness from the ice flows into the water, making the  
 45 water colder.” Essentially, this misconception assumes that ice contains some “cold  
 46 substance” like tiny cold molecules (the reverse of hot objects, which are often mis-  
 47 conceived as containing “hot molecules”), and that this “cold substance” can flow into the

## T&amp;F PROOFS. NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION.

60 • Chi

1 surrounding water, which then makes the water colder. We cannot treat this misconcep-  
2 tion as a *false belief* and refute it by pointing out that *ice does not contain a cold substance*,  
3 that *coldness does not flow*, or that *water does not get colder because it gains coldness*.  
4 Refutation only works when a false belief and the correct conception contradict each  
5 other on the same dimension. So how can a misconception like “ice contains cold  
6 substances” be changed, then? Should a student expect ice to contain an alternative kind  
7 of substance if not a “cold” substance? According to our theoretical framework, the  
8 change that a student must make has to do with refuting the dimension of “being  
9 containable,” not changing the feature of “coldness” or any other kind of sensation or  
10 substance. To change the dimension “containable” means that students have to be  
11 confronted at the ontological/categorical level, since “containable” is a dimension of  
12 *Entities*, and not a dimension of *Processes*. Thus, we propose that, in order to achieve  
13 radical conceptual change, we need students to make a category shift by reassigning a  
14 concept to an alternative lateral category so that a concept can inherit the dimensions of  
15 this alternative category. To achieve such re-assignment, we need to confront students at  
16 the categorical level.

17 Conceptually, the idea of shifting across or reassigning a concept from one lateral/  
18 ontological category to another seems, in principle, to be straightforward and easily  
19 achievable, if students were told to shift. Let’s consider the example of a *whale*. Suppose  
20 a young child sees a whale in the ocean and believes it to be a kind of *fish*, since whales  
21 possess many perceptual features of a *fish*, such as looking like sharks and swimming in  
22 water. Based on that mistaken categorization, the child will likely assume that whales, like  
23 other *fish*, breathe through gills by osmosis (a conceptual attribute). To promote  
24 conceptual change, we can just tell the child that a whale is a *mammal* (essentially telling  
25 the child to re-categorize or reassign *whale* to the correct category *mammals*), perhaps  
26 along with providing justification, such as pointing out that whales do not breathe  
27 through gills, but through a blowhole. The fact that most children eventually learn that  
28 whales are *mammals* suggests that lateral categorical shifts can occur readily for some  
29 misconceptions. This case of reassigning category by telling is shown in the third column  
30 of Figure 3.1.

31 But why is categorical shift not easily achieved for robust misconceptions for *processes*  
32 such as *heat* and *force*? A closer examination of the relative ease of categorical shift for the  
33 *whale* example suggests that two conditions are needed in order to overcome barriers to  
34 conceptual change for robust misconceptions. First, students have to be made aware that  
35 they have made a category mistake, which requires that their ideas be confronted at the  
36 categorical level; and second, students must be knowledgeable about the correct category  
37 to which a concept actually belongs. If these two conditions are met, then conceptual  
38 change can be made with success even if it requires categorical shifts. We briefly discuss  
39 these two conditions below.

#### Awareness

43 We propose that part of the difficulty of shifting categories for many science concepts has  
44 to do with a lack of awareness, in that students do not realize that they have to shift their  
45 assignment of a concept to a different category. This is because reassigning a phenom-  
46 enon or concept from one kind to another kind is rare in everyday life. That is, students  
47 do not routinely need to re-categorize, such as shifting a whale from *fish* to *mammal*,

## T&amp;F PROOFS. NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION.

Kinds and sub-types of misconceived knowledge • 61

1 since, in our everyday environment, our initial categorizations are mostly correct.  
 2 Occasionally, we might over-generalize and categorize at a higher superordinate category,  
 3 but over-generalization is not incorrect and does not require conceptual change. For  
 4 example, when we identify a furry object with a wagging tail that responds to our  
 5 commands as a live dog (thus an *animal*), we are almost never wrong, in the sense that it  
 6 is actually a stuffed dog (thus an *artifact*). The fact that these category mistakes rarely  
 7 occur in real life makes it difficult for learners to recognize that the source of their  
 8 misunderstanding of new concepts originates from a category mistake. As with  
 9 metaphors, the rarity of category mistakes is a ploy that is sometimes used in stories and  
 10 films, to produce interest, drama, and suspense, such as in the children's novel *Velveteen*  
 11 *Rabbit*. Moreover, if people do make category mistakes, especially across ontological  
 12 trees, such as confusing reality (either *Entities* or *Processes*) with imagination (*Mental*  
 13 *States*), it is considered bizarre and perhaps a sign of psychological illness.

14 The rarity of category mistakes in real life is also consistent with findings showing the  
 15 strength of commitment to the original category to which a concept is assigned, as well  
 16 as to the boundary between lateral categories (Carey, 1985; Chi, 1988). The commitment  
 17 to a particular category occurs even as early as age five. For example, once a concept is  
 18 categorized, young children are extremely reluctant to change the category to which it is  
 19 assigned. Keil's work (1989) has shown that, no matter what physical alterations are made  
 20 to an object (e.g., a live dog), such as shaving off its fur or replacing its tail, five-year-olds  
 21 will not accept such changes as capable of transforming a live dog to a toy dog (thus  
 22 crossing the boundary between lateral categories *animals* and *artifacts*). However, they  
 23 will agree that, with appropriate alterations such as replacing black fur with brown fur,  
 24 one can transform a skunk into a raccoon. This is because skunks and raccoons belong  
 25 to the same *mammal* category. Thus, once assigned, even five-year-olds honor the  
 26 boundary between kinds and remain committed to the category to which they have  
 27 assigned a concept.

28 In short, shifting across lateral categories *per se* is not a difficult learning mechanism  
 29 from a computational perspective and from everyday evidence, as illustrated by the *whale*  
 30 example above and by the ease with which people can understand metaphors. For  
 31 example, metaphors often invoke a predicate or dimension from one category and a  
 32 concept from a lateral category, often from different ontological trees. For instance, *anger*  
 33 (an *emotional Mental State*) is often treated as a *substance* (an *Entity*) that can be  
 34 contained, as in "He let out his anger" or "I can barely contain my rage" (Lakoff, 1987).  
 35 Thus, once students are made aware that they have committed category mistakes, shifting  
 36 across categories can be undertaken readily when students are told or instructed to do so,  
 37 as in the *whale* example, or when adults intentionally use metaphors by borrowing  
 38 properties and values from a dimension of a lateral category.  
 39

#### 40 Knowledge of Alternative Category Available

41 However, we propose that category mistakes are readily changed primarily when the  
 42 alternative category is available to the learner who is shifting. Thus, this is the second  
 43 condition that must be met in order for such category shifts to occur readily when  
 44 instruction merely tells the students to shift. This type of misconception and ways of  
 45 changing it are shown in the third column of Figure 3.1. When the alternative category  
 46 is not available, then misconceptions are tenacious, as explained below.  
 47

## T&amp;F PROOFS. NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION.

62 • Chi

**MISSING SCHEMAS: CREATING THE MISSING ALTERNATIVE SCHEMA**

In the preceding section, we proposed that category mistakes, those misconceptions that have been incorrectly assigned to a lateral category, can be changed when students are made aware of the need to shift, and if they know about the alternative category. This section explains why some misconceptions are so tenaciously robust and resistant to change, primarily as caused not only by students' lack of awareness for the need to change, but most importantly, because they have no knowledge of the alternative category to which a concept belongs. Because we will be addressing more complicated concepts of processes, we will refer to the alternative category as a *schema*. We begin with an example of failure to transform a flawed mental model successfully, illustrating succinctly what tenacious misconceptions mean, and how they are persistent and resistant to change.

*Tenacious Misconception: An Example*

Law and Ogborne (1988) carried out a study in which students were asked to use Prolog to design and build a computational model of their own understanding of force and motion. The Prolog programming required students to express their ideas in propositional rule-based statements, which we can consider to be analogous to beliefs. Building and running such a model forced students to externalize and formalize their ideas, making them explicit, explorable, and capable of offering explanations. Students assessed their models by running their programs, then made modifications based on program results or feedback from their instructor. Since programs could be run, allowing students to make predictions and observe outcomes, we can consider such a program to be analogous to an externalized mental model.

As with our circulatory system data, only some students had clear structural frameworks based on a core set of hypotheses about various aspects of motion that the researchers could identify. We can consider these students as having flawed mental models in that their underlying hypotheses are coherent and consistent. Other students had no clear conceptualization, and these students can be deemed to have sparse and incomplete models. For students with flawed but coherent mental models, the question is, can they change their flawed mental model? One way to determine whether they change their mental models is to see whether they change their implicit core hypotheses. One student's set of core hypotheses about force-and-motion is shown below. These hypotheses (for example, hypothesis b that *Force is an entity*), can be inferred from their rules (to be described below), and are compatible with various other analyses of students' misconceptions about force and motion in the literature (e.g., Reiner et al., 2000):

- a. Force is the deciding factor in determining all aspects of motion;
- b. Force is an entity that can be possessed, transferred, and dissipated;
- c. All motions need causes;
- d. Agents cause and control motion by acting as sources that supply force;
- e. Sources that supply force can be internal or external, and the supplied force is referred to as an internal or external force;
- f. Weight is an intrinsic property of an object (even though gravity is conceptualized as an external factor that pulls harder on heavier objects).

## T&amp;F PROOFS. NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION.

Kinds and sub-types of misconceived knowledge • 63

1 The advantage of the Prolog programming environment is that it allowed students to  
 2 explore the consequences of their externalized beliefs or rules. For example, one student  
 3 who held the core hypothesis d, that there is a source that supplies the force for every  
 4 motion, wrote the following Prolog rules for determining the cause of motion:  
 5

- 6 1. object motion-caused-by itself if \_object force-supplied-by \_object
- 7 2. object motion-caused-by machine if \_object force-supplied-by machine
- 8 3. object1 motion-caused-by \_object2 if \_object1 force-supplied-by \_object2
- 9 4. object motion-caused-by gravity if not (\_object under-the-influence-of other-  
 10 external- force).

11  
 12 She then tested her program for the cause of a falling apple, expecting the computer to  
 13 say that the motion was caused by gravity (her fourth rule). The reason was that in one  
 14 of her earlier sessions, she included weight as an external supply of force, along with other  
 15 forces such as friction and air current. The program's outcome can be thought of as  
 16 providing explicit refutation of her fourth rule.

17 When she did not get the result she expected, she modified her fourth rule by  
 18 excluding gravity as an external force. After this patching, the computer still did not give  
 19 her the expected answer of gravity as a cause of the apple's fall, since anything placed in  
 20 air would be affected by air current, since air current is an external force. She then revised  
 21 her fourth rule again to read: \_object motion-caused by gravity if not (\_object motion-  
 22 caused-by \_something). Her problems continued even after various patchings of her  
 23 other rules.

24 This example illustrates clearly the point that, despite numerous revisions of this  
 25 student's rules in response to refutations from the outcome of the Prolog program, the  
 26 revisions and the accumulation of multiple revisions to her rules did not transform her  
 27 flawed mental model into a correct model, because the underlying core hypotheses of her  
 28 program were not changed. That is, she still assumed that *all motions need causes*  
 29 (hypothesis c), that *agents cause and control motion by acting as sources that supply force*  
 30 (hypothesis d), and so forth. What she did change was the value or attribute on the same  
 31 dimensions, such as changing the agent that was responsible for supplying force. Thus,  
 32 even though the rules are at the same grain size as a statement of *false belief*, and the set  
 33 of rules is comparable to the grain size of a *flawed mental model*, clearly these miscon-  
 34 ceptions cannot be considered *false beliefs* and *flawed mental models*, because their  
 35 incorrectness is not on the same dimensions, and they cannot be changed by using a  
 36 refutation method.

37 As this example also illustrates, the student was not resistant to change *per se*, since she  
 38 readily revised her rules, but the multiple belief revisions she undertook did not add up  
 39 to a correct model transformation since the revisions did not change her underlying core  
 40 hypotheses themselves, but only the values of the hypothesized dimensions. There are  
 41 occasions, of course, when students themselves resist making changes by dismissing the  
 42 feedback or explaining it away. The point here is that, even with the best of intentions and  
 43 willingness to change, this student could not transform her misconceived view.

44 In short, there are many concepts like force and motion, for which one's initial flawed  
 45 mental model is not transformed to the correct model despite repeated corrections or  
 46 patchings of the underlying rules, because it is the dimensions of the flawed model  
 47 themselves that need to be changed. Even though the student willingly modified

## T&amp;F PROOFS. NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION.

64 • Chi

1 individual rules (corresponding to false beliefs) as a result of external feedback (or  
 2 explicit refutation from the program's outcomes), the revised rules did not transform the  
 3 flawed mental model into the correct model, because the implicit underlying core  
 4 hypotheses were still incorrect from a dimension perspective. Thus, the flawed model was  
 5 resistant to change. What should we conclude? This suggests that some misconceptions  
 6 are extremely tenacious only because their refutations occurred at the value level, and not  
 7 at the dimension level.

### 8 9 *Conflict between a Misconceived Schema and a Missing Schema*

10 Findings of tenacious misconceptions, similar to the Law and Ogborne's (1988) study,  
 11 have been documented for several decades, in that the misconceptions not only are "in  
 12 conflict" with the correct scientific conceptions but, moreover, they are almost never  
 13 revised, so conceptual change is not achieved. Although we were able to explain a good  
 14 deal of robust misconceptions as *category mistakes* involving the ontological trees *Entities*  
 15 and *Processes* (Chi, 1997), our explanation for the tenaciousness of many misconceptions  
 16 was incomplete. Regardless of whether or not students conceive of heat as an *Entity*, most  
 17 students nevertheless do recognize that *heat transfer* is a *Process* because they have  
 18 experienced the apparent movement of "hotness" from one location to another, for  
 19 example from a warm cup to cold hands. Thus, characterizing heat misconceptions  
 20 merely as *Entity*-based does not adequately explain why students have difficulty  
 21 understanding *heat transfer*, even though they know *heat transfer* is a *Process*.

22 To explain the latter kind of misconceptions, we had to propose conflicts between two  
 23 additional kinds of lateral categories within the *Process* tree, which we have called  
 24 *sequential* and *emergent* (Chi, 2005). Our claim is that students misconceive of some  
 25 processes as the *sequential* kind when in fact they are the *emergent* kind. *Sequential*  
 26 processes require a *direct* kind of causal explanation, whereas *emergent* processes require  
 27 an *emergent* kind of causal explanation.

28 Briefly, the most explicit distinction between a *sequential* kind of process and an  
 29 *emergent* kind is that a *sequential* process usually has an identifiable agent that causes  
 30 some outcome or displayed pattern in a more direct (or indirect) way (indirect means  
 31 mediated by an intermediate agent or event), whereas an *emergent* kind of process has no  
 32 identifiable agent that directly (or indirectly) causes the displayed pattern. We will  
 33 describe an everyday example, a less familiar example, and a scientific example, for each  
 34 kind of process, highlighting with each example properties of *emergent* and *sequential*  
 35 processes, as listed in Tables 3.1 and Table 3.2. The properties in Tables 3.1 and Table 3.2  
 36 are different in the following way. Table 3.1 lists the attributes characterizing the inter-  
 37 level causal explanations of the relationships between the behavior/interactions of the  
 38 agents and the pattern displayed at the macro level. Table 3.2 lists the "second-order  
 39 interaction features" characterizing some agents' interactions relative to other agents'  
 40 interactions. More detailed descriptions can be found in Chi, Roscoe, Slotta, Roy, and  
 41 Chase (2012).

42 *Sequential example 1.* In the familiar process of a baseball game, the final outcome  
 43 might be explained as being due to the excellent work of the pitcher, thus attributing the  
 44 outcome directly to a single agent (Sequential attribute #1), thus elevating this single  
 45 agent with special status (Sequential attribute #2). Moreover, the behavior of local events  
 46 within the game corresponds to or aligns with the global outcome. For example, a team  
 47



T&F PROOFS. NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION.

Kinds and sub-types of misconceived knowledge • 65

1 with many home runs in a game is more likely to win. Thus, the more home runs align  
 2 with the higher scores (Sequential attribute #3).

3 *Sequential example 2.* A slightly less familiar example is seeing multiple airplanes flying  
 4 in a V-formation. This V-pattern is intentional, created by the lead pilot telling the other  
 5 pilots where to fly in order to achieve the global goal (Sequential attribute #4).

6 *Sequential example 3.* A sequential process from biology is cell division, which  
 7 proceeds through a sequence of three stages. The first, interphase, is a period of cell  
 8 growth. This is followed by mitosis, the division of the cell nucleus, and then cytokinesis,  
 9 the division of the cytoplasm of a parent cell into two daughter cells. In each phase, the  
 10 cells behave in distinct ways, either growing or dividing (Sequential feature #1). Such a  
 11 process has a definite sequence, in which some events cannot occur until others are  
 12 completed (Sequential features #3 & #4, Table 3.2).

13 In contrast, emergent processes have neither an identifiable causal agent or agents nor  
 14 an identifiable sequence of stages. Rather, the outcome results from the collective and  
 15 simultaneous interactions of all agents. Let's consider three examples here as well.

16 *Emergent example 1.* The process of a crowd forming a bottleneck, as when the school  
 17 bell rings and students hurry to get through the narrow classroom door, is an everyday  
 18 example of an emergent process. Although there is an external trigger (the school bell),  
 19 the global outcome of forming a bottleneck cannot be attributed to any single agent or  
 20 group of agents, and the process is not sequential. Instead, all the students (Emergent  
 21 attribute #1) simultaneously (Emergent feature #3) rush toward the door at about the  
 22 same speed (Emergent feature #1), shoving and bumping randomly into whichever  
 23 student happens to be in the way (Emergent feature #2).

24 *Emergent example 2.* A slightly less familiar example is migrating geese flying in a V-  
 25 formation. In contrast to the airplane example, the V-pattern is not caused by the leader  
 26 goose telling other geese where to fly. Instead, all the geese are doing the same thing, flying  
 27 slightly behind another goose because instinctually they seek the area of least resistance.  
 28 Thus, they are pursuing the local goal of flying with minimal effort (Emergent attribute  
 29 #4), ignorant of the pattern they form. When all the geese do the same thing at the same  
 30 time, collectively, a V-pattern emerges (Emergent attributes #1, #2, and emergent features  
 31 #1 and #3).

32 *Emergent example 3.* An emergent process from biology is the diffusion of oxygen from  
 33 the lungs to the blood vessels. This process is caused by all the oxygen and carbon dioxide

34 **Table 3.2** Five "second-order interaction features" characterizing the relationships between some agents' interactions  
 35 relative to other agents' interactions

Interactions among agents in an emergent process	Interactions among agents in a sequential process
1. All agents behave in more or less the same uniform way	6. Agents behave in distinct ways
2. All agents interact randomly with other agents	7. Agents can interact with predetermined or restricted others
3. All agents interact simultaneously	8. Agents interact sequentially
4. All agents interact independently of one another	9. Agents' interactions depend on other agents' interactions
5. Interactions among agents are continuous	10. Agents' interactions terminate when the pattern-level behavior stops

## T&amp;F PROOFS. NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION.

66 • Chi

1 molecules moving and colliding randomly with and independently of each other  
2 (Emergent features #1, #2, #3, #4). From such random collisions, a greater number of  
3 oxygen molecules are likely to move from the lungs to the blood than from the blood to  
4 the lungs, simply because there are a greater number of them in the lungs than in the  
5 blood. The reverse is true for carbon dioxide molecules. Since all molecules interact by  
6 colliding randomly, both kinds of molecules move in both directions, so that some  
7 oxygen molecules do move from the blood to the lungs, and some carbon dioxide  
8 molecules do move from the lungs to the blood. Thus, the local movements of individual  
9 molecules may not match the direction of the movement of the majority of the molecules  
10 (Emergent attribute #3). Nevertheless, despite local variations, the majority of oxygen  
11 molecules end up moving from the lungs to the blood, and the majority of carbon  
12 dioxide molecules end up moving in the opposite direction, without any specific  
13 intention to move in that global direction (Emergent attribute #4).

*The Source of Tenacious Misconceptions*

14  
15  
16  
17 We said above that to change at the lateral categorical level, one approach is to tell  
18 students directly to shift categorically. However, an intervention of direct telling would  
19 not work between the *sequential* process category and the *emergent* process category,  
20 because we assume that students have no knowledge of the emergent category or emer-  
21 gent schema. If students have no knowledge of an emergent category, how can  
22 instruction facilitate conceptual change? Two major steps are required. First, students  
23 must learn to differentiate the two kinds of processes, and students must build knowledge  
24 of an emergent schema. We elaborate these instructional challenges below.

*Differentiating the Two Kinds of Processes*

25  
26  
27  
28 The preceding examples illustrate that many phenomena in science look and act like they  
29 belong to one category rather than another. For example, heat flowing into a cool room  
30 feels like water flowing down a stream. However, the causal explanations for the similar  
31 (heat and water) patterns are distinctly different. Thus, learners can be misled by  
32 perceptual similarities at the pattern level and treat such pairs of phenomena as having  
33 the same causal explanations, resulting in mis-categorization of one but not the other.  
34 Therefore, students must be made aware of their mis-categorization, and in addition,  
35 must learn to discriminate between the two kinds of phenomena and to generate a  
36 correct causal explanation for the behavior at the pattern level. In short, the lack of  
37 awareness of the need to shift categories laterally is due to the low frequency of such shifts  
38 in the real world and to superficial pattern-level similarities among many phenomena. As  
39 in the case of other category mistakes, instruction aimed at promoting such shifts must  
40 begin by making students aware that they have committed category mistakes. This  
41 requires that instruction help students overlook superficial perceptual similarities at the  
42 pattern level that cause students to misconceive two kinds of processes as the same kind  
43 when in fact they are different kinds requiring different kinds of causal explanations.

44 But how can instruction facilitate a discrimination of two different kinds of processes?  
45 An obvious answer might be to look at the agent level, and see how the interactions  
46 among the agents are different for the two processes. But can we discriminate *sequential*  
47 from *emergent* processes just by examining the way the agents interact? For example, with

## T&amp;F PROOFS. NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION.

Kinds and sub-types of misconceived knowledge • 67

1 close scrutiny, the interactions of the molecules in the process of *heat transfer* do look  
2 slightly different from the interactions of the water molecules in the process of *water*  
3 *flowing* downstream. Water flowing downstream is a *sequential process*, caused by the  
4 water molecules in one area of the stream being pushed by molecules in the area above  
5 it, so that the molecules that are being pushed move downstream a little, and then push  
6 the molecules next to them to an even lower area, and so on. In contrast, the sensation  
7 of hotness moving from one area to another area (heat flowing) is not a *sequential* process  
8 in that the sensation of hotness moving is not caused by hot molecules moving from one  
9 location to another. Rather, heat flowing or transfer is caused by the collisions of faster  
10 jostling “hotter” molecules into slower-moving molecules. That is, when faster-moving  
11 molecules collide with slower-moving molecules, the collisions cause the faster-moving  
12 molecules to slow down (thus decreasing their hotness) and the slower-moving mole-  
13 cules to move faster (thus increasing their hotness). This is how hotness is transferred.  
14 Thus, heat transfer is an *emergent* process. See Figure 3.2 again.

15 Thus, *heat transfer* and *water flowing* do have different interaction mechanisms at the  
16 agent level. Unfortunately, differences in the interactions at the agent level do not, by  
17 themselves, distinguish between *sequential* and *emergent* processes, because interactions  
18 of many *emergent* processes can also differ among themselves (and the same is true for  
19 *sequential* processes). For example, the interactions of molecules in a *diffusion* process is  
20 one of random collisions, whereas the interactions of birds and moths in the process of  
21 *natural selection*, in which moths got darker over time in industrialized England, is one  
22 of birds eating moths. Thus, the two sets of interactions are quite different, even though  
23 both processes (*diffusion* and *natural selection*) are *emergent*. Thus, looking at the  
24 mechanism of the interactions *per se* cannot help students discriminate between *emergent*  
25 and *sequential* processes.

26 One solution to helping students discriminate between *sequential* and *emergent*  
27 processes, even though they look similar at the perceptual pattern-level, is to point out  
28 second-order relational differences. For example, Table 3.2 lists “second-order interaction  
29 features” characterizing the relationships between some agents’ interactions relative to  
30 other agents’ interactions. By second-order, we mean the relational differences, compar-  
31 ing the nature of one interaction with another interaction. Feature #1 (in Table 3.2),  
32 for example, refers to the point that the interactions of two agents of a sequential process  
33 are different (or *distinct*) from the interactions of two other agents of the same process.  
34 In contrast, the interactions between two agents in an emergent process are the same  
35 (*uniform*) as the interactions of two other agents in the same process. Thus, even though  
36 the interacting mechanism of birds eating moths in the process of natural selection is  
37 different from the interacting mechanism of molecules colliding with each other in the  
38 process of diffusion, they share the same second-order feature of *uniformness*, in that all  
39 molecules interact in the same way, colliding with each other; and similarly, all birds-and-  
40 moths interact in the same way, being eaten or not being eaten by birds. Thus, these two  
41 processes can both be categorized as *emergent*. On the other hand, in the *sequential*  
42 baseball game example mentioned above, the interactions of some of the agents (let’s say  
43 between the pitcher and the batter) are obviously different from the interaction between  
44 the pitcher and the catcher who stands behind the batter. Thus, the interactions among  
45 the agents in a sequential process are not uniform. In short, by looking at the second-  
46 order interaction features, one discriminates a *sequential* process from an *emergent*  
47 process.

T&amp;F PROOFS. NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION.

68 • Chi

### Creating the Missing Schema

In contrast to the whale example, in which it seemed relatively easy for children to shift categories simply by being told that whales are *mammals*, would science students find it easy to shift categories if we simply told them that *heat transfer* is an *emergent* rather than a *sequential* process? The answer is obviously no, because students are ignorant of ideas about emergence. Thus, we assume that the second challenge of changing tenacious misconceptions of the emergent kind is that an *emergent* process category is not familiar and available to students and therefore they cannot shift and use it to assimilate novel concepts. This missing schema situation is tractable and suggests an instructional approach of building such a schema. Thus, in the case of tenacious misconceptions, instruction to promote categorical shift must also include instruction to help students first build a schema about emergence. The term “schema” is more appropriate than the term “category” for describing knowledge of emergent processes because schema is a more encompassing term, including ways of generating causal explanations for understanding emergent processes. Our prediction is that, to achieve successful conceptual change for tenaciously misconceived concepts and phenomena, we need to first teach students the properties of such an *emergent* schema, which is uniquely distinct from the *direct* schema for *sequential* processes, with which they are familiar and to which they have mistakenly assigned concepts. Once students have successfully built such an alternative schema with its distinct set of properties (as shown in Tables 3.1 and 3.2), they can begin to assimilate new instruction (for example, about *heat transfer*) into the category. Preliminary successes using this instructional method have been shown in Slotta and Chi (2006), and Chi et al. (2012). This intervention method is shown in the last column of Figure 3.1.

### SUMMARY

This chapter addresses the problem of learning for which prior knowledge conflicts with the to-be-learned information. This kind of learning is considered the conceptual change kind rather than the enrichment kind. We propose that prior knowledge can conflict with to-be-learned information in two basic ways: Prior knowledge can be incorrect in contradicting correct information on the same dimension, or prior knowledge can be incorrect in the dimensions themselves. In the former cases, conceptual change can be achieved by refutation (implicitly or explicitly), either at the belief level or at a mental model level; and at both levels, conceptual change can be successfully achieved. The success of these types of refutations for false belief and flawed mental models hinges on the assumption that the misconception and the correct conception are assigned into the same category or hierarchical categories, so that they share the same dimensions as defined by their categorical membership. Therefore, the incorrect prior knowledge conflicts in an *inaccurate* sense. However, in the latter case in which incorrect prior knowledge conflicts with correct knowledge in an *incommensurate* sense, in that the source of misconceptions arises from a mis-assignment between categories on lateral branches or ontological trees, conceptual change requires a categorical shift. Such a shift necessitates that the learner is aware that the shift is needed and that the correct category is available. For many tenacious misconceptions in science, the lateral category or schema to which misconceptions have to be reassigned, *emergent processes*, does not exist in students’ knowledge base, so instruction has to build a new schema. Because *emergent*

## T&amp;F PROOFS. NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION.

Kinds and sub-types of misconceived knowledge • 69

1 and *sequential* processes are different in kind, with mutually exclusive properties,  
 2 confrontation needs to reject the mis-assigned *direct* schema for interpreting emergent  
 3 processes, and build the alternative *emergent* schema, perhaps through direct instruction  
 4 using contrasting cases. Of course, the original *direct* schema needs to remain, as it is  
 5 important for understanding other sequential processes.

6 A preliminary attempt at helping students build the missing *emergent* schema is  
 7 discussed in Chi et al. (2012). Thus, this chapter provided a theoretical framework that  
 8 offers definitions of four different ways that prior misconceived knowledge can conflict  
 9 with correct knowledge, explained why some type of misconceptions are more robust  
 10 than others, and prescribed various instructional intervention methods to remove  
 11 misconceptions as a function of their specific type.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

12  
 13  
 14  
 15 The author is grateful for funding and support provided by the Spencer Foundation  
 16 (Grant No. 200800196) and comments from Dongchen Xu.

## REFERENCES

- 17  
 18  
 19  
 20 Broughton, S. H., Sinatra, G. M., & Reynolds, R. E. (2007). *The refutation text effect: Influence on learning and*  
 21 *attention*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Researchers Association,  
 22 Chicago, IL.
- 23 Carey, S. (1985). *Conceptual change in childhood*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- 24 Carey, S. (1991). Knowledge acquisition: Enrichment or conceptual change? In S. Carey & R. Gelman (Eds.), *The*  
 25 *epigenesis of mind* (pp. 257–291). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- 26 Chi, M. T. H. (1988). Children's lack of access and knowledge reorganization: An example from the concept of  
 27 animism. In F. Weinert & M. Perlmutter (Eds.), *Memory development: Universal changes and individual*  
 28 *differences* (pp. 169–194). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- 29 Chi, M. T. H. (1992). Conceptual change within and across ontological categories: Examples from learning and  
 30 discovery in science. In R. Giere (Ed.), *Cognitive models of science: Minnesota Studies in the Philosophy of Science*,  
 31 (pp. 129–186). Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- 32 Chi, M. T. H. (1997). Creativity: Shifting across ontological categories flexibly. In T. B. Ward, S. M. Smith, & J. Vaid  
 33 (Eds.), *Conceptual structures and processes: Emergence, discovery and change* (pp. 209–234) Washington, DC:  
 34 American Psychological Association.
- 35 Chi, M. T. H. (2000). Cognitive understanding levels. In A. E. Kazdin (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of psychology* (Vol. 2,  
 36 pp. 146–151). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- 37 Chi, M. T. H. (2005). Common sense conceptions of emergent processes: Why some misconceptions are robust.  
 38 *Journal of the Learning Sciences*, 14, 161–199.
- 39 Chi, M. T. H., de Leeuw, N., Chiu, M. H., & LaVancher, C. (1994). Eliciting self-explanations improves  
 40 understanding. *Cognitive Science*, 18, 439–477.
- 41 Chi, M. T. H., & Hausmann, R. G. M. (2003). Do radical discoveries require ontological shifts? In L. V. Shavinina  
 42 (Ed.) *International handbook on innovation* (pp. 430–444). Oxford, UK: Pergamon.
- 43 Chi, M. T. H., & Roscoe, R. (2002). The processes and challenges of conceptual change. In M. Limon & L. Mason  
 44 (Eds.), *Reframing the process of conceptual change: Integrating theory and practice* (pp. 3–27). Dordrecht, The  
 45 Netherlands: Kluwer.
- 46 Chi, M. T. H., Roscoe, R., Slotta, J., Roy, M., & Chase, C. C. (2012). Misconceived causal explanations for emergent  
 47 processes. *Cognitive Science*, 36, 1–61.
- Chi, M. T. H., Slotta, J. D., & de Leeuw, N. (1994). From things to processes: A theory of conceptual change for  
 learning science concepts. *Learning and Instruction*, 4, 27–43.
- Confrey, J. (1990). A review of the research on student conceptions in mathematics, science and programming. In  
 C. B. Cazden (Ed.), *Review of research in education*. Washington, DC: American Educational Research  
 Association.

## T&amp;F PROOFS. NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION.

70 • Chi

- 1 de Leeuw, N. (1993). Students' beliefs about the circulatory system: Are misconceptions universal? *In Proceedings*  
2 *of the Fifteenth Annual Conference of the Cognitive Science Society* (pp. 389–393). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence  
3 Erlbaum Associates.
- 4 Driver, R., & Easley, J. (1978). Pupils and paradigms: A review of literature related to concept development in  
5 adolescent science students. *Studies in Science Education*, 5, 61–84.
- 6 Driver, R., Squires, A., Rushworth, P., & Wood-Robinson, V. (1994). *Making sense of secondary science*. London, UK:  
7 Routledge.
- 8 Duit, R. (2008). *Bibliography – CTCSE: Students' and teachers' conceptions and science education*. Available at:  
9 [www.ipn.uni-kiel.de/aktuell/stcse/stcse.html](http://www.ipn.uni-kiel.de/aktuell/stcse/stcse.html)
- 10 Gadgil, S., Nokes, T. J., and Chi, M.T.H. (2011). Effectiveness of holistic mental model confrontation in driving  
11 conceptual change. *Learning and Instruction*, 22, 47–61.
- 12 Gelman, S. (1988). The development of induction within natural kind and artifact categories. *Cognitive Psychology*,  
13 20, 65–95.
- 14 Gentner, D., & Stevens, A. L. (Eds.). (1983). *Mental models*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- 15 Guzetti, B. J., Snyder, T. E., Glass, G. V., & Gamas, W. S. (1993). Meta-analysis of instructional interventions from  
16 reading education and science education to promote conceptual change in science. *Reading Research Quarterly*,  
17 28, 116–161.
- 18 Keil, F. (1989). *Concepts, kinds, and cognitive development*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- 19 Lakoff, G. (1987). *Women, fire, and dangerous things: What categories reveal about the mind*. Chicago, IL: University  
20 of Chicago Press.
- 21 Law, N., & Ogborne, J. (1988). Students as expert system developers: A means of eliciting and understanding  
22 commonsense reasoning. *Journal of Research on Computing in Education*, 26, 497–514.
- 23 McCloskey, M. (1983). Naïve theories of motion. In D. Gentner & A. L. Stevens (Eds.), *Mental models* (pp. 299–324).  
24 Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- 25 Novak, J. (1977). *A theory of education*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- 26 Ram, A., Nersessian, N. J., & Keil, F. C. (1997). Special issue: Conceptual change. *Journal of the Learning Sciences*, 6,  
27 1–91.
- 28 Reiner, M., Slotta, J. D., Chi, M. T. H., & Resnick, L. B. (2000). Naïve physics reasoning: A commitment to substance-  
29 based conceptions. *Cognition and Instruction*, 18, 1–34.
- 30 Samarapungavan, A., & Wiers, R. W. (1997). Children's thoughts on the origin of species: A study of explanatory  
31 coherence. *Cognitive Science*, 21, 147–177.
- 32 Slotta, J. D., & Chi, M. T. H. (2006). The impact of ontology training on conceptual change: Helping students  
33 understand the challenging topics in science. *Cognition and Instruction*, 24, 261–289.
- 34 Sommers, F. (1971). Structural ontology. *Philosophia*, 1, 21–42.
- 35 Thagard, P. (1990). Concepts and conceptual change. *Syntheses*, 82, 255–274.
- 36 Vosniadou, S. (2004). Extending the conceptual change approach to mathematics learning and teaching. *Learning*  
37 *and Instruction*, 14, 445–451.
- 38 Vosniadou, S., & Brewer, W. (1992). Mental models of the earth: A study of conceptual change in childhood.  
39 *Cognitive Psychology*, 24, 535–585.
- 40 Vosniadou, S., & Brewer, W. (1994). Mental models of the day/night cycle. *Cognitive Science*, 18, 123–183.
- 41 Wisner, M. (1987). The differentiation of heat and temperature: History of science and novice–expert shift. In  
42 S. Strauss (Ed.), *Ontogeny, phylogeny, and historical development* (pp. 28–48). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- 43 Wisner, M., & Amin, T. (2001). “Is heat hot?” Inducing conceptual change by integrating everyday and scientific  
44 perspectives on thermal phenomena. *Learning and Instruction*, 11, 331–353.
- 45  
46  
47