

A COMPARISON OF RESPONSES MADE TO
SELECTED PIECES OF LITERATURE BY HIGH
SCORERS AND LOW SCORERS ON THE
INVENTORY OF BELIEFS

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.
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This is to certify that the

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A COMPARISON OF RESPONSES MADE
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AND LOW SCORERS ON THE INVENTORY OF BELIEFS

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AN ABSTRACT

Submitted to the School for Advanced Graduate Studies of
Michigan State University of Agriculture and
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ABSTRACT

This study is concerned with the responses to selected pieces of literature of two groups of college freshmen having widely different patterns of beliefs and attitudes. Twenty-four students who scored above average in aptitude and reading ability, but half of whom scored low and half of whom scored high on an attitude measure, The Inventory of Beliefs, were asked to respond to seventeen literary selections appropriate for use in freshman humanities or English courses. Selections were chosen to evoke values and individual differences in attitudes toward 1) the intellectual as opposed to the practical, intuitive approach to problems, 2) the place of authority and conformity in social control, 3) responsibility of the individual for the welfare of other human beings, and 4) acceptable standards of behavior.

The responses were analyzed 1) to discover differences in meaning and in implications seen by the two groups, and 2) to find whether the responses of each group clustered around certain attitudes and values which, if identifiable, would have implications for the planning and teaching of literature courses.

The responses in general reflected a tendency among the Low Scorers on the Inventory of Beliefs 1) to prefer the practical vocations to the "intellectual" vocations, 2) to distrust the expert or the theorist who depends on knowledge rather than practical experience, 3) to lean heavily on authority and to identify with or sympathize with authority figures, 4) to find in authority relief from anxiety and escape from decision making, 5) to conform to sanctions of their environment and to be over-conscious of the pressures of society, and 6) to resent criticism of them-

selves, but to indulge in criticism of others, especially those with different living standards or standards of behavior.

High Scorers tended 1) to put more faith in the expert and theorist and in education and knowledge, 2) to respect those engaged in the "intellectual" vocations, 3) to feel that authority must be based on reason, 4) to make judgments by a hierarchy of values arranged after as careful an analysis as possible of every situation, 5) to welcome opportunities for decision making, 6) to hold little respect for anyone who identifies too easily with the crowd or with any situation which denies independence of thought, and 7) to welcome criticism of themselves by which they might further gain insight into their behavior.

The results showed further that teachers of literature are faced with individual differences quite apart from differences in aptitude and reading ability. Low Scorers appeared to be more likely 1) to misinterpret an author's purpose, 2) to note first in literature such evidence as would confirm their prejudices, 3) to reject such selections as attacked them personally or increased their anxiety, and 4) to miss many of the subtle overtones of literature.

High Scorers appeared to be more likely 1) to examine materials critically and objectively, 2) to project the vicarious experiences of literature into everyday life, 3) to gain from literature some insight and understanding of themselves and the world, and 4) to realize the potential of literature for educating both their minds and their emotions.

A number of signs appeared in the responses to indicate that changes in attitudes are perhaps possible: in a period of seven months, greater changes in attitudes were made by Low Scorers than High Scorers; Low Scorers showed in their responses some consciousness of their prejudices,

some insight into the reasons for prejudice, and some awareness of changes taking place within themselves.

The study, besides identifying the tendencies of the two groups in response to literature, gave some encouragement that value-oriented teaching, involving skillfully planned vicarious experiences, group exchange of views about values, and encouragement of independent judgment, might cause students to re-examine their values and consequently alter their attitudes.

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CHAPTER I

THE RATIONALE OF THIS STUDY

Since literature demands of the reader, or of the student, both intellectual and emotional responses, objectives for the teaching of it include both cognitive and affective goals. Dealing with the historical, the social, and the ethical, as well as the aesthetic, literature has what Rosenblatt calls a "multiplicity of powers." It is these many powers which have given rise to the many approaches to the teaching of literature and which have somewhat confused the planning and teaching of English courses.

Out of the many possible approaches to literature, teachers have tended to emphasize those objectives which rest primarily in the cognitive areas of learning. A number of reasons may be found for this: the aims of education have given greater importance to the attaining of knowledge; information about literature is much more easily taught and measured by the traditional evaluation instruments than is critical thinking provoked by literature; beliefs, attitudes, and values have been considered too private for the educator to tamper with and any attempt to affect attitudes has been branded as indoctrination, not teaching.

Teachers, however, are beginning to realize that the cognitive and the affective areas cannot be so neatly divided. What knowledge a student acquires depends largely upon his attitudes. Although this is true in all subject areas to a certain extent, it is particularly true in literature where the author purposely communicates with the

reader by appealing both to his reason and to his sympathies through a medium which is highly personal and which asks the reader to identify either with the author himself or with one or more of the characters. The educational experience of literature then must be filtered through the attitudes and values which literature by its very nature embodies.

What a student takes with him from a piece of literature depends as much upon what he brings with him to the reading as it does upon what the author says. Through the years a student has assimilated, in most cases quite unconsciously, a fund of concepts, values, and attitudes from which he has derived a standard for human behavior and set habits of response. These he cannot shut out from his reactions. His meanings are sure to be selected and abstracted on the basis of these pre-dispositions.

An example from the responses of students in the writer's classes will illustrate the point. A class which had read The Scarlet Letter was asked to write what might be called an annotation of the book, a brief statement both critical and explanatory. One whose background was dominated by parental and religious authority saw the story as "the normal outcome for people who break one of the commandments." A socially sensitive girl saw it as "an inhumane treatment of those who violate social law" and therefore saw it as a condemnation of society, not human nature. A young man who had recently shared the experience of Dimmesdale "pitied both Hester and Dimmesdale because they had no family or friends to whom to go for sympathetic understanding and help." A Roman Catholic boy said, "The story illustrates what sin, not confessed, can do to the human mind and soul."

Among the comments written in a similar assignment following the

reading of Othello were these: "A play of retribution in which every one gets what he deserves." "A study of racial differences and the inevitable consequences of a marriage between the races." "A character study of a man (Othello) who was fundamentally insecure and therefore too unstable to handle a situation which required faith and objectivity." "The inevitable struggle between the nobler and the baser elements of society." "An exposure of treachery which hides in the most loyal-appearing people."

Obviously these pieces of literature were seen in the light of former experiences and in terms of the need of the reader to find some support for his values and concepts.

A teacher of literature may well ask what makes a student choose one meaning over another, why some parts strike him more perceptibly than others, why certain misinterpretations are made, what in his experience caused him to identify in one way or another with certain characters or situations. In the answers to these questions lies a whole new area of individual differences, as yet largely unexplored.

The writer's interest in the variety of responses made in literature classes by college students, her belief that the effectiveness of literature lies in the students' crystallizing their responses and examining them in the light of the responses of others in order to become conscious of how their values operate, and the hypothesis that such responses take certain patterns which might be predictable, thus giving the teacher some means of anticipating responses and planning both the course and the method of presentation on the basis of these anticipations, suggested the study undertaken here.

Consequently this study was designed to explore the nature of the responses of two groups of freshman college students, of widely different patterns of beliefs and attitudes, to selected pieces of literature. Responses of these groups would be analyzed to discover what difference in meaning--if any--the two groups abstracted from the selections and what kind of implications they saw in what they read, and to find whether the responses of each group clustered around certain attitudes and values which if identifiable would have implications for the planning and teaching of literature courses.

CHAPTER II

THE NATURE OF ATTITUDES AND VALUES

While values and attitudes have always been assumed to be decisive factors in human behavior, only recently have they become the focal point of study and research. Over the last three decades there has been a rapidly growing realization that the way groups or individuals feel about the various aspects of their world is probably more determinative of behavior than their cognitive understanding of the world. Moreover, the progress made in predicting behavior has encouraged considerable research in the area.

Attitudes are generally considered to be a person's inclination or readiness to react a certain way because of his prejudices, biases, preconceived notions, and convictions. Although in many cases the terms "attitude" and "value" are used either complementarily or synonymously, clear distinctions between the two are now insisted upon by many. Woodruff (70), who has done considerable study of the roles of values in human behavior, thinks that the popular meaning of "attitude" has long obscured the meaning of "value." He believes, contrary to the popular opinion, that attitudes are momentary and temporary states of readiness to act which receive their direction from an individual's value concepts. Value concepts decree then what an attitude will be. If value concepts remain unchanged, attitudes will appear to be unchangeable. Values are usually considered to be those things a person feels contribute to his well being. Out of the weighing process through which a person puts one status of well being up against another will emerge

his attitudes. (67)

In such case, the attitudes expressed in response to pieces of literature would reflect the value concepts which have been brought into play by the literary work and would indicate those things which students feel are important to their security and well being.

For example, a student in his response to a literary work describing a conflict between the wills of a parent and a young person would be stimulated to weigh the value of authority and protective interest, along with the value of freedom to do as one likes, the value of peer, parent, and society approval, the value of accepting the point of view of a reputable author, and perhaps other values as well. The weight of each value would depend upon his needs for protection because of lack of experience, his need for independence because of approaching maturity, his need for approval because of lack of recognition or status, and the need he feels for positive guidance from someone whom he respects, in this case a reputable author. From this intellectual and emotional weighing would emerge the attitude toward the situation described in the literature.

Attitudes and Learning

Considerable evidence exists that attitudes, and hence values, if one accepts Woodruff's thesis, play an important role in learning. Individuals are most receptive to the facts and points of view most nearly congruent to their beliefs and opinions. Levine and Murphy (38) found that an individual notes and remembers material which supports his social attitudes better than material which conflicts with these attitudes. The difference was not statistically significant during the learning period

but became so during the latter part of the forgetting period.

Postman, Bruner, and McGinnies (46) found that individual value preferences are significantly associated with recognition time for words presumably representing values.

Edwards (20) in a study of the retention of affective experiences points out that those experiences which are consistent with and which harmonize with an existing frame of reference will tend to be learned and remembered better than experiences which conflict with the frame, and that those experiences which are in opposition to the frame will tend to be re-cast so that they may be more readily assimilated.

Rosenblatt (56) suggests that a learner learns to by-pass his attitudes and change only his articulate opinions if his values are in opposition to what he is asked to learn. Since the learner is measured by "right responses," he tends to shut out his critical judgment and to retain such responses as are likely to bring him approval on evaluation instruments. If what he learns as a "right response" happens to coincide with his values and previous attitudes, it is of course remembered longer.

The studies reviewed here at first seem to imply that only such pieces of literature as confirm one's prejudices are remembered and that the attempts to teach other kinds are wasted motion. However these studies also lead to the question of whether if we knew more about students' prejudices and pre-dispositions, we could not more directly involve students in an examination of them and make the examination such a memorable experience that students would modify their behavior in subsequent situations where their attitudes and beliefs were involved.

Attitudes and Reading

In the area of literature, attitudes are likely to contribute to unconscious misinterpretation or to limited interpretation. Reading is a highly complex process. In the area of literature it must go far beyond obtaining the literal and sense meaning and supplement the meanings implied by the author's tone, mood, and intention with meanings that grow out of the purposes and experiences peculiar to the reader. As Richards says, drastic intellectual adjustments are enforced by the use of symbols, and the process of reading is largely the filling in of what is only in part presented. (51:95)

In such high level reading, few mistakes in word recognition are made; vocabularies in most cases are adequate; where errors do occur is in misinterpretation or limited interpretation which becomes more likely and more insidious the higher the level of reading material. The number of meanings is so great and the configurations they may take so manifold that it is easy for the reader to assume that he is exempt from error. (51:99) It is this failure of the student to consider the possibility of error, plus the failure of the teacher to consider that all students who read the same things do not get the same meanings, that often lead to the failure of the humanities courses to challenge attitudes and values.

Rosenblatt (56) gives numerous examples of the effect of a reader's pre-dispositions and pre-occupations on the configurations of meanings in a literary selection. Many of these illustrate how meanings can be skewed and how some rather amazing interpretations filter through. Hayakawa has aptly described what attitudes can do to meanings when he says that

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attitudes are "heavy static" interfering with the reception of ideas.(30)

Educational research further supports the importance of the role of attitudes in reading. Crossen (14) investigating whether pupils who have the most favorable attitude toward a topic would read materials about that topic with more accuracy and discrimination, found that an unfavorable attitude toward a topic of some personal or immediate concern tends to interfere with the critical reading of materials about the topic.

Strang (62) in a series of case studies of the reading habits and responses of persons from 13-50 years of age from all socio-economic groups hypothesized that people read with their experiences and emotions since in the majority of cases freely written responses were highly colored by a reader's prejudices and personal experiences.

McKillop (43) who presented materials on highly controversial topics to high school students and followed this with three kinds of questions--detailed questions, questions requiring inferences based on experience and general information, and questions of evaluation--found that attitude is not an important factor if responses expected are simple, clearly stated facts, but that attitude does become an important factor when a reader is asked to evaluate the author and to bring his own value judgments into the response. This suggests that knowledge-oriented teaching and knowledge-oriented testing neither involve nor challenge values.

Waples (65) in studying the social effects of reading on adults found that a reader's sympathies reflect the attitudes of the groups with which he is identified and his motives for reading, and that a reader's beliefs, loyalties, opinions, and prejudices may strengthen or

weaken, even reverse, the flow of influence intended by the author.

Sherif (58) found that the prestige of the author had much to do with a reader's critical response. Passages attributed to highly rated authors were considered good; those to less highly rated authors, bad. Actually the passages he used were all written by the same author. Richards (50) in an experiment in teaching criticism of poetry to a class of Oxford University students found that when the names of the authors of the poems were removed, one of the strongest criteria of value was removed. Students who were asked to criticize poetry without the guidance of traditional author reputations were placed under considerable strain. These experiments point up that not only do attitudes interfere to the extent that they cause misinterpretation or narrowness of interpretation, but also that they are the cause for literary works' being accepted. Best sellers no doubt owe much of their success to the fact that they are written by known authors and that they support cherished values. The more people can identify with the protagonist, or with a given point of view, the more popular the book.

Throughout history there is evidence that no matter what their literary value, books which have given support to popular attitudes have flourished because people could read into them the things they wanted to believe despite the book's literary shortcomings. Machiavelli's The Prince, which was written when Italy was attempting to free herself from foreign aggression; The Wealth of Nations, which was written when England was ready for expansion of her commercial and industrial economy; Paine's Common Sense, which helped trigger the American Revolution; Uncle Tom's Cabin, which helped trigger the Civil War; and Das Kapital which pointed up the dreadful conditions prevailing in European industry

--all are cases in point. (16)

There seems to be ample evidence that the intellectual adjustments which readers make when confronted with a piece of reading material are influenced by their pre-dispositions and pre-occupation; that the higher the level of the material, the more these influences affect the interpretation; and that the more penetrating the evaluation, the more it is found that attitude has affected meaning. Pre-dispositions and pre-occupations are closely associated with beliefs, loyalties, opinions, and prejudices which are strong enough to make a reader overlook the specious reasoning of an author or even to reverse the flow of influence intended by the author.

The Possibility of Changing Values and Attitudes

A common assumption exists among colleges that there are values which need to be communicated through education and which can be communicated. The objectives found in college catalogues and humanities course syllabi show considerable faith in the ability of college curricula and college experiences to affect values.

Numerous colleges have made some effort to see if this faith is justified. Their findings are available in status studies of student attitudes, evaluations of outcomes of general education courses, effects of various methods of teaching, and rather extensive institutional self studies.

Jacob (32), however, concluded after surveying the studies made and the data accumulated on these campuses all over the country that college experiences barely touch "student standards of behavior, quality of judgment, sense of social responsibility, perspicacity of understanding, and

guiding beliefs."

Some educators have been quick to seize upon Jacob's statement as evidence for their hypothesis that values and attitudes cannot be changed in people of college age because values are too firmly established by that time. Jacob's conclusions also support the common belief that the university in its limited time cannot expect to compete with the impact of the rest of society and all that comes through mass media. His conclusions also support those who believe that a change of values brought largely through reflection and critical thinking demands concentration and attention not characteristic of college students.

Evidence in the studies carried on by the various colleges is not, however, all negative. Some rather striking evidence exists that at some institutions values do change when students come into contact with certain curricula, usually these with a fair proportion of liberal or general education courses; when students study with certain instructors, usually those with strong value commitments themselves; when subject matter is taught by certain methods, usually student centered; and when students live in certain campus climates, usually stressing student initiative, world-mindedness, or dedication to humanitarian service. Jacob has documented these findings in his recent publication, Changing Values in College (32), which he calls only an exploratory stage in a study of values of college students.

It is this evidence that values do change in certain climates which so intrigues educators that numerous studies are currently being undertaken to define further the positive influences on values.

Considerable evidence also appears in the studies of institutions that value changes are most likely to take place in students with cer-

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tain personality configurations. Personality then becomes what Jacob calls a "filter" which allows only certain elements of education to get through and to influence the student. Teachers who would be effective, it would follow, must deal with an individual difference distinct from intelligence, aptitude, and achievement, a difference which involves the results in the affective area as well as the cognitive area.

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CHAPTER III

IDENTIFICATION OF STUDENTS OF LIKE VALUES AND ATTITUDES

In order to set up this study, it was necessary to find a reliable means of identifying students of like beliefs and values. This involved first the investigation of what had been done not only by psychologists and educators in defining and identifying patterns of personality, but also by social scientists in pointing out the implications of such personality patterns.

Defining and Identifying Personality Patterns

In 1950 Adorno and others, believing that the political, economic, and social convictions of an individual often form a broad and coherent pattern which expresses the deep-lying trends in his personality, sought to identify the pattern of beliefs of "potentially fascistic individuals."

(1:1) Their major findings were 1) that individuals who show extreme susceptibility to fascist propaganda have a great deal in common, the same ideological trends or ways of thinking about man and society; and 2) that personality, which they defined as the organization of the ideological forces within an individual, helps determine the response to situations. (1:5)

The F Scale. During the process of the study, Adorno and others developed the F Scale, a list of statements with which fascistic persons might agree. Their choice of statements was based on certain personality variables they believed present in a person receptive to anti-democratic propaganda: conventionalism, superstition and stereotypy, power

and "toughness," destructiveness and cynicism, projectivity, and sex.

(1:228f) Their definitions of these variables in summary are:

Conventionalism

Rigid adherence to conventional, middle-class values.

Authoritarian submission

Submissive, uncritical attitude toward idealized moral authority.

Dependence on authority figures, as parents, older people, leaders, supernatural powers.

Exaggerated, all-out emotional need to submit.

Conscience about subservience to external authority.

Evidence of masochism.

Authoritarian aggression

Dislike of seeing others get out from under rigid restraints.

Annoyance with atypical behavior: foreigners, zoot-suiters, "individualists."

Tendency to want to punish violators, often through scapegoats.

Tendency to lash out at those things readily attackable and not likely to strike back.

Inability to build up consistent and enduring sets of values.

Anti-intracception

Impatience with and opposition to the subjective and tender-minded.

Fear of thinking about human phenomena because of possible error.

Resentment at any prying into feelings or thought.

Desire to keep busy with practical things, effort to be cheerful, fear of examining inner thoughts.

Dislike of human beings' being manipulated.

Superstition and stereotypy

Over-simplification of explanations of human events.

Bizarre ideas of why people behave as they do and why things happen as they do.

Shift of responsibility for behavior to outside forces beyond their control.

Belief that the capacity of an individual has little to do with what happens to him.

Power and "toughness"

Over-emphasis on the power motive in human relationships.

Disposition to view all people as either strong or weak, leader or follower.

Desire for power but fear of it.

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Desire to be aligned with power figures (desire to say
one has been there or shaken hands, etc.)
Belief in superior and inferior races, nationalities,
families, etc.
Prestige-consciousness.

Destructiveness and cynicism

Belief in all-out aggression.
General contempt for mankind.
Relief that it is human nature to exploit and make
war on one's neighbors.
Sympathy with political or religious persecution if it
is profitable.

Projectivity

Pre-occupation with evil forces of the world
Readiness to think and believe in existence of plots
and conspiracies.
Fear of natural catastrophes.
Projection of own authoritarianism and aggression
onto other people.

Sex

Strong inclination to punish violators of sex mores.
Suggestion that own sexual desires are suppressed or
in danger of getting out of hand.

In the time since the Adorno study on the "authoritarian personality," numerous studies have accumulated and have supported the Adorno findings that an authoritarian syndrome does exist and is predictive of behavior in a wide variety of situations. Measures have since developed for misanthropy, rigidity, dogmatism, religious orthodoxy, and others—all of which correlate .50 or better with the F Scale. All of these have sharpened the picture of authoritarianism as a personality trait (66:73-84) and have pointed out that authoritarianism can be recognized as a problem in other areas where fascism and ethnocentrism are not necessarily the main issue. Authoritarianism and intolerance need not take exclusively the form of fascist authoritarianism or ethnic intolerance. (53:202-203)

The Inventory of Beliefs. In 1954 the Inter-College Committee on Attitudes, Values, and Personal Adjustment of the Cooperative Study of Evaluation in General Education hypothesized that "attitudes toward specific objects were conditioned by certain personality configurations which resulted from a particular course of development of some individuals' physical, mental, and emotional traits." (17:212)

After an exploration of the work of Adorno and the work of other psychologists, the committee concerned itself with the implications of these studies for general education. A list of attitudes of concern to general education was drawn up and a model organization characterizing the personalities most adaptable to general education inferred.

In order to identify these personalities, a series of cliches, pseudo-rational statements and inappropriate generalizations similar to those on the F Scale were collected, refined, and reduced to 120 items. The series of statements became known as the Inventory of Beliefs. It was assumed that mature democratic individuals could not agree with the statements. The person who did agree with most of them was assumed to be immature, rigid in outlook, authoritarian in relationships with others, and compulsive in his actions. The person who disagreed with the cliches and generalizations was conceived to be adaptive, flexible, mature, and democratic in relations with others. (17:221)

The conceptual framework of the Inventory of Beliefs as designed by the committee follows:

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| 1. Ideas and Institutions | 1.1 Philosophy | 1.11 Materialistic, manipulative, power, cynical |
| | 1.2 Religion | 1.21 Mystical, ritualistic, non-personal |
| | 1.3 Arts | 1.31 Romantic, anti-sensual, anti-intellectual, anti-cultural |
| | 1.4 Sciences | 1.41 Application, limitation, anti-rational |
| | 1.5 Politics, economics | 1.51 Dependence, adherence to out-moded ideas, distrust, denial of conflicts. |
| 2. Social groups (ethnocentrism) | 2.1 Out-groups (Negroes, Jews, other minorities) | 2.11 Personal characteristics (offensive, immature, threatening, intrusive, seclusive)
2.12 Solutions (pseude-democratic: segregation, limited participation; anti-democratic: elimination, exclusion; insoluble: fatalism, despair, cynicism.) |
| | 2.2 In-groups (Americanism) | 2.21 Uncritical acceptance of values, exclusive pride in memberships, blindness to or dismissal of shortcomings |
| 3. Individuals, interpersonal relations (sociocentrism) | 3.1 Family (Parents) | 3.11 to 3.16 Irrational acceptance of external authority, unwillingness to assume personal responsibility to others, blaming others for failure (extra-punitive), resistance to departure from tradition, depersonalization of relationships, sentimentality (momism, etc.) |
| | 3.2 School (Teachers) | |
| | 3.3 Church (Ministers) | |
| | 3.4 State (Public Officials) | |
| | 3.5 Business and Consumer relations (Tradesmen) | |
| | 3.6 Friends, peers, siblings | |
| 4. Self (egocentrism) | 4.1 Self-concept, self-evaluation | 4.11 Perception of external world as threatening, as manipulatable, submission and aggression, rigidity and compulsion, superstition and stereotypy, destructiveness and cynicism, free-floating anxiety, preoccupa- |

tion with health and sex; over-spiritualization, denial, and fear (self, others), depersonalized sexuality

The Inventory was subjected to considerable research. It proved reliable and valid enough for purposes of group or individual measurement. (17:222) Data accumulated by the committee generally indicates the following behavior characteristics of high and low scorers:

1. High scorers (those who do not agree with the cliches and generalizations) tend to enroll in the areas of humanities, social science, and English.
2. High scorers do better than low scorers on examinations in social science and English.
3. A significantly larger number of low scorers withdraw from college by the end of the first year.
4. High scorers are significantly higher in scores on the Kuder Preference Record in the artistic, musical, and social science categories and significantly lower in the computational and clerical categories.
5. Low scorers are more likely associated with orthodox or fundamentalist religious groups.
6. High scorers favor activities which reflect autonomous and independent behavior, abstract and analytical intellectual interests.
7. Student leaders come from those who score above average of the student population at large.
8. Northern students score higher than Southern, but Southern students of high academic aptitude are higher than similar Northern students.
9. Older and more mature students make better scores.
10. Students in 13 colleges who made the greatest gains in a year's time were low scorers who had carefully integrated programs of general education.
11. The correlation between the Inventory and the American Council on Education Psychological Examination is low..

Since the Cooperative Study was completed, Kelly (34) found that students who consistently make better instructor grades than examination grades in the Basic College courses at Michigan State are more likely to be low scorers on the Inventory; that students who make better examination grades than instructor grades tend to be high scorers.

Egner and Obelsky (21) also found that those who scored high on the Inventory of Beliefs performed better in humanities and social science, while in mathematics and natural science their performance was superior. In biological science both low and high scorers did equally well. They concluded that the student most likely to succeed in courses which involve relatively high levels of flexibility of outlook is the non-stereotype. The stereotypes manifest evidence of frustration culminating frequently in academic failure, once the threshold of tolerance has been exceeded.

Mayhew (40) found in experimental classes in Social Science that high scorers on the Inventory of Beliefs do well in classes employing non-directive, student-centered, permissive techniques, while low scorers find such classes disturbing and conducive either to hostility or to apathy.

Stern (one of the men who worked on the Cooperative Study which developed the Inventory of Beliefs), Stein, and Bloom in their work with personality assessment for the U. S. Air Force (61) developed a synthetic model of a person who could be characterized in terms of "depersonalized and codified social relationships, pervasive acceptance of authority as absolute, inhibition and denial of impulses, and rigid orderliness and conformity in behavior." (61: 189) This they called the S syndrome (Stereotypy). The N syndrome (Non-stereotypy) described the op-

posite personality, marked by highly personalized and individualized social relationships, pervasive rejection of authority figures, spontaneous and acceptant impulse life, and non-conforming flexibility in behavior. Such persons, they believed, would place high value on "inter-personal relations, intellectual interests, self-expression in the arts, enjoyment of sentient experience, esthetic cultivation, and interest in social affairs." (61:193)

In an attempt to test the limits of a hypothetical personality type, they employed the Inventory of Beliefs. Students whom the Inventory identified as either having the S syndrome or its opposite were studied in detail. Stereopaths showed antipathy toward certain areas of general education and were remarkably consistent in their interests, attitudes, and orientation toward life.

At the conclusion, Stein, Stern, and Bloom stated, "The significance [of the results] for education seems to lie in further study of the relationships between the syndromes discussed here and the learning process." (61:227) They further suggested the possibility of examining the implications that personality characteristics have for admissions, classroom procedures, curriculum planning, and education objectives.

Further Definitions and Implications

Concurrent with the psychological and educational research, speculation concerning the rigid, inflexible personality was being made on a broader sociological, historical, and philosophical base by psychologists, social scientists, semanticists, and educators. Among these were Riesman (52), Fromm (23,22), Hayakawa (29), Johnson (33), and others. On the whole such scholars, concerned with the consequences to freedom and demo-

cratic ideals which conformity and the shift of responsibility to authority outside oneself are likely to bring, suggest 1) that "other directedness" is a real threat to responsible behavior and consequently to the democratic processes, 2) that the more self-conscious man becomes about approval of outside forces the more he relies on authority rather than knowledge and reason and the more he suppresses his own value judgments, 3) that the more one concerns himself with obedience, duty, and social adjustment, the less he develops a rationale for his own behavior, 4) that the more man accepts institutionalized values the less distinctions, degrees, and index numbers he applies to his classifications and the fewer the number of his courses of action, 5) that the more people lean on classifications and generalizations the less they depend on experience and observations and the less perceptive they become of the complexities of human relations, and 6) that an other-directed society develops such anxiety that creativeness and imagination are threatened.

Summary. Recent research and thinking in the area of attitudes and beliefs as reviewed in this chapter lead one to conclude: First, that enough evidence exists to support the hypothesis that a pattern of personality variables or ideological forces does determine an individual's responses to situations and that psychologists and educators have been able to identify with some perspicacity those individuals whose personality pattern or pattern of attitudes causes them to react favorably or unfavorably to such goals of behavior as might be the aim of general education; and second, that characteristics assumed to be part of the pattern organizations most favorable or unfavorable to educational goals are further observed by scholars outside the field of education as being favorable or unfavorable to freedom, rights, and responsibilities in a democratic society.

CHAPTER IV

METHODS AND PROCEDURES USED IN THE STUDY

Choosing the Participants

Since this study was designed to compare the responses of two groups of students having different attitudes and beliefs, it was necessary first to choose participants for the study on the basis of scores on an attitude measure. The Inventory of Beliefs for reasons outlined in the previous chapter seemed a valid and reliable measure.

Also, involving as the study did rather high level comprehension and analysis of reading material, general aptitude and more specifically verbal aptitude figured as important variables. Since the Inventory of Beliefs scores have a low correlation with aptitude test scores, it was likely that any group of Low Scorers—or High Scorers—on the Inventory would vary widely in verbal abilities. In order to eliminate this variable, only those above a given cutting score on a reliable aptitude test could be invited to participate. As a further effort to eliminate this variable, a score on a reliable reading test seemed appropriate in order to eliminate any student whose reading skills might hamper his responses.

It was also necessary to eliminate the variable of age since research with the Inventory of Beliefs had indicated its significance in previous studies.

In the fall of 1957, all entering freshmen at Michigan State University were given the widely used American Council on Education Psycholog-

ical Test, an aptitude test which yields a linguistic (verbal) score, a quantitative score, and a total score, and the MSU Reading Test which yields vocabulary, comprehension and total scores. Raw scores and derived scores for more than 3,000 entering freshmen were available.

Also in the fall of 1957, 430 of the above freshmen were administered the short form (60 items) of the Inventory of Beliefs. This sampling included those in certain alphabetical groupings. Scores on this Inventory were also available.

The students were also presumably available since, at the time of the study, they were in the third term of their freshman year.

On the first selection of participants for the study, the intention was to choose 20 High Scorers and 20 Low Scorers on the Inventory of Beliefs, all of whom had comparatively high aptitude and reading scores and all of whom were 18-19 years of age. It was hoped that the participants could be chosen by the following criteria:

Test	Scores for the Low Group	Scores for the High Group
Inventory of Beliefs	-1 S. D. or below	+1 S. D. or above
ACE Linguistic Score	+1 S. D. or above	+1 S. D. or above
ACE Total Score	+1 S. D. or above	+1 S. D. or above
MSU Reading Score	+1 S. D. or above	+1 S. D. or above

However, only 18 were found who could meet the above criteria for the Low Group, and of these only 10 were available for participation, six having dropped from school and two having conflicting commitments. It was therefore necessary to choose the lowest 20 scorers on the Inventory of Beliefs who had ACE scores and Reading Scores above the 50th percentile (based on the norms of freshmen who entered MSU in the fall of 1957.)

The 20 students in the Low Group who finally participated in the study had the following raw scores in September:

Low Group

Student	Inventory of Beliefs	ACE Linguistic	ACE Total	MSU Reading
1	12	72	125	50
2	13	76	130	47
3	15	68	114	45
4	21	74	137	52
5	22	59	114	51
6	22	68	119	51
7	22	91	133	49
8	23	99	163	65
9	23	72	122	50
10	24	69	111	45
11	25	70	131	46
12	25	81	133	56
13	25	78	137	59
14	26	92	145	54
15	27	80	126	50
16	27	70	114	45
17	27	68	110	54
18	28	75	103	62
19	29	90	139	59
20	29	86	130	54

The above group will henceforth be referred to as the Low IB's.

The High Group was chosen on the same basis: the highest scorers on the Inventory of Beliefs who had ACE Linguistic and Total Scores and MSU Reading Scores above the 50th percentile. The 20 students in this group who actually participated had the following raw scores in September:

<u>High Group</u>				
Student	Inventory of Beliefs	ACE Linguistic	ACE Total	MSU Reading
1	57	78	128	60
2	51	104	159	83
3	49	88	133	63
4	48	72	111	66
5	45	82	140	60
6	43	88	135	60
7	42	80	134	62
8	42	71	122	52
9	42	98	148	70
10	41	77	124	52
11	41	88	140	51
12	41	86	143	72
13	40	86	130	48
14	39	72	111	53
15	39	81	133	62
16	39	75	136	67
17	39	74	135	51
18	39	96	155	73
19	38	78	132	50
20	38	90	144	73

The above group will henceforth be referred to as the High IB's.

Since High IB's are more likely to remain in college, there were many more than 20 who qualified for the study within the first limits set. An effort was made, however, to choose those whose aptitude and reading scores were comparable to those of the Low IB's.

Since only 430 IB scorers were available, and since the study was not undertaken until the third term, after considerable attrition had taken place, it should be pointed out here that the students in the Low Group were not as extreme as they might have been had larger numbers of scores been available and had the study been completed in the first term.

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Choosing the Literary Selections

Previous studies of attitudes as expressed in responses to reading selections had all used highly charged materials dealing with Communism, race superiority, or other topics involving easily ignited prejudices. This study in order to be as useful as possible to a classroom teacher was purposely designed to use selections which might be found in a freshman college text for a communications, humanities, or introductory literature course. Presumably these texts have selections with some emotional content, but do not deal primarily with prejudice. The first criterion of choice for selections to be used in this study, then, was their appropriateness for use in texts.

Previous studies of attitudes as related to personality had indicated that individual differences were more likely to fall into certain groups: 1) attitudes toward the intellectual as opposed to the practical, intuitive approach to problems, 2) attitudes toward the place of authority and conformity in social control, 3) attitudes toward responsibility of the individual for the welfare of other human beings, and 4) attitudes toward acceptable standards of human behavior. Consequently, all selections chosen challenged students to formulate an attitude (after weighing values) which fell into one of these groups.

An attempt was also made to have represented in the selections some poetry, fiction, drama, and essays (chiefly magazine articles), so that the selections would be as representative as possible of literary types likely to be found in texts. They ranged from frank statements of opinions in essays through the skillfully focused narrative to the elusive metaphysical expressions of poetry. Sources of the selections are listed in the Appendix.

The limited time which one could reasonably ask students to give to the study made necessary the cutting of most selections. This in many ways is always unfortunate. In this study, for example, a much deeper, more emotionally and intellectually involved response would undoubtedly have come from the reading of the entire story, "The Sculptor's Funeral," rather than a brief 20-line cutting from the conversation of the townspeople at "the wake," or from the reading of the entire book, Grapes of Wrath, rather than the brief scene where the starving "Okies" were driven off by "the law" for having planted gardens on unused land.

The names of the authors were removed and in cases where actual titles might have been recognized, titles appropriate to the cutting were substituted. In only three cases was the cutting from Grapes of Wrath recognized from the recent movie shown on the campus, and in only two cases was the cutting from Death of a Salesman identified. In no case had any student "studied" any of the selections in a class.

The cuttings were presented to the students in five groups of from three to five each. These groups dealt directly or indirectly with the attitudes previously alluded to: "intellectualism," authority, integrity, conformity, and social responsibility. It was believed that a concentration on one group of somewhat like selections would eliminate the confusion which might have been caused by skipping from one idea to another. This plan also directed the attention of the students toward the issue and somewhat sharpened their comments.

Altogether seventeen selections were presented to each student. Undoubtedly innumerable others would have been equally appropriate on the basis of the above-named criteria. The final choice from among the many which appeared to be appropriate and workable obviously rested on the

writer's judgment and experience.

Gathering and Recording the Responses

Each of the 40 students was invited by telephone to come at his convenience to "do some reading and to give some responses to the reading for purposes of research for the University." He was told that it would take three hours of his time and that he could come as many as three different times if that seemed most convenient. He was told that he had been chosen because he was a good reader. In nearly every case, the student responded willingly and in most cases enthusiastically.

When each student came for his appointment, he was handed the first of the groups of selections and told that the materials he would be reading included all kinds of writing--some for him to enjoy primarily, some to influence his opinions, some to make him reflect on his own behavior and the reasons for it. He was told that it was hoped he would state what the author was trying to say, what purpose he thought the author had in writing the piece, and whether or not he could agree with the point of view expressed by the author.

He was further told that what he said would be at least in part recorded (in writing), but that his name would not be attached, so that he might give as honest an opinion or judgment as possible without concern for who was going to judge him by his remarks. He was asked to try to think aloud as he formed his attitudes toward the author, the subject matter, and the point of view.

As the student talked, as much of what he said as possible was recorded, sometimes verbatim, sometimes in summary. In case the student talked faster than the recorder could take notes, the recording was read

back to him so that he might expand what he had said if it seemed too brief or seemed to have made serious omissions. If the student was too brief, often what he had said was read by the recorder who then asked if this seemed to be a valid statement of his opinion. In most cases he expanded his responses, explained further his attitude, and often illustrated his point of view.

When an examiner or investigator works directly with a student, there is always the chance that the investigator's biases will intrude, but in this case, the investigator said comparatively little except to establish rapport at the beginning and to give instructions. Since it was made clear that responses were to be free rather than directed by specific questions, the student directed his own remarks. When it was necessary to prod the student for a fuller response, a reading of the recording or the re-statement of a judgment in the form of a question such as "You think, then, that Bernard is too studious?" would suffice to stimulate the student to elaborate. If the student had difficulty in getting started, a repetition of the instructions, such as "Well, what do you think the author is saying?" served to start the response.

If there were gaps in the responses, the fact that the recorder could keep writing removed the necessity for the gap to be filled with further questioning. The student had some time then to look back through the selection and to analyze further the author's meanings and his own reactions to them.

Students in most cases found the selections interesting and challenging. Many remarked at the end how much they had enjoyed coming to grips with some of the issues. A number asked at the end where they could find the rest of the selections so they could read them.

Re-administering the Inventory of Beliefs

This study was made between April 5 and May 15, 1958, approximately seven months after the participants had entered college as 18-19 year old freshmen and had taken the Inventory of Beliefs. Some change in attitudes might be anticipated—in fact, hoped for—in that period of time during which students had been exposed not only to general education courses but to a wide variety of academic experiences and during which their values and attitudes were undoubtedly challenged not only by subject matter studied but by professors and peers and by the "collegiate" environment. Consequently it was imperative that the Inventory of Beliefs be re-administered. If any great change had occurred in any students, the responses of those persons would hardly be valid in a study of high and low scorers.

The re-administering of the Inventory was necessarily postponed until the end so that the student would not be made aware of the focus of the study on attitudes.

Changes in Attitudes

Changes did occur as the following list will show. Nine of the High IB's increased their scores; one did not change; ten decreased theirs; but only seven changed more than five points either way. All but three of the Low IB's increased theirs, and ten of them changed more than five points. The result, as is expected in such re-testing, was that the two groups were drawn closer together. The extremes remained, but a number of students moved into a middle group. Those High IB's whose May scores overlapped the May scores of the Low IB's could no longer qualify for this study and their responses were cast out.

Change in Scores on the Inventory of Beliefs

High IB's					Low IB's					
Student Rank in May	Student Rank in Sept.	Sept. Score	May Score	Change	Change	May Score	Sept. Score	Stud. Rank Sept.	Stud. Rank May	
1	4	48	57	49						
2	2	51	52	41						
3	3	49	50	41						
4	7*	42	48	46						
5*	7*	42	47	45						
5*	1	57	47	-10						
7*	14*	39	46	47						
7*	14*	39	42	43						
7*	14*	39	42	43						
7*	7*	42	42	0						
11*	14*	39	41	42						
11*	5	45	41	-4						
13	10*	41	40	-1	415	40	25	11*	20	
14	13	40	38	-2						
15*	10*	41	37	-4	415	37	22	5*	19	
15*	6	43	37	-6						
15*	10*	41	37	-4						
					Middle Group	47	36	29	19*	17*
						48	36	28	18	17*
						49	34	25	11*	16
						48	33	25	11*	15
						45	32	27	15*	14
18*	14*	39	32	-7						
18*	19*	38	32	-6						
18*	19*	38	32	-6						
						42	31	29	19*	13
					43	30	27	15*	12	
					46	29	23	8*	11	
					43	27	24	10	10	
					44	26	22	5*	8*	
					-1	26	27	15*	8*	
					42	24	22	5*	5*	
					-2	24	26	14	5*	
					41	24	23	8*	5*	
					411	23	12	1	4	
					49	22	13	2	3	
					45	20	15	3	2	
					-11	10	21	4	1	

* Tied for rank

The ranges of the scores of the remaining 12 in the Low Group and the 12 in the High Group were:

	Inventory of Beliefs	ACE Linguistic	ACE Total	MSU Reading
Low Group	12-27	68-99	110-163	45-65
High Group	39-57	71-104	111-159	52-73

Group Means

Low Group	21	77	127	51
High Group	44	81	132	62

Standard Deviation

Low Group	5	11	15	6
High Group	6	10	13	8

CHAPTER V

ANALYSES OF RESPONSES

In this chapter the responses to each literary selection are treated separately. A brief review of the selection is followed by the actual responses of students. Responses are numbered according to the rank of the student by the May scores on the Inventory of Beliefs. The nearer the top of the list of High IB's the student appears, the more flexible, adaptive, mature, and democratic he should be theoretically. The nearer the bottom of the list a student is, the more immature, rigid in outlook, authoritarian in relationships with others, and compulsive in actions he should be theoretically. Numbers assigned students are consistent throughout the analyses. What Low IB Number One says can be traced from one selection to the next.

Following the list of responses is a summary of the attitudes emerging in the responses of each group to a given selection. The summary of the attitudes emerging from all selections is to be found in the next chapter.

As previously stated, the selections are divided into five groups, none of which deals exclusively with the theme assigned it. The grouping was chiefly for convenience, first to help in keeping balance among attitudes, literary types, and degree of difficulty. The grouping was then retained to help students to see some pattern in the readings and to focus on a single issue throughout several selections.

GROUP A: SELECTIONS DEALING WITH ANTI-INTELLECTUALISM

"Bohemia"

This poem, used in its entirety, is a satire by the same name written by Dorothy Parker, in which she speaks as an anti-intellectual ridiculing the efforts of authors, actors, artists, sculptors, playwrights, poets, diarists, and critics. Her double negatives and crude cliches, added to her statements that imply that none of the artists and such "know much," lead up to a final couplet which declares that she prefers the man "who solicits insurance."

Most of the students thoroughly enjoyed the poem, but for different reasons. Some, mostly Low IB's, found pleasure in having their distrust of and prejudice against such people so aptly and wittily expressed; the others, chiefly High IB's, enjoyed it as a clever exposure of the ignorance and suspicion of the anti-intellectual about anything not practical.

The following responses show the differences between the groups. (The word "artist" as used in the responses should in most cases be understood to cover all the classifications of "intellectuals" included by Miss Parker.)

ResponsesHigh IB's

- *1. I cannot agree with the author's statements about artists.
- *2. Only illiterate, uneducated people would take this point of view.
- *3. I hope this person enjoys her dull security with her insurance man. Anyone who takes this point of view is really ignorant.

*Students 1, 2, and 3 got so interested in the technique of the poet that little of their attitudes was expressed except approval of the satire.

4. I think artists, authors, etc. are basically human, make a living as anyone else. Although some of them do what they do for a buck, I think these are not typical. People are becoming more appreciative of artists; artists are trying to do more good in the world--but maybe I'm the one who is changing, not the artists!
5. This poem expresses an idea which is on its way out in our time.
6. I think this poem is an example of how anti-intellectualism works. By scorn, by putting all artists, authors, etc., into one category and making damaging remarks, one somehow raises his own ego.
7. This is not an accurate picture because you can't put all artists into one category. I don't think artists are a lot different from engineers. They have different ways of expressing themselves, different habits, probably different attitudes, but deserve no less respect.
8. I wish I could be one of these. They are unusual, intellectual, get a lot of attention, question more things, are less likely to conform.
9. Art and artists are fine. I would be proud if my family had one, but he would not resemble the stereotype described here; few do.
10. It would be fascinating to be an artist or author, but I wouldn't have the nerve to do and say what they do. I would like to know one, though.
11. I don't exactly think these people are queer and impractical. Modern art to me, though, is a waste of time. I admire someone who can paint a landscape. Such people contribute something, and I like to have that kind of art around. The same for authors; I like them if they don't get off on some fantastic thing. I can't tell you exactly how I feel about this, but a lot that is written is pretty silly and I find it hard to enjoy.
12. I am fascinated by artists, but I know most of them are not practical. I would have misgivings about one of my own family becoming one, but I know talents should be used. If I had a talent and were forced to give it up by social pressure, I'd be frustrated.

Low IB's

12. I am much interested in art, and I'd like to be an artist, but I know just what I'd have to suffer to be one. Artists have an outlook that appeals to me. They contribute something to the world that we couldn't get along without. I'm looking for a respectable vocation where I can use my talent but not be called an artist.
11. To have special gifts is to be abnormal. His (the author's) ideas are not right, but somehow we never hear about normal artists. Insurance men are no models of virtue. Artists have something others don't have, so we stand off in awe or don't understand them.
10. Artists are not queer; they are different in that they are intelligent and original.
9. I prefer someone who has a steady job, but not necessarily selling insurance. I don't think artists are queer, but I don't understand much that they do.
8. I don't agree; I object to grouping them all together. I enjoy the arts; my home is always full of them. We listen to opera, see ballet, read a lot. I envy those who can perform and create.
7. I don't think I'd put selling insurance above writing a poem, but I would be interested more in a man majoring in business than majoring in art.
6. I respect the ability of artists, especially if they are good. I like the arts, that is, if I can understand them. I just don't know what modern art and modern music are about. I wish I had been taught more, though I would have hated to give up something else for it. Art training should be started early before prejudices arise. The tone of the author sounds like one who took piano lessons as a kid, gave them up, and has regretted it ever since.
5. I prefer, too, the man who sells insurance. I doubt that the author is fair. I admire artists if they have dignity and godliness in their works, if they strive to lift man's intellectual and moral level. If he is talking about those who lower man, I would agree.
4. Artists and such just talk about what they think they know! I would respect the insurance man more because he does more of what people need. Artists might say something but not very often. I don't have much use for them most of the time.

3. I have nothing against artists, and such. I wouldn't want to be married to one, though; I might like to know one. I am glad my father isn't one because I wouldn't want to show him off to my friends.
2. We need artists to round out man's fields of endeavor, but I feel that some are queer. Authors and actors are less likely to be. Critics are necessary to tell us what we can't see in books, music, and art. I read the critics; that helps.
1. I agree that poets and playwrights deal too much with sex. I also agree that artists are queer. I call poets especially "long hairs"; artists, too. Authors not so much, but they philosophize a lot. They are all egotistical, and I find it hard to tolerate them. I don't have much time for concerts. My time is too precious for that. I definitely prefer the man who sells insurance.

With the exception of two among the High IB's (the lowest of that group), the High IB's show little prejudice against this class of people. With the exception of two who apparently come from homes much interested in art and one who would like to major in art, the Low IB's hold considerable prejudice against artists in general or against the impractical intellectual.

High IB's were less likely to think of artists as being different from other people. Three objected to placing all artists in one category. There was more evidence among High IB's that they are probing the fields of art and finding satisfactions and challenges enough to demand their respect. The Low IB's who rejected artists showed little if any experience with art.

Summary. The responses to this poem showed considerably more prejudice among the Low IB's against the "intellectual" or the impractical vocations. Most of them shared the sentiment of the last two lines of the poem in which the poet declares her preference for the practical man. High IB's were less likely to believe artists in general to be queer, esoteric, and useless.

"Appearances Count"

This selection was taken from Arthur Miller's Death of a Salesman and is a conversation involving a father and his son, Biff, who is a star athlete about to fail the Regents' examinations, and Bernard, the studious friend of Biff who offers to tutor him. Implied in the conversation are the father's beliefs that appearances and athletic prowess are more desirable and promising than good grades, and that Bernard's chances for success by the father's and Biff's standards are pretty slim. "The man who makes an appearance in the business world, who creates interest, is the man who gets ahead. Be liked and you'll never want," the father advises.

Since all the students participating in this study had high aptitude scores, the value they place on grades and success in school is hardly to be considered typical of the entire student body or even of their IB groups. As might be expected, all predicted the failure of Biff, accused the father of having false values, and expressed the belief that personality and brains are inseparable ingredients in success.

Attitudes toward Bernard, whom Miller makes the stereotype of the egghead—studious, bespectacled, less popular than Biff, a gadfly to Biff—separate the High from the Low IB's. Bernard merited the respect of all the High IB's except for one who did not comment on him and one who, obviously a Bernard himself, was finding adjustment extremely difficult. Fragments of the responses of High IB's follow:

1. I would agree with Bernard's values rather than with Biff's.
2. Bernard will get along better than Biff if he is not anti-social.
3. I object to the way the author treats people like Bernard. He deserves better.

4. Bernard knows what it takes to pass in college. He is likely to be successful.
5. Bernard is not so self-centered and different as the dad makes him out. In my mind, people who study stand out.
6. Bernards may have a hard time, but they are the ones that contribute much to residence hall life and to fraternities.
7. I respect Bernard. He doesn't waste time. In college Bernard will be less conspicuous because there are more like him around.
8. You can't be a Bernard and get along, but you can't be a Biff, either. I sometimes wonder what it takes to fit in.
9. On the college level, Bernard and his kind come into their day.
10. Bernard shows that those who don't play football and who don't try to be a big wheel exist too.
11. ---
12. Bernard will be broadened in college because he has something to him.

The Low IB's looked at Bernard in a somewhat different light. Two found a need to cultivate him for their own needs. Three found some catharsis in reading about Bernard because they had been branded with the same stigmas as he. Three expressed considerable misgivings about Bernard's chances for success. One rejected him completely. One, the highest of the Low IB's, respected him and saw his opportunities increase in college. One thought his chances better in college, but made no judgment of him.

The responses of the Low IB's follow:

12. In high school, students and teachers think it is terribly important to be liked. Books are turned aside by all who want to be popular. Bernard will succeed in college, even though he has not had a chance to develop his personality in high school.
11. I sympathize with Bernard because I'm just like him. I was never good in athletics, and I was looked on as peculiar because I got good grades. Bernards do better in college.

10. I felt sorry for Bernard when he was rebuffed, but he is not very attractive. High school students are intolerant of Bernards, but in college it is definitely different.

9. ---

8. I was the Bernard in our high school. I was a friend so long as I would help with the answers, but at social affairs the same people didn't know me. Bernard's talents are more appreciated in college. Students grow up a little, I guess.

7. I agree with Bernard that study is important, but study is not so important as Bernard thinks it is.

6. Bernards in high school don't have a chance, but the stigma tapers off in college when people realize that back of a desk muscles don't help much.

5. Bernard chooses book knowledge at the cost of friendship.... I would like him as a friend because he might do something for me.

4. Bernard is studious, a book worm. I wouldn't want him around. No one likes a kid around that warns you that you are going to flunk! Bernard oughta stay in a library.

3. Bernard should worry about not being liked. It is more important for a studious boy to be well liked than others. He will have to pick his field carefully since there will be only a few where he can succeed.

2. Bernard is ignored. I doubt if he will ever get ahead.

1. Bernard I admire in a way; I need him to help me. I'm having trouble! Real trouble!

Summary. As might be expected these high aptitude students had little sympathy with the father's point of view or the athlete son's attitudes toward grades. High IB's showed no prejudice against studious, intellectual people, but considerable respect for them and faith in their future. Low IB's either had misgivings about the future of such people, identified with the insecurity and anxiety suffered by such people, felt a need for their help, perhaps to relieve their insecurity, or rejected them completely.

"Democracy Must Be Kept Alive"

This selection is taken from H. H. Brackenridge's early American satire, Modern Chivalry. In the short paragraphs included in this study, the author suggests that there is a natural tendency in men to pull down the expert and to elevate the uneducated, and that this is right since it is this fermentation which keeps democracy alive.

The two groups of students used in this study divided sharply over the value of the expert, in public office chiefly, but also in positions dealing with public interests. The High IB's firmly supported the expert. Two modified their support by adding the value of the common people in advising and questioning the experts. One, the lowest of the high IB's, admitted that her emotions would tell her to elevate the common man, but that her intellect would favor the expert.

Low IB's were on the whole distrustful of experts with one exception, the highest of the Low IB's. Experts they conceded were valuable, but the practical, common man demanded more of their respect.

Responses

High IB's

1. It is surely discouraging to see how the masses keep the experts down from accomplishing something. To be an anti-expert is to put the government in a dangerous position.
2. I would favor experts in office. Those who know little about government don't do a good job, but we need some common people to keep the experts in touch.
3. Experts just don't have the position they should have in this country. If they would just use some good psychology.
4. I prefer the expert to the common man. I put my confidence in education.

5. I vote for the man and look at the issues.
6. I would always put faith in the expert.
7. My confidence is in the expert. I can't see the kind of person in office who was sure democracy is better without ever stopping to think why. I'll take the man who can evaluate things and make some rational decisions, not the typical politician who gets on someone's band wagon and rides into office.
8. Basically there is a tendency to elevate the low and pull down the high, but it is not in me, consciously. I don't respect the masses that much.
9. I'll take the expert, depending on him to have knowledge. My faith is in knowledge.
10. I'd probably vote for the expert because I'd like the insurance of knowledge rather than emotions in office. I would not want someone experimenting while he was in office, either.
11. You have to have experts. Someone has to be in the know, but you also have to have persons to question the experts.
12. My emotional side would make me vote for the common man, but my intellectual side would make me choose the expert. I feel a certain safety in knowledge. Knowledge plus experience makes me feel safer, though.

Low IB's

12. I would vote for the well-educated man. I have always been a little ashamed of my country for making Jackson a hero. I liked Jefferson. Intellect always complements experience.
11. People want to pull down the experts because they resent those who know or have more. This of course holds progress back, but in a way that is good. Evolution of ideas could come too fast!
10. I would vote for the expert because I know that knowledge is more reliable than opinion. I really waver though. I study hard and get good grades, but I really don't have much faith in knowledge.
9. The uneducated in most cases are not equipped for important offices. It is right for well-qualified people to hold offices.

8. I'd prefer one with experience rather than the expert. Secretary Benson would be better replaced by a dirt farmer.
7. I believe in the efforts of common people to check up on the experts and to pull them down when they need it. This is what keeps our government on the right track.
6. Experts don't pain me unless they try to thrust their knowledge on me. This makes me feel inferior. Teachers can be this kind of expert, but most of them give of their expertness and encourage me to become an expert, too.
5. I don't want government entirely in the hands of the common people, but they are useful in government, especially at the local level. In my community, farmers usually know best what the government should do.
4. Experts in government are all right if they know what they are talking about, but a lot of them don't. We need to watch the experts to see that they don't do something foolish.
3. I think I would vote for the expert, but only providing he appreciated the common man and consulted him. I'd want the expert to be a family man, go to church...well, be like all the common people whom he represented.
2. Common people fight the experts because experts think they are smarter, and common people don't want to relinquish powers to them. Common people want to be respected for their opinions, too.
1. Experts I guess do a good job, but common people supply the ideas and the challenges--and the money!

Summary. Anti-intellectualism is evident in the Low IB's in their consistent distrust of the expert and their faith in the practical, common man. High IB's consistently supported the expert and put their faith in knowledge and education.

"The Sculptor's Funeral"

This selection was taken from Willa Cather's short story by the same name. The situation surrounds the arrival for burial of a home town boy who had become a reputable sculptor, but for whom the townspeople have little appreciation, chiefly because he went East for his education which was expensive in time and money, because he could not do the things they considered important like handling livestock, and because sculpturing held little promise for the things in which they placed their values--money and manual skill. The selection expresses the anti-intellectualism and parochialism of a small town and suggests that the practical man and business man are of greater worth to the world than artists. The stereotype of the artist and the boy who goes East to school evokes much good-natured ridicule. The open grave apparently serves as no deterrent to their criticism.

Nearly all of both groups rejected the anti-intellectualism of the townspeople and identified with the sculptor, defending his choices and his right to make them. The general trend of the responses was:

Developing one's talents is not selfish.
 Everyone should have all the education he can take.
 The townspeople did not look at Harve's point of view.
 The townspeople are wrong--
 in that their values are wrong,
 in that they think education interferes with making
 money.
 The townspeople are cruel, narrow, unappreciative, etc.

On the surface one might judge that no anti-intellectualism appeared in these college freshmen: all of the freshmen in this study were convinced of the value of education; all defended a person's rights to as much education as he could get; all saw the narrowness and error in the townspeople's point of view. These views are not surprising in an Amer-

ican society which is coming to accept higher education as necessary for modern life. Students of both groups thought the townspeople's view was not common, except perhaps in remote rural districts.

Anti-intellectualism, however, is a subtle thing which is not revealed in one's attitudes toward going to school so much as it is in what one expects of the educated person. Following are some of the remarks which crept into the responses of the Low IB's:

7. The farmers are for the most part wrong. Education can come from experience, though. Some who don't go to high school are better educated. Education is no good without some practical knowledge.
5. Men's values are all materialistic if we are to judge by these men. They think that the successful man is one who learns to make a good living. I think they are right. The sculptor threw away opportunities (on the farm) and threw away wealth. It would depend on how successful the sculptor was whether I could respect him or not.
4. I don't suppose the sculptor would ever be able to pay back the mortgage. He shouldn't have spent so much money on something like sculpturing. It is better as a hobby. He should have taken up something that would make some money. It isn't good to borrow so much money for an education, even from your father.
3. I don't hold any high estate for sculptors, but I don't think I would mind if someone in my family were one.
2. You can't say farmers are anti-intellectual, though, because farmers know their business, know lots more than business men, and certainly a lot more than a sculptor. Just look at all the things they can do.

Only one remark among the High IB's was comparable:

11. The attitude of the townspeople toward education is that education takes too much of a sacrifice. I disagree because education is a good investment. I wouldn't go to college if I thought it would not bring me more money. Being a sculptor is a pretty sad job in the opinion of a hard-headed business man. As a business man, Harve would have been accepted. As a sculptor, he never would be.

Students of both groups were aware of hostile attitudes toward edu-

cation and have known the stereotype with which they are being identified.

Typical remarks from the High IB's were:

6. This is a prevalent point of view. A lot of students are confronted with the argument that a practical business knowledge is better than a broad liberal education. When one goes to look for summer employment, you don't mention college; you say you are still in high school, if you can get away with it, or say you are waiting for the draft. Then once you get the job, you make them think you learn from them, even if you already know. I let one man teach me how to figure square feet and let him have the satisfaction he got from saying, "Schools don't teach none of them things any more." A lot of the anti-intellectual students in high school don't get to college, but those who do make pretty good frat men. I am a little shocked at the anti-intellectualism in my fraternity.
7. Farm people no longer object to higher education, but somehow few boys from there care for college; only one other besides me from my community came to college.
8. I have learned since I came that college is no cool business deal.
9. I haven't met the criticism the sculptor did, but I have found that a lot of the fellows here at college have.
10. The criticism I met because I wanted to go into a profession women don't usually go into has been terrific. It was just like what these townspeople said. My critics can't see any other point of view; they have never been anywhere; they think they are happy, can't see why anyone would want to leave them and their little world. I have heard all these arguments all my life.

Although Low IB's mentioned a number of times that such attitudes are typical, they did not elaborate, apparently were not disposed to discuss a subject about which they held ambivalent attitudes.

Summary. Although both groups rejected the anti-intellectualism expressed by the characters who spoke in this selection, anti-intellectual attitudes were expressed frequently in the comments of Low IB's. The anti-intellectualism as expressed at the time of the story (about 1910) was rejected as American society has since rejected it, but the underlying distrust of artists and education which is not practical permeated the

remarks of the Low IB's. High IB's seemed more willing to verbalize about the hostility toward the educated person, although both groups were aware of the hostility.

GROUP B: SELECTIONS DEALING WITH AUTHORITY

"Freedom to Read"

"Freedom to Read" is a statement made by the conference representatives of the American Library Association and the American Book Publishers Council in a stand against censorship of books. It condemns the censoring of textbooks, the labeling of controversial books, and the purging of libraries. It further states that the attempts to suppress reading materials is a denial that the ordinary citizen can exercise critical judgment. It expresses confidence that Americans can recognize propaganda and reject obscenity.

Responses

High IB's

1. I have never been quite sure about censorship. I believe adults should be educated to choose. Adolescents and children should have guidance, if not protection. No censorship is ideal--for adults or adolescents. When we educate people to think instead of to conform, we won't have to worry about censorship.
2. I am against censorship! Reading does not make a bad person. I have just seen a little pocketbook which lists all the really important books that were once banned. People may not be able to recognize propaganda because it is subtle, but censorship is not the answer to that problem. No one is qualified to be a censor; it is first no one's business and besides censorship must be based on questionable standards. Obscenity is what you make it.

3. I agree! Censors say in effect that we cannot read and decide for ourselves. Newspapers, even courses in college, assume this. Only freedom in reading will make people aware of propaganda when they see it. I have been so carefully taught that democracy was good without being taught the meaning of it that I couldn't even argue for democracy. I need to know what it is all about. I'm not different from most other people in this respect, I suspect. People can educate themselves with books and should.
4. I like the idea of being free to read, but I can neither go along with complete freedom nor with censorship as a broad practice. Someone needs to be responsible for keeping vicious propaganda, circulated by people who know just how to make people suspicious, under control. I doubt if the "guy on the street" is capable of handling just anything that comes along. I would not censor things for moral reasons. People can protect themselves in this area.
5. I agree that censorship is bad--no reservations. I think that education is making us more able to evaluate and to criticize. By censoring, the authorities are trying to say that we haven't the intelligence to evaluate for ourselves. You can't teach the masses how to read and then deny them reading materials.
6. I resent, as most educated persons do, being told that I am not capable of evaluating what I read. I have much to learn but I want to meet the challenge. Adults are susceptible to propaganda but restricting them creates a greater danger than exposing them. McCarthy would have favored censorship, providing he could do the censoring. I would not bother to censor obscenity though it is repulsive. People who crave it will find it other places.
7. Even with censorship, we have propaganda to deal with because once you restrict the reading you resort to the techniques of propaganda. Education is the answer to the problem. So far, education has not taken its full responsibility in this area. No one is capable of censoring; therefore it is impractical and impracticable. Censorship invests in someone a tremendous power over the minds of men. I really have some mixed feelings about censorship.
8. Censorship is not practical or effective, yet some people cannot handle some books. The end of censorship might bring a flood of bad books and would invite all sorts of psychological gimmicks to be used on the public. These possibilities I am aware of, but I would like to risk freeing ourselves of censorship. If I said anything else I would not have much faith in education or democracy or a lot of other things I believe in.

9. I agree whole-heartedly with the article: dispense with censorship. Reservations should be up to the individual. People should be allowed to read. They would be less gullible if they were not fed the same point of view all the time. I don't need someone to protect me from obscenity. It disgusts me. I do not want my books labeled either. I'll do the labeling.
10. I agree; censorship is not necessary. Faith in people and in their rejection of the harmful is necessary in a democracy. Skillful propaganda might affect people, but on the whole people who read usually come up with some pretty good answers. Communist books should be available. I might like some labels until I have learned a few things about critical reading. Obscene books need to be dealt with by the publishers. What obscenity is published has little effect on the public, I would say.
11. I agree with this article in its entirety. No censorship is necessary. Censorship only serves to encourage people to buy what is banned. I have no reservations.
12. We need censorship to a degree. I don't believe the masses should be given just any book. I know that censorship never works very well. I don't want censorship, but I need it. I know I can't recognize bad things. If there were no censors I might pick up something subversive, pass it around, make up a group thus violating our present principles. Government has to be orderly. People have to have the same ideas. A new idea that contradicts what we already have is wrong. There has to be harmony. People just can't be allowed to latch on to ideas.

Low IB's

12. I do not agree with this article. I am strongly in favor of censorship. The average American is not capable of deciding what is good and what is not. The problem is how strict to be. Bad books have viewpoints which get into a person's life, without his sometimes realizing it. Americans need to know more about Communism, but the books should be chosen carefully. We need censorship for morals, too; we should take out crime books, who-done-it's, ones about disaster and sex. I would say that qualified censors are the Church and psychologists.
11. I think censorship is bad. It makes banned books attractive. I am a Catholic and my church censors, but I think the censorship is too narrow. Much of this must be left up to the individual. People are of course gullible, but don't always realize what is happening to them.

10. I know that we should develop our own judgments. I know that censorship really is not fair. People who read bad books are probably bad anyway, but I just can't say we should not censor books. Maybe we oughtn't to let certain age groups read just any books; we regulate smoking and drinking that way. I don't know how censoring should be done. In Communication Skills class we learned that some censored books are really good. I don't know what I think.
9. I disagree especially with the statement that Americans recognize propaganda. Most people believe what they read, don't analyze or criticize, take the good with the bad without knowing the difference. Young people are influenced toward crime by books and pictures. Private groups should censor textbooks, label "controversial" books, and purge libraries.
8. I would be afraid to put propaganda in the hands of the masses. As a freshman I couldn't handle propaganda and a lot of people don't have as much education as I. Schools need to clamp down and teach something. People believe much of what they read. Newspapers are biased. The covers on the paperbacks I see in the drugstore make me wonder what the world reads! Business is business, though, and people will get more and more of what they are willing to buy. People are attracted to obscenity by these books. I doubt if a really good job of censoring could be done, but I believe in it.
7. People should choose what they will read, but the immature should be protected. A lot of people never mature. I think the Catholic Church does a good job. Censorship is also good on the literature printed in pocketbooks. I think pocketbooks should be censored. People might get ideas from them. I think I believe in freedom to read, to grow up, to..., but...well, I guess I believe in censorship, too.
6. Books should be censored for those who are impressionable, but they are hard to single out. You can't do it by age since high school students are a lot more mature sometimes than adults. I resent authority and get pretty angry when someone starts telling me what to do, but some people need to be kept from reading about killers and cruelty and loose morals. I would keep Communist propaganda out, too. One can get all he needs to know about Communism in a good social science class in high school. We had a good unit that lasted three weeks. I think I am able to recognize propaganda now. My social science teacher went right to the roots of Communism. If I were a Russian I would want American propaganda kept out of Russia, too.

5. People have to be stable to judge what is good for them. The majority are maybe capable of judging, but the minority must be protected. I can't understand all this hush-hush about sex. But now I am contradicting myself. To tell the truth, I did believe in censorship when I came to college, but I'm beginning to see the damage it can cause. I just don't know what to think. Things are happening to me in college.
4. I disagree with this article. People don't reject the bad, the obscene. Comic books demoralize people; adults should not have these paperbacks on the stands. Surely people can find something better to do than to read all this stuff. People should be protected from Communism, but should keep up on the latest propaganda tricks. They shouldn't read propaganda, though.
3. I believe in freedom to read what is published, but only if the publishers do some censoring. I wish books with more points of view were available, but they should be put where not just everyone would find them. Ignorant people should not have sex stories and books about Communism available. Librarians should do some censoring, too. I read what is recommended. I wouldn't be willing to choose for myself. Most people, me included, are so gullible. I don't think I would be afraid to read a book about Communism. I don't think there ought to be censorship at MSU, but I don't think a respectable library like ours should spend its money on questionable books.
2. I do not approve of censorship. We need all views on all subjects. This is essential to building objectivity into judgment. We must be able to organize our thought and to evaluate what has been said. Newspapers are one-sided; politics and unions are biased. The harmfulness of books is overplayed. The good in books far overpowers the bad.
1. We need censors! Look at the growth of pregnancy and illegitimacy! There is an over-emphasis on sex. All this over-emphasis comes out of books. American teenagers just gobble up sex stuff and really become corrupt. This could be controlled by censorship. Everybody wants to try to do all that he reads about in books. Too much is read about marriage, too. People need guidance in choosing all kinds of books. Books are not the greatest instrument of freedom, as this says. I got into a lousy bunch of books in my senior year in high school. I quit reading. Who's got 5 or 6 hours to spend on a book! I can't trust people to read about Communism—or sex—because I can't trust myself. I'm gullible.

All but one of the High IB's opposed censorship in principle, though four held some reservations or admitted some ambiguity in their responses. In contrast, all but one of the Low IB's favored censorship. Among the High IB's there were those who considered censorship an insult to intelligence and evidence of a lack of faith in man. Some recognized the dangers of censorship and suggested that no one was really qualified to assume that power over men's minds. Two cited examples of censored books which later became classics. None thought that a discontinuation of censorship—such as it is—would increase crime rates or undermine morals. A number suggested that education had an obligation to prepare people for the "freedom to read." Only one, the lowest of the High IB's, expressed a fear of propaganda and thought that she needed some protection. Others believed that the way to counteract propaganda was to make people aware of it and its techniques.

Low IB's named most frequently in their arguments for censorship the gullibility of people. They could not agree that people would recognize propaganda, accept the good and reject the bad. They could not trust the people to make right judgments, because they felt that they themselves were unsure and incapable. They expressed a real fear of propaganda, especially of Communist propaganda.

Low IB's in some cases blamed uncensored reading materials for corrupted morals, high crime rates, over-emphasis on sex, and even for the number of illegitimate pregnancies. They tended to classify all comic books and all paperbacks together and to brand them as harmful. Only one questioned the ability of censors to make "right" judgments. Among those qualified to be censors, they named the Church, librarians, psychologists, but never teachers or parents. One Low IB with a high grade point average

equivocated, yet was unwilling to leave the selection. She became really distressed with the problem of censorship. She quoted teachers who had opposed censorship, admitted her own misgivings about the rightness of it, but obviously feared the consequences of doing away with it. She was acutely aware of the conflict between her intellect and her intuition and was never satisfied with the statements which she had made.

One Low IB came out strongly against censorship. Harmfulness of books, he felt, was far over-played; freedom to read is essential to objectivity; good overpowers the bad in books. This student had in other responses been intensely resentful toward authority, especially parental authority. He implied that censorship was associated with restrictions his parents had placed upon him.

Summary. Responses to this selection showed the High IB's to have faith in the intelligence and judgment of the masses, to question whether censorship in the name of protection was justified, and to question whether any benefits assumed for censorship actually were possible in fact. Responses of the Low IB's showed them to distrust the masses, to be willing to believe that dire things would happen if people were not protected from evil, to stereotype all comic books, books in paperbacks, and books about Communism as harmful and insidious.

"Father Knows Best"

This selection was a short conversation extracted from H. G. Wells' novel, Ann Veronica. Ann has been refused permission to go to a dance, and when she protests, Mr. Veronica declares that so long as his daughter lives under his roof, he feels an obligation to use his authority to protect her from evil or the proximity of evil. He further reminds her that she is a mere child who knows nothing of life, nothing of danger, who thinks everything is harmless and simple. Completely lacking from the declaration of the father is any explanation of why he finds the dance an undesirable place for the girl to go.

Responses

High IB's

1. Every case is different. If my child wanted to do things I didn't approve of, I'd explain and then let her make a choice. Children have to be trained all along so crises like this will not arise.
2. There is something on both sides here. Father is right in that it is just as bad to be associated with evil as to do evil, but he is not exactly reasonable. The girl is not very reasonable either; she does not examine the situation. Authority never yields the desirable results that reason does.
3. This bothers me. People assume that it is right to tell others how to live their lives. There are some things you can't do for other people. You have to put some trust in others' judgments. Parents are the first people who have to trust young people if they are to grow up.
4. The father is both right and wrong: wrong in his assumptions, right in his concern with dangers of proximity of evil. The girl is wrong in rejecting her father's concern, but right in saying she has to make her own decision. The whole situation shows lack of reasoning, no analysis of issues. Parents should have control but authoritarianism and bossiness lead young people to do unreasonable things to assert their rights.

5. I am in between father and daughter. Two years ago I would have been on the daughter's side. My mind changed and is still changing as I get more freedom. There are many unknowns in this situation. No one gives any reasons. The father should present reasons; the daughter should take responsibility.
6. This has a familiar ring. The father's role is one of authority; mothers do the explaining, according to the traditions of our society. These roles have recently gotten all mixed up. Parents should give advice. I think this is a different problem from the one in the article on censorship. Rules for young people are good so long as young people can see the logic and the reason behind them.
7. Protection --as the father offers--never encourages maturity. One has to learn gradually what life is. The father feels he must lay down the law because the girl is not responsible; the girl is not responsible because the father always lays down the law. This is the situation that a lot of young people are caught in. Both need to reason and analyze the situation objectively.
8. The father has a point but he assumes the girl's helplessness. Young people have better judgment than adults give them credit for. The girl should be told the dangers, but should be educated rather than protected.
9. The father has a point but he goes about it wrong. He uses authority which will only aggravate the girl's "odd disposition." He needs to use reason. She needs instruction. I can't respect his authoritarian attitude. Girls need more instruction about dangers than boys.
10. The father is trying to do right, but he is too authoritarian. He should have explained. I know all his arguments. He should have told her the place was bad, but the important part is his reasons for his attitude. Parents should have the last word, but there must be rational discussion.
11. The father is right but he has a wrong attitude. No one wants to accept judgment based on nothing but authority. There must be respect for elders, but respect must be based on their ability to reason and to bring their experience to the inexperienced. The girl should have the right to question.
12. Orders are not backed up by reason here. Reasons are important--not just any reason, but understandable ones. I have sympathy for both father and daughter. His goal is good, but understanding is lacking. Parents should have responsibility but should shift it gradually to the younger person.

Low IB's

12. I agree with the father; he should be head of the household and protect the children from hard knocks. Parents should play the role of authority. Privileges should be given gradually, but children should not be allowed to choose too freely.
11. I go along with the father. He is the boss. My father is, and no one questions him. Authority belongs to parents, but should be accompanied by reason. If the daughter is pliable, the father should take a stiffer attitude. No reasons are given here.
10. I can't exactly go along with either one. My mother felt I could take care of myself, but I usually did what she recommended. Maybe she was just clever. Parents should know where children go, but if they lay down the law, children sneak. I can't tolerate parents who don't give guidance. I think young people expect to be told what is right or wrong. The girl will never learn in this situation, but maybe she is just irresponsible. I don't know.
9. I agree with the father because he is trying to help. Parents should refuse girls certain privileges--especially up to 17. The father is reasonable as far as he goes--uses good judgment.
8. Papa's right. It always ends up that way. If you don't think so now, you will later. Parents should have authority over children. Parents should never be stepped on by children. Kids need to know they don't run the home.
7. I agree with the girl. Fathers are too critical. Most girls can make their own decisions. Father is honest, but wrong. He should give advice and instruction; the girl should then take it or leave it.
6. Father knows best. No young people would be in trouble today if they listened to their fathers. The father's position is one of authority; he is an expert. Any good father knows what is good for his children. He might be wrong, but you can't afford to take the risk because he is usually right. Tell her she can't go!
5. I agree with the daughter. The father is wrong. He is limiting her social education. Things are best talked out and explained. No reasons are given here, only name calling. The girl can't even explain. My parents treated me as a responsible person. They wanted to know what I was doing, but I made my own decisions.

4. My sympathy is with the father. He is right in deciding that she can't go. At least he is doing his duty. Some parents don't care. He should stop her, but maybe he should have better answers. He is a censor and he has a right to be.
3. My sympathies are with the girl, but I agree with the father. I think parents should have the authority. We really want parents to say no and stick with it. When my mother said no I didn't have to do any deciding, nor did I have to give any other excuses to my friends. Parents should have the final words. This girl hasn't been well brought up or she wouldn't want to go.
2. I agree with the father completely. He is looking after the daughter's best interests. He asserts parental power, and she will thank him for it later. Parental power, I know, can be over done, but it is better than leniency. In general, the majority of parents of teen agers are too lenient. Parents who grew up in the '20's have been lax with their children. It is not right. They need to get tough with kids.
1. I agree 100% with the father. I would not have two years ago. I've come out of that know-it-all period, when you think only of tonight or tomorrow. A father should be stricter with daughters. Girls have to be protected. Girls have to be pure. I lecture my sister all the time about this. You should hear what goes on in my sister's crowd,...well, mine, too. Boys are glad when fathers keep girls out of trouble by being strict with them. Girls have to be pure.

Among the Low IB's nine of the twelve agreed with the father; moreover they followed their flat statements of approval with declarations of the rights of parents to control children and the obligation of parents to protect children. One of the remaining three had been expected as a child to take care of herself, but felt that she had really depended much on her parents' approval and had much of her parents' attention. Her final statement that young people expect to be told indicated that she expected her decisions to be at least partly made by her parents. Another of the three felt that all fathers were too critical, a condition which made her extremely resentful of authority. The other Low IB did

not fit with the rigid group since he took a more liberal, objective view toward the situation.

All but one of the High IB's looked at both sides of the question, and in most cases analyzed the "rightness" and "wrongness" of the manner in which the father and daughter handled the situation. All recognized that giving valid reasons and appealing to good sense and judgment were essential to helping young people mature. The one who seemed atypical of the group believed in the authority of parents, but saw restrictions best imposed through sound advice, which he added he valued more than the necessities his parents provided him.

Summary. The essential difference in the responses was the readiness of the Low IB's to make immediate judgments and to side with authority for reasons of protection and by reason of rights as parents. The High IB's examined the situation with less emotion, speculated on the reasons for an apparently unresolvable conflict, and in most cases placed the emphasis on analysis rather than on a quick identification with either side in the argument. In other words, the Low IB's were less objective, more emotional, more ready to accept authority; the High IB's were more objective, more analytical, more cognizant of the ways that lead to harmony, reason, and respect in human relations.

"Freedom to Choose"

The selection is a part of the statement of purpose from the Bulletin of St. John's College (Annapolis). Students who participated in this study were not, however, aware of its origin and therefore did not associate it with the completely prescribed curriculum at St. John's. Prescription to them meant basic requirements both for general education and for majors.

The paragraph chosen for use in this study criticized the fact that children are asked to make significant choices when they are very young, that all the counseling, testing, and distribution requirements are little more effective in curing the abuses of the elective system than aspirin is for cancer. It further suggests that students below the graduate level lack too much in maturity and understanding to take responsibility for choice. For a college to take authority in such matters is not unjust, but is dictated by the situation—a situation in which adult judgment is better than the immaturity and ignorance of the young. Any wisdom, it further states, which teachers lack in prescribing courses can be supplied by the long tradition of teaching and learning.

This paragraph poses a number of questions in which students are vitally interested. In the time allowed, it may be assumed, they chose the ones most important and closest to them. Since the responses were entirely free, the significance of their responses lies not so much in the numbers of times that certain things were mentioned but in the fact that they were mentioned at all.

Since the responses were rather long and diverse, the comments have been broken down into parts and placed in a list showing the number (rank) of each student who so responded.

1

Responses

	<u>High IB's</u>	<u>Low IB's</u>
Concerning "maturity of students":		
College students are mature enough to make decisions.	1, 12	--
College students are too immature to make decisions.	--	9, 7, 5, 3, 2
Concerning "prescription":		
Prescription is no curtailment of freedom.	3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11	12, 11, 10, 8, 4, 1
Prescription takes away uncertainty, leaves fewer decisions to the student.	--	9, 1
Prescription is a favor granted by someone who cares and is willing to share his experience.	3, 9, 10, 11, 12	11, 6
Prescription prevents waste of time and money.	--	9, 4
Concerning "majors":		
Set requirements are good, necessary.	2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11	12, 11, 5, 4, 3
Students expect to be told.	2, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12	12, 11, 10, 9, 8, 6, 5, 4, 3, 1
Concerning "electives":		
Electives should be allowed.	1, 4, 5, 9, 12	11, 9, 6, 1
It is the student's privilege to make mistakes in choosing.	4, 5, 12	--
Decisions about electives are too important for the student to make.	--	11, 2
Too many decisions are left to students.	--	11, 2
Concerning "counseling":		
Counseling is helpful.	1	7, 6, 5, 2
Counselors have too little authority.	--	7, 2

	<u>High IB's</u>	<u>Low IB's</u>
Concerning the Basic Requirements at MSU:		
Basics approved of in principle.	1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12	12, 11, 10, 8, 7, 6, 4, 2, 1
Acceleration privileges save the Basics from being unfair.	4, 6, 11	—
Basics criticized for some rea- son: repetition, lack of chal- lenge, examinations, etc.	2, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10	12, 10, 8, 7, 1
Concerning high school prescription and background:		
HS students allowed too many choices.	1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10	12, 11, 10, 5
HS students take the easy courses.	1, 3, 7, 9, 10	12, 11, 1
College students would be happier if high school had been stiff- fer, with better teaching.	3, 9, 11, 12	12, 11, 10, 8, 1
HS so ineffective it does not mat- ter whether prescription or not.	11	1
HS failed to do enough for the better student.	—	11, 9
Concerning "freedom to choose":		
Sufficient freedom is given		
in choosing a major	1, 3, 4, 9, 10	9, 5, 2
in choosing a college	9	2
in being allowed to change major	3	2
Fear of mistakes	—	11, 4, 3, 2

Responses to many statements contained in the selection were not markedly different for the two groups. For example, about the same number in both groups agreed that prescription is not a curtailment of freedom, but High IB's were more likely to look on it either as valuable advice from those with experience or as a favor granted by those who care.

Almost all of both groups approved of the Basic College requirements at MSU, and the same criticisms were voiced by both groups.

Low IB's were more likely to agree with the statement that students are immature. Only two High IB's mentioned their possible panic if decisions about courses were left to them.

Although electives were considered important to both groups, High IB's were the only ones to mention that it is a student's privilege--or at least a good experience--to make a few mistakes in choosing electives. Low IB's feared making mistakes and mentioned the likelihood of wasting time and money. Only High IB's mentioned the desirability of acceleration by special examination in the prescribed areas. Low IB's seemed to fear to try, though they apparently were of equal ability and had the required grade average.

More High IB's felt that high school students were allowed too many choices and that the tendency of students to choose easy courses is unfortunate. In general, High IB's were more critical of high schools.

Low IB's had leaned more heavily on counseling both in high school and college. It is possible that High IB's, since they approved of basic requirements, took advantage of acceleration privileges, liked to choose electives, found their guidance in regulations; whereas, the Low IB's felt the need of personal attention and sought more security than the regulations could give them.

Summary. Since most students in both groups stated at the beginning that prescription was no curtailment of freedom, it may be assumed that prescription was not associated with aggressive authority. It was looked upon, rather, as a positive force for the good of all involved, both themselves and society. The difference in attitude was chiefly ex-

pressed in the Low IB's fear of having to make decisions alone, of making mistakes, and of being too immature to assume responsibility. The High IB's wanted to try choosing electives, to accelerate when possible, to launch out on their own with the assurance that the prescribed courses would give them the basic elements of a good education. None of them expressed the fear of making mistakes as the Low IB's did.

GROUP C: SELECTION DEALING WITH INTEGRITY AND PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY

"The Latest Decalogue"

This poem is a rather novel treatment of the Ten Commandments by Arthur Hugh Clough. Each commandment is briefly stated and followed by a terse suggestion of the way man rationalizes the keeping of the Commandments for purely selfish reasons. The poem appears to unmask man's ulterior motives for abiding by religious principles and makes him appear surprisingly callous and irreligious.

Responses

High IB's

1. The author shows how hypocritical men--including me--can be!
2. The author points out the inconsistencies between beliefs and behavior. I am not offended by the poem, only slightly amused and very sensitive to its implications.
3. I guess he is talking about hypocrisy. It shocks me a little, but I see he is trying to show me something--to wake me up and show me what I look like. There is truth in it!
4. He is saying, Straighten up and fly right. I thought at first that he was making fun of the Commandments, but he is making fun of those who keep the Commandments in word only. A good poem.

5. Amusing, exaggerated, but true. Probably intended to show what hypocrites we are. It makes me want to laugh, but it is not really funny.
6. It starts me to thinking about human behavior. It is not offensive to me, but it might be to some who do these things without realizing how hypocritical they are.
7. He holds up a mirror to American society. A clever way of doing it, too. I like this because I think part of our education is learning to analyze our actions and the rationale for them.
8. He makes not keeping the Commandments a double sin. This disturbs me, but it makes me think. We need more of this.
9. This is to amuse, but also to make people think. It would probably upset religious people, but they like to be upset!
10. True, people help themselves first. This is an odd kind of humor. We laugh because it is so tragic. Materialism and superficiality are shown up.
11. My amusement comes from the author's truth and frankness. One seldom looks at himself in this light. Why don't teachers discuss poems like this in school?
12. This poem makes me angry. One must never parody the Bible! It didn't make me think--if that is what he intended.

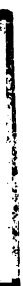
Low IB's

12. This is a good poem, good for me, especially the one about honoring thy parents. In modern times we keep the Commandments if it is convenient. This is good for people to read; it sets us all to thinking.
11. It is hard to believe that someone would write this. Terrible viewpoint--that humanity does nothing to put itself ahead. Not fair. Completely off. It makes you think, but it makes fun of people unnecessarily.
10. This doesn't exactly please me, but...it does point out some things. Men might take this wrong, though. I guess this might make people think. It doesn't exactly shock me, but...well, I'm just not shocked by the truth.
9. This author is making fun of the Commandments; he cheapens them. I don't think people should read poems like this; they might take them seriously. Probably the author is writing for money. People would buy this because it makes fun of something sacred. Anyone who believes

in the Ten Commandments would reject this. It is disturbing and repulsive.

8. This is an odd way to treat the Bible! The one that struck me is the one about currency. I don't appreciate his approach.
7. This must be tongue in cheek. He tells how to turn the Commandments to your advantage—gives the wrong reasons for keeping them. I think this is a good poem; I like it.
6. I believe the author has overstepped good taste. I am both a little amused and a little angry. This is acid philosophy. This could be a sermon if you read it carefully, but if you read it at face value as most people would, it could be disastrous. It is when you read it as you read the Bible that you get shocked.
5. I believe in the Ten Commandments. This man mocks them. People might be able to evaluate themselves this way, but I don't like the poem.
4. I guess this is what people really do, but I don't think people should read poems like this. They might take them for what they say. It looks as if this one is for entertainment, but for general reasons I would not recommend it.
3. I don't like this! It ridicules the Commandments and religion. It places material values above all others. It might start someone thinking, and it might be harmful. I was shocked. I couldn't believe what I was reading!
2. This made me pretty self-conscious. This shows that the people who do anything bad and then go to confession and get forgiven are pretty poor Christians. I keep the Commandments to keep my conscience clear. I don't allow myself any excuses.
1. This made me think a little, but I don't care for it. I would rather be told I was a liar or a thief than to be told this way.

The High IB's were much less startled at the novelty of the treatment and much more apt to accept the poem as a satire which pointed out to them the way man keeps the Commandments for profane reasons. Some were amused at the unmasking of what man thinks he so carefully hides; all but one, the lowest of the High IB's, thought the poet's observa-



tions essentially true and appropriate. This one was offended by the author's profane treatment of the Scriptures. The others thought that it was a good poem for people to read, that it made them analyze and think about their own actions and to recognize to some extent hypocrisy in themselves and others. A few doubted that it would have any marked effect on any reader.

Responses of the Low IB's ranged from "The author overstepped good taste--shouldn't have dared to say these things" to a placid acceptance of the poem with "This might make some people think, but I don't care for it."

One Low IB accused the author of "writing for money," and found the poem "undesirable, disturbing, and repulsive." One feared that such a poem might be interpreted the wrong way. Two reasoned that they should not be shocked (but admitted they were) because no one should be shocked by the truth. One tried very hard to accept the poem as good, praised the effect of the Commandments through the ages, claimed a liberal point of view toward religious laws, but finally admitted that she was not quite sure what the author intended and that she did not appreciate the author's approach.

Only two of the Low IB's liked the poem, found it made them feel strongly the hypocrisy of man. One said it was good for him; the other suggested that though the poem presented an interesting idea, it should not be discussed in a class because it might make people feel self-conscious.

Summary. The High IB's seemed more ready to accept novel approaches to ideas, to look for possible intellectual challenge in a poem, and to admit man's hypocrisy. The Low IB's in contrast were more shocked or

surprised by novel treatments of traditionally sacred material, fearful of the effects of the poem, not so much on themselves as on others, apprehensive of discussing such matters in a classroom, and extremely hesitant to admit man's hypocrisy.

"The Luxury of Integrity"

This essay is a cutting from an essay by the same name by Stuart Chase. The part used in this study takes for its main premise that in modern society so high a price has been placed on mass production, sales charts, being a good fellow that one can no longer afford to be a good workman, sell only what one believes in, support only those causes in which one really believes, or join such organizations as one finds to his own liking. Instead, he must make shoes that dissolve in the rain, lie blatantly and loudly about inferior products, support causes in which he has no faith, write "thumping lies for a bag of gold," and backslap and embrace strangers who are prospective customers. Integrity, he speculates, has become a luxury that not many can afford.

Responses

More likeness than difference appeared in the responses to this selection. Most thought it was to some extent a "true" or "fair" picture of society. However, the Low IB's who had rejected the poem, "The Latest Decalogue," which also pointed out man's hypocrisy, accepted this article and were perhaps more willing to condemn man than were the High IB's. One Low IB who saw the likeness between this essay and the poem explained: "I don't object to this one because it tells the truth about man. The one about the Commandments did not. It just tore down Bible

readings. Others implied this same reasoning.

Since all the Low IB's accepted this essay as true to a certain extent, and since all but one rejected the poem about the Commandments, it may be hypothesized that they rejected the latter because it dealt with sacred material. It may also be possible that since it was written in the imperative mood, it was directed at them personally and caused a conflict or anxiety which they found it easier to reject than to admit. The essay exposes what other men do. The Low IB's therefore found it easier to accept such condemnation of man since they were not personally involved. This trait--the tendency to condemn others, while not recognizing or condemning the same behavior in themselves--is commonly found in the authoritarian personality.

Some evidence of other traits associated with rigidity and authoritarianism appeared in the responses of the Low IB's. One said he felt the problem on campus was not loss of integrity but indifference:

11. I don't look at all this as loss of integrity. On campus you say things to please the professors. That's just the way to get ahead. Instead of loss of integrity as a result, there is just a feeling of lethargy. Only half believe the professors. Few ever get stirred up about ideas they meet. I suppose when you don't care you are not very honest either.

A number of others mentioned the way students do not care about how many class cuts they take, whether they keep dormitory hours or go to dormitory meetings, all implying that if people were made to do what they were supposed to do, this indifference would be replaced by responsibility and hence by integrity. Whether or not class attendance or attendance at dormitory meetings and such were worth while was not considered.

Four Low IB's agreed that the essay pointed out some truth, but felt that they could not get too excited about it:

10. There is plenty of evidence of lack of integrity around us, even right here on campus, in campus politics especially. We also take the easiest courses for a degree. We are not really interested in quality in education any more than anything else. I don't think I am very much alarmed by any of this, though. It is easier not to be.
7. The author has some high standards which I like, but I don't feel like going out and changing the world. I'll take it the way it is.
6. I don't think I can get too excited about the "evil" this author is talking about. What he calls loss of integrity is just part of the game of business.
1. I don't think it is wrong to make a person think he is great, so long as you are trying to sell him a car.... On campus, I think people are going off the deep end trying to put some quality into education. Maybe we don't want quality! Most students want to learn; that's why they are so critical of their instructors, but I don't think you ought to have to be so damn good to get an education these days.

Comments of the High IB's were much alike. They agreed as did the Low IB's that the author was to some extent right, but their further comments in general supported these ideas: 1) The problem is not so much lack of honesty and integrity as it is people's unawareness of their double standards. 2) Some parallels exist between the business practices and pressures described by the author and practices and pressures on campus, but on the whole one can retain his integrity and honesty on a campus if he does not lose sight of his long-term goals. 3) The issues discussed are important ones and deserve some thought. 4) The essay causes one to examine some things often accepted as worthy or sound, such as sales techniques, purposes of service clubs, "quality" in everything, including education. In this lies the value of the essay.

Summary. Although High and Low IB's agreed that the criticism of modern life had some validity, the Low IB's were willing to accept this accusation of hypocrisy in man when presented in the essay, but not in

the poem. The difference seemed to be in its association in the poem with sacred material and in its imperative form. It was easier to accept condemnation of man when the selection talked about other men rather than themselves. Low IB's were also more likely than High IB's to blame the evils described by the author on laxity of authority and to suggest that it was easier to conform than to try to change the status quo. They refused to get excited about "evil," though they disapproved of it. High IB's on the other hand considered the issues discussed important and deserving of some further thought.

"They Die"

This selection is the description of one of the three categories of men Matthew Arnold describes in "Rugby Chapel." Men in this category strive blindly, accomplish nothing, eat, drink, chatter, love, hate, but in the end are easily forgotten. Taken by itself, this part of the poem is extremely pessimistic about man's purposes and accomplishments.

Analysis of the responses shows little if any difference between the two groups. About the same number in each group agreed and disagreed with the author's point of view. There was a tendency for Low IB's to equivocate. Three Low IB's were so vague that they said nothing. Low IB's tended somewhat more to believe that men do accomplish something, thus resenting any attack on men. High IB's tended somewhat more to face up to the criticism of man made by Arnold.

There is no evidence, however, that pessimism or optimism about man's accomplishments is a trait of either group. Idealism and realism appeared in both groups and is apparently an individual difference not predictable by the Inventory of Beliefs.

GROUP D: SELECTIONS DEALING WITH CONFORMITY

"The Non-Conformist"

This selection is a cutting from Emerson's essay, "Self Reliance." Emerson declares in a short paragraph that one who would be a man must be a non-conformist, that the degree to which a man can be guided by his own concept of his duty rather than by what others think determines his greatness.

This selection, which is brief and pithy, stimulated all sorts of thinking and responses. Although the variety of comments was extensive, the attitudes and feelings arranged themselves rather obviously into clusters which can be demonstrated better on a check list than on a list of individual responses.

Responses

	<u>High IB's</u>	<u>Low IB's</u>
Non-conformity as an ideal:		
It takes a great person to be a non-conformist.	3, 8, 11	—
I admire a non-conformist.	1, 4, 5, 10, 11	12, 6, 4
I like to think I am a non-conformist.	5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11	4
Areas of conformity:		
I am more likely to conform in dress, manners, and in things seen.	1, 2, 5, 7	12, 10, 8, 3, 1
I am less likely to conform in ideas and in thinking.	3, 6, 8	7
The important thing is not whether one conforms in dress and manners but whether he conforms to principles without thinking them through.	1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9	1, 6

Price of non-conformity:

It is best to hide your non-conformity if you do not want to get hurt; sometimes you can rationalize it.	1, 2, 4, 6, 7	—
Non-conformists are not likely to be happy.	—	9, 6, 4
Most people are afraid not to conform, afraid to expose their doubts. It takes nerve to be a non-conformist.	—	11, 9, 6, 2

Conformity as an ideal:

I am a conformist and I do not approve of non-conformity.	—	7, 5, 3
I conform because it is easier.	—	12, 9, 5, 2, 1
You would have to live by yourself to be a real non-conformist.	—	8, 4
There are good arguments for conformity which Emerson ignores.	—	11, 10

Trends toward conformity in modern society can be explained by:

Merchandising	2, 6	—
Desire for harmony, convenience	2, 8, 12	—
Moral standards	3, 12	—
Group pressures and penalties	3, 4, 12	8, 1
Status among peers, acceptance	11	9, 8, 4

Non-conformity appears undoubtedly as a more attractive ideal for the High IB's than for the Low IB's. Both groups agreed that they were more likely to conform in dress and manners, and in things seen, but High IB's went further to say that the important thing is not whether or not one conforms in such things as dress, but whether or not one conforms in ideas and thinking without knowing why.

Some High IB's, being aware of the stigma placed on non-conformity, suggested that non-conformity should be concealed as private doubts and used when making judgments. The "obvious" non-conformist was no more attractive to them than to the Low IB's.

High IB's were more likely to explain their conformity by their deference to others governed by etiquette, good sense, thoughtfulness, desire for harmony, and convenience; whereas Low IB's were more likely to explain theirs by fear of disapproval and loss of status among peers. Conformity, the Low IB's said, was easier. In the light of other responses, this undoubtedly meant that it removed anxiety and insecurity, gave them a reliable code of behavior on which they could comfortably lean and supplied the necessary authority for their behavior.

Summary. Non-conformity was a more attractive ideal for High IB's since they believed that the danger in conformity was in accepting codes of behavior, ideas, and principles without knowing why. Low IB's found conformity a means to relieve anxiety and insecurity, and the behavior, principles, and ideas of others a sort of authority on which they could comfortably lean.

"Mr. B. Reads the Newspaper"

A short selection from "Babbitt" by Sinclair Lewis was chosen to follow Emerson's "The Non-Conformist," chiefly to give contrast and to enable one to see if those who had questioned the wisdom of Emerson's non-conformity would accept the kind of conformity which dominated the behavior of Babbitt.

The part chosen records the running commentary Babbitt makes as he reads the morning headlines, especially when his opinions are temporarily silenced by a news item which is so different that none of his clichés or sources for opinion supply him with a reaction.

The largest part of each response was explication of Babbitt's actions such as "He isn't thinking for himself," or "He is letting organizations think for him," or simply "He is commenting on the headlines he is reading." Judgments given of Babbitt's actions show some differences, however, between the two groups of students.

Responses

High IB's

1. A sad state for anyone, and a dangerous one for us as a nation.
2. A typical newspaper reader--the kind too many editors like.
3. He is inconsistent, all crossed up. Pitiful. I wouldn't want to be like him.
4. I know some like him, but I can't stand to listen to them.
5. He's easily led by newspapers or groups. Pitiful.
6. Flattery would get his vote. People have a tendency to follow parties, clubs, etc. A shallow existence.
7. I can't admire him! Where are his principles?
8. Organizations do this to people. He is an undesirable citizen, but he doesn't know it.

9. Pretty stupid. Easily influenced.
10. Confused. No real interest except to be an echo. Pitiful, but typical.
11. Hard to tolerate this kind of thinking.
12. All people who use such cliches are insecure. He asserts himself by echoing accepted opinions.

Low IB's

12. Typical conformist, victim of all influential groups. I admire non-conformity, but I wouldn't have the nerve to be a non-conformist and would probably end up like Mr. B. without knowing it.
11. I don't know whether he is typical of business men or not, but my own father isn't like this.
10. Not the kind of conformist I admire though I did say I admired conformists. This man even conforms to the place of using slang. Not very intelligent.
9. I can't admire this man's conformity. He is all mixed up. But this is true of people who think they should conform. It is just what happens to me.
8. This man likes an audience. I don't think he is a conformist---just ignorant.
7. What he discusses are private matters about which he can think as he pleases. We should not criticize him for what he thinks. He should think as he pleases, but should act with consideration for others.
6. This man is ripe for a dictatorship. Not my kind of conformist. I did say I believed in conformity, but not this kind.
5. Not my kind of conformist. He conforms in ideas. If he does, he should be quiet about it though.
4. A typical picture of a husband and wife. Average husband. He conforms because of his wife. He really should have given her half the paper, though.
3. He must be a non-conformist because he has opinions about everything. Conformists don't have opinions. At least, this man thinks and I admire him.
2. This man doesn't recognize bias. He is all mixed up. He argues on both sides. People who conform get all mixed up; I ought to know!

1. Not my kind of conformist. You shouldn't believe anything you read. Bad business! I like to argue—just love it in fact. I read the headlines—don't waste my time on the rest—so I can get my stuff to argue about.

High IB's recognized more readily the weakness in Babbitt's behavior and most of them commented on the implications of such behavior. The author's purpose, then, came more quickly into focus. They saw Babbitt as pitiful and confused, or as hard to tolerate. A number remarked that he was typical of newspaper readers.

Low IB's gave the impression of searching for an intelligent response. Five saw the contrast between him and the man described by Emerson, but said Babbitt was not their kind of conformist—one because he hunted for excuses for what he believes, one because he might fall prey to a dictator, one because he didn't act very intelligently (he used slang), and one because he let conformity override his intelligence.

Other Low IB's identified with the situation in a variety of ways: two identified with the confused mind of Babbitt and saw themselves also as confused by their desire to conform. One said, "People who are conformists get all mixed up." Another, "Just what happens to me." One identified with the home situation and thought it a typical breakfast scene where family members were unwilling to share the paper.

Those who rejected Babbitt did so on the grounds that he was a show-off, or that he did not fit the stereotype of a business man, or that he used slang and cliches. Those who accepted him did so on the grounds that he "has opinions" and therefore thinks, or that he has opinions about things he has a right to think about and doesn't act without consideration of others.

Low IB's tended to give stock responses: "You shouldn't believe what you read," or "People who use slang and cliches aren't very intel-

ligent." They were often diverted by irrelevant associations: "He should have given his wife part of the paper," or "He isn't like my father—a business man, too," or "I like to argue and I read the newspaper headlines to get stuff to argue about," or "He's a show-off who likes to have an audience."

Summary. High IB's saw more readily the author's purpose, saw the implications of conformity. Since most had already expressed an admiration of non-conformity, especially in ideas, their responses quickly identified Babbitt as an undesirable conformist.

The unwillingness of the Low IB's to be identified with the kind of conformist that Babbitt was was based in all but one case on rather superficial reasons, habits which they had perhaps been taught were undesirable.

Low IB's tended to use stock responses or to be diverted by irrelevant associations. In so doing they often missed the significance of the passage, at least as the author probably intended it. Those who identified with Babbitt again reflected their confusion and anxiety.

"The Subversive"

This selection was taken from Alan Valentine's "A Modest Proposal for the Care and Use of Subversives," a satire after the manner of Jonathan Swift's "Modest Proposal." The cutting from Valentine's article suggests that America is slowly making progress to rid itself of any lack of unity of ideas and actions through education, advertising, and security investigations; that good citizens are realizing the unworthiness of any who question the will of the majority and any who harbor private doubts. Unfortunately, however, Valentine says, a few reaction-

aries who hide behind the guise of independent thought still are harbored in the country's universities.

The tongue-in-cheek attitude of the author was more often than not mistaken for a sober declaration for conformity. Five of the High IB's and all the Low IB's missed the satire completely. Those who missed condemned the author as either subversive himself, anti-democratic, or simply wrong. Those who recognized the satire grasped the author's intention and enjoyed the subtlety of his approach. Low IB's were more confused by it than the High IB's. Like the High IB's they all disagreed with one or more of the statements, but several said they must have read it wrong; surely no reputable author would say these things. One said that this did not seem like the kind of thing that Americans should be reading. Another suggested that the author ought to be investigated. Four admitted their total confusion about the author's motive and others indicated that with each selection dealing with conformity they were becoming more confused about their own beliefs.

The term "subversive" brought no particular emotional reaction in either group. Some admitted they didn't really know what a "subversive" was, but thought it had something to do with government and implied undercover activities. "Security investigations" meant little to them, suggesting that their age group was for the most part unaware and uninvolved in the McCarthy investigations. Their attention was focused in this selection on the desirability of unity of thought, the possibility that education might make people alike, and the advisability of having "perverse professors."

All agreed that "unity of thought" was not good. All verbalized rather easily about the virtues of "independent thought" and thought it

a necessary ingredient of democracy.

The responses to the statements about education as a force for unity and "perverse professors" as forces for disunity follow:

On Education

High IB's

2. Education is not bringing about unity.
7. The author has suspected something very possible: that education is making people conform. We need to think more about this.
9. Education especially is trying to keep Americans from the evils of conformity.
10. My education has encouraged me to think on my own.
11. He points out some things that are creeping in on us that we should watch.

Low IB's

12. Education tends to teach everyone to believe the same things—just like that evolution unit in Natural Science!
5. I cannot see that education...is leading us toward unity of thought, but maybe I just don't know.
3. Education does help us move toward unity of thought. I think it is good because there are some things all should believe.
2. I would agree; education is making people alike and that is good.

On "Perverse Professors"

High IB's

4. Perverse professors are good for a university....
6. The part about perverse professors is particularly good since it questions the popular practice of suspecting intellectuals.
8. I could tolerate a prof who disagreed with others, but no odd balls!

10. Professors with independent thought should definitely be employed.
12. Professors with ideas of their own are more helpful in teaching one to think...; the author assumes the students are intelligent enough to discern good and bad ideas. College students are different in this respect from the masses.

Low IB's

12. "Perverse professors" are necessary. I wish I had had one to take my side on that evolution question.
11. "Perverse professors" are part of the intellectual stimulus of the campus.
8. "Perverse professors" might be good if they let the students speak, too, but they probably wouldn't.
5. "Perverse professors" should not be hired. They might overthrow the U.S. government, but if you kept such professors quiet, you would be taking away freedom of speech. I just don't know.
3. I have never had a "perverse professor," but those who make you think are supposed to be good. I like to have an answer to things, though, to know what is good to believe or I get confused. I never could debate because after hearing both sides I was all mixed up.

The responses to the idea that education encourages likeness indicate that the two groups differ in their ideas of what education is trying to do. It is difficult to say whether their concepts of education are different or whether the Low IB's are more willing to acquiesce to the suggestions of an author reputable enough to be used in university research, especially when the subject discussed is democracy and freedom.

The responses to the idea that "perverse professors" should be harbored on university campuses indicate some doubt among the Low IB's as to the advisability of the practice or the ability of themselves to handle "perverseness" in a teacher. High IB's were much more sure of their convictions on the subject.

Summary. Satire as an approach to an issue evaded all the Low IB's and almost half the High IB's. The failure to recognize the author's technique obscured the author's purpose. Although little evidence appeared that this failure confused the High IB's, it did deny them the enjoyment of the author's cleverness. The Low IB's responses reflected considerable confusion and frustration, caused both by this selection and others dealing with conformity.

There is at least a hint, if not conclusive evidence, that Low IB's are more apt to acquiesce to statements in materials presented by the "right people" or by reputable institutions like a university. If this is true, their critical judgment is focused on the source rather than on the material itself and has implications for education of the Low IB's.

"The Citizen"

This selection is a complete poem by W. H. Auden entitled, "The Unknown Citizen." In a sub-title the author indicates that the poem is an inscription for a monument erected by the State to a citizen identified only by a serial number. The "eulogy" praises the man's adherence to the norm in behavior--paying his bills on time, getting along with his employers, going to war when called upon, supporting his union, reacting as expected to advertising, holding proper opinions, rearing a normalized family, never interfering with the education of his children. The last couplet asks whether the man was happy and free, but answers that the question is absurd since he would have said so had he not been.

Responses

High IB's

1. Not a good citizen...not independent...did not think... was not critical...does not assert himself.
2. Sounds like a blob of nothing. Loses his identity completely. A robot. No personality.
3. Life looks orderly here, but how dull! He didn't believe in anything.
4. He is like nothing...might as well not exist. He is tied to the opinions and dictates of others. If happy, his happiness is only on the surface.
5. This is what conformity makes a person look like. This is the average side of everyone. I resent the author's pushing me into a rejection of all the things this man did.
6. This behavior slips up on Americans without their knowing. It will never happen to me!
7. Another writer off on conformity! They all miss the point. It is not conformity that is wrong but lack of principles. My kind of conformity is common sense, logic, not radical indifference. This man is of course foolish, but the author doesn't prove anything.
8. A poem dedicated to a man who is a statistic, not a personality. The author points up the admiration that we seem to hold for the standardized man. Good poem.
9. Here is "normal" behavior. But surely no man exists like this. People surely have to have more to them than this, but you sometimes wonder. In answer to the author's question about happiness, this man is probably as happy as the non-conformist, but happiness is not the point.
10. I have no pity for this man. The opportunity exists for him to be different. The question about happiness is difficult for anyone to answer, conformist or not. The poem is really not about happiness at all, but about whether this man would speak out if asked a question.
11. The author is pulling my leg. He implies that conformists think.
12. The man in the poem is hiding his real self, surely. He cannot reveal his inner self. His "inside" might have shocked us. Inconspicuous behavior and wealth in material things are the values upon which we are asked to judge

man's happiness and freedom.

Low IB's

12. We are in danger of being just like this man if we go too far in this conformity. No originality or individuality.
11. I can't say why, but I don't admire this man. He seems a bit too secure and safe, takes no chances. He seems to be a good citizen, though.
10. Here is a man with a good record. I don't admire him particularly, but I can't find anything wrong with him. He tries. I would accept him except for the line, "He holds the right opinions."
9. Here is a good citizen. He could have been more interesting. He is a good worker, though, a good one to serve public causes.
8. This man is too perfect. I would like to see some of the devil in him. The poet is too sold on this man's good points.
7. This man did everything he should have, but I don't think he is my ideal. I don't really agree with conformity, but I can't afford to be a non-conformist. You have to be an individual and a person, but you can't be selfish and forget others.
6. Here is the stereotype of the ideal man morally, socially, and politically. He is happy—if there is no non-conformity lying smoldering inside of him. I have a feeling the author is playing cat and mouse with me. I almost got sucked into saying he is my ideal. I know better.
5. A sound man. I approve of him. Good neighbor. Good citizen. Only thing wrong with him is that he has no religious beliefs. He is as happy and free as anyone. Silly questions on the end. Nothing to do with the citizen.
4. If these are the criteria for a good citizen, he is one, but I don't think so. No will power, no courage, no individualism. Another drop in the sea.
3. I approve of the way this man lives. He is a good citizen; I'd like him for a neighbor, a friend, a husband, a voter. He is fairly intelligent, happy, and free.
2. Surely this man disagreed in something. My values just don't happen to agree with his.

1. This guy is just an average Joe working to keep up the installments. Pretty much like what I'm going to be despite myself. I'll take his five kids--not ready made of course--and he can have the rest.

All of the High IB's rejected the desirability of this kind of life described in the poem and noted the citizen's lack of independence, personality, and identity. Three resented somewhat the author's slyness in his satirical approach to the evils of conformity and threw up some resistance to propaganda techniques which attempted to sell them a bill of goods in a deceptive package.

The end question about happiness and freedom was a disturbing one to some. Happiness they felt was either beyond anyone's reach or else depended upon factors not included in the poem, such as how much non-conformity was suppressed inside the man. This was aptly expressed by one who said, "This man is hiding his real self. His 'inside' might shock us. Inconspicuous behavior and wealth in material things are the values upon which we are asked to judge this man's happiness and freedom."

Among the Low IB's three flatly accepted the man as ideal. Three did not exactly admire him but found it hard to criticize him. Two rejected him, not because of his conformity, but because he was too perfect; they thought he must have done something wrong. One saw the meaninglessness of the man's life but expected to be just like him. Only two rejected him for his lack of courage, power, individuality and originality. One laughed self-consciously when he almost got sucked in by the author's sober praise of the man. Only the highest of the Low IB's recognized the satire as a warning against conformity.

Summary. High IB's were much more aware of the symptoms and consequent dullness of a life of conformity. Low IB's either approved of

the "citizen" or found him hard to criticize in most cases. The author's purpose in warning readers against the numbing effect of conformity was either missed or misinterpreted as an effort to depict the ideal man by those in the Low Group. Low IB students who discussed the issue of conformity and non-conformity quite frankly in connection with the previous selections missed it or ignored it here.

GROUP E: SELECTIONS DEALING WITH SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

"The Way Things Are"

This poem is a short excerpt from Carl Sandburg's The People Yes. The poet seems to suggest that people are what they are because of what they came out of, that they should "bow down" and accept what they are--- until the last line when he reverses his stand with: They should say, "It's good--Or should they?"

Responses

High IB's

1. People can be what they like with only a few limitations.
2. Everyone is partly what he came from, but he doesn't have to accept it.
3. You cannot blame an individual for what his group or his ancestors are.
4. The past is never so important as the present.
5. The future is ours to do with as we please. Ambition is more important than "breaks."
6. I would always have to question things as they are--religion, society, race relations, and all that.
7. It is hard to make a million anymore, but opportunities to do well are unlimited for everyone who sets his mind to it.

8. To bow down because of what you are is specious reasoning.
9. One need not accept the religious faith, the politics, or the attitudes of his parents. One must decide for himself what he will believe, what his way of life will be.
10. I cannot agree with this at all. To accept something is not necessarily to bow down.
11. The important thing is to set your goals high. Your past or your background should not affect your ambitions.
12. This is not reasonable logic. The past is not so important as the present.

Low IB's

12. A person is more of a person if he rises to his full stature despite reputation, social class, race, even education.
11. Background should not limit you, but it does limit other people's attitudes toward you. That is what is hard about it.
10. A ~~take-me-as-I-am~~ attitude is a good way for people to shirk responsibility for improving themselves.
9. I think most people try to hide their pasts and their backgrounds. One should compensate for his past by being as good as possible. If you can keep your past a secret, your chances are better.
8. I got to college by my ambition. I like to think my future is in my hands, but I have so many times been one step away from something I wanted and have been knocked down that I don't know what I think. It is a good theory, but it is subject to some qualifications.
7. People should want more than just a job and money; they should want to improve themselves and others. Their chances may be somewhat limited by what they are.
6. One's background should not enter into his plans or ambitions. Do what you want to do. The sky is the limit.
5. I am not happy with what I came from. I want to be more than my father or my father's family, and I think I can be.
4. If people have any gumption or wish to get ahead, they should try to develop, not bow down and give up.

3. No one needs to be like his parents unless he wants to.
2. If a person has a chance to better himself, he should take it, but he is going to get stepped on. Raising standards and gaining social acceptance is a long, hard fight. He ought to try if he can get away with it.
1. You are what you make yourself. Color, background, where you were born makes no difference..., but I don't really believe this. I say this and think I believe it, but I know fate has a lot to do with it.

All the students in both groups rejected the idea of "bowing down" to any past or any background, either hereditary or environmental unless they wished. There was almost universal agreement—either expressed or implied—that the future was theirs to make of what they will, that ambition, personal drive, and "the breaks" they make for themselves are the things that will determine the future.

If any differences between the two groups appeared, it was that the Low IB's had more misgivings about whether they could actually overcome their limitations. Although all Low IB's expressed some faith that they could, one said, "Raising one's standards and gaining social acceptance is a long, hard fight." Another said, "One should try to raise himself if he can get away with it." Another declared flatly, "Never bow down! The past is dead!" but when he thought a moment he said, "Fate has a lot to do with it—or rather with what has happened to me. I'm a mixed up kid; I never achieve any of my ambitions; I always have to change them to save face."

Summary. Both groups rejected determinism and showed a strong faith in themselves and in the future. Ambition and personal drive, they felt, were their greatest assets. The Low IB's expressed some misgivings about how far they could go, but were only slightly less confident in their ability to determine their future.

"Bowed Down"

This selection taken from Edwin Markham's "The Man with the Hoe" questions whether any man was intended to be as this man, "brother to the ox," with a face reflecting only emptiness; it further asks how the future will reckon both with the man and with the master, lord, or ruler who "shaped him to the thing he is."

Responses did not reflect differences between the two groups. As in the response to the poem "The Way Things Are," students declared their belief that what a man becomes in these times is largely up to him. Ambition and personal drive make the difference between the successful and the unsuccessful. In general, they believed the poem to be out of date, at least in this country, and rejected the idea that rulers were in any way responsible for the man's state.

Typical comments were:

The difference between this man and those who have dominion over land and sea is that he stood and looked, and they got busy and accomplished things.... Man is master of his own destiny.

I doubt if his condition can be blamed on anyone but himself in a society offering education, unlimited opportunity, free enterprise, and broad freedoms.

In modern times, the poem does not arouse any feeling of conscience about the man. Everyone today can rise if he wishes to.

The world of work is man's proving ground. This man has not proved himself. He reflects what he is.

Summary. Responses to this poem further illustrate that both groups reject determinism and have a deep faith in the efficacy of the individual. Ambition and drive are qualities common to both groups.

"The Squatters"

This selection is taken from John Steinbeck's Grapes of Wrath. The particular paragraphs chosen give a picture of homeless families of the dust bowl days, hungry and desperate trying to find food in California. They plant secret gardens on other people's land and are thrown off, condemned as "outlanders," "foreigners," and even "rattlesnakes."

A number of issues arise in these few paragraphs. To whom does the land really belong? Is not everyone a squatter? Who deserves the land, the man who loves it or the man who owns but exploits it? Are the ones who "have" in this country unnecessarily prejudiced and severe with those who "have not"? Does everyone have a right to eat and to survive no matter what his circumstances? Is the owners' fear of dispossession unfounded?

Steinbeck's works are so packed with social issues and probing questions that responses are necessarily diffused and inconclusive. It seems to be his purpose to bring just this kind of response, to prod man's conscience, to confuse him, to disturb his faith in man-given rights such as property, security, and status, and to make readers conscious of the constant social evolution.

Responses to this selection by students are as diffused as Steinbeck would have liked them to be, but for purposes of analysis, responses were examined for evidence of 1) an unwillingness to let any humanitarian instincts interfere with their system of free enterprise, 2) a disdain for the unfortunate, strangers, or "foreigners."

The following responses reflect the thinking of students concerning the first of these--humanitarianism in relation to business relations:

High IB's

1. Materialism has made us forget our feeling for fellow man and has led us to irrational thinking. We need to examine our faith in materialism.
2. Everyone seems to fear everyone else. Fear leads the owners to forget the humanitarian.
3. No one has a right to take what does not belong to him, but the issue is selfishness and human rights. All this reflects a lack of organization. Humanitarian solutions can be found.
5. You can't condemn owners because they have to look out for their own interests, but a little forethought on everyone's part would have avoided the whole situation. You have to plan humanitarianism.
6. This situation is typical of Americans. They let things get out of hand before they move. They like to see things work themselves out. We are famous for poor management of social affairs. It is time we faced up to this responsibility.
7. Man lacks humanity, but he does have a responsibility for his brother.
8. Man is essentially selfish and his fear that he will lose his possessions destroys his humanitarianism.
9. How much sympathy one should give depends on circumstances.
10. Same as above.
11. Tendency of American people is to see evil but do nothing about it until it is imbedded. They enjoy being dramatic about mopping up evil. If Americans claim to be humane, they must not continue to make their humanitarianism fit into their materialism.
12. Typically American. When interests are chiefly materialistic, people don't feel much brotherhood.

Low IB's

11. Everyone surely has a right to food. A lot depends on how necessary the land was to the owners. Society is selfish in holding on to what they don't need, but to divide it equally is socialism. Such problems are just too big to handle.
9. Hunger is no excuse for trespassing. The government should either provide or ship them elsewhere.

8. No man—even a starving one--has a right to infringe on property, but I condemn anyone who mistreats the unfortunate.
7. No one can afford to give and give. Owners might have turned the situation to their advantage, though. They should have appealed to the government to arrange something that would have been advantageous to them.
6. I have only enough humanitarian instinct to make my conscience hurt, but I would demand the removal of the squatters because I'd be afraid to give an inch for fear I would lose everything. I'm no Dr. Schweitzer.
5. Ownership laws should not supersede laws of brotherhood and charity, but they do and I would expect everyone to respect property rights.
4. No matter what property rights are involved, people have to eat.
3. As an owner I would have been bothered, but I don't know that I would have done any differently. Brotherhood should be more important than property, but it usually isn't.
2. One is tempted to say owners should share and squatters should work harder, but the solution is bigger than that; there must be a sound business way to handle this situation.

These responses reflect considerable awareness on the part of both groups of the conflict between one's humanitarian instincts and the free enterprise system in which everyone must take care of his own interests. They are both aware of the factors which militate against humanitarianism--fear of loss of security and status--and show a self-consciousness in the presence of the issue. High IB's, however, tend to see the resolution of the conflict through humanitarian means as evidenced to some degree in each of the responses. At least four advocated some social engineering to avoid the inevitable results when social problems are allowed to grow and to become imbedded in American society.

Low IB's chose to resolve the conflict by such authority as is avail-

able. They focused their attention on what the laws governing property rights say in regard to the situation. All but one of those who chose to comment on this issue looked to authority to dictate justice and to alleviate the uneasiness—even embarrassment—caused by the situation. The Low IB's were somewhat more concrete in their thinking, considering first what they would do in the situation, but there is conspicuous lack of analysis of the cause and means by which such problems might be avoided. Only one attempted a solution at all. Two looked to the government to step in and either provide for the emergency or ship the squatters on to someone else.

Responses which reflect the attitudes toward the unfortunate, strangers, or "foreigners" follow:

High IB's

1. I would like to do something for the squatters.... Responsibility for the poor is an obligation, probably best dealt with from the top (government), but we should all have enough interest to see that the government undertakes it.
3. I feel sorry for the Okies. They should have tried harder, but they have little imagination and are probably poor managers.
4. Here is evidence of the prejudice that exists against those who must struggle to make a living. It is not fair.
5. I can't help feeling sorry for the migrants. It makes me sick that people can be treated this way. Undoubtedly lack of ambition and circumstances contributed, but such treatment is never justified.
6. The Okies are in a bad way. My sympathy is with them. Actually what divides the two groups is nothing that could not be changed in a short time.
7. I have sympathy for the Okies. A chance is what they needed. Generally society has a responsibility for caring for such people.

12. Here Californians are sparring against what they call "foreigners." Such people to them are poor, do not meet the standards of living and are therefore not Americans. This is typical of the way we point out slums and bad districts as being populated by "foreigners," not Americans.

Low IB's

12. My sympathies are with the squatters.
10. Squatters are not spongers and thieves; they want work.
9. I should be very angry if anyone trespassed on my land, especially if the trespassers were poor, ragged people.
8. I condemn anyone who mistreats the unfortunate. Only chance separates the haves from the have-nots.
6. I'd probably feel that the squatters were pretty shiftless and sniffing over their circumstances. I'd probably leave them for the government to take care of. I'd probably be more likely to help people if I thought they'd amount to something. People who don't care aggravate me. I'd be willing to help someone who had a bad break, but I would hesitate to help the perennially poor.
4. These people are probably lazy and don't make the most of what they have, but they have to eat.
3. I am sympathetic with the "foreigners." They were Americans, but treated as "outsiders."
2. My sympathy is with the squatters. The new squatters should do the same as the first ones—work hard, better themselves, and get position and wealth.
1. I'm really prejudiced against squatters. They are filthy, slovenly, sneaky. I don't like them! Migrant workers! Better if they had never landed from where they came from. If they call themselves Americans, it is their own fault they are as they are.

In these responses there is no evidence of either lack of sympathy with the squatters or ethnocentrism expressed among the High IB's. There is some evidence that Low IB's hold some disdain for the downtrodden. One, the lowest of the Low IB's, launches a real attack on them. Three

others share the same attitude, but express it with less belligerence. It is highly possible that the interview situation into which these students were placed made further invective seem inappropriate. It should be noted too that Steinbeck sets out to wring sympathy out of the most hard-hearted and undoubtedly is successful even with some of the most ethnocentric of the Low IB's.

Summary. Low IB's show some tendency to be ethnocentric, to reject the downtrodden, the poor, and the unfortunate and to doubt that they are real Americans.

CHAPTER VI

WHAT THE RESPONSES SEEM TO REFLECT

Taken as a whole, the responses of the Low and High IB's to the reading selections differ markedly, but beyond this the responses reflect certain group characteristics which may be generalized as follows:

1. Low IB's tended to distrust the "intellectual" and to prefer the more "practical" man. They tended to believe that artists, sculptors, and writers, as well as students who were especially studious, were queer, esoteric, and likely to be unsuccessful. They rejected them for friends, family members, or spouses, and in some cases found them impossible to tolerate. Although some showed respect for them despite their characteristics and thought that they made some contribution to the world, the Low IB's indicated some self-consciousness in their presence and a dislike of being identified with them, especially socially.

On the contrary, High IB's showed more respect for "intellectuals" and felt they were no different basically from others. The worthy contribution of these people to the world and man was often pointed out, and an objection was made to all such people's being stereotyped and labeled with the characteristics of a few undesirable ones. This view they believed to be narrow, ignorant, and cruel. They objected to the insinuations that people who pursued "intellectual" rather than "practical" vocations were selfish, self-centered, ignorant of important things. High IB's predicted greater success for the "intellectual" student and found college a favorable atmosphere for his development.

Low IB's agreed that the more practical vocations were more satis-

fyng, but High IB's thought that the anti-intellectual attitudes of parents and others concerning choice of vocation and values--such as the value of achieving popularity, participating in activities, and achieving monetary success--all jeopardized the future of students.

Although Low IB's often shared the views of High IB's, some of their statements, such as those showing some respect for the intellectual in response to one piece of literature, were often directly contradictory to their responses to another piece. Such contradictions did not appear among High IB responses. This contradiction among Low IB's perhaps suggests an ambiguity in attitudes. Having certain characteristics of "intellectuals" themselves--high aptitudes and comparative success in academic pursuits--Low IB's cannot reject the "intellectual," but neither can they accept him. Society holds some scorn for the intellectual; society instead respects the practical, normal man. To be an "intellectual" is to espouse a position anxious, insecure people find intolerable in our modern day society.

Since Low IB's made little objection to the stereotyping of all "intellectuals" in the poem "Bohemia" or to stereotyping all studious students in "Appearances Count," or even to stereotyping all paperback books in "Freedom to Read," it may be assumed that the stereotypes accepted generally by the public are accepted by them. Since stereotypes of the "intellectual" are unfavorable, this attitude of the public increases the anxiety of Low IB's and causes considerable ambiguity in their own attitudes.

The chart on the next page shows the most common responses and indicates which of the students held each of the views. Since the responses were free and not directed by the interviewer, a statistical analysis

ATTITUDES TOWARD INTELLECTUALISM	High IB's												Low IB's											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
A. Believes artists are queer, esoteric, and useless.												x	x				x					x	x	x
Rejects them as friends, family members, or spouses.												x						x				x	x	
Finds them hard to tolerate.																						x		x
Attaches lack of dignity, low morals, and lack of godliness to them.																				x				
B. Shows respect for "intellectuals."	x	x	x					x	x	x	x		x	x				x	x	x				
Feels they are no different basically from others.								x	x		x	x						x						
Feels they contribute much to the world.								x	x	x								x	x					x
Accepts them as friends, family members or spouses,											x	x								x				x
Objects to stereotyping such people.								x	x	x			x					x						x
A. Prefers to place faith in experience rather than in education.																				x				
Rejects or fears the expert in positions of responsibility.																			x			x	x	x
Defends the opinions of common people against the expertness of the educated.																					x			x
B. Places faith in the expert, the educated man.	x	x	x	x				x	x	x	x	x	x	x								x		x
Deplors the ignorance of the masses.	x																							
A. Accepts the view that the "intellectual" knows very little.																								x
B. Disagrees with suggestions that "intellectuals" are ignorant, selfish, self-centered, etc.	x							x	x			x												
Sees such views as narrow, ignorant, cruel								x	x			x												x
A. Has misgivings about the eventual success of an "intellectual" young person																					x	x	x	x
B. Predicts greater success for the "intellectual."													x											x
A. Accepts the common attitude that practical vocations and a practical education are best.																				x			x	x
B. Believes that anti-intellectual attitudes of parents and friends jeopardize futures of students.	x							x	x			x	x	x	x						x			x

seems inappropriate.

The chart shows first the clusters of responses, but also shows the lack of ambiguity in responses of the High IB's and the tendency of the Low IB's to contradict themselves. When Low IB's have responses in both the A and B categories, they are vacillating from one point of view to another.

2. Low IB's leaned heavily on authority in whatever form it was suggested in the content of the literary selections. They tended to accept authority without question, giving little thought to its reasonableness or to its implications. They seemed to find relief from anxiety and an escape from facing crises by a reliance on controls outside themselves.

For example, Low IB's leaned heavily on the authority of censorship, not only to tell them what was good to read, but to protect themselves and more particularly the masses from harmful ideas. If the question arose of how censorship was to be enforced, they tended to say "by law" without wrestling with the question of who should do the censoring, on what standards censorship should be based, or how effective censorship would be.

Considerable fear of the consequences of removing controls and considerable distrust of the judgment of the public--or even of their own judgment--were expressed. Someone should be responsible for controls, they believed, but the someone was a hypothetical force remotely associated with law, power invested somewhere, and custom.

Low IB's also leaned heavily on the authority of parents. Parents know best, they repeatedly stated. Rules laid down by parents seemed to bring relief from the anxiety caused by decisions young people must make

about their activities and behavior. Whether the rules were based on a reasonable premise or not seemed not to matter. For example, Low IB's accepted readily the father's authoritarian statements in "Father Knows Best," said he was right despite any question that might arise about the rationale of his declarations. The Low IB's went further to say that juvenile delinquency and youth problems would be eliminated in the main by obedience to parents. As at other times during the interview, their tendency was to over-simplify problems, offer a solution, and dismiss the issue.

In numerous places among the readings they found occasion to say that they expected to be told what to do--as members of a family, as freshmen enrolling in college, as citizens facing a social problem like that which grew out of the migrations from the Dust Bowl in "Squatters." Where parents, teachers, enrollment officers, or law did not serve as controls, custom and social sanction would (as will be discussed later in conjunction with "conformity"). Acceptance of authority was a means of relieving anxiety, of simplifying decisions, and of enforcing order where otherwise chaos might develop.

High IB's showed considerably different attitudes toward authority. Satisfactory controls to them, though involving law, social sanction, and invested power, must be based primarily on reason and on a hierarchy of values arranged after as careful an analysis as possible of each given situation. High IB's recognized the unreasonableness and impracticability of censorship and expressed considerably more faith in the intelligence and judgment not only of themselves but of all people. It was the obligation of society, they believed, to improve and refine this judgment through continuous education.

High IB's refused to commit themselves either to the rightness or wrongness of the father in "Father Knows Best," preferring rather to analyze the situation objectively with as little emotion as possible. They attempted to shut out their own prejudices when dealing with the problem, and were considerably more aware of and cautious about the consequences of passing judgment when they got too emotionally involved. They were much more sensitive to the values of reason and more cognizant of the ideal of harmony in human relations.

High IB's when confronted with the possibility of being told what to take in college, chose to accept the authority implied by a prescribed curriculum because they saw it as a positive good, reasonable and advantageous. There was little indication that such guidance was a relief from an anxiety aroused by too much freedom, as expressed by the Low IB's. High IB's at the same time they were choosing to accept the authority of prescription were insisting on opportunities to accelerate, to "try" some electives, to make some mistakes, and in general to launch out on their own. Prescription was considered in comparison with other values and chosen over some others. Prescription to the High IB was helpful advice; to the Low IB it was a source of relief from responsibility, from tension, from fear of mistakes, and from decision making. To the High IB prescription was a needed support for inner direction; to the Low IB it was direction from without which relieved any need for inner direction.

When confronted with the problem of the squatters who, in their desperation for food and shelter, were infringing on property rights, Low IB's tended to dismiss the problem with a reference to what the law said, to assume that a hypothetical authority vaguely assumed to be the government had ways or would find a way of dealing with such people. The Low

IB's expressed some feeling of conscience about the situation, but felt that authority should step in. High IB's were much more likely to question what man's individual role was in such circumstances than to assume that in authority or law or government lay the solution.

The chart on the next page shows the responses of the two groups.

3. Low IB's tended to conform to the sanctions found within their environment and to approve of characters in literature who do. Their conformity is closely related to their reliance on authority and their over-consciousness of the pressures of society. To accept authority and to allow oneself to be directed by controls outside himself is to relieve the anxiety caused by decision making and the uncomfortableness of resisting pressures of society. The acceptance of authority is therefore the greater value.

To nearly all of the students in both groups--all of high aptitude--non-conformity was somewhat an ideal, but to the Low IB's being different took too much courage, caused too much anxiety, and offered too few rewards for them to try to grasp the ideal. They expressed fear of loss of status among peers, fear of being "labeled" as different, and fear of making themselves conspicuous. Most Low IB's thought conformists were happier, and happiness--an important ingredient of which was freedom from anxiety--seemed an adequate goal for most of them. They gave their approval to the "normal man," and although some admitted his life was rather dull, it offered more of what they considered important: security, comfortableness, and relief from anxiety.

High IB's with fewer reservations held non-conformity as an ideal, welcomed opportunities for decisions, often remarked how stimulating

decision making is, rejected the "normal man" because he was not critical and lacked identity from the crowd, and rejected any situation which denied one independence of thought. They did not identify and in most cases had little sympathy with the conformist, such as Babbitt or the "normal man" in "The Citizen." Low IB's tended to identify with these characters and to defend their actions.

The chart on the next page shows the distribution of responses concerning conformity.

4. Low IB's resented criticism of themselves, but indulged in criticizing others, especially society in general. Any selection of literature which tended to suggest a derogation of them personally or of their group was rejected immediately. This was particularly true of the criticism leveled at the reader in "The Latest Decalogue." It was likewise evident when the Low IB's identified with a character who was in any way belittled, as Bernard in "Appearances Count."

High IB's tended to look more squarely and objectively at derogation leveled at them and to admit their vulnerability to such attack. In fact, most of them rather appreciated the insight they gained into their own behavior. Typical responses were "How true!" and "That's me!"

The increased anxiety incited by any derogation caused in the Low IB's an emotional response which blocked any rational response. For this reason they tended to overlook the implications of the literary work. They did not see "The Latest Decalogue" as a mirror held up to man, especially the man who thinks he keeps the Commandments.

When the literary selection criticized those with whom they did not identify, or society in general, Low IB's found an outlet for their ten-

sion in a like condemnation. The target of criticism--the man who lowers his standards in order to gain materially, or even to exist as the case with the squatters, or the man who eddies about accomplishing nothing--offered a scapegoat, someone on whom to blame their own insecurity. Such attitudes and behavior among other men makes society too difficult a force for anyone to battle.

5. Both groups believed that ambition, personal drive, and the opportunities that they make for themselves are important determinants of success; however the Low IB's were somewhat more conscious of the factors which they must overcome to attain success.

6. Low IB's tended to reject the down-trodden, the poor, and the unfortunate. This attitude was consistent with their feeling about those who did not conform or behave according to their standards.

7. Responses of individual students within the two groups showed considerable variation within the group, but on the whole the responses supported the theory that the higher the score the less likely a student is to be rigid and authoritarian. Considerably more variation, for example, appeared in the lowest two or three of the High IB's than among the highest ones. Scorers who fell into the Middle Group--dropped from the study--shifted their viewpoints frequently from rigid to flexible, from authoritarian to democratic attitudes.

- Summary. The responses in general reflect a tendency among the Low IB's
- 1) to prefer the practical vocations to the "intellectual" vocations,
 - 2) to distrust the expert or the theorist who depends upon knowledge rather than practical experience,
 - 3) to lean heavily upon authority and to identify with or sympathize with authority figures,
 - 4) to find in authority a relief from anxiety and an escape from decision making,
 - 5) to conform to the sanctions in their environment and to be over-conscious of the pressures of society,
 - 6) to resent criticism of themselves, but to indulge in criticism of others, especially those with different standards from their own.

High IB's in contrast tended

- 1) to put more faith in the expert and theorist, in education and knowledge,
- 2) to respect those engaged in the "intellectual" vocations,
- 3) to feel that authority must be based on reason,
- 4) to make judgments by a hierarchy of values arranged after as careful an analysis as possible of every situation,
- 5) to welcome opportunities for decision making,
- 6) to hold little respect for anyone who identifies too easily with the crowd or with any situation which denies independence of thought,
- 7) to welcome criticism of themselves by which they might gain further insight into their own behavior.

Considerable variation in the responses appeared, but in general students in the two groups followed the theoretical pattern of rigidity, authoritarianism, and anxiety on one hand and flexibility, maturity, and democratic attitudes on the other.

The results showed further that teachers of literature are faced with individual differences quite apart from differences in aptitude and reading ability. High Scorers appeared to be more likely

- 1) to examine materials critically and objectively,
- 2) to project the vicarious experiences of literature into everyday life,
- 3) to gain from literature some insight and understanding of themselves and the world,
- 4) to realize the potential of literature for educating both their minds and their emotions.

Low Scorers appeared to be more likely

- 1) to misinterpret an author's purpose, as in the case of satire,
- 2) to note first in literature such evidence as would confirm their prejudices, as in the case of attacks on anti-intellectualism,
- 3) to reject such selections as attacked them personally or increased their anxiety,
- 4) to miss many of the subtle overtones of literature.

Implications

Results of such a study immediately raise an important question: If a teacher is aware of such possible differences in students and if he knows how students with given scores are likely to respond to literature, should he simply prepare to accept an inevitable misinterpretation, extremely narrow interpretation, or rejection of literature by such students, or should he expect that some changes might be made?

A number of signs appear in this research to indicate that change is not impossible. First, of the 40 students chosen at the beginning of the study on the basis of either comparatively High Scores or comparatively Low Scores in September, 16 moved by May into a Middle Group. The Low Scorers who moved up made an average increase of 8.6 points on

a 60-item form of the Inventory. High Scorers who moved into the Middle Group averaged only 4.5 points lower than they did in September. Some of this change, perhaps most of it, resulted from the regression effect noted in all such re-testing. Some of the Low Scorers, however, improved so much as to suggest actual changes in the person.

Of the remaining 12 in the Low Group nine increased their scores an average of five points. Two others lost only one and two points; a third lost 11 points. Of the remaining 12 in the High Group, nine increased their scores an average of four points; one did not change, one regressed four points, and one who made an extremely high score in September regressed 10 points.

If all the changes of each group are totaled, High Scorers increased a total of 37 points and decreased a total of 50 points, leaving a total of -13, or an average change of -0.6 points per person. Low Scorers increased a total of 113 points, decreased 14, leaving a total of 99, or an average of 8.25 points per person.

The experiences of low-scoring students between September and May may have had a positive effect on their attitudes. Most of them, though they had been in college nearly three terms and had taken among other things two Basic Courses in General Education, had yet to take two Basic Courses which should have great impact on attitudes measured on the Inventory—Social Science and Humanities. Since attitudes are markedly influenced by the home, perhaps the new environment rather than specific courses is a more powerful influence for change.

From this evidence we hypothesize, though we cannot prove, that Low Scorers do change. Their score gain is considerably more than that of the High Scorers and can hardly be attributed only to the normal varia-

tion expected upon re-testing. Whether the change is at the unreasoning affective level or whether it results from increased verbal facility and sophistication we do not know.

A second encouraging sign was the number of times that low-scoring students showed a consciousness of their prejudices, some insight into the reasons for prejudice, and some awareness of change within themselves. These were difficult to record since many times they were indicated by a sudden break-off in a statement, a self-conscious smile, or a reversal in statement. Particularly noticeable was the number of times students admitted that they just didn't know or understand art and music and poetry and therefore were probably unfair in their prejudice against people who created it. Low Scorers also indicated repeatedly that they were mixed up and confused, implying that they had done some recent thinking about, for example, the purposes of being in college, the consequences of easy conformity, the place of force or authority in human relations. This evidence again suggests that college does make a difference with some people.

One student said, "To tell the truth, I did believe in censorship when I came to college, but I'm beginning to see the damage it can cause. Things are happening to me in college." Another one after having missed the satire in Auden's description of the ideal citizen stopped short and said, "This author is playing cat and mouse with me. I really get sucked in by these, don't I?"

Others cited instances when some of the issues had been discussed in a class and said, "I'm not sure what I think now." Occasionally one would say, "I'm contradicting myself; I'd better back up and think this through." One Low IB at the end of her experience with this study said,

"I'm glad you asked me to participate in this study⁷. I've learned a lot about myself."

From this evidence, one may gather that some experience in wrestling with issues involved might cause considerable change in the Low IB's. It must be kept in mind, however, that all of these students were high in aptitude and reading ability and that they had considerable motivation to do well in college. Low IB's with below average aptitude, reading ability, and motivation might offer a considerably more complex problem.

If some change seems possible, further research needs to be done in actual classroom situations where students have an opportunity to come to grips with the kind of subject matter which causes students to examine their values. Because literature has the potential for placing students vicariously in all kinds of situations where value choices are being made and hierarchies of values examined, classes in this subject area offer innumerable possibilities for experimentation. With the wide range of good literature available, nothing would need to be sacrificed in quality or range in order to do this.

Experimentation, however, would require a flexible, democratic instructor, dedicated to value-oriented teaching and to evaluation which involves not only inferences based on general information but value judgments based on critical reading and critical thinking--both by the group and by the individual. If value systems of individuals were brought into play with value systems of others, students might take something more away from literature than they brought. It is conceivable that what a student considered important to his well being might be modified by skillfully planned vicarious experiences, group exchange of views, and encouragement of independent judgment.

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APPENDIX

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