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PRODUCTION NOTE

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Library
Library Trends

Research in the Fields of Reading and Communications

Alice Lohrer
Issue Editor

October, 1973
Library Trends
A Publication of the University of Illinois Graduate School of Library Science

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Each issue is concerned with one aspect of librarianship. Each is planned with the assistance of an invited advisory editor. All articles are by invitation. Suggestions for future issues are welcomed and should be sent to the Managing Editor.

Published four times a year, in July, October, January, and April. Office of Publication: University of Illinois Graduate School of Library Science, Urbana, Illinois 61801. Entered as second-class matter June 25, 1952, at the Post Office at Urbana, Illinois, under the act of August 24, 1912. Copyright 1973 by the University of Illinois Board of Trustees. All rights reserved.

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US ISSN 0024-2594
PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.
Introduction

ALICE LOHRER

In the spring of 1973 the University of Illinois Graduate School of Library Science had planned a three-day institute at Allerton Park on "Research in the Fields of Reading and Communication" to bring together three professional groups—librarians, research specialists, and trade publishers. Due to unavoidable circumstances, the institute had to be cancelled. The papers planned for the program, however, were prepared and now make up this issue of Library Trends. Three papers were not submitted, so the areas of media communication, new approaches to readability research, and new trends in content analysis are not represented as had been originally planned.

Research studies in the various fields of reading and communication have broad implications for all ages of readers and consumers of the mass media and print. Such studies have been carried on in the United States since before 1900 and have added much to our knowledge of the reading process itself, e.g., the factors that make for readability, the effects of reading and mass communication upon the consumer of print or media, and the part that interests play in the reading and communication process of children and adults. The historical and sociological impact of print in America is also of great significance today.

Publishers of books for children, youth and adults, as well as librarians working with all age groups in school, public and university libraries need to be aware of what research can tell us about library patrons, about purchases of books, and about listeners and viewers of the mass media. What people really want to read, view or listen to may vary considerably from what they are able to secure in books or through the air or screen. How we can produce better what the consumer of media needs, how we get the product to the consumer in

Alice Lohrer is Professor, Graduate School of Library Science, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, Illinois.
our bookstores, and how we can give better service to the patron in our libraries is of great significance. Knowledge of what research tells us can help us to be more relevant in our programs of service and in producing better books and mass media.

The articles in this issue of *Library Trends* focus attention upon the implications of new research and trends in the psychology of the reading process, reading interests of children, the developmental values of reading, content analysis of children's books, adult reading studies, the adult new reader, and the implications of research for the publishing world.

The results of ongoing research about the reading process are detailed for us in the work of William R. Powell. Discussed are: (1) the psychological process of learning to read, which include the developmental stages of awareness that symbols convey a language message; (2) that the spoken language of the learner must be more mature than the level of the reading assignment; and (3) that reading is more than a coding and decoding function and is one of comprehension and assimilation if reading is to have meaning. These factors are of real import and have exciting possibilities for teachers, parents, and school librarians. Much of the material in Powell's article is not found elsewhere.

A critical evaluation of methods of research related to reading interests of children is carefully detailed by Helen M. Robinson. A comprehensive discussion of trends of research in reading interests for the preschool, the primary, and the middle grades, as well as for the junior and senior high school levels, are presented in sufficient detail to be of real value to teachers, librarians, and publishers. Research studies relating to reading interests of the middle class, of minority groups, and of children in other parts of the world also give insights of value. Paucity of studies dealing with interests in reading and in studies reflecting the developmental values of reading, as well as the techniques of research methodology in these areas, provides an awareness of the difficulty of doing this type of research. Bibliographical sources given should prove of value to the student in this field.

Closely related to reading interests of children is research in the area of content analysis of children's books. Tekla Bekkedal summarizes the limited amount of research that has been done in this field. She groups the studies into three subject areas, namely, stories relating to human relations as found in books; values and cultural content; and the
portrayal of specific racial and ethnic groups in books. Her own study analyzing contemporary realistic fiction for children is summarized, as well as suggestions for further research.

Newer facets of historical research analyzing the impact of ideas and beliefs on the behavior of the American colonists during the American Revolution from 1763 to 1776 is discussed by Michael H. Harris. His own research and theories relating to the communicator, the audience, the channel, and the effect of the communication pose a new approach to historical interpretation. The detailed, annotated bibliography should prove of value to the student of history.

Moving from the past to the modern scene, research studies of adult reading in the United States and Western Europe are well analyzed by Virginia H. Mathews. Similarities of the findings of studies over a twenty-five year period and implications for librarians and publishers are presented in a realistic and hard-hitting manner. References to comparative studies of market research in Europe and in the United States are discussed and the research role of the publishing field is considered. Various programs of library service to the disadvantaged adult are reported and evaluated in terms of reader needs that relate to immediate problems of life; they explain why reading can have a real impact upon people. The Mathews’s article portrays a real belief in the value of reading and suggests a role that librarians, publishers, and the government should play in cooperative endeavors for further research.

Related to the Mathews’s report is the analysis of recent research dealing with reading and the adult new reader by Helen Huguenor Lyman. Facts and figures relating to functional literacy and illiteracy are presented as well as the essence of the Library Materials Research Project that developed criteria for evaluating reading materials for this large segment of our population. The relation of life coping skills and reading materials is analyzed in terms of library programs, services, and staff involvement.

Use of reading research studies by trade, educational and textbook publishers and their roles in marketing research studies is explored by Carol A. Nemeyer. Costs of research proposals that have real relevance for the publishing trade are expensive and the general results are seen as of doubtful value to them. Selling books in libraries, book ordering procedures, multimedia packages of educational materials, and multilingualism as viewed by the publisher are seen in economic terms and in terms of financial risks. National Assessment, a project of the
Educational Commission of the States, concerned with the educational achievements of young Americans is discussed in terms of the value of the findings for publishers. Activities and concerns of publishers are cited and their views on the value of reading research for them is presented realistically. Trade publishers, in particular, want to be free from intentional influence from reading specialists in order to provide a refreshing variety of books, instead of providing books to fill a special need.

The inter-relationship of the educator, the librarian, and the publisher are discussed by M. Ann Heidbreder in her article dealing with the question: What research is needed in the fields of reading and communication? The fact that much of the research in the fields of reading is fragmented, is concerned with small groups, and with reading problems, limits its value for trade publishers who are more interested in areas of independent study and leisure reading. Synthesizing results of reading research that has been done is seen as a real need for educators and publishers alike so that generalizations and interpretations can be made on a sounder basis than is true at present. Accessibility studies, motivations for reading, and reader tastes are also discussed in terms of what we still need to know about a market for a particular book, who should conduct research studies, what are the cost factors analyzed. Marketing and reader information is needed by the publisher and a simple form for securing this information is given. The nature and size of the education and library markets is not fully known by publishers, yet hard data on this topic would be of mutual concern and benefit to each group. How to fund such a study is the unsolved problem.

It is hoped that these summaries and implications of research studies in a few of the fields of reading will have real value to many readers. Insights, answers, and understandings can be found through a systematic study of research findings. Many of the recent studies are reinforcing the findings of the past. At the same time newer problems are being analyzed and answers sought, with more relevant interpretations being given. Much research in this field of reading has been done; much that has been done is meaningful today, but more coordinated and cooperative projects are needed if real insights are to be gained. With coordinated research, it would be hoped that the time lag between finding the answers through research and making use of the findings would be greatly shortened for the benefit of everyone.
Research Related to Children's Interests and to Developmental Values of Reading

HELEN M. ROBINSON
WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF
SAMUEL WEINTRAUB

Both aspects of the topic to be discussed are considered very important by every writer in the field of reading. A great deal of research has been published dealing with children's reading interests, but much of it has been severely criticized, primarily because of the methods of investigation. A limited amount of research has been focused on developmental values. In this area, many researchers have recognized the limitations of techniques for investigation. In general, the topics of children's reading interests and developmental values embrace the affective aspects of reading and are subject to all of the methodological problems recognized in psychological and sociological studies of children.

In the study of reading, terms such as interest are often used differently by various investigators. Such differences frequently lead to confusion and failure in accurate communication. At the outset, then, these terms are defined or described as they are used in the remainder of this paper.

Getzels has defined an interest as "a characteristic disposition, organized through experience, which impels an individual to seek out particular objects, activities, understandings, skills, or goals for attention or acquisition." An interest in reading, therefore, appears to be the disposition which impels an individual to seek opportunities and sources to read. A rigorous application of this definition would eliminate almost all studies reported to date. Consequently, a definition with greater latitude must be adopted. Reading interests of

Helen M. Robinson is Professor Emeritus, Department of Education, University of Chicago; and Samuel Weintraub is Associate Professor, School of Education, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.
children will be considered to be those topics and materials which children actively choose to read.

This "active" choice is in contrast to several alternatives: a positive attitude toward the topic, an individual need or drive, or the value characteristic of the topic.

A value has been described by Kluckhohn, et al. as "a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirables which influences the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action."\(^3\)

Brooks, who did one of the first studies dealing with developmental values of reading, used this description: "The term 'developmental value' is an element in a book which serves as an instrument of communication and supplies vicariously a wealth of experiences that may aid a reader in his choice of modes of behavior. A book has developmental value in so far as it provides stimulus situations for new patterns or as it influences and reinforces desirable valuations and attitudes of the reader."\(^4\) Moreover, the developmental values are related to the developmental tasks of children and youth.

The Brooks's description of developmental values places major emphasis on the attributes of books, which can be determined by content analysis, and secondary emphasis on the possibility of effects on the reader. This dual emphasis is implied by an earlier statement of the same author, set forth in a different way. She said "A developmental value is related to the term 'developmental task' . . ., the former being an attribute of the book, the latter of the reader."\(^5\)

Since another article in this issue deals with content analysis, a survey of the research related to the effects of reading on achieving developmental tasks has been emphasized in this article.

**Reading Interests**

**Methods of Investigation**

Included among the many techniques used to identify children's reading interests have been: various types of forced choice; personal interviews; written logs, diaries, and inventories; records of library books chosen; asking for children's favorites among selections read to them; asking for reasons for choices and/or most interesting episodes or characters; and tabulating each child's favorite story as he recalls it.

The forced-choice techniques have varied from asking children to choose between two alternatives, to choose among several alternatives, or to choose among categories of materials. In addition,
quantitative aspects of interest have been found by asking that a selection be classified as interesting, fairly interesting or uninteresting. In other research reports children have been asked whether they would or would not like to read about a fictitious title or brief summary of such a title. Each of these investigative techniques has distinct limitations in application and in the ways the results can be interpreted.

When children are asked to choose among two, or even several, alternatives, it is possible that those presented are all uninteresting. Thus the results may simply reflect choices among the topics of least interest, which are subsequently reported as ones of most interest. In many research reports it is impossible to determine whether other characteristics of the stories increased or reduced interest. For example, such characteristics as length of the selection, difficulty of the concepts, proportion of conversation or description, and humor or surprise have seldom been considered.

An additional problem in attempting to synthesize the research dealing with children's interests in reading is that different investigators may have defined their interest categories in different ways. For example, in one study domestic animals may be classified as "animals," in another the same story might be under "humor" or "adventure," and in a third, the classification could be "science." Clearly, the element of the story—animals or humor—may account for marked differences in the findings reported. Consequently, the sum of the findings from a review of the research does not yield completely valid conclusions.

Some recent studies have attempted to eliminate some of the earlier technological problems. For example, Ford and Koplyay,6 using a page of action pictures, asked children who could not yet read to choose which picture they would like most or least to hear about. In this study the choice was wider, but one child's interpretation of the pictures may have differed from others. The Q-sort technique7 forces choices but matches each topic with all others permitting a gradation of choices. The major problem with this technique lies in the prechoice of topics by the investigator.

Monson compared two techniques to determine whether there were differences in responses to the same materials.8 Unstructured (writing about the funniest part) was compared with structured (true-false and multiple-choice questions) responses to humor in five excerpts from children's books. Both sex and socio-economic differences were found between the two techniques.
Inventories such as the SRA Junior Inventory and the Kuder Preference Record are examples of ways children and youth are asked to react to a number of topics. Unfortunately the ranges are far from all-inclusive. My Reading Design permits teachers or experimenters to get a quick view of areas in which reading has been done. A limitation in interpreting the design is that what is read depends upon what materials are available and the ease or difficulty of obtaining them.

A thermometer rating scale used by Clarke permitted students to check various positions between “extremely sure not to read” and “extremely sure to read.” Since the study concerned newspaper and magazine reading, 109 topical categories were identified and offered to pupils for rating. Such a rating scale can be constructed to chart individual, small-group, and large-group interests in an area where the breadth of topics can be identified.

A scale to measure sophistication of reading interests in fiction was constructed by Zais. He used synopses of fictitious stories, equated for length, readability, and other variables. After the synopses had been rated as least, moderate, or most sophisticated, they were placed in triads with each one matched against all others at the respective levels of sophistication. From each triad, high school students chose the most interesting synopsis. In this way it was possible to rank the reading interests by topics at each of the three levels of sophistication.

An examination of the techniques just described shows that in all but one the investigator preselected the topics, pictures, stories, or synopses. The single study requiring children to select and write about a part of the story still limited pupils’ responses to the five excerpts presented.

Three research techniques have not required advance structure. First, the Incomplete Sentence Projective Test is one in which pupils must supply their own answers. These sentences may be read orally by the experimenter to children who are unable to read or write their answers, according to Boning and Boning. While this particular projective device provides insight into pupils’ reading interests, it is contaminated by attitudes toward factors only indirectly related to reading.

A second unstructured procedure is diary records of what is read—a technique used much more widely with adults than with children. Wragg had pupils keep diary records for one week, but the length of time can vary. In addition, the time of the year may alter the amount and type of reading done. Nevertheless, the accuracy of the records
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depends upon the cooperation given by the subjects. Moreover, many children and youth do not have access to materials of primary interest to them. Consequently, conclusions reached from studies using this technique may only be that the topics recorded have sufficient interest that pupils say that these topics or materials were read. Library circulation records are subject to similar limitations.

A third unstructured, or partially structured, technique is personal conferences or interviews. This technique is time-consuming and dependent on the skill of the interviewer. Stanchfield used interviews to determine preferences for types of reading materials and to identify characteristics of reading interests. Her discussion of the questions asked and her procedures are vague and not very helpful to those who would replicate her study.

Harris suggested that teachers could talk with individual pupils about favorite games, television programs, aspirations, and adult expectations as a means of learning about their pupils' interests. In addition, he suggested watching daily behavior and choices of activities, and a "hobby club" period during which pupils exchange ideas about favorite activities.

PRESCHOOL AND PRIMARY

Few studies have been reported dealing with the reading interests of very young children. One reason for the limited number is that an unselected population is difficult to secure. Another more important reason for the dearth of studies is the instability of interests, which reduces the reliability of any type of technique. A third reason is that content must be read to children, and some young children do not choose to listen to stories read by a researcher.

It is plausible, but has never been demonstrated, that the beginning of children's reading interests are in the first stories read to them. Simsova described the progress of one child between the ages of 18 and 24 months as his interest in listening to what was read to him increased. The significance of illustrations and pictures was documented in detail. Pictures were unrelated to three-dimensional objects at first; later inaccurate relationships were frequently found, along with recognition of familiar objects. This child preferred large, realistic, colored pictures or photographs with minimal detail and with action. Eventually, the child attributed action to the pictures. At first, each picture was a separate entity and unrelated to the next one in the story. Gradually, the pictures became related and
the child was able to accept, and even prefer, pictures that were not entirely realistic.

The preferences for color and kind of drawing was investigated by Amsden, using children ages three, four, and five. Each of the sixty subjects was individually tested initially and retested a week later. The children were asked to select the preferred picture from pairs. Picture pairs were set up with differing numbers of colors; light to dark shades; and true-to-life, modified realistic, and fanciful drawings. In her study of the stability of choices over a week, the investigator found that 44.4 percent of the choices changed, and 55.6 percent remained the same. No significant differences in choices could be attributed to sex, socio-economic status, reading habits in the home, or alertness or activeness of the child. Illustrations with more colors were generally preferred to those with fewer colors, and light tints and dark shades were chosen over bright saturated colors. Five-year-old children chose realistic drawings in comparison to three-year-olds who preferred the modified realistic types. However, for the entire group, fanciful drawings were preferred significantly over modified realistic ones. The investigator pointed out that definitions of style and type of drawings were over-simplified and could be questioned. However, the design of her study was an improvement over earlier ones.

A comparison of the relative significance of illustrations and story content for kindergarten children was explored by Cappa. Based on responses of 2,500 children whose teachers read stories, then checked the major source of appeal, illustrations ranked first with story content a close second. Information, content, and humor ranked about equal but far below the first two sources.

The consensus is that children younger than age six generally enjoy stories read to them. Mason and Blanton reported that only nine of 180 children from 3 to 5 years of age said that they did not wish to hear a story read. The most popular category of their interests was fairy tales, which included Mother Goose as well as other popular tales. Mason and Blanton used the structured interview method, asking each child if he liked to hear a story, which ones he liked best, and which ones he would read if he could read. Second to fairy tales were animal stories including pets and others, such as penguins and frogs. The third in popularity, television characters, included Batman, Superman and Lassie.

The limited research dealing with preschool pupils' reading
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interests is inconclusive and a fertile field for further study. Although kindergarten children seem to report more reliably than those who are younger, it is quite possible that interests are fleeting and do not stabilize until children can read by themselves. Moreover, it seems that illustrations have as much, or more, appeal than the content. Young children like repetition and ask to hear familiar stories again and again. Whether particular characteristics of stories, such as ease of understanding or the sounds of the words read, have appeal which leads to repeated requests for particular stories is not known. Perhaps in many instances the stories available are sufficiently limited that repetition is a necessity.

Primary-grade pupils' reading interests, prior to the past decade, were generally listed as: animals (real and fanciful), fairy tales, children (of other lands and at home), and nature stories. With the advent of radio and television, stars, planets, and space began to rank high with boys, as well as history and science at an older age. Within the past decade, investigations continue to show a strong interest in animals, make-believe, and some interest in children's activities. Byers tape recorded beginner's sharing periods, assuming that they talked about topics of primary interest. In addition to animals, these children spoke of space and astronomy, weather, and other aspects of science. Second to living things was the category of possessions, while third place went to personal experiences. Family and friends was followed by recreational activities. Marked differences were noted in the frequency of the use of these topics by boys and girls. Poetry was disliked by boys more than by girls.

To determine the elements of poetry liked by primary-grade pupils, Nelson had children choose, from among five poems read to them daily, the one liked best. Poems were read and choices made on three successive days. The poems liked best were characterized by action, a story line, near-nonsense humor, and children's experiences. None of those preferred were mainly descriptive. The poems liked least tended to be "talky" and descriptive. Although classroom groups differed in their choices, boys and girls were quite similar in their preferences.

The responses of 32 third-grade pupils to fifty poems were tabulated by Pittman. Four poems were read to the pupils and each one checked the poems on a four-point scale. Animal poems with a rollicking rhythm were ranked high by most pupils.
Humorous poems and those relating experiences similar to the pupils' own were ranked high. On the other hand, poems that were sentimental, didactic, subtle, or clever were not liked. Girls responded more favorably to poems than did boys.

Earlier, Bradshaw had secured evidence from sixty first-grade pupils to support a preference for humor in poetry. These pupils voted on sixty poems that had been read to them. Unfortunately, all humorous poems except one were about animals which raises a question as to the dominant interest factor. In addition, these pupils liked poetry related to their own experiences.

Factors considered important to children's preferences are socio-economic level, age, and ability to read. Ford and Koplyay reported a comparison of the interests of upper-middle class with Negro urban children. The latter group preferred these topics: Negro heritage, children in the ghetto, history and science, children, fantasy and animals. Yet in the choices of stories taken from basal readers on the city theme versus family-friends-pets, Emans found the latter chosen eighty times to fifty-two of the former among inner-city children.

Age appeared to change the topics of major interest in poetry, according to an early study by Huber. Children in grades one through nine reacted to at least twelve poems. At first grade the dominant interest appeared to be in animals and play. By fourth grade, humor and nonsense had the greatest appeal, and by fifth grade heroes appeared most liked.

Reading achievement may be related to reading interests. In general, retarded readers enjoy the topics of interests to average readers. Nevertheless, according to Geeslin and Wilson, who studied the reading choices of eight-year-old children reading at a level equivalent to ten-to-eleven-year-old pupils, girls chose the books of their age mates. However, a larger, but not significant, proportion of boys preferred titles of books of interest to older pupils.

Examination of the references mentioned so far, as well as many others, shows considerable variation of interests within groups, and often greater variation between groups. With regard to poetry, most preschool and primary pupils appear to consider humorous poems as their first choice; poems about animals tended to be the next most popular; and then poems that carry a story line related to their own experience and with action are frequently liked.

Illustrations are of major significance before children can read
and even in the early school years. Studies of the interests of children in illustrations suggest that several colors have appeal. However, the genuine appeal of illustrations has not been analyzed to offer definitive results.

It is quite possible that ethnic and socio-economic factors influence the interests of young children. Interests appear to change as pupils are older. Less effect can be attributed to reading achievement than to age. Even in the early years there are many individual differences in reading interests. Group studies only suggest the topics which about half of the pupils prefer.

MIDDLE GRADES

Early studies of children in the age range of nine to twelve years by Terman and Washburne revealed that the dominant reading interests were fiction. Moreover, a divergence of reading interests of boys and girls, which began as a tendency in the later primary grades, becomes prominent during these years. Virtually all children read comic books, an interest that peaks in popularity during the middle grades. Furthermore, Rudman found that expressed interests in science, mystery, adventure, and animals did not correspond to pupils' expressed needs. Indeed they frequently turned to sources other than reading, especially for information.

In one recent investigation, Schulte included 6,538 middle-grade pupils from four major geographic areas of the United States. Based on responses to an interest inventory of fictitious titles, girls selected realistic fiction and fanciful tales while boys chose historical fiction, history, science and health. Poetry and social studies titles were selected least often by both groups. Moreover, the investigator found a decrease in the number of interests expressed from grades four to six.

In addition to preferences, Ashley asked for dislikes among forty topics, genres of literature, and specific titles. Mysteries were most popular and reached their peak among fifth-grade girls. Next in order of choice were categories of adventure, ghost stories, comics, and science fiction. Boys disliked love stories and those primarily for girls, while girls disliked stories about war, pirates, and westerns. The greatest number of likes and dislikes appeared at grade five.

Based on individual interviews, Stanchfield found that her sample of boys at fourth, sixth, and eighth grades expressed similar
reading preferences regardless of age or reading achievement. Of the fifty categories, she found distinct interest in "outdoor life," "explorations and expeditions," "sports and games," and "science fiction."

Fifth graders' library choices over a period of five months were recorded by Meisel and Glass.37 No assignments were made in class so the investigators assumed that the books withdrawn were of particular interest to the pupils. The contents of the books were classified into forty-two separate interest areas. Boys showed a strong interest in history, geography, and biography. The first three choices of girls were classified as adventure, humor, and fantasy.

The amount and type of periodical reading in the middle grades was checked by Norvell38 who found that, over thirty years, interest in periodicals had decreased. Nevertheless, the average pupil in 127 classes was acquainted with ten magazines. Boys' choices tended to be more scientific, news, and boy-oriented, while girls preferred magazines written for them. Both sexes had begun to read adult magazines and checked National Geographic as one of their favorites. Life and Reader's Digest were also included. At this age level, the daily newspaper had greater appeal to boys than to girls.

The newspaper reading habits of 564 pupils in the middle grades, studied by Johnson,39 showed no significant sex differences. The numbers of pupils who read newspapers increased from grade four to grade six. In the total group, 24 percent reported that they were regular readers, 6 percent did not read newspapers at all, and 70 percent were irregular readers. Comics were the most popular part of the newspaper, followed by front page, sports, and the television page. The sports page was less popular with girls.

Recent studies have emphasized the reading interests of minority groups. Johns40 used a questionnaire with fifteen forced choices among excerpts from modern realistic books of children's fiction to determine the interests of inner-city pupils. The 597 subjects, which included 515 Negroes, were from large and small cities. Five choices were offered between pairs of illustrations depicting the stark, crowded conditions of the inner-city and the uncrowded, pleasant surroundings in urban and suburban areas. Accompanying each picture was a passage from the trade book describing the setting, which was read to the pupils. These subjects significantly chose stories and illustrations depicting middle-class characters. This finding contrasts with opinions often expressed about inner-city
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children needing familiar illustrations with which they can identify. Another five choices offered by Johns were between a character with a positive and one with a negative self-concept. These subjects preferred characters with positive self-concepts. The last five choices offered were between descriptions of characters in positive and negative group interactions. The former were significantly more frequently chosen.

McNinch explored the reading preferences of both Black and white disadvantaged pupils and in the third, fourth, and fifth grades. He used three pictures relating to each of four topics to learn if there was uniformity of preference over grades and between sexes and races. Each subject chose among the twelve pictures the one he would like most to read about. Choices continued until the last picture represented the least preferred topic. Statistical analysis showed significant differences among preferences. Wild animal stories ranked first, then fairy tales, peer and community relations representing ethnic backgrounds, and finally, general peer and community relations.

Both the reading achievement level of pupils and the readability levels of books have been related to reading interests. In England, Smith and Johnson asked twelve-year-old pupils to take their respective library-withdrawal lists and identify the three they had enjoyed most. The 37 titles read by more than ten pupils and having equally spaced popularity indexes were assessed for difficulty by applying the Flesch Reading Ease Formula. The categories of fiction chosen as most popular were: fantasy, magic and supernatural; animal stories; adventure; mystery and detective stories; family stories; and school stories. A curvilinear component of regression related the reading ease to the popularity of the books.

At sixth grade, Schnayer found that stories rated high in interest were read with greater comprehension than were those rated low in interest. It is possible, therefore, that pupils may read materials that interest them very much even though these materials are more difficult than the pupils' reading test scores suggest as appropriate.

One study of interests in poetry at this level should be noted. Avegno had 1,200 subjects in forty-eight classrooms in the middle grades listen to 250 poems over a period of ten weeks. Each day five poems were read and rated by pupils on a five-point scale. In addition, each pupil wrote his reasons for liking or disliking the poems. The main characteristics listed for poems liked by pupils
were: rhyme, musical tone, animals, everyday experiences, humor, reality, and truthfulness. The most frequently recorded reason for disliking a poem was failure to understand it. Other reasons for disliking poems were: no rhyme, no story, no action, boring, babyish, silly, not true, and repetitious.

The research dealing with reading interests at the middle-grade level shows that children have a greater variety of interests than at the primary-grade level. Pupils read books about a wide range of topics, read comics, and also read magazines and newspapers. Sex differences are generally quite pronounced. Boys tend to prefer adventure and action as well as historical and scientific topics. Girls often enjoy realistic and fanciful stories, mysteries, and humor. Both boys and girls begin to read children's magazines and many favor adult magazines by the sixth grade. The newspaper is read at times by nearly three-fourths of the middle-grade pupils. Poetry is not especially liked by most of these pupils. Nevertheless, when choices are offered, they are able to determine the characteristics which interest them most and least. The few investigations reported suggest that minority groups have interests similar to all other pupils but also may have some unique interests. Finally, at the middle-grade level, it appears that pupils' comprehension is enhanced by a strong interest in what is read.

JUNIOR AND SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL

At this level, studies of the past have shown a continuing trend toward individual differentiation. At the junior high school level, many studies have shown interests in: violence and adventure, love, private life, and glamour; stories with historical background, animals, teen-age and career books, how-to-do-it books, biographies, science and discovery. Choices among boys were adventure, games, school life, mystery, humor, animals and male characters; choices among girls were adventure without grimness, humor, animals, love, home and family life, male and female characters. Moreover, girls read adult fiction earlier than boys, although 90 percent of the reading for both was fiction. Apparently the peak of book reading occurred at grades seven and eight, while magazine and newspaper reading increased thereafter.

In a summary of investigations up to 1956, Smith found that most senior high and junior college students read one or more newspapers regularly for an average of fifteen to thirty minutes per
day. The three favorite sections were the comics, the sports page, and the front page.

More recent studies such as Clarke's,\(^9\) using factor analysis at ninth and eleventh grade, found newspaper interests of boys to be public affairs, science, speed and violence, teen news, and sports. Pugh\(^9\) reported that among thirteen- and fourteen-year-old students in England, 79 percent were reading comics, 74 percent magazines and 94 percent newspapers; 20 percent had read no books or only one in the past month.

In a study of the interests of 134 eighth-grade students, Vaughan\(^50\) asked each one to choose book titles representing twelve categories and to list their top five choices. Boys ranked mystery, science, invention, history and biography, in that order. Least liked were fairy tales, novels, and poetry. In contrast, girls preferred stories of home and school, novels, mystery, fairy tales, and history in that order. Least chosen were nature, adventure, and invention. Some differences were noted between the choices of bright and dull boys. Whereas bright boys chose adventure and invention, science and history, dull boys preferred detective stories, biography and fairy tales.

In the same study Vaughan listed fourteen magazines from which students were asked to make choices. *Sports Illustrated* was ranked high by 52 percent of boys and only 6 percent of girls. A larger proportion of dull than bright boys chose comic books. The same study reported that both boys and girls expressed great interest in the comic section of the newspaper. Boys ranked the sports section second while girls preferred news and stories. Editorials were liked least by all students.

Another study of magazine choices was done at ninth grade by Adams.\(^51\) Responses to a questionnaire asking them to list their favorite magazines yielded: teen-age magazines, comics, true romance, and magazines dealing with mechanics. The author noted that a number of his respondents listed sex and sensational magazines as choices.

An unusual approach to eliciting students' interests was used by Smith and Eno.\(^52\) Each of 510 students in grades seven through twelve was asked to respond to this question, "If you could have an author write a story-to-order for you, what would you have him put in it?" The responses were placed in thirteen categories and tabulated by grade and sex. Action was the choice of boys, with the
largest number of choices at grades ten and eleven. Stories of the sea appeared constantly among boys throughout the levels. There was a decline in requests for sports stories and animal stories with increased grades. At all age levels girls requested stories of romance, mystery, comedy, and about careers.

In a study of 16- to 18-year-old students, Yarlotte and Harpin found that girls preferred romance, historical novels, and seriously themed novels. Boys chose science fiction, and action books such as sports, adventure, crime and war.

Comparisons of reading interests made by Norvell show that young people, even those who are bright, dislike many of the titles considered to be classics by their English teachers, and even more in recent years than in the past. Moreover, English class is liked least compared to mathematics, science and social studies in all grades from four to twelve.

At the junior and senior high school levels, students' interests have expanded to include those of adults. Indeed, the range is so wide among the studies reported, that they defy generalizations. Rough categories for boys, which include many titles, include action, sports, crime and war, historical novels and mystery. Girls' interests lie in books about people and social relationships, romance, humor, and mystery without violence.

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY

A recent and extensive investigation covering four class levels was done in New Zealand by Elley and Tolley. A questionnaire was prepared to investigate leisure activities, the types of materials preferred, the preferences within types, the most popular authors, the best book ever read, the characteristics of a book which pleases children, and related factors. After the questionnaire was pretested and revised, it was given to about 500 children at each of four levels: Standard 2, Standard 4, Form II, and Form IV. Approximately one-third of the boys and one-half of the girls were ranked as frequent readers and reading ranked higher than television viewing. Television viewing time declined with age as reading time increased. Fiction was the first choice of all groups except Standard 2 boys, and its popularity increased with age, while that of comics decreased. Interest in poetry decreased from 15 percent at primary school to 3 percent at secondary level. Concomitantly interests in magazines and newspapers increased markedly.
Research Related to Children's Interests

Fictional interests of young girls were in animal stories, fairy tales, make-believe and humor, but changed to people and their relationships as well as love and romance by Form IV level. Major interests of boys were mystery, detection, action, and excitement. Girls may read boys' novels, but boys say that they do not read girls' books. Nonfictional interests of girls were teen-age living, fashions and beauty, and animals, while boys preferred books about war, camping, hunting and fishing, history and exploration, and outdoor sports.

The study by Elley and Tolley reveals that children in New Zealand have reading interests quite similar to children in the United States. Besides, the changes with age and school levels appear to be consistent with those found in the United States.

INTERESTS IN READING

The competition of other media for the leisure time of children and youth raises the question of interest in reading at different ages, compared to interest in other activities. A number of studies have been made of the television viewing and reading habits of children and youth. An annual report was made by Witty and his associates\(^{58,59}\) from 1949 to 1965. It was based on replies to about 2,000 questionnaires from elementary and secondary students, along with interviews, "logs," and responses from parents and teachers. By 1967, reports showed that the amount of televiewing had increased from an average of twelve hours per week among second-graders to twenty-four hours per week among sixth-graders, then decreased to an average of twelve hours per week in senior high school. Radio listening was reported to average four hours per week in second and third grades, eight hours in grades four to six, ten hours in grades seven and eight, and twelve hours in high school. In contrast, the amount of reading was no more than one hour daily, or one-third of the average time given to television. While 40 percent of the subjects said that television had led them to read certain books, few were recent. The time-honored favorites, except for Disney books, were generally listed. Only about 15 per cent of subjects said that radio had led them to read books and 30 percent stated that movies had stimulated their reading of certain books.

Among the more recent reports was one by Long and Henderson\(^{60}\) who arranged for fifth-grade pupils to keep diary records of the use of their time for two weeks. Boys and girls
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reported the following activities in this order of frequency: sleep, television viewing, free play, organized activities, homework, reading, and chores. About one-third of the subjects reported no reading during the two weeks. Whereas the average time spent viewing television was 15.1 hours per week, the average time spent in reading was 1.5 hours per week, a ratio of more than ten to one. Apparently other interests superseded interest in reading.

According to Desjardins, high school students secured their news firstly from television, secondly from radio, and thirdly from newspapers. The amount of time spent in reading was surpassed, by far, by the time spent viewing television.

Based on the research available, it seems that children and youth use media other than reading far more widely than they use reading. In addition, results suggest that children who read quite inadequately have less interest in reading than do others. For the most part, studies of average and superior readers have shown that children and youth who use one or more media widely also tend to spend more time reading, and it may be assumed that they are interested in reading as well as in other media.

SUMMARY

In her review of the research dealing with children's interests and story preferences, Zimet reported a change in the preferences of young children from the 1920s to the early 1950s. The research during the last decade shows little change. Zimet noted conflict in the findings depending upon the methods of investigation used and the population sample. The same comment is appropriate today. The recent studies have begun to sample different populations, but continue to use self-report procedures of varying types. The evaluation instruments continue to need refinement.

Sex differences in reading interests appear in the early primary grades and become increasingly prominent through the elementary and secondary school. Moreover, individual differences are so marked that group studies are of little value in helping teachers meet the needs of a particular class. Individual interests may be related to many factors, only a few of which have been explored. In addition to age, sex, reading achievement, intelligence, and socio-economic level, other factors needing further study are the amount and type of materials read to children at home and at school, the proximity and availability of materials, and the values placed on reading.
DEVELOPMENTAL VALUES OF READING

Throughout history, reading has been valued, but for differing purposes. Smith found evidence that the contents of children's books has reflected the values of society in the United States since the hornbook was imported from England during the latter part of the seventeenth century. The changing content of children's readers throughout the years add support to the notion that reading was believed to have an important influence on children's developing attitudes and behaviors.

In the first half of this century, the child development movement placed increased emphasis on the personal development of the child, both as an individual and as a member of society. Moreover, schools were increasingly charged with the responsibility of meeting the needs of all children. Getzels explored the schools' role in relation to values and wrote: "Growing up successfully involves the acquisition of a satisfactory set of values to live by and attaining a stable self-identity. This cannot be left to chance or to time alone; it takes some doing on the child's part and on society's part . . . . The child learns, on the one hand, to suppress or to modify certain of his drives. He learns, on the other hand, to acquire certain culturally adaptive attitudes and values. Indeed, one of the functions of the school is to help him do just this." Getzels believes that the basic mechanism for internalizing values is identification. Among the models with which a child might identify were fictional characters. Consequently, when the reading interests of boys during the junior and senior high school years are in stories with vigorous action such as are found in comic books, it is possible that boys are identifying with the leading characters. At least it is possible to hypothesize that reading is serving as a substitute for desires, impulses, and needs which the reader is unable to act out. Similar hypotheses can be stated relative to the interests of adolescent girls in stories of romance.

One of the most widely accepted lists of developmental tasks was proposed by Havighurst. Developmental tasks were considered to be personal and social needs at successive age levels which must be met to help the child become a happy, well-adjusted member of society.

RESEARCH TECHNIQUES

The most common investigative procedure has been content
analysis. Aspects of content most frequently examined are illustrations, themes, settings, characters, and the way the author treats the value he wishes to depict (directly or indirectly). Content analysis of children's readers or books are often done by inspection. More careful studies have relied on a jury of competent persons or have developed an instrument in which greater confidence can be placed.\textsuperscript{68}

The importance of recognizing that the material offers an opportunity to identify with a character or solve a problem cannot be underestimated. Nevertheless, what children themselves learn from a given selection may be an individual matter, depending upon their needs and problems at any given time.

Dependable techniques for determining the effects of reading upon children are not well developed at present. In part the problem lies in the multiplicity of factors that may impinge on behavior or attitude change. The family, school, peers, and other mass media may have a strong or weak impact during a particular experiment. Indeed, pupils may be unaware of their particular needs, or if they are aware, verbalizing needs may or may not be accomplished.

Reading a single selection may have little impact on the child while cumulative effects from reading many selections may have greater impact upon the child. The literature is replete with individual testimony concerning the values of particular books to individuals, either immediately after reading or as recalled by older students and adults. Moreover, in discussions of what has been read, pupils may voice alternative solutions to a problem or mention a change in attitude, but subsequent behavior may be unaffected.

The serious limitations of the research techniques related to values of reading, which are present in other aspects of the sociology of reading, may account for the limited number of studies in this area. Moreover, the values obtained from reading are akin to the effects of reading a particular selection, or the cumulative effects of several selections. Research dealing with the conditions under which adult attitudes are modified by reading has increased markedly in recent years. However, adult studies have been eliminated from the remainder of this report.

One of the early studies of college students has important implications for research techniques. Waples, et al.,\textsuperscript{67} identified five categories for determining the effects of reading. Three of them
have direct implications for this paper: *instrumental*—the use of information to assist in the solution of a personal or practical problem; *reinforcement*—stimulating views already accepted; and *prestige*—identification with a prestige group to increase self-esteem.

Prior to considering the values of reading it is useful to explore some of the developmental tasks which have been considered in research dealing with reading. In general the values have included personal, social, and to a lesser extent, occupational.

The developmental tasks at various age levels were set forth most clearly by Havighurst. McGuire used these tasks to devise developmental values to be found in children's books and then she identified books containing the values she considered useful in helping children to accomplish developmental tasks. Daniel, Donze, and Worley investigated five tasks: (1) dependence-independence, (2) conscience and morality, (3) pattern of affection, (4) psycho-social-sex role, and (5) relating with social groups. These studies are essentially content analyses of various materials. Depending upon the care with which the instruments to identify values were developed and implemented, the studies make different contributions to understanding the values. However, they do not focus on the effects of reading, but only on the values in the materials available for children who read them. Daniels, for example, identified a total of 387 developmental situations in the forty-five basal reader stories that he analyzed. Of these, he found that the majority could be classified as dependence-independence and psycho-social-sex roles. In each study, the investigators have assumed that the reader would identify the same values as reported, and that the reader would be affected by them; otherwise, analysis of content would not be important.

Frequently mentioned and studied is the task of understanding one's self and developing a positive self-concept, both as an individual and as a successful reader. Ten moral and spiritual values were identified by Walker. Seven social values were explored by Chambers. Interpersonal relations as they changed in juvenile trade books was the focus of Homze's study. These three studies dealt with content analysis.

Moral and ethical values in Newbery Medal Award books from 1922 through 1966 were rated on a continuum for intensity by Lowry.
Bibliotherapy is based on the premise that reading is a factor in promoting mental and emotional health, both to solve personal problems and to achieve developmental tasks. The emphasis in this research has been on individual problems of all types, usually of more than expected severity.

RESEARCH

Few people would disagree with "conventional wisdom" concerning the values of reading in changing pupils' attitudes and behavior. Most of the literature includes opinions concerning the effects of reading on children's subsequent behavior. The few investigations available are reviewed in this section of the paper.

Teachers have been asked to recall the effects of their childhood reading. Russell found that the teachers he studied recalled 15 different effects. One of the common effects was identification with characters. Earlier, Lind had found that college students recalled reading as an organizing influence on personality.

A psychoanalytic study of young children and books led Peller to state that a child's daydream can be nurtured by encountering it in stories. As a rule a single scene or a character carries great emotional significance. Such childhood concerns as loss of mother, reversal of roles, and hero tales often have animal counterparts as static characters in stories. Because these tales avoid two major dichotomies of male versus female and young versus old, children can focus on the remainder of the story with safety. Thus the stories read to children or read early by them may have a strong influence on "ideal self" or "ego ideal" of the child and he may live much of his life under the spell of the story.

Worley attempted to determine whether children are aware of developmental task situations in stories and to establish pupils' reactions to them. He asked an adult jury of seven to select situations in two basal readers appropriate to his fifth- and sixth-grade subjects. Twelve stories were identified and presented to 1,500 pupils, each of whom was asked to describe something in the story he liked. The stories were ranked according to their occurrence in subjects' written descriptions and according to the presence of developmental tasks in the materials. A coefficient of correlation between the two ranks at fifth grade was .81; at sixth grade it was .84. The results suggest that middle-grade children describe task situations and are interested in stories in proportion to the tasks present in them.
If attitude toward ethnic groups is considered to be one of the aspects of social adjustment, the study by Fisher78 of the use of reading and discussion to change attitudes is pertinent. He used fifteen fifth-grade classes from different socio-economic levels as subjects. Two classes from each level were assigned to each of three treatments. One group read the six selections about American Indians; a second group read, then carried on discussions; and a third group neither read nor discussed the issues. A constructed attitude scale was administered to all three groups before and after the reading assignments. The attitudes of the two groups that read the selections changed significantly while that of the control group did not; and the reading-and-discussion group changed more than the group that only read the selections. Whether the attitude change was temporary or sustained, and whether the change helped in actual adjustment to this minority group was not established.

To help eighth-grade students overcome their ethnocentric orientations and become sensitive to other cultural groups and their values, Taba79 used fiction plus an open-ended discussion of each story. A diagnosis of the pupils' problems and concerns was made from their diaries and other writings. Books were chosen to reflect the same or similar problems where the context and experiences were different. The discussion included analysis of fictional characters' problems and behavior and a comparison with those of the reader. Special emphasis was placed on the solution of the problem in the selection and alternative solutions. At the end of a year, Taba reported that this technique had extended sensitivity to human values, and that the discussions had affected the life of the peer group. The means of arriving at these conclusions have been questioned, yet there are indications of the developmental values of reading plus discussion.

At the high school level, Mechel80 reported many examples of positive identifications with characters in novels on family life based on vividness of students' memories. However, he reported that identifications were repressed sometimes when the character exhibited "unaccepted" personality traits.

An extensive study was made in 1945 and replicated in 1968 by Lorang.81 Questionnaires were used with 2,308 students in the first study and with 3,216 in the second. She asked students to identify books and magazines that they considered to have had a good or bad effect on them. The number of books mentioned per student
increased 1,400 percent and the number of magazines 288 percent from the first to the second study. The books and magazines listed by students were sent to a panel of adult judges who rated as many as 31 percent unfit for these students to read. Lorang reported a positive correlation between the kind of book and kind of effect. The responses showed that 86 percent said that books had aroused their emotions; 53 percent had tried to imitate a character; and 42 percent did something because they had read about it in a book. After analyzing all of the data, Lorang concluded that a good book or magazine usually had a good effect and that a bad one had a bad effect. This qualitative statement was supported by direct quotations from students.

Squires chose four short stories designed to aid personal development, then studied the responses of fourteen- to sixteen-year-old students. At least two types of student self-involvement were identified although individual differences in responses to the same story were clearly evident. By far the greatest number of the 14,000 responses, however, were classified as interpretation and literary or prescriptive judgments.

Among the expressed developmental concerns of adolescents are problems dealing with physical development, personal appearance, self-confidence, and an acceptable set of values. These concerns have been identified in various studies, including some on reading interests. Rudman, Johnson and Shores, and Shores developed multidimensional models to obtain information on reading interests. In each study, subjects were asked what they read about and what their informational interests were. Rudman found that pupils in grades four through eight wanted to find out about ethics, values, religion, personal problems, and relations with peers. Johnson and Shores used subjects in junior high school while Shores obtained data from a questionnaire submitted to high school students. The subjects in both studies stated that they wanted information about personal and social adjustment, vocational choices, and moral and ethical values. The findings of these three studies revealed marked differences between the stated reading interests and the informational needs of subjects in their sample populations.

Several interpretations of the foregoing findings may be suggested. One possibility is that reading alone is not sufficient for young people to solve the problems they face as they mature. It is also possible that the selections students can locate do not answer
their questions adequately. Perhaps the tasks that students face are so demanding that they need abundant sources of information about possible solutions. Perhaps reading must be supplemented by other forms of communication when problems of vital concern to young people are encountered. A major research problem is to determine which of the foregoing hypotheses account for the differences expressed by students between what they claim as their interests and as their needs for information.

Bibliotherapy, according to Ciancio, requires at least three steps: identification, catharsis, and insight. These steps are not accomplished by just reading a good book. Instead, the teacher or therapist must guide discussion to be sure that the reader understands the characters and their behavior, to help the reader see consequences of behavior, and to assist the reader in seeing and choosing among alternatives. She gathered data through the use of focused interviews, story projective techniques, and by using sociometric techniques. She found that books alone did not effect change but they might contribute to change. Moreover, she discovered that different socio-economic and cultural groups responded to different values in selections. Finally, she concluded that responses depended upon current needs of the child which effected his receptivity.

In the classroom, Bone found bibliotherapy had few immediate effects. He felt that it was worthwhile only when topics chosen were appropriate to all children or when personal attention could be given to a particular child's unique problems. He pointed out that changes in behavior often did not occur immediately, but that latent changes could result from bibliotherapy.

Matters used individual and group bibliotherapy, written compositions, a problem box, sociometric devices, books written by pupils, and the Bloomer Identification Figure Test. The subjects were members of a sixth-grade class in which books were used to help pupils face and solve problems as they arose between January and June of a school year. Another sixth-grade class served as a control group. The problems children had were reported to revolve around developmental tasks and basic needs. Children's oral and written statements about the books they had read and written and the Bloomer test supported the hypothesis that bibliotherapy had been effective. However, no changes were found on the California Test of Personality. The conclusion was reached that books with high
interest helped children most. Among the problems identified were those with classmates, which the author expected this class to handle better because of vicarious experiences in books.

**Summary**

Research dealing with developmental values of reading is sparse. The studies reported here are only marginally related to the central effects of reading. Teachers and librarians continue to operate on the logic and conventional wisdom of these values of reading, but empirical evidence neither supports nor refutes the basic values. Valiant attempts are being made to develop techniques which will permit some valid conclusions, but to date results are far from comprehensive or conclusive.

One promising approach to determining whether the values children see in a given selection match those seen by experienced adults and by the authors was reported by Carmichael.88 Although only eight fifth- and sixth-grade pupils and four experts in children's literature were used for four social values, it would be possible to apply the technique more widely. The innovation in technique was translation of adult value statements into language understandable to the children, after which the tentative agreements became remarkably high.

If the pupils' perceptions of values in selections can be assured, techniques must be devised to determine not only changes in children's stated attitudes, but behavioral changes which follow reading. Otherwise the true effects of literature on the developing child may continue to be based on speculation.

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Research Related to Children's Interests


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Research Related to Children's Interests

Content Analysis of Children's Books

TEKLA K. BEKKEDAL

ADULTS who read widely in children's books cannot escape noticing differences between books published in recent years and those published thirty years ago. This is no less true for realistic fiction than it is for informational books, picture books, or other types of writing for children. As one journalist said in a recent magazine section of the Milwaukee Journal:

Different world, different children, different books . . .
But once the shock of seeing "hell" wears off; once the death of the main character on the final page no longer surprises; when open-ended endings become commonplace, you come to the inevitable conclusion: The Goody Two-Shoes Twins aren't dead after all. They're alive and well and growing up in the ghetto. It's the same old moralistic pill in a new candy coating.¹

A thought-provoking description, to be sure, but the judicious reader cannot help but wonder about its accuracy. Is the reader to assume that this description is representative of a substantial proportion of contemporary children's books or of a few books selected by the writer for any number of reasons?

Statements about changing content are commonplace in recent professional literature about books for children and are also found with some frequency in newspapers and other widely circulated publications. The 1940s have been frequently described as the beginning of a new era in children's literature; this new era has been characterized by increased realism in writing children's literature. For example, Viguers notes the obvious inclusion of social mores and economic trends in fictional stories, a growing number of realistic and accurate stories about children with physical handicaps, and many regional stories with authentic backgrounds. She also mentions the inclusion in children's books of contemporary subjects such as the

¹Tekla K. Bekkedal is Associate Professor, Department of Library Science and Media Education, University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire.
immigration from Puerto Rico to large mainland cities, civil rights legislation, school integration, and nonviolent demonstrations.²

Smith points out the emphasis on depicting ordinary children in their own homes in varying cultures within our country or elsewhere in the world.³ Pellowski also notes this emphasis on ordinary children and in addition points out an increase in the number of books about minority groups, especially the Negro.⁴

**Content Analysis as a Tool**

Content analysis offers a sound approach to research on children's books because it is an objective, systematic, and quantitative method of describing content.⁵ The investigator can move away from subjective opinions based on recollections of individual titles to an objective description of the contents of a systematically selected group of books.

Only a limited amount of research has been done on content in children's books. A recent bibliography prepared by Lukenbill listing doctoral dissertations in both children's literature and literature for adolescents done during the last forty years indicated that the bulk of the research in this area is recent and relatively limited in scope.⁶ Studies in the specific area of content analysis are even fewer in number, and results of research in the content of children's books are inconclusive and limited. However, content analysis has provided interested adults with concrete information about various aspects of content in children's books, and there are indications that recent and ongoing research will provide information about an increasing variety of subjects.

This article will briefly review the pertinent research which indicates the direction being taken in content analysis of children's books. Studies which deal with content only incidentally or with books other than trade books will not be included. The majority of the content studies can be grouped into one of three subject areas: studies of human relationships depicted in books, studies on values and cultural content incorporated into books, and studies concerned with the portrayal of specific racial and ethnic groups in books. The few studies which do not fit into one of these groups will be described separately.

**Studies of Human Relationships**

Studies on the relationships of people as described in children's
books are few in number. Three of them are concerned with realistic fiction, one with picture books, and another with books frequently chosen by children for their recreational reading.

Green did an analysis of American family life as described in contemporary realistic fiction. The twenty-seven books used for detailed analysis were chosen from recommended titles on widely accepted book lists and in reviewing journals. All of the books were primarily family stories with an American setting. Green looked at settings, members of the family, family activities, and family situations and problems. The family described most frequently in these books was the immediate family unit, parents and children, with the mother a full-time homemaker. Most of the books were set in rural areas or small towns, with a few examples of life in a modern city or suburb.

Shepard analyzed the treatment of characters portrayed in books and limited his study to sixteen books described by adults as being frequently chosen by readers in the middle and upper elementary grades. Characters were described by six categories such as race, nationality, and socio-economic status; each category was divided into positive and negative traits. Shepard’s findings were not unexpected. He concluded: “And what are the characters like in these books? In summary, heroes and heroines strongly tend to be clean, white, healthy, handsome, Protestant Christian, middle-class people. Villains much more often turn out to be ugly, physically undesirable persons of non-Caucasian races, often either very poor or of the wealthy classes.”

Homze assessed the relationship between adults and children and child-to-child relationships described in books and also looked at background information such as number and sex of child characters, family units, occupations of adults, socio-economic status of characters, and ethnic identification of characters. Her study was based on a sample of seventy-eight realistic fiction books with United States settings listed in selected volumes of Book Review Digest from 1920 to 1960. The final sample included the books judged by three experts to be the best examples of believable behavior. Homze found that the books analyzed described a child’s world where children direct their own activities, a world predominantly populated by white, middle-class Americans. She also noted increased mobility of characters and a trend from rural locations to urban locations as well as a trend toward smaller families.
Like Homze, Ziegler studied interpersonal behavior of characters in children's books and background information such as age and sex of characters, ethnic group, socio-economic status, and occupation of adult characters. However, Ziegler concentrated exclusively on books of realistic fiction which contained at least one physically handicapped child or adult character. The final sample consisted of forty-seven books published from 1940 to 1969. Among other things, Ziegler found that children's books about the physically handicapped are increasingly diverse in type of handicap depicted. Books analyzed also include more honest criticism by other children of the handicapped child's behavior and appear to mirror a more realistic life situation. Ziegler, like Homze, found a stress on the immediate family and a change from rural to small town settings.

Bildman analyzed picture-storybooks and based her study on fifty titles from recommended book lists plus fifty titles randomly selected from the shelves of public libraries in suburban New York. All books used presented a main theme of child-adult relationships and were published between 1950 and 1970. Three areas of concern were studied: the image of the six-through-nine-year-old child, the interaction between children and adults, and the effect of environment on interaction. What emerges from an analysis of these books is a positive picture of the obedient, lovable, intelligent, creative child in harmony with his parents. He is more often from a middle-class, white, unbroken family and also more often a boy. The adults are most frequently pictured in a child-rearing role. The environment pictured in the books is diversified, and the lifestyle of the characters is closely related to the particular environment described.

STUDIES ON VALUES AND CULTURAL CONTENT

Several studies have been done on the treatment of values in children's books and the cultural content incorporated into books. In most cases, data were collected and interpreted in relation to a particular educational philosophy or a particular curriculum and, therefore, are not attempts to assess the total content of the books. However, they do illustrate an application of content analysis to children's books and give the reader an in-depth look at content.

The earliest of the studies is a landmark in the field. Martin's study of nationalism in children's books is, to the author's knowledge, the first intensive study of the content of children's
Content Analysis of Children's Books

books done in this country.\textsuperscript{13} It can best be described as an intensive study of twenty-four books chosen through the application of highly selective criteria such as the number of languages into which the book was translated. Martin's purpose was to "analyze the symbols of nationalism as they appear in twenty-four selected titles and to relate the frequency of the presentation of these symbols to their popularity among children of seventeen national groups."\textsuperscript{14} Martin found that nationalistic emphasis was the factor most positively related to popularity, hostile attitudes made a book unpopular in the nation criticized, and the presence and frequency of dialect in a book were positively related to its unpopularity outside the country of origin. She also concluded that the home or family story tended to be more nationalistic than the other types studied.

Another early study was Jacobs's study of democratic acculturation embedded in American historical fiction for children written during the first half of the twentieth century.\textsuperscript{15} In this study, analysis of the content played a secondary role to the investigation of democratic acculturation evidenced in the data and analyzed in terms of the philosophy of experimentalism. Jacobs used a sample of thirty-nine titles drawn from recommended book selection aids plus two then-recent Newbery Medal Award books. Jacobs analyzed three different aspects of each book: historical setting, material culture, and nonmaterial culture. In examining background data, Jacobs found an emphasis on northern locales, primarily rural and small town settings. The family portrayed was most frequently white, middle class, and rather small, with the father as the chief breadwinner.

Chambers also studied the social values treated in books.\textsuperscript{16} He analyzed a limited sample of twenty-nine books—the juvenile fiction titles for ages five through nine published by two publishers, Viking Press and Harcourt, Brace and World, in 1963-64. His purpose was to collect evidence of the presence of content in books which may influence the development of children's social values. Chambers used seven values described by experts in the field of child growth and development and child psychology as a basis for his analysis. He concluded that, on the whole, social values identified as important by experts were treated in a uniformly weak manner in the books analyzed. He also found that there was little opportunity to explore and accept either racial or religious differences in these books, friendships described were most often between middle-class
Caucasian children, and the books were set in middle-class neighborhoods in “Anywhere USA.” In addition, very few family members beyond the immediate family were introduced into these books.

Lowry and Chambers did a related study on the presence of American middle-class moral and ethical values in Newbery Medal Award books. They analyzed winners from 1922 to 1965 for the presence of fifteen values derived from an examination of the writings of ten experts in the fields of education and sociology. Values tabulated included such concepts as sexual morality, good manners, and justice and equality. The data collected in this study, like that of Chambers’s earlier study, led the researchers to conclude that these values were treated positively but in moderate measure in the books analyzed.

Bard’s study was essentially curriculum-oriented, but he did analyze content to ascertain whether selected social studies themes were treated in the books. His sample consisted of twelve books randomly selected from a list of Newbery Medal Award winners and honor books for the years 1960-70. The list of themes included such concepts as natural conservation, communications, and interdependence. Bard found that some of the themes were illustrated in all of the books analyzed, and all of the themes were illustrated in some of the books. The themes most frequently illustrated in the books were human conservation, change, interdependence, self-realization, and social environment.

Greenlaw also did a curriculum-oriented study. She considered the use of literature to help children develop critical thinking and analyzed the content of science fiction books for children to ascertain whether it actually reflected the impact of technology on human values. The sample of 133 books consisted of all available science fiction titles written by fifteen selected authors for children ages nine to fifteen and published from 1945 to 1970. The authors were randomly selected from science fiction writers listed in two book selection aids: Elementary School Library Collection and Best Books for Children.

Greenlaw analyzed the books for both theme and content. The data collected indicated that children’s science fiction books did include aspects of values such as privacy and individualism and also problems related to modern technology such as nuclear power and could be a useful resource in teaching social studies, history, and science.
Carmichael, like Chambers, investigated the treatment of selected social values and corresponding value themes in children's books. Specifically, she analyzed the treatment of four values: justice, work, obedience, and knowledge. The sample of 126 books was chosen from selected issues of two annual lists, *Notable Children's Books* (American Library Association) and *Outstanding Children's Books of the Year* (*New York Times*), from 1949 to 1969. One of the four themes was a major theme in fifty of the books analyzed, and 94 percent of the books mentioned at least one of the four themes. The theme most emphasized in these books was the acceptance of responsibility, and the least emphasized theme was the belief in equal opportunity for all people.

One recent study differed from all its predecessors in focusing on the treatment of specific social institutions rather than social values. Noble investigated the treatment of the family, the church, and the school in American realistic fiction for children. She analyzed a sample of 125 books randomly picked from selected recommended book lists. Data were collected in four categories: the importance of family and family structure, the importance of religion and religious education, the importance of education, and the development of personal responsibility. As observed in so many of the previous studies, the family most frequently described in these books was a middle-class, white family. The attitude toward the family was primarily positive, although Noble found a strongly negative attitude toward stepfamilies and stepparents. Very little information about religion and religious activities was included in these titles. The school and education were mentioned in three-fourths of the books, and the treatment was predominantly negative. Both school and teacher were stereotyped, and modern educational methods were seldom described. The child characters in these books were responsible to an overwhelming degree, with only one example found of nonresponsible behavior.

Chant's research represents another departure from the pattern of previous studies. She confined her study of social-personal values to a sample of mass-produced fiction books for children, trade books costing $1.00 or less. The final sample consisted of in-print books on the lists of Follett, Golden Press, Rand McNally, Whitman, and Wonder publishing companies which were shelved in the Library of Congress and totaled sixty-five titles. Ten social-personal values such as ambition, compassion, cooperation,
individuality, and honesty were chosen for analysis. The most frequently illustrated value in these books was cooperation, and the two values least frequently reflected were selflessness and honesty. Chant concluded that, with the exception of cooperation, these books were limited in the presentation of values. However, she did find that the values which were presented were treated in a realistic fashion in a majority of the books analyzed.

**STUDIES ON RACIAL AND ETHNIC GROUPS**

A number of studies have been done on the treatment of various racial and ethnic groups in children's books, mostly within the last ten years. Many of them could better be described as descriptive bibliographies than content analyses.23 The studies described here are those which make detailed examinations of the contents of the books studied and are considered, by the author, as most pertinent to this paper.24

Five studies dealt with a single racial or ethnic group. Dober investigated the social life and customs of Southern Appalachia as described in children's books.25 She discussed various aspects of Southern Appalachia, such as its history, economic conditions, and people, and then analyzed the books in terms of these descriptions. Books were analyzed by categories such as setting, home conditions, farm situations, education, and culture. The limited sample consisted of thirteen books with Southern Appalachian settings listed in nine recommended book selection aids. Dober concluded that the authors of these books tended to represent more backward and least typical situations in describing material and economic conditions in Southern Appalachia.

Napier studied the treatment of the North American Indian character in a selected group of children's books.26 She chose her sample of twenty titles from a group of forty-seven highly recommended books. The books, all by American authors, included both fiction and biography and were not limited in time. The categories used were physical description, use of language, and status. Thirty-five characters representing fifteen different tribes were analyzed. The data collected indicated that the portrayal of North American Indian characters in these books was positive and favorable, and no traditional stereotypes of Indians were found. The characters in the books analyzed were physically attractive, had fluent and grammatical speech, and had acceptable status. However,
the Indian was seldom portrayed in contemporary settings.

Investigations of the treatment of black characters in children's books formed the basis for three of these studies. Carlson compared the treatment in two periods, 1929-38 and 1959-68. 27 She based her study on a preliminary sample of 545 available titles out of a possible 703 published during these periods by three major publishers of juvenile trade books: Thomas Y. Crowell; Harper & Row; and Holt, Rinehart and Winston. The sample was limited to prose fiction recommended for grades kindergarten through six. Only fifty-six titles were used for the detailed analysis since they were the only titles out of the 545 which presented Negro characters with sufficient information for analysis.

Carlson developed a four-level treatment scale to measure the treatment of Negroes in the content analyzed: caricature, stereotype, individual with a race problem, and individual with a human problem. She found no trend toward including more Negro characters but found less racial stereotyping in the later period. Carlson also noted a trend toward more frequent portrayals of Negroes as main or major characters in the later period as opposed to their portrayal as background characters in the early period.

Bingham also studied the Negro and investigated the treatment of Negroes in picture books by analyzing the content of illustrations rather than text. 28 Her sample consisted of picture books containing illustrations of one or more Negro characters which were listed in various editions of Children's Catalog, Elementary School Library Collection, and seven other recommended titles. She limited her sample by taking only contemporary realistic fiction recommended for ages three through eight and published between 1930 and 1968 in the United States. The final list consisted of forty-one books which contained 1,067 illustrations, 867 of them picturing Negroes. Bingham analyzed the illustrations in terms of physical characteristics of the people, environments pictured, roles of Negro adults, and interaction of characters. She compared her findings for four time periods. No striking differences were found in these four periods, although the amount of physical interaction among a variety of characters did increase over the time span.

The third study of Black characters focused on the daily activities of the children as portrayed in books. Fisher investigated the image of Black American children in contemporary realistic fiction with an American setting. 29 The sample of forty books consisted of titles

October, 1973 [117]
listed in one of four sources, three current bibliographies of books about Black Americans and the James Weldon Johnson Collection in Countee Cullen Library in New York City. Content was analyzed in terms of six main categories such as home and family life, school experiences, and emotional lives. Fisher found a wide variety of homes portrayed, with location in all parts of the United States (one-fourth of them in New York City) and in all kinds of neighborhoods from slums to middle-class suburbs. The value of education was stressed in these books; and the main characters were frequently concerned with career plans, personal development, and reactions to situations unique to Black children.

Broderick's just published book, based on her research on the image of Blacks in children's books, should supply additional information to enlarge our current knowledge of how this group of people has been portrayed in stories for children.30

The other studies on racial and ethnic groups investigated the treatment of two or more minority groups in children's books. Kahn analyzed the treatment of four groups: North American Indians, Jewish-Americans, Mexican-Americans, and Chinese-Americans.31 She picked groups which she felt represented a combination of racial, ethnic, and/or religious prejudices. The sample consisted of books with U.S. settings listed in Publishers Weekly and Children's Catalog which were published in 1948 and aimed at readers in kindergarten through tenth grade. A total of eighty-two books containing references to these minority groups was chosen for analysis. Kahn considered cultural values, physical descriptions, occupations, attitudes of characters toward each other, role of minority group characters, author's viewpoint, and acceptance of minority group. She found that the treatment of minority groups in the books analyzed was chiefly one of omission. When such characters were included, they were frequently not fully developed.

Gast investigated the treatment in children's fiction of five groups: North American Indians, Chinese, Japanese, Negroes, and Spanish-Americans.32 He based his sample on all the fiction titles about these minority groups listed in Children's Catalog and four recommended book lists published by the ALA. All books included in the final sample of forty-two titles had contemporary U.S. settings and were first published between 1945 and 1962.

Gast used two approaches. He first analyzed major and minor
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characters according to seven characteristics such as physical traits, status position, and social origin. He then examined each story as a whole to ascertain the explicit and implicit concepts contained in it. Gast found that the books did contain stereotypes but not the traditional ones. Instead he found the stereotypes to be complimentary and positive emphasizing dominant middle-class values. There were occupational stereotypes for all the groups except the Negro. On the whole, Gast found that the books analyzed dignified the differences in race, beliefs, and customs and emphasized the similarities between majority and minority Americans.

Böger analyzed the content of a selected group of children's books on Negroes and Japanese. His sample was the books listed under Negroes and under Japan in the Children's Catalog (1941-1965) which were classified as fiction or "easy" and designated for grades kindergarten through four. After elimination of all books without main child characters, the final list totaled sixteen. Böger concerned himself primarily with a discussion of various modes of thought employed by children and the development of a system of coding "thought-units" of the child characters. He used four categories: symbolic, empirical, ethical, and synoptic thought. Böger concluded that books on Japan contained a proportionately greater number of ethical and synoptic thought-units than books on Negroes and that most of the books analyzed showed a low potential for the development of diverse modes of thought in children.

Elkins's study on minorities had a slightly different slant. She termed minorities as all groups other than native-born white Americans in the United States whose parents were also native-born. Elkins classified her groups as Anglo-Saxon-Nordic, Other White, American Indian, Negro, and Other Non-White. She selected for analysis all the Newbery and Caldecott winners which were not general history and which had one or more human characters, and her final list consisted of forty-four Newbery books and twenty Caldecott books. Elkins classified each character according to ethnic group, social class, moral position, and stereotype. She concluded that native-born Americans were not unduly favored in these books and that all minority groups except Negroes were well represented. Elkins also found that lower-class people were greatly underrepresented in these books and that the majority of the characters were described as middle-class.
OTHER STUDIES

Three recent studies deal with aspects of content other than those described above. Bernstein analyzed the treatment of a particular childhood experience, the primary school experience, in books for the young child from three to seven years of age. Her sample consisted of ninety-eight stories with school settings written between 1935 and 1970. The content was analyzed in terms of ten major categories such as the child’s initial school experience, curriculum, instructional methods, rules and regulations, and school personnel. While the settings in these stories tended to be modern, Bernstein found the prevalent image to be that of the traditional neighborhood school with the traditional grade structure, the emphasis on reading, writing, and arithmetic, and group instruction. The image of the teacher was basically positive as were the images of other school personnel. All but six of the teachers portrayed were female. The attitudes of the students were most frequently highly positive, and the teacher’s approach to classroom behavior was primarily that of guidance. Bernstein noted an increase in the inclusion of non-white children in the school stories published after 1960.

Although Blatt’s study is only partially devoted to content analysis, it offers an in-depth look at a subject being discussed in current professional literature; it is included here because it contains information not available elsewhere. Blatt analyzed the treatment of violence in historical and modern realistic fiction and used as her sample the books of realistic fiction selected as Notable Children’s Books by the ALA between 1960 and 1970. The analysis was concerned with the total space devoted to violence, the details and intensity of descriptions of violence, the characters involved in the violence, the kinds of violent deeds, the relationship of participants in violent actions, and the judgmental expression about the violence contained in the books. The investigator also studied the reactions of children to the reading of violent episodes from these books.

Concerning content, Blatt concluded that there was no substantial increase in violence in the books over the ten-year period. Among other findings were: historical fiction, on the average, was two times as violent as modern realistic fiction; books published in the United States and the British Commonwealth countries contained approximately the same amount of violence; and the great majority of value judgments about violent acts were against such behavior.
Content Analysis of Children's Books

This author's doctoral research was designed to analyze the contents of a representative sample of contemporary realistic fiction for children published in the United States since World War II. As indicated above, the professional literature has repeatedly mentioned a trend toward more realism or a new realism in children's stories. This study sought to determine whether this assumed trend is discernible in the mass of books published or only in books memorable for their content and/or literary quality. Content analysis of children's books has concentrated chiefly on titles appearing on one or more recommended book lists. The samples in seventeen of the twenty-five studies described above were drawn from lists of children's books in recommended selection aids and/or from suggestions and recommendations by experts in the field. Three were based on the output of selected publishers, two on combinations of recommended titles with either publishers' output or a random sample from library shelves, and two on lists of books on specific subjects. One (Martin) was based on a set of special and highly selective criteria.

In an effort to analyze a cross section of the mass of children's books published in the United States, the author compiled a preliminary list of the books of contemporary realistic fiction for children listed in six volumes of Book Review Digest published at five-year intervals, beginning with the 1940 volume. There was no screening of books by subject or theme. The final sample of 180 titles consisted of thirty titles randomly selected from each of the six years studied. It is recognized that only a portion of the children's books published are listed in Book Review Digest. This study, like Chant's, was regarded as a preliminary effort to widen the base of materials used in analyzing the content of books available to children.

The analysis focused on background material contained in the books, rather than on one specific aspect, such as social values or relationships between adults and children. Four aspects of content were studied: physical settings, group membership of the characters, structure of the main character's family unit, and selected literary characteristics. Data were collected and analyzed in terms of twenty-four categories such as racial and/or ethnic identification of the main character(s), number and sex of children in the family, occupation of the father and/or mother, and primary and secondary theme of the story. The data were compared with statistical sources.
(primarily census data), wherever possible, to ascertain how closely the society pictured in the books matched actual contemporary society.

It would appear that, on the whole, the books in this sample are a realistic representation of the majority of American families. What is missing is adequate representation of all those people who differ from the majority in some way—the child whose parents are divorced, the American Indian child, the lower-class family, the family with strong ethnic ties, the child whose family moves frequently, to name but a few. The trends toward increased realism in books in this sample appear to be either in those areas where changes are obvious accepted or where needs have been articulated. Subjects which could be considered controversial were, by and large, avoided.

THE NEED FOR CONTINUED RESEARCH

All of these studies have contributed valuable information on the content of children's books, and they provide a basis for further research. There is a need for more information on the content of children's books and on trends toward change in this content. Recent professional literature has discussed the great changes which have taken place in children's books since the mid-1960s. Systematic analysis of representative samples of books is needed in order to judge the validity of such conclusions.

For example, the overall impression given by the studies discussed here is that the dominant picture portrayed in the children's books analyzed is that of middle-class, white American society. Is there a substantial trend, as some writers indicate, toward children's books which portray a more heterogeneous society? Or is Cornelius correct when he points out the continuing lack of books for the Black child which give him an honest picture of the Black man's experience in America? And how accurate is the representation of all the other racial and ethnic groups in our society? Systematic content analysis can begin to provide a valid answer to the question.

Because of the present interest in the women's liberation movement, there is a need for a group of studies in the area of the portrayal of male and female characters in books. Articles in the current professional literature on the issue of sexism in children's books point up the genuine need for informative articles based on careful research. The differing roles of boys and girls as portrayed
in books, the proportion of male to female characters, and the differing roles of mothers and fathers in the stories are only a few of the topics which need careful investigation. Beyond this collection of data, there is a need for thoughtful investigation of the question of the portrayal of men and women in children's books. Some criticisms of the portrayal of female characters have, for example, used stories drawn from traditional folk literature as samples of sexist literature without considering the cultures in which the stories developed. Content analysis in this area should focus not only on the identification of differing sex roles and the proportion of male and female characters but also on the cultural background in which the characters are portrayed. Such analysis could perhaps serve as the basis for developing criteria for evaluation of books which would take into account the different interpretations of sex roles held by diverse cultural groups.

Also, studies should be made which investigate one or a few related variables in greater depth. For example, a study might concentrate on the occupations presented in children's books using a sample drawn from biography and historical realistic fiction as well as contemporary realistic fiction. Another study might well focus on the portrayal of urban life in children's books of all types.

The need for analysis of content in terms of settings, composition of families, occupations, and the like has not diminished. However, her own research led the author to see the necessity of going beyond identifying characters and situations if the content of children's literature is to be explored in depth. The varying ways in which the same subject was treated in different books in the sample with which the author worked suggested that the manner in which a particular subject is handled in books may be a fruitful area for study. For example, although the subject received only limited attention in the sample, the ways in which a few authors handled the subject of war presented some interesting contrasts. One or two of the earlier books could best be described as blatant propaganda filled with racist remarks about the enemy and emphasizing the glory of battle. On the other hand, later books emphasized the misery of war and its devastating effect upon individual families. It would be useful to compare these changes with expressions of contemporary public opinion.

Little has been done to explore such changes in the treatment of social problems in children's books, and research along this line
could add to an understanding of changes in content. In order to more accurately assess the representation of racial minorities in books, for instance, it would be helpful to know not only if the proportion of characters representing such minorities increased but also how the descriptions of them changed. It would be useful to select any of the numerous social issues of contemporary concern and make an intensive study of how often and in what way the problem is treated in both historical and contemporary realistic fiction.

These suggestions are only a beginning, and the list of possible subjects for content analysis of children's books is both long and varied. Much remains to be done. If children do gain ideas and impressions about the world around them from the books they read, as is generally believed, it is surely important for adults to know what kind of world the books portray. Content analysis can help to provide a more comprehensive view of the contemporary world as it is pictured in children's books.

References

9. Ibid., p. 672.
Department of Elementary Education, Pennsylvania State University, 1963.


23. For a listing of such studies, see Pellowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 401-84, *passim*.

24. The ethnic and/or racial designations used by each investigator will be employed in the description of his research.


ADDITIONAL REFERENCES


What do we mean by the Revolution? The War? That was no part of the Revolution; it was only an effect and consequence of it. The Revolution was in the minds of the people, and this was effected, from 1760 to 1775, in the course of fifteen years before a drop of blood was shed at Lexington. The records of thirteen legislatures, the pamphlets, newspapers in all the colonies, ought to be consulted during the period to ascertain the steps by which the public opinion was enlightened and informed concerning the authority of Parliament over the colonies.

John Adams to Thomas Jefferson, 1815

The nature of the research endeavor directed at discovering "what reading does to people" is interdisciplinary. Educators, sociologists, journalists, political scientists, book publishers, librarians, historians and many others have shown an intense interest in the process by which reading influences human behavior.\(^2\)

And yet, despite the number of people involved in the pursuit of reading's impact on human behavior, the results of the search have proven contradictory and confusing. After the appearance of literally thousands of books and articles dealing with this subject, we still find a debate raging over such basic questions as: "How do people read?"; "Does reading affect behavior, and if so, how?"; "Can human behavior be effectively manipulated by means of the printed word, and if so, how?"
reading is thus faced with a confusing, and frequently misleading, body of research findings which contribute little, if anything, to the development of a theory of communication which will explain the impact of reading on human behavior. As a result, most scholars concerned with this matter are generally forced to begin their work from the "bottom up," so to speak. That is, they must arrive at their hypotheses inductively and then proceed to investigate them empirically in what is generally a very limited fashion.

This process seems circular and leads further and further into a morass of findings which in time will frustrate even the most determined scholar. My awareness of the shortcomings of the present approach to this problem, and my conviction that it is impossible to exaggerate the significance of research on the impact of print on human behavior, has led me to take a somewhat different approach to the question.

For eight years, I have been involved in a long-range research project designed to do the following things: (1) assess the availability of books in the Ohio Valley prior to 1860; (2) assess the nature and extent of book ownership in the Ohio Valley prior to 1860; (3) assess the impact of the printed word on major social and political movements, such as anti-Catholic and antislavery, in the Ohio Valley prior to 1860; and (4) to prepare case studies which, taken together, may contribute to the construction of a model demonstrating the impact of reading on human behavior in the past. Hopefully, this model will generate hypotheses and suggest methods which will prove useful to those investigating the influence of reading on contemporary social and political behavior.

This type of investigation is extremely complicated and time consuming. I would like to report now that I had completed my work and that this article is a summary of my findings. Unfortunately that is not the case, for I am still deeply involved in phases one and two of the project.

However, over the past several years I have made rather extensive explorations of the ways in which other historians have attempted to deal with the question of the impact of print, and this is what my article attempts to cover.

It is increasingly fashionable among historians to label one's predecessors in some way or another. That is, nearly every period of American history has been treated by Whig historians, progressive historians, concensus historians, and new left historians, among
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others. These categories are of little use in dealing with the impact of print, because there appears to be considerable agreement relative to the impact of print upon human behavior. Nearly all historians appear committed to the position that the printed media are extremely influential forces for molding and directing public opinion.

In fact, there appear to be only two basic schools of thought among historians when it comes to assessing the impact of print on human behavior. One group, which we might term the propaganda school, argues that ideas transmitted by means of the printed page are powerful tools in the hands of a skillful and devious minority intent on forming and manipulating public opinion. To those who subscribe to this view, ideas in print become mighty engines indeed; but engines which are always mastered and adroitly directed by clever men.

The second camp, which might be called the idea school, is made up of those who argue that behavior is motivated by deeply held, but dimly perceived, ideas and beliefs. While the printed word can stimulate and provoke, it cannot force men to behave in ways contrary to their most cherished beliefs. In short, men become more the victims than manipulators of ideas.

In the following pages we will attempt to illustrate the ways historians have investigated the impact of print in the past, and discuss in more detail the conclusions they have drawn as a result of their research. To discuss the historical approach to this problem in relation to the 350 years of U.S. recorded past would take a book or a number of books and would prove redundant in the extreme. Thus, I have chosen to treat here the historians' assessment of the influence of print on perhaps the most studied epoch in American history: the coming of the American Revolution, 1763-1776.

As pointed out earlier, historians are split into two rather distinct groups when it comes to the impact of print on social and political behavior. One group, represented most formidably by Arthur Schlesinger, Sr., was especially active during the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s, and in the larger scheme of American historiography is generally known as the progressive historians. This group was influenced by the persuasive literature on propaganda and its awesome effects, which grew out of studies of World War I.

These studies generally agreed that propaganda, properly prepared and disseminated, was an enormously influential tool, not
infrequently utilized by vicious men bent on capturing the minds of their fellows. They further agreed that the audiences for such propaganda messages were usually quite receptive and passive.

This is the research which gave rise to the theory of communication that Wilbur Schramm so aptly labeled the "bullet theory."\(^{11}\) That is, if the propagandist properly molded his propaganda bullet, and fired it accurately, he would note that his target fell down.

Historians who had examined this literature, and who viewed its implications with considerable alarm, used it as a framework for their own investigations of the American Revolution. In doing so, they soon discovered some rather remarkable parallels.\(^{12}\)

These historians focused on the social and economic aspects of American history, and influenced by the beliefs and rhetoric of the Progressive era, came to see American history as one tortuous struggle between the common people, seeking their freedom, and the rich and well born, determined to insure the safety of private property and protect the right of the republic's "best men" to rule. Furthermore, they saw man's economic self-interest as being the controlling element in his behavior.

Being thus convinced of man's basic motivations, they were unequivocally opposed to the notion that "ideas" could move nations. Such ideas were generally only camouflage for deeper motives. The net result of their studies, as Jack Greene has pointed out, was to further challenge the sincerity of colonial spokesmen and to "contribute to the conception of the Revolution as a movement begun by a group of wealthy conservatives for essentially economic motives and subsequently arrogated by a small band of radical conspirators using the debate with Britain to accomplish other, more important political, economic, and social ends within the colonies."\(^{13}\)

While their work diminished the already low reputation of ideas as important forces in the revolutionary movement, it tended to verify the studies of political scientists and journalists; i.e., it supported the bullet theory.

Historians of this period focused on radical politicians like Samuel Adams, Joseph Warren, and James Otis and proved them to be propagandists supreme. As one authority argued, "without their work independence would not have been declared in 1776 nor recognized in 1783."\(^{14}\) Later, a reviewer commenting on Phillip Davidson's book, *Propaganda and the American Revolution*, said: "At the outset of the revolution a small minority gradually . . .
transformed an apathetic and somewhat reluctant majority into a united people." Thus, the picture emerged of a remarkably skillful minority wielding propaganda tools—especially the printed media—as weapons in an extremely successful campaign to control and direct the minds of a generally uncritical and simple-minded public.

But, in arriving at this interpretation, the propaganda school of historians denigrated the thought of the revolutionaries, and labeled their leaders as hypocritical demagogues, an interpretation which ran counter to earlier assessments of the Revolution, and which did not sit well with the new wave of historians just then entering the field. Furthermore, the conception of the masses as being "simple-minded rustics" easily "bamboozled" by clever manipulators was to be challenged with increasing frequency by historians, who were convinced that the revolutionary generation was both literate and independent; and by social scientists who were revising their earlier, rather simplistic, model of propaganda to the extent that they finally concluded, as Schramm and Roberts wryly noted—"that the bullet theory was full of holes."

This new breed of historians, armed with fresh insights derived from contemporary studies of the impact of print on human behavior, and imbued with a firm conviction that there was a causal relationship between the ideas held by the revolutionaries and their behavior, set out to reexamine the revolutionary epoch from a new perspective.

The leading exponent of this new thrust is Bernard Bailyn, Harvard historian and the author of the most influential book on the Revolution to appear in more than a decade. That book, The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution, and the studies of his very able graduate students, have tended to redirect the interpretation of the American Revolution, until most modern students of the era are now "prepared to accept the American Revolution for what it said it was—a political and constitutional struggle over sovereignty, a battle where who was right was more important than whose pocketbook was being pinched."

Bailyn himself best summarized this new view, when he wrote that his research:

confirmed my rather old-fashioned view that the American Revolution was above all else an ideological, constitutional, political struggle and not primarily a controversy between social
groups undertaken to force changes in the organization of the society or the economy. It confirmed too my belief that intellectual developments in the decade before Independence led to a radical idealization and conceptualization of the previous century and a half of American experience, and that it was this intimate relationship between Revolutionary thought and the circumstances of life in eighteenth-century America that endowed the Revolution with its peculiar force and made it so profoundly a transforming event.20

As ideas became important again as determinants of behavior, historians industriously pursued the lineage of those that the revolutionaries were expounding.21 Study after study confirmed Bailyn's contention that the radical Whig tradition and the ideas of the European Enlightenment were merged into a complete, formalized and systematic ideology before 1776 by the revolutionary leaders.22

At one level scholars carefully examined the kinds of books available in the colonies, the nature of the colonial book trade, and the contents of the colonists' libraries. At another level, scholars analyzed the publishing process in the colonies—especially the newspaper press,—and detailed the spread of printing and the wide availability of certain printed works in eighteenth-century America. At yet another level, scholars investigated the content of colonial literature—especially the revolutionary literature—for, as Bailyn pointed out, this literature not only demonstrated what they believed, but explained why they believed it, and even frequently revealed the sources of revolutionary thought.23

The cumulative result of this new thrust in the study of the American Revolution has been to cast aside the earlier progressive view. The broad implications of this new school for the writing of American history is not germane to this paper, but the ways in which it has influenced the historian's conception of the impact of print on social and political behavior is of real importance.

Certainly the most significant revision came in the analysis in the nature of the audience for printed works in eighteenth-century America. Scholars found that the colonials were remarkably literate and generally well-informed on political matters.24 Such an audience could hardly have been as apathetic and easily manipulated as was once believed. Slowly the conception of the audience as an inert
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mass was revised until the equation of print impact came to be reversed; i.e., it was now a question of what the audience did to the printed communication, rather than what the communication did to the audience.

The printed media came to be seen as reflectors of public opinion rather than molders of it. The picture of a few self-interested propagandists manipulating public opinion by means of the printed word was generally discarded. In its place emerged a portrait of a people struggling with a complex intellectual system which was made up of dimly perceived and poorly understood ideas, which eventually coalesced in the mid-eighteenth century as an ideology for revolt. The printed media came to be viewed as facilitators in this search for an ideology, but not as creators of the thought itself.

To say that this view currently holds the field is not to suggest that historians are of one mind on this matter. There are many scholars who disagree with this view: there are those who see imported ideas as inconsequential in American history; some still view the concept of propaganda as a viable approach to the Revolution; and some, influenced by Marxist constructs, posit yet another interpretation.25

Indeed, those seeking findings which might contribute to the formulation of intelligent hypotheses explaining the impact of print on contemporary social and political behavior will find that the literature on the American Revolution offers little in the way of new avenues of thought. At best, the research completed to date appears to contribute little beyond occasional verification of hypotheses currently being tested by journalists, political scientists, and social psychologists.

However, by discarding the distinctions between the various “schools” of interpretation, and by taking an eclectic approach to the historical literature, it is possible to define some specific areas where historians have made contributions to our understanding of the impact of print on human behavior.

One reason this eclectic approach bears fruit is that historians of the American Revolution rarely set out to answer Harold Lasswell’s classic question about the communication process: “Who says what in which channel to whom with what effect?”26 Much more frequently historians will consider this question only in relation to larger studies of the Revolution. As a result one must dig in a mass of research related to the Revolution to find material treating the impact of print on that great era in U.S. history. Doing this, one discovers that
the findings which seem of the most importance cluster nicely around several facets of the communication process.

The Communicator. Students of the American Revolution have been forced to focus again and again on the dozen or so polemicists who appear to have played a considerable role in the making of that rebellion. And while the majority of the best work seems to suggest that the ability of an “incendiary” like Sam Adams to influence the behavior of his fellows through his inflammatory writings has been exaggerated, there are still some real questions remaining. Research shows that Adams thought he was molding public opinion, his opponents thought he was driving the reluctant masses to revolt; and the people frequently commented on his effectiveness. It is certain that Adams and Paine, for instance, were able to prepare and disseminate their messages in a way which allowed them greater success than their contemporaries in stirring up their fellow Americans. The case studies of the dozen or so major propagandists of the Revolution now available make provocative reading for all those interested in the communication process.

Research on the communicator in the revolutionary era also demonstrates clearly the “two-step,” or better yet, “multistep,” theory of communication in action. Numerous studies have clearly shown the ways in which ideas were successively filtered from authors like Locke to popularizers like Trenchard and Gordon, to Jefferson, to Adams, to local newspapers, and then to the reading public.

The Audience. As noted earlier, studies tend to support the contemporary view of “audience” as an extremely complex entity which molds and alters communication much more than communication alters it. Studies of the impact of print during the revolutionary era have been especially productive in delineating the “selectivity” with which the colonial audience approached communication. They appear to have read and assimilated only that literature which tended to reinforce their views on social and political matters.

The Channel. Another area where historians have made significant contributions to contemporary understanding of the communication process is in their study of the channels through which the messages were transmitted. Extensive studies have been made of all kinds of
print media: i.e., books, pamphlets, broadsides and newspapers. Contemporary scholars should benefit considerably from the detailed blueprint of the total communications environment which is under construction by historians of the Revolution.

The Effect of the Communication. Historians have generally contributed little toward explaining the ways in which print actually influences human behavior. They have contributed much towards our knowledge of "who said what to whom in what channel," but the generalizations about effect are usually vague, and not infrequently contradictory. Historians seem hesitant to tackle the ultimate question relative to the role of the print media in the past: What impact did printed messages have on political and social behavior?

Part of this hesitancy grows out of methodological shortcomings and part out of the historians' general dislike for grappling with the question of the causal relationship between ideas and behavior. Finally, historians have too rarely focused directly on the question: What impact did the print media have on the individual and collective behavior of Americans in the years directly preceding the Revolution?

Some of these problems will always remain serious obstacles to historians interested in this area, while others appear to be easily overcome. This paper concludes by discussing what I view to be the problems and potential of historical research on the impact of print on human behavior.

The first question facing the historian interested in the communication process during the revolutionary era is: What did they read? Answering that question satisfactorily is difficult, and explains the emphasis placed on studies of the availability of printed materials and the extent and nature of book ownership in colonial America. The task is to identify the material the colonists were reading, read it, and then attempt to assess the ways in which this material reflected or altered the views of the American revolutionaries. Such an undertaking calls for enormous discipline; to achieve even a modicum of success the historian must totally immerse himself in the literature of the period. One recent scholar noted that in order to come to some understanding of the political thought shared by American society, he examined "all materials in print—newspapers, magazines, books, broadsides, pamphlets, sermons, brochures, and so forth—which met two conditions: first, that..."
they be issued from American presses; and second, that they were written by Americans in the years from 1689 to 1763.\textsuperscript{27}

Historians are the first to admit that one can make too much of the connection between books owned and books read, but as Colbourn notes, taken in "association with other evidence, such as notes, marginalia, citations, recommendations, repeated purchases, books can be evaluated; and then, by reading them, one can re-create the perspective of an earlier age."\textsuperscript{28}

However, a historian's endeavor is less than half complete when he feels that he has satisfactorily established the perspective that Colbourn alluded to. For if the historian is to really come to grips with the question of what impact the printed medium had on the Revolution, he must delineate what people thought, in addition to what they had the opportunity to read. In short, he must accurately judge public opinion.

To do so is difficult enough for the social scientist who is capable of examining his subjects' behavior first hand; it poses even more serious problems for the historian. Nevertheless, through a process of mental reconstruction, the historian must recreate in his mind the "climate of opinion" in revolutionary America. To accomplish this rather considerable task he has only his assessment of what the colonials read and the research of earlier historians to guide his steps.\textsuperscript{29}

Once the historian has arrived at an understanding of what the revolutionaries read and what they believed (not always the same), he can begin the extremely tenuous task of trying to reconcile the two elements. In doing so, he will have to distinguish between the influence exerted by ideas and that brought to bear by such dynamic concerns as economics, kinship, and religion on the developments being studied.

In the face of such complexity it is no wonder that many historians have concluded that there is little advantage to investing the time and energy required to investigate thoroughly the question of the influence of print on human behavior.\textsuperscript{30} Nor is it difficult to understand why contemporary behavioral scientists have been skeptical of the findings of such investigations.

I believe there is considerable promise in this area of study. For one thing, only historians can examine the influence of the media over long periods of time. Schramm once noted that the most potent effects of the mass media may be the less dramatic ones built up like
stalagmites in a cave—drop by drop, year by year.\textsuperscript{31} If he is right, then historians become central to the research effort on the mass media, for only historians can provide contemporary scholars with the perspective necessary for the measurement of long-term change.

At the same time, students like Bailyn, Wood, Rossiter, and Colbourn have demonstrated convincingly that the interrelationships between reading (and thinking) and human behavior in the past can be systematically and rewardingly studied. At least there is now enough successful work to justify some patience on the part of the scholarly community, as historians strive to diminish the methodological shortcomings now flawing their work, and to push back the boundaries of knowledge of what reading does to people.

\textbf{References}

1. There is only one book I know of which uses this question as its title. See: Waples, Douglas, et al. \textit{What Reading Does to People; A Summary of Evidence on the Social Effects of Reading}. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1940.

2. No one has yet brought together the literature relating to this interdisciplinary research effort. However, several detailed bibliographies of real use are: Hansen, Donald A., and Parsons, J. Herschel. \textit{Mass Communication: A Research Bibliography}. Santa Barbara, Calif., Glendessary Press, 1968; and Price, Warren C. \textit{The Literature of Journalism, an Annotated Bibliography}. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1959.


Two works which summarize the findings of research designed to assess the impact of the various media are: Klapper, Joseph T. \textit{The Effects of Mass Communication}. Glencoe, Ill., Free Press, 1960; and Schramm, Wilbur, et al., eds. \textit{The Handbook of Communication}. Chicago, Rand McNally, 1971. Finally,
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the appropriate articles in the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences are also helpful.


5. Attention here will focus on American history, but it should be noted that extensive work is also being done in other countries. See, for example, the research discussed in Robert Darnton. "Reading, Writing, and Publishing in Eighteenth-Century France: A Case Study in the Sociology of Literature," Daedalus, 100:214-56, Winter 1971.


9. The better known progressive historians are dealt with at length in Richard Hofstadter. The Progressive Historians: Turner, Beard, Parrington. New York, Knopf, 1968. See also the items cited in ref. 6.

10. Wood, op. cit., pp. 8-9. An example of the type of study referred to


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30. One historian who has been concerned about the historian's lack of attention to the relationship between "ideation and behavior" is Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr. He has written a provocative and useful book designed to
The Impact of Print


ADDITIONAL REFERENCES

THE TRANSMISSION OF IDEAS TO AMERICA FROM ABROAD


THE ANALYSIS OF AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY THOUGHT


The Impact of Print


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STUDIES OF REVOLUTIONARY EDITORS, PUBLISHERS, AND POLEMISTS


THE PRESS AND THE REVOLUTION
The Impact of Print


THE AVAILABILITY OF BOOKS AND THE NATURE OF BOOK OWNERSHIP IN REVOLUTIONARY AMERICA

A. Reading Tastes


B. The Book Trade


The Impact of Print


C. Private Libraries

Note: Literally thousands of colonial libraries have been described in published articles and books. Only a short representative list of items is presented here. Those who wish to examine the literature on colonial libraries in depth will find the following bibliographies useful.


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Adult Reading Studies: Their Implications for Private, Professional and Public Policy

VIRGINIA H. MATHEWS

A common understanding of the terms used in the title of this paper is important. General agreement is probable that the term "adults" refers to people 18 years of age or more—in school or out of it, old enough to drive a car, get married, go to war, and, in most states, buy a drink.

"Reading studies" is more difficult to define. In this paper it means a sampling of the scarce and rather inconclusive research that has been undertaken both in the United States and abroad, most often in the western European countries, within the past twenty-five years or so. In addition to this research there are many fragments of opinion and experiential insight to be found in articles, speeches and unpublished papers which contain estimates and informed guesses about the wide range of topics which congregate under the general heading of reading studies: literacy, illiteracy, and the reasons for either; library use or nonuse; needs assessments of various hard-to-reach populations; the books people do like to read, when they read, and where they get them; and the relation of book reading to the use of other media in the overall context of communications; and many others.

"Implications" will consider for whom such studies of adult reading have a special message, and from whom they deserve to receive more attention than has generally been accorded to them. Possible receivers of the implications will include the creators and producers of books and other reading materials: authors, editors, and publishers. This group is considered in Nemeyer’s article in this issue. Thus this article will focus on the implications of adult reading studies for other important groups: the expeditors and distributors

Virginia H. Mathews, was the former Director of the National Book Committee, New York, New York. She is now a consultant in the field of reading and library programs.
of books—librarians, booksellers, teachers and the other guides who introduce reading, make books and other materials available, and motivate people to read; and all of the other agencies—the broadcasting stations, the service organizations, the politicians—which create today's society.

Even the most casual survey of the field leaves one with several general impressions: (1) that the study—formal and informal—of adult reading patterns and habits is going on, with stepped-up interest, worldwide; (2) that many of those who are engaged in it seem not to be aware that anyone else is; and (3) that there is a remarkable similarity to the findings, regardless of the point of view of the researcher.

First, one should look over the range of studies, who is doing them, how they are being sponsored and paid for, and then look at some highlights of what has been learned: about who reads, and who does not; materials that have proved effective and a sentence or two about the methods of instruction used; and then at the complicated picture that emerges of motivation—why some adults find it worth the effort to learn to read, or read better, and others do not.

Heinz Steinberg, director of the Department of Further Education of the Municipality of West Berlin, and editor of the *International Bibliography on the Sociology and Psychology of Reading*, has summarized much of what is relevant to these questions in his article, “Books and Readers as a Subject of Research in Europe and America” which appeared in the *International Social Science Journal* late in 1972. Steinberg notes that:

In the United States, reading is generally carried out by librarians and sociologists as an advisory service to libraries. The actual research, therefore, is often done in libraries and by university institutes of librarianship or sociology. Frequently it is directed almost exclusively to the practical needs of libraries, and the world of books outside tends to be overlooked.

Research in Europe, mainly sponsored by booksellers and publishers, is empirical in nature and so, often, commercially oriented and consequently biased in its findings. There are exceptions. In the United Kingdom, for instance, the research done by Brian Groombridge was subsidized by the British Library Association, while in Scandanavia (Denmark and Sweden) it has also
been librarians who have both initiated and generally carried out studies and then interpreted their findings. However, in the case of France, the Federal Republic of Germany and the Netherlands in particular, the rule holds good, and the research sponsored by booksellers and publishers in these countries has been carried out almost altogether independently of American efforts.

Steinberg is certain that European sociologists who do studies for booksellers and publishers are familiar with the work done by such Americans as Lasswell, Lazarsfeld, Schramm, Festinger and others who have done work in the field of communications research, but feels that they are almost totally unaware of the work of people like Douglas Waples of the Library School of the University of Chicago, and those with whom he worked closely, like Berelson and Carnovsky. Steinberg compares the work of Waples with that of German librarian Walter Hofmann, with the comment that Waples’s work is distinguished by “his single-minded pursuit of the facts, as they are, without any preconceived ideas as to what is desirable.” Waples “pioneered the methodical approach and for his time found a valid answer to the big question, ‘what does reading do for people?’”

Steinberg stresses the need “to build a bridge between the Old and the New World, across language barriers (which still seem to be astonishingly high), and also between librarians and booksellers (who, although the business of both of them is books and their readers, seem to be surprisingly ignorant of each other’s work.”

Steinberg illustrates the difficulty in bridging what is perhaps the most serious gap of all—that between myth/preconception and fact—by giving an example of research skewed by national prejudice and lingering, often unconscious, cultural differences. This concerns the German opinion research organization, the Allensbach Institut für Demoskopie, which was commissioned by the association of the German book trade in 1968 to conduct a survey of the German book market. The second sentence of the report produced by the Institut reads: “it is astonishing how seldom Americans pick up a book.” All of the evidence, submits Steinberg, clearly contradicts this allegation: the number of titles published, the number of copies of books sold, or the money spent on them; proportionally nearly twice as many books are bought in the U.S. as in the Federal Republic of Germany. In libraries of one kind or another, at least three times as many books are loaned. How do such errors begin and proliferate? The Institut’s assertion
was based, says Steinberg, on the 1956 Gallup poll in which a cross section of citizens in the United States, Canada, Australia, England and Germany were questioned, "Do you happen to be reading any books or novels at present?" Seventeen percent of the Americans said "yes," while 34 percent of the Germans said "yes." It is probable, believes Steinberg, that while most of the Americans answered truthfully, some of the Germans, at least, did not. This is not, he says, because Americans are less prone to lying to save face and appear in a good light to the interviewer, but quite simply a matter of difference in cultural values. Steinberg says,

To the average American a book is a tool that comes to hand as a matter of course, a means of study or entertainment. Whether the tool is used today or tomorrow, or was used only last year is rather a matter of indifference. Americans generally see no reason to pride themselves on the fact that they read books. For Germans, however, books are a symbol of culture, and a sociologist when he comes to interpret empirical data should allow for the fact. . . . The reverence for books of Europe's educated middle classes—which, moreover, because it was claimed as a class privilege has largely, prevented the use of books from spreading to the working classes—is a phenomenon [which must be taken into account].

Books in Europe are a means of mass communication only in a very special sense, but they are a class symbol through and through.

European cultural pride was shaken by the first results of book market research in the 1960s, and newspapers took a grim delight in such headlines as "one household in three has no books," and "country people read absolutely nothing." Intellectuals, immersed in what Steinberg called "romantic cultural pessimism," agreed that young people were reading less and preferred to watch football and television despite the fact that investigations in Germany, and later ones in France, the Netherlands, Scandanavia and the United Kingdom showed that the younger generation reads more than the older, and that everywhere in Europe the older people are less interested than the younger in books.

Researchers in the United States also found, in work done in the 1960s, that the higher the age group, the less books read. Jan Hajda, in his important work in Baltimore with the Enoch Pratt Library study, arrived at the tentative hypothesis that young people read more because "many more of them have graduated from high school or
college." Berelson in studying the library's public, concluded, that "the major correlates of reading and library use are the education of the reader and the availability of reading resources." Philip H. Ennis's later study of adult book reading for the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Chicago again confirmed this finding of Berelson and others.

Hajda's study in Baltimore in 1962 found that 25 percent of the sample of adults were registered borrowers of the public library, and that 52 percent had read a book within the year. He found too, that there is a watershed in book reading somewhere at the level of high school graduation, those not achieving this level not often turning to books, while the majority of those at or above high school level (completion) are likely to read one or more books a year. Berelson found in 1948 that 25 percent to 30 percent of the adult population read a book a month, and that approximately the same percentage used the library with regularity.

The most recent of the Gallup polls, taken in the U.S. in January in 1971 show slightly higher proportions of readers than his earlier studies: about one-fourth of the population constituting the hard core of book users—26 percent as against 21 percent in 1958—while nearly half—46 percent—read occasionally, perhaps at the rate of one book a year.

But how, asks Ennis, "do we account for the fact that the reading audience has not increased appreciably over the past 20 years, during which time the numbers of high school and college graduates has doubled and the number of books sold has trebled?" A possible explanation given in his updated interest in the subject in The Metropolitan Library, is that the regular book readers read more books now than they used to, thus a smaller proportion of readers is accounting for the high level of reading.

Citing as his sources the U.S. Office of Business Economics's Survey of Current Business, several editions of the Bowker Annuals and Fritz Machlup's figures, Ennis gives us some marketplace proofs in terms of how much money is being spent by citizens of the U.S. on books and libraries. The percentage of increase in total book expenditures between 1950 and 1960 was 108 percent; between 1960 and 1968, 84 percent. The number of general adult books sold by publishers rose by some 49 percent from 1947 to 1967, while the number of technical, and scientific books increased by 38 percent. During the period 1959-67 the adult trade paperback sales rose by a gigantic 1,340 percent and
those of adult hardback books by 37 percent. The tremendous growth
of book clubs specializing in catering to highly particularized needs and
interests, underscores, he says, the fragmentation and activity of the
American reading public.

Edward J. Meade, program officer in charge, Public Education
Program for the Ford Foundation, in a speech to the College Reading
Association in the fall of 1972, offered some other insights as to the
"economic potency of reading in this country," which, like those
detailed by Ennis, confound and contradict the "reading is dwindling"
school of thought which still has a considerable following in the United
States, Europe, and elsewhere. He said:

Book sales in the U.S. in 1970 totalled slightly less than 3 billion
dollars, an increase of almost 6% over the previous year's sales. For
the last ten years, book sales have increased at an average of 8% per
year . . . book club sales for the same year were responsible for the
largest single dollar increase in the general books category, followed
by mass market paperbound books. . . . School and college text
books accounted for 29% of the total volume of books sold, which
implies that over 70% of the books sold are bought voluntarily and
not because they are required. . . . The 1967 Census of Business
showed close to 3,000 bookstores operating the year round, with
annual sales of $28 million; and between 1958 and 1967, bookstores
that were large enough to operate year round were increasing at the
rate of more than 141 stores per year.16

Meade noted also that a 1970 study of adult newspaper readers
revealed that 78 percent of Americans 18 years and older read the
newspaper every day. Data was collected from a cross section of
categories from college graduates to those who did not attend high
school; by household income, from $25,000 and over to less than
$5,000; and by locality, including metropolitan areas, suburban and
rural; as well as by race and social position. In no category does the
daily newspaper readership ever go below the level of 60 percent.

Worldwide, the production and apparent absorption of books
argues that the reading habit is growing rather than diminishing. In an
article for the Unesco Courier, Edward Wegman, head of the
International Book Year Unit, tells us that, "in 1970, every minute of
every day a book was published somewhere in the world: 546,000 titles
in all, double the output of 20 years ago."17 In reply to his own thematic
question, "What do People Read?" Wegman once again confirms the
thesis of Berelson, Ennis and most other researchers, that unless the skill and motivation to read is sustained by the conditions of adult life—most especially the availability of books—reading will decline and wither. “More often than not,” he says, “people read books that are readily available, and when books they want are not there, they sometimes do not read at all.”

Ennis lists the ways in which an adult can get a book into his hands: through libraries—public, college, research and special; through rental collections; from bookstores; from book clubs; through mass paperback outlets such as newsstands and kiosks; by direct mail from publishers; and through private collections, owning and borrowing from friends. Ennis thinks research is badly needed on how the availability of books—and, I would add, how availability of information about them—affects reading. It is, in fact, time that we have “some basic research into the nature of the reading public, its composition, its manner of recruitment, and the conditions of its maintenance.” Steinberg agrees. He points to some specifics: “What Lazarsfeld once did in the case of radio still has to be done for television as far as its relationship to books is concerned.” In fact, asserts Steinberg, “the triumphal progress of television in Europe . . . far from harming has actually helped book consumption . . . so that the European book trade over the past two decades could hardly have gained a more effective ally than the television set . . . .

Although the understandably complicated relationship between reading and televiewing has often been the subject of colourful speculation—an extreme example being the work of Marshall McLuhan—this has not yet been the subject of anything like enough factual investigation, either in Europe or in America.”

Another subject which needs investigating is the subject of book clubs. “In the Federal Republic of Germany, for example, no one knows anything about the possible connection between belonging to a book club and being a library subscriber. However, the German Library Association has just commissioned the Institute of Sociology of the University of Hamburg to carry out a study of this, and some light may be thrown on the matter.” America’s experience with its large number of specialized book clubs would make an invaluable contribution if investigated and shared, he suggests.

The varying development of the paperback market, too, calls for a sociological comparison between European countries and
between each of them and the United States. In the case of the Federal Republic of Germany it is known, thanks to the Allensbach Institut für Demoskopie, that young people prefer paperbacks, perhaps not because of their lower cost, but because they do not share the preference of the older generation for books in traditional binding. Yet in the Federal Republic of Germany, in Switzerland and in Austria, paperbacks are far from playing... the same part they do in the United States or even in the United Kingdom. Although the number of paperback titles and probably the number of copies produced certainly rose steeply in central Europe during the past decade, the central European market was certainly not revolutionized by paperbacks as America has been.20

Steinberg points out that Europe does not have the American drugstore, which provides both informational displays of paperback books, and an easy path to ownership.

Steinberg notes that European book consumption is not rising with the longer average length of education, as it is, if only very slightly, in the United States. He believes that school library facilities comparable to those in the United States, to be found thus far only in the United Kingdom, Denmark and Sweden, are an important concomitant to the better developed reading habit.

Again, Steinberg emphasizes the importance of context and relationship in doing research about reading and books: “everyone who has a concern for books must keep in view the full field of communications.”20 He points to the findings of Peter Mann at Sheffield University in the U.K.,21 who investigated the relationship between the book trade and libraries. “His findings are just as instructive for booksellers as for librarians... Generally speaking... there is no real competition between booksellers and libraries... they both stand to profit if they lie close together... the more books someone borrows, the more books he generally buys.”22

Steinberg discusses the investigations of French sociologists that he deems the most successful of European endeavors in this field to date.23 These studies showed a positive correlation between reading and interest in sports. This corresponded also to a German study that young people who go in for sports read more than those who do not. “French sociologists had already discovered that an important motive for reading was the wish to discuss things that one had read with other people. Gerhard Schmidtchen,24 who conducted
the Allensbach investigation and wrote the report on it, added the observation, based on exact empirical evidence, that readers are better listeners than non-readers.\textsuperscript{25}

Jan Hajda, whose thesis, Steinberg feels, "occupies much the same seminal position in American research as does the French investigation in European research," is quoted in Steinberg's summary, on the subject of solitude and loneliness, and their relationship to reading:

Solitude rejuvenates and refreshes; it reinforces . . . social ties, because it enables the individual to interact with others with increased attention, or to enjoy another's company more. On the other hand, loneliness is an unsought, painful, meaningless affliction, imposed on the individual against his will. . . . Solitude is a means of social integration; loneliness is an aspect of exclusion from social participation. . . . Books call for a harmonious response, for a sympathetic engagement with the very world which condemns the person to loneliness. Reading books also requires an effort. . . . This in itself makes book reading unattractive to a lonely person whose general level of interest and activity is considerably lower than that of an engaged person.\textsuperscript{26}

Steinberg sums it up with: "what Hajda is getting at is that while it is impossible to read without solitude, loneliness leads people to drop the book-reading habit."\textsuperscript{26} And thus, a new and contemporary profile of the reader emerges:

Readers are certainly not isolated people, rather do they seek contact in society. They are good listeners, but at the same time have the wish to communicate their thoughts to others by means of conversation. They are people, then, who seek to influence society, and in turn expose themselves to the influence of society. They are not introvert, for escapist reading is only marginal, but are on the contrary characterized by openness to communication. . . . Modern readers in America and Europe . . . do not read to escape from the world, but to live in it better. This really puts the main findings in the matter to date in a nutshell.\textsuperscript{27}

As Steinberg has said, and as anyone can quickly confirm by a cursory survey of the literature, most of the study of reading habits that has been done in the United States has been done from the point of view of libraries and librarians, and emerges therefore, for
the most part, as user studies. There is as yet, apparently, nothing in European research to compare with these user studies under the library auspices in the United States.

Before looking over some of the conclusions of these studies it might be well to trace briefly the development of interest in adult reading—especially adult reading improvement—by libraries as it has grown in the past twenty-five years or so. At present this interest has grown to the point where there is something like general agreement that libraries, especially public libraries, do have a real and special mandate to concern themselves not only with the motivation and guidance of readers, and provision of materials for reading improvement, but in some cases, with literacy instruction as well.

"Prior to 1945," according to the Adult Reading Improvement Newsletter published by the ALA's Adult Services Division several years ago, "there was very little reporting, researching, and evaluating of adult reading improvement. The United States Army's success in retraining soldiers in this field gave an impetus to studies of illiteracy and remedial reading, and the years from 1945 to 1962 have seen a wealth of material on reading improvement at the adult level." Bernice MacDonald, Coordinator of Adult Services for the New York Public Library system, reports that a search of the material since 1953 shows that the bulk of it falls into four main categories: (1) why adults are not reading as widely and deeply as they should; (2) descriptions of reading programs in action; (3) training the illiterate; and (4) self-help guides for the use of the would-be reader. MacDonald notes a dearth of material on the evaluation of adult reading programs and techniques, and considerable information on reading interests to be found under the heading "Books and Reading" in the Education Index; Library Literature is a less fruitful source, and reflects the library's rather minor role thus far in the development of adult reading programs. An early discussion of the role of the library in adult reading, appears, along with other papers valuable to an understanding of the growth of U.S. interest in this field, in Adult Reading, edited by David Clift in 1956, shortly after he became the executive director of ALA.

It is interesting that from whatever point of view, in both Europe and America, there is quite general agreement on the rough proportions of readers to nonreaders, for whatever reasons: because
they do not know how to read; because they do not choose to read; or because there is nothing available, in terms of present-day standards of convenience, especially in the United States.

It appears that about 25 percent of the adults cannot read at all, or read with barely enough skill (functional literates) to allow them to survive on a painfully deciphered diet of forms to be filled out, street signs, instructions and the like; while another 25 percent of any given population constitutes the core of reasonably regular and "serious" or "quality" readers. This leaves a full 50 percent consigned to an uncertain gray area of occasional, usually job-related readers—those who read when they are required to, and rarely by choice or with any degree of pleasure.

Marion Spencer, later the director of the Adult Reading Center at the Kalamazoo Public Library in Michigan, declared her dismay in 1966 while she was still the young adult librarian, concerning the high rate of reading attrition among people who had once learned to read, but whose skills and motivation had withered from lack of use: "Some of the Army recruiters say that one in three, 39%, fail the entrance exams because they don't read well enough. The alarming part of this is that 13% of that 39% are high school graduates."30

Philip Ennis, a sociologist, again asks the question around which he has been circling since his pilot study of nearly a decade ago: "Are current and early reading related? Is reading like home woodcrafting, a hobby almost invariably practiced by people who had early familial experience with woodworking, or is reading more like skiing, an activity that, in the United States at least, draws a high proportion of its adherents from people having no early experience with the sport? Reading, it turns out, is somewhere in between these two extremes."31 Again, citing his study of adult book reading in 1965, Ennis shows that the public of current book readers is composed of regular readers who read at some time in the past and continue to do so now (34 percent), plus late starters who did not read when they were young, but began later in life, (15 percent). On the other hand, 24 percent of his sample began as readers, but deserted books as adults. Ennis confirms that the rate of current reading is higher among those with high school education or beyond (65 percent as compared with the 30 percent with less than high school). Nearly half the better educated (high school) are regular readers (47 percent), while only 15 percent are nonreaders. The
critical figure, says Ennis, is the ratio of deserters to late starters: among the better educated there is a near balance—a later starter for every deserter—but among the less well educated there are nearly three deserters for every late starter.

Turning now to the library user studies, we keep finding, as Berelson and others have found earlier, that the proportion of library users in the population corresponds roughly to the number who claim to be readers. Are they the same people? Are libraries more inclined to be used now by nonreaders than they were formerly? We do not know, but there are some indicators that changes are taking place.

Claire K. Lipsman, in a 1969 study of The Disadvantaged and Library Effectiveness, found that library usage is variable with income and education. Users are inclined to be more knowledgeable about community affairs and sources of information. She found two-thirds of the users in ghetto areas to be under 19 years of age, and fully a third of these to be of elementary school age, that is 12 years old and younger. More young adult males than females used the library in the 19-26 year old age group, for sport related interests, job information, and race- and culture-related identity problems. Lipsman observes that lack of adult use of the library is characteristic of all the libraries she studied in poverty areas.

The possibility that the reverse may also be true is borne out in an interesting way by a local survey and evaluation of library services undertaken by the public library of Huntsville and Madison County, in Huntsville, Alabama. This survey found that adults 30-60 years of age constituted the majority (59 percent) of the library’s users, and points out that this pattern is most unlike that found in most other community library user studies, which usually find that the children and young people form the hard core of library users. A high employment rate—mostly government—and one of the most highly educated scientific communities in the country would seem to be the reason.

Lowell Martin’s outstanding study of the Chicago Public Library showed that “student use of the public library has increased in recent years and in Chicago now constitutes 49% of total use by persons above 14 years of age. . . . This increase has occurred because of larger school enrollments and because of greater instructional demands for students to use resources.” Clara Jones, library director of another large city library, Detroit, in a speech at
the 1973 ALA summer conference, pegged library use in her city at 10 percent of the adult population, and 33 percent of the children, for a library use total of about 25 percent of the city's residents.

Bonser and Wentworth in their study of adult information needs in Indiana, reported "the public library, at least as represented by the cities selected for our study, has little relevance to the information needs of the adult population of our state. With regard to individual adult use, the well-educated housewife is a major user, and she uses the library primarily as a source of entertainment." 34

Geoffrey Wilson, of the Free Library of Philadelphia, speaking at an institute on Library Service for the Undereducated at Drexel University in 1966 said:

What is most disturbing about library service to the disadvantaged is that the phrase represents a contradiction in terms. Libraries were started by the middle class for middle class use, the very concept of borrowing and returning books being essentially middle class. It pre-supposes that the borrower has a stable home; that he is not frequently forced to change residence; that he has sufficient privacy to keep his books away from infant brothers and sisters; and that he has acquired respect for borrowed property and has guilt feelings if he fails to return it. Finally, of course, it assumes that he can read, and is capable of self-instruction and self-improvement through books. 35

Wilson went on to note that the disadvantaged have difficulty returning their books, and pointed once again to the pattern of low adult use in the city center. He cited the special classes begun by the Free Library of Philadelphia to help disadvantaged young men to tool up their reading and other learning skills in order to pass armed forces tests, and emphasized the high degree of motivation resulting from a specific, targeted need to improve one's lifestyle and see the world.

Mary Lee Bundy, who studied a 20 percent sample of users of 100 library units in the eight library systems of metropolitan Baltimore, Maryland, based her findings on 80 percent of some 21,500 responses. She found that in 1966, half of the users of these libraries who were 12 years old or more were students, and that 16.4 percent were housewives. 36 Helen Lyman notes, in her comprehensive study of Library Materials in Service to the Adult New Reader, 37 that five times as many Black women as men enrolled in the high school
equivalency program, thereby achieving the status of student as well as, in most cases, housewife.

Perhaps the most complete recent round-up of library use and nonuse information, compiled under the aegis of the National Advisory Commission on Libraries, was published as Libraries at Large. Among the conclusions to be found in the mass of material:

1. that the body of recorded knowledge concerning the use of public libraries is inadequate, fragmented and not comparable;
2. that broadly based data concerning the use of libraries are almost totally absent;
3. that the literature up to that time (1967) was almost totally devoid of studies of nonusers (There have been more in the six years since the commission's various studies were analyzed and summarized.);
4. that library use has not kept pace with the increase in population, which has doubled, and attained a higher average level of education since 1949 when Berelson's classic study was published.

The commission looked carefully at previous studies of library use patterns by adults including those of Waples in 1933, Berelson in 1948, and Bundy in 1966 (the most recent major study at that time). For the commission's purposes, users were defined as adults who claimed to have visited a public library at least once during the preceding three-month period. Three out of every ten adults in the United States can be characterized as users of public libraries by this criterion. The profiles of users emerged, on a proportionate basis as follows:

1. more likely to be women;
2. likely to be young (21-34 years of age);
3. likely to be college educated;
4. more likely to be either single or married, as opposed to widowed or divorced, and particularly to be parent of two young children;
5. most likely to be Caucasian;
6. most likely to live in large urban centers (1 million population or more, or middle-sized cities—50,000 to 249,999); and
7. most likely to be in the professions or in white collar occupations with annual earnings of $10,000 or more.
Adult Reading Studies

All library use, said the commission, seems to decline with age, and among people 50 years old and more, only two out of ten ever visit a library. People 21-34 are apt to be light to moderate users (13 percent of the total, three to eight times in any three-month period); middle-aged persons 35 to 49 years old tend to be the heavy users (some 7 percent of the population of adults, with nine or more visits during a three-month period).

Libraries other than public libraries (academic, professional and special) are used by only a minute proportion of the total adult population: 5 percent are classified as light users; 3 percent as moderate users; and 5 percent as heavy users.

Information as to the reasons for use are especially relevant to this overview, and the three most frequently given reasons among the user group were: (1) to get information on special problems, 52 percent; (2) to borrow nonfiction books, 50 percent; and (3) to borrow fiction books, 46 percent. It is evident from this that the information function of the library has become at least as important as its creative reading function, especially as “to use reference books and periodicals” was cited almost as often as the first two. “Add to this,” says the commission report, “the 35 percent who report that they go to public libraries in order to aid their children with their schoolwork, the 15 percent who wish to examine documents, and the 10 percent who attend lectures, exhibits or performances, and we readily see that contemporary libraries are no longer mere circulation sources.”

All of this throws light on the fact that increasingly perhaps, the 25 percent or so of the adult population who claim to read often, and who told the pollsters who questioned them on behalf of the commission that they had read at least one book in the preceding three-month period, do not get their books at the library, and that readers may be no longer synonymous—if they ever were—with those who use libraries. Asked in fact where they had acquired the books they read, this particular sample replied: that they had bought them (40 percent); borrowed them from the public library (18 percent); borrowed them from friends (1 percent). The emergence of paperbacks and their accessibility is creating a high proportion of readers who are not public library users, and the public library is becoming more used for information than for reading. In all, less than one-fifth of the adult public which claims to read books, report that they borrow them from libraries.
"Not to be overlooked" said the commission report, "are some of the auxiliary functions that public libraries offer the adults who use them. For some 22 percent public libraries offer the opportunity to relax and browse, for one in ten the public library is a place where one can work in quietude and without interruption, and for 8 percent, public libraries are used for borrowing or listening to phonograph records. Thus, a number of adults who visit public libraries view them at least to some extent as oases—quiet refuges that offer a pleasant haven where one can retreat temporarily from the daily hustle and bustle of life."39

So much then for a very once-over-lightly look at the studies that have been done of library use, and nonuse. Growing out of them, in part, and in the past seven years or so, has been a burgeoning interest in user needs—especially the needs of those who do not use libraries and therefore do not apparently associate them with whatever needs they may have for information, personal development, or recreation. Various methods have been employed for carrying out these inquiries. Among the most fruitful and direct has been to hold hearings, or set up conferences in which a cross section of citizens or representatives of potential user groups could express their needs.

In the summer and early fall of 1967, the National Advisory Commission on Libraries held a series of regional hearings at which subcommittees of commission members heard testimony from businessmen, professional people, farmers, white collar and blue collar workers, students, teachers, and local, state and national officials from communities of varying sizes. There was testimony about the needs of the blind, the aging, and virtually every religious and ethnic group. Some 400 people in twelve areas of the country from Alaska to Florida gave opinions and suggestions as to needs which libraries ought to try to fill.

A Ford Foundation-sponsored study of neighborhood information centers, conducted by Alfred Kahn and others at the Columbia School of Social Work showed a great need for information on all manner of subjects. It engendered also, to Kahn's surprise, "considerable response from librarians and library people at all levels. I had apparently underestimated opportunities in this sphere."40 The National Book Committee's survey and analysis of "outreach" library programs which were in operation by the summer of 196641 reflected keen awareness of user needs by a number of
libraries, and willingness to move into new areas of service. Some thirty-three communities in nineteen states were involved, and community information and referral service was found to be one of the great needs of ethnic minorities, the culturally different and poor. Legal aid, employment opportunity services, homework study space and basic adult education and literacy training (especially short term, to pass a test or make an application)—all have been constant in this, as in all other assessments. There is evidence that people living in the most disorganized communities can be taught to bring their survival needs to those libraries which are committed to providing direct responses to them.

Long term needs, which one might call “developmental”—the need to learn or sharpen communication, especially word skills of listening and speaking, writing and reading; and the need for social identity and cultural pride—have been probed and successfully served by some libraries, too. Libraries have found that interaction of people of all ages, and an integrated use of materials in all formats are important elements. There are rewards for learning to read which may be, in the long run, as important to a person as the most pragmatic job, health or housing information, and these cannot be lost sight of in the stampede to emphasize information services. Helen Lyman cites some of these literacy benefits self-perceived by her sample of new adult readers: two-thirds could communicate better; one-half had more confidence; while one-half said they related to people better. The most important payoff of learning to read, according to participants in the Norfolk College Reading Project, was the enhancement of the feeling of identity, dignity and personal worth.

Several studies of user needs, especially for information, are currently underway or have recently been completed. One, primarily a literature search, is being conducted by Drexel University Library School. The National Survey of Library Services to the Aging, conducted by Booz, Allen and Hamilton in 1972, gave examples of what is being, and what should be done in this area. Edward Banfield in his chapter in the Metropolitan Library suggests a need, especially in urban areas, for tutorial services, subject oriented ones for serious readers, will enable them to work with specialists; for private study cubicles in libraries for adults; and for a mail-order purchase of books service through libraries. A Dallas Public Library independent study project which addresses the continuing education
needs of adults is in progress, as is the Neighborhood Information Centers Demonstration Project, which is being directed by the Cleveland Public Library with user need and library response investigations being done along with practice in four other inner cities.

One of the most interesting and specialized assessments was carried on by the direct interview technique, and three pilot projects have been built directly upon the findings. This is the library project of the National Indian Education Association in which information needs expressed by Indian people on three different reservations to Indian interviewers formed the basis for development of the following library services: information on how to organize for social action; for legal and civil rights; for local issues; for job and education skill development; for opportunities; for health and other services; and material to introduce and reinforce and preserve cultural heritage, and enhance self-identity, self-worth and pride.\(^{44}\)

Among poor people in rural areas, as in cities, there is a great attraction for material dealing with "life coping skills." The Appalachian Adult Education Center at Morehead State University, which is carrying on a demonstration of six basic models for coordinating Library and Basic Education Services, has produced a Life Coping Skills Materials List, as of June 1973.\(^{45}\) Materials are organized under seventeen major headings from advocacy to transportation, and including, among others, aging, children, consumer economics, family, health, housing, jobs, relating to others and self; with many subcategories which reflect the needs and interests of those with whom the project has been working.

In 1971, the Public Library Association, a division of ALA, received funds for a public library goals/feasibility study from the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Council on Library Resources. Allie Beth Martin, Librarian of the Tulsa City/County Library was appointed project coordinator. A literature search provided a record of public library development, user needs and goals research since the Berelson study; interviews and questionnaires produced \textit{A Strategy for Public Library Change} in 1972. Particularly valuable in this study are projections of user needs for the last quarter of this century as presumed by population growth and other factors:

1. families with fewer children who place more emphasis on the quality of education and life generally for those they do have;
2. more affluence and more leisure time;
3. a higher median age (from 27.6 to 32) by the year 2000, and a
decided increase in the group of people 60 years of age and
older;
4. greater emphasis placed on continuing education through the
adult years;
5. other factors which the study sees as affecting public library
programs serving adults include: external degrees and
noncampus higher education; vocational dislocation and change;
majority/minority conflicts and other tensions; greater citizen
participation; the growing complexity of social and economic
structures; and the need to preserve institutions that promote
the freedom of human choice.46

Martin emphasizes the basic and general disagreement of most
libraries surveyed in her study with the service philosophy outlined
by Berelson. In the Inquiry study of twenty-two years before,
Berelson said that public libraries should learn to serve better the
group they already served well, i.e., the better educated middle class;
whereas the majority of the libraries responding to the Strategy study
had embarked on the opposite course of service to all, especially to
inner-city, low income and less educated groups.

Finally, the National Commission on Libraries and Information
Science, fulfillment of a priority recommendation of the earlier, ad
hoc advisory commission whose findings have been already referred
to, is at present exploring user needs in some depth. It commissioned papers and held a conference of experts in June 1973
to consider the needs of such groups in the society as: women,
homemakers and parents; young adults/students; institutionalized
persons; the mentally and physically handicapped; persons in the
business community; the aging; the geographically remote; and the
economically and socially deprived. The commission regards the
needs of users and potential users, met and unmet at present, as a
major priority in making recommendations for nationwide planning
for library and information service. It has taken steps to identify
major groups whose needs demand special attention, and to
ascertain what those needs are, with a view to comparing present
provisions with needs on a cost-benefit basis. Findings will be
published and acted upon.

So, in summary, it can be said that user needs mined thus far by
various groups reflect primarily immediate needs for library services and materials that relate to immediate problems of life: home, business and farm management; child nurture; health and nutrition; housing and jobs; current events and hobbies. Libraries, in a sense, are at the threshold of user potential and the exploration so far has probed almost entirely the first level of need. They are in almost the same position as the nineteenth-century missionaries who found that they must tend to physical needs before they could offer their prescriptions for spiritual needs. There is not as much evidence at present as one would hope to see that librarians are aware that there are as many potential dreamers, lovers of art and beauty and poetry in poor neighborhoods as there are in middle-class ones, and that libraries have as much responsibility to provide for the emotional and often unconscious and unarticulated needs of people as they do for those recognized, real and practical needs.

Which materials do people choose when they realize that such things exist and they have access to them? What books do they like to read when they are able to read well enough to feel comfortable doing it?

People in general like what they have been exposed to; they are often unwilling to try things that are unfamiliar or that may demand more response than they know how to give. We know that nonprint media appeal to library users and potential readers. Television of course, has been a household companion for twenty or more years of almost the entire population; films, recordings, tapes, pictures, games, newspapers, magazines, pamphlets and books—especially paperbacks—are familiar to most. Helen Lyman’s survey of books enjoyed by new adult readers included especially: lives of real people; world news; ethnic and cultural materials, and books by authors of the same ethnic group as their own; romances; sports; and adventure and mystery. Among Blacks, stories of the Black experience, especially by those who have in some way “made it” in the society, are popular. Poetry and short stories make a good showing, too. It is evident that for all social and economic classes, choice of reading material still represents the broadest range of options, and the possibility of being totally individual and independent—a possibility that is less and less frequently offered in other activities in today’s world.

Queries to librarians concerning book selection in libraries elicited this comment quoted in Libraries at Large: “We used to ask, ‘How
much will this book be used?" Now we ask, 'Should this book be available in this library?'" Many observers have noted the increased demand for books at both ends of the difficulty level and specialization spectrum: the highly specialized and the very easy to read and elementary. Much fiction reading has been siphoned off from library borrowing into paperback buying, so that although libraries have been reporting the upsurge and preponderance of nonfiction borrowing for some years now, millions of copies of fiction titles are being sold, and titles in the "romantic novel" category—e.g., the Gothic novel—are finding more readers than ever. Easy, fast-moving and interesting material for scarcely literate adults is still cited as a great need in all quarters, as is popular material in foreign languages, and simply written technical material.

Some kind of "sorting out" of the implications of all of this fragmentary and not totally enlightening knowledge, or half-knowledge, of adult reading—who does it, and why, and what it does for them—is needed. Do these implications persuade one that it would be desirable for more adults to become readers of books as differentiated from users of books and/or information and, if so, can this be accomplished and how? Is there sufficient evidence that people in this technological-electronic age need reading, or need to be readers, if they are to transcend the many frightening, threatening and disagreeable and dangerous conditions of life in this last lap of the twentieth century?

My answer to all of these questions is "yes." It is obvious that many of the needs which used to be filled only by print, and therefore by reading, are now being, and will in the future be, filled by other means. Superficial and short-term needs for information, for news, and for solutions to immediate problems will be filled by computers, by television, and by other media not yet invented. But short-term solutions do not often change lives as we have learned and keep on learning from the welfare program. Perhaps we are in process of clarification—perhaps even purification—of what is meant by reading.

There can be little responsible disagreement with the fact that the vast majority of those who provide leadership in the transaction of the major social, economic and political business of the United States (or any other country) are those who characteristically use reading skills on a daily basis and in every act of communication they perform. Reading hones the ability to focus, grasp, analyze, and interpret. Reading relates to more than just printed symbols: one
reads an expression, a situation, the message of a television commercial, or the convictions of the news commentator with just about the degree of precision developed and exercised by practicing with printed words.

Different media communicate differently at various levels and in varied depths to different people in different situations. Although most realize that a picture may, indeed, in some circumstances be worth a thousand words, the work of the world cannot be conducted only with pictures and spoken language. Higher intelligence and entrepreneurial skill cannot be developed without a high degree of ability to read. The conciseness and clarity, the discipline required to express ideas in written symbols, are essential also to the creative, sophisticated use of the sound and sight media.

Many poor people, undereducated, and nonreaders seem to understand this, and many of them are not content with the often-expressed, well meaning, middle-class, and perhaps subconsciously racist contention that their children do not need to learn to read—they can look at pictures instead. Poor people, minority people, know better. They know that their children will need the reading skills and experiences, and the thinking skills these help to sharpen, if they are to have a real shot at self-determination, and they are fiercely determined to get them.

As the era of human resources continues to emerge, it becomes ever more clear that flexible minds and strong spirits will be required to adapt creatively to the quickening pace of change. As it unfolds, the relationship of books and reading to massive, worldwide concerns of people for the quality of life, and the environment of spirit and body; the rising tide of human expectation and liberation; and a higher consciousness of personhood and humanity becomes more clear.

August Heckscher said it beautifully in his article on reading in America, in the 1959 report on Reading for Life. "All books are, in the deepest sense, a criticism of life. It is significant that when people have been most involved in the realities of their fate, as in periods of war and depression, the amount of reading in our society has mounted. This is not merely because there is then more time, or greater need for economy, or less competition from consumer goods. It is also because people have felt themselves immersed in events, and in books they have found their own experience made comprehensible and deepened by art."48 At another point
Heckscher says: "The answers we need are not in books, but the qualities necessary to attain the answers—a basic wisdom, an alive sense of life’s meaning and direction—will be found through the use of books, or probably not at all. . . . The statesmen who rode out the storms of another revolutionary age—men like Adams, Jefferson and Madison, who imposed the pattern of their thought upon our early history and institutions—were among the best read men of their own or of any other period."49

How can one stir up "an alive sense of life’s meaning and direction" in people who have been dulled by despair, who cannot believe that life has any meaning or direction beyond the survival of crisis and the temporary cessation of pain? Or, how does one bring belief in the future, or hope of gaining some control over one’s destiny even to the middle-class nonreader who has been taught to silence his questionings and fill his voids with things instead of thoughts?

The implications of the studies and findings discussed in this paper tend to support (1) that exposure to and access to books make a difference; (2) that people links, people that bridge the gap between life and books, make a big difference; (3) that self-image and self-identity are at once motivators to read, and are reinforced or generated by reading; (4) that reading is seen, especially by younger people, as a social, rather than an antisocial activity; and (5) that longings and unconscious concerns, as well as needs and interests, and other media, can lead to reading if the right conditions prevail.

What should librarians, booksellers, teachers, parents, friends and behavior models do about any or all of this? Librarians need to renew their commitment to adults, and to reading. They need to learn enough about the teaching of reading, methods of instruction, and levels of reading skill to be able to collaborate effectively with reading teachers and agencies; to provide for the teaching of reading in libraries; to train volunteers and aides to work as models of reading behavior, reading guides; to create opportunities for interaction and socializing related to books and reading; to make common cause with booksellers to produce book and reading events for adults; to expedite book ownership through "buy or borrow" experiments; or to find ways to sell books through the library if other sources are not conveniently available, because of the strong correlation between book ownership and self-identification as a
reader. As MacDonald says: "Clearly, there is a need for planning, coordination and implementation of a library literacy effort at the national level, including studies, experimental projects, demonstrations, institutes and, at the same time, the provision of immediate service however imperfect."\(^{50}\)

Right now, libraries are going full steam ahead on implementation of their role as information and referral centers, and this is fine. But they must be careful not to lose sight of long range needs, and their responsibility to help "survival information" seekers and new literates make the transition—or even want to and believe they can make the transition—into the reading habit, into becoming readers.

We know that "all behavior is learned, and that much of it is learned by imitation. Reader behavior is no exception. Attitudes toward reading and the way of life that reading creates are learned by children from both the conscious and the unconscious actions and feelings of the adults who surround them from their earliest years. This means especially, but not exclusively their parents. . . . But what of the child who sees no reading models in his home? Suppose he has parents who, for one reason or another, can't read or who don't want to read? Suppose books are neither valued nor available in his home. . . . For the child who missed out on an early reading start, it is never too late."\(^{51}\) Recent writing by young Black men like Malcolm X, whose homes could not give them a reading start, gives powerful testimony that an adult reading model and a reading atmosphere can come later than early childhood and still make reading a powerful force in one's life. Claude Brown, in Manchild in The Promised Land tells of meeting his adult reading model, a middle-aged foreign woman, a refugee whose background could hardly have been more different from his. She believed in his intellect, talked books with him, encouraged him to become a reader, and later, a writer. We have the experience too, of Dan Feder, who set out to get some of the young adults in a Michigan prison Hooked On Books,\(^{52}\) and succeeded; and many other experiences of a similar nature.

Teachers, foremen in factories, labor leaders, wardens, not to mention librarians, could all become reading models, and help others to do so. Youth workers who are helping young people to reshape their lives in drug clinics, social workers, and people working with the elderly could be sensitized to opportunities to
create readers. Programs aimed at keeping alive the interests and involvements of older, better educated, more affluent Americans would be very important. Librarians, again, are the logical professionals to initiate and organize the efforts.

Museums, cultural centers, neighborhood centers—all could be brought into partnership with libraries and bookstores to help provide the social settings and the curiosities and interests that stimulate reading. Televisions stations that would relate reading to their programming through follow-up bibliographies to extend interests stimulated by telecasts could be more active and most effective partners. Industries and foundations with local interests could sponsor community or statewide research projects which would provide information for library planning. Some of the research needs pointed out by Steinberg need to be implemented, especially those that would help establish a closer working relationship between book ownership and book borrowing opportunities.

As to public policy, government at all levels must be convinced that reading and its encouragement, provision of quality library resources, the care and freedom and encouragement of writers are matters of genuine commitment and not just lip-service. With just a small amount of encouragement so far, several states have had the courage to name reading as their number one priority, and to put some of their state funds behind it. Social goals, family patterns and lifestyles will be involved in turning America into a nation of readers, with all that that implies, but legislation in support of this long-range objective, with appropriations to implement it, would be a splendid and necessary start. Such legislation, under consideration at various stages in Congress for the past year or more, has been overshadowed by the inertia of a weakened administration, economic disaster and other crises, while existing library legislation languishes before an uncertain future.

Above all, however, stands the commitment of librarians to an open society, to the importance of developing adult readers, and to their own expanding vision of professional responsibility and potential. I believe that librarians can be counted on, now that so many of them have hit their stride, to make all the studies, all the demonstrations, and all the uncertainties of the past the prelude to a glorious future.
References


47. Knight and Nourse, op. cit., p. 27.
49. Ibid., p. 63.
Acquisition of a Reading Repertoire

WILLIAM R. POWELL

Why give special attention to a topic concerned with the process of reading? Is it because of the exponential power of reading behavior? Is it because of the insatiable desire of man to have control over the power potential of his dynamic behaviors? Or is it because it offers a simple mystery to which the detective nature of man must curiously seek to solve?

Certainly, if one wishes to have complete control over any system, he has to have an understanding of the process inputs within that system, otherwise the alchemy of change in the product will be due to chance regulation or control of the surface components. Unquestionably, reading behavior has exponential power. It is a generative process in that it gives the learner an increment of power to learn something else. And the greater the mastery over the process, the greater the degree of generative ability the individual has at his disposal.

Unfortunately, the process of reading cannot be reproduced through imitative behavior. According to Ray “the act of reading is one of the few human behaviors that cannot be learned through imitation of others performing the act.” An individual cannot reproduce the process in himself by simple observation and imitation of others performing that process. Undoubtedly, the receptive nature of the reading act contributes to the exclusion of mere imitation alone. This receptive process is uniquely personal, extremely complex, and involves all the experiential, perceptive, cognitive, psychomotor, and affective attributes of the human system. It is more than a skill; it is a repertoire of abilities, aptitudes, and special accomplishments assimilated into one active reticular performance.

However, to stipulate that reading cannot be learned imitatively does not imply that it cannot become habitual in nature at some

William R. Powell is Dean, School of Education, University of Evansville, Evansville, Indiana.
stage of development. Indeed, habituation is possible and even probable unless some new element is added. Some novelty dimension must be given to the incremental process so as to disturb the equilibrium of the system and cause a new task to be solved. This would apply to the perceived simplicity of the learning of a letter or the assimilation of a new concept presented through verbal meaningful material.

This paper deals with three aspects of the process of learning to read: (1) the developmental clusters or time periods in which processing occurs; (2) the strategies of processing or acquiring these reading behaviors during these growth interludes; and (3) a theory for integrating the processing components. Obviously, this speculative paper is unsubstantiated by definitive research; the idiosyncratic position of the author has, however, been influenced by reported theories and individual research.

**DEVELOPMENTAL CLUSTERS AND INTERFACES**

The reading repertoire is acquired through four nonmutually exclusive cluster growth periods. These interlocking clusters have repeatedly been apparent in the data from studies of oral reading values for given levels of readability.² The range of these performance values tends to indicate a clustering of reading behavior which is a function of the difficulty of the material and not the age-grade factor of the reader. The four cluster periods are: (1) readiness through the preprimer readability (readiness PP); (2) primer through second grade (primer-2²); (3) third-grade level to the end of fifth-grade readability level (3¹-5²); and (4) sixth-grade reading level and beyond (6¹+). These clusters are illustrated in figure 1.

**READINESS-PREPRIMER CLUSTER**

In this initial cluster the individual must first learn the purpose of a writing system—that the symbol conveys a language message. Writing is a code that represents spoken language and is visually presented in such a way that the graphic display units stand in a fixed relationship to the units of the oral emission. Then the acquiring reader (hereafter, the reader) learns to code and recode that written message. Subsequently, the reader has to learn to combine letters, phonemes, and sound-symbol relationships.
individually and collectively, and to recognize when to stop the combinatorial process.

The medium is both spatial and temporal. After the reader learns to code each system, then he must learn to transform or recode one system into the other, i.e., in the initial instance to change the written code into the spoken framework he already possesses. Should he not have an adequate spoken language base, he obviously cannot perform the process of recoding, and to attempt to teach him to do so is futile, inefficient, and cruel. The reader must have an adequate prior spoken system in order to learn to code and recode a second system (reading) into it. Further, this spoken foundation must be more advanced than the level of performance initially demanded of the second system. To efficiently code and recode visually into the auditory system, the reader's spoken language process should be more mature than the level of the reading assignment. To code and recode at the preprimer level, the reader's spoken development should probably be a year to a year and one-half higher than that immediate instructional level. This difference between the two systems disappears gradually and becomes reversed at a later stage of development. During the initial cluster period, the acquiring reader learns to make the appropriate mapping assignments to the recurring intact units of each system, separately and in combination.

PRIMER—2 \(^2\) CLUSTER

In this second stage of development of the acquisition of a reading repertoire, the individual continues to learn the mapping assignments started earlier and learns additional alternate mapping routes which will increase efficiency. The recoding process matures and strategies for decoding develop slowly. As the reader learns to transform one system into another, he also learns to translate or carry the interpretative nuances of the prior system into the secondary one. To decode, some level of understanding, however simplistic, must be involved, and that level of comprehension is inherent in the prior language system. Having the prior (spoken) system at a more mature stage than this level facilitates the ease of processing. Otherwise, the reader would have to learn two systems simultaneously. Given such a condition, learning would be confounded and difficulty would be intensified.

In addition to learning alternate mapping routes during this
cluster period, the reader should begin to reduce the amount of the mediation involved in the transformation between systems. The latency factor involved in conversion between the two language systems is reduced gradually until in a later cluster period it becomes nearly, if not really, simultaneous processing. The reader's equivalencies between the newly presented graphic symbol and the intact spoken counterparts demand less time for connections to become operational.

As the graphic display becomes more difficult either through meaning difficulty or increasingly embedded quality of information, the reader learns to utilize the prediction factor inherent in the syntactical nature of discourse. By learning to cluster the graphic presentation into a framework similar to the one that spoken language is naturally segmented into, the reader begins the process of reducing inefficiency and increasing information gained.

3\textsuperscript{1}–5\textsuperscript{2} cluster

The completion of the decoding function occurs during this cluster period, and as a consequence automatization occurs. The latency factor reduces considerably the mediational distance between equivalencies in word recognition and word-knowing until it reaches near instantaneous processing. However, during this growth period the decoding mechanism becomes so strong and accurate in processing that it can outdistance the underlying language systems. In essence, the individual can learn to call words, i.e., pronounce them accurately, but have no equivalency for it in the semantic characteristics of the language systems. Thus verbalizing occurs. The maturity of total language development must be of major concern through the learning process. One aspect or mechanism of learning cannot be overdeveloped at the expense of other language components.

An accent on recall is evident during this developmental cluster. The informational demand intensifies as does the length and complexity of the graphic arrays. There is added content depth and the retrieval of the information becomes more difficult. The gap widens between the surface and deep structure of the language. The shift between connotative and denotative meaning becomes more pronounced and more difficult to process. The individual becomes an independent reader during this period but not a mature one. However, as a person moves closer to the interface between this cluster and the succeeding one, the regression probabilities to lower
levels of performance becomes less likely; functional literacy is achieved.

6\textsuperscript{1}+ CLUSTER

With decoding abilities intact, the reader is now within the operational limits of his motivational dispositions, his genetic endowments, and his continued maturity in language acquisitions. He can increase his efficiency by lengthening his span of apprehension and reducing the latency factor for processing the amount of intake. He can literally learn to think using the printed page as the stimulus for reverberating his mental actions. While such limitations are not bound by instructional opportunities, experience has shown that direct instruction increases the probabilities that growth will occur in these more mature reading functions.

THE INTERFACES

Since the four clusters delineated above are not mutually exclusive, there must be area common to the interlocking concentrics. Figure 1 shows three interfaces (the shaded areas) between the four developmental clusters, and these offer the greatest possible opportunity for challenge and speculation.

Historically, it has been assumed that the skills needed in the acquisition of a reading repertoire must be linear, i.e., they are arrayed in the hierarchical order and this skill or that skill must be mastered before the next arbitrarily sequenced set is initiated. Indeed, much of the past and current research in the reading area has intuitively adopted this assumption. Further, the development of most of the reading materials commercially promoted is predicated on this assumption. Skill and sequence charts are elaborately developed and portrayed. In each instance, the linearity of the skills is implied and emphasized, if not explicitly formulated. In essence, the implication is that this specific skill must precede that specific skill — this first and then that. This results in an obviously stifling rigidity — both for a teacher and a learner.

The contention here is that there is a sequence, but that the sequence is between clusters and not within them. Given a set of skills and subskills relative to the difficulty of the language and the types of processing to be mastered, they are operative in a random fashion within the given developmental cluster. They operate in the same nonlinear manner as the other language processes.

However, between the developmental clusters or in the interfacing
period, the issue and substance of sequence is quite a different matter. Within the interfaces, sequencing becomes crucial and the linearity of skills is probably a necessity to aid the reader to evolve easily and efficiently out of one developmental period into a new stage of structural growth. It is to this interfacing area that research energies need to be devoted, in both identifying the crucial skills during that interluding space and in determining the order which maximizes the ease of transfer between the interlocking growth structures.

The greatest growth in the acquisition of a reading repertoire will be achieved at those times just before and just after each of the interfacing periods. Development and motivation will be easy to elicit during these accelerated learning episodes. Growth will be more vexing and frustrating for the learner while he is functioning within the interfacing periods; more direct and guided instruction will be needed for the great majority of individuals during these time spans due to the probable fact that skill learning within a developmental cluster is random or nonlinear and that between
clusters or during the interfacing periods skill acquisition probably follows a linear course.

Strategies for Processing Written Verbal Messages

A series of five functions which influence the acquisition of the reading repertoire will be presented in this section. The five functions are: (1) the processing of recurring intact units; (2) the processing of spatio-temporal relationships; (3) the processing of semantic relations; (4) the processing of transformations; and (5) the processing of differential cognitive functions. Each processing stage will be briefly discussed and illustrated.

Processing Recurring Intact Units

Whether the perceptual task is dealing with letters, sounds, or words, singly or in combination, the learning process follows a common pattern. A reader must first learn to make the appropriate mapping assignments both between and within graphic units (letters or words) or sounds (phonemes). Then he must process the key features of each unit and finally note its relationship to its invariant position in space. These four changes in reading behavior, subtle though they may be, are the critical perceptual tasks of learning to read.4

Discrimination—Differences Between Classes. Initially, the beginning reader must learn to see or hear differences between dissimilar sets. He must learn that d is a letter while + is not; that the combination of letters such as work is a word and the letter combination of worh is not. The beginner must scan temporally and make a response to a difference.

Recognition—Differences Within Classes. Bartlett contends that we notice differences and have to be taught to see similarities.5 He stipulates that biologically we attend to the unusual in our environment because it is the unusual element in the environment which represents a threat to survival.

Once a reader can detect with facility the differences between sets, he must learn what, according to Bartlett, is the most difficult perceptual task—a response to sameness. The acquiring reader has to learn to respond to similarities within a commonly accepted cultural set. He has to learn that t and $t$ are the same percept while $t$
and / are not. He must learn to hear that the sounds representing the two symbols / and / are similar while the sounds culturally attached to / and / produce accepted patterns such as /æ/ and /a/; and he must learn that the coding of the letters /o-r-k/ and /w-o-r-k/ are the same while the letter combinations of /w-o-r-k/ and /w-o-r-k/ are not the same.

Mapping Key Features. One of the characteristics which aids a learner in detecting similarities is their distinctive or key features. A beginner must learn the relationship of the components to its whole. He must learn to see that all /s/ have two humps, while /n/ have one hump. Acoustically he must learn to hear the presence or absence of sound in a word, a higher intensity or lower tone, etc. In the recognition of similar words, they must learn to detect the influence of ascenders or descenders, the effect of length, vowel complexity, and other orthographic factors. Whether it is an acoustical or visual pattern, the acquiring reader must learn the relationships within that set.

Mapping Units in Space. Visually, the beginning reader has to detect the relationships between the graphic unit and its placement in space. He has to learn form constancy and the effect of rotation and directionality on symbol units. The letters /b/, /d/, /p/, and /q/ present the most difficult alphabetic directional confusion. Words such as /w-as/ and /s-a-w/, /n-o/ and /o-n/, present similar orthographic difficulties in the larger intact graphic units. These, of course, represent examples of what is commonly called reversal errors in reading.

PROCESSING SPATIO-TEMPORAL RELATIONSHIPS

After the reader has learned the different patterns made by the same letters, the same sounds, and the same recurring units, he must acquire, if he has not already inductively acquired, the ability to know when to stop the combinatory process—an operation called coding. This combinatory process must be matched with the appropriate experiential or language base so that the symbolic function can be attached to it. In order to process the time-space relationships of sound-symbol relationships, the acquiring reader must learn (1) to make associations and (2) to be able to establish equivalents.

Making Associations. Before a reader can make the necessary associations between perceptual discriminations and recognitions he
Acquisition of a Reading Repertoire

must have a basis upon which to attach them. Samuels labels this as response availability. There must be a meaning reservoir; this meaning reservoir is usually best indicated by the level of the speaking vocabulary which, as discussed above, should be more advanced than the present level of instructional effort. Colloquially, one would say he must have "something to hang it on." This "hanger" is a fusion of experiences, maturity, and language development. One caution should be stipulated here: vocalizing of a word does not provide assurance that the reader has a meaningful basis for it.

Given some assurance of a meaningful reservoir and of veridical perceptions, the routine process of determining the simple relationships between the two must be established. The reader must be able to attach permanent linkages between his discriminations and his stored meanings. Learning the association between these linkages (naming process) builds the bonds or the connections which cement the two together. Attaching a name (associates) between these relationships provides the glue to hold them together.

Short-term memory is involved in this associating stage of processing and the emphasis is more on the visual modality than on the auditory one. Auditory interaction is minimal. Essentially, the memory system here is more what is commonly called visual recognition than anything else. But there is some auditory input because of the auditory-vocal involvement with the interconnections involved with the "name."

Words in particular become conditioned stimuli as the result of this paired-associate process, and each carries with it the shaping, tinting, and nuances of it in the stored system. If, for example, a youngster has in his meaning reservoir an unfavorable meaning of school, teacher, reading, mother, cop, and so forth, these culturally imbued meanings are those which become conditioned to the printed stimuli. And these meanings may not be particularly the ones that are to be used in the contextual basis that is to be applied. Therefore, care must be exercised to explore the stored meanings which are being cemented in during this association stage.

Determining Equivalents. After associations are formed, the acquiring reader has to expand these to similar, but not identical, relationships. He has to learn that particular symbols, sounds, or meanings represent, or are equivalent to, a similar association. Therefore, he has to learn that A, a, A, and a are all common sets
which have the same name but are somewhat different in their visual configurations. Acoustically, it also is true that different letters can represent the same sound. For instance, the e in be, eat, and feel, all represent the same sound, but the visual representation is modified. The same is true for equivalencies in meanings which are represented by words that have the same meanings but differ visually (synonyms).

The long-term memory system is active in establishing equivalencies. The visual recall is instantaneous and the visual and auditory systems become highly integrated. Indeed, the assimilation or internal integration is completed so that the condition works anywhere, anytime. Categorization occurs, the meaning becomes firmly attached, and automatization can be developed.

Establishing equivalencies is a crucial process for the reader; otherwise he is always situation bound—limited to a specific stimulus for a specific response with no flexibility. He must learn that this grapheme, phoneme, word, or concept represented by a new but similar stimulus is equivalent to whatever the others are.

Learning Rate. Each individual has an approximate capacity of new inputs, whether they be letters, sounds, or words, that can be learned in a given time segment—a minute, an hour, a day, or a week. To exceed this absorption rate is to create a false economy. Should the speed of assimilation be exceeded, learning is confounded and little if any new learning occurs. Simply stated, overloading stalls or stops the mechanism of processing. Extension beyond a given individual's linkage ability and memory system inhibits positive learning and creates frustration.

Repetition. The basic mechanism for establishing associations and equivalencies is repeated exposure. Desired linkages have to be presented again and again in an interesting and meaningful arrangement. The modal number of presentations required for automatization to occur is undoubtedly a variable idiosyncratic to a given individual. Not since the Gates study in 1930 has any estimate of the number of appearances of words for instant recognition been given. Gates's data suggested that the number of exposures was a function of the ability level of the individual. For a person with average ability, he reported that thirty-five exposures is necessary for instant linkage. With the impact of modern technology this figure is probably higher than would be needed today for
Acquisition of a Reading Repertoire

individuals of average ability; twenty such repeated exposures might be sufficient for immediate sight recognition. But certainly many variables influence such an estimate, particularly items such as frequency, intensity, concreteness, etc. In any instance, the number of repetitions needed for automatization is probably larger than most people currently believe.

It would appear that the processing of intact recurring units requires a substantive input, a cementing factor, a regulator, and a seal or gasket. The substantive ingredients are the discriminations and the meaning reservoir. The cement or glue in the process is the associations and equivalencies. The regulator is the learning rate variable; and the required number of repeated exposures provides the seal for the process. It should be noted and emphasized that the process above is really three processes: one for letters, one for the sound system, and one for words. There will be minor modifications for each function, but essentially the mechanisms will be similar.

PROCESSING SEMANTIC RELATIONS

Reading, of course, is not just coding, recoding, and decoding functions. It is true that these operations are the more mechanical aspects of the reading process, but the principal function is to get the message which is intended or conveyed by an author through his printed words. There must be an active sense of awareness about the possible options presented and the alternate strategies for solution. The reader has to learn to reconstruct the intended meaning and match it with his existing structure of knowledge.

Reading is a form of abstraction, i.e., it is presented and processed in symbolic form. Any abstraction such as ideas in print must be directly relatable to the reader's level of abstraction. The information, ideas, or concepts presented must become internalized, integrated and assimilated. However, one must always be aware that the instrument of assimilation can register without internal integration. Some level of comprehension occurs when the language structure of the prose has been precorrected. Precorrection implies the reduction of errors or miscues both in word recognition and in meaning recognition on the reader's level of assimilation. The new information presented is experienced when it can be assimilated and has become internalized.

The techniques which facilitate the processing for semantic relationships are learning to set up expectancies and to anticipate...
expected patterns, to interpret the space between words and sentences, to scan for meaningful clusters (of words), to utilize a contextual support system, to transpose typographical meaning signals into the conveyed message, to apply denotative and connotative meaning structures where appropriately demanded, and to track and retrack relationships embedded in prose even if separated sequentially.

PROCESSING TRANFORMATIONS

In the acquisition of a reading repertoire, a necessary skill is the ability to manipulate or interpret manipulated syntactical complexes to extract the intended meaning. The reader has to learn to interpret substitutions and transformations. In learning the effect of substitution he sees the meaning change is replaced by one word with another word from the same class, i.e., a noun replaces a noun, a verb another verb, an adjective another adjective. In high frequency patterns, only one class is changed. However, the reader begins to sense a change can be made in several ways singly and in combination: a change in person, tense, word order (negation, question), etc. A simple illustration would be that the sentence “I have a name.” can be modified by changing the last word to “pencil,” “bicycle,” “toy,” etc. In each instance the meaning change is due a change within a class.

Meaning shifts are frequently accomplished through transformation of the syntax. Transformation occurs when one stimulus pattern is transformed into another pattern. In the process, some modification in meaning normally transpires, whether it be a shift from active to passive action, or affirmative to negative, or affirmative to interrogative, etc.

One subtle example is the conversion of the stimulus sentence, “Mother made the cake.” to the passive forms of “The cake was made by Mother.”

PROCESSING OF DIFFERENTIATED FUNCTIONS

Grammatical complexity or syntax obviously affects the nature of semantic relations, but not to the exclusion of other psychological functions. Many of the so-called higher level comprehension skills are probably more psychological than linguistic, but the degree of contribution from each segment of the psychological-linguistic continuum is a function of the specific skill under consideration.
Unfortunately, most of the research pertaining to this complex network has tended to make certain a priori assumptions about the nature of the skill instead of attempting to account for the variance contributed from each sector. Therefore, most remarks about the nature of these skills tend to reflect more ideology than veracity.

Processing prose material differentially involves the manipulation of semidiscrete functions simultaneously. The reader has to mentally handle intentional factors, content factors, and response factors in various combinations and degrees of completeness. Intentional factors include such items as the meaning reservoir, the purpose for reading, and the passage length. Content factors would involve such items as the level of difficulty (readability); the type of literature narrative, expository, argumentative or descriptive; and the interest value to the reader. Whether the response mode is to be one of recognition, or recall, or to be integrative, exact, or elaborate will influence the differential understanding of the task.

From the acquiring reader stage to the maturing reader stage, the reader has to learn how to deal with and control the many sets of variables presented to him both linguistically and psychologically. As his span of apprehension increases, he must learn to differentially manipulate the correct set of psycholinguistic variables so that he truly begins to use the printed page as a stimulus for thinking. As he restructures it, i.e., precorrects his errors, and internalizes the message, it then becomes a part of his experience and meaning reservoir and becomes available for further additive restructuring.

**The Reduction Theory on Processing of the Reading Repertoire**

**Basic Paradigm**

The reading process is depicted here as a problem-solving activity which arises by uncertainty introduced into the system which must be reduced by precorrection in the basic mechanisms directly influencing the imbalanced states: word recognition, semantics, and time. The less the reduction (precorrection) necessary, the greater the potential for increased cluster intake and the rapidity of processing. The active states find a match in the stimulus, tension is reduced, and the problem is solved. Figure 2 presents the basic paradigm of this process.

**Problem-Solving Behavior.** A problem can be defined as a situation in
Problem (to be solved)

Reduction of Uncertainty

Reduction of Word Perception Errors

Reduction of Time

Reduction of Semantic Errors

Increase of Syntactic/Semantic Clustering (Chunking)

Reduction of Drive

Problem Solved

Fig. 2. Reduction Theory on Processing of the Reading Repertoire

which the organism's first attempt is unsuccessful in attaining a desired goal. That desired goal could be to pronounce a word which is outside the reader's existing sight vocabulary; it could be to determine the meaning of a word as it is used in a special context; or it could be to read in a fluent manner when requested to do so orally. A number of such specific examples could be cited as representative of this type of behavior.

However, the conditions which make reading a problem-solving activity are multidimensional. The individual is temporarily blocked from performing as he wishes or as he knows he should, but he is
not frustrated by the situation. He is still goal-motivated. The reader actively seeks alternate states, generates possible options for resolving the disparate condition, and selects the most efficient and successful reduction route for correcting the miscued stimulus.

**Reduction of Uncertainty.** Gibson states that reinforcement in reading "is not reduction of a drive, but reduction of uncertainty." Smith, in his book *Understand Reading,* concurs with this position. However, if reading is viewed as a problem-solving situation as depicted in figure 2, both conditions would be true, i.e., the reading process would contain elements of reduction of uncertainty and reduction of drive. The first condition sets up the active alternate states in the organism and the second reduces the tension when the goal is reached, that is, the disparate condition in the stimulus is resolved. For information to be processed (to provide perfect communication) from the author to the reader, any uncertainty contained in the written verbal material must be resolved.

The more unpredictable or uncertain the language unit is, the more difficult it is to recode, and thereby the more difficult to process and understand. However, perfect communication between writer and reader seldom if ever occurs, even if the reader himself was the author (for something written previously and read after some time interval). There always is "noise" in the communication system. The reader attempts to reduce this noise to a minimum so that as little interference as possible is present to effect the message transmitted.

**Reduction of Word Perception Errors.** To process written verbal material a reader must be able to recognize the words with a degree of rapidity. He must be able to pronounce (associate) them if necessary and, if appropriate, have established several sets of equivalencies for the stimulus. Any hesitancy, delay, or blockage increases the mediational effect; reaction time in establishing associational connections increases and the fluency is likely to be reduced.

When an individual reads orally, the reduction of uncertainty is expressed in the reduction of errors—a quantitative reduction. While it is true that a slight change in word order (a transposition) or a simple substitution may not change the final message significantly, such miscues do not contribute to the total reduction of the uncertainty of the situation. Even slight errors result in
TABLE I

Error Value Ranges for the First Reading of a Selection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Primer-2²</th>
<th>3¹-5²</th>
<th>6¹+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>1/17</td>
<td>1/27</td>
<td>1/36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instructional</td>
<td>1/8 - 1/16</td>
<td>1/13 - 1/26</td>
<td>1/18 - 1/35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frustration</td>
<td>1/7</td>
<td>1/12</td>
<td>1/17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

modification of the original message and therefore are significant in the total reading process.

This is not to say that reading must be perfect or exact to perceive the message. Such an assumption would be unfounded because fortunately, there is enough redundancy in language to allow for errors to occur and the message still to be transmitted. However, given enough errors within a normal range of values, the probabilities are that the information flow is reduced as that value range is exceeded. Much more research is needed to accurately determine the limits and the standard error of the expected range of errors both quantitatively and qualitatively.

Some of the research which Powelllo and Dunkeld¹¹ have done in this area would be suggestive, but not definitive, of the normal error range which can be anticipated. This range of values is presented in table 1. Quantitatively, the number of errors tolerated is a differential function related to the readability of the material. In contrast, the work by Goodman and his associates has explored the qualitative dimensions of miscues and their findings have been a generative contribution to the field.¹² However, quantitative influences on reading behavior are reflected in their data.

Should a reader exceed the normal range of error values, he will have to make more corrections in order not to exceed the redundancy factors of the language and thereby not be able to deal with its unpredictability. For instructional purposes, clinical observations would suggest that this reduction factor might be 25 to 33 percent. This is best detected by observing a reader in repeated readings of the same material under differing performance requirements. An individual's first reading of a given selection will
likely reduce his errors on the second reading of the same material by about one-fourth to one-third. The second reading will reduce the number of perception errors by another 10 to 17 percent. Further readings are not likely to make significant changes in the quantitative factor as reading performance on a given piece of material stabilizes when the reduction values reach those upper limits. The data from a research study in process by Busboom may present further evidence on these reduction ranges. Only further research will verify whether this clinical observation can be substantiated. Should it be verified, however, a basic operating principle will have been established which will permit the determination of the degree of reduction necessary for the differential requirements of performance for functional reading levels.

Since silent reading does not demand the pronunciation of every word, whether such a basic principle would apply across all developmental clusters must certainly be questioned. It is likely to apply in the first two cluster periods and not in the latter two. Surely, the nature of the silent reading task in the latter two periods shall reflect a difference. But how is it measured? The issue is not the appearance of error, but the amount of precorrection or correction necessary to stay within the redundancy factor of a given piece of written verbal material.

Reduction of Semantic Errors. Studies in cloze procedure clearly suggest that semantic differences occur with regularity between an author and his readers. The more basic the form class in which the differences occur, such as nouns and verbs, the higher the percent of agreement; but still agreement is far from unity. This would suggest that a reduction of uncertainty in the semantic components of a message need to take place in the same manner as word perception miscues. While I have not tried to find the reduction percentage for this dimension, I would not be surprised to learn that any such evidence will parallel a similar figure as hypothesized previously.

Reduction of Time. Any increased mediation time for reducing the word perception or the semantic factor has to increase the latency factor for a reader. Should there be little if any uncertainty in a given message, the time necessary to process its contents will be considerably reduced. However, given greater unpredictability in a
particular message, a longer latency period will be observed. Bartlett contends that "maybe the best single measure of mental skill lies in the speed with which errors are detected and thrown out, a function which becomes possible only when skill has first a symbolic expression."14

Increase of Syntactic/Semantic Clustering. The less need a reader has for reducing word perception errors and semantic errors, the greater potential he has for grouping words and phrases into more meaningful patterns or chunks. Reading becomes more creative and less atomistic. The reader begins to cluster ideas, not words, and to assimilate the ideas into his existing structure of knowledge. The greater the ability of significant chunking, the greater the reduction of time in processing.

Reduction of Drive. The autonomic nervous system is relaxed; tension is reduced. Regressive and fixating reading behaviors are reduced and affective and creative potential is released.

Problem Solved. Behavior continues to be constructive, versatile, and adaptive. The individual becomes more resourceful, and open to more options. The search for challenging alternatives continues.

BASIC OPERATING STRATEGIES

The most efficient processing of the reading repertoire would be for a reader to have a wide and deep reservoir of meaning so that upon the presentation of a graphic display he needs little reduction of word perception errors and moves directly to significant chunking, thereby reducing the latency period required. A study of the flow pattern in figure 2 would indicate there are many other alternate mapping routes available should the need arise. In all probability, there is a great deal of reverberation within and between the many possible combinations. Each problem situation will require different mapping conditions depending upon the nature of the difficulty.

The basic operating principle for efficient processing is one of reduction. Whether the errors or miscues are precorrected internally or overtly makes little difference. They must be reduced until the organism's structure of knowledge can assimilate the message. A match must be achieved between the redundancy factors of the language and the range of values tolerated for reduction. Each individual's matching system is undoubtedly unique but there
Acquisition of a Reading Repertoire

are probably modal values representative of a normal population. This modal value is believed to be about 25 to 33 percent for an instructional range and approximately 43 to 50 percent for material which is to be processed in an independent and relatively leisurely fashion. Only further research will confirm or deny whether this conjecture is correct.

This paper has presented aspects of acquiring a reading repertoire. The position taken here was that reading is broader than a skill—more like a repertoire with many abilities, aptitudes, and special accomplishments performing in concert. This repertoire is acquired by processing through four nonmutually exclusive developmental cluster periods where the skills to be learned within a given cluster are like the acquisition of language and are nonlinear. Within a cluster, a hierarchical set is probably insignificant. However, linearity is important in the interfacing period between clusters as the acquiring reader struggles to achieve new structures of knowledge. The linear effect during the interface time supplies the guidance and support when the learning challenge is the greatest, that is, the breaking-out of one developmental period into another.

During these development clusters and interfacing periods, the reader develops five strategies of processing the written verbal material. He learns to process recurring intact units which demand that he learn to discriminate between and within classes and to map the key features in relationship to itself and in space. A reader must learn to process time-space relationships which call for him to learn to associate and to establish equivalences. Given enough repeated exposures with the parameters of his learning rate, the prognosis for success is relatively high. Further, a maturing reader must learn to process semantic relations, to process transformations, and to psychologically differentiate ways of thinking using the printed page as the stimulus.

Theoretically, the nature of this process is one of problem-solving through the reduction of errors. The reader must learn to precorrect his errors, perceptually and semantically, until the redundancy factors of the presented material match his existing structure of knowledge. It was hypothesized that approximately one-third error reduction occurs under instructional conditions. A greater percentage of reduction would be necessary for independent recreational reading.
WILLIAM R. POWELL

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3. Acknowledgement is hereby noted to Darrel D. Ray, Oklahoma State University, for listening to the ideas presented in this section and for generating questions which influenced the structure of this portion of the paper.

4. Acknowledgement is given to the unpublished documents by Donald E.P. Smith, University of Michigan, which helped clarify the distinctions made regarding the first two tasks in this section.


Reading and the Adult New Reader

HELEN HUGUENOR LYMAN

In that great novel, Bleak House, Charles Dickens exclaims with his usual compassion and irony:

It must be a strange state to be like Jo! To shuffle through the streets, unfamiliar with the shapes, and in utter darkness as to the meaning, of those mysterious symbols, so abundant over the shops, and at the corners of streets, and on the doors, and in the windows! To see people read, and to see people write, and to see postmen deliver letters, and not to have the least idea of all that language—to be, to every scrap of it, stone blind and dumb! It must be very puzzling to see the good company going to churches on Sundays, with their book in their hands, and to think (for perhaps Jo does think at odd times) what does it all mean, and if means anything to anybody, how comes it that it means nothing to me? To be hustled, and jostled, and moved on: and really to feel that it would appear to be perfectly true that I have no business, here, or there, or anywhere; and yet to be perplexed by the consideration that I am here somehow, too, and everybody over-looked me until I became the creature that I am!

[Chapter XVI, Volume 2]

A bleak world indeed, and the bleakest of existences; a strange state which is difficult for sophisticated readers to imagine. Who among them remembers when he could not read? Incredible as it may seem, many Jos exist today. It comes as a surprise to many that any large number of persons in the United States of America cannot or do not read. Is this not the most educated population in the world, with the largest school system where everyone goes to school?

Definitions

In spite of attempts to eradicate illiteracy, the problem of inadequate literacy abilities continues. By the most conservative figures, 21 million
Americans cannot read or write. A large proportion of this illiterate population is concentrated in the oldest groups who are 65 years and over. They constitute 45 percent of illiterates, and the proportion will increase as more younger persons are educated. A state of partial literacy exists among a large part of the population. One out of seven Americans is considered functionally illiterate, which means that thousands are unable to read and comprehend want ads, job applications, directions for long distance dialing, Social Security forms, leases, and credit forms. During the decade between 1960 and 1970, the number of persons unable to read and write in any language decreased in the nation by 50 percent, in the South by 25 percent; yet estimates show that by 1980 there will be 5 million persons 25 years and over with less than 5 years of schooling and over 21 million with less than 8 years.

Figures for literacy are misleading because it appears that they overestimate the number of persons functionally literate. The Laubach study in 1963 estimated that approximately 8.3 million people 25 years and over have less than a fifth grade education. The corollary problems such as undereducation, poverty, unemployment, alienation, frustration, exploitation, unhappiness, dependence and deprivations are evident in many facets of the society.

The application of the amplified definition of literacy beyond merely minimal reading and writing ability increases the total number of adult readers who may be developing reading abilities and uses for print materials. The concept of literacy as functional broadens the field of concern, and creates a new concept regarding the adult new reader and his reading. Librarians envision services in special materials and reading guidance not only during the first stages of learning and acquiring reading skills, but also during all subsequent stages in a continuing service that insures the adults use of reading materials meaningful to all aspects of their lives, and achievement of independence and self-direction in the use of such materials.

How is the adult new reader defined? For the purposes of this paper, the adult new reader is identified as: a person sixteen years of age and over, whose native language is English, or who is learning English as a second language, whose formal education may extend to the eleventh grade, and whose reading level consequently is at an eighth grade level or less. Reading materials for the adult new reader are those print materials that serve broad reading purposes, that place emphasis primarily on the substantive content rather than the development of
reading skills, and that either have been prepared specifically for the adult new reader or are adaptable to his level of use and interests.

These definitions are drawn from the investigation conducted by this writer during the period 1967 to 1972 at the Library School of the University of Wisconsin-Madison. The report on this Library Materials Research Project (LMRP) is published in *Library Materials in Service to the Adult New Reader.* The findings from that research are a major source of data presented in this discussion. Previous research and studies relevant to the subject are reviewed there and will not be discussed here. In addition to LMRP findings, several concurrent studies and recent publications are drawn upon for this article.

**LIBRARY MATERIALS RESEARCH PROJECT**

Basic assumptions as defined and borne out in the LMRP research underlying effective library reading development programming are:

1. The progress of the adult new reader from minimal literacy to an increasingly mature use of print is aided by the relevance of materials can bring together more appropriate materials and greater range of choices for the reader.
2. The continued reading of materials by the adult new reader serves as a reinforcement in the development of basic reading skills and as a source of general information, enrichment, broader understanding, aesthetic pleasure, and immediate goal satisfaction.
3. The more that can be known about the adult new reader, his characteristics and reading behavior, the more effective can be the reading guidance service to him.
4. The application of standards for evaluation, selection, and use of materials can bring together more appropriate materials and greater range of choices for the reader.

The major objective and product of the LMRP was the development of criteria for the evaluation of reading materials for adult new readers. The four major procedures used for the collection of information were: the Materials Analysis Study, the content analysis of existing reading materials through the application of the criteria developed by the study; the Population Study, a survey of adult new readers through personal interviews in a universe drawn from participants and students in selected adult basic education, job training programs, and library reading programs in five metropolitan cities;
the National Adult Programs Study, a study of reading materials within the context of use as reported by teachers and administrators in a random sample of national and adult basic education and job training programs; and the Indigenous Literature Study, an analysis of indigenous literature, primarily by Black writers, for any special relevance to the relationship between content and use of materials.

The survey of readers supplied data about the adult new readers' social characteristics and reading behavior, reading interests and patterns. Some of the general facts found among the sample of respondents in the cities of Baltimore, Cleveland, Los Angeles, New York, and Philadelphia may be summarized broadly. The sample totaled 479 respondents, of whom 69 percent were women, and 74 percent were Black. The average age was 33.2 years. The average years completed in school was 10.2, while 16 percent had completed less than 6 years of school. Nearly all the readers spoke English, and one-fourth spoke a second language, usually Spanish. One third had lived all their lives in the present localities, and nearly a third had lived from 6 to 20 years in the same city. The majority of readers, 58 percent, were students in adult basic education programs, 30 percent were taking high school equivalency courses, 35 percent were in work training programs, and 16 percent were in library reading programs. Over one-third were in services occupations, there were equal percentages in craft and blue collar jobs, and slightly less than one-third in clerical and white collar jobs. Incomes showed a wide range—some of $10,000 or more and some less than $2,000. Generally incomes were in what are considered poverty levels with the average income for a family being $5,000 and an average income for individuals of $3,500.

Adult new readers in general recall titles that may be classified as fictional and biographical accounts with ethnic appeals. Apparently readers recall what is most meaningful and enjoyable to them. Although a significant amount of reading is required and stimulated by school studies, the titles recalled are diverse and seem not to be directly related to school study.

Subject interests and clues to kinds and types of reading are related to immediate needs and responsibilities in relation to adult roles and life styles. It is evident not only that reading materials must meet a diversity of interests, needs and abilities, but they must be in every possible format and cover numerous subjects. Special authentic materials pertinent to the interests, life styles, and problems of potential readers have immediate appeal.
Information about job opportunities, career and vocational guidance, and counseling materials, as well as curriculum-related selections, are areas for collection building. Autobiographies and biographies, ethnic and cultural history, poetry, and short stories have strong appeal.

A reading activity rating provided an index that measures the extent of reading activity of each respondent by his use of print materials, i.e., newspapers, magazines, comic books and books. A majority of readers were in the active reader group, about one-third were somewhat active readers and 14 percent, very active. When comparisons are made on the basis of age and education, certain distinctions are apparent. Younger Blacks score higher than whites. Among older persons, the whites score higher. When comparisons are made on reading activity scores in relation to race, sex, age, and education, Blacks score higher than whites, women score higher than men, older persons score higher than younger, and persons with more education score higher than those with less.

The youngest group of adult new readers who are between 16 and 24 years of age are of particular concern to adult education agencies. In the LMRP survey of readers they constitute 23 percent of the total sample. In comparison with the total sample, in this group there are fewer women. They had more education than the older age group and slightly higher median years of formal education, 11.02, which is a grade higher than the average 10.2 years of the total sample. They participate more frequently in adult education and employment-oriented programs. They enjoy particularly going to movies, dances and other such leisure time activities as going to the bar, pool hall or bowling alley. They comprise the largest radio-listening audience, read newspapers somewhat less, read slightly more in magazines, and read comic books. They read books more than the older group. The majority had read from two to five books in the last six months.

The respondents' perception of changes in their lives because of participation in adult education classes focuses mainly on personal relations. Four areas in which perceived changes were noted are: better relations with or understanding of other people, more self-confidence, and improved ability to communicate with others. Practical materials related to homemaking, child care, job training and advancement, and school work were helpful when they provided aid and solutions for everyday problems such as writing letters, credit buying, cooking,
filing tax forms, love and sex. Personal and social development also were important areas of interest. Of special appeal were the biographies of persons either unknown or famous, as well as sensitive portrayals of characters in fiction with whom readers could identify. Survival, civil rights, and the counterculture were topics of deep concern. Interest in local, national, and international news was also expressed.

Five general subject areas of special interest to students according to teachers' reports were: literature, history and government, science, biography, and religion. Other significant areas of reading interest included ethnic literature, problems of race relations, cultural development, consumer education, and job information.

Adult new readers' perceptions of their reading appear realistic. Over half of the respondents considered that they had reading problems. The majority felt that they were fair readers. Nearly two-thirds felt that they read more than their parents. A significant percentage, 61 percent, read aloud to other people.

EVALUATION OF READING MATERIALS

The Materials Analysis Criteria (MAC) for the evaluation of reading materials as developed through the LMRP investigation is in the form of a checklist. This MAC Checklist consists of criteria to be used in analyzing print materials—books, pamphlets, booklets, magazines, newspapers, broadsides, forms—which provide the adult new reader with information and ideas, and give personal satisfaction and pleasure while aiding in the development of reading skills. The major areas considered in the evaluation are bibliographic characteristics, analysis of content, measurement of readability and appeal to readers. A quantitative evaluation and subjective summary based on the detailed analysis provides the basis for the evaluation's descriptive critical annotation. The subject, the adult roles, the attitudes and values, the readability factors, accuracy and authenticity are noted. This detailed analysis and annotation provides a record for use by the librarian, teacher, and reader for use in reading guidance.

The significant aspect of evaluation is the depth and precision of analysis. The extent of analysis obviously depends upon the content, type, and quality of the material. The usefulness of the material analysis criteria for a library's program of reading service depends upon the philosophy of service and competence of the staff.
Two special studies directly related to the LMRP investigation focus on reading materials that center around the cultural backgrounds of ethnic groups. These studies were carried out as doctoral dissertations by Deligdisch and Sherrill. Deligdisch gathered information on competency in reading in relation to use of the material by adult new readers. Sherrill gathered data about the influence of ethnic or cultural factors on the reading responses.

Deligdisch's study aimed at identifying characteristics of materials needed by the adult new reader in making the transition from regular use of print for daily life and work situations so that he understood and found their use rewarding, and would be encouraged to regular use. He validated his hypothesis that "Adult new literates read with better comprehension materials that reflect their own cultural background." The hypothesis was tested in a series of sub-hypotheses in terms of reading comprehension defined as a process at three levels of understanding: literal, implied, and applied meaning. The sample of adult new readers consisted of two different groups, Blacks and Mexican Americans, with distinct cultural backgrounds, who were enrolled in literacy programs. A selection of culture themes was made, reading materials developed which expressed these themes, and test materials constructed and administered in the classrooms.

Culture themes distinguished for the Mexican American group included: family concept, man's role in the family, woman's role in the family, extended family relationships, the roles of the man and the woman in society, the community, work ethos, fatalism, and time orientation. Themes distinguished for the Black Americans included: artistic expression and creativity, matriarchal family, and man-woman relationships. He found evidence that publications centering around these culture themes of the ethnic group may improve the adult new reader's ability to apply and use what he reads. The higher comprehension of each group of his own material at the level of literal and implied meaning are statistically significant (p > .01). On the level of applied meaning the two groups—Blacks and Mexican Americans—scored significantly higher on their own culture-related material than on the material related to another culture.

Sherrill's study is concerned with the measurement of the affective reading responses of Black and Puerto Rican readers to literature by
Black and Puerto Rican authors. The hypothesis is that the intensity of response will be greater when the subjects read literature which reflects their own cultural background than when they read literature which reflects a different culture. Sherrill states that "the racial orientation in reading response is the focus of this study, and its influence upon both the literature and the reader student is profound, pervasive and varied." He measured the positive and negative responses in the reaction of the Black and Puerto Rican readers toward a highly specific type of literature which reflects the ghetto experience. Literature is defined as personal experience literature exemplified in imaginative writing, i.e., biography, autobiography, belles lettres, and possibly history. Categories of some common life styles and value orientation were developed.

For purposes of measurement, a reading form was devised which consisted of eight passages of literature, four each of Black and Puerto Rican authors. The passages were chosen according to the expression of personal values as nearly as they could be determined. The subjects responded to each unidentified passage on a four semantic differential scale. The subjects were participants in adult basic education or English-as-a-second-language programs. The results were programmed and subjected to computerized statistical analysis for observing the degree of the intensity of response agreements. Indices of the affective response agreements of the two ethnic groups of readers were calculated from the group responses registered on a 32 s-d scale to eight sample passages of literature representative of the two cultures. Sherrill validated his hypothesis:

When adult members of two ghetto ethnic minority cultures respond to samples of literature indigenous to each culture, and members responding to literature from their own culture as well as from the other culture, then the members of each culture will demonstrate greater agreement of affective response (higher response intensity) toward their own literature and lesser agreement (lower response intensity) toward the literature of the other culture.

In addition to the matched median statistics supporting his hypothesis, Sherrill was able to develop histograms of the frequency distributions of the group responses of the Black and Puerto Rican readers across four intervals of the s-d scales. He includes also a gauge of literal comprehension which represents how much of the sample
passage the reader thought he understood. These interesting details are found in his dissertation.

Sherrill concludes that among "the highly motivated group of readers" in his study, cultural factors, both in the readers and in the personal experience literature that they read, are a significant element in the process of evaluation by the reader. These factors significantly influence preferences and interpretation of what is read. He concludes further that the cultural factors in the readers' backgrounds are powerful determinants of the intensity of the affective response to what they read, and that the intensity of the affective response is greater when they read personal experience literature by authors who share their own cultural background.

Both Sherrill and Deligdisch suggest that cultural factors are strong determinants of the cognitive and affective reading responses of ethnic minority adult readers.

A major conclusion from the LMRP study has been that the recognition and evaluation of values and attitudes through the analysis of the content are essential to the selection of materials and to informed reading guidance. Furthermore, the need for materials with specific ethnic cultural appeals written by persons in the ethnic group is apparent. Teachers who answered the LMRP questionnaire stressed that a particular need exists for such material with adult appeal at the beginning reading levels. The most significant and persistent theme in the teachers' statements relate to unsuitable materials. They report much of the material offends the intelligence and experience of the adult or is written only for children. These needs for new material are being met with an increasing number of titles being published and through the almost overwhelming number of programmed learning series and multimedia kits created for adult basic education and high school equivalency programs. It also appears from the analysis of a range of materials that much of interest exists in magazines, newspapers, paperbacks, pamphlets, books, and other less traditional formats that are of interest to adult new readers. The problem with these materials is they had not been identified; much of the material is difficult to find and therefore difficult to organize into accessible collections.

Researchers are in agreement that literacy and adult basic education must be defined broadly in terms of learning and life skills as well as basic literacy skills. Although several recent studies have had different
objectives and employed different methodology in collecting data, conclusions reached are significantly similar. The content of learning materials in print or other media, in order to have an affective and satisfactory impact for the adult, should center specifically around ethnic and cultural experiences and life coping skills.

**Reading Materials Studied Within the Context of Use**

*Subject Coverage.* The RFD national demonstration program of information and action for adults was developed at the WHA-TV, University Extension Television Center at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. The RFD project developed, tested and evaluated a multimedia system for home-based continuing education for adults. It developed a curriculum design with materials for adults to learn reading, writing, and computation skills through a system of coping skills that represent pressing needs. “Coping skills were defined as the skills and knowledge needed to interact effectively in one’s environment.” The “content centers” devised for the improvement of the adults’ quality of life and self-determination related to his adult roles as a person, in relation to others, to himself as a worker and consumer, and as a citizen. The development of skills, unlike vertical progression in schools, permitted horizontal progression. Actually the emphasis from literacy to coping skills appeared to take place as the project developed. The materials developed are not generalizable because the television programs are specific. Nevertheless, home study materials are being published and are of general use. They combine much visual content with the text. These materials are on topics that are general and draw on several bodies of knowledge. In the main, they are oriented to the family and the community. They involve concerns of daily living: work, family, home, money. The information is accurate and interesting. The group of participants reached were middle class and usually had some literacy skills. The RFD project found it imperative to develop its own material.

Life coping skills provide categories for building library and adult basic education collections. Adult educators, teachers, librarians, and staff specialists are stressing these areas. The MAC Checklist for evaluation of reading materials developed in the LMRP refined from a more detailed list nine specific areas grouped around the major personal roles assumed by adults, i.e., the role of the person in his own development, in the family, in the group, as a participant in political
and social life, education, work, and leisure. Over sixty subcategories were identified. For example, areas under personal development include: alcoholism, drugs, friendship, hate, love, personal identity, self-preservation, sexuality, social poise, and survival. Coping skill areas identified in the sample collection of materials in the LMRP and RFD study collections included twenty-five general categories: animal and insect control, aging and retirement, clothing, Better Business Bureau, conservation, consumer economics, education, emergencies and disasters, family planning, farming and related jobs, health and disease information, housecleaning, household appliances, household furnishings, housing and home improvements, insurance, jobs, money management, personal care and grooming, nutrition, pollution, Social Security, taxes, telephone calls, and transportation.

The Action Line, RFD's telephone service, found the categories of greatest concern to its users were food, home maintenance, consumer problems, family finance, gardening, health service, home crafts, employment, legal assistance, entertainment and recreations. Other areas of interest were home renting, pest control, transportation, and wildlife.

The area of life coping skills materials has been studied intensively for the Library-Adult Basic Education Demonstration Project under the Appalachian Adult Education Center at Morehead State University. The categories and subcategories identified in the Life Coping Skills Materials List, 1973 includes fifteen major categories and 279 subcategories. The major categories are advocacy, aging, children, community, consumer economics, education, housing, insurance, jobs, leisure, relating to others, relocation skills, self, taxes, and transportation. The subcategories provide greater preciseness and range. For example, the category "advocacy" has subcategories for arrests, civil rights, consumer rights, and legal aid. Consumer rights has a "see" reference to consumer economics: consumer rights. An extensive Coping Skills Materials Master Source List provides a valuable guide with names and addresses of approximately 500 sources, including the subject of materials which may be obtained.

The possibilities of such daily informational items are limitless. To meet these problems and questions, libraries must collect and evaluate materials lesser known or unknown, scattered, and ephemeral. Information on life skills subject areas frequently are found in government or business and industry publications. Such material must be evaluated carefully to be sure that accurate, authentic information.
will be provided as a basis for the adults’ informed choices and decisions. Several kinds of materials are suitable and should be supplied in quantity. Practical materials related to homemaking, child care, job training and advancement, and school work are helpful when they provide aid and solutions for everyday problems such as writing letters, credit buying, cooking, filing tax forms, love and sex. Personal and social development are important areas of interest. The biographies of the lives and problems of persons, unknown or famous, as well as sensitive portrayals of characters in fiction with whom readers can identify have special appeal. Popular best sellers are another special interest, as well as survival, civil rights, national and international news in priority uses of the media—television, radio, and print. These are areas of interest on which it appears libraries can build, provide and promote resources that give objective coverage and in-depth studies of current events and issues.

Life coping skills provide categories or subjects as a basis for the building of library and adult basic education collections for adult new readers. Adult educators, teachers, librarians, and staff specialists are stressing these areas. Equally important and vital, if reading is to become an independent life-long matter, are the materials with aesthetic, spiritual, and recreational values. The satisfactions are both immediate and prolonged when aspirations and backgrounds, as well as cultural values and beliefs are considered in selection of materials.

Materials Design. An important source of reading materials is that written by teachers and program staff and the students themselves. In the LMRP study, about 40 percent of the teachers indicated their programs used materials written by teachers and other members of the staff. Teachers write primarily instructional materials for class purposes and not strictly instructional materials to meet students’ individual interests and reading levels or on current and informational topics. In a majority of programs, students themselves write materials. They write on subjects of personal concern, or news items of the day, short stories, poetry, letters, and autobiographical subjects.

Teacher-made supplementary reading materials were developed and evaluated by the Ohio module of the Appalachian Adult Basic Education (ABE) Center of Morehead State University. In this experiment four experienced ABE teachers were employed to develop brief life-centered supplementary reading at different ABE instructional levels. These teachers, who are indigenous to the community, attempted to design materials that had particular
relevance to the experiences of local rural population. Findings indicated that the need for systematic professional writing and production is beyond the teachers’ capabilities. The complex task of combining elements of interesting adult content, readability levels, and sequential skill development requires trained curriculum writers. At Gadsden, Alabama, similar projects in the development of supplemental video tape recorded (VTR) curricular material resulted in findings similar to the Ohio project mentioned above. VTR production requires professionally trained technical and teaching staff and adequate resources.11

Reading materials for rural populations are of special significance. One experiment is the publication of The Appalachian News. It provides a graded, low readability newspaper as a reinforcement of basic skills and as a reinforcement of the newspaper reading habits of adult basic education students. The paper provides information and curriculum based on adult needs and interests. Useful also in elementary and secondary schools, it was designed initially to serve a twenty-county rural area with approximately 2,000 students in northeast Mississippi. The articles are written on various reading levels ranging from the first to the eighth grade level. New information reported as gained by students included such matters as: employment, public assistance, Social Security, food stamps, community action programs, and further educational opportunities. Any similar venture should be based firmly on a survey of teachers and students to determine the kind of information wanted.12

During the last ten years, services and reading programs for adult new readers have been developed. In 1966, when the MacDonald report on literacy activities provided by public libraries was made,13 fifteen libraries were active in this field. Librarians felt a limited knowledge and a lack of knowledge created great obstacles to any service. From 1967 to 1971, when the LMRP study was carried out, certain libraries were in the vanguard. Thirteen libraries cooperated in the LMRP investigation for the overarching Materials Analysis Study. Five libraries with substantive adult reader services which were coordinated with adult education programs cooperated with the Population Study.

AGENCIES SERVING ADULT NEW READERS

The more extensive development of such programs was identified clearly in the applications received for a workshop on the Adult New
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Reader and His Reading conducted in May 1973 by the University of Wisconsin-Madison Library School. Over ninety librarians and library specialists, library science professors, and learning center teachers applied, and more expressed interest. The diversity and variety of clientele and services were representative of several types of public libraries: state libraries, central units of large systems, regional and branch units, small public libraries, and mobile units such as bookmobiles and camper-type vehicles, community and city-county libraries. The departments named indicate the emphasis on special services: Project Outreach, Reader Development Program, Inner City Services, Reading Centers, Learning Centers, Adult Education Program, Job Information Center, Adult Services Department, Readers Bureau, Special Extension Services, and Outreach Department.

Community agencies and group organizations included: Job/Books, Operation Step-Up, Literacy Volunteers, Inc., Adult Basic Education, Laubach Literacy, Right-to-Read, Teach a Neighbor to Read, Halfway Houses, Project Crossroads, and Continuing Education Programs. Services were extended to adult new readers in various agencies such as detention centers, prisons, jails, rehabilitation centers, correctional agencies, industrial schools, technical institutes, homes and retirement places for senior citizens, apartment complexes, church organizations, other libraries, schools of library science, reading tutorial and remedial reading programs, and programmed learning centers.

CLIENTELE SERVED BY LIBRARIES

The clientele as characterized by one librarian includes "the population who are educationally, physically, psychologically, culturally, or geographically handicapped." Specific identification of clients further points up the awareness among the librarians of many individual publics within the population. These publics or clienteles are described as: the beginning, retarded, unprogressive, latent reader; the under user or nonuser; the unserved; the exceptional child; the young adult, dropout, and high school student who graduates; Black; Spanish speaking; suburban white; Chicano; Indian or Native American; and Mexican Americans. Also identified are migrant ethnic groups, young married, preschool mothers, women, disadvantaged, homebound, lower middle-class, foreign-born, adults learning English as a second language, library school students, librarians, community workers, students in adult basic education in
high school equivalency programs, preretirement, rural senior citizens, rural poor, poor Ozark hill people, rural-oriented conservatives, institutionalized, handicapped or blind. It can be seen that literacy problems cut across many areas—age, location, education, origin, life styles, and life cycle.

The various approaches or administrative foci appear in the various titles of staff persons responsible for library services: director, resource person, consultant, trainer, teacher, recruiter, supervisor, associate director, liaison, network consultant, catalyst, reference librarian, professor, materials selector, head of department, coordinator of adult services, head of reader advisory service.

Brief phrases reflect favorably and unfavorably on attitudes and values: "learn from them," "want to understand," "what does it mean," "low-level readers," "these people," "bad adjustment to white culture," "language and cultural barriers seem insurmountable."

LIBRARIES' SERVICES TO ADULT NEW READERS

The services provided through these libraries and special programs include what seem in most instances to be traditional services. They may be distinctive in that they are operational and revitalized having become moribund or limited to the few white middle-class users of the public libraries. The selection and organization of materials for adult new readers have priority along with reading guidance methods, such as subject bibliographies, annotated reading lists, coordinated buying lists for libraries, advisory service to librarians, community group services including program planning, cooperation with other educational institutions, persons, and community planning groups, book talks and book discussions, book fairs, and group programs. Other services include program planning, counseling, public relations efforts, organization of community advisory groups, and special collections placed in institution and organization centers. Training and staff development programs are mentioned. Major problems center around evaluation and sources of materials, identification of new readers, contact and promotion, and failures to interest or reach these clientele.

It would seem that librarians are engaged in soul-searching efforts to clarify, understand, and articulate the role and function of the library in the community and in the lives of individuals and groups. Questions asked include: How can we be meaningful? How can we serve? Doubts and concerns arise such as: Is it possible? Is the role informational? Is
the advocacy role important or appropriate? Does the library support or assist? Is the library in control of its own function? Can it be autonomous, self-governing, and independent? It is for all in a true democratic tradition? Does it serve the whole community? Is it for selected groups, for an elite of the educated powerful minority? Does it exercise its own rights and powers, determine its own actions or follow other agencies? Does it serve the vocal few and the strongest educational agencies?

Inhibiting factors for the adult new readers identified by librarians who were workshop applicants must be taken into account in planning and carrying out services. Professional skills and understanding must be brought to bear to meet the problems in areas of human relations and communications.

ADULT EDUCATION SERVICES IN NATIONAL PROGRAMS

The main services provided by the national adult education programs as reported by respondents in the LMRP study included the major areas of instruction, counseling and job placement inherent in adult basic education and school equivalency programs, as well as specific job training and English as a second language. The areas of emphasis are communication skills, computational skills, social living skills, as well as specific subject areas. Occupational areas of instruction included the skilled crafts and trades, clerical, secretarial and office work, health occupations, service positions, and community and public service. Topical areas of particular interest to students according to the teachers reporting were: literature, history and government, science, biography, and religion. Other significant areas of reading interest include ethnic literature, problems of race relations, and cultural development of ethnic and nationality groups. In these latter areas, supplementary reading materials are most pertinent.

EVALUATION OF PROGRAMS AND SERVICES

A study by Barss, Reitzel, & Associates identified and examined thirty “successful” and “effective” programs which could be termed “exemplary.” These exemplary programs were public library programs in which it was possible to identify a reading or reading-related impact on certain of the participants at an estimated cost which appeared reasonable in relation to the extent of participant impact. Among these programs, eighteen were aimed at adults primarily in disadvantaged areas. The study has special significance to
public librarians as a model for the method of classifying various aspects of effectiveness as well as for the case study descriptions and program applications in relation to costs.

Several significant questions result—questions to which librarians need to find answers. Do specific programs and outreach centers compensate for and reinforce insularity of the client population? To what extent should modification of staff qualifications, acquisitions and organizational procedures, rules and regulations be changed? When requirements of middle-class white groups diverge from poor or ethnic or age groups and differing needs and interests appear, how can the library best provide services? They concluded that program effectiveness depends on several factors that may be inseparable: the intellectual stimulation and improved self-image which the client gains; the staff that has personal concern and genuine interest, the trust of the community or clientele, and is personally responsive and respectful of their interests; the dedication, leadership, and ability of the director and leaders; the personal contacts between the staff and the clientele; extensive and intensive planning; the continuity of program staff; and last, but not least, the quality and relevance of materials, topics, and speakers.14

Lipsman's report on public library services among low-income neighborhood residents, *The Disadvantaged and Library Effectiveness*, raises many issues.15 Many of her conclusions confirm findings of other studies. Clearly the quality and kind of materials are vital factors in the success of programs. Lipsman concludes that good materials reflect both an extensive knowledge of the contents of the material and a very specific and precise understanding of the needs and interests of the target group. "Unsuccessful programs . . . are characterized by standard collections, without a sizable quantity of ethnic materials and without the popular, easy-to-read, and the controversial items in which people are really interested."16 She points out how inadequate the community resources are for the dissemination of information on health, child care, job opportunities, and ethnic culture which contribute to the environmental competence of the individual.17

Programs can be designed to enhance cognitive skills related to reading and print materials and functional competencies encompassed in the concepts of individual growth and self-education. The nature of libraries as education-oriented, yet voluntary and informal institutions, suggest their efforts be aimed both at building cognitive skills and at meeting affective human needs. "Thus specific program
objectives aimed at supporting formal educational achievement—not only for school-age children but for adults in educational and vocational training—would have the virtues of building on existing patterns of use and responding to priority community needs.”

Library resources are to be more closely coordinated with school resources and greater use should be made of the public library as part of the curriculum. Tutoring, remedial reading, reading readiness, and preschool programs might be supported directly by libraries. Libraries should supply referral information as well as general information, serve as cultural centers, and be truly responsive to the needs of the adults.

It is to such a need that the Library-Adult Basic Education Project, conducted from the Appalachian Adult Education Center at Morehead University, addresses its program. The precise analysis of reading materials recommended by this writer is one approach to the achievement of these various functions. It enables the staff to have a thorough knowledge of materials selected, a carefully constructed record of the characteristics of each item in the collection for use by the reader and the staff as a source of reference, reading advice, and guidance. An intimate knowledge of the contents of the materials and the interests and needs of the reader group is absolutely necessary.

The actual involvement of adult new readers in decisions about selection of reading materials and the services and programs in which they are or might be participants appears to be desirable, even necessary, to successful achievement of objectives. The studies noted in this article identify little evidence of the individuals as participants in interpretation and control. The adult new reader remains a participant who may be asked about his interest, but on the whole something is done for him or to him rather than with him. This broadening group of readers suggests new opportunities as well as new problems for librarians, teachers, and publishers. To work with adult new readers means new ventures, searching for little-known materials, and encouraging new writers and publishers.

Appeals to readers tend to center around instructional or informational values. The practical materials relating to homemaking, child care, job training and advancement, and school work are helpful when they provide aid and solutions for everyday problems. Personal and social development are important areas of interest. The biographies and lives of others, and sensitive portrayals
of characters in fiction are a major interest. Popular bestsellers are another special interest; an interest in ethnic history and culture is evident particularly among the Black and Spanish-origin respondents. Survival—personal and group, environmental and political—is a dominant theme.

The interest in local, national and international news is mentioned as of first interest in use of all communication media—television, radio, newspapers, and magazines. Information about job opportunities, career and vocational guidance and counseling are significant areas for literacy collection building. Access to local neighborhood newspapers and newsletters, is of primary importance to provide sources of information about the community.

The use of the various communication media is common to all respondents in the LMRP survey. Everyone watches television, 95 percent listen to the radio, 93 percent read newspapers, 88 percent read magazines, and 69 percent read books.

In the context of the study, the diversity and variety of reading interests and various uses of materials are extensive. Reading patterns span a range of life interests, responsibilities, and roles as adults. Within the diversity certain preferences and common interests are identifiable.

Finally, much can be learned from Benjamin: Reading and Beyond,\(^{19}\) a diary-like record of the learning efforts made by a young Black man with a wife and two children, and his inexperienced tutor, a young graduate student at San Francisco State College. “When am I gonna read?” is Ben’s question. The long, arduous process, the failures and successes are shown in this human account of a complicated human problem. Without preconceptions or experience, with much care and understanding, the young teacher learns along with his frustrated, disillusioned young student. The insights into learning methods and materials for reading will be valuable to librarians and teachers. Language is vital, and, as Ben states, “reading is everything.”

The strong and recurring implication from all the studies, each with its different and particular focus, appears to be that basic factors critical to program effectiveness and successfulness include: competency and understanding of the staff, community involvement, autonomy, quality and relevance of materials, and the knowledge and visibility of the project.

I continue to repeat that the single most significant factor in
serving disadvantaged persons and groups may be the respect and understanding between the library user or potential user, the individual or community, and the library personnel. It is imperative to know and appreciate the life styles, cultural beliefs and values, motivations, desires, interests, and aspirations of various groups. Similarly, Lipsman found that for Spanish-surnamed users, the perception of the library as a friendly and helpful place is more important than any other factor in discriminating between users and nonusers. Use depends for many entirely on the extent to which the library is able to communicate its empathy and its ability to assist them, in particular in overcoming the language barrier.*

Librarians with concrete knowledge and experiences of values and life styles of many segments of the population will have bases for building reading collections and service on resources that have breadth, depth, and appeal to many persons. Free from preconceptions and misconceptions inherent in one's own values and attitudes, one will be able to evaluate wisely.

The new literature, new writers, and publications outside the traditional trade, as well as those which surface within the usual trade channels, are exhilarating and enlightening. The underground, the counterculture, the ethnic cultures—in short, the different—may provide distinctive and brilliant quality to the sameness of many library collections restricted to limited, colorless, or inadequate collections.

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Implications of Research in Reading and Communication for Publishers

CAROL A. NEMEYER

One way to justify inclusion of this topic in Library Trends might be to extend my remarks past a statement of the obvious: that each valid result of every reading research study has implications for at least some publishers if one defines "implicate" as the dictionary does, "to involve intimately or incriminatingly."

The scope of this issue of Trends is ambitious, and the search for implications for publishers, panoramic. It seems especially true when one recalls that there are as many kinds of reading and degrees of ability or inability to read as there are kinds of publishers with varying degrees of concern, competence, and capital to support the publishing habit. Should this paper attempt to cover all types of publishers, educational and "trade?" Should it seek the implications for publishers in every kind of research study on learning to read, reading instruction, reading habits, reading levels, reading materials? To gain perspective on the topic it was discussed with members of the Association of American Publishers (AAP), the book publishing industry's trade association and with the program planners, who suggested a marketing orientation with focus on: (1) communicating reading research results to publishers, (2) implications for publishers in several selected studies, and (3) limiting factors that affect publisher application of reading research findings. This third aspect necessarily considers the economics of publishing and the important community of librarians and booksellers who influence, and, in large measure, determine the accessibility and availability of books to their various publics.

Publishers are discovering and reacting to reading research in the areas of learning to read, reading retardation problems, reading


Have publishers been responding effectively to repeated urgent demands for relevant material: high-interest, low reading level materials to spark and capture the new reader; books that represent minorities fairly; materials for urban-centered people; bilingual media; and books that treat the sexes equally; etc.? What publishing trends are emerging from the present questioning environment in which the President's zero funding recommendations for library grant programs and severe cuts in other education funding cast a pall over the institutional market for books and related materials in 1974 and beyond?

Graubard, introducing the splendid issue of *Daedalus* on "The American Reading Public," described publishing as "a curious enterprise—a business for some, a vocation for others—its objectives defy easy definition. While the purpose of providing diversion for the reader need not conflict with that of instructing him, it is seldom that the two can be realized simultaneously." Even some publishers would agree to the "curious" descriptor, but it could be argued that aspects of publishing that defy easy definition result from the fact that the business and pleasures of publishing are inextricably tied to the reader and his or her needs and wants. There can be no prolonged separation. Some editors and publishers, particularly those concerned with educational materials, lean heavily upon the results of reading research. In "trade" publishing, however, there seems to be very little research about who reads, where these people are, what motivates them to buy and to borrow books, why they prefer one book over another, why they understand some books but not others, and how they become addicted to the book habit. All publishers should know considerably more than they do now about nonreaders. How can these people be influenced and encouraged to become readers? Publishing people spend a great deal of time discussing potential research on book readership, reading habits, book-buying patterns, and the like—and do little real research.

Research proposals which speak to the book trade as a whole or to the publishing sector are expensive; prospective results are often too
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general to be useful to the publishers and booksellers who would finance the study or too specific to be useful to all sponsors. Individual publishing houses sponsor some serious research, but the findings are necessarily proprietary. The book community needs a new version of O.H. Cheney’s valued study, *The Economic Survey of the Book Industry, 1930-1931*. That study, prepared for the National Association of Book Publishers in 1931, was partially updated and reprinted by the R.R. Bowker Company in 1960, with a new introduction by Robert W. Frase, one of the industry’s leading economists.

Another study that warrants replication is Louis Wilson’s *The Geography of Reading*. Data describing the distribution of libraries and library resources across the nation in 1938 showed the relationship of that distribution to bookstores and other retail book outlets. It would be useful to have current factual information in order to understand better the complex and subtle relationships of libraries, bookstores and publishers to those who read and buy books.

As responsible citizens and as businessmen, publishers are concerned with the worldwide illiteracy rate. In the United States alone, the 15 million people who cannot read cannot function well in society, nor do they buy books! Herman Liebaers, Director of the Royal Library, Brussels, and President of the International Federation of Library Associations, recently pointed out the importance of the reciprocity that exists between libraries and booksellers, noting that “each builds the other’s readership, for the same readers buy and borrow books, the same nonreaders avoid both bookshops and libraries.”

Some years ago, McClellan advocated a similar view: “A number of investigations have been made into the reading habits of people and wherever these have touched upon the relationship between borrowing and buying of books they have confirmed the thesis that those who borrow most tend to buy most.”

Somewhat parenthetically, I should note that within the past several months I have received six unsolicited letters from librarians and people in the book trade querying the feasibility of selling books in or through libraries. We know from the above comments that this is not a new idea and that a precedent exists in libraries, such as the New York Public Library, and in many museum bookstores. Books are sold increasingly in elementary and high school classrooms and
through their libraries. A joint committee of the publishers', booksellers', and wholesalers' associations discussed this idea briefly at a recent meeting with the single admonition, "Caution!" Those in the business of selling books feel that librarians generally do not have the expertise to run a bookselling business successfully; they could get their institutions into serious financial trouble. A review of some previous efforts to sell books in libraries appears to substantiate this view.5

There might be some new and innovative means, not yet implemented, for some libraries, especially in areas now unserved by bookstores, to provide bookordering procedures for their patrons, working with willing wholesalers and booksellers. Library users would then have the opportunity to order books while they are visiting the library, where they have the reference tools and staff to guide them, and at the moment their appetite for book ownership is greatest. Currently there are more questions than answers, but the topic seems to merit further study, and some trial efforts.

In every educational publishing house there are at least several people on the staff responsible for research in reading. These people are intensely concerned with conducting research; with keeping up with the literature; and with attending reading conferences at which they confer with research specialists, gaining new insights and filtering the findings to others in their firm, to their editors, school and library promotion and marketing people, and field salesmen. Multimedia packages of educational material are a response publishers are making to the growing educational media center concept, which is increasingly discussed at reading and related educational conferences. Individualized learning and the establishment of media centers are vitally important to publishers. The success of such centers calls for a commitment on the part of teachers, librarians, parents, students and publishers. Hospitable media environments in which all concerned share in the learning process are no longer "blue-sky"; effective models exist in Pennsylvania, Florida and North Carolina.

Publishers are interested in research about multilingualism; the reading needs of Chicanos, Latin Americans, Indians; the kinds of materials to help overcome some of the known problems in discrimination between the sexes; materials supportive of the role of the family; and books that give readers a chance at fair employment and instill pride. Publishers such as McGraw-Hill, Houghton Mifflin,
and others are developing new kinds of testing procedures for the evaluation of materials. A glorious, although sometimes bewildering, array of materials is being provided, yet gaps and biases persist. There still remains a need for children's books based on children's interests, that depict their lives, reflect their real worlds, and are so completely enticing that they "can't put them down."

Publishers of books for young people are ever more aware that some reading difficulties are caused by the differences between the formal written word and children's oral language. This area of reading research gives new direction and structure to reading series such as those published by Holt, Rinehart & Winston and Scott, Foresman, to programmed readers produced by Behavioral Research Laboratories and McGraw-Hill, and to audiovisual systems like the reading laboratories of Educational Development Laboratories.

Many publishers already know much more about what is needed than they can produce economically; they are stopped by the diversity of the marketplace. According to Austin J. McCaffrey, vice president of the Association of American Publishers, some educational publishers have invested huge amounts in pursuit of new materials and in reading research. "A company like Scholastic," he said recently, "probably has spent more in money and people-time than most other firms combined." More than 30,000 new book titles and editions are produced each year in the United States; simply publishing more is not the answer. How to publish economically what is needed—that strikes at the heart of the problem.

The lack of consensus among reading specialists about specific materials needed and differing opinions about reading instruction methods, readability formulas, and the like, creates enormous risks for publishers. Publishers necessarily hesitate to invest vast sums of money and staff time in developing educational materials without some reasonable assurance that these titles will sell in sufficient quantities. Publisher interest was evidenced by the large turnout in January 1973 at the first seminar for the instructional materials industry on the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), held in New York City.

National Assessment, a project of the Education Commission of the States (Denver, Colorado), reaches no conclusions, but does point to some of the shortcomings and successes of education. Even the preliminary reports from NAEP are full of significant implications for publishers.
According to NAEP, the project was "created to provide educators, scholars, and lay persons concerned with education with data regarding the educational achievements of various groups of young Americans in ten subject areas."^7

The need for NAEP grew from the recognition that many billions of dollars were being invested annually in the formal education of young people, but the various measures of educational quality were generally based upon known factors about "inputs" into the educational system and few facts about "outcomes." What are students actually learning? NAEP is designed to gather and report data about the knowledge, understandings, skills, and attitudes at four age levels ranging from 9 years old through adults (ages 26-35). The project obtains data about the percentages of individuals at these age levels in the nation as a whole and within certain specified groups who are able to respond to various exercises that reflect their knowledge and skills. Scholars, educators, students, and lay persons have all participated in determining objectives for each of ten subject areas, of which "reading" is one.

Careful examination of the project's "theme reports" and NAEP's "Reading Summary" are highly recommended. Publishers are finding helpful clues about how various groups perform in given situations, in various geographical settings, and at various age levels. The project should help to describe what differences, if any, exist in the real world between members of various groups and the nation as a whole. NAEP will assess change or progress over five-year periods so that educators and publishers can learn how successful their materials and teaching methods are. There are many uses of the NAEP data for publishers and their editors, designers and marketing personnel.

Some problems for publishers are the results of the economics of publishing. Herbert Addison^8 of the Thomas Y. Crowell Company has described for college teachers and college textbook authors how a "typical publisher" spends a "typical dollar": manufacturing costs — $0.30; editorial expenses — $0.09; marketing, including advertising and promotion — $0.21; general overhead, including accounting, shipping and warehousing — $0.18; authors' royalties — $0.15. These direct costs add up to $0.93, leaving a $0.07 profit on the typical dollar, before taxes. Another $0.03 goes to the Internal Revenue Service. The publisher is left with approximately a $0.03 profit. With only one out of every 250
textbooks selling over 25,000 copies, the cost of experimenting with new and innovative textbooks is very real for the publisher.

Test results in a March 1973 report on methods used to teach New York City school children to read and discussing ways to assess their reading progress showed a general decline in reading proficiency in the New York City schools. An average of 66.3 percent of the elementary school pupils and 71.3 percent of junior high and intermediate students read below grade level. The urgency inherent in these findings was recognized by New York City Assemblyman Leonard P. Stavisky, who said, "There is no greater problem in American education today than that of reading difficulty." These words speak directly to publishers, some of whom have been criticized for not producing textbooks that meet students' needs. There are signs of improvement, but not by a longshot is the problem solved. In a 1972 Michigan review of twenty-five social studies textbooks of major publishers, the Department of Education found that only 31 percent of the books could be rated "very good." According to a newspaper account of the Michigan survey, "In many schools, outside materials, paperbacks, collections of documents, films, television and newspapers have been introduced into courses to supplant textbooks. But the books are still lugged back and forth by most students and are still the major source of courses."

Publishers, damned if they do and damned if they don't keep textbooks rolling from the presses recognize that the traditional textbook is getting vigorous competition from other, perhaps more stimulating, kinds of educational material.

In the affluent 1960s, good years for education and libraries, publishing attracted many who tried to nourish themselves in the library field. If a house or two successfully published a particular type of book, nostalgia or needlework, for example, the marketplace was soon heavy with similar titles. Much-needed books on ethnic studies were published, but some titles touted as "relevant and viable," were not of high quality. A lack of sensitivity in title selection and a lack of informed professional judgment was apparent in sectors of the publishing industry and library world alike.

Publishers remain interested in the three "Rs," the reader, the writer, and the profit-and-loss statement. Generalizations about people in publishing are frequently as careless as those about readers. In assessing publisher reaction to research studies in reading and communication, one must take care not to generalize a
specific finding nor make a specific case out of a sweeping generality. Dangers are inherent in drawing conclusions inconsiderate of the many influences that bear on an individual's motivation and capability to read and a publisher's economic and intuitive drive to make a book public. The finger has often been pointed at publishers for not providing sufficient quantities of materials necessary for the slow reader, the new reader, the nonreader. From the publishing perspective these admonitions are vexing indeed, for there are many firms in the industry whose staffs would appreciate definitive answers to questions about what special materials are needed for the slow reader, nonreader, or new reader.

As publishers winnow suggestions they receive and conceive for new works, the evidence suggests that reading "groups" that appear to need special materials are not groups at all, but rather a heterogeneous population. Mediocrity tends to derive from broad pleas that "publishers need to provide more materials for the Asian-American child, for the Indian," etc. Publishers need specific guidance from specialists. Helen Lyman's newly published work which offers criteria for evaluating reading materials and provides much useful information about the new literate and the use of the media may be an effective step in the right direction, and her research will be of significance to publishers. But even she notes that "publishers are only beginning to produce special materials suitable to the interests of various groups. Uncertainty exists about what is needed and the extent of that need." In these sentences rest the crux of the problems underlying the publishing decision.

How might more effective, systematic communication be achieved among publishers and academicians, reading research specialists, and librarians? Are publishers passive providers of materials — mere merchandisers—or do they share responsibility for conducting reading research, thereby adding substantively to the growing body of knowledge about reading? Competent studies of reading and book-buying habits hold great promise for publishers and others in the book trade. Steinberg, in his carefully reasoned article, "Books and Readers as a Subject of Research in Europe and America," says:

In the United States research into reading is generally carried out by librarians and sociologists as an advisory service to libraries. The actual research, therefore, is often done in libraries and by university institutes of librarianship or sociology. Frequently it is
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directed almost exclusively to the practical needs of libraries, and the world of books outside tends to be overlooked.\textsuperscript{13}

Steinberg notes that in Europe research about books and readers is mainly sponsored by booksellers and publishers and is empirical in nature, commercially oriented, and consequently biased in its findings.

The increasing use of broadcasting media to promote, advertise and discuss books is apparent. Publishers know and are not alarmed that readers watch television. Indeed, some have even blessed the marriage of the media. For example, in January 1972 Rand McNally announced a $150,000 promotional campaign for its 1973 spring list of travel guides. The campaign included a series of several hundred filmed television commercials to be aired by dealers locally, with their own taglines inserted. Local access to books is vital to readers and to publishers, librarians and booksellers.

The joint committee of the Association of American Publishers (AAP), the American Booksellers Association, and the American Association of Book Wholesalers has been exploring the feasibility of an institutional advertising campaign on behalf of books and readers generally. The committee recognizes that people must be reminded to read, to give books as gifts, and to build home libraries—an important message the broadcast media can help transmit.

Not long ago one could rather clearly distinguish general “trade” publishers from educational publishers; the demarcation lines are blurring. The AAP itself is the result of a 1970 merger of the American Book Publishers Council and the American Educational Publishers Institute. In the AAP each member publishing firm belongs to one or more of six divisions representative of the types of books they publish and of their markets: general “trade” book publishing (i.e., books sold through regular trade channels to the general public and to libraries and other institutions); scientific, technical and medical book publishing; school; college; mass market paperback publishing; and mail order/book clubs. The publishing firms belonging to the AAP are believed to publish approximately 85 percent of all current U.S. titles. Estimated book publishing industry sales reported by the AAP for 1972 are $3,173,000,000. The total number of U.S. books in print now exceeds 300,000 titles. With this brief set of facts as background, one can distinguish currents of change in publishing.
Some very hot literary properties are bringing public attention to paperback publishing houses. Very large monetary advances by book clubs have made headlines nationally. Hardcover publishers produce paperbacks; paperback originals are published in hard covers by the original publisher or by a reprint house. International copublishing is on the increase. Publishers are reaching beyond their traditional markets in schools, religious groups, colleges, and the general public in an effort to identify and publish for more specialized needs: books on ecology, drugs, sex education and the plethora of crafts books reflect changes in publishers' audiences. Book distribution patterns resulting from this sharpened definition of "the reader" and "the buyer" are changing. Books on crime, violence and the occult are being published and are selling well because publishers find that readers, increasingly exposed to more explicitness in the popular media, want to read about what they have seen and heard. As noted earlier, television does not threaten to turn away book readers. In fact, in a discussion about the changing paperback publishing industry, a Bantam vice president is quoted as saying that television "gives people another chance to get hooked on the whole genre." Celebrity "gossip" books are selling well. In 1971 it was reported that Bantam printed 1,700,000 copies of Garson Kanin's *Tracy and Hepburn*. Mysteries have an enthusiastic audience. As evidence, more than 350,000,000 copies of Agatha Christie novels have been sold in the U.S. alone. The fantastic sales record already chalked up for *Jonathan Livingston Seagull* makes that book a publishing legend in its own time. We have evidence that more people are reading. What they are reading shows that the publishing industry is engaged in both trend-setting and trend-following.

Several trade book publishers were asked by the author if they, their editors, and their production people pay close attention to research studies in reading. The response might come as a surprise. A clear preference among trade publishers to be free of intentional influence from reading specialists for the books they publish for the general public was found. Why? Dan Lacy, McGraw-Hill's senior vice president had this succinct reply: "Trade books are an end, not an instrument; a goal, not a tool." A responsible trade publisher recognizes the need to provide readers with a refreshing variety of books, some written by authors who experiment with new ways of writing, with poetry that is fresh, insightful and not published to a readability formula. Writing that is exciting, vital, creative must be
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given a publishing chance to find its audience. Publishers of trade book houses which also have educational divisions, of course, pay attention to reading research results for those divisions. Series of books in the language arts, for example, are a major stake for McGraw-Hill, with grammar, composition and spelling materials comprising major components of their educational list. Houses such as Scott, Foresman; Harper & Row; and Holt, Rinehart & Winston have for many years published some general-type books that are influenced by reading research results, particularly in their series books for young readers.

Traditional trade houses such as Charles Scribner's Sons and Doubleday are crossing into the educational arena. Scholarly presses are publishing some trade-oriented titles. The relatively small, venerable trade house, The Viking Press, which has a fine juvenile trade list, is in the process of publishing an important series of materials for the Aesthetic Education Program of CEMREL, Inc., materials for grades K–12 that will present aesthetic qualities of the arts and the impact of these on children's daily lives. The trends toward individualized learning, open universities and classrooms-without-walls seem to be turning publishers away from traditional one-kind-of list building.

Publishers are seeking knowledge from their customers about the use of supplementary learning materials and are producing more leisure-time books. This attitude, a conscious effort to seek help from the marketplace, was reinforced at a recent seminar sponsored by the Technical, Scientific and Medical Division of the AAP where it was noted that buyers of scientific and technical books are likely to hear more often and in more ways from their publishers. Marketing and distribution are the two publishing functions that most people agree need improvement. Edward Booher, president of the Books and Educational Services Group of McGraw-Hill, pointed to the fact that editors are concerned about censorship, copyright, and the changing needs for and nature of educational and information products.¹⁶

Current controversies challenging the assumption of a direct and high correlation between dollars spent and learning have serious implications for publishers and reading researchers alike. If, as many assert, home backgrounds exert considerably greater influence on student achievement than schools do, then new and different kinds of reading programs and hence new materials will be called
for. As preschool programs increase and children are formally taught to read beginning at the age of two, a theory about which Daniel and Margaret Melcher speak eloquently and convincingy, then new studies and materials are indicated. The cost-quality issue seems likely to be around for some time. Diana Lembo Spirt and John Gillespie have recently gathered and published much important information about the role of paperbacks in schools. They call on publishers to be adventurous in the titles they reprint, and they urge teachers and librarians to welcome paperbacks for their educational value. Some in publishing see an important trend, informally tagged the "new paperback revolution" by Richard Snyder, Simon & Schuster's publisher. Publishers are searching their own hardcover backlists with an eye for high quality books that are relatively easy to read, yet stimulating and informative in content. They are publishing these books in relatively inexpensive paperbacks and, importantly, are trying to send them to market through distribution channels akin to mass-market paperbacks, in mass-market-sized editions. Some of the firms now reproducing their own children's book titles in quality paperbacks ranging from $0.95 to $1.50 are: Viking's "Seafarers," Houghton Mifflin's "Sandpipers," Crowell's "Crocodiles," and Avon's "Camelot" books.

To the extent that hardcover publishers of "quality" juveniles can overcome some of the perplexing problems inherent in the present book distribution systems (and there are some current constructive approaches), one can expect many fine titles to appear in the kinds of book outlets attractive to buyers who seem reticent to enter the more traditional bookstore. Perhaps the good will push out the bad. Some reading experts, librarians, and publishers are excited by the appeal of high quality paperbacks as a stimulant to impulse buying among those who do not read or buy books regularly. Those who have watched the book buyer in the supermarket dig for the dollars probably share a dismal feeling about the range of materials available there—generally so limited and limiting.

Raising the book-consciousness of a generally nonbook-conscious public is a complex matter, but the main elements can be broken down into categories. The AAP's General Publishing Division is doing an excellent job of calling publishers' attention to their responsibility to people who create, distribute, enjoy and benefit from books. A publisher must be attentive to the author, distributor,
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seller, librarian, parent, teacher and, of course, to the ultimate reader. A publisher who does not react to needs of all who form this continuum might be left with a warehouse of unsold, unread books which, as Sartre so wisely said, are "nothing but a handful of soiled paper." For philosophical and practical reasons, publishers are intensely interested in avoiding biblio-pollution. The present uncertainty of the institutional market could reduce the diversity of materials being published. This is a grave matter not only to all concerned with reading research but to authors and publishers and people who want to read and should be able to select their readings from a wide range of materials.

Some specific reactions publishers are making to readers' needs are given, staccato-fashion, below.

**Item:** It is said that in North Dakota there are only four general bookstores, one for every 150,000 residents in the state. Certainly more people in North Dakota want to read than have ready access to books through bookstores and libraries. For one publisher, Meredith Corporation, the statistical need is being translated into Meredith's Mobile Idea Center, a 36-foot vehicle designed as a traveling bookstore to reach consumers in nonmetropolitan areas—people who do not normally have access to the firm's books and magazines.

**Item:** The rapid and continuing growth of book clubs is making books more accessible in homes and in schools and is enlarging the number and variety of titles available. In 1970, Robert R. Nathan Associates, Inc., prepared a report for the AAP entitled "The Economic Importance of Book Clubs to the Publishing Industry." Among other findings, it was reported that "book clubs have many profound and closely related effects on publishers, readers, authors and society at large. The evidence suggests that book clubs have significantly improved distribution in the book publishing industry, increasing readership and sales. They provide a critically important increment to the narrow margin of publishers' profits, and cause books to be published that otherwise would not be." Current figures bear this out.

Jack Barlass, chairman of the Mail Order and Book Club Division of the AAP, recently told the members that book club sales have grown from $180 million in 1967 to an estimated $369 million in 1973. In 1967, book club sales accounted for 7 percent of total book
sales; the estimate for 1973 is 11 percent. And, he noted, J.S. Eliezer Associates predicts that book club sales will reach $815 million by 1980, or 14 percent of total books sales.  

Where do people get their book reading material? It is known that they use libraries, they buy books through bookstores, directly from publishers, through book clubs, and in paperback, from newstands, in terminals, etc. It is heartening to note the recent increase in the number of retail book outlets and to know that chains like B. Dalton and Walden have opened and are planning to open many more retail stores, especially in high-traffic areas in suburban shopping malls. A recent estimate I heard projects that retail outlets for general trade and paperback books will probably triple or quadruple in the next decade. An increase in the number of book outlets has significant implications for readers and for publishers. Mass outlets could, on the one hand, encourage the publication of more "common denominator" types of books, with specialized publishing becoming an even greater risk than it is today. On the other hand, specialized book clubs are increasing in number and variety and through these clubs people with interests in very specific topics can be conveniently served and the reading habit nurtured.

A recent study on the reading habits of adults stated that "reading is a ubiquitous activity of American adults." Amiel Sharon of the Educational Testing Service conducted a survey of a national sample of 5,067 adults to discover "What Do Adults Read?" A major finding was that people differ greatly in the amount they read, although it was found that "the average person reads for almost two hours on a typical day." This study is of particular interest in that it considers all kinds of reading, not only in the printed media, but the incidental reading of signs, instructions, packaging labels, and the like. Sharon reports that persons with high socioeconomic status tend to read more of all kinds of printed matter than those with low economic status. From the sample it is also concluded that the five percent of all adults who are not able to read are at the extreme low end of the socioeconomic curve and frequently depend on others to read to them. It is not possible here to review Sharon's other significant findings concerning reading tasks and the assessment of adult literacy but this report is recommended for its substantive findings about the importance of reading in our daily lives.

Item: The publishing industry is now helping librarians and the book trade get books to readers faster and more economically by
cooperating with the Library of Congress in the important Cataloging in Publication (CIP) program. More than 450 trade book publishers are now participating in CIP, a program designed to print professionally prepared cataloging data on the copyright page of the book itself. The program, which is moving ahead successfully and rapidly, has future potential for reading and book-buying research. The CIP program, begun in July 1971 with a $400,000 matching grant from the Council on Library Resources, Inc., and the National Endowment for the Humanities, now is assured of continuing support by federal appropriations granted to the Library of Congress. To date, the Library of Congress has "CIPd" well over one-half of the annual output of new trade titles published in this country. The goal is to have CIP in all U.S. trade books, and, as feasible, to extend the program to include selected government documents.

Item: The publishing industry is moving ahead on the standardization front. Publishers are encouraged to use International Standard Book Numbers, currently being assigned to about 85 percent of all new books published. A system to uniquely identify, by number, booksellers, libraries and library systems, schools and school systems, is being developed by a new subcommittee (Z39 SC/30) of the American National Standards Institute. Any system that improves book acquisition and ordering procedures has implications for readers and publishers alike. Another systematic numbering scheme is being implemented for serials, the International Standard Serial Number, and a Standard Order Form is being developed. All the threads, when eventually tied together, should form a snug net to capture the now disparate, sometimes inefficient, individual manual and computer systems in operation. Only a systems analyst would take pleasure in the numbers themselves; general interest is in the utilization of these systems by publishers and educational institutions who will be able to turn their computers away from housekeeping chores to learn from them what books are selling in what parts of the country, to what kinds of readers, and conversely, which titles are not selling. Once these facts are known, the thrust can be to learn better how to improve the products of the publishing industry.

Item: In October 1971, the AAP's College Division, in cooperation with the National Association of College Bookstores, cosponsored a
market survey of "Book Buying and Reading Habits of the College Student and the College Professor." Gerald Sussman, chairman of the College Division's Marketing Committee, stated that "the related search for new methods of teaching, substantial changes in course content and offerings, and the concurrent freedom of book selection exercised by the faculty, are only a few of the results that have broad and important implications for all of us. We see the effects of this academic 'revolution' on our business. College bookstores have been faced with such problems as rapidly increasing inventories and less certainty of sales." 21

A few findings from the study will reinforce statements about publishers' attentiveness to reading research. The surveys were conducted in 36 locations with findings derived from about 1,000 personal interviews conducted with college students and some 300 personal interviews with college faculty. The survey found that:

College students spend an average of only about six hours a week reading non-course related material. Females appear to spend even less time doing this.

Faculty members appear to spend an average of eleven hours a week reading non-professional material, an average of five hours a week reading newspapers, four hours a week reading magazines and about four hours a week reading non-professional material. The majority (67%) get their professional books (non-adoption) from the publisher directly. They get them this way primarily because they "receive free/complimentary copies" (24%) and it is a convenient, simple way to obtain books (20%).

Faculty members said they spent an average of $115 on professional books and $58 on non-professional books during the last academic year. Professors in "social science" departments were the big spenders—$154. 22

Item: 1972 was International Book Year. Spurred by that year of intense international book programs, publishers are increasingly attentive to book needs internationally. Many publishers are producing bilingual materials for domestic use and are seeking copublishing ventures abroad. Today's publishers have great mobility. They exhibit their products at international trade fairs such as those in Frankfurt, Jerusalem, Tokyo and Warsaw.
Librarians and other reading research specialists could help the worldwide book community by advising our publishers about English-language materials of interest to foreign librarians and other reading research specialists, especially in the underdeveloped countries. A wide array of U.S. books go abroad as the industry's ambassadors. Our publishing industry, which hopes to gain an increasingly substantial share of the worldwide book market, should be showing itself off to greatest advantage. What kinds of American books, at what reading levels, do reading research specialists know are needed to satisfy an international book hunger? This is a channel of reading specialist/publisher communications that needs to be opened wider, to mutual benefit.

Item: In the United States, the AAP is conducting a major experimental reading program for a class of largely unserved people — prisoners. The association's Books for Prisoners Project is now providing ten selected prison libraries with about $100,000 worth of current, relevant books. One federal, one state, and eight New York City prisons have each received about 1,700 titles cited in a booklist prepared by an ad hoc Libraries for Prisons Committee chaired by Ted Slate, librarian of *Newsweek*. Working closely with prison officials, industry and librarian volunteers have organized the collections, have insured inmate access to the books, and are conducting personal follow-up interviews. The long-range goal of this program is to improve prison libraries generally by calling public and legislative attention to the need for continuing funding and professional staffing of prison libraries. Research based on the results of this pilot program is revealing much about the reading preferences and needs of this special group of people.

This article intended to acknowledge, by fact and by inference, some of the broad implications of reading research to publishers. The fact that publishers have not responded to all identified reading needs does not mean they are insensitive to the problems raised by research in the fields of reading and communication. Those who are the message carriers between the publishing industry and the library world share the responsibility and the privilege to influence the publishing decision. Ways must be found to continue the dialog between publishers and reading researchers. Only then will the state of the publishing art be, to quote a phrase heard recently, at least "almost very good."
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Research Needed in the
Fields of Reading and Communications

M. ANN HEIDBREDER

Since teachers began to teach and students began to learn, materials have been used to educate. The evaluation, selection, organization, and dissemination of these materials have been the province of librarians. Publishers and producers of materials supply their needs. In all, in the United States in 1973, approximately 5 million educators, librarians, and publishers are involved in this cycle, serving at least 75 million students and users of libraries—a figure that represents just under 40 percent of the population.

These three occupation groups inform and influence citizens in a special and important way. They are essential to the process of communication since they help to create, publish, disseminate, and use ideas in all forms with people who want or need to learn, to know. Thus, publishers, teachers and librarians are catalysts, and they share many important mutual concerns. Some of these are philosophical, such as intellectual freedom; others are practical, such as efforts to make the acquisition of materials by schools and libraries more efficient. Developments that work for the good of the professional groups—educators and librarians—work for the good of the commercial groups—publishers, producers, and distributors of materials. This rare symbiotic relationship exists between few, if any, other professionals and their commercial suppliers. No such relationship is more important because the people in this one are involved in the dissemination of ideas, not just things.

One might assume, therefore, that a great body of reading research exists that relates to library development and the use of general, or trade, books in schools and libraries. That, however, is not the case. By far the largest percentage of research that has been done in the area of

reading instruction and textbooks is of minimal relevance to publishers of trade books and librarians. Textbook publishers conduct research on aspects of reading instruction programs, or other curricula; their focus is on the institutional needs of the in-school reader. Publishers of general books are more concerned with independent study and leisure-time reading. Most reading research is fragmented, conducted with small groups, related to a specific series of basal readers or reading programs, and tends to deal with lists of words, size of type, or format of materials. According to Jeanne Chall, "The reading field has . . . suffered from a dearth of synthesizers and theorists—people who pull together the evidence from the hundreds and thousands of small studies and try to build theories."1

THE USES OF READING RESEARCH

Important as research is to educators and educational publishers and producers of media, trade publishers rarely turn to such data to find answers. Trade books are not written to provide progressive education from grades 1–12—i.e., to fit exactly into the curriculum—and they are not written to a specified word list or format. General publishers always are concerned about design and format of their books—especially those that include illustrations or other art work—but their desire is to create an effective format at a reasonable price, and which meets aesthetic standards, not to find the right size type for a particular reader at a specific age.

General publishers want to know what motivates people to read in general—to buy books and to use libraries—and they realize that access to books and other materials is an important part of that motivation.

A preliminary study of information about the motivation to read and the importance of accessibility indicates that these areas have not been heavily researched. There is an indication, also, that relevant findings have not been reported widely in the professional literature of reading research or library service, nor have the findings been fully or widely interpreted to educators and librarians, publishers, school board members, and other citizens.

A preliminary investigation of the literature indicates, also, that the research that has been done may be focused primarily on middle-class children or on the intellectually gifted, and may be old and out of date. Many studies reported as "research" have failed sufficiently to control variables; consequently, clear implications cannot be drawn for practical application.
Nevertheless, even a preliminary search of the literature suggests there may be findings in previously conducted research which are valuable and can be analyzed and reevaluated in light of the problems facing education today.

Many such studies are discussed in the preceding articles in this issue. In addition, Wollner concluded in her research that generalizations about single variables are inadequate interpretations of the interrelationships of many factors that cause only some children to develop the habit of voluntary reading. Strang, on the other hand, concluded there are identifiable factors that stimulate reading.

Waple, Carnovsky, Link and Hopf, and others have attempted to identify factors that motivate people to read. Burger, et al., developed a school environment which succeeded in tripling the mean number of books read per pupil per month.

Leavitt, Masterson, Monahan, Gaver, and others have investigated the effect of accessibility on the reading behavior of school children and youth. Gaver, in a review of the research about the effectiveness of elementary school libraries, concludes that children who have had continuing access to good school library collections, administered by qualified library personnel, generally read two to three times as many items in a greater variety of literary forms and interest areas, read more magazines, and may score higher on achievement tests.

In an extensive study of what makes adults read, Link and Hopf reported two major reasons why people read over half the books identified by the large population in their study: (1) convenience, 20 percent, and (2) recommendation (by family, friend, school, and others), 31 percent. Strang lists accessibility as the most important of the environmental factors influencing reading.

The importance of accessibility and recommendation of books to children was recently investigated by Bissett. He reports that regardless of access to books in the home, the public library, and the school library, children in classrooms containing attractive collections read 50 percent more books than children in the same school without such collections. When teachers provide a program of teacher recommendations and peer recommendations, the number of books read increased another 100 percent. (The mean number of books read by children in rooms without collections was 8 in 15 weeks; with classroom collections, 11 in 15 weeks; with classroom collections and recommendations, 22 in 15 weeks.)
These studies and others cited above indicate that a comprehensive search may yield valuable insights into what motivates people to read and to develop permanent and rewarding reading habits. An analysis of the implications of these studies might well yield ideas about the use of their findings with the changing populations of the United States, especially among the educationally disadvantaged such as the following groups: children and adults in poverty stricken rural areas and those from these areas who have moved to large cities; children and adults learning English as a second language; second- and third-generation urban ghetto children who have not learned to read effectively, to name a few. Analysis of the implications of previous studies might:

1. discover usable findings which could be utilized in planning current educational and library programs for these audiences,
2. identify those research procedures which have been most fruitful in producing usable findings, and
3. identify research areas in which successful procedures and other techniques might be applied.

Who should conduct reading research?

These activities are more appropriate to librarians and educators serving the population than to publishers of general books. After existing research has been evaluated by professionals in various agencies and they know what effect it will have on their programs, then producers need to know what materials are needed to do the job.

One example might be the urban information centers which are being established by some public libraries in large cities. For many years librarians have been asking publishers for simple, clear materials about legal problems, social services, consumer education, health, food, and other topics of vital, daily concern to economically disadvantaged adults. Many cannot read well and do not know how to cope with the government and bureaucracy. Now that programs are being initiated and funds allocated for staff and materials, a few general publishers might view these as topics for which a book market is emerging.

Another kind of material for which there is constant demand is high interest/low reading level materials. To ask for such materials from a general publisher is something of a contradiction in terms. Because trade books are not created in the same fashion as textbooks, little or no control over the author is exerted. The editing of trade books differs
Research Needed

from that of textbooks. Occasionally a trade book is published about a subject in which some slow readers are especially interested—cars, Black history or biography, a story about the West—and is written quite simply. This combination of an interesting subject and easy vocabulary means that the book is recommended as high interest/low reading level. But only rarely is a trade book written, edited, and published for this use. Usually high interest/low reading level materials are published as textbooks.

It remains, in my view, the responsibility of the professionals to survey education and library programs in order to collect sufficient data to convince an interested general publisher that a market exists for a particular book or kind of book. Please note: a need is not a market. Publishers have to know that a large number of people could use the book and they have to know that target education and library programs and funds exist for the purchase of appropriate materials. Suffice it to say that a few trade books are published because enough professionals convince a publisher that they need—and can purchase—that particular item.

Turning to the rest of the general book industry—that is, most of the books published today—what kind of research is needed? How does one find out what motivates people to read? Is this reading research, or market research, or editorial research? Can the same data be used by both professional and commercial groups? Should research be conducted by individual publishers or by the publishing industry as a whole?

It is often said that it would be impossible to do hard research to discover the effects of reading, or reading just books. As Harris says in this issue, it is neither possible nor desirable to isolate people from all but one form of communication. Thus, there could never be a control group of people who only read for information and do not watch television, listen to the radio, or see movies. Such individuals would be so impaired or unnatural in their lifestyles that knowledge about them would not be relevant to the general population. Therefore, it would seem that any major research project would have to study access to information in all available forms about specific topics.

All the media should be included, not just print materials and not just books. Libraries with multimedia collections offer this potential, of course, but what kind of libraries? Do we need a comprehensive research program to tell us what materials school and college libraries buy for their users? Are their purchases dictated in large part by the
curriculum offered? The answer is "yes," of course. Special libraries buy materials to serve their particular business or professional clientele—advertising people, stock brokers, lawyers, or doctors, for instance.

If public libraries of all sizes, serving all kinds of populations, were to be surveyed, the professions and the industry would learn a great deal about general reader tastes. The people being served, however, are already library users—they are already motivated, and they already know they have access to books and to other materials in libraries. But a great deal could be learned from library users about reading interests and how they change, the reasons people use libraries, what they want from libraries but cannot get, etc. A comprehensive library inventory should be done again. The last was conducted in 1949.16

Research is costly

One reason that such a study has not been done is undoubtedly that it would be expensive and time-consuming. Individual public librarians who know the interests of their patrons conscientiously evaluate thousands of current books and other materials each year, select and purchase them, and conduct programs to encourage their use. In addition, public libraries have been especially hard hit by cuts in federal support and decreasing state and local income at the time that costs for staff and materials are increasing. Although it would be interesting and helpful to know what is going on in public libraries across the country, a librarian's day-to-day challenge is in the local agency. These are difficult times in which to interest any group in supporting activities for the general good. Many Americans are having serious trouble solving their own problems, doing their own jobs, and paying their own bills.

Libraries and educators tend to charge the publishing industry with the responsibility for a comprehensive research study. In this issue, Nemeyer has pointed out that the cost of a nationwide study would be prohibitive for an industry doing a total annual volume of just over $3 billion in 1973. Sad to say, the industry does not collect its statistics in such a fashion so that anyone can be certain what percentage of the total dollar volume is spent by libraries. Many publishers can analyze their own sales data to estimate what percentage of their total sale of trade books is to libraries, but certainly not all do this. A spokesman for Houghton Mifflin said in August 1973, that his company had determined that 70 percent of their trade books were sold to schools
Research Needed

and libraries. Some publishers estimate that the percentage is lower—around 50 percent. Publishers of hardcover children's books priced at $1.00 and over probably sell between 80 and 90 percent of their books to libraries. About 50 percent of the sale of university press titles is to libraries.

One reason publishers do not know what percentage of their books goes to libraries is that many depend on wholesalers to fill actual orders from schools and libraries. Most wholesalers in this country serve the institutional market; the few who sell primarily to booksellers are easily identified. If their volume is subtracted from total wholesaler business, a publisher can estimate the volume of his institutional business. The percentage varies, of course, from house to house depending on the nature of the list. Some titles on a list obviously are not going to have a big library market—spiral bound cookbooks, for example—but for others libraries are expected to be the major market.

Bookstores and libraries behave differently as markets for books, which further confuses some publishers. Libraries are much slower to respond to a new title. It takes time to evaluate a new book, and many libraries wait for reviews. Thus, a book is often available for twelve to eighteen months before the library market decides whether to purchase and then order in quantity. Or a library may buy only a few copies of a new title to see if it is popular with patrons. If it is, they duplicate more heavily. If it turns out to be an important book, they keep replacing it as copies wear out and are discarded. In the meantime publishers have to allow some titles to go out of print because sales simply do not justify reprinting, warehousing and promoting the title. Standing order plans, Cataloging in Publication, reviews, exhibits, advertisements, and brochures and catalogs represent a publisher's attempt to bring books to the attention of educators and librarians as efficiently as possible.

Cost aside, it seems doubtful that the publishing industry alone would embark upon a comprehensive study of reading taste and motivation as reported by schools and libraries, or of the promotion and distribution of books. Many publishers do not see libraries as a major market for their particular publishing programs; hence, they do not spend much time and money to find out how these agencies function and what their needs are. Other publishers know that libraries are very important to their sales and profit picture and conduct their own market research to determine what kinds of books libraries buy and how various kinds of libraries evaluate, select, and purchase
materials. Having invested in such a research program, they tend to restrict their findings to in-house use by editorial and sales personnel.

If more publishers were convinced that libraries were a growing market potential, they might fund a research study. Robert W. Frase, formerly economist for the Association of American Publishers, recently offered a meaningful interpretation of the industry sales figures for 1972. Eliminating those categories of books for which libraries are not a potential market, he estimates that libraries purchase 40 percent of the balance of the total domestic sale. The percentage would increase substantially if one included sales of trade books to educators and students through college bookstores—sales that are generated by promotion to educators and librarians, not booksellers. Most publishers separate their domestic from their foreign business, and from “other” sales (which influences the profit picture, of course, but does not represent sales of the publisher’s edition to bookstores, wholesalers, schools and libraries which, in turn, make books available to readers). They can in this way calculate the percentage of domestic sales which is institutional, thus acquiring useful information for their own publishing program. If all trade publishers analyzed their own sales data in terms of the institutional markets, and used them in making editorial and sales decisions, they would be more aware of the need for general research into these markets. Alas, some houses assume that their trade books are published primarily for bookstores; their publishing decisions are made, therefore, on the basis of information passed through that filter alone.

What general publishers do not need is a special analysis of topics in which people are especially interested at present. Editors and other publishing personnel tend to be well read and informed personally so they know what topics are “hot.” Knowing this, publishers then have to decide whether they want to publish in this field. Editors are often heard to say that they know a particular topic is of great national interest, but they do not think they are best qualified to produce such a book, i.e., edit an existing manuscript or recruit an author to write on that topic. After an editor has made the decision to publish, the publisher needs to decide whether or not the house is equipped to promote and sell a title. Some publishers are well established in particular fields and can sell a book successfully. Others are not known in these fields—nor do they want to be—and they do not publish books
Research Needed

in these categories. These are responsible publishing decisions. All publishers, buyers and readers of books know of books that have been mispublished or published by the wrong house. These titles miss their market, as it were. In addition, editors and publishers have to decide whether or not another book on a particular topic will sell if there have been several good books on that topic published earlier. There is a time to add a title in a subject area and a time to stay out of the market.

As Lacy says, the publishing of trade books is a creative process, not one tied to formula and wordlist. Editors seek writers who have talent, attempt to help them develop that talent to write books that can be commercial as well as artistic successes, and suggest topics for books when they are wanted. But as a rule the quality of the book comes first—not the idea that a particular title will sell. The trade publisher is responding to the talent of the writer, he is not responding to a void in the market, a change in the curriculum, or a shift in the school-age population.

The major area in which general publishers and producers of materials need information is marketing or distribution. Few publishers, as we have seen, sell books directly to individual readers. Publishers seem to feel cut off from current, significant information about the markets for the books they publish. Many have said that they would like to collect their sales data in a different, more refined fashion so that they know more about their own sales. It is assumed that books sold to most wholesalers are resold to schools and libraries—not to bookstores—but publishers do not know which titles are sold to what kind of schools and libraries serving what age group in response to what sales stimuli. Are sales a response to reviews, space advertisements, faculty recommendations, student interest, word of mouth, or what?

Most publishers depend heavily on their sales and promotion staffs to ask these and other questions. In their way these people constantly are conducting a very informal kind of market research. Trade salesmen who call on booksellers present their books, but they also collect information about books published in the preceding season—what sold and what did not, and why not—and they hear about a publisher's service. Delays in publication, printings, bindings and shipping are a problem for everyone. Some large publishers employ a sales force that calls on schools and libraries to sell trade books and other materials, and they gather information, too. If a publisher cannot afford a direct sales force in the institutional market, often he
employs a specialist in school and library promotion. A large part of this job usually is to get information about current needs, new programs being launched, changes in the curriculum, status of budgets, flow of federal funds, problems in acquiring books and other materials, and the like. Sales and promotion personnel who get into the fifty states and talk with customers of all kinds can generalize quite accurately about what the market needs and will buy. This information is very useful to sales and editorial personnel within the publishing house, but it is not market research.

PROPOSALS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

It has been suggested that a simple form including questions to the reader like the following be placed in every book sold:

A. If you bought this book from a bookstore or other retail outlet:
   1. How convenient (in distance and time) is the nearest outlet?
   2. How often do you go there?
   3. Do you usually find what you want?
   4. Which kind of book is more easily available to you—hardcover or paperback?
   5. How much do you spend per year on books?

B. If you bought this book through a book club:
   1. Do you belong to one book club (or more)?
   2. Why?
   3. Are you satisfied with title selection and service? (If yes, elaborate; if not, why not?)
   4. Do you also purchase books from bookstores (estimate number per year)?
   5. Do you also borrow books from libraries (estimate number per year)?

C. If you borrowed this book from a public or educational library:
   1. How convenient (in distance and time) is the nearest library?
   2. How often do you go there?
   3. Do you find what you want in materials and services? (If yes, elaborate; if not, what is lacking?)
   4. Do you belong to a book club?
   5. Do you purchase books regularly (estimate number per year)?
   6. Do you borrow some categories of materials for specific purposes and buy others?
D. Attitude study:
1. Do you regularly read books and why?
2. What kinds of books do you prefer (i.e., analysis of subject interests)?
3. What percentage of your reading falls into the following categories:
   leisure-time?
   related to work?
   related to formal/informal education?
   other?
4. Do you prefer hardcover books to paperbacks? Why?
5. How do you prefer to obtain books (i.e., ranking of bookstores, and other retail outlets, libraries, and schools, book clubs, etc.)?
6. How do you find out about the books you read (reviews, author interviews on radio and television, word-of-mouth, teacher assignment, professional recommendation, etc.)?

If readers were asked to supply this information and answer basic inquiries about age, sex, subject area of study, leisure-time interests, place of residence, and the like, publishers could gather some useful data. However, the few attempts that have been made have produced negligible responses. If the survey were conducted professionally by opinion researchers, controls would exist, a valid sample could be identified, an efficient questionnaire would be used, and the response would be thoroughly analyzed.

Publishers who do collect comprehensive sales data and use it to make publishing decisions are in no way obligated to make such information generally available—to authors, to other publishing houses, or to educators and librarians. Much of this information is confidential data and cannot be made public.

Perhaps publishers and librarians together should attempt to fund, with the help of the government, a foundation, or a group of foundations, a comprehensive nationwide study of the distribution of books and other media. Schools and libraries do make public their materials budgets, and they could analyze their expenditures by kind of medium, subject area, age group, year of publication, and other factors. They know from which sources they acquire which materials—and how and when—and they know what affects their decision to purchase individual items and kinds of materials. This survey would be a tremendous task, but a very important one. The
National Center for Educational Statistics of the U.S. Office of Education is developing a new system of collecting nationwide statistics for all kinds of libraries. The new system, the Library General Information Survey (LIBGIS), will operate through collection of data by state agencies and tabulation by the federal government. A contract to design an operational handbook for the new system has been let to the ALA and will be directed by Robert Frase from his office in Washington.19

If publishers and producers of materials had hard data about the nature and size of the education and library markets, they would be more responsive to requests for materials, and they would promote and sell material more effectively and efficiently. As in every other area of mutual concern to these two groups, what benefits one benefits the other. These matters are too important to publishers and librarians, and to the people they serve, to continue to be a matter of random communication—which is what they generally are today.

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<td>Robert L. Talmadge</td>
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<td>H. R. Simon</td>
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Library Trends

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January, 1974, Evaluation of Library Services. Editor: Sarah Reed, Associate Dean, Graduate Library School, Indiana University, Bloomington.

April, 1974, Science Materials for Children and Young People. Editor: George S. Bonn, Professor, Graduate School of Library Science, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.

July, 1974, Health Sciences Libraries. Editor: Joan Titley, Health Sciences Librarian, University of Louisville, Louisville, Kentucky.