The Library and the Disadvantaged Reader

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Disadvantaged people are apathetic toward and anxious about any organization in which there is a credibility gap between what it purports to provide and what it actually does provide. The effective library enables the disadvantaged person to find answers to his immediate problems. Disadvantaged people may have to go through one stage of using the library for practical immediate information before they can accommodate themselves to use the library for aesthetic satisfaction.

The purpose of this article is to summarize current research findings in reading and to describe programs and practices about the disadvantaged as they relate or may relate to the library and librarians. The article has been divided into a number of sections in order to discuss the various aspects of reading research and practices. The final section consists of a variety of implications which have been culled from the research and the reported practices, as well as the experiences of the authors of this article in working with the disadvantaged learner.

Family Status and Home Environment

In identifying characteristics of the disadvantaged learner, the home environment has received considerable attention. Bloom, et al., stated that the home is the single most important influence on the intellectual and emotional development of young children. They noted that there were fewer books in lower class homes, and that children were read to less frequently and spoken to less by their parents than upper class children. Their environment has been described as overcrowded, noisy,

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disorganized, austere, and generally devoid of any of the cultural artifacts, such as toys, books, and self-instructional materials frequently associated with school readiness. Thomas described the disadvantaged learner as one who is afraid of parental authority, who comes from a home with few books, and who lives in a noisy atmosphere which fosters inattention and poor concentration.

Since the learner's home experiences "do not transmit the cultural patterns necessary for the types of learning characteristic of the schools and the larger society," he is actually handicapped in the typical academic setting. "A large proportion of these youth come from homes in which the adults have a minimal level of education. Many of them come from homes where poverty, large family size, broken homes, discrimination, and slum conditions further complicate the picture." Black stated that lower income housing is substandard and continues to decline in quality. He described the disadvantaged learner as being unaware of the ground rules for success in school, and in need of assistance in perceiving an adult as a person of whom one asks questions and receives answers. In homes barren of any interest or involvement in reading, the reading experience for this learner is over before it begins.

Riessman pointed out the crowded conditions in lower class homes but also stressed the more positive aspects of such environment. These included cooperativeness and mutual aid of extended families, lack of strain accompanying competition, lessened sibling rivalry, and the security of a large family.

LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

Data from several studies suggested that children from disadvantaged backgrounds show weaknesses in the utilization of abstract symbols to represent and interpret their feelings. Ausubel concluded that a delay in the acquisition of certain formal language forms resulted in difficulty in the transition from concrete to abstract modes of thought. Deutsch observed lower class children to be inferior in abstract conceptualization. Bernstein reported the higher intellectual development of middle class children to be a cultural function of elaborated language and not a matter of genetic superiority. John found lower class children deficient in the use of language as a cognitive tool.

Figure 1 stated that at grade two, the vocabulary of disadvantaged children is approximately one-third that of middle class children, while at grade six it is about one-half. He stated further that second grade
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children in slum areas know fewer than half of the words of middle class preschool children.\textsuperscript{10} Black stated that “disadvantaged kindergarten children use fewer words with less variety to express themselves than do kindergarten children of [higher] socio-economic classes. . . . Culturally disadvantaged children use a significantly smaller proportion of mature sentence structure such as compound, complex, and more elaborate constructions.”\textsuperscript{11} They use language chiefly to express concrete needs.

Umans, after reviewing various programs fostering creativity among disadvantaged learners, concluded that a combination or adaptation of several such programs might help break through the language barrier.\textsuperscript{12} Both the foreign-born immigrant and the native-born disadvantaged learner “exhibit a class-based language syndrome, one that denies the lower-class person the verbal strategies necessary to obtain vertical social mobility. In our society, if the school is to be effective, students must be trained in how to use the language as a tool with which to improve the mind.”\textsuperscript{13}

TESTING INTELLIGENCE

Research consistently revealed that disadvantaged children generally have lower I.Q. scores as measured by standardized intelligence tests. Questions about the validity of intelligence tests continue to be raised. Eells’s observation in 1953 is still significant; he spoke of the cultural bias of intelligence tests and noted that children from deprived backgrounds often receive scores which are inaccurate reflections of basic intelligence.\textsuperscript{14} Lewis, et al., added another dimension in their investigations of the role of intelligence and several other variables as determining factors in reading difficulties among junior high school boys. They found that inadequate readers scored significantly lower on intelligence tests (WISC) than adequate readers. The investigators implied that since “black [subjects] performed significantly worse than white [subjects] when tested by white examiners,”\textsuperscript{15} scores might have been higher for black subjects had the examiners been black.

Klineberg provided evidence to support the contention the I.Q. scores can be changed by changes in environment, such as migration, acculturation, and special educational programs.\textsuperscript{16} Brazziel and Terrell demonstrated that a six-week enrichment program was able to raise the I.Q. scores of twenty-six first grade Negro children in Tennessee.\textsuperscript{17} Deutsch reported similar increases in I.Q. scores of preschool children as a result of the preschool programs initiated in New York.\textsuperscript{18}
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READING INTERESTS

Rowland and Hill tested the hypothesis that the interest of children in selecting material for reading and in selecting illustrative materials for creative writing would be influenced by the racial content of the material and the race of the child. They developed twelve pairs of identically written reading materials, one of each pair illustrated with Negroes and the other with Caucasians. They also developed fourteen pairs of pictures, one of each pair representing Negroes and the other Caucasians, to be used for creative writing. The investigators found a significantly greater proportion of Caucasians than Negroes who used the materials illustrating members of their own race for reading and creative writing purposes. There was a significantly greater proportion of Negroes than Caucasians who used the pictures of the opposite race for creative writing.19

On the other hand, Ford and Koplyay used a set of sixty pictures and an equal number of sentences portraying the action in each picture. Kindergarten through third grade children from an upper-middle class suburban school system and from a predominantly Negro urban school system were asked to mark the one picture on each page indicating a story they would most like to read and the one they would not want to read. The topics most liked were in the following order: Negro heritage, children in the ghetto, history and science, children in general, fantasy, and animals. The differences were statistically significant. The investigators concluded that children's interests are related to age and sex to a greater extent than to socio-economic backgrounds.20

Barrett and Barrett were concerned with the preference of Negro pupils for three types of stories: a white boy in a nice home in the country, a boy living in a foreign country, and a Negro boy in an urban area. Of the forty pupils in the study, thirty chose the third type.21 Emans offered twenty-two inner-city children six pairs of stories for choice as to the city theme or the family-friends-pets theme. The children had not begun to read so the pairs of stories were read to them and they were asked to point to the one they preferred to hear again. The family-friends-pets theme was chosen eighty times while the city theme was chosen fifty-two times, a difference highly significant at the .005 level. The study was replicated with fourteen boys and ten girls with similar results.22

Allen investigated through public opinion polls the use patterns and effects of the mass media on 100 residents of a metropolitan Negro ghetto in Pittsburgh. He concluded that mass media made interviewees
more aware of the materially rich middle class world and might have served as an indirect cause of racial discontent. His findings showed that ghetto residents depended almost entirely for news on the television evening newscast, and did not supplement this news with additional information from other media; that Negro ghetto residents viewed television extensively because it provided entertainment; and that *Ebony* was read by most of the interviewees whereas none received a weekly news magazine. He concluded that more communication might be established if newspapers increased material in regular news columns of interest primarily to Negro readers.

**Reading Achievement**

Martin Deutsch stated that the lower class child enters the school situation so poorly equipped for the learning situation that initial failures are almost inevitable. He found that disadvantaged children have inferior auditory discrimination and visual discrimination. Cynthia Deutsch determined, however, that the poor readers among the disadvantaged had weaker auditory discrimination than the good readers.

Filmer and Kahn analyzed the first grade Metropolitan Reading Readiness Test scores of twenty-five boys and twenty-five girls from each of eight socio-economic and racial groups. Analysis of variance showed that neither race nor socio-economic levels alone were critical to reading readiness, but that the interaction was significantly related.

Hanson and Robinson compared the Metropolitan Reading Readiness Test scores of kindergarten and first grade disadvantaged subjects with those of average and advantaged subjects. The scores for the disadvantaged group were significantly lower than the other two groups. When measured by the Metropolitan Reading Readiness Test, this difference remained significantly lower for the disadvantaged group throughout the primary grades. Hill and Giammatteo investigated the relationship between socio-economic status and school achievement of third graders. The Iowa Test of Basic Skills and Scott Foresman Basic Reading Tests were used as achievement measures. Children were tested in third grade and achievement data were obtained from their first and second grade records. Positive relationships were found between socio-economic status and the reading subtest scores at both grades one and three. Speasl and Herrington studied the socio-economic distribution of children at the first and sixth grade levels. When reading readiness scores were compared they were found to be related to the socio-economic levels of the children. A comparison of the sixth
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grade pupils' reading achievement scores, however, indicated no evidence that the differences in reading were related to socio-economic levels. On the other hand, Hicks conducted a survey in East St. Louis of the reading achievement of disadvantaged and nondisadvantaged children from grades one through eleven. There were no great differences between grades one and two, but by the end of the third grade a noticeable retardation of the disadvantaged was observed. Thereafter, Hicks found that retardation increased through the grades.

Carter constructed a questionnaire to assess the degree to which a person was cognizant of, integrated with, and participated in his environment. A total of thirty-five males, out of high school one or more years, were available for a personal interview. Twenty-three were reading one or more years below grade level upon entering high school and twelve were reading at grade level or above. A close relationship was found between reading retardation and social maladjustment, since personal and social maladjustments which had been prevalent in school as concomitants of reading retardation persisted into adult life.

PROGRAMS AND PRACTICES

Cohen investigated the effect of literature on the vocabulary and reading achievement of 285 disadvantaged children in the second grade. She introduced the variable of storytelling every day to the 155 subjects in the experimental group. (Storytelling was a chance occurrence among the 130 subjects in the control group.) There were three criteria for book selection in the experimental group: (1) events, concepts, and relationships in the story should be within the scope of conceptual grasp of the disadvantaged children; (2) there should be emotional identification; and (3) language used in stories shall deal with the concrete and sensory. The experimental teachers were trained in phrasing, quality of voice, pace, and knowledge of story. The experimental group made significant increases over the control group in word knowledge and reading comprehension.

The Detroit Great Cities School Improvement Project set as its goal to increase the competence of children with limited backgrounds. Competence was defined not only as academic competence, but social competence, urban living competence, and work skill competence, including the ability to learn new job skills when required. The program focused on teacher-school-community improvement. Through workshops and inservice experiences, attempts were made to modify the perceptions of the teachers of disadvantaged learners as related to the chil-

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dren, their community, and their curriculum. Some positive change was achieved when an entire school staff became actively involved in looking at its unique community, the unique problems of its youth, and its own strengths and weaknesses as a staff. Then the school staff made some positive attempts to search for appropriate curricular and organizational modifications to strengthen its own school situation.

In the Great Cities Program in Philadelphia, the Paul Laurence Dunbar Elementary School serves as an encapsulated Negro community described as culturally impoverished. The school was reorganized around a school-community coordinating team. The school-community coordinators were lay members of the community selected for their ability to communicate with the disadvantaged. Among the recommendations made by the principal for the improvement of the program was the need to increase the number of books available for the children and the need to establish a library at each school.

Burrucker and Becker reported on the Reading Is Fundamental (RIF) Program in Cleveland, Ohio. RIF sponsored book fairs at public schools, tutorial and community centers, libraries, and detention homes. Each fair consisted of an assembly program run by the children, and followed by the actual display and selection of books. The purpose of the RIF Program was to stimulate an interest in and an enjoyment of reading by self-selection and ownership of books among disadvantaged children. Children did not have to pay for the books. The RIF Program distributed over 40,000 books in sixty-two separate book distributions to 14,265 children in nine months of operation.

A summer library service program, Read for Recreation, which served the entire Los Angeles City School District, met a particular need in the disadvantaged areas of the city by providing books for pupils who achieved independence in reading but who did not read widely. The program was an integral part of the total school recreation schedule and was supervised by certified teachers who had received preparatory training by the elementary library and youth services sections of the city schools. Weekly library themes, which frequently coincided with playground themes, stimulated the children's reading interests. Libraries were opened for ten weeks. A Read for Recreation certificate was awarded to each child who read ten books.

A summer camp was set up in Agassiz Village, Maine, to help develop the reading and language arts ability of disadvantaged learners in the Boston Public Schools. A library was established through the contribution of books from the Boston Public Library. Numerous newspapers and magazines as well as books were available and other library
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materials were readily accessible. A spoken-language program using skits, role playing, choral reading, musical games and campfire programs was taught along with the reading program. Reading materials included local, state and camp newspapers, and hot rod, sports, science fiction, nature, mystery and adventure magazines. Campers were encouraged to read on their own and rewarded when they did. One form of inducement was the printing of a book report in the camp newspaper.87

One of the Mobilization for Youth Programs was called Supplementary Teaching Assistance in Reading, or Project Star. This program conducted reading clinics for parents of disadvantaged children. Parents were instructed in the skills of storytelling and reading to children and encouraged to ask their children to give verbal summaries of lessons learned at school. The parents were taught several language art games. Parents received lists of places of interest in New York City which could provide worthwhile experiences for the children and the entire family. Lists written in English and Spanish included libraries, museums, parks, zoos, beaches, ballparks, hospitals, bridges, tunnels and airports.88

The Higher Horizons Program, designed to identify and stimulate able students from culturally disadvantaged areas to reach high educational and vocational goals, was introduced into numerous junior and senior high schools in New York City. Students were involved in programs directed toward raising their opinions of themselves and their levels of aspiration. As students began to succeed and as they sensed greater acceptance by school personnel, they displayed greater pride in themselves and were motivated to better achievement. All pupils were taught in small groups which provided a feeling that the school cared about them and had adjusted the learning environment in such a way that it was possible for them to succeed. Intensive guidance accompanied the intensive instruction.39

Berg described the characteristics and needs of the disadvantaged child as they relate to reading. He pointed out the pressing need for a central library and librarian for every school.40 “A program to teach students weak in language and deficient in reading must have books available with a wide range of interest and difficulty levels. Adapted classics, trade books to stimulate language usage, small books with many pictures—indeed, materials geared to meet existing states of readiness at any level—must be available if a reading program is to succeed.”41

Jennings reported on a program designed to teach 1,070 adults in
Appalachia the skills of communication and computation. Students were grouped into three levels: basic level, intermediate level, and upper level. One hundred and fifty hours of instruction were given. Provision was made for the services of a supervisor and a counselor for each of ten classes. Each class session met for three hours, two times a week. Approximately one-third of all students were considered functionally illiterate. Learning experiences were made as functional as possible by building them around the needs and interests of the students. Used as content for teaching were those skills for such everyday experiences as consumer buying, health habits, family relationships, general citizenship responsibilities, and community and world affairs. Teachers were prepared through an inservice training period and used a variety of methods. Of the 1,070 students, 963 showed evidence of consistent progress. Standards for the level in which they had been placed were completed by 356 students. Fifty-eight students made little or no progress and forty-nine discontinued the program voluntarily.

Brown reported that most of the people who were in basic education classes in Buffalo indicated that they wanted to learn to read in order to get a job or a better education. Half of them indicated that they wanted to be able to read the Bible. They were limited in interacting with their environment—unable to use the telephone directory or dial, unable to read signs while traveling, unable to read a driver's manual and, as a result, unable to get a license. Brown suggested that instruction should be differentiated and individualized to meet the person's needs, it should be thorough at each of the instructional steps before moving on to more difficult levels, adequate reinforcement should be provided, and the student must be "trapped" into becoming involved in the learning process.

The High John Branch Library in Prince George, Maryland, originated as an experiment in library training to initiate library change in library education. Operated by the School of Library and Information Services at the University of Maryland, it was an outgrowth of the thinking of some members of the faculty involved in the training of librarians and was federally funded. The library was located in a small single-story house in the disadvantaged section. The philosophy behind this location was to be conveniently situated in the residential area of the people whom the library intended to serve and to present an image of warmth and acceptance.

Attractive, colorful signs were put on telegraph poles with arrows pointing toward the library location. A mobile film unit was strategically moved about the community to show films and give informa-
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tion about the library. The entire climate at the library was casual. Throughout the rooms of the library books were arranged using interest categories as labels such as Great People, Your Money's Worth, Around the House, Science, and Family Life. The magazine and paperback book collections were very large. The policy of the library was to permit new borrowers to take out a book immediately upon registration. There were no fines for overdue books. Library clerical assistants were local teen-agers. A room was set aside in the library to do homework assignments.45 The library started a High John Video Club and gave television awards to its active members.46

When the federal funding was terminated the University of Maryland discontinued its relationship with the High John project. The Prince George County Library System continued to run the branch. There have been problems recently in the operation of this branch due to its location in an unpaved area with inadequate lighting, and its small size which lends an inviting atmosphere but presents difficulties for the optimum use of its available material. The library staff walked out in November 1970, to protest “insoluble factors which prevent successful operation [of a library].”47

A variety of innovative library practices was reported as being used by public libraries in New York City to attract and service the disadvantaged in their communities. The public libraries in these areas provided book lists, exhibits of minority contributions, film programs, story hours for preschool and elementary school children, photography shows and parent workshops.48 In sections where Spanish was the predominant language, there were large collections of books in Spanish. The programs in these sections were given in Spanish and English and a Spanish-speaking library aide was employed by the library. Library personnel made trips into the community to register children and adults. The librarians conducted story hours in churches, storefronts, and housing projects. Paperback books were placed in laundromats, beauty parlors, bowling alleys, and housing projects. One of the New York City Public Libraries, the Countee Cullen Branch in Harlem, houses the large Schomburg collection of materials about and by blacks. This library has duplicated a large number of these materials for distribution.49

IMPLICATIONS

The word implications is rather formal and, perhaps, audacious to use in this context. We did not read or digest all of the research and reports in either the field of reading instruction or in library science.
On the other hand, we could not as people outside the field possibly consider what we list below to be recommendations. We hope the reader will accept our "implications" as an honest attempt to reflect what grows out of research and reports, as well as our interpretation of what we saw, heard, and read. We are much too aware of the fact that each library and librarian must temper imaginative enterprise with budget realities. Nevertheless, we state implications in a variety of overlapping categories below with no attempt to compromise with restricting influences.

Without question several of the implications are already action in a number of places. In some instances, ideas have been tried and they have failed in action. We urge that innovations continue in spite of a degree of failure. There is little doubt in our minds that many traditional library practices cannot engage the disadvantaged reader.

Accessibility. (1) Subsidiary library collections, in addition to a multitude of bookmobile routes, should be housed and staffed in storefronts, post offices, hospital waiting rooms, employment offices, bowling alleys, and laundromats. (2) Such collections need to be located within the neighborhood where the disadvantaged learner or reader resides. (3) Free bus service, covering a wide variety of routes, ought to be available to transport library users, and prospective library users, to the branch or central library several times a week.

Staffing. (1) Librarians, of course, should be representative of a diversity of backgrounds. But, particularly in centers servicing minority groups, every effort must be made to hire members of those minority groups in order to promote identification and security. (2) In areas servicing a population where another language is spoken, one or more professional staff members should be able to speak and write that language well enough to communicate with library users. (3) Parents and students of the minority group ought to be trained and employed to serve a variety of paraprofessional functions. (4) When a substantial percentage of the population to be served is completely illiterate, at low levels of literacy, or partially literate (see fig. 1), a staff member trained in the field of reading needs to be hired with the sole responsibility of working with individuals, small groups, and (perhaps from time to time) reading improvement classes. (5) All staff members servicing the library user, particularly reference and circulation, must make every effort to help actively and warmly. Some potential users are "turned off," never to return, by unanimated efficiency in a cold climate.
Fig. 1. Stairway of (Reading) Literacy

Relevance. (1) There should be an entry room, or orientation section, to be used as the first stage of acquaintance with the library. This room should be attractive and comfortable, housing eye-catching displays immediately relevant to the needs of the disadvantaged. A simplified collection of materials organized through the use of simplified labels, *not* the Dewey Decimal or Library of Congress system, should be ready for use. (2) A wide variety of current periodicals, such as *Ebony*, dealing with the life of the people in the community ought to be prominently displayed and available. (3) Recognition of important events and of the contributions by minority leaders should be presented via showcase exhibits, films, and recordings. (4) Paperbacks ought to be displayed prominently, preferably on revolving racks. A large quantity of them, on a variety of pertinent topics, should be accessible. (5) Displays concerned with one pertinent interest area or need should be featured and changed frequently. Books and other materials related to the area need to vary in size, appeal, and reading level.

Community service. (1) School and public libraries should feature storytelling times (scheduled frequently), and often offered in connection with parent workshops on storytelling and reading. (2) Libraries must take the initiative for improving adult reading by working in conjunction with other agencies or sponsoring their own mini-courses and workshops. Such programs must steer clear of broad reading improvement courses, but instead zero in on special short-term courses related to the realistic reading tasks needed in homemaking, job application, specific occupations, consumer education, child care, and the like. (3) Booths of print and non-print materials sponsored by the library ought to be exhibited (with advisory service) at major community functions. (4) Community agencies should be able to find space at the library for forums on a multitude of topics which could intertwine with the services of librarians. In addition such visits to the library get prospective library users to feel comfortable and welcome. (5) Dramatic lectures and discussions on relevant topics by community leaders and inspirational guests should be sponsored by and held in the library. In fact, the library ought to be the center of cultural enrichment for the disadvantaged. Art displays, recitals, concerts, plays, films, and dance recitals should be presented. (6) Librarians in public and school libraries need to coordinate efforts to help teachers learn the skills of storytelling and to increase their knowledge of children's and adolescent literature. (7) Public libraries should provide collections of books on loan to the public schools when desirable. Such collections might also be made available to summer camps for disadvantaged children.
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Recruitment. (1) Modern methods of mass advertising (television, radio, newspapers, posters in local store windows) should be utilized to acquaint the disadvantaged with the services of the libraries. (2) Librarians need to go into the community to seek registrants. Booths might be set up in supermarkets; a welcome wagon might greet newcomers; registration opportunities should be available and publicized in the schools. (3) Prospective library users ought to be invited to orientation meetings—very explicit and simple—which include the serving of coffee and refreshments provided by a Friends of the Library or other such group.

School libraries. (1) Public and school libraries should work together. Staffs should meet together; in fact, joint inservice programs aimed at servicing the disadvantaged can be most helpful. (2) In spite of some of the obvious problems, arrangements need to be made to have school libraries open later each day and open during the summer months. (3) At the college level, it is imperative that the library stay open as many hours as possible and provide suitable study areas, for many disadvantaged learners come from home situations not conducive

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<th>Student</th>
<th>Douglas, Tom</th>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Senior</th>
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Rough estimate of general reading-level for handling materials independently:

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<th>Local Percentile</th>
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Fig. 2. Instant Reading Level Card


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to study.\textsuperscript{52} (4) Also at the college level it is important to have available for circulation as many copies as feasible of texts used in the various classes; Clayton found that undergraduate college students from families with less than a $4,000 per year income borrowed significantly more books than did students whose family income was at least $16,000.\textsuperscript{53} (5) Any school library should service the curricula of the school and the needs of its students. Librarians should actively encourage teachers to notify them of particular assignments in advance; in this way the library can be prepared for the needs of students with print and non-print materials. (6) School librarians ought to be aware of the first names of students as quickly as possible. This type of contact establishes a significant feeling of rapport. (7) Thomas’s “instant reading level card” (fig. 2 above) permits librarians to look up a student’s approximate reading level rather quickly so appropriate materials can be matched to the needs and capabilities of the learner.\textsuperscript{54} (8) Interest clubs, both in public and school libraries, focusing primarily on the interests rather than reading, will carry a student to reading and library usage through his search for answers to questions.

\textit{Specific procedures.} (1) Reminders about the due date for books should be sent out \textit{before} the books are overdue. (2) Book fines should be abolished. (3) Certain days need to be set aside and publicized when books may be returned to the library without penalty. (4) Books and other materials should be readily available to the new registrant without a waiting period. (5) A reading level for each book in the library ought to appear on title, subject, and author cards.

\textit{Preparation for library work.} (1) Both in library school and inservice situations librarians need training in understanding the needs, aspirations, and life patterns of disadvantaged learners. (2) Every prospective librarian should receive training in human relations along with courses in sociology, anthropology, psychology, learning theory, and adult education. (3) Students enrolled in library schools very much need to serve frequent apprentice periods in libraries servicing the disadvantaged.

\textit{References}

The references with asterisks are particularly recommended for the librarian who wishes to gain more information about the disadvantaged reader.


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13. Ibid., p. 545.
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*42. Jennings, Mabel W. "Teaching Adult Illiterates in Appalachia." In *International Reading Association, Vistas in Reading*, op. cit., pp. 376-78.

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53. Ibid., p. 421.