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ABSTRACT
Equivalent fractions are usually introduced in fourth grade and reviewed repeatedly in the subsequent grades as the four arithmetical operations are taught. In spite of this repeated instruction, the results are disappointing. This paper reviews some data from previous research documenting the difficulty of equivalent fractions, explains this difficulty in light of Piaget's theory, and suggests ways in which instruction might be improved. The discussion is limited to fractions of wholes and does not include fractions of sets of objects. Contains 24 references. (Author)

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An Explanation of Their Difficulty and Educational Implications*
Constance Kamii

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Equivalept fractions are usually introduced in fourth grade and reviewed repeatedly in the subsequent grades as the four arithmetical operations are taught. In spite of this repeated instruction, the results are disappointing. This paper reviews some data from previous research documenting the difficulty of equivalent fractions, explains this difficulty in light of Piaget's theory, and suggests ways in which instruction might be improved. The discussion will be limited to fractions of wholes and will not include fractions of sets of objects.

Findings from Previous Research
Behr, Lesh, Post, and Silver's Study
Behr, Lesh, Post, and Silrer (1983) cited data collected by Bezuk, who asked 77 fourth graders to show $2 / 3$ of shapes such as the following two:


These subjects in a suburban school "had undergone normal fourth-grade instruction dealing with fractions" (p. 111). While none of them gave an incorrect answer in response to the first rectangle, $25 \%$ responded incorrectly to the second one. These and otner similar data show that $2 / 6$ is not the same thing as $1 / 3$ for many fourth graders.

Behr, Lesh, Post, and Silver went on to give the following excerpt from an interview with a fourth grader. This account is instructive from the standpoint of understanding the nature of children's difficulty.

Problems arose when students were asked to give more than one name to either b or cde. Portions of an interview sequence with a fourth-grade student indicate the g'neral nature of these difficulties.

> I: b is what frection of the whole?
> S: One-fourth . . .
> I: cde together is what fraction of the whole?
> S. One-fourth . . .
> I: Is there another way you can tell me what fraction this [b] is of the whole?
> S: I don't think so.

*Paper presented at the NCTM Research Presession joint1y sponsored with che AERA SIG/RME, Indianapolis, April 12, 1994. (C) 1994 by Congtance Kamii

S: [As I(nterviewer) points to c , d , and e in turn] One-twelfth, one-twelfth, one-twelfth.
I: So what fraction is this [cde] altogether?
S: One-fourth.
I: Now count with me.
S: One-twelfth, two-twelfths, three-twelfths.
I: So what fraction is this of the whole circle?
S One-twelfth . . . oh! Hold it . . . one-fourth.
I: Now count with me again [pointing in turn to $c, d$, and e].
S: One-twelfth, two-twelfth, three-twelfths.
I: Now how can I say another name besides one-fourth for all of this [e, $d$, and $c$ ]?
S: One-fourth, two-fourths, three-fourths [counting whise pointing to $\mathrm{e}, \mathrm{d}$, and c ].
I: Let's see, what was this [e] again?
S: One-twelfth, two-twelfth, Three-twelfths [while I(nterviewer) points to $\mathrm{e}, \mathrm{d}$, and c$]$.
I: How can I describe the whole thing?
S: Three-twelfths . . . because there are three twelfths; so we can call it three--twelfths.
I: Is there another name for this [b]?
S: No. (p. 114-115)
Behr et al.'s purpose in designing this interview was "to assess children's flexibility in regarding a part of a whole as an unpartitioned region and as a partitioned region" (p. 114). More specifically, they stated, "of interest was whether the child could ignore the partition lines in cde to consider it as one-fourth and imagine partition lines placed in b to consider it as tbree-twelfths" (p. 114). As I will explain shortly, I do not think children's difficulty is due merely to the inflexibility of their thought or to an inability to ignore or imagine partition lines.

## Larson's Study

To study children's understanding of equivalent fractions, as well as other aspects of fractions, Larson (1980) gave a multiple-choice group test to 382 seventh graders. Below are two examples of the kinds of questions she asked:
14. On which number line can the point marked by $x$ be named by the fraction

A)
B)

C)
$x$
D)

0

x
E) None of the above
16. On which number line can the point marked by $x$ be named by the fraction $\frac{1}{3}$ ?
A)

B)
$z$
c)

$\boldsymbol{x}$
D)

E) None of the above

By comparing the frequency of correct answers to such questions, Larson concluded that, for her subjects, finding simple fractions such as $1 / 3$ was significantly easier ( $p<.001$ ) when the number of segments was the same as the denominator than when it was trice the denominator. For these seventh graders, $2 / 6$ was clearly not the same thing as $1 / 3$. (Research has repeatedly shown that fractions of number lines are much more difficult than fractions of areas. However, this conclusion may be due to the fact that children were asked about a "point marked by $x$ " rather than an interval (length) from zero to $x_{\text {. }}$ )

Larson's interpretation of this difficulty was also that these seventh graders' concept of fractions was not flexible. She also stated that these children did not know "as part of their fraction concept that a fraction represents a number that has many names and that each of these names can be associated with the same point on the number line regardless of the number of segments in each unit" (p. 427). I will argue shortly that I do nat think equivalent fractions are different names for the same mamber.

National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP)
Recent National Assessments do not give infurmation concerning equivalent fractions as such. However, the data available on addition and subtraction with easy unlike denominators (such as $1 / 2$ and $1 / 3$ ) shed light on the difficulty of equivalent fractions. The percentages of 13 -year-oids who gave correct answers to simple computational problems in four national assessments are given in Table 1 (Carpenter et al., 1976; Carpenter et al., 1980; Lindquist, 1983; Koubs et al., 1988). It can be seen in this table that only about a third of the national samples, even at age 13 or seventin grade, have been succesaful since the 1970s. Something is clearly wrong with the way equivalent fractions and/or common denominators have been taught.

Table 1 about here

-     -         -             -                 -                     -                         -                             - 

Explanation of Children's Difficulty

As stated earlier, researchers have generally viewed knowledge of equivalent fractions as the ability to call the same numer by different names, the ability to ignore or imagine partition lines, and/or the manifestation of flexible thought. Piaget (1977), however, made a distinction between the figurative aspect of knowledge (based on shapes, which are observable) and the operative aspect (based on relationships, which are not observable). For example, half of a rectangle can be either rectangular or triangular. While the triangular half may look bigger than the rectangular half from a figurative point of view, our operative knowledge enables us to deduce that the two halves have the same area.

Equivalent fractiona involve two related aspects of operative thinking identified by Piaget: (a) Multiplicative thinking (Piaget, 1983/1987) and (b) the conservation of the whole and of the parts (Piaget. Inhelder, \& Szeminska, 1948/1960; Parrat-Dayan \& Vonèche, 1992).

Multiplicative thinking is characterized by the hierarchical, simultaneous structure illustrated below. It can be seen in this illustration that repeated addition, such as the repeated addition of 3 , is successive and involves thinking on only one level ( $3+3$, followed by $6+$ 3. followed by $9+3$ ). By contrast, multiplicative thinking, such as $4 \times 3$. involves thinking on two hierarchical levels, simultaneously.

$$
4 \times 3
$$



The difference between additive and multiplicative thinking was empirically documented recently by Steffe (1992) and Clark and Kamii (1994). Equivalent fractions, too, involve hierarchical, simultaneous thinking as shown by Olive (1993). The structure of this hierarchical thinking, illustrated below, explains why it was so hard to get the fourth grader in Behr et al. (1983) to say "three-twelfths" when he or she was thinking about one-fourth.


To think about cde as three-twelfths and as one-fourth, children have to conserve the whole and the parts (4/4). Those who cannot conserve the whole and the parts think about one-fourth only as "one piece." Since the whole and the other parts (3/4) disappear from their minds, what is threetwelfths for us can only be three-thirds for these children. Likewise, in
the task requiring the comparison of a rectangular half with a triangular half, the children who cannot conserve the whole and the parts compare only a rectangle with a triangle.

## A Study of the Operative Aspect of Equivalent Fractions

The following study was conducted to find out whether or not fifth and sixth graders can reason operatively when asked about simple fractions such as halves, fourths, and eighths that could not be judged figuratively. The study had two parts inspired by Parrat-Dayan's (1980) research and involved 120 children in two suburban achools near Birmingham, Alabama in January through March. All the subjects were individually interviewed and videotaped and consisted of 61 fifth graders and 59 sixth graders. The fifth graders had been taught equivalent fractions in fourth grade and were interviewed before fractions were covered in fifth grade. The sixth graders, on the other hand, had just finished studying equivalent fractions and were in the midst of working on problems such as $31 / 3-11 / 5$.

Children's thinking about two halves. The first part of the study was designed to find out whether or not the children thought that a half made by cutting a rectangle vertically (a in the figure below) had the same area as a half made by cutting the same rectangle diagonally (ć in the figure below).

Materials
Two rectangles ( $4.25 \times 5.5$ inches) made by cutting a standard sheet of paper ( $8.5 \times 11$ inches) into four parts, a ruler, a pencil, and acissors.

## Procedure

Each interview consisted of the following three parts:

1. Making sure the child believed that the two rectangles were the same size
2. Asking whether or not two halves were "the same amount to eat"
a. The interviewer folded and cut one of the rectangles as shown asking the child, "Am I cutting this piece into two halves?" (The children always replied, "Yes.")
b. The interviewer then drew a diagonal line on the other rectangle and asked the child as she cut on the line, "Am I cutting this piece into two halves?" The children
 always answered "Yes," and the interviewer showed the congruence of the two triangles saying, "rea, these are the same."
c. The interviewer then asked, "If chese were chocolate instead of paper, and I gave you this piece (giving a to the child) and gave myself this piece (c), but not these (pushing band away), would you and I have the same amount of chocolate to eat?" Whatever the child said, an explanation was alwayg obtained.
3. Making a counter-suggestion if the child uaid that $\underline{a}$ and $\underline{c}$ were not the

## same amount

The interviewer said, "Another boy (or girl) in another school said that this (a) and this (c) were exactly the same amount. His/her argument was that these ( $a$ and $\underline{b}$ ) are both halves, and these ( $\underline{c}$ and $\underline{d}$ ) are both halves. So he/she said that these (a and c) are the same amount because they are both halves. Do you think he/she was right, or do you think you are right?" A justification of the answer was always obtained.

## Results

As can be seen in Table 2, only $44 \%$ of the fifth graders said that a and $\subseteq$ were the same amount to eat (the "+" category), and $38 \%$ said that the triangular half was more (the ${ }^{n-1}$ category). The group in between ( $\pm$ ) said that they were not sure and/or that a and $c$ were "about the same but not exactly." These children were in conflict because their operative knowledge led them to think that $\underline{a}$ and $c$ were the same amount, but their figurative evaluation led them to think that the triangular half was more. The counter-suggestion was made oniy to the children who clearly said that $\subseteq$ was more to eat. Twenty-three percent of the fifth graders rejected the counter-suggestion and stated that $\mathfrak{a}$ and $\underline{c}$ were both halves but that the amount depended on how the paper was cut.

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Table 2 about here
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-     -         -             -                 - . - -

The proportion of the correct answer increased in sixth grade, with 51\% saying that a and $\subseteq$ were the same amount to eat because they were both halves of two wholes which were the same. Forty-four percent initially gave an incorrect answer, but most of them changed their minds upon hearing the counter-suggestion that $\underline{a}=$. . However, $17 \%$ persisted in thinking that the triangular half was more.

The preceding findings show that even half is a relationship, which is not figurative knowledge. If fifth and sixth graders have such difficulty with half, the easiest of all fractions, we can surely expect equivalent fractions to be hard for them.

Children's thinking sbout three-fourths and six-eighths. The second part of the study was designed to find out about children's multiplicative thinking and their conservation of the whole and the parts when they could not use the figurative aspect of their knowledge.

## Materials

Two rectangles ( $8.5 \times 5.5$ inches) made by cutting a standard sheet of paper ( $8.5 \times 11$ inches) in two and scissors

Procedure
Each interview consisted of following three parts:

1. Making sure that the child believed the two rectangles were the same size.
2. Aaking how many eighths were necessary to make "the same amownt to eat" es 3/4.
a. The interviewer folded one of the rectangles horizontally twice and asked, "How many parts did I fold my rectangle into?" (The children always replied, "Four.") She then cut off $1 / 4$ aaying, "I am cutting off one of the parts."

b. The interviewer then folded the other rectangle vertically twice and abked, "Do I have four parts now?" (A11 the children answered "Yes.") She then folded the paper once more acking, "How many parts do I now have?" (The great majority replied, "Six!") The paper was then unfolded. and the child was asked to count the eight parts. The
 interviewer cut the rectangle on all the folds and ascertained that the child knew there were eight strips.
c. Offering the eight strips to the child, the interviewer asked, "If these were chocolate instead of paper, and I gave myself this piece (3/4) but not this piece (pushing $1 / 4$ away), how many of your strips would you use to give yourself exactly the same amovat to eat?" An explanation of the answer was always obtained.
3. Making a counter-suggestion if the child gave an incorrect answer. The interviewer said, "Another boy (or girl) in another school said that he/she would use six strips because we divided this rectangle into four parts (reassembling the horizontally cut rectangle) and the other rectangle into eight parts (pointing to the eight atrips). That's why he/she thought two strips (2/8) would make exactly the same amount as one like this (1/4)." The two-to-one correspondence (of "one, two, three" and "two, four, six") was then demonstrated, and the child was asked to evaluate the counter-suggestion and to explain his/her reason.

Results
The findings are presented in Table 3. The first point to be noted is that, in spite of the fact that the sixth graders were learning to add and subtract fractions with unlike denominators, only $32 \%$ got the correct answer with the correct explanation (the "+" category). Many (the $46 \%$ in the "-" category) approached the task spatially and figuratively, trying to fit the strips onto the $3 / 4$ piece. Others (22\%) were categorized in between ( $\pm$ ) either because they answered "about six atrips" or because they gave the correct answer at one point but changed their minds upon being asked, "How do you know that two of these strips (2/8) would make the same amount as one like this (1/4) ?" These children could sometimes reason correctiy, but their reasoning was not solid enough to overcome their perceptual judgment. Twenty-four percent of the sixth graders even rejectad the countersuggestion that $3 / 4=6 / 8$.

## Table 3 about here

While the sixth graders did not do well, they did much better than the fifth graders. It can be seen in Table 3 that only $1.3 \%$ of the fifth graders reasoned correctly on their own that $3 / 4=6 / 8$. Forty-nine percent rejected outright the counter-suggestion that $3 / 4=6 / 8$.

The percentage of 32 in sixth grade who solidly demonstrated their knowledge of equivalent fractions is similar to those in the National Assessments (Table 1) about 13-year-cids or seventh graders. The Alabama sixth graders were a year younger than the National Assescment samples but members of a middle-clasa, advantaged group attending a suburban school. These percentages lead us to conclude again that something is wrong with the instruction children are receiving in equivalent fractions in grades 4. 5 , 6 , and 7.

## Educational Implications

It can be said in light of findings from research and Piaget's theory that traditional instruction in equivalent fractions has at least the following three shortcomings:

1. It teaches equivalent fractions perceptually and figuratively with pictures and manipulatives (as well as spoken words, written symbols, and algorithms). Even the NCTM Standards (NCTM, 1989) gives advice such as the following:

Children need to use physical materials to explore equivalent fractions and compare fractions. For example, with folded paper strips, children can easily see that $1 / 2$ is the same amount as $3 / 6$ and that $2 / 3$ is smaller than 3/4.

three-fourths (p. 58)
Showing that $1 / 2=3 / 6$ in this way does not foster the development of the hierarchical thinking (the operative aspect) illustrated below:


Likewise, perceptually showing that $3 / 4>2 / 3$ leaves children's reasoning (the operative aspect) untouched. If children are not encouraged to make such perceptual comparisons, they are more likely to reason that $9 / 12>8 / 12$ or that since $1 / 3$ (the complement of $2 / 3$ ) $>1,4$ (the complement of $3 / 4$ ).
$3 / 4>2 / 3$.
2. By telling children that certain fractions are equivalent, traditional instruction deprives children of the possibility of thinking and inventing equivalent fractions.
3. Traditional instruction teaches proper fractions first and then improper fractions and mixed numbers. All of these should be involved from the beginning so that children will think about parts and wholes at the same time.

The most promising approaches I have found so far are those of Streefland (1991, 1993) and Mack (1990). Streefland (1993) gives realistic problems such as "Divide 3 pizzas among 4 children" (p. 291) that encourage operative thinking in the following ways:

1. "Teaching" starts with realistic problems and encourages children to invent their own solutions so that fractions can grow out of children's own thinking. Encouraging children to logico-mathemarize their ownreality is much better than presenting a chapter titled "Eractions" with fictuzes of circles, squares, and rectangles that have already been partitioned.
2. Ready-made pictures or manipulatives are not given, and children have to put their own thinking on paper. If children think about how to represent parts of a number of pizzas, this thinking will further their reasoning much more than ready-made pictures and fraction circles. Children may draw circles that look like those found in today's textbooks, but the figurative knowledge they put on paper represents their own work and understandings as opposed to the ci:cliss presented in textbooks, which represent someone else's thinking.
3. Equivalent fractions can be invented from the very beginning in relation to whole numbers. This is in contrast with traditional instruction that waits for a long time to present mixed numbers and addition with unlike denominators. Streefland's approach, however, involves halves and quarters, which are easy for children to invent.

The following story problem suggested by Streefland (1993) is another example that fosters reasoning:

A family, consisting of father, mother, Peter, and Ann, have pizzas for lunch. The first one is shared fairly. In the meantime, the second one is prepared in the oven. Mother divides this one in four equal parts, too. Then she says: "Oh, how silly of me, I've had enough. You three can share this one." "No," said Ann, "one of these pieces is enough for me," and, turning to Peter and her father, she added, "you two can share the rest." Peter and his father did not have to be told a second time. Divide the pieces. How much do each of the family members get? (p. 294)

Mack, too, advocates encouraging caildren to invent their own procedures in addition and subtraction, and to invent equivalent fractions
in the process. Working with sixth graders from middle to upper-middle income families who were having difficulty with fractions, she posed questions such as "Which one is more, $22 / 3$ or $25 / 6 ?^{\prime \prime}$ An especially important point made in Mack's article is that prior "knowledge of rote procedures frequently interfered with students' attempts to build on their informal knowledge" (p. 16).

As far as fractions of lines are concerned, it aeems best to "teach" them in the context of measurement. As stated elsewhere (Kamii, 1989, 1994), an essential principle of teaching drawn from Piaget's constructivism is the inportance of the exchange of points of view among children. In measurement as well as in all the other activities, children should be encouraged to agree or disagree among themselves and to defend their ideas. Piaget (1932/1965b, 1965a, 1976) argued that social interactions are essenzial for children as well as scientists to decenter and construct higher-level thinking.

The ineffectiveness of traditional instruction can further be seen in Table 4. This table shows a comparison of fourth graders in May, 1993, who had and had not been taught equivalent fractions in two other suburban schools near Birmingham, Alabama. It can be seen that the fourth graders who had receivad this traditional instruction with a textbook did alightly better on the aforementioned tasks in the short run. Fifty percent said that the rectangular and triangular halves were the same amount as compared to $43 \%$ of those who had not received instruction. Twenty-seven percent figured out that $3 / 4=6 / 8$ as compared to $11 \%$ of those who had not been instructed. Eight months later, however, albeit in another school, the fifth graders in Table 3 looked like the fourth graders who were never taught these topics. Only $13 \%$ of the fifth graders in Table 3 said that $3 / 4$ $=6 / 8$, and this percentage is very close to the $11 \%$ of the fourth graders who were never taught equivalent fractions.

Table 4 about here

Further research is necessary to determine when to teach equivalent fractions and how. It is necessary to know how well seventh graders do on the tasks described above. We must also know which equivalent fractions are easy and which ones are not. For example, $1 / 4=2 / 8$ is much easier than $3 / 4$ $=6 / 8$. Likewise, $1 / 2+1 / 4$ seems easier than $1 / 4+1 / 8$. We plan to experiment in fourth and fifth grade with an approach that emphasizes the operative aspect of fractions.

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Table 1
Percentages of 13-Year-01ds Giving Correct Answers in Four National
Assessments of Educational Progress (NAEP)


Table 2

Percentages of Fifth and Sixth Graders Responding to the Question about
the Equality of the Rectangular and Triangular Half

| 5th graders | 6 th graders |
| :---: | :---: |
| $\mathrm{n}=61$ | $\mathrm{n}=59$ |

Initial judgment
$+\quad 44 \quad 51$
$\pm 18$
$18 \quad 5$

38
44

Judgment after the counter-suggestion
-
23
17

Table 3

Percentages of Eifth and Sixth Graders Responding to the Question $3 / 4=? / 8$ 5th graders 6th graders
$n=61$
$\mathbf{n}=59$

Initial solution
$+\quad 13 \quad 32$
$\pm \quad 10$
022
$77 \quad 46$

Judgment after the counter-suggestion

49
24

Table 4

Percentages of Fourth Graders Who Had and Had Not Been Taught Equivalent
Fractions
Had been taught Had not been taught
$\mathrm{n}=22$
$n=37$

Rectangular half $=$ triangular half
Success in initial judgment 50
43
$3 / 4=6 / 8$

Success in initial response
27
11

