

THE GREAT BOOKS PROGRAM  
A National Survey

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Report No. 68

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Survey No. 408

by

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with the assistance of:

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and

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In childhood and youth their study, and what philosophy they learn, should be suited to their tender years: during this period while they are growing up towards manhood, the chief and special care should be given to their bodies that they may have them to use in the service of philosophy; as life advances and the intellect begins to mature, let them increase the gymnastics of the soul..

The Republic  
Book VI

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The "credits" for any national survey bulk as large as those of an M.G.M. musical. We should like, however, to note the special contributions of the following:

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Since this is an evaluation study with some potential implications for policy decisions in the world of adult education, the following responsibilities should be specifically acknowledged. Although staff members of the Fund for Adult Education and the Great Books Foundation were shown certain first drafts for their comments, the entire report is the sole responsibility of the National Opinion Research Center, and ultimately, that of the Study Director. Part A, and Chapter I of Part B were done in entirety by the Study Director; the chapters on community involvement and reading were essentially the work of Lathrop V. Beale, and the remaining chapters were done by Ruth Ursula Gebhard and James A. Davis, jointly. Blame should be addressed to the proper person, but since the three of us consulted together day in and day out, any credit should go jointly to the three authors.

James A. Davis

August, 1958

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## INTRODUCTION

## Background

In the summer of 1957, the Fund for Adult Education, an independent educational foundation established by the Ford Foundation, commissioned the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Chicago to make a study of the Great Books program. The major purpose of the study is to assess the effects of participation in the program in order to provide information to guide future policy in the field of adult education. The study specifically excludes any consideration of the administration or functioning of the Great Books Foundation, which sponsors the program, but rather, is concentrated on the participants and their discussion groups.

The Great Books program itself is so well known that it need not be described in detail. Great Books, which was originally developed by Mortimer Adler and Robert M. Hutchins, then of the University of Chicago, is a national program for the liberal education of adults. In 1957-1958 it consisted of some 1,960 discussion groups dispersed through the United States, with additional groups in Canada and overseas. Each group meets every other week from September to June and at each meeting the members discuss a specific selection which they have read before the meeting. These readings are organized into blocks of one year each and, in theory, should be read in sequence. However, since members often enter on-going groups, the correlation between specific readings and years in the program is less than perfect. In our study we have focused on total number of years completed rather than on the specific readings.<sup>1</sup>

The groups vary in size (from around five to around 35 with an average of about 11 in our sample); in sponsorship (most are affiliated with public libraries, but a number are sponsored by churches, business firms, and individuals); and in leadership (some have a single leader, most have co-leaders, and a few rotate the leadership with each meeting); but generally they follow the pattern of small, informal discussion groups.

In order to understand the nature of the program, we should stress the following characteristics. The leaders are not formally trained teachers, but a number have had brief training courses sponsored by the Great Books Foundation and many are long-time participants who are now leading groups studying earlier years of the readings. The members do not pay any tuition or get any degree or certificate for completing the program. In fact, no one can "complete" the program as additional years of readings are always available, currently up to the 14th year. Members are encouraged to buy the readings from the Foundation, but are not required to do so. The Great Books Foundation itself is a non-profit organization which attempts to stimulate groups and provides readings and publicity materials. It also provides advice and help to groups from the national office or through local community coordinators in larger cities. Some coordinators are full-time members of the Foundation staff, some are volunteers or have other jobs in adult education.

## Procedures

During December, 1957, NORC interviewers attended the meetings of 172 groups, sampled in a manner described below. Members had not been informed before the meeting that they were to participate in the research that night, although some knew their group would be called on at some time.

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<sup>1</sup>The current curriculum of reading is reproduced as Appendix 1 of this report.

Each member of the sampled groups filled out the self-administered questionnaire which is reproduced as Appendix 2 to this report. By and large, we found cooperation to be good, although a number of groups were visibly disappointed that they had to forgo their discussion, only one protocol was rejected because inspection indicated that the writer did not give serious cooperation. One other schedule, from a member whose physical handicap resulted in an illegible questionnaire, was excluded, leaving a total of 1,909 cases from 172 groups.

The questionnaires were coded and punched onto IBM cards for analysis. Although we do have some informal reports by the NORC interviewers, the materials presented here are based on statistical analyses of these cards, except for Chapter I in Part C. Coding, punching, and card cleaning were completed by June, 1958, and analysis and write-up took place during June, July, and early August, 1958.

### Sample

Our sample is a stratified (by year of reading) probability sample of the Great Books discussion groups which in November and December, 1957, were meeting in NORC "primary sampling units." Since each member of the sampled groups was asked to fill out a schedule, the number of individuals each group contributed to the total sample was obviously proportional to its size, hence our sample is also representative of "individuals" as well as groups, although this procedure results in the sample of individuals being heavily clustered.

NORC is set up to take probability samples of the general population of the United States. In order to do so, it maintains a permanent field staff of trained interviewers in a national sample of counties and standard metropolitan areas. These are known as "primary sampling units." The counties were selected in such a way that by weighting the interviews, national estimates for a cross section of the general population are efficiently and accurately obtained, subject, of course, to random sampling error.

For technical reasons which are inherent in any such sample drawn by any research agency, bias is introduced when one attempts to sample a universe with a relatively small number of individuals such as Great Books groups. The net effect of this bias is that while the cases sampled are representative of cases in their type of county in the country, too many cases are drawn from large cities and too few cases are drawn from small towns and rural areas.

Our sample of Great Books groups, consequently, has too many cases from large cities and too few cases from small cities. We knew this would happen when we began the study, but chose to use the method we did for the following reasons:

- 1) The Great Books program, itself, is disproportionately urban. Thus, in 1955, the last year for which NORC had complete data on the program available, the standard metropolitan areas of the United States, which included 56 per cent of the U.S. 1950 population, had 75 per cent of the Great Books groups.

- 2) Our budget precluded the use of trained interviewers for a true national sample, and we felt that it was preferable to have national coverage, even with an urban bias, rather than to have perfect sampling of a limited geographical area such as the Midwest.

In the fall of 1957 we listed all of the groups in NORC sample points which were registered with the Great Books Foundation. (A few groups may have lost contact with the Foundation and hence may have been excluded from the universe.) The listed groups were stratified by year of reading and the following proportions were taken in each stratum, with the aim of netting 50 first year groups, 30 each in years II through IV, and 30 in years V or more.

<u>Year of Reading</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Sampling Proportion</u>
I . . . . .	233	.25
II . . . . .	122	.33
III . . . . .	96	.33
IV . . . . .	52	.60
V and higher . .	93	.33
Not recorded on registration card	33	.33

Of the 182 groups drawn 164 were interviewed without any further ado. However, 18 groups presented special circumstances. They are summarized below. The code number attached to each group is an arbitrary number assigned by NORC for clerical purposes.

<u>Problem</u>	<u>Code Number of Groups</u>	<u>Action</u>
Group had split into two groups	35	Both parts interviewed
	154	Both parts interviewed
Group had existed but was defunct at time of field work	26	Not replaced
	86	Replaced
	88	Replaced
	94	Replaced
	182	Replaced, but replacement was found to be ineligible, (Great Issues in Education Group) so it was discarded
Clerical errors	110	Found to duplicate a group already in sample, replaced
	40	Found to be Great Issues in Education (a similar program sponsored by the Foundation), not Great Books; not replaced
Participated in pretest	50	Replaced
	52	Replaced
Existing group, but did not meet during field period	63	Replaced
	78	Replaced
	36	Not replaced
Field difficulties	151	Snowed out, unable to schedule another appointment, not replaced
	13	Meeting started too late to get schedules; unable to make another appointment, not replaced
	169	Repeatedly postponed, until field period was over, not replaced
	179	Refused, not replaced

Of the 16 groups which created problems, we managed to replace eight with another random selection from the proper stratum in the same sample point. For the remaining, either the stratum was exhausted or the difficulty turned up so far into the field work period that there was no time for replacement. Only the four cases listed under "Field difficulties" represent a serious problem. Our one flat refusal was from a leader in a large city in Texas. Group 169 was a fledgling group which was having difficulties getting started and the leader asked for repeated postponements until it was too late to include the group in the study. The other two cases are the sort of special difficulties that arise in any field work situation.

The "take rate" we achieved is well within the norms for survey research, and we may conclude that we ended up with a representative sample of groups from our NORC primary sampling units. Our urban disproportion, however, remains, for the reasons noted above.

Of course, for a variable which is not related to city size, this bias is unimportant. In order to find out which variables might be affected by this sampling problem, we divided the respondents into the following groups:

- 1) Those living within the city limits of Central Cities of a Standard Metropolitan Area of one million or more (303 cases).
- 2) Those living within the city limits of Central Cities of a Standard Metropolitan Area of 250,000 to 999,999 (N = 526).
- 3) Those living within 20 miles of the city limits of the Central City of a Standard Metropolitan Area, in a city with a population of 25,000 to 250,000 (N = 231).
- 4) Those living within 20 miles of the city limits of a Central City of a Standard Metropolitan Area, in a city with a population of 10,000 to 24,999 (N = 204).
- 5) Those living within 20 miles of the city limits of a Central City of a Standard Metropolitan Area, in a city with a population under 10,000 (N = 315).
- 6) Those living more than 20 miles from the city limits of the Central City of a Standard Metropolitan Area, in a city of 25,000 or less (N = 256).
- 7) All other (N = 32).

We can think of these types as follows: 1) Very large cities; 2) Large cities; 3) Large suburbs and satellite cities; 4) Medium suburbs and satellite cities; 5) Small suburbs and satellite cities; and 6) Small towns.<sup>2</sup>

We compared the social characteristics of respondents from these six types and found no consistent differences in:

- 1) Age
- 2) Education
- 3) Feeling that the program has had a high impact
- 4) Scores on the test of knowledge of liberal arts and humanities
- 5) Self-definition as "intellectual" or "non-intellectual"
- 6) Interest in community affairs

---

<sup>2</sup>We should stress that the classification is crude. A number of Standard Metropolitan areas extend more than 20 miles beyond the core city. However, we hope that our classification will give us some perspective on the problem.

Table 1 summarizes the differences we find.

TABLE 1  
SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS AND COMMUNITY

Variable	City		Suburb			Small Town
	Very Large	Large	Large	Medium	Small	
Per cent female . . .	65	63	64	61	68	55
Per cent high occupational status of head of household	29	36	37	40	43	24
Per cent zero years of Great Books completed . . .	39	50	39	43	40	34
Per cent Jewish . . . . .	34	10	20	12	8	11
Per cent married . . . . .	62	66	80	86	87	91
Per cent Republican . . . . .	23	37	43	52	50	52

The first three "biases" do not appear to be too important, but we thought they should be on record. There is a slight tendency for there to be greater proportions of men, lower status heads of households, and advanced year participants in the small towns.

The three important differences are these:

- 1) Jews are less frequent in the smaller towns than in the large urban areas (this being true in general, as well as in Great Books).
- 2) Republicans are more frequent in smaller towns.
- 3) Married participants are more frequent in smaller towns.

Our data will then tend to overestimate the proportion of Jews, Democrats, and non-married in the program.

Where these differences might affect the conclusions, the type of city is considered in detail in the analysis.

Analysis

Our report is divided into three sections: Part A ("The Participants") describes the social characteristics of the people in the program, analyzes the motives for joining which they report, and assesses their own statements as to the effects of participation. Part B ("Effects of Participation") considers specific areas where the program might result in changes in the participants. The areas covered are, 1) knowledge of the liberal arts and humanities, 2) poetic sensitivity, 3) patterns of reading, 4) political ideologies, and 5) community involvement and participation. Part C treats some

characteristics of the discussion groups.

Looking at it another way, the basic questions of our study have been these:

What are the effects of Great Books on the participants?

We have come at this problem in two ways. First, we have simply asked the participants what they think the effects are. These materials are reported in Chapter III of Part A. Second, we have contrasted beginning and advanced participants. We know that the only sure answers about effects must come from a study following the same persons through time. Such a study was, however, impossible, and we have attempted to do what we could with "cross-sectional" data. In every case where statistical techniques would enable us to meet some of the difficulties arising from such a design, we have used them.

What are the participants like?

Throughout the study we have stressed the "social characteristics" of the members, their stage in the life cycle, their memberships, their institutional affiliations, and their self-conceptions. This is because we feel it is not only important to know what the effects are, but also what sorts of people are being affected. In particular, we have continually stressed "institutional" characteristics, or the ways in which the members are related to the major organizations of their community and society...their church, their jobs, their political party, and their community activities. This is because we believe that a liberal education is not only to be consumed, but also to be acted on, and it is important to know in what areas of the larger community and society we may expect to find Great Books participants. The problem of the relationships between "books and action" has been a constant preoccupation of the study.

What are their cultural abilities and interests?

At times we have thought of the participants, not just as Great Books members, but as specimens of highly educated Americans. We have absolutely no statistical grounds for presenting them collectively as a representative sample of the highly educated, but we did look among them for clues to answers to some general problems that go beyond the scope of the program itself. We live in a time when continual cries of rage and anger are heard, claiming that Americans are deficient in their interests in what one can call "high culture." Now, there is quite a lot in print about "high brows," because high brows tend to draw attention to themselves. There is also a lot in print about "low brows" because they are the happy hunting ground of the sociologist. Not a lot, however, is known about the cultural life of the "middle brow," the Book of the Month reader, the occasional concert goer, the subscriber to Harper's and The Saturday Review. Since, for all practical purposes, our group of Great Books participants consists of 1,909 such people, we have at times gone out of our way to present basic descriptive materials on their cultural characteristics and orientations, and the patternings thereof.

Finally, we should note two areas which have been slighted consistently in our analysis.

First, we have paid little or no attention to "personality" and the personality characteristics of Great Books participants. Both the difficulties of measurement and the theoretical bents of the authors discouraged us from exploring this important problem.

Second, with a few exceptions, we have grossly understressed the importance of the discussion group as the vehicle through which the effects of the program probably take place. This is not due to any lack of interest. In fact, from a professional point of view, the group data are probably the most interesting part of the study. Rather, in the limited time available to us, the exceedingly complex technical problems of IBM analysis at the level of group characteristics precluded a thorough attack on this problem. We do know such things as the fact that a person who says that his group has a wide heterogeneity in ideas and values is more likely to want to stay in the program, and we do know that there are group differences in the proportion of people reporting high "impact" of Great Books...differences which are not explained by the individual characteristics of the members of the group; but we have not been able to engage in any systematic pursuit of these and similar leads.

### Some Technical Matters

This is a statistical report, and no amount of verbal jollification in the text can conceal the fact that the report consists of explanations and comments about the tables, rather than the tables consisting of illustrations of matter which is developed in the text. The reader who wishes the major conclusions, without the detailed evidence and our qualifications of the conclusions, may find a brief summary of the major findings at the end of the report. The bulk of the tables consists of sets of percentages and does not require statistical training for interpretation. In a few places we have used advanced statistical techniques which could not be explained in complete detail. In these circumstances we have attempted to present the general strategy in strictly verbal terms but have not explained the mathematics in full detail. Here and there esoterica for the hypothetical "technical" reader have been segregated in footnotes.

Although we do have a probability sample of respondents and have attempted to generalize beyond our sample, we have not reported "tests of significance" consistently. Survey research is currently in an era of debate on the use of these tests, and we must say that we are on the side of those who favor using them. However, we felt the labor of these computations was not worth the trouble as we have reported without qualifications only statistical differences which we believe would appear significant if formal tests were applied. If a critical reader should compute tests on our materials and find that we have been overgenerous with ourselves, we would appreciate hearing from him and would revise our interpretations.

Unless the text indicates something to the contrary, in all tables, the difference between the number of cases given in the table and 1,909, the sample size, is due to those respondents who failed to answer the questions involved.

One final word, before we begin our report. Although the study is designed as an evaluation, we have attempted to refrain, with the exception of one footnote, from doing any evaluating. We hope that we have been able to present materials which will enable evaluators to make a fair judgment.

Where we have found effects, we have attempted to present any findings which would tend to "minimize" them, and where we have not, we have attempted to present any findings which would tend to "mitigate" the blow. Any net assessment of the program must come from the reader.

**PART A**

**THE PARTICIPANTS**

Part A of this report deals with the 1,909 members of the 172 discussion groups in our survey. Chapter I describes the participants in terms of some of their salient social characteristics and suggests some of the ways in which they differ from non-participants. Chapter II explores the motivations of the participants. It attempts to describe the clusters of motives which bring people to the program and asks what sorts of people have what sorts of motives. Chapter III analyzes the respondents' own testimony as to the effects of the program, and attempts to pinpoint areas in which the program appears most and least effective.

CHAPTER I

WHAT ARE THEY LIKE?

Introduction

What are they like? What sorts of people are attracted to Great Books? In this chapter we shall attempt to describe the 1,909 participants in our sample in terms of their salient social characteristics...education, family situation, occupation, self conceptions, religious preference, and party preference. We have no data on their secret dreams and hidden motives, but we do have the basic bricks from which to build a sociological description of the members in terms of the roles which they play in their families, communities, and the larger society.

When we say "What are they like?" we usually mean "How are they different?", which, in turn, raises the question of "different from whom?" It is hardly necessary to document the ways in which 1,909 adult Americans differ from, say, 1,909 adult Chinese. What we would really like to know is how the people in Great Books differ from other people in their communities who had an opportunity to join, but did not. Thus, the question we raise really implies the necessity of having data from a control sample of people who might have been in the program, but are not. We have no such data in our study, but here and there we can contrast our materials with certain already published findings. The differences we find can be at best suggestive, given the methodological problems involved, but in this chapter we shall at least note them.

Education

Perhaps the most striking characteristic of the members is their high level of formal education. In the following table they are compared with 1950 Census data on the total U.S. population 25 years of age and over.

TABLE A-I-1

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Education	Number of Participants	Per cent of Participants	Per cent of U.S. Adult Population 1950
No college . . .	297	16	86
Part college . .	433	24	7
Bachelor's degree	414)	23	6
Graduate study .	682)	37	
	1,826	100%	99%
(No answer and uncodeable) .	83		
	1,909		

The contrast is plain. Eighty-four per cent of the participants have had at least some college, while 86 per cent of the total population have had none. Our sample even includes 100 Ph.D.s, who make up five per cent of the sample, while Ph.D.s account for roughly one-tenth of one per cent of the general population. Our data show no difference between the educational attainments

of the beginning and advanced participants; hence, we may assume that while formal education has a lot to do with recruitment, it is not relevant per se for continuation. (Chapter I of Part B considers this question in somewhat more complicated detail.)

This high education level is not shared equally by the sexes. As is generally true, men report higher educational attainments.

TABLE A-I-2

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT BY SEX<sup>1</sup>

Education	Per cent	
	Men	Women
No college .	9	21
Part college.	16	28
Bachelor's .	21	24
Graduate work	54	27
	100%	100%
	N = 682	1,133

More than half of the men have graduate work beyond the bachelor's degree and 91 per cent have some college training. Among the women the percentages are lessened, but we still note that half (51%) of the women are college graduates.

Thus, it is perhaps fair to characterize Great Books as a program for, and almost limited to, "college people," the majority of whom have a bachelor's degree, and a considerable proportion of whom report graduate work or degrees beyond the bachelor's.

In order to assess the ways in which the participants view themselves subjectively, we asked them the following question:

Which of the following comes closest to the way you think about yourself?

- 1\_\_ I don't like the phrase particularly, but I guess you'd have to call me an "intellectual."
- 2\_\_ I consider myself an educated person, but not really an "intellectual."
- 3\_\_ I haven't had too much education, so I can't really call myself either an "intellectual" or an "educated person," but I am pretty serious in my approach to things.
- 4\_\_ I guess I'm sort of a "low brow" when it comes down to it.

---

<sup>1</sup>N refers to the bases on which the percentages were calculated.

We cannot assume that the respondents interpreted the terms of the question with real consistency, but they did at least choose their places in what they could easily recognize as a hierarchy of "intellectualness."

TABLE A-I-3

SELF-CONCEPTION

Per cent of those answering who checked....

"Intellectual" . . . . .	15
"Educated" . . . . .	56
"Serious" . . . . .	26
"Low brow" . . . . .	3
	100%
	N = 1,795

In spite of their high educational levels, the bulk of the respondents think of themselves as "educated people" and only a minority consider themselves to be "intellectuals." The same general conclusion holds, even when we take into consideration education and sex, two variables which relate to self-conception.

TABLE A-I-4

SELF-CONCEPTION BY SEX AND EDUCATION

Per cent considering themselves as "Intellectuals"

Education	Men	Women
No college . . . . .	8 ( 61)	4 (219)
Part college . . . . .	17 (101)	10 (309)
Bachelor's degree . . . . .	13 (136)	8 (263)
Graduate work . . . . .	28 (362)	19 (293)
(Base N in parentheses)		

On the whole, the proportion considering themselves as intellectuals increases with education, and within each educational level is greater for men than for women. However, even in the extreme group, men with graduate training, only slightly more than one-quarter claim to be "intellectuals."

Further confirmation of these findings comes from our data on "paths of life." We modified Charles Morris' value measurement scheme<sup>2</sup> and asked the respondents to rate four vignettes of values in terms of how much they liked

<sup>2</sup>The complete vignettes are reproduced in the schedule which is an appendix to this report. Cf., Charles Morris, Varieties of Human Value, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1956.

or disliked them. The four can be labeled "Hedonism" ("Life is something to be enjoyed--sensuously enjoyed....."); "Groupyness" (A person should merge himself with a social group, enjoy cooperation and companionship....."); "Activity" ("A person must stress the need of constant activity--physical action, adventure, the realistic solution of specific problems....."); and "Contemplation" ("The contemplative life is the good life....").

TABLE A-I-5

MARGINAL DISTRIBUTION ON "PATHS OF LIFE"

Per cent checking path...

Path	"Dislike it quite a lot" or "Dislike it very much"	"Dislike it slightly," "Indifferent," or "Like it slightly"	"Like it quite a lot" or "Like it very much"	N	Total Per cent
"Groupyness" . .	8	45	46	1,813	99
"Activity" . . .	14	50	36	1,799	100
"Hedonism" . . .	30	45	25	1,792	100
"Contemplation".	30	51	19	1,785	100

Except for "groupyness" the participants are not wild about any of the values, but it does appear that the values associated with extremes of "intellectualism," either toward the "Bohemian" pole of hedonism or the "mystic" pole of contemplation rank conspicuously low. Conversely, the modal American values of activity and group participation rank rather high, close to one-half of the participants endorsing "groupyness," and only eight per cent rejecting it. While we have no general American norms for this measure, our distinct impression is that the Great Books participants do not depart conspicuously from basic middle class values, in which intellectual matters are certainly valued positively but do not form the core of the person's existence.

We have emphasized self-conception and values here, perhaps beyond their importance for the later analysis, but we would like to stress a point. Although there is some belief that the Great Books program attracts "ivory tower" intellectuals and cult seekers, our evidence is essentially that the participants, although highly educated in comparison with the national population, on the whole share the general values and patterns of social participation of middle class America.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup>If the point still needs clinching, we need only add that when asked about specific magazines, 71% reported that they read the Reader's Digest regularly--or occasionally, and 65% checked "Never heard of this one," for The Partisan Review. However, when we note that we have no national norms for "intellectualism," and we remember that the question was worded in such a way as to discourage checking answers at the "high" end, we cannot say whether whether there are more or fewer self-defined intellectuals in Great Books than in other populations. In fact, a recent article in the American Journal of Sociology can be read to imply that nearly as many participants who have had graduate training consider themselves to be intellectuals as assistant professors at Ohio State University. Cf., Melvin Seeman, "The Intellectual and the Language of Minorities," American Journal of Sociology, LXIV: 25-35, July, 1958.

### Age, Sex, and Marital Status

Sociologists usually think of age, sex, and marital status as a cluster of variables which can be considered together as a person's "life cycle role." By this, we mean only that, regardless of social status or region of residence or religion, single, adolescent females have a lot in common; as do middle-aged, married males.

Sixty-three per cent of our sample are women, 37 per cent, men, a disproportion which is undoubtedly "significant" in the sense that although in the general population there are more women than men in the age ranges covered by Great Books, the disproportion is not so great as in the program. Or, to put it another way, more women than men join Great Books. When we compare beginning participants with advanced-year members, we find no important difference in the "sex ratio." Hence, our guess is that although more women are recruited initially, their drop-out rate is about the same as that of their masculine compatriots, this, in spite of the fact (Cf. Chapter II, Part C) that women seem strikingly disadvantaged in their volume of talking in the discussion groups--folklore on the subject being dead wrong in this case.<sup>4</sup>

Three-quarters (74%) of the women are married; 15 per cent are single; and 11 per cent are widowed or divorced. The bulk of the married women are "housewives" with no part-time job or studies; while almost all of the single women are employed full time; and most of the "ex-married" women are employed. Almost all the men work full time. There were very few "students" or "retired" in our sample. Of the men, 82 per cent are married, 14 per cent are single, and five per cent are widowed or divorced. The following table summarizes these data.

Table 6 is sort of a "collage" made up of sex, marital status, and occupation, in order to summarize the situation. We see that the bulk of the participants (65%) consists of husbands and housewives; another 12 per cent, of working wives; 13 per cent of "career" women; and the remaining 10 per cent, of other categories. Putting it another way, we find 35 per cent housewives; 25 per cent working wives and career women; 30 per cent husbands; and 10 per cent others.

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<sup>4</sup>Our analysis of the sample in the introduction suggests that there are relatively more men in the small towns which are under-represented in our study. Even there, though, women form a slight majority.

TABLE A-I-6

"LIFE CYCLE ROLE" DISTRIBUTION OF THE PARTICIPANTS

Type	Description	Per cent of Females	Per cent of Males	Per cent of Sample	N
1) Housewives . . .	Married females reporting themselves as "housewives" with no job and not attending school	55	-	35	634
2) Working wives . .	Married females reporting full-time or part-time employment or full-time school attendance	19	-	12	214
3) Career women . .	Single women or ex-married women reporting full-time work	21	-	13	243
4) Other . . . . .	Ex-married women reporting occupation as "housewife"	5	-	3	55
5) Husbands	Married males	-	82	30	556
6) Bachelors	Single males	-	14	5	93
7) Ex-married males	Males who are divorced or widowed	-	4	2	33
					1,828
	Insufficient information to classify . . . . .				81
		100	100	100	1,909

Before we leave the question of marital status, let us see how many of the married people participate as couples and how many do not. Table 7, below, summarizes these data.

TABLE A-I-7

HUSBANDS AND WIVES

	Spouse Member of Same Group and in Sample	Spouse Member of Same Group, but not in Sample*	Spouse Not a Member of the Group
Married males . . .	264	35	257
Married females . .	264	37	547

\*NORC interviewers collected from each leader the names of regular members of the group who were not present when the schedule was administered. By matching names, an estimate of "spouse loss" was made.

For the married men, 54 per cent attend the group on a couple basis; for the married women, 36 per cent. The 264 "couples" thus make up 27 per cent of our entire sample. More married women attend without their husbands than married men without their wives. This discrepancy goes a long way toward explaining the sex ratio of the program. If each spouse in the sample attended with his or her mate, the increased number of males would change the proportion of women from the observed 63 per cent to 54 per cent. Thus, our guess would be that the sex disproportion in the program is partly a function of the differential "Joint attendance" of the two sexes.

As one would expect from the above findings, the participants are concentrated in the early middle age span. Table 8 gives the distribution for the entire sample:

TABLE A-I-8

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE SAMPLE

<u>Age</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
Under 29 . . . .	16
30-39 . . . .	37
40-49 . . . .	24
50-59 . . . .	14
60-69 . . . .	6
70+ . . . .	<u>2</u>
	99

This distribution, however, is somewhat biased as our sample is deliberately inflated in the advanced years of participation. The longer time participants are somewhat older than the beginners, although no more than one would expect from their years of exposure. (That is, there is no evidence in our data that younger people tend to drop out. The age difference in the "exposure" groups is a simple function of how long they have been in Great Books.) A better perspective may be gained by comparing the first year members with the alumni in terms of their age distribution in the 1950 United States Census.

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<sup>5</sup> Throughout this chapter we will compare Great Books participants with United States Census data for all persons 25 years of age or older who have completed one or more years of college. There are many good reasons why we should not do this (e.g., the participants did not all attend college; our sample is more highly urban than are college people as a whole, etc.), but we feel some comparison is helpful and this is probably the best yardstick to use, even if it is a rubbery one. Almost all of our sample, after all, have attended college, and college alumni are more urban than the general population; so if we are going to make any comparisons this seems like the best possibility. We trust that the reader will remember through this chapter that any conclusions from the comparison should be considered only as hypotheses for further testing and not as research findings. For purposes of simplicity, from here on, then, we shall follow the magnanimous example of college development offices and refer to those people with one or more years of college as "alumni" rather than having to say "persons 25 years of age or older in 1950 who reported one or more years of college."

TABLE A-I-9

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF 1st YEAR GREAT BOOKS

PARTICIPANTS AND U.S. COLLEGE ALUMNI (1950)

Age	Per cent of U.S.* College Alumni	Per cent of Year Participants**
25-34 .	34	42
35-44 .	28	30
45-54 .	19	16
55-64 .	11	7
65+ . .	8	4
	100%	99% (N = 675)

\* Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1950.

\*\* Forty-three participants under 25 were excluded to make the data comparable to the Census tables.

Great Books beginners, it appears, run a little younger than college alumni in general. Thus, both relatively and absolutely Great Books participants are concentrated in the early thirties, although the program does cover a span from the 20's to the 70's. The "significance" of this conclusion is somewhat difficult to determine, although it may be worth noting that it supports findings later in the analysis that the participants are "busy" people and are not in Great Books to fill in a participation "void." The fact that they are clustered moderately in the "busy" years of the life cycle is consistent with this general conclusion.

We are now in a position to ask whether Great Books tends to select people of a particular marital status. Since in the general population marital status is correlated with age, sex, and education, it will be necessary to control these variables as best we can. The following table contrasts the per cent married in Great Books with the per cent married among those of the United States population in 1950 who had completed one or more years of college.

The distributions are remarkably similar, considering the small numbers of cases in some of the cells, and we may conclude that the proportion married among the participants does not differ in any important way from the proportion in the general population of "college people." In fact, since our sampling bias is toward an under-estimate of the proportion married, the program in general probably recruits married people disproportionately.

What then about the husband shortage noted a while back? Our speculation is this: If all of the missing husbands came into the program, we would find females still about as married as the general population and males over-married. Thus, perhaps the husband shortage is compensated for by another shortage, that of single and ex-married males.

TABLE A-I-10

AGE AND MARITAL STATUS OF 1ST YEAR GREAT BOOKS

PARTICIPANTS AND COLLEGE ALUMNI

Per cent married

Age	Men		Women	
	U.S. Alumni	Great Books	U.S. Alumni	Great Books
25-34 .	75	72 (215)	78	81 (387)
35-44 .	89	90 (216)	78	80 (345)
45-54 .	89	91 (135)	70	75 (201)
55-64 .	86	85 ( 47)	56	55 (103)
65+ . .	72	73 ( 41)	30	36 ( 52)

(Base N in parentheses)

Regardless of these guesses, our general impression is that "demographically" Great Books participants do not differ in any striking way from the general population of college alumni. One would perhaps have hypothesized that the program might attract the retired, or the separated who are at loose ends socially, but this does not appear to be the case.

Occupation and Social Status

Since education is one of the best indexes of social status in our society, we shall not expect to find any terribly surprising trends when we examine the occupations of the participants. It is clear, already, that we are dealing with an essentially middle class population.

Table 11 gives us sets of percentages which will enable us to draw our conclusions. It is based on the standard census classification of occupations, but excludes farmers and farm workers, as we only drew three such cases in our sample.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>That Great Books is an essentially urban program needs not to be said. The question is, however, discussed in our introductory discussion of the sampling procedure.

TABLE A-I-11

URBAN OCCUPATIONS

Occupation	U.S. 25 and Over, 1950			Great Books			
	Total	Male Alumni	Female Alumni	Total	Men	Women	Husbands*
Professional . .	11	39	53	60	65	53	58
Managers . . . .	12	22	6	14	20	6	26
Sales . . . . .	8	12	5	6	7	4	8
Clerical . . . .	12	9	27	16	3	35	3
Blue collar**	58	18	9	4	5	2	5
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N . . . . .				1,083	640	434	754
Not working . . . . .				680	11	669	2
No answer and uncodeable . . . . .				143	41	81	37
				1,909	692	1,184	793

\*The occupation of the husband of all women who reported their spouse as the chief wage earner.

\*\*Skilled workers, operatives, household workers, service, and non-farm labor.

We can begin on the left side with the national figures. The column headed "Total" gives the jobs which were available in 1950. The next two columns tell us that sex and education have a lot to do with who gets them. College alumni, on the whole, get much more desirable jobs, and within the alumni, women tend to move into professions (teaching) and clerical jobs, men into management, professions and sales.

Now, when we turn to the Great Books participants, we notice an even greater skew. Sixty per cent of those who work are professionals, as contrasted with 11 per cent of the general population. At the bottom of the ladder, a smaller per cent of Great Books participants have blue collar jobs than do the other alumni, 13 per cent of whom are in the "blue collar" group.

Now, let us look at the sex distributions in the Great Books sample. When we compare the working women (remembering that they are a minority of women participants) with the job classification of the female alumnae, we find that the occupational distributions are strikingly similar. Or, to put it conversely, the working alumnae of the U.S. turn up in Great Books about proportionally to the frequency of their jobs in their group. The program may have a little higher "floor" for women since there are a few less blue collar workers among the participants, but the slight excess of clerical workers balances it.

For the men, the situation is somewhat different. There is a heavy excess of male professionals in the program and deficits in all other occupational groups, only the managers coming near their fair share.

Why should we get this difference...a sex difference in occupations when compared with alumni? We cannot arrive at a definite conclusion, but one hypothesis does suggest itself. It may be that high social status is a necessary condition for joining Great Books. Now, in our society, a married woman's social status is determined by her husband's occupation, not her own. Thus, the wife of a doctor, who has a high standing in the community, may herself be a nurse, an honored profession which, however, is not high ranking in terms of social prestige. Likewise, the wife of a corporation executive may be a secretary and still cash in on her husband's job status. We can check this hypothesis by looking at the jobs of the husbands of the female participants. If the status hypothesis is true, they should have a very high proportion of high status jobs and be much like male participants. Looking at the right hand column of Table A-I-12, we find that the husbands have a lower proportion of professionals than do the male participants, which casts some doubt on the "status" hypothesis. If the situation is not explained by status considerations, it may be that for males alone there is either high selection on the basis of status or that professional males are particularly attracted to the program because of the more "intellectual" nature of their jobs.

There has been, however, a slight fraud at the polls, for 264 of our men have gotten "two votes." The men who participate with their wives appear both among the male participants and among the "husbands."

The following table gives the occupation of the "alternate wage earner" for the married female participants.

TABLE A-I-12

OCCUPATION OF HUSBANDS OF FEMALE PARTICIPANTS

Occupational Group	Husbands Who Participate	Husbands Who Don't Participate
Professional . . . . .	67	53
Managers . . . . .	21	28
Sales . . . . .	7	9
Clerical . . . . .	1	3
Blue collar . . . . .	3	7
	99%	100%
N . . . . .	275	481

There is a statistically significant ( $p < .01$ ) difference between the proportion of professionals in the two groups of husbands. The participating husbands have about the same proportion of professionals as the total group of male participants (67 per cent and 65 per cent), while the non-participating husbands have a lower proportion (53 per cent) which is still higher than that of male alumni (39 per cent). In terms of our two hypotheses, Table 12 suggests the following conclusions:

1) The difference between the participating and non-participating husbands suggests that for the males, occupational values and attitudes may be an important variable in recruitment to Great Books. The professional, whose job is more "intellectual" in some ways, may be more attracted to the program than the "businessman."

2) The difference between the non-participating husbands and the male alumni and the lack of difference between the women and the female alumni suggest that occupational values are unimportant for the recruitment of women; but there may be a "social status" variable which tends to bring into the program women whose prestige position is above that of the average female alumna.

Read horizontally instead of vertically, Table 12 also gives us some clues to the mystery of the missing husbands. We find 45 per cent of the professional husbands accompanying their wives; 30 per cent of the manager husbands; and 32 per cent of the salesman husbands. This is entirely consistent with our hunches about the interrelations of sex, status, and occupational values in recruitment. If among males within the upper middle class, occupation is important for recruitment, it follows that women, who are not selected on occupation, but perhaps more on social status, will frequently have businessman husbands who are less attracted to the program. Conversely, the men, most of whom are professionals and of high status, do not meet with a comparable variation among their wives. It should be noted, however, that this is not the whole story, for men as a group still bring along a greater proportion of their spouses (54 per cent) than women married to professionals (45 per cent), although the gap is narrowed considerably.

In short, even controlling crudely for educational levels, Great Books still has a disproportionately strong attraction for the male professional. Likewise, while women do not appear to be selected on the basis of their own jobs, it appears that the husbands of women participants are more likely to be managers and professionals than the average male alumnus.

### Social Mobility

Occupational status always has a time dimension, and the question of where a person is now, does not answer the question of where he came from. Status mobility is particularly relevant in any social analysis of a program like Great Books. In a society characterized by relatively frequent mobility as a consequence of a changing occupational structure (the proportion of professionals among employed workers has doubled since 1910) people frequently end up much higher on the social ladder than their starting place. Since Great Books has a heavy proportion of professionals, an occupational group characterized by relatively high upward mobility rates, we may expect to find a considerable number of people who have ascended the ladder. Since, in addition, it would seem that a program like Great Books would be useful for obtaining social and intellectual skills missed during the ascent, it would be interesting to know whether the program tends to attract mobile people in high numbers.

The standard way of assessing mobility is a comparison of the occupation of father and son or father and husband, a path strewn with pitfalls due to the instability of occupations at both ends of the time span and the difficulty of assessing the status of occupations. Since the census does not report such data, the standard reference data come from 1947 NORC national survey, known as the North-Hatt study.<sup>7</sup> The following table is adapted from that survey.

<sup>7</sup> Opinion News, September 1, 1947, pp. 3-13.

TABLE A-I-13

MOBILITY

Per cent whose fathers were skilled, semi-skilled,  
service, farm, or labor.

Present Occupation	U.S. <sup>a</sup>	Great Books <sup>b</sup> Males*	Great Books <sup>c</sup> Wives*
Professional	42	29 (399)	23 (413)
Managers . .	56	20 (116)	19 (177)
Sales . . .	53	27 ( 60)	32 ( 57)

\* Base N in parenthesis.

<sup>a</sup> = Proportion reporting "blue collar or farm" occupation for father for all respondents reporting a given current occupation, regardless of sex.

<sup>b</sup> = Proportion reporting "blue collar or farm" occupation for father for Great Books male participants reporting a given current occupation.

<sup>c</sup> = Proportion reporting "blue collar or farm" occupation for father for Great Books married women reporting a given current occupation for their husbands.

The trend of the table is clear-cut. Great Books participants in high status occupations today are, if anything, considerably less mobile than the 1947 American cross section. Whether this is because the program attracts less mobile people, or whether their high level of education required fathers who were relatively comfortably fixed, it remains that the "self-made man" and woman are relatively rare in our sample, although we do have 286 respondents (ignoring the spouse-less women whose current social position is difficult to measure) who have made the transition from farm or blue collar origins to the upper white collar regions.

In spite of the relative situation, vis-a-vis the national sample, we should go wrong if we decided that social mobility is not related to participation in Great Books. One out of five of our respondents checked "becoming more sure of myself when talking with people of higher educational background" as a reason for joining the program (although, of course, not necessarily the only one). The types of people volunteering this motivation and their feelings of satisfaction with the program are discussed at some length in the next two chapters.

In summary: Great Books participants are selected from the upper echelons of the occupational structure, even when compared with American college

alumni. Men, in particular, tend disproportionately to be "professionals,"<sup>8</sup> possibly because of intrinsic aspects of their jobs. Women tend to be disproportionately recruited from the upper white collar levels, possibly because of status considerations. In terms of occupational origins, the participants appear less mobile than the general population, although mobility-related motivations are not uncommon among the reported reasons for joining Great Books.

Memberships and Allegiances

In addition to education, family role, and occupation, one's social involvement also consists of a complicated web of formal and informal memberships which reach out beyond the immediate family to the larger social world. Since most of these are analyzed in some detail in the context of "effects of the program" (Cf. Chapters I and IV of Part B), we shall merely sketch out the skeleton here.

Sociability

Among the myths about Great Books participants is the claim that they are ivory towerists who have little or no connections with their community. While our chapter on community involvement (Chapter IV, Part B), analyzes this question in some detail, we can here suggest that, at least in its extreme forms, the myth is incorrect. The following tables probably cover the subject in all the detail it deserves at this point.

TABLE A-I-14

ATTACHMENT TO THE COMMUNITY

Per cent checking each response in answer to the question,

"What is your emotional feeling about your community?"

<u>Response</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
"I feel I'm a real member of the community..." . . . . .	57
"I do like the community, but I don't feel I'm really a part of it." . . . . .	37
"I rather dislike the community, and I definitely do not feel I'm a part of it." . . . . .	<u>6</u>
	100%
N =	1,852

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<sup>8</sup>We have talked about professions at length without mentioning any specific ones. Considering only the respondents' occupations, the following professions each contributed more than 25 respondents: engineers (123); teachers (102); lawyers (61); accountants (39); journalists (36); physicians (34); college teachers (31). These seven groups account for 66 per cent of the professionals; and along with business managers (129) and secretaries (91) account for 59 per cent of the total participants reporting an occupation.

TABLE A-I-15

NUMBER OF CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS TO WHICH  
PARTICIPANTS BELONG<sup>a</sup>

<u>Number of Civic Organizations</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
0 . . . . .	12
1 . . . . .	33
2 . . . . .	25
3 or more . . . . .	<u>29</u>
	99%
N = . . . . .	1,505
No answer . . . . .	<u>404</u>
	1,909

<sup>a</sup>Excluding religious organizations related to a specific congregation, formal civic office, informal sociability groups, and adult education groups.

TABLE A-I-16

NUMBER OF EVENINGS PER MONTH SPENT IN  
INFORMAL VISITING AND ENTERTAINING

<u>Number of Evenings</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
0 . . . . .	2
1-4 . . . . .	48
5-8 . . . . .	36
9 or more . . . . .	<u>14</u>
	100%
N = . . . . .	1,772

In brief, majorities of the respondents report that they feel they are real members of their communities; belong to two or more civic organizations (if we assume that all of the no answer respondents to this question belong to none, 43 per cent belong to two or more civic organizations) and get together informally more than once a week.

Religion

Since religious readings bulk large in the repertory of the program, it is of interest to note the religious preferences of the participants. Do the "Thomist" readings tend to attract Roman Catholics, or does St. Augustine pull in extra Protestants? Until recently we have had no reliable religious data on a national sample, but a press handout of the Census Bureau in February, 1958, does give the results of a December, 1957, national sample of 35,000 households. Since education is not controlled in the Census report, we had figures from a 1955 NORC national probability sample tabulated for the religious preferences of "alumni" only. The results are summarized in the following table.

TABLE A-I-17

RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE OF GREAT BOOKS PARTICIPANTS

Religion	U.S. Population 14 & Over, 1958	U.S. Alumni, 1955	Great Books Participants
Protestant .	66	72	62
Catholic . .	26	19	10
Jewish . . .	3	4	15
Other . . .	1	1	1
None . . . .	3	4	12
	99%	100%	100%
N = . . . . .		402	1,752
Uncodeable . . . . .			22
No answer . . . . .			<u>135</u>
			1,909

Certain trends do appear in the table. First, the number reporting "None" is considerably higher in Great Books than among the alumni, who, in turn, are slightly higher than the general population. Second, the proportion of Catholics is lower in Great Books than among the alumni, who are, in turn, lower than the general population. Third, the proportion of Jews is much higher in Great Books than among alumni, who show a slightly greater proportion of Jews than does the general population. Finally, in spite of all these trends, it should be noted the bulk of Great Books participants, as of the other two sample populations, are Protestant.

Now, the reader will remember that there was a heavy concentration of Jews in the largest cities in our sample. Since our sample is biased toward large cities, we have probably overestimated the proportion of Jews in the program and a properly weighted sample would probably bring their proportion down to something more like that of the alumni. This argument, however, works both ways, for Roman Catholics are fairly concentrated in urban areas also. Our guess would be that any sample which eliminated the urban bias would cut the proportion of Roman Catholics too. Balancing all these hypothetical findings

together, our inclination would be to advance the hypothesis that if one controls for educational level, the program as a whole may recruit a somewhat lower proportion of Catholics and a higher proportion of "nones," but that other differences in religious preference are probably minimal.

Political Party Preference

Loyalty to a national political party is important for our analysis, both as an index of some basic ideological positions, and in terms of implications about avenues for "social action" which might be affected by participation in Great Books. In the following table, the party preferences of Great Books members are compared with those of the alumni group of the 1955 NORC study<sup>9</sup> and the general United States adult population from the same NORC national sample.

TABLE A-I-18

PARTY PREFERENCE OF GREAT BOOKS PARTICIPANTS

Preference	U.S. Population	Alumni	Great Books
Democratic	51	36	48
Independent	20	26	10
Republican	29	37	41
	100%	99%	99%
N =	2,235	388	1,811

The trends in the above table are far from clear-cut. The proportion of Republicans increases considerably as one moves from the general population to the alumni and slightly as one moves to Great Books. For the other two allegiances, the trend is not straight. Great Books has more Democrats than the alumni and about the same as the general population; while the program has fewer independents than either comparison sample. To begin with, the proportion of independents may well be a function of question wording in our study as contrasted to the other survey. If, then, we ignore the independents, we find, among the party-identified, more Democrats in Great Books than among the alumni. There are two reasons for this. First, again as we saw in the introduction, our urban bias has probably overestimated the proportion of Democrats in the program as a whole, for in the small towns we find that 52 per cent are Republicans and only 23 per cent in the very large cities. On the other hand, let us examine the relationship between party preference and education. In the following table we see the per cent Democratic by education, for those who reported themselves as either Democrats or Republicans.

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<sup>9</sup> Jacob J. Feldman, Senior Study Director at NORC, was a helpful consultant for these tabulations, as he has been throughout the course of our study.

TABLE A-1-19

EDUCATION AND PARTY PREFERENCE OF  
GREAT BOOKS PARTICIPANTS

Education	Per cent Democratic	* N
Less than high school.	52	( 40)
High school . . . . .	50	(141)
Post high, non-college	48	(100)
Part college . . . . .	43	(408)
Bachelor's . . . . .	44	(403)
Some graduate work . .	46	(266)
Master's degree . . .	53	(193)
Other graduate degree.	55	( 92)
Ph.D. . . . .	62	( 98)

\*Base N in parentheses.

The relationship appears to be "curvilinear." That is, the proportion of Democrats declines steadily as one moves toward the middle of the educational scale from either extreme. Now, compared to the general population Great Books has fewer low educated people, but it has many more highly educated people. The Democrats it loses at the bottom, it may regain at the top. Thus, we doubt that even if a less biased sample raised the proportion of Republicans that it would put them into an over-whelming majority.

In short, the only hypothesis we would hazard is that a compensating process may be at work. The high status level of Great Books participants may raise the proportion of Republicans in comparison with the general population, or even in comparison with alumni. At the same time the disproportionate number of people with graduate training may insure that a fair proportion of Democrats are attracted. The net result of these two tendencies may be to keep a fairly equal balance between adherents of the two parties.

Summary

What are the participants like? They tend to be highly educated, quite married, somewhat female, disproportionately professional men and wives of white collar husbands; infrequently "intellectuals"; under-mobile; possibly disproportionately irreligious; possibly under-proportionally Catholic; sociable; joining Republicans and Democrats.

Where participants can be compared with the national population of college alumni, they tend to accentuate those qualities (mostly associated with high levels of interest and intellectual sophistication) which, in turn, differentiate the alumni from the general population.

In short, the participants are well educated, high status, socially active, youngish adults.

Let us, however, note two things which they are not:

First, our evidence suggests that they are not, despite their high level of education and later data on their intellectual abilities, so immersed in ideas and culture that these have become the center of their lives. The stereotype of the bookish, ivory tower, intellectual, does not apply to these people, most of whom share basic middle class values and few of whom consider themselves as intellectuals. The creative intellectual professions are rare among them, and ties to the world of civic organization and political party are strong.

Second, our evidence suggests that they are not, relative to their society, men and women of high power and influence. A very few "elite" Great Books groups have created the impression that this program reaches into the Olympian heights of money and power in this country. Our data do not support this idea. In the first place, only one out of our 1,909 respondents is a nationally known figure, and that person is in the field of entertainment. In the second place, given a national social structure in which the sources of influence and power are disproportionately concentrated among male businessmen, the tendency for the respondents to be women or male professionals means that few of them are located in the places in the social structure where key community or national decisions are made. In fairness, we should note that relative to the general population, Great Books participants are extremely highly selected in terms of prestige and ability. At the same time, when one considers, as we will throughout this analysis, the ramifications of Great Books experience in the social worlds of the participants, we must bear in mind that the participants tend to be an elite of talent, technical skill, and intellectual training, not an elite of persons in key decision making positions in their community and society.

CHAPTER II

WHAT DO THEY WANT FROM THE PROGRAM?

## Introduction

What do they want from the program? Probably the most important aspect of this question is that we need to ask it. Unlike a course in business English, French cooking, or arc welding, the purposes of an adult program in liberal education are not explicit. Proponents of such programs believe strongly that adult liberal education has purpose and consequence, but these cannot be laid out in a neat outline fashion. To begin with, a good case can be made that the purpose of liberal education is liberal education, not life adjustment or social amelioration. At the same time, it is also firmly believed that the liberally educated man finds his education applicable in all the areas of his life.

One assumption with which we can start is that, for different people, the program will have different purposes. While the content of the readings and the pattern of discussion are a "constant," the needs and life experiences which the members bring to the program are probably the most important factor in determining what purposes they see in it. People come into Great Books with motivations ranging from speed reading to solutions of world problems, and one of the working assumptions of Great Books is that the curriculum and discussion are rich enough and broad enough to meet a great variety of motivations.

Therefore, our approach was to ask the participants what they wanted from the program. On the second page of our questionnaire we listed 23 specific motivations, based on our impressions from pilot studies and conferences with administrators in Great Books and the Fund for Adult Education.

We can begin by looking at the frequency distribution. Right away we notice two characteristics of Table 1, following.

First, motivations other than those included in the list are seldom volunteered by the respondents (10 per cent volunteered an "other" reason). Now, it is never fair to compare the volume of "write-ins" with those items which are listed in a questionnaire, but, in this case, the comparison does seem to warrant the belief that there is probably no really important or frequent motive which is not tapped by our list.

Second, we notice that only one item on the list was checked by a majority, and the bulk were checked by between 10 and 30 per cent. This suggests that our hunch about diversified motivations was probably correct.

Diversity, however, is accompanied by some degree of overlap. The motivations are not mutually exclusive, and the participants tended to check fairly high numbers of motives. (The forty respondents who mentioned only an "other" motive, and five who skipped this page are excluded from Table 2.

TABLE A-II-1

REASONS FOR JOINING GREAT BOOKS

Per cent of respondents checking each purpose as something they "Definitely had in mind as a reason for joining--regardless of whether or not Great Books met this expectation."

Rank	Reason	Per cent Checking (N=1,904) <sup>1</sup>
1)	To learn what the greatest minds in history have to say about the basic issues of life . . . . .	64
2)	Reacquainting myself with a cultural background which had become rusty . . . . .	44
3)	Improving my ability to analyze and criticize arguments . . . . .	42
4)	Escaping the intellectual narrowness of my occupation . . . . .	42
5)	Talking with people who have more intellectual interests than my usual "social" friends . . . . .	40
6)	Improving my reading skills . . . . .	32
7)	Getting a chance to express ideas I had been thinking and reading about . . . . .	30
8)	Escaping the intellectual narrowness of being a housewife . . . . .	30
9)	Improving my taste in fiction and poetry . . . . .	24
10)	Making new friends . . . . .	24
11)	Gaining insight into myself and my personal problems . . . . .	24
12)	Escaping the intellectual narrowness of my community . . . . .	23
13)	Becoming more sure of myself when talking with people of higher intellectual background . . . . .	21
14)	Supplementing an unduly narrow or technical college training . . . . .	21
15)	Gaining a better intellectual background for my participation in community organizations and community affairs . . . . .	19
16)	Developing common interests with my spouse . . . . .	18
17)	Becoming a more effective participant in group discussions outside of Great Books . . . . .	17
18)	Meeting people who are quite different from me . . . . .	16
19)	Finding solutions to contemporary problems . . . . .	15
20)	Other (any specific "write in") . . . . .	10
21)	Improving my ability to carry out my job through the intellectual training of reading Great Books . . . . .	10
22)	Increasing my ability to carry out my job through improving my ability to participate in group discussions . . . . .	8
23)	Developing the ability to lead group discussions outside of Great Books . . . . .	8
24)	Gaining the equivalent of a college education . . . . .	7

<sup>1</sup>Throughout the report, N refers to the base on which the percentages were calculated.

TABLE A-II-2

NUMBER OF MOTIVATIONS CHECKED

Number	Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
1 . . . . .	7	100
2 . . . . .	6	93
3 . . . . .	10	87
4 . . . . .	13	77
5 . . . . .	13	64
6 . . . . .	13	51
7 . . . . .	10	38
8 . . . . .	8	28
9 . . . . .	6	20
10 or more	14	14

Only seven per cent checked a single motive, half checked six or more, and one-fifth checked nine or more. This, in turn, suggests that our approach should consider "complexes" of motives, rather than discrete "reasons." In the following section we shall describe the statistical gyrations which went into the search for "clusters" of motives, and in the final part of this chapter we shall look to see what sorts of people tend to report what sorts of motives.

Cluster Analysis

The statistical method we used to analyze the data on motivations is called "cluster analysis."<sup>2</sup> The procedure involves computing the intercorrelations of all possible pairs of items.<sup>3</sup>

A high coefficient (one which gets near 1.00 in size) indicates that the two motives are closely related; people who check one tend disproportionately to check the other. A "cluster" consists of a set of motives which has the following general properties: a) each motive within the set is highly related to each other, and b) each motive within the set has a relatively lesser relationship with other clusters and with the remaining unclustered motives. The net effect is like a grape arbor, with bunches of motives which hang together, even though they are all on the same vine. By this rather cryptic analogy we mean to stress that our method does not assume that the clusters are "independent" of each other. Rather, even though the whole set has a general tendency for positive interrelationships, the relationships within clusters are higher than the relationships between clusters (grammarians would say "among clusters," but statisticians say "between").

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Robert C. Tryon, Cluster Analysis, Ann Arbor, Michigan, Edwards Bros., 1939.

<sup>3</sup>For the technical reader, we may note that we used "Q" measures of association rather than correlation coefficients in our analysis. Since the technique is essentially "non-parametric" in its logic, we feel no real need to apologize except that the use of non-parametric measures in factor analysis type research seems to be an affect producing activity.

Table 3 presents raw matrix in all its detail.

TABLE A-II-3  
RAW MATRIX

Rank*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
1	-	.236	.496	.189	.264	.215	.380	.038	.232	.073	.527	.155	.240	.141	.392	-.077	.179	.208	.721	.322	.132	.060	.124	
2		-	.254	.125	.225	-.213	.110	.269	.141	.042	.017	.214	-.058	-.252	.157	.184	.078	.206	.164	-.023	.072	.127	-.335	
3			-	.079	.290	.336	.459	.095	.303	.170	.449	.149	.475	.076	.467	.035	.604	.370	.580	.438	.655	.532	.211	
4				-	.261	.042	.167	.216	.218	.190	.198	.539	.294	.391	.160	.147	.091	.142	.178	.249	.182	-.182	.086	
5					-	.123	.303	.294	.301	.235	.323	.514	.437	.120	.272	.137	.248	.568	.227	.136	.220	.008	.282	
6						-	.161	.102	.564	.350	.253	.000	.590	.007	.333	-.031	.421	.223	.141	.354	.419	.316	.286	
7							-	.089	.093	.331	.390	.260	.293	-.043	.357	-.090	.428	.378	.477	.297	.287	.287	.251	
8								-	.147	-.064	.159	.273	.225	-.076	.174	.255	-.077	-.005	.003	-.246	-.502	-.160	.203	
9									-	.382	.301	.273	.604	.200	.382	.078	.375	.348	.229	.320	.324	.022	.402	
10										-	.233	.284	.248	-.018	.164	.013	.262	.505	.165	.155	.310	.079	.124	
11											-	.342	.404	.279	.547	.057	.326	.381	.725	.529	.380	.250	.339	
12												-	.233	.187	.184	.175	.169	.338	.278	.108	-.032	.105	.227	
13													-	.207	.445	.096	.569	.325	.335	.513	.530	.376	.641	
14														-	.223	.065	.186	.149	.172	.329	.401	.070	.141	
15															-	.117	.544	.413	.530	.515	.475	.325	.244	
16																-	.025	.051	.004	.097	.105	.052	.019	
17																	-	.434	.529	.509	.709	.741	.252	
18																		-	.386	.170	.326	-.270	.356	
19																			-	.439	.400	.275	.117	
21																				-	.879	.579	.139	
22																					-	.767	.134	
23																						-	.068	
24																							-	

\*Refers to rank number of the item. See Table A-II-1 for meanings.

We notice that most of the relationships are positive, and range from mild to medium in strength. Analysis of the data indicated four clusters and seven "lone wolf" motives. Details of the analysis are presented in the following table.

TABLE A-II-4

CLUSTER ANALYSIS

Average Q Relationship with

Cluster	Motive**	Cluster A	Cluster B	Cluster C	Cluster D
A	23--Lead outside . . .	.66	.23	.20	-.05
	21--Job via reading.	.60	.45	.33	.14
	22--Job via group . .	.75	.35	.35	.17
	17--Participant out.	.64	.39	.40	.28
	* 3--Analyze . . . . .	.56	*.50	.33	.27
B	11--Insight . . . . .	.39	.60	.32	.35
	15--Background . . . .	.46	.49	.35	.29
	1--Great minds . . . .	.24	.66	.21	.30
	19--Contemporary . . .	.44	.66	.21	.30
C	6--Reading skill . . . .	.37	.24	.48	.11
	9--Taste . . . . .	.27	.29	.52	.31
	13--Sure of self . . . .	.49	.36	.61	.33
	24--College education	.16	.21	.44	.29
D	12--Community, escape	.10	.24	.18	.43
	18--Diff. people . . . .	.21	.35	.31	.45
	5--Intell. people . . . .	.18	.27	.29	.54
None	2--Reacquaint . . . . .	.10	.14	-.12	.22
	4--Escape occ. . . . .	.08	.18	.16	*.31
	7--Express ideas . . . .	.35	.40	.20	.31
	8--Escape, house . . . .	-.18	.09	.17	.19
	10--Make friends . . . .	.20	.16	.28	.34
	14--Narrow college . . .	.21	.20	.14	.15
	16--Spouse . . . . .	.06	.02	.04	.12

\*\*The number refers to the number of the motive, as ranked in Table A-II-1.

Let us look at Table 4, first in terms of technical details, and then in terms of substance. Within each "box" in the table is the average relationship of each motive with the other members of its cluster. Now, if our analysis has succeeded, Table 4 should show two patterns. First, each motivation should show its highest relationships within its own cluster. This is true for each row in the table. Second, reading down the columns, there should be no relationships outside a given box which are higher than those within. Here

we do find one exception. Motive 3 in Cluster A (Improving ability to analyze arguments) has a higher correlation with Cluster B than one of the Bs... (15: Background for participation). However, it has a still higher relationship with its own cluster A and is not a real member of B. We can probably say that this motive tends to overlap both A and B. Motive 4, (Escaping the narrowness of my occupation) was a candidate for Cluster D, but it brought the within-cluster average down too much, so it was left out. With these two exceptions, the pattern is that required by the definition of a cluster.

What, then, do these clusters mean?

#### Cluster A--"Stepping Stone"

The tightest cluster is A, which is made up of the following:

23. Developing the ability to lead group discussions outside of Great Books.
21. Improving my ability to carry out my job through the intellectual training of reading Great Books.
22. Increasing my ability to carry out my job through improving my ability to participate in group discussions.
17. Becoming a more effective participant in group discussions outside of Great Books.

(We excluded Number 3 because of the evidence we found that it may be a fellow traveler in Cluster B.)

What these seem to have in common is a focus on the job and on group discussions outside of the program. Now, we should note that Number 4 (Escaping the intellectual narrowness of my occupation) and Number 10 (Making friends) have quite low relationships with this cluster, so the issue does not seem to be "job" or "groupyness" per se. Rather, it appears to us that what these four motives have in common is a focus on learning specific techniques in Great Books that can be used as a stepping stone for success in other areas. The focus is not intellectual ("Learning what the great minds have to say" has a low relationship with this group), but rather on specific skills and techniques, and--we hate to say it--gimmicks. Cluster A appears to be highly pragmatic. It is also relatively infrequent, containing only motives of rank 17 or lower.

#### Cluster B--"Content"

The four motives in Cluster B are:

1. To learn what the greatest minds in history have to say about the basic issues of life.
11. Gaining insight into myself and my personal problems.
15. Gaining a better intellectual background for my participation in community organizations and community affairs.
19. Finding solutions to contemporary problems.

We have called this cluster "Content" because it seems to focus on the content of the books, and excludes group participation as a means or end. It does involve areas outside the immediate program, like "Stepping Stone," but these are quite intellectual and abstract, definitely not gimmicks. One might think of the "Content" cluster as the official motivation for the program. In its general aspect, motive 1, it is the most common reason; and in its applied areas (self, community, and world) it includes less frequent motives, but not the rare ones which are included in "Stepping Stone."

Cluster C--"Self-Help"

Cluster C includes:

6. Improving my reading skills.
9. Improving my taste in fiction and poetry.
13. Becoming more sure of myself when talking with people of higher intellectual background.
24. Gaining the equivalent of a college education.

One needs little ingenuity to figure out what underlies Cluster C. It is what a nameless consultant to the study calls "They laughed when I sat down at the piano, but were they surprised when I began to talk about Plato," and we have decided to call it "Self-Help." It requires little comment, except to say that it does not include group participation in any form, and its elements have a wide range of frequency, being roughly less frequent as the aims appear more ambitious.

Cluster D--"Cosmopolitanism"

Cluster D is made up of:

5. Talking with people who have more intellectual interests than my usual "social" friends.
12. Escaping the intellectual narrowness of my community.
18. Meeting people who are quite different from me.

As we have noted, a case could be made for the addition of Number 4 (Escaping the intellectual narrowness of my occupation) here, although we chose not to.

Cluster D is made up of pushes and pulls. The push apparently is feelings of boredom and narrowness in the social world of the participants, while the pull is the hope that in the program one can find people who are more alert and intellectual. The elements here are both "social," since meeting people seems to be the cure, and "intellectual," since the lack thereof, appears to be the cause. We felt that "Cosmopolitanism" came pretty close to expressing the theme. Like the "Content" cluster, it includes one high ranking motive and others that are less common.

The remaining lone-wolf motives seem straightforward, and require no further discussion.<sup>4</sup>

These, then, are the clusters of motives we find in our data: 1) "Stepping-Stone"; 2) "Content"; 3) "Self-help"; and 4) "Cosmopolitanism." If you squint a bit intellectually, each appears to have a reasonable psychological unity, and the statistical pattern of Table 4 is fairly respectable, at least from our experience with cluster analyses. We should, however, note two qualifications:

1) These are the clusters of the things we asked about. No doubt, if we had asked different questions, or even slightly different questions, we might have gotten different clusters.

2) The clusters are based on what people say motivated them, not necessarily what really did. Our general impression throughout the survey was that almost all of the respondents tried very hard to tell us the truth, but the human animal has a vast capacity to kid himself and make himself appear in a good light. What really motivates these people is probably beyond the capacity of behavioral science research to measure, but we should also remember that for many purposes conscious and overt motives can be as important as those tucked away in the depth of the unconscious.

How frequent are these motivational clusters in our sample of participants? No clear answer seems possible. If we examine the frequency of the individual items in the clusters, we see a wide range of ranks in Table 1, with the exception of "Stepping Stone," which only includes items of rank 17 or below. Frequency seems related more to the specificity of the motive than to its content. Clusters B, C, and D each include specific motives which are among the first five in the rank order, and we suspect that if we had written a very general item in the style of Cluster A, it might have drawn a much higher number of responses.

The closest we can come to an estimate is to calculate for each cluster the number of persons who checked at least one of the motives in it.

TABLE A-II-5

PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS CHECKING FOR EACH CLUSTER  
AT LEAST ONE MOTIVE

Cluster	Per cent N=1,904
B) Content . . . . .	71
D) Cosmopolitanism .	68
C) Self-Help . . . . .	51
D) Stepping Stone .	28

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<sup>4</sup>An exception: It seems to us that a priori, "Escaping the intellectual narrowness of being a housewife" should belong in "Cosmopolitanism." It just doesn't, and we found no good way to explain this.

By this very rough criterion, "Content" and "Cosmopolitanism" appear to be quite frequent, slightly more than two-thirds of the sample mentioning at least one of the constituent items. "Self-Help" splits the group in half, 51 per cent mentioning one of the motives, 49 per cent not doing so. "Stepping Stone," as the ranks of its specific motives suggest, is quite infrequent.

In the next section of this chapter, we shall switch from the question of absolute frequency to that of relative frequency among different subgroups of participants.

Before we do that, however, let us look at the frequency of the motivational clusters once more, this time in terms of the simultaneous distribution of all four clusters at once. In Table 6, these motivational "types" are arranged in order of their frequency in the sample.

TABLE A-II-6  
 TYPOLOGY OF MOTIVATIONS

Cluster				Number
"Content"	"Cosmopolitanism"	"Self-Help"	"Stepping Stone"	of Cases
+	+	+	-	335
+	+	-	-	328
+	+	+	+	243
-	-	-	-	162
-	+	-	-	143*
+	-	-	-	133*
+	+	-	+	103
+	-	+	-	103
-	+	+	-	101
-	+	+	+	66
-	-	+	-	62*
-	+	-	+	33
+	-	+	+	32
+	-	-	+	24
-	-	+	+	24
-	-	-	+	17*
				1,909

As we would expect from the pattern of low, but positive correlations between the clusters, the respondents show a wide variety of motivational types. "Pure" types (marked with an asterisk) are relatively rare, amounting to 19 per cent, or a little fewer than one out of five participants. Again,

we note the high frequency of "Content" and "Cosmopolitanism." Only 14 per cent of the respondents checked none of the items in either cluster, and a little over half (53 per cent) checked both. Thus, although in the following analysis we shall treat each cluster separately, this is a little artificial, for it is clear that very few of the respondents have a "single" purpose for their participation, but rather, they hope that Great Books can satisfy several types of motivations.

### Subgroup Differences in Motivations

Many of the motives in our list are quite specific and by definition can be found concentrated in a few subgroups in the sample. Thus, it wouldn't tax our IBM machines much to find out that there is a relationship between "Escaping the intellectual narrowness of being a housewife" and sex and marital status. (About 35 per cent of the sample are housewives and 30 per cent of the sample checked this item.) For our more abstract clusters, however, the patterns do not appear to be obvious. Therefore, we examined the statistical relationships between "checking one or more items in a given cluster" and selected social characteristics of the respondents. We shall consider each of our four motivational clusters in turn.

### "Content"

The answer for "Content" is clear...very clear, for it doesn't correlate with anything at all. Actually, there are a few trends: 67 per cent of the infrequent church attenders and 74 per cent of the frequent attenders check at least one "Content" item; the corresponding proportion for "no college" is 68 per cent; for those with graduate training, 72 per cent; for men, 68 per cent; and for women, 73 per cent.

"Content" also has a slight, but fairly consistent relationship with type of community. It was mentioned by 64 per cent in the very big cities; 70 per cent in the suburbs as a whole; 74 per cent in the big cities; and 76 per cent in the small towns. Again, we would predict that the correct weighting of our cases by type of community would raise the overall total checking "Content," although it is equally true that, regardless of the size of the community, "Content" is mentioned by two-thirds or more of the participants, and there is no type of community where it is a "minority" motivation.

Now, while extended statistical magic might produce a few serviceable tables (since women have lower educational levels than men, controlling education would undoubtedly produce a sex difference in favor of the women) the most meaningful conclusion is that in any subgroup created by dividing the participants in terms of age, education, sex, religion, years in the program, scores on measures of intellectual ability, political party preference, etc., etc., one will find very close to 70 per cent mentioning a "Content" motivation.

Now, while candor forces us to admit that if correlations had turned up, we probably could have made good sense out of them, when we turn on our "retrospectoscope" we find that this is not at all surprising. Presumably, "Content" is the basic motivation of the vast bulk of the participants, and there is no reason why, within Great Books, single females or Democrats or Roman Catholics should be more interested or less interested in Great Books in a literal sense. Now, of course, subgroups may be expected to vary to a great extent in what they believe the Great Books say and in terms of how

they use the content they get, but we still remain unperturbed when we are forced to conclude that interest in the Great Books is spread lavishly and randomly throughout the participants, particularly when we remember that failure to check items in the "Content" cluster does not indicate disinterest in "Content," but rather that this was not one of the salient motivations for entering the program.

"Self-Help"

The pattern for the "Self-Help" cluster is equally clear, but instead of no correlations, we find a whole bundle of them. Table 7 summarizes the "zero-order"<sup>5</sup> relationships which are of interest.

TABLE A-II-7

CORRELATES OF "SELF-HELP"

Proportions of sub-classifications who check one or more motives in "Self-Help" cluster

	Per cent	N		Per cent	N
Men . . . .	45	( 692)	Single women . . . .	61	( 169)
Women . . . .	54	(1,184)	Housewives . . . .	53	( 634)
No college . . . .	65	( 297)	Working wives . . . .	47	( 314)
Part college . . . .	62	( 433)	Single men . . . .	46	( 93)
Bachelor's . . . .	47	( 414)	Married men . . . .	46	( 556)
Graduate work . . . .	40	( 682)	<sup>b</sup> High knowledge of liberal arts . . . .	42	( 934)
<sup>a</sup> Medium and low occupational status . . . .	55	( 730)	Low knowledge of liberal arts . . . .	60	( 905)
High occupational status . . . .	47	( 838)	Democrats . . . .	48	( 870)
Foreign born . . . .	45	( 243)	Independents . . . .	50	( 190)
U.S. born . . . .	52	(1,458)	Republicans . . . .	55	( 751)
Catholic . . . .	61	( 168)	<sup>c</sup> High brows . . . .	30	( 262)
Protestant . . . .	51	(1,079)	Educated people . . . .	49	(1,018)
Jewish . . . .	49	( 265)	Serious and low brow . . . .	63	( 515)
None . . . .	43	( 219)			
Years completed in Great Books					
0 . . . .	57	( 746)			
1 & 2 . . . .	51	( 575)			
3 or more . . . .	44	( 451)			

(Base N in parentheses)

<sup>a</sup>This is the status of the occupation of the chief wage earner of the household as rated by the project coders.

<sup>b</sup>This is a test of knowledge of liberal arts and humanities which is the subject of Chapter I of Part B.

<sup>c</sup>This is the "Self-Conception" measure discussed in the previous chapter.

<sup>5</sup>"zero order" relations are relations between two measures, first order relations are relations between two measures with a third held constant, third order relations are relations between two measures with a third and fourth held constant, etc.

We should note that there are also a few characteristics that show little relationship to "Self-Help" as a motive. Among them: frequency of church attendance, age, and intention to continue in the program next year.

In spite of the wide variety in the apparent nature of the characteristics which correlate with the "Self-Help" cluster, the content of Table 7 suggests that most of them are direct or indirect measures of intellectual training and ability. If so, the point is that the people who want intellectual self-help are the people who need it. The relationship between self-help and program exposure is not of this type, however. By and large, there are more people who say they were motivated by needs for self-help in the beginning years than in the advanced years. Now, this suggests two possibilities. Either self-helpers tend to drop out of the program, or more self-helpers are entering proportionally as the years go by, or both.<sup>6</sup>

In order to check our impression that intellectual training or ability is the important variable underlying the "Self-Help" motivation, we re-examined all the original relationships, controlling for education and years of exposure. We chose education as our "quality" variable for three reasons: 1) it is probably quite reliably measured; 2) it is a powerful correlate of all the other measures of intellectual ability; and 3) unlike the test scores it is known by the participant and hence is more likely to influence his conscious motivations. In order to avoid getting entangled in the "drop-out" problem, we will consider only first year participants here.<sup>7</sup>

When we apply education as a control, what happens is that the "social" variables, on the whole tend to evaporate, while the more overtly "intellectual" measures tend to remain related to "Self-Help."

Here is the table for sex and life-cycle role:

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<sup>6</sup>A third possibility is that members tend to forget their original motivations as the years go by, or to re-interpret them. As a matter of fact, most specific motivations tend to decline very slightly with years of exposure. However, since neither "Cosmopolitanism" nor "Content" as clusters show any decline with years of exposure, the decline in "Self-Help" probably cannot be explained as due to a lapse of memory of the original motivations.

<sup>7</sup>Examination of the full tables shows the same trends in general in the advanced years, except that, as is generally true in our analysis, "demographic" relationships are reduced in the advanced years, presumably because program experience tends to "over-ride" initial social differences as time goes on.

TABLE A-II-8

LIFE-CYCLE ROLE AND "SELF-HELP," CONTROLLING  
EDUCATION (1ST YEAR PARTICIPANTS ONLY)

Per cent high on "Self-Help"

Education	Men		Women*		
	Married	Single	Housewives	Working Wives	Single
No college . .	- ( 13)	- ( 5)	77 ( 52)	- (13)	82 (17)**
Part college and A.B.	65 ( 65)	- (15)	58 (153)	58 (36)	81 (32)
Graduate work.	36 (114)	40 (20)	40 ( 42)	36 (28)	38 (24)

(Base N in parentheses)

\*Ex-married women are excluded because of small number of cases.

\*\*We broke our rule of not percentaging fewer than 20 cases here because of the deviant trend in this group.

Where there are enough cases to compute a percentage, we see only the most minuscule differences along the row representing a given education level. An exception, however, appears among the single women in the part college and A.B. level. They still show a strikingly high disproportion. The sample size is a little awkward, for 32 cases are too many to dismiss with a wave of the hand, but not enough to generate true confidence in the findings. Since in the other two educational levels, the single women behave like the others, we are inclined to reject the difference as a fluke. Now it is still a matter of fact that housewives are more likely to be motivated by self-help than their husbands, but we may presume that this is due to their educational level, not any intrinsic aspect of their lot in life.

Similarly, the apparent trends by social status and religion can be explained by educational differences. We shall not present the tables here, but examination of the data indicated that people with high status jobs or wives whose husbands have high status jobs also tend to have high educations, and within an educational level there is no relationship between job status and self-help. This tends to reinforce our inference that "social mobility" motivations *per se* are not terribly strong in the program. One might expect the low educated person of high occupational status to be higher on "Self-Help" than the low educated person of lower status, but there is no reliable trend in this direction.

In the same fashion, Protestants, Jews, and "Nones" tend to have graduate training more often than Catholics, and when this is controlled, the religious difference ceases. As for political party, there may be a trend for Republicans with graduate work to be higher on "Self-Help" than Democrats at that educational level, but in the middle educational level (which includes the bulk of the participants) there is no party difference.

One social difference, however, does not fade away when we divide the participants by educational level. This is "generation" or nativity, and it

is interesting to note that this is about the only place in our entire survey where this measure has any important relationship with any aspect of Great Books.<sup>8</sup>

We classified the respondents as first, second, third or fourth generation, depending on whether they, their parents, their grandparents, or none of these were foreign born. The following table contrasts first generation, second generation, and those with one foreign born parent with all others of longer historical ties to this country.

TABLE A-II-9  
 GENERATION AND "SELF-HELP," CONTROLLING  
 EDUCATION AND EXPOSURE  
 Per cent high on "Self-Help"

Years of Great Books Completed	Education	Older Americans	Newer Americans
0	No college	77 ( 65)	65 (52)
	Part college & A.B.	64 (238)	54 (93)
	Graduate study	41 (172)	35 (78)
(Base N in parentheses)			

What happens is that within the first year participants, there is a distinct tendency for "Older Americans" to be higher on "Self-Help" than "Newer Americans." This relationship tends to disappear in the advanced years. We think that what Table 9 really tells us is something about the nature of the "Newer Americans" in Great Books rather than about "Self-Helpers." They are not the culturally underprivileged (35 per cent in the first year have graduate training, as compared with 36 per cent of the older Americans) one associates with the term "first and second generation." Just as the entire group does not appear highly mobile occupationally, as we noted above, our guess would be that "Newer Americans" are recruited not from those seeking "Americanization," but from those who come from, if anything, cultural backgrounds superior to that of "Older Americans." From any point of view, the tendency for the relationship to disappear after the first year argues that it is not a major axis of social cleavage in the program. If we may assume that "Self-Helpers" tend to drop out, the generational difference appears to be eliminated by the end of the first year.

By and large, it seems fair to say that the only important social correlate of "Self-Help" is education. Now, as we remarked above, education is somewhat ambiguous when one comes to pinpoint exactly what the variable "educational attainment" measures. It may well measure intellectual performance

<sup>8</sup>There is one exception. Our measure of "classical music sophistication," which is one of the work horses in Chapter I of Part B, shows a definitely higher level of musical familiarity among the newer Americans, which is consistent with our conclusions in the following paragraphs. Music, although important in our statistical analysis, is, however, peripheral from the viewpoint of the program.

level (we need not assume that this is necessarily "learning," of course, for college students are highly selected on native ability) or it may measure the comforting or discomfoting fact that a college degree is a sort of union card for the contemporary American middle class. The introduction of two other variables--knowledge scores and self-conceptions--may help us to understand more about the meaning of education as an index.

Our measure of "knowledge" is a cartoon quiz which is considered in exhaustive, and exhausting detail in Chapter I of Part B. For the moment, all we need to know is that a) it measures knowledge of Great Bookish topics and b) respondents do not know what scores they got. Table 10 shows the mutual relations of education and knowledge scores in the first year participants.

TABLE A-II-10

KNOWLEDGE AND "SELF-HELP," CONTROLLING  
EDUCATION

Per cent (First Year Participants) high on  
"Self-Help" knowledge score

Education	Knowledge Score		
	Bottom Quartile	Middle Half	Top Quartile
No college . . . . .	94 ( 63)	60 ( 40)	- ( 3)
Part college & A.B..	60 (110)	63 (179)	51 ( 35)
Graduate work . . . .	48 ( 54)	34 (140)	49 ( 52)
(Base N in parentheses)			

What really happens in Table 10 is that the two variables--education and knowledge--tend to wash each other out. Knowledge scores make a consistent difference only in the non-college group, and college makes a real difference only in the bottom quartile of the knowledge measure (except for the effect of graduate school in middle knowledge scores). If, of course, we assume that the knowledge test measures the sort of help the "Self-Helpers" have in mind (and the 94 per cent who are high on "Self-Help" in the bottom-quartile--no-college group is of some comfort here) we may assume that college is related to this motive both "objectively" and "subjectively."

We can get to this same destination by comparing education with self-conception--a more subjective, rather than a more objective, variable.

The correlation between education and self-conception is so high that we can only really work down the middle aisles here. However, we do note that among those who consider themselves either "Intellectuals" or "Serious and Low Brow," education makes little or no difference in "Self-Help" motivations. If anything, Tables 10 and 11, considered jointly, impel us ever so gently toward thinking of education's relationship to "Self-Help" as being

toward the subjective rather than performance pole, although the fairest conclusion is that education is both an index of intellectual performance and a basis of social assurance.

TABLE A-II-11.

SELF-CONCEPTION AND "SELF-HELP," CONTROLLING EDUCATION

Per cent (First Year Participants) high on "Self-Help"

Education	Self-Conception		
	"Intellectual"	"Educated"	"Serious" & "Low Brow"
No college . . . . .	- ( 3)	68 ( 22)	74 (87)
Part college & A.B..	32 (25)	58 (214)	81 (75)
Graduate work . . . .	35 (51)	40 (174)	- (17)
(Base N in parentheses)			

In summary, the social subgroups differ quite a bit in the relative proportions who are motivated by needs in the "Self-Help" cluster. Further analysis, however, indicates that, with the single exception of "generation" (which we think reflects early cultural background, not "ethnic differences"), all these differences are due to differences in level of formal education. Further analysis of education itself suggests that it reflects both the true situation in terms of realistic differences in intellectual abilities and interests, and also taps insecurities related to the social thermometer of educational degrees.

"Cosmopolitanism"

Who are the "Cosmopolitans," or would-be "Cosmopolitans," the people who want to escape intellectual narrowness through meeting more stimulating people? Then tend to be 1) youngish; 2) of high occupational status; 3) high education; 4) Republicans; and 5) from small towns. However, this list is somewhat deceptive as we shall see when we turn to the "partials."

In the first place, age washes out education, one of the few times in our survey where education is elbowed aside by a crass demographic variable.

TABLE A-II-12

EDUCATION AND "COSMOPOLITANISM," CONTROLLING AGE

Per cent high on "Cosmopolitanism"

Age	Education		
	No College	Part College & A.B.	Graduate Work
Under 34 .	75 ( 64)	73 (352)	73 (239)
35-44 . .	71 ( 92)	66 (256)	79 (223)
45+ . . .	58 (134)	62 (229)	59 (213)
(Base N in parentheses)			

In spite of the fact that there is a slight but steady increase of "Cosmopolitanism" with education (from 66 to 71 per cent) in the general group, within an age bracket there is no consistent pattern, there being a fairly strong negative relationship between age and education (as there is in the general U.S. population). Within each educational group, however, the participants who are 45 years old and over are definitely lower, and the 35-44, somewhat lower than the tads under 34 years of age.

The remaining interrelations can be teased out of Table 13, into which we have inserted frequency of church attendance, for devious purposes of our own, although it has no zero order relationship with "Cosmopolitanism."

TABLE A-II-13

AGE, OCCUPATIONAL STATUS, CHURCH ATTENDANCE, PARTY  
PREFERENCE, AND "COSMOPOLITANISM"

Per cent reporting "Cosmopolitanism" as a motive

Age <sup>a</sup>	Occupational Status <sup>b</sup>	Church Attendance <sup>c</sup>	Party Preference <sup>d</sup>	Per cent High on "Cosmopolitanism"	N
Young	High	Frequent	Democrats	74	108
Young	High	Frequent	Republicans	78	115
Young	High	Infrequent	Democrats	76	132
Young	High	Infrequent	Republicans	77	69
Young	Low	Frequent	Democrats	79	117
Young	Low	Frequent	Republicans	84	147
Young	Low	Infrequent	Democrats	67	195
Young	Low	Infrequent	Republicans	76	96
Older	High	Frequent	Democrats	44	34
Older	High	Frequent	Republicans	74	51
Older	High	Infrequent	Democrats	43	35
Older	High	Infrequent	Republicans	41	22
Older	Low	Frequent	Democrats	48	88
Older	Low	Frequent	Republicans	59	103
Older	Low	Infrequent	Democrats	64	63
Older	Low	Infrequent	Republicans	67	48
					1,423

<sup>a</sup>Young = under 45, Older = 45 or more

<sup>b</sup>High status, as in Table 6 of this chapter.

<sup>c</sup>"Frequent" = "Regularly" and "Fairly Regularly."  
"Infrequent" = "Occasionally," "Seldom," or "Never."

<sup>d</sup>Independents have been excluded because of the small number of cases.

The trends in Table 13 are, to say the least, not self-evident. Let us consider each of our variables in turn, beginning with age. (The abbreviations should be obvious from Table 13.)

TABLE A-II-13a

AGE BY OCCUPATIONAL STATUS, CHURCH ATTENDANCE,

PARTY PREFERENCE, AND "COSMOPOLITANISM"

Per cent reporting "Cosmopolitanism" as  
a motive

Status	Church	Party	Age	
			Older	Younger
High	F	D	44%	74%
High	F	R	74	78
High	I	D	43	76
High	I	R	41	77
Low	F	D	48	79
Low	F	R	59	84
Low	I	D	64	67
Low	I	R	67	76

In each of the eight subgroups, the older participant is less likely to be motivated by "Cosmopolitanism." Now, let us consider party preference in a corresponding way.

TABLE A-II-13b

PARTY PREFERENCE BY AGE, OCCUPATIONAL STATUS,

CHURCH ATTENDANCE, AND "COSMOPOLITANISM"

Per cent reporting "Cosmopolitanism" as a  
motive

Age	Status	Church	Democrats	Republicans
Y	High	F	74%	78%
Y	High	I	76	77
Y	Low	F	79	84
Y	Low	I	67	76
O	High	F	44	74
O	High	I	43	41*
O	Low	F	48	59
O	Low	I	64	67

\*With the single exception marked by an asterisk, in each subgroup, Republicans are more likely to report "Cosmopolitanism" than Democrats.

Next comes status:

TABLE A-II-13c

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS BY AGE, CHURCH ATTENDANCE, PARTY PREFERENCE, AND "COSMOPOLITANISM"

Per cent reporting "Cosmopolitanism" as a motive

Age	Church	Party	Status	
			High	Low
Y	F	D	74%	79%
Y	F	R	78	84
Y	I	D	76	67
Y	I	R	77	76
O	F	D	44	48
O	F	R	74	59
O	I	D	43	64
O	I	R	41	67

There is neither a consistent trend here, nor any patterning which would suggest that the status difference holds within certain subgroups. The reason is apparently that in this sample younger people, who are higher on "Cosmopolitanism," have better jobs than older people. Probably because of the "curvilinear" relationship between party preference and education, we find no relationship between social status and Republicanism, an event which puts our study in a very infrequent category in political research.

TABLE A-II-13d

OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE, AGE, AND

POLITICAL PREFERENCE

Per cent with high prestige

Age	Democrats	Republicans
Under 45	44 (552)	43 (427)
45 or more	31 (220)	33 (224)
(Base N in parentheses)		

Finally, let us look at church attendance.

TABLE A-II-13e

CHURCH ATTENDANCE BY AGE, OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

PARTY PREFERENCE, AND "COSMOPOLITANISM"

Per cent reporting "Cosmopolitanism" as a motive

Age	Status	Party	Church Attendance	
			Frequent	Infrequent
Y	High	D	74%	76%*
Y	High	R	78	77
Y	Low	D	79	77
Y	Low	R	84	76
O	High	D	44	43
O	High	R	74	41
O	Low	D	48	63*
O	Low	R	59	67*

\*The pattern here also is random, with higher "Cosmopolitanism" among the infrequent attenders in the three cases marked with an asterisk, and the opposite trend among the remaining five.

In Table 13 and its awkward offspring, we ignored community types, limiting our attention only to characteristics of the person himself. Since, however, there are more Republicans in the suburbs and small towns, it may be that the party difference is a spurious one. Let us then consider age, party preference, type of community, and "Cosmopolitanism."

TABLE A-II-14

AGE, PARTY PREFERENCE, TYPE OF COMMUNITY, AND

"COSMOPOLITANISM"

Per cent high on "Cosmopolitanism"

Community	Party	Age		
		Under 35	35-44	45 or more
Very large and large city	D	70 (141)	67 (142)	55 (138)
	R	79 (90)	71 (63)	61 (.87)
Suburbs	D	71 (129)	74 (92)	53 (81)
	R	73 (111)	73 (116)	64 (118)
Small town	D	79 (33)	73 (37)	60 (25)
	R	81 (32)	89 (44)	74 (50)

(Base N in parentheses)

All three characteristics appear to contribute to "Cosmopolitanism." In each of the six rows the group under 35 is higher on "Cosmopolitanism" than the over 45s, and in four out of six the 35-44s are in the middle. With only one small exception (35-44 in the suburbs) Republicans are more interested in "Cosmopolitanism" than Democrats, even when one controls for age and city size, both of which are related to party preference. Likewise, in each case the small town participant is more likely to report this motive than the person from the big city, and the suburbanite tends to fall between them.

The three variables jointly produce a range from 55 per cent high among older, big city Democrats to more than 80 per cent among young, small town Republicans, although we should note that in every cell in the table, "Cosmopolitanism" is in the majority. There is no subgroup which is "low" on this motivation, but they do differ in how high they are.

The relationship with city size appears obvious, the need for "Cosmopolitanism" decreasing with the cosmopolitanism of the community. (We should make clear, for the record, that we named this cluster before we knew of this correlation.) Likewise, the fact that younger people are higher seems reasonable either because of their generally higher interest in new stimuli or the fact that their social worlds are less structured and they are more "ready" to find the new friends which are the cure defined in the cluster.

What is somewhat interesting, however, is that, of the three, probably party preference is the strongest predictor, in the sense that it shows the fewest and smallest exceptions in the table. Now, we do have some evidence that Republicanism is associated with social conservatism in our sample and in the general population. However, the failure of social status or church attendance to correlate here suggests that this is a blind alley, since both of these are also indexes of social conservatism. Although we have had to wrestle with it to wring out any coherent interpretations, one of the striking aspects of these data is the frequency with which political preference is related to intellectual interests and orientations, independent of the background variables of education and social status. We shall see much more of the same in Chapters I and II of Part B.

### "Stepping Stone"

The motivations we have called "Stepping Stone" revolve around the aim of learning techniques which can be applied in specific areas outside of Great Books. These are, as we noted, rather infrequent among the program's participants. Further analysis shows that, like "Self-Help," and unlike "Content" or "Cosmopolitanism," "Stepping Stone" is reported less frequently in the advanced years--a situation which hints that it may be associated with dropping out of the program.

In terms of its subgroup associations, we find these aims more common among: a) those with weaker ties to the family and b) highly educated people in lower status jobs. As with "Content," we shall consider only first year participants here.

TABLE A-II-15

LIFE CYCLE ROLE AND "STEPPING STONE"

(FIRST YEAR PARTICIPANTS)

Per cent high on "Stepping Stone"

Status	Men		Women		
	Married	Single	Housewives	Working Wives	Single & Ex-Married
Low . .	40 (101)	50 (26)	32 (123)	38 (48)	43 (96)
High .	28 (86)	- (12)	23 (120)	42 (26)	- (6)

(Base N in parentheses)

Among the men this motive is more common among the single males (the number of cases is too small in the high status group to repeat the comparison there). Among the women, working wives tend to be higher than housewives in both status levels, and in the low status level (the only place we have a reasonable number of cases) non-married women are even higher. Despite the small number of cases in crucial cells, the variable does not appear to reflect "working" per se, for just as many married men work as single men, the working wives are about as frequently employed as the non-married women. Rather, Table 15 suggests that "family responsibilities" may be a variable. Those who are most tied to their own families and homes appear least interested in the program as a "Stepping Stone" to success in the occupational and organizational world. We also notice, among the married men and housewives, a status difference; those who already have good jobs or are married to men with good jobs being less interested in this motive. The following table gives further detail on this variable.

TABLE A-II-16

STATUS, EDUCATION, AND "STEPPING STONE"

Per cent high on "Stepping Stone"

Status	Education		
	No college	Part College & A.B.	Graduate Work
High . . .	30 (20)	29 (112)	29 (125)
Low . . .	29 (89)	39 (204)	44 (110)

Base N in parentheses

Table 16 helps us to specify the status relationship a little. We find that the status difference varies with the respondent's educational level. Among the no college group there is no status difference, among the middle educational group there is a moderate difference, and among the graduate group, a high difference. This suggests that the "Stepping Stone" aspiration is concentrated among those with high education, but less prestigious jobs, a group

which may be assumed to have both a high drive for advancement in job and community and sufficient intellectual background not to feel threatened by Great Books as too difficult. Again, we must note that Table 16 reinforces our general impression that mobility drives, in the Horatio Alger sense, are not endemic in the program, and only seem to turn up in special circumstances such as those hinted at by Table 16.

Since this cluster is fairly infrequent we need not pursue its analysis in finer detail, except to note that probably "Stepping Stone" motivations may be concentrated among those who, freed from family ties, seem to see a gap between their aspirations and their level of educational training.

### Summary

What do the participants want out of Great Books? Different people seem to want different things, and most people seem to want several things. Therefore, we can think of the motives as being varied and complex.

Statistical analysis of the motivations reported by the participants indicated that we could think of four major clusters of motives which tend to be internally correlated but weakly related to other clusters. We gave the four the names of: 1) "Content," 2) "Self-Help," 3) "Cosmopolitanism," and 4) "Stepping Stone," to indicate our impression that they involved: 1) interest in the content of the readings, 2) desires to make up for deficits in cultural background, 3) hopes of meeting intellectual people in order to escape a dull community or social world, and 4) aims of learning specific skills to apply in job or community organization. In terms of frequency, "Content" and "Cosmopolitanism" (in one or another of their specific motive forms) seem characteristic motives of most of the group; "Self-Help" is sought by about one-half; and only a few see Great Books as a "Stepping Stone."

We also explored differences in the motivations of specific social subgroups and categories within the sample. Although correlations turned up, our general impression is that, except for "Self-Help" the differences are not terribly important. Every type of motive is found in every type of participant, and the differences we find are those of emphasis and shading. When we also consider that people tend to report multiple rather than single motivations, we would be hard put to find social groups or categories that have radically different motivations up and down the line. The odds are pretty much that, as they sit around the table, in spite of any differences in sex, job, religion, age, generation, etc., most of the people will be talking with others who have pretty much the same aims, and very seldom will they be talking across the table to someone who has a radically different conception of the purposes of the program.

In terms of specific motives, we found no correlates of "Content," which we interpreted as meaning that this motivation is probably endemic in the population. "Self-Help" is associated with a large number of variables (life cycle role, religion, party preference, etc.); but when the data is put through the statistical wringer the answer seems to be that level of formal education, which appears to be both an index of intellectual prowess and cerebral subjective self-confidence, accounts for almost all of these differences. "Cosmopolitanism" is definitely related to both youth, Republicanism, and type of community. Finally, "Stepping Stone" motivations appear more common among those who are freed from family obligations and have lower social status, despite higher education.

CHAPTER III

WHAT DO THEY SAY THEY GET FROM THE PROGRAM?

Introduction

In a sense, all of the remaining pages of this report are devoted to answers to the question, "What do the participants get from participating in Great Books?" Part B of the report, which follows this chapter, is devoted to the analysis of participants' scores on certain tests and statistical measures which attempt to assess effects. In this chapter, however, the data consist of the participants' own beliefs about the effects of participation.

From a technical point of view the materials reported here are neither "objective" nor "valid" in the sense that thermometers are objective and valid measures of temperature. Presumably, very few of the respondents would stay in the program if they didn't believe it had some effect, and fewer yet would care to put themselves in the dilemma of saying that they loved Great Books but weren't getting anything out of it. We feel, however, that both types of evidence are necessary for a full understanding of the program. In the first place, as we have already seen, the motivations of the members are diverse and complex and, unlike many programs, the aims of the Great Books program are really defined by the motivations of the participants. If such be the case, it seems reasonable to see how the participants evaluate their success in meeting the goals they have described. In the second place, since Great Books is a totally voluntary organization, its continuance is dependent on the belief of its members--whether correct or not--that it is a worthwhile organization. Lastly, ignoring the absolute "level" of effects reported, a comparison of subgroups which are relatively high and low on reported effects may yield information about the differential impact of participation for different groups.

This chapter is divided into two parts. In the first part, we shall examine the "general impact" of the program. In the second, we shall look again at the 23 specific motivations described in the preceding chapter. Previously we looked at the 23 items as motivations for joining the program. Now we shall look at these same items but in terms of whether the respondent feels them to be an effect of participation in the program.

Impact

Toward the end of our questionnaire, we asked the following:

"On the whole, which of the following best describes your feeling about Great Books?"

The distribution of responses is as follows:

TABLE A-III-1

IMPACT

<u>Answer</u>	<u>Per cent</u>	<u>N</u>
It is a marvelous program and has had a genuine impact on me	42	762
It is a fine thing and I enjoy it very much, but I can't say it has changed me very much . . . . .	55	987
I have enjoyed some parts of it, but on the whole I haven't gotten much out of it . . . . .	3	56
I haven't gotten anything at all out of Great Books . . . . .	0	0
	100%	1,805
Not a member, just visiting . . . . .		11
No answer . . . . .		93
		<u>1,909</u>

The sampled participants do not appear to be a sullen and disappointed group. Nearly half of them claim that the program has had "a genuine impact," and not a single one said that he had gotten nothing at all out of Great Books! Our impact thermometer seems to be graded only from high to extremely high. Clearly, the participants are pleased with the program. Nevertheless, we must note the following qualification. Unlike almost anything else which is of serious educational intent, Great Books is deliberately very low in paraphernalia which would tend to bind the less-than-enthusiastic member. There is no tuition, no certificate of accomplishment, no degree, no teacher, no monitor to take attendance, and no fixed terminal date. Thus, for the person who dislikes either the readings or the group or both, there is absolutely nothing to keep him in the program. It may be, then, that the program contains no sizeable group of less-than-enthusiasts, not only because it creates high levels of enthusiasm, but also because it loses the non-enthusiast completely. In short, Great Books may be the sort of thing that one either likes very much, or, if not, quickly severs connections with.

One cleavage is apparent, however. While everyone believes that the program is a fine thing, the respondents can be divided into 42 per cent who claim that it has "had a genuine impact on me" and 58 per cent of equally admiring ones who, nevertheless, do not report that they have been changed much. We shall call the first "high impact" and the latter "low impact." Thus, what began as a measure of degree of favorableness toward the program turned out to discriminate only between high and low impact groups in a sample which is almost 100 per cent favorable.<sup>1</sup>

Who are the people who report high impact?

The two best predictors are the respondent's level of formal education and his number of years of exposure to the program.

TABLE A-III-2

EDUCATION, EXPOSURE, AND IMPACT

Per cent reporting high impact

Years Completed	Less Than College Graduate	College Graduate
0 . . .	40 (265) *	21 (398) *
1 and 2	55 (206)	36 (343)
3 or more	69 (167)	56 (255)

\* Throughout the report, N refers to the base on which the percentages were calculated.

<sup>1</sup>In such situations, the researcher often prefers to use an index based on several questions, rather than a single item. However, since the question is rather straightforward and there is no reason to look for any hidden depths of meaning, we felt that the single question was appropriate. Our analysis suggests that an index based on this question, in combination with the "adherence index" described in Chapter I, Part B, gives just about the same conclusions as this single item.

Both factors contribute to impact, resulting in a range from 21 per cent among the first year college graduates to 69 per cent among the advanced year non-graduates. We notice, too, that impact starts early, nearly half reporting impact in the first year, non-college group, and increases steadily with years of exposure. Whether this is due to increasing impact with increased exposure, or to a tendency for the low impact group to leave the program, we do not know. It is probably not a simple function of selective dropping out, we believe, since education is so highly related to impact that a high correlation between impact and dropping out would result in a changing education distribution of members in advanced years. Our sample, however, shows no difference in the educational levels of the different exposure groups. At the same time, impact does have a high correlation with plans to continue. It seems safe, therefore, to ignore exposure from here on in, except as a control for other variables.

Education is a somewhat more elusive problem. To begin with, the "zero order" data suggest that the determinant is not the "degree" thereof but the presence or absence of the bachelor's degree.

TABLE A-III-3

EDUCATION AND IMPACT

Per cent reporting high impact

<u>Education</u>	<u>Per cent</u>	<u>N</u>
No college . .	52	(280)
Part college . .	52	(411)
Bachelor's . .	35	(402)
Graduate work . .	36	(663)

The foregoing table suggests, as in Chapter II, that education here may be an index of a self-definition rather than a measure of pure intellectual ability and training. In our previous grapplings with this problem, we used "self-conception" and scores on our measure of knowledge of the liberal arts and humanities as test variables. Their contribution to the present situation is presented in the following two tables.

TABLE A-III-4

EDUCATION, SELF-CONCEPTION, EXPOSURE, AND IMPACT

Per cent High Impact

<u>Exposure</u>	<u>Education</u>	<u>Self-Conception</u>		
		<u>Intellectual</u>	<u>Educated</u>	<u>Other</u>
0 . .	A.B. or more	22 (63)	20 (291)	31 ( 36)
	Less than A.B.	- (13)	39 (102)	39 (146)
1 & 2 .	A.B. or more	40 (62)	32 (226)	45 ( 47)
	Less than A.B.	- (18)	46 ( 66)	61 (117)
3 or more	A.B. or more	60 (52)	55 (170)	52 ( 23)
	Less than A.B.	65 (20)	71 ( 62)	68 ( 80)

TABLE A-III-5

EDUCATION, KNOWLEDGE SCORES, EXPOSURE, AND IMPACT

Per cent high impact

Exposure	Education	Low Knowledge	High Knowledge
0	A.B. or more	24 (182)	18 (211)
	Less than A.B.	41 (201)	39 ( 54)
1 & 2	A.B. or more	31 (137)	39 (202)
	Less than A.B.	50 (115)	62 ( 79)
3 or more	A.B. or more	51 ( 68)	58 (182)
	Less than A.B.	73 ( 60)	68 ( 99)

Within a given education and exposure group, neither subjective definitions nor objective test scores have anything to do with impact. The relationship appears to be a function of some completely pure essence of education which is uncontaminated by how-much-you-actually-know, or how-much-you-think-you-know. Education is a very strong predictor of impact, but we have no idea of what the "meaning" of the relationship is. Let us then pass on to some other correlates, which, while not always statistically powerful, at least have the property of making sense.

We can begin with the sort of "social categories" which we considered in Chapter I. By and large, they are unimportant for impact. Religious preference, party preference, sex, marital status, type of community, frequency of church attendance, etc., have no consistent pattern of relationship with impact when education and years of exposure have been controlled. Two variables, however, do show some relationship. They are age, and prestige of the occupation of the head of the household. Younger people and higher status people are a little less likely to report high impact.

TABLE A-III-6

AGE, EDUCATION, EXPOSURE, AND IMPACT

Per cent reporting high impact

Exposure	Education	Age	
		Under 35	35 or Older
0	A.B. or more	18 (207)	23 (188)
	Less than A.B.	37 ( 98)	47 (162)
1 & 2	A.B. or more	34 (158)	39 (181)
	Less than A.B.	50 ( 66)	62 (128)
3 or more	A.B. or more	48 ( 50)	58 (204)
	Less than A.B.	*73 ( 22)	69 (141)

TABLE A-III-7

OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE OF HEAD OF THE HOUSEHOLD,  
EDUCATION, EXPOSURE, AND IMPACT

Exposure	Education	Status	
		Lower	Higher
0	A.B. or more	23 (202)	18 (175)
	Less than A.B.	42 (180)	38 ( 64)
1 & 2	A.B. or more	39 (170)	36 (157)
	Less than A.B.	57 (139)	44 ( 48)
3 or more	A.B. or more	62 (119)	50 (116)
	Less than A.B.	71 (122)	*74 ( 31)

With the two exceptions marked with an asterisk, there is a general tendency within each educational and exposure cell for older people and for lower status people to report higher impact. At the same time, we should note that neither of these trends is as "strong" as those associated with education and exposure. The impact proportions of a given age group are much more like their associates of the same education and exposure than like people of the same age in a different educational or exposure level.

Although when we bear down hard on it, as we did in Tables 4 and 5, we may find that it will not carry our weight. We would suggest the following: The fact that older people, less educated people, and lower status people tend to report higher impact suggests that the major variable in impact is the contrast between the cultural stimulation of the program and the intellectual stimulation of the respondent's natural habitat. Many surveys have shown that younger people, higher status people, and highly educated people tend disproportionately to read, to be well informed, to be up on things, and to have wider contacts.

Another way of saying much the same thing is to note that "Content" type variables have little to do with impact. Although specific content--like, say, Thomism--is an important part of the readings, Protestants, Catholics, Jews, and non-religionists are about equally likely to report high impact. Again, political philosophy is important in the readings, but people of all ideological leanings report high impact. In short, we would guess that what gives the program its "impact" is its general purpose of exposure to intellectual materials, and that specific issues, values, positions, and prejudices have little to do with differences in impact. By and large, the people who report high impact are those for whom we may expect that the program presents the greatest contrast with their everyday situation, regardless of the specific content involved.

We get to the same destination from a different starting point by looking at the relationships between motivations and impact. In the previous chapter, we noted the multiplicity and heterogeneity of motives reported by the respondents and made use of some statistical clusters to summarize the patterns. In the following table impact levels are tabulated for the clusters discussed above.

TABLE A-III-8

MOTIVATIONS, EDUCATION, EXPOSURE, AND IMPACT

Per cent reporting high impact

Exposure	Education	"Cosmopolitanism"		"Content"		"Self-Help"		"Stepping Stone"	
		Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
0	) A.B. or more	24 (285)	15 (113)	23 (304)	16 ( 94)	25 (179)	18 (210)	21 (137)	*21 (261)
	) Less than A.B.	44 (180)	32 ( 85)	43 (198)	31 ( 67)	44 (187)	29 ( 78)	45 ( 93)	*54 (119)
1 & 2	) A.B. or more	37 (246)	33 ( 97)	41 (227)	27 (116)	35 (148)	*37 (195)	36 ( 90)	*36 (253)
	) Less than A.B.	58 (130)	49 ( 76)	55 (138)	54 ( 68)	57 (129)	51 ( 77)	60 ( 45)	53 (161)
3 or more	) A.B. or more	58 (173)	52 ( 82)	60 (179)	46 ( 76)	63 ( 91)	52 (164)	70 ( 57)	52 (198)
	) Less than A.B.	72 (112)	62 ( 55)	68 (117)	*70 ( 50)	72 ( 97)	64 ( 70)	72 ( 39)	68 (128)

Table 8 is actually four tables in one and is not as forbidding as it looks. It simply compares the reported impact of people who do and do not report specific clusters, but the comparisons are made for people who are "matched" on education and exposure. Thus, in the one and two year exposure group, among the highly educated, 41 per cent of those who wanted "Content" report high impact, while 27 per cent of those who did not want "Content" report high impact. There are 24 cells in the table, and in all but five (marked with an asterisk) those who are cluster members report higher impact than those who aren't. "Stepping Stone," as we would expect from the previous chapter, is probably an exception to this, but for the other three clusters the trend is clear.

When we contrast "Cosmopolitanism," "Self-Help," and "Content," we find no real difference in impact among them. Table 9 winnows the necessary figures from Table 8.

TABLE A-III-9

MOTIVATIONS, EDUCATION, EXPOSURE, AND IMPACT

Per cent reporting high impact, (for those who reported one or more items in a cluster)

Exposure	Education	"Cosmopolitanism"	"Content"	"Self-Help"
0	A.B. or more	24	23	25
	Less than A.B.	44	43	44
1 & 2	A.B. or more	37	41	35
	Less than A.B.	58	55	57
3 or more	A.B. or more	58	60	63
	Less than A.B.	72	68	72

Tables 9 and 10 together suggest that, as far as impact is concerned, it makes no difference which of the modal motivations one has, but that people who want from the program the effects in one or another of the clusters report higher impact. There are two ways of thinking about this. On the one hand, it may be that the underlying factor is the sheer degree of motivation, and that people who report many goals, regardless of what they are, will report higher impact. It could also be that this is limited to the "modal" motivations and that sheer quantity of motivation won't increase impact if these motivations differ from that of the bulk of the participants. We can get an indirect purchase on these by looking at the relative effect of a) sheer number of motivations from the original 23 items, and b) number of modal clusters.

TABLE A-III-10  
 NUMBER OF MOTIVATIONS AND IMPACT, CONTROLLING  
 EDUCATION AND EXPOSURE  
 Per cent high impact

Exposure	Education	Number of Motives Checked		
		0-3	4-6	7 or more
0	A.B. or more	14 ( 73)	21 (161)	24 (163)
	Less than A.B.	24 ( 50)	41 ( 92)	47 (122)
1 & 2	A.B. or more	33 ( 95)	*32 (130)	43 (118)
	Less than A.B.	50 ( 54)	56 ( 78)	58 ( 73)
3 or more	A.B. or more	42 ( 79)	61 (104)	65 ( 72)
	Less than A.B.	68 ( 54)	*65 ( 57)	73 ( 56)

TABLE A-III-11  
 EDUCATION, EXPOSURE, NUMBER OF CLUSTERS, AND IMPACT  
 Per cent high impact

Exposure	Education	Number of Modal Clusters ("Cosmopolitanism," "Content," "Self-Help") Reported by Participant			
		0	1	2	3
0	A.B. or more	9 (22)	15 (92)	22 (166)	27 (113)
	Less than A.B.	- (18)	26 (31)	43 ( 94)	47 (112)
1 & 2	A.B. or more	24 (33)	32 (85)	41 (139)	*37 ( 86)
	Less than A.B.	- (18)	39 (46)	55 ( 75)	63 ( 67)
3 or more	A.B. or more	47 (34)	49 (57)	57 (106)	67 ( 58)
	Less than A.B.	- (18)	63 (35)	78 ( 54)	*75 ( 63)

In both tables the proportion reporting high impact increases steadily within an educational and exposure group with the number of motivations reported, either the number of specific motivations or the number of clusters. When one allows for the more extreme "spread" of the distribution of number of clusters, it appears that Table 10 and Table 11 show about the same degree of relationship. Therefore, we conclude that the more the participant wants from the program the more likely he is to report that the program has had a genuine impact on him. Now, of course, this appears obvious (just as it would have appeared obvious, if impact had been directly related to education instead of inversely, that better preparation makes the reading and discussion easier), but it would have also appeared obvious if the thing had gone the other way. Marriage, for example, is an educational program, where people who have a long list of specific aims are often disappointed. Great Books, on the other hand, appears to be the type of thing where "The more you want, the more you get," apparently with what you want being of lesser importance. This, too, confirms our impression in Chapter II that what the participants want from the program probably outweighs any formal list of purposes set out in advance by the sponsors.

Is the program, then, a sort of giant ink blot onto which the participants project their needs and desires, or does the program itself have any effects independent of the motivations of the individual members? Before we completely accept the ink blot idea, we should remember that "Stepping Stone" failed to perform like the rest of the clusters, and hence, we may guess that there are some specific motives which differ in their "achievability." Before we turn to this problem in the second part of this analysis, however, we want to consider one other element in impact--that of participation in the discussion group.

It is possible to think of Great Books as a combination of two things--readings from a list of classics, and participation in informal discussions. Presumably any effect can stem from either or both. One could certainly expect effects from reading without discussion, and also expect effects from discussions about topics other than the Great Books. We have only a few people who participate in the groups but do none of the reading.<sup>2</sup> For the vast majority who read, we do find differences in group participation. Chapter I of Part C develops in detail a role typology giving us eight different types of participants in the discussion. For our purposes here we can simply divide the members into those who are heavy participants and those who are not. The procedures are developed in detail in Chapter I of Part C, and the reader who is interested in the exact process may skip to that section. For the time being, we need only say that "actives" are people who report that they are above the average for their group in one or more aspects of the discussion. Table 12 shows the impact data in relation to active and less active group participation.

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<sup>2</sup>Specifically, only eight respondents stated they did not spend any time reading in preparation for the discussion.

TABLE A-III-12

PARTICIPATION, EDUCATION, EXPOSURE, AND IMPACT

Per cent high impact

Exposure	Education	Participation	
		Active	Less Active
0	A.B. or* more	23 (192)	18 (176)
	Less than A.B.	44 ( 66)	39 (160)
1 & 2	A.B. or more	40 (172)	35 (149)
	Less than A.B.	56 ( 79)	*56 (117)
3 or more	A.B. or more	60 (138)	52 ( 97)
	Less than A.B.	70 ( 77)	68 ( 72)

There is a slight, but consistent, tendency for the active participant to report higher impact. Participation, as we shall see in Part C, is strongly related to education and years of exposure, but even when these are controlled, there is still a slight effect from participation, although it is weaker than most of the effects we have reported on in this chapter. Further analysis of the data, which we shall not report in detail here, suggests that there is no relationship between impact and "type" of role, but only this general tendency for active participants to feel greater impact.

While a clear understanding of the role of the group discussion in the effects of the program would require extended research analyses which were impossible in our current survey, we may note one aspect of the group which does not affect impact. Each respondent was asked to report the number of group members, excluding spouse, whom he saw regularly outside of the meetings. When the resulting data are tabulated against impact, we see the following:

TABLE A-III-13

NUMBER OF GROUP MEMBERS SEEN REGULARLY OUTSIDE OF THE

DISCUSSION, EDUCATION, EXPOSURE, AND IMPACT

Per cent high impact

Exposure	Education	Number Seen		
		None	1 or 2 or "a few"	3 or more, "Most," or "All"
0	A.B. or more	16 (148)	26 (141)	21 ( 96)
	Less than A.B.	40 (114)	42 (100)	29 ( 35)
1 & 2	A.B. or more	39 (133)	34 ( 95)	36 (101)
	Less than A.B.	58 ( 73)	58 ( 71)	49 ( 53)
3 or more	A.B. or more	48 ( 75)	60 ( 77)	61 ( 93)
	Less than A.B.	69 ( 61)	74 ( 51)	69 ( 48)

Since the groups vary in size and since a number of respondents replied in such ambiguous terms as "several," it is hard to form a scale for outside contacts, but we think it is safe to contrast those who report none, those who report one, two, or "a few," and those who report three or more, "most," or "all." The outcome, though, is that there is no relationship between outside contacts and impact. If we can think of outside contacts as an index of the extent to which group involvement is "social," it appears that the group effect apparent in Table 12 is probably limited to the discussion *per se*, and that patterns of sociability generated from group discussion have little or nothing to do with impact. This does not mean that sociability is unimportant for Great Books; it plays an important part in community participation analyzed in Part B. However, it does appear unimportant as a determinant of impact.

To summarize our findings on impact, it would appear that the "net" or over-all impact of the program on its participants is a function of three factors. First, those people who appear to have lesser cultural stimulation in general tend to report high impact. Second, the more highly and diversely motivated the participant, the greater is his feeling of "genuine impact." Third, social characteristics and value positions *per se* appear to have little relationship with impact, a negative finding which may be more important than some of the positive ones. The impact data, at least, lend little support to the belief that the program has a selective appeal for specific religious or political positions. Finally, participation in discussions is a consistent, but relatively slight contributor to impact,

#### Specific Effects

So far we have talked about the effects of the program simply in terms of "impact," a generalized sort of effect which can be thought of as the resultant of a large number of different consequences of participating in Great Books. Since, as we must continually stress, motivations are multiple and heterogeneous, it is possible for a person to report "high impact," but to deny that one or another specific "effect" happened to him. Likewise, low impact can conceal a number of very definite and specific changes if they are outweighed by other areas where there is no change. Thus, a full understanding of subjective effects requires that we shift from the global level of impact to a consideration of concrete instances. Furthermore, we wish to know whether our "projective" interpretation of the program is really true, or whether there are areas where the program is considered to be successful or unsuccessful in other terms than the motivations of the group members.

The data on motivations, you will remember, came from a check list on the second page of the questionnaire. On the same page was a second question, which read as follows:

"In the right hand column, please place a check by any of the items which you think has definitely been an effect of Great Books for you--regardless of whether or not it was a reason for joining."

We shall now examine our same 23 items, this time from the perspective of effects, instead of motivations. Motivations, however, cannot be avoided, for the first thing we notice is that the proportion reporting a given effect is to a large degree a function of two familiar factors: 1) motivation, and 2) exposure. Here, for example, is the per cent reporting "Escaping the intellectual narrowness of my community" as an effect, tabulated by exposure and motivation.

TABLE A-III-14

MOTIVATION, EXPOSURE, AND "ESCAPING THE  
INTELLECTUAL NARROWNESS OF MY COMMUNITY"

Per cent reporting "Escaping Community" as an  
effect of participation

Exposure	Checked "Escaping Community" as Reason for Joining	Did not check "Escaping Community" as Reason for Joining
0	44 (157)	1 (586)
1 & 2	53 (140)	13 (433)
3 or more	74 (106)	21 (345)

The differences are very strong, in both ways. For both the motivated and the non-motivated, the proportion reporting the effect zooms with exposure, but within each exposure group there are striking differences by degree of motivation. Thus, among those who did not check it as a reason for joining, 21 times as many report it as an effect in the advanced years as in the first, but in the first year the "motivated" are 44 times as likely to report it as the non-motivated!

The same pattern, in general, holds for each of the 23 motivations. The question is, however, whether the motivation effect is "additive" or not. What we mean is this. Let us think of the proportion saying "X is an effect" as a function of two things: one, the true effectiveness of the program in that area, the other, the degree of motivation of the participant. If the motivation effect is "additive" it will raise the effect proportion of each item the same amount. If, on the other hand, it is not so, motivation may raise the effect proportion of some items considerably and raise the effect proportion of others only a little.

The check on this is to look at the correlation between the effect proportions for the motivated and non-motivated for each of the 23 items. If motivation is additive, there should be a strong linear correlation. If not, the correlation should be lessened and/or curvilinear. Table 15 shows the correlation for the zero years of exposure group. It can be read as follows. Each dot tells the proportion reporting this item<sup>3</sup> as an effect, for the motivated and for the non-motivated (i.e., people who did and did not check it as a reason for joining). Thus, for item 7 (Getting a chance to express ideas) 67 per cent of the motivated and 22 per cent of the non-motivated checked it as an effect.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Table A-II-1 in Chapter II, page 25, for the numbering and definition of the effects.

Let us now examine the following table in detail. In the first place, the diagonal line running from the lower left to the upper right gives us the locations of all points where the proportion reporting the effect in the motivated and non-motivated is identical. Since all the entries are above this line, we can conclude that motivation makes a big difference. There is no single case where the proportion reporting the effect among the non-motivated comes close to the proportion among the motivated.

What about the correlation? The pattern is not random, for items which tend to be low for the motivated are also low for the non-motivated, and the items which are very high for one are also very high for the other. The relationship, however, appears to be asymmetrical (curvilinear). Items which rank high for the non-motivated also tend to be high for the motivated; but items which rank low for the non-motivated scatter all along the scale for the motivated. This suggests that we have three types of items here:

- 1) Items which are high on effectiveness for both motivated and non-motivated.
- 2) Items which are high for the motivated but not high for the non-motivated.
- 3) Items which are relatively low for both motivated and non-motivated.

The first group can be thought of as the strong effects, since they rank high for both groups. We can also infer that the program has something to do with them, since they turn up relatively frequently among the non-motivated who are under no psychological pressure to report the effects. The second group can be thought of as "motivationally contingent" since they are only frequent among those who came into the program with these aims in mind. These may still be thought of as true effects, though, since there is another group of effects which ranks lower. The third group, weak effects, consists of those items which rank relatively low among both those who were motivated and non-motivated.

The vertical and horizontal lines in the table were drawn in an informal way to divide the effects according to our definitions. This gives us the following classification for first year participants:

#### Relatively Strong Effects

1. To learn what the greatest minds in history have to say...
2. Reacquainting myself with a cultural background which had become rusty.
3. Improving my ability to analyze and criticize arguments
5. Talking with people who have more intellectual interests than my usual "social friends."
6. Improving my reading skills.
7. Getting a chance to express ideas I had been thinking and reading about.
10. Making new friends.
11. Gaining insight into myself and my personal problems.
13. Meeting people who are quite different from me.

Motivationally Specific Effects

4. Escaping the intellectual narrowness of my occupation.
8. Escaping the intellectual narrowness of being a housewife.
12. Escaping the intellectual narrowness of my community.
14. Supplementing an unduly narrow or technical college training.
16. Developing common interests with my spouse.

Relatively Weak Effects

9. Improving my taste in fiction and poetry.
13. Becoming more sure of myself when talking with people of higher intellectual background.
15. Gaining a better intellectual background for my participation in community organizations and community affairs.
19. Finding solutions to contemporary problems.
21. Improving my ability to carry out my job through the intellectual training of reading Great Books.
22. Increasing my ability to carry out my job through improving my ability to participate in group discussions.
23. Developing the ability to lead group discussions outside of Great Books.
24. Gaining the equivalent of a college education.

Item 17 (Becoming a more effective participant in group discussions outside of Great Books) is ambiguous, being somewhat higher relatively for the non-motivated than for the motivated. Except for recalling the Biblical injunction that: "...from him who has not; even what he has will be taken away," we shall not consider it any further, now.

The two following tables repeat the same procedure for the other two exposure groups (one and two years completed, and three or more years completed). Although individual exceptions do appear, the general pattern of the correlation is similar in all three tables. This, in itself, is worth noting, as it suggests that, unlike motivation, the effect of exposure is additive. That is, in a way, additional years of exposure increase the probability of each effect to about the same extent. This means that our data do not suggest that there are "early," "middle," and "late" effects, but rather that the longer a person has been in the program the more likely he is to report any effect.

Out of the total of 23 effects, 15 were classified the same way in each of the three exposure groups, and eight were classified the same in two and differently in the third. No effect was classified a different way in each year.

TABLE A-III-15

PROPORTIONS REPORTING "EFFECT" BY ITEM,

FOR MOTIVATED AND NON-MOTIVATED

0 Exposure

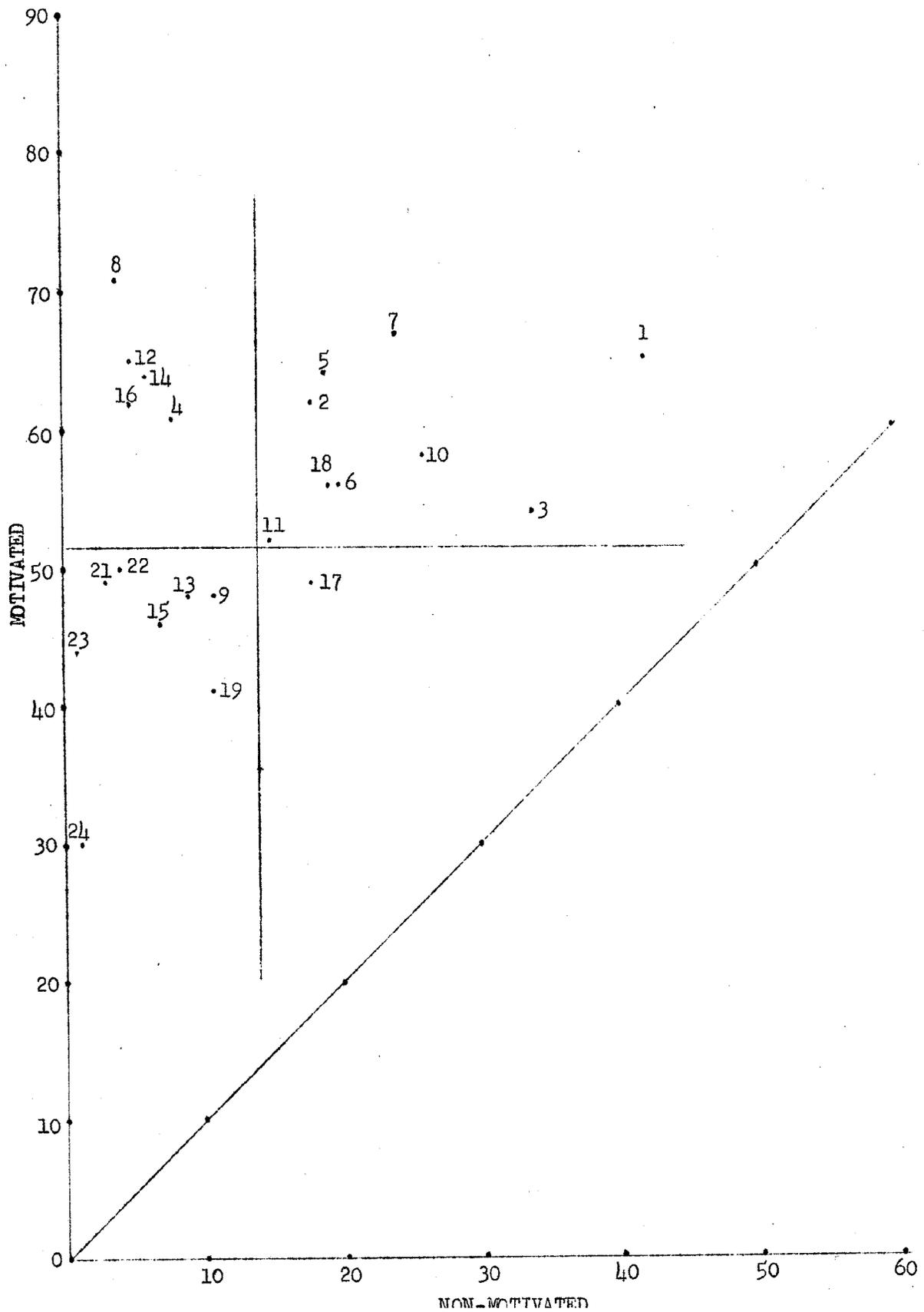


TABLE A-III-16

PROPORTIONS REPORTING "EFFECT" BY ITEM  
FOR MOTIVATED AND NON-MOTIVATED

Exposure 1 and 2

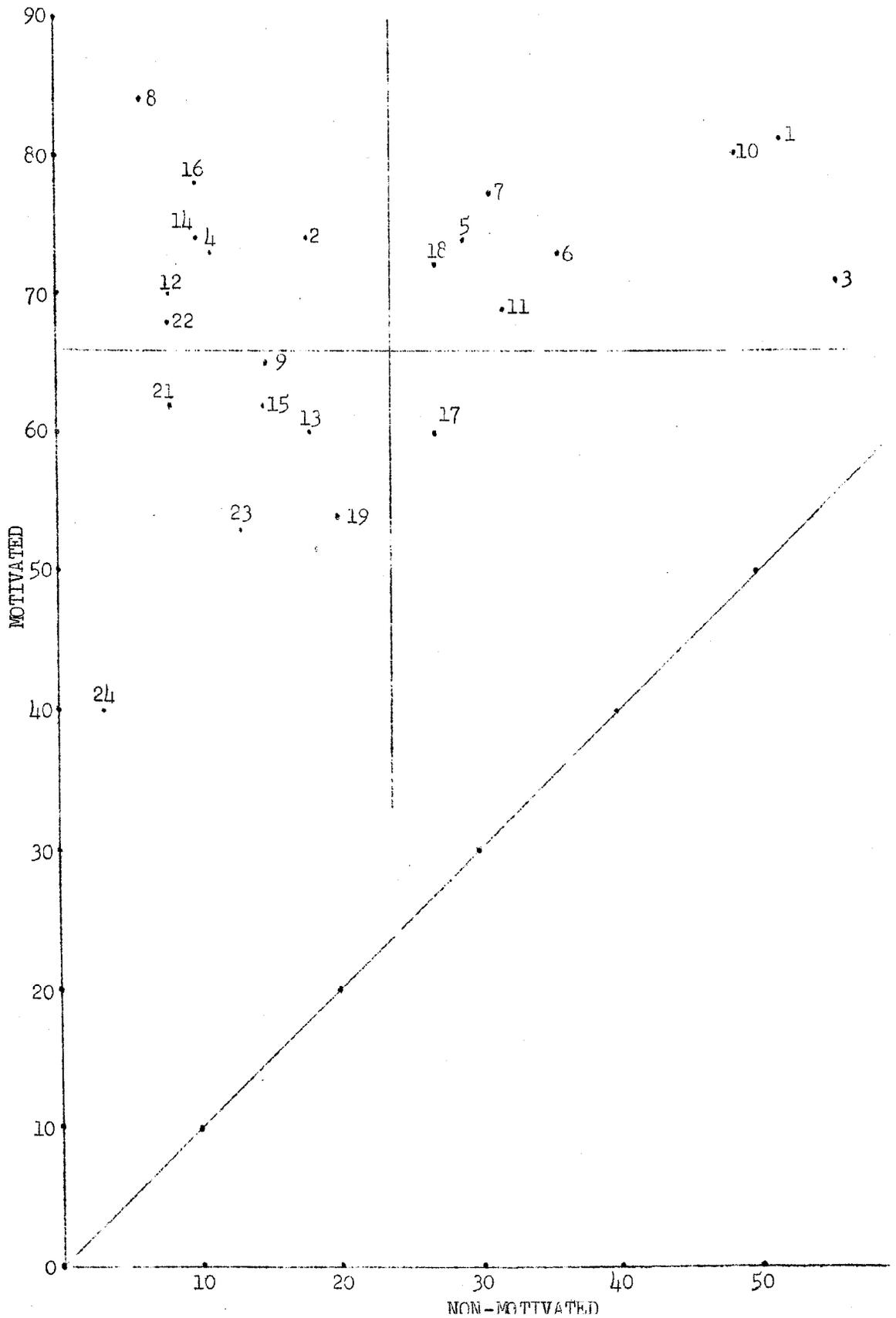
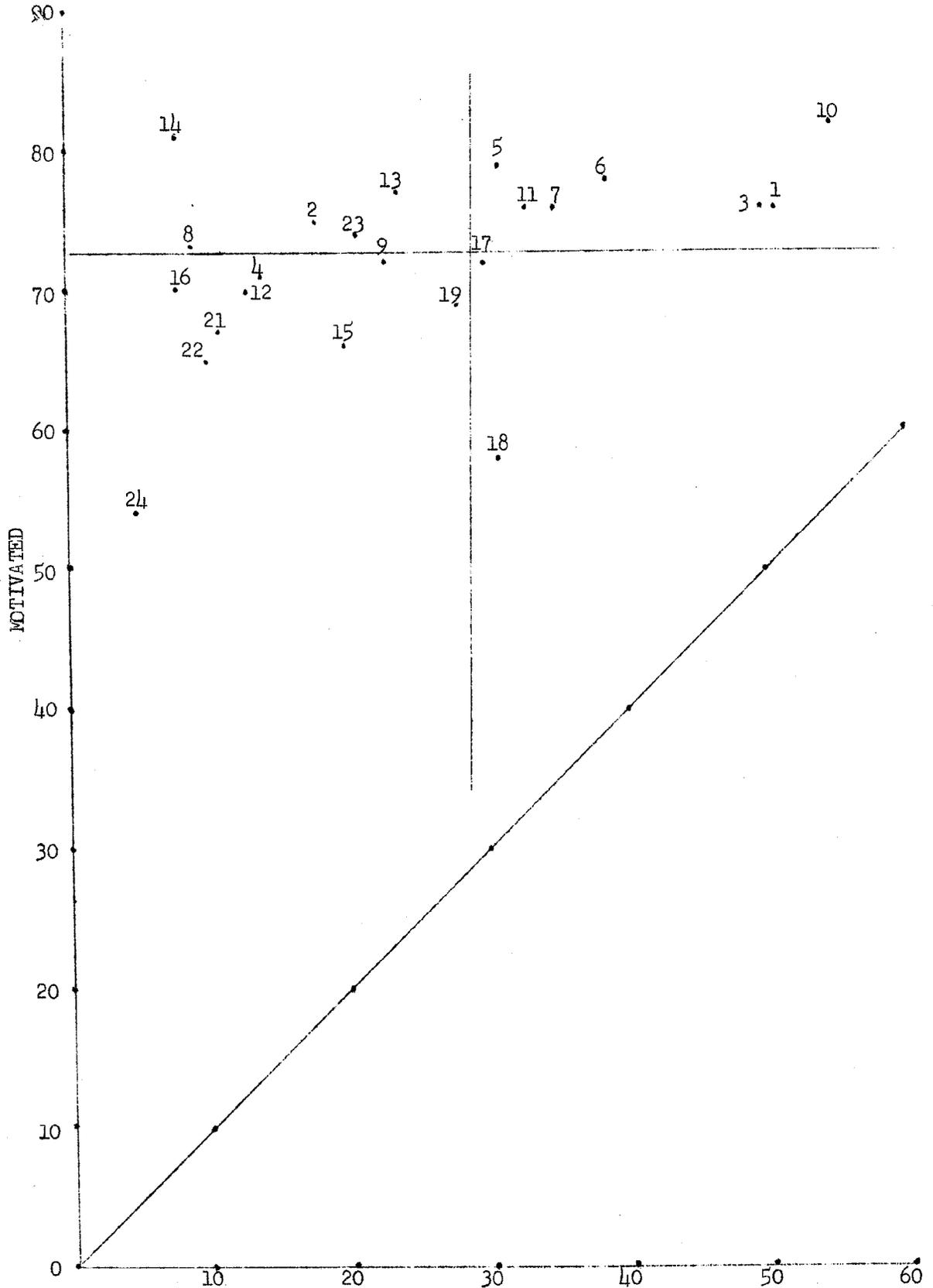


TABLE A-III-17  
PROPORTIONS REPORTING "EFFECT" BY ITEM,  
FOR MOTIVATED AND NON-MOTIVATED  
Exposure 3+



We can now make a tabular summary of the subjectively reported effects.

I. Relatively Strong Effects in Each Exposure Group

1. Great minds...
3. Analyze and criticize...
5. Talking with more intellectual people...
6. Improving my reading skills.
7. Express ideas...
10. Making new friends.
11. Gaining insight into myself.

II. Relatively Strong Effects in Two Exposure Groups, Unclassifiable in One

18. Meeting people who are quite different.

III. Motivationally Contingent Effects in All Three Groups

2. Reacquainting myself...
8. Escaping...housewife.
14. Supplementing narrow college...

IV. Motivationally Contingent Effects in Two Exposure Groups, Relatively Weak Effects in One.

4. Escaping...occupation.
12. Escaping...community.
16. Developing common interests with my spouse.

V. Relatively Weak Effects in Two Exposure Groups, Motivationally Contingent in the Third

13. Becoming sure of myself.
22. Increasing...job ability...through group discussion.
23. Developing ability to lead discussions outside of Great Books.

VI. Relatively Weak Effects in All Three Exposure Groups

9. Improving my taste in fiction and poetry.
15. Gaining a better intellectual background for participation in community affairs.
19. Finding solutions to contemporary problems.
21. Improving my ability to carry out my job through the intellectual training of reading Great Books.
24. Gaining the equivalent of a college education.

VII. Unclassifiable in All Three Groups

17. Becoming a more effective participant in group discussions outside of Great Books.

Classifications I through VI can be thought of as a very rough ordering of effects of the program from those which are frequent effects in both the motivated and non-motivated, through those which are frequent only among the motivated, to those which are infrequent in both motivated and non-motivated participants. Motive 17 is a continual puzzle, each time falling in a logically puzzling category of being relatively higher for non-motivated than motivated. Perhaps becoming a good group participant is like finding the blue bird of happiness, a goal which cannot be directly pursued.

The ordering of the effects in terms of their relative frequencies raises the question as to whether we can find some underlying factors which may account for the differences. There are some clues in the data.

In the first place, although it doesn't tell us why, it appears that there is a relationship between the frequency of a given motive and its rank in terms of effectiveness. The reader will remember that the number given to each item is its rank from most frequent (1) to least frequent (24). We shall exclude number 20 ("Any other") in our analysis.

TABLE A-III-18

FREQUENCY OF EFFECTIVENESS

Frequency	Effectiveness		
	Relatively Strong (I & II)	Motivationally Contingent (III & IV)	Relatively Weak (V & VI)
1-8	5	3	0
9-16	2	3	2
17-24	1	0	5

TABLE A-III-19

FREQUENCY OF EFFECTIVENESS  
(Table 18 Collapsed)

Frequency	Effectiveness	
	I-II-III-IV	V-VI
1-8	8	0
9-16	5	2
17-24	1	5

Table 18 gives the distribution according to the six-fold classification on effectiveness, and Table 19 gives a collapsed distribution dividing the effects into two groups: a) those which appear relatively high in effectiveness either for the entire group or only for those who report themselves as motivated, and b) the effects which rank low for both the motivated and non-motivated.

The number of instances being small, our conclusions must be tentative, but it does appear that, as some of the material in the preceding section suggested, the modal or most common motives have a higher batting average than the less frequent motives. This, of course, augurs well for the program, as it suggests that it can deliver (at least in terms of subjective impressions) precisely what its clientele most wants. Is this because, say, the "process" is essentially social and a group needs a certain proportion of people wanting something before that something turns up, or is it because the frequent motives are different in character from the infrequent ones? The former hypothesis is intriguing but we have not had the opportunity to explore it. There is some evidence, however, to support the second idea. Let us begin by examining the relative effectiveness of the motives when they are classified by the "clusters" described in the preceding chapter.

TABLE A-III-20

CLUSTER AND EFFECTIVENESS

Cluster	More Effective	Less Effective
"Cosmopolitanism"	3	0
"Content" . . . .	2	2
"Self-Help" . . .	1	3
"Stepping Stone".	0	3

Although the numbers are very small, and we must be cautious in our interpretation, it does look as if "Content" makes some difference. All three items in "Cosmopolitanism" are among the relatively more effective, and three of the items in "Stepping Stone" are among the relatively ineffective-- a fourth item in "Stepping Stone" is our unclassifiable friend--"Becoming a more effective participant in group discussions outside of Great Books." Table 20 is consistent with our previous findings that there are fewer people reporting "Self-Help" and "Stepping Stone" in the advanced years and our finding that "Stepping Stoners" don't show the high impact that other cluster types do.

As a final attempt at looking for some pattern, let us classify these effects into three groups: 1) those effects which are completely personal, in the sense of involving only the Great Books and the reader (e.g., "To learn what the greatest minds have to say"); 2) those effects which involve the person and the discussion group, but no one else (e.g., "Meeting people who are quite different from me"); and 3) those effects whose existence depends not only on the participant and/or the group, but also on some sort of involvement with the world outside of the program. Table 21 gives the relative effectiveness for these three types.

TABLE A-III-21

TYPE OF EFFECT AND EFFECTIVENESS\*

Effectiveness	Personal	Group	Extra-Program	Unclassifiable
Relatively high	4 (1,3,6,11)	4 (5,7,10,18)		
Motivationally contingent	5 (2,14,8,4,12)			1 (16)**
Relatively low	2 (9,24)		6 (13,15,19,21,22,23)	

\*The numbers in the parentheses are the specific motivations; the numbers to the left are the total number in the cell.

\*\*This motivation ("developing common interests with my spouse") couldn't be classified as its status would depend on whether the spouse attended the discussion group, something which we know varies a lot.

Table 21 suggests the following: first of all, all of the effects which require the involvement of the participant in something or with somebody outside of the program, are relatively low on effectiveness. Whether the arena is the job, community affairs, sociability, or the solution of contemporary problems, all of these effects are in the low group. Conversely, all of the effects which involve the person and the immediate discussion group are at the top of the heap, for both motivated and non-motivated people. We can see this contrast by comparing two somewhat similar items, "Getting a chance to express ideas I had been thinking and reading about" (7) and "Developing the ability to lead discussions outside of Great Books" (23).

TABLE A-III-22

EFFECTIVENESS OF ITEMS 7 AND 23

Per cent reporting the effect

Exposure	Motivated		Non-Motivated	
	Express Ideas	Lead Outside	Express Ideas	Lead Outside
0	67 (237)	44 (75)	24 (506)	1 (668)
1 & 2	77 (175)	53 (36)	31 (398)	13 (537)
3 or more	76 (111)	74 (38)	35 (340)	21 (413)

The contrast is consistent. While Table 22 shows our standard effects of motivation and exposure on effectiveness, it also shows, in each case, higher effectiveness for "expressing ideas" than for leading outside. Now, the two activities are probably fairly similar in their nature, but the one

can be "consummated" immediately in the program, while the other requires getting involved in the world outside of the self and the program.

The purely "personal" things lie between these two, most having high effectiveness, but two ("Improving my taste in fiction and poetry" and "Gaining the equivalent of a college education") are both in the low area. Why they should differ we don't know, really, except that our chapter on poetry does little to suggest that false modesty accounts for the finding. Rather, as the supporters of the program would be the first to acknowledge, we might attribute it to the fact that purely esthetic matters are given little emphasis in the readings. Maybe the best way to explain the college one (a very rare motive, reported by only seven per cent of the respondents) is to say that it is clearly impossible to gain the equivalent of a college education from Great Books and no one really claims that it should. These people, in effect, are looking for the wrong thing.

Now, it is about time to re-stress that our classification is relative. There is no subgroup in which there is 100 per cent effectiveness for our "high items" and no group with zero effectiveness for the low items. In fact, reference to Table 22 will show that in the advanced years, for the motivated, 74 per cent report high effectiveness for leading groups outside. (We, of course, do not know how many people who had this motivation dropped out if they didn't feel they were accomplishing real improvement.)

If we think of the advanced year, motivated group, as the most "sensitized" we find no single effect with less than half reporting positive results, regardless of the relative standing on the scale. To put this, itself, in further perspective, among the advanced year, non-motivated--people who liked the program well enough to stay in it, but didn't come seeking the specific effects--we find more than 50 per cent reporting effectiveness for only two things: "Learning what the great minds have to say" (54 per cent), and "Making new friends" (55 per cent). Instead of a crutch, relativity thus appears to be a two-edged sword. Among the motivated, a relatively less effective item still has a very high percentage, but among the non-motivated, a relatively highly effective item tends to have a rather low absolute percentage.

We began with the question of whether we should think of the program as essentially a projective thing in which you got what you wanted (or maybe wanted what you got) or whether there were definite areas in which the nature of the program was a determinant regardless of motives. The answer is apparently that motivation is not the entire story. There are some effects which are reported relatively frequently among both motivated and non-motivated; some effects which are reported relatively infrequently by both; as well as a number which appear to be definitely "contingent on motivation."

### Summary

While "testimonial" evidence must be regarded with dread and foreboding by the "scientific" researcher, we felt that we would not be severing ourselves from respectability if we asked what the participants thought they got out of the program. We began with the general question of "impact," and saw that there were strong impact differences. Perceptions of impact: a) increase with exposure either because of true changes or because of dropping out, or both; b) decrease with education and age, controlling for education; c) higher for the active group participant but apparently unrelated to sociability patterns in the group; and d) increase with the total number of motives reported.

When, subsequently, we turned to an analysis of specific motives, we found that they, too, varied with exposure and motivation, but through some statistical maneuvers we managed to arrive at the conclusion that motivation does not explain the whole thing. Rather, there appear to be three types of effects: a) relatively high effects which are reported frequently by both motivated and non-motivated; b) motivationally contingent effects, which are only frequently reported by the people who are motivated to seek them (the number of men reporting that they have escaped the intellectual narrowness of being a housewife is quite small); and c) relatively low effects which are less often reported by both motivated and non-motivated. The major differences between the stronger and weaker effects may be interpreted as reflecting the difference between aims which may be reached within the program itself and aims which require a plunge into the frigid waters of the natural environment before the shore is reached.

Can any of our analysis answer the question, "Is the program effective?" We doubt it if the question is meant in the sense of giving Great Books an A, B, C, D, or F, in "effectiveness." However, we would like to suggest the following generalizations which follow from the analysis of this chapter.

First, despite our worry about drop-out rates, we think that any informal organization which meets twice a month to talk about books must be considered seriously if from 20 to 70 per cent (depending on the exposure and educational group) say "It has had a genuine impact on me," when the speakers are drawn from the most highly educated strata of the country and are heavily involved in other community and civic affairs.<sup>4</sup>

Second, we believe that Great Books must be considered from a special point of view, given our findings on motivation. Most adult programs of an "educational" nature have very specific aims, whether they are changing attitudes toward minority groups, teaching proficiency on the recorder, getting people ready for jobs as hotel managers, or instruction in automobile repairing. In contrast, Great Books should probably be thought of as a "catalyst" whose essential function is to speed up or facilitate a chemical-like process involving the individual, the books, the group, and the real world in which the meaning of the books is to be acted on. If the reaction is sometimes slow or the energy produced minimal, it is hard to say that this is because of the program. Thus, while it is true that "finding solutions to contemporary problems" is not one of the program's strongest points, at least part of the situation may be due to the fact that the program may not recruit people who are highly motivated to find these solutions in the readings (only 15 per cent of the sample checked this as a motive) and another goodly part

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<sup>4</sup>If the authors may be permitted one statement ex cathedra in a study which otherwise attempts to be 110 per cent "objective," the mere fact that an informal institution devoted to the reading of Aristotle, Calvin, Locke, Hume, and Sophocles, without the whip of an academic degree, survives in the contemporary United States is, in itself, we believe, sufficient to provide a "positive evaluation."

is probably due to the fact that in contemporary society the probability that any one individual can do much about any particular "social problem" is low.<sup>5</sup>

Finally, we should note that another way of reading the results on effectiveness is that while concrete changes in the "outside world" are relatively low on the effectiveness thermometer, those things which are high have a gratifyingly "intellectual" tinge. While the professional sociologist expects that any group which meets regularly over a period of years will, nay must, develop a high degree of "social" and "sociable" elements, the high ranking effects are not of the "kaffe-klatsch" type, but include such cerebral things as learning what the great minds have to say, analyzing and criticizing arguments, expressing ideas, and gaining self-insight. Those motivations (other than "Cosmopolitanism," which, as we have noted, has a heavy intellectual component) which smack of social climbing, or patina polishing ("Self-Help"), or the strictly gimmick-oriented stripe ("Stepping Stone"), are much less frequently reported as high on effectiveness. While some of the later chapters may, in truth, be read to suggest that many of the intellectual changes are not overwhelming in strength and frequency, nothing in our data on motivations and perception of effects suggests that the basic idea of the program--reading and discussion of Great Books--takes a subsidiary role in any important number of groups.

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<sup>5</sup>The reader who is seriously interested in "evaluating" Great Books should read, in addition to this report, Philip Jacob's Changing Values in College, an evaluation of the effectiveness of American Universities which draws particularly disenchanting conclusions. Cf., Philip E. Jacob, Changing Values in College, An Exploratory Study of the Impact of College Teaching, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1957.

**PART B**

**THE EFFECTS OF PARTICIPATION**

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The five chapters in this part of the report are analyses of the consequences of participation in Great Books for specific areas of knowledge, taste, and behavior. Chapter I, "Knowledge," analyzes the relationships between continued exposure to the program and knowledge of the liberal arts and humanities. Chapter II, "Esthetics," examines sophistication in the areas of poetry and music and their relationships to program participation. Chapter III, "Reading," deals with the patterns of book- and magazine-reading outside of the program. Chapter IV, "Values and Ideologies," asks whether there is a trend toward certain ideological and value positions associated with continued exposure to Great Books. Chapter V, "Community Involvement," deals with the participants' interest and activity in local community affairs.

CHAPTER I

KNOWLEDGE

## Introduction

In this chapter we shall examine in some detail the "knowledge" of the participants, not in the sense of their general store of facts about the batting averages of Babe Ruth or the members of the cabinet of President Buchanan, but rather in the sense of their familiarity with that part of the general culture which can be called "the liberal arts and humanities"; their store of information about Martin Luther, Mozart, Aristophanes, the French Revolution, Galileo, etc.

The analysis is divided into two sections. The first asks whether continued participation in Great Books appears to change the participants' levels of knowledge. The second section considers the relationships between knowledge of liberal arts and the participants' locations in the society's institutional structure. The difference between these two questions can be viewed in this way: The first section asks about the effects of Great Books on individual people; while the second asks about the potential effects of Great Books on "institutions," through the involvement of the participants in the major institutions of their communities.

## EFFECTS OF PARTICIPATION

The question before the house is whether participation in the Great Books program results in increased knowledge of the liberal arts and humanities. In the totality of potential effects, it is clear that sheer accumulation of knowledge is not one of the major aims of Great Books. Rather, the program is aimed at promoting more subtle qualities, such as critical thinking, ability to analyze and evaluate readings, and increased intellectual sophistication. Thus, evidence that an increase in knowledge exists is not ipso facto evidence that the program is succeeding in all of its aims. Nevertheless, the failure of several years of exposure to Great Books to yield any increase in knowledge of the humanities would, in itself, probably be sufficient to cast doubt on any hypotheses about more sophisticated effects. In short, if the important effects of the program are presumed to follow from increased acquaintance with the humanities, it is necessary to begin by asking whether such an increase actually occurs.

Development of definitive answers to this question would require that the same individuals be measured before and after their exposure to the program, under conditions which imposed controls on other factors that might produce an increase in knowledge. This we could not do; but, by the use of statistical measures on our cross-sectional sample, we did attempt to arrive at the firmest possible answers, given the limitations of our study.

## The Cartoon Quiz

The basic measure used in our study is the "cartoon quiz," a copy of which is included as an appendix to this chapter. It is a somewhat unorthodox instrument of measurement and requires preliminary discussion before we proceed to present our data.

The quiz consists of thirty-two cartoons which originally appeared in Life magazine in 1950.<sup>1</sup> The pictures were developed and drawn by Charles E. Martin, a professional artist.<sup>2</sup> According to the Life text, they were developed to reflect the famous "core curriculum" of Columbia University. As far as Mr. Martin and we know, they have never been used for research purposes. Nevertheless, they appealed to us as a possible measure in our study for the following two reasons: a) to a striking extent, they cover the curriculum of Great Books, twenty of the thirty-one directly referring to specific Great Books readings, and many of the remainder referring to authors and ideas which are presumably frequently mentioned in the discussions; b) the whimsical quality of the cartoons appeared to us to be a good way to motivate the cooperation of volunteer respondents who might well be threatened or bored by an "outright" test. Our impression is that we were quite correct on the latter assumption, for our field interviewers reported that most groups were quite taken with the cartoons, and we received a number of requests for answers from the Great Books participants who took part in the study.

Since, however, in research, whimsical is as whimsical does, it is necessary to consider some of the technical problems of the measurement quality of the instrument. The first question is that of the "validity" of the test, i.e., what the test measures. Our working assumption is that the cartoon quiz measures the individual's familiarity with certain "high points" of Western "high" culture. It does not, we must stress, probe into the finer questions of analytical acumen or depth of knowledge. Thus, while we do not have to believe that everyone who said "Don Quixote" to Cartoon No. 26 is an expert on Spanish literature and culture, it is fairly reasonable to infer that the respondent who said "Hans Brinker" is not.<sup>3</sup> In short, we have little to offer but "face validity"; however, the pattern of correlations reported later in this memorandum (e.g., relations to formal education and to musical taste; and data from the Northwestern University sample) in no way challenges our assumptions about the qualities measured by the test. To sum up, both face validity and the pattern of correlates argue that our test is in some very general way a measure of knowledge in the area of humanities. The exact "depth" of this knowledge is, however, unknown.

As is traditional in sociological research, the paucity of our data on validity is partially offset by a fairly good set of data on internal consistency. Each answer to the cartoon test was scored simply as correct or incorrect, excluding any gradations of rightness or wrongness.<sup>4</sup> Although this undoubtedly resulted in scoring as "wrong" a number of subjects whose

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<sup>1</sup>Life, Vol. 29, No. 16 (October 16, 1950), 23-33.

<sup>2</sup>Mr. Martin, who holds the copyright to the pictures, very kindly gave us permission to use them in our research.

<sup>3</sup>When, of course, you come to the respondent who answered "Maria Callas" for the Wagnerian dragon in Cartoon 28, the issue is somewhat less clear, but fortunately only a handful of respondents took the task as a challenge to their wit instead of their memory. We were forced to exclude only one out of 1909 cartoon quizzes on the grounds of unmitigated frivolousness.

<sup>4</sup>Joseph Zelan of NORC had the task of making these 57,270 decisions, and his monotonous but vital contribution to the study is hereby acknowledged.

answers were not far off, our assumption was that the net effect of these decisions would be merely that of raising or lowering the "cutting-point" of a given item.

The question of internal consistency is essentially that of asking if, regardless of whether the exact name (validity) of the dimension measured is known, it is reasonable to treat the data as measuring a single dimension or whether we must assume that several measurement dimensions are involved. We have treated the cartoons as measures of a single dimension for the following reasons:

1) Item intercorrelations. To the extent that each of the cartoons tends to measure the same dimension of content, it should show a strong statistical association with every other cartoon in the set. We did not compute each of the 435 possible intercorrelations,<sup>5</sup> but rather drew a probability sample of possible interrelations, stratified in such a way that each cartoon appeared once and only once in the set of fifteen. For each, "Q" (a measure of association for "qualitative" data which is analagous to a correlation coefficient for numerical data) was computed. The results are summarized in Table 1.

TABLE B-I-1  
DISTRIBUTION OF Q'S IN SAMPLED CARTOON TEST  
ITEM INTERCORRELATIONS

<u>Q</u>	<u>N</u>
.90 or more	1
.80-.89	0
.70-.79	0
.60-.69	5
.50-.59	2
.40-.49	5
.30-.39	2
Less than .30	<u>0</u>
	15
Median = .54	
Mean = .56	

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<sup>5</sup>There are 32 cartoons in the set. Cartoon 1 was answered in the printed protocol as an example, and Cartoon 5 (the British suffragette) was arbitrarily excluded from the scoring on the basis of difficulties in achieving reliable coding. The remaining 30 cartoons have a possible 435 intercorrelations.

The coefficients are clustered in the range from .40 to .69 with a median of .54. The smallest coefficient (.34) is statistically significant at a probability of less than .05. In addition, in the course of our analysis we have computed some twenty additional interrelationships, none of which showed a Q of less than .39 or more than .71. Thus, the item interrelations seem clustered around .50 with very few exceedingly high and no exceedingly low interrelationships. It seems fair to conclude that the entire batch of items shows a pattern of moderate to fairly high relationships. This is consistent with our assumption that the items do have a good deal in common.

2) Sub-section Correlations. The cartoons were grouped by Mr. Martin into the following: (a) History and Politics, (b) Science and Philosophy, (c) Literature, and (d) Music and Art. If the test actually includes several dimensions of content, we would expect this to be reflected in the intercorrelations of these sections. To test this hypothesis, each sub-section was dichotomized at its median number of correct answers, and Q's were computed. The results are presented in Table 2.

TABLE B-I-2  
Q ASSOCIATIONS AMONG SUB-SECTIONS  
OF THE CARTOON TEST

	<u>Science and Philosophy</u>	<u>Literature</u>	<u>Music and Art</u>
History and Politics. .	.69	.72	.58
Science and Philosophy.		.80	.71
Literature. . . . .			.70

TABLE B-I-2a  
MEAN INTER-SECTION ASSOCIATION

<u>Sub-section</u>	<u>Mean Q</u>
Literature. . . . .	.74
Philosophy and Science. . . . .	.73
Music and Art . . . . .	.66
History and Politics. . . . .	.66

The associations are fairly high, and there is no indication that any one section has a pattern which would suggest that it taps a separate dimension.

3) Scalability. As the above evidence suggests, these items will generate quite satisfactory Guttman scales. In the course of our analysis we have made a number of such scales, each with a reproducibility comfortably over the conventional .90.<sup>6</sup>

4) Northwestern Sample. In order to get some data for comparison with our sample, we arranged to collect a small number of cartoon-test protocols from undergraduate students at Northwestern University.<sup>7</sup> The test was administered to all the members of two classes, a freshman course in composition and literature, and an advanced course in American literature for upper-classmen, 97 cases in all. The sample is, of course, not a probability sample of the Northwestern student body. We felt, however, that similar data from a group of undergraduates at a high-ranking university would give us some comparisons with our Great Books sample. In terms of internal consistency, it appears that the Northwestern sample gives back results which are essentially similar to our survey data. For the same fifteen sampled item intercorrelations we got a mean Q of .55 and a median of .51. These figures, however, are not very reliable, as they are based on a small sample and many of the items had very small "marginals" (e.g., only four or five correct answers to a given question). Since the marginal distribution of the items is of great importance in terms of the scaling criterion, we compared the rank order of the marginals for the thirty cartoons in the samples and found a rank correlation of .84, which suggests that the same cartoons tended to be "easy" or "difficult" in the two groups. In short, there is nothing in this comparison to indicate that the internal consistency reported for our survey is spurious. It should be noted, however, that we have no evidence that the test would perform well in a non-college population, although a priori one may argue from the fact that our two samples are quite homogeneous on education (84 per cent of the Great Books sample reported some college training), that administration of the test in a more heterogeneous population would raise, rather than lower, its operating quality.

In summary, a number of rule-of-thumb procedures suggest that we would be in no serious danger if we treated the entire batch of cartoons as a measure of a single dimension of information about liberal arts and humanities.<sup>8</sup> Let us now turn to the actual data.

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<sup>6</sup>The technically-oriented reader may wonder why, then, we have chosen to use raw scores rather than scale scores in our data analysis. Our reasoning was as follows: Scalability, by definition, insures a high correlation between scale position and raw score. If so, the contribution of the scale is essentially that of the assignment of "error types," a process for which the rationale is, to say the least, not completely codified as of 1958. We felt that with thirty items, a quartile division on raw score would, in effect, achieve as efficient error-type assignment as any ad hoc rationale on six or seven items.

<sup>7</sup>Morris Sunshine, graduate student in sociology at Northwestern, administered the questionnaires for us.

<sup>8</sup>We cannot, however, assume that if we had truly numerical data, more subtle techniques, such as factor analysis, would support these conclusions.

Cartoon Scores and Exposure

Let us begin by asking whether there is a relationship between years of exposure to Great Books and scores on the cartoon test.

TABLE B-I-3

YEARS OF EXPOSURE AND CARTOON TEST SCORES

	Years of Great Books Completed		
	0	1 and 2	3 or more
Per cent with 11 or more cartoons correct . . . . .	39	48	67
N* . . . . .	(723)	(553)	(434)

For the comparison between 0 and 1 and 2,  $\chi^2 = 9.417, p < .01$

For the comparison between 1 and 2 and 3 or more,  $\chi^2 = 35.182, p < .001$

\*Throughout the report, N refers to the base on which the percentages were calculated. Base N in parentheses.

Clearly there is a relationship. The per cent getting eleven or more cartoons increases from a little more than one-third in the first year to two-thirds in the group which has completed three or more years, and the differences are highly reliable statistically.

Therefore, we may conclude that the advanced Great Books participants do much better on the test than the beginners. Is this, then, necessarily because of their experience in Great Books? We cannot achieve any firm answer from our cross-sectional design, but the rest of this section will be devoted to explorations of the problem.

Now, if the advanced participant is better than the beginner, but it is not due to Great Books participation, what are the alternative explanations? First, it may be possible that these particular people did not improve because of Great Books but would have shown steady increases in their knowledge from year to year even without the program. Evidence on this hypothesis would require an elaborate experimental study involving tests on Great Books participants, matched non-participants, and participants in alternative types of adult liberal arts education programs. Lacking any data, conclusions about this alternative would be pure speculation. A second hypothesis, which is, however, more "damaging" in its implications, is that the less intellectually able drop out of the program and that the superiority of the advanced participant is not due to "change" but rather to greater probability of remaining in the program.

Education, Cartoons, and Exposure

If the "drop-out" hypothesis is true, we ought to be able to explore it by examining data on the respondent's educational level. To begin with, we shall assume that formal education is a fairly good index of the respondent's intellectual level, independent of Great Books (whether this can be attributed to training or the intelligence selection of higher education is irrelevant at this point), since we are assuming that in a population which is concentrated in the 35-45 age-bracket, formal education was completed long before beginning in the program. If so, cartoon scores should be related to education, and Table 4 indicates that this is correct.

TABLE B-I-4

CARTOON SCORES AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION

	Participant's Educational Level			
	No College	Part College	Bachelor's	Graduate Study
Per cent scoring .11 or more . . . . .	28	45	54	64
N . . . . .	(282)	(412)	(406)	(670)

If, then, we assume that formal education is a measure of intellectual abilities independent of exposure to Great Books, and if the drop-out hypothesis is correct, we should expect to find fewer respondents in the advanced years of the program with less education.

TABLE B-I-5

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AND YEARS OF EXPOSURE

Educational Level	Years of Great Books Completed		
	0	1 and 2	3 or more
No college. . . . .	17%	14%	18%
Part college. . . . .	24	23	22
Bachelor's degree . . . . .	23	25	20
Graduate study. . . . .	36	38	39
Total per cent. . . . .	100	100	100
Number of cases . . . . .	(704)	(564)	(431)

Table 5 shows no consistent trend, and no significant difference in the educational levels by years of exposure. Hence, we may doubt that the difference is a result of the less educated people's dropping out. (In terms of certain analytical problems which turn up later, it should be stressed that our conclusion is that the difference in cartoon scores is not a function of educational differences in the exposure group. The conclusion is not that there is no educational difference in program retention.)

Since there are no important educational differences in the exposure groups, the cartoon-score differences cannot be a function of educational composition. Nevertheless, let us look at education and exposure simultaneously to see what the pattern is.

TABLE B-I-6

EDUCATION, EXPOSURE, AND CARTOON SCORES  
Per cent scoring 11 or more on cartoons

Participant's Education	Years of Great Books Completed		
	0	1 and 2	3 or more
No college. . . . .	11 (116)	36 (75)	47 (73)
Part college. . . . .	29 (161)	42 (123)	72 (93)
Bachelor's degree . . . . .	50 (163)	52 (136)	66 (84)
Graduate study. . . . .	55 (246)	64 (210)	76 (169)

Table 6 indicates, as we would expect, that cartoon scores vary with both exposure and with education. That is, within each exposure group, the scores increase with education, and within each educational group the scores increase with exposure. At one extreme we find the non-college first-year participants, with 11 per cent above the median on the test, and at the opposite extreme, the advanced-year participants with graduate work, 76 per cent of whom are above the median.

It is perhaps worth noting, also, that there appears to be an "interaction" in the table in that the educational differences vary in "strength" with years of exposure. In the first year the graduate group has five times as many high scorers as the non-college, and almost twice as many as the part-college. In the most advanced group, however, the graduate-work group has less than twice as many high scores as the non-college, and the differences within the college group are negligible. In short, with additional years of exposure to Great Books, educational differences bulk smaller and smaller in cartoon scores. The less-educated participant appears considerably disadvantaged at the beginning of his participation but less so as time goes on.

Table 6 also gives us a crude method of evaluating the "size" of the differences in scores. While it would be highly unjudicial to claim that a

certain number of years of Great Books are the equivalent of a college education, the following give us some perspective on the differences, assuming, of course, that they represent genuine increases:

Let us assume that the scores in the group with zero years of exposure represent the levels of knowledge we would expect to find in a group which is motivated to participate in adult liberal education but is unexposed to Great Books. Since most of the zero-exposure group had attended only a few meetings, this seems to be a reasonable assumption. We then get the following norms for the "unexposed": No college, 11 per cent; Part college, 29 per cent; Bachelor's degree, 50 per cent; Graduate study, 55 per cent.

Now let us compare the participants in advanced years with these norms; we may conclude:

- 1) In the 1-and-2-year-exposure group, the non-college participant approaches the norm for the part-college, and in the 3-or-more group he approaches the norm for the bachelor's-degree group.
- 2) The part-college participants approach the bachelor's-degree norm in the 1-and-2-year group and surpass the graduate-study norm by the time they get into the 3-or-more-years-of-exposure group.
- 3) The participant with a bachelor's degree approaches the norm for the graduate-study group in the 1-and-2-year-exposure level and surpasses it in the 3-or-more group.

In summary, we may conclude that the differences observed by exposure are as strong as, or perhaps stronger than, the differences between educational levels in the minimally exposed.

A final perspective on the relationship between education and scores on our test is given by the Northwestern University data. Despite the small number of cases and admitted sample bias, they can give us some hints as to how our entering Great Books participants would compare with contemporary undergraduates. Table 7 gives the results.

TABLE B-I-7  
YEARS OF COLLEGE AND CARTOON SCORES  
IN NORTHWESTERN SAMPLE

	Year in College	
	Freshman	Junior and Senior
Per cent scoring 11 or more on cartoons . . . . .	11	45
N . . . . .	(37)	(51)

By the definitions used in our survey sample, all of the Northwestern students would have been scored as "part college," but it may be of some utility to divide them roughly between the 37 freshmen who were only in their second quarter of college and the 51 juniors and seniors who were toward the end of their undergraduate studies. When we compare these groups with the Great Books sample, we find that the freshmen score considerably like the "non-college" Great Books participants, while the upper-classmen approximate the "bachelor's-degree" level for entering participants. Our Great Books beginners seem to score neither conspicuously higher nor conspicuously lower than the contemporary undergraduates. If, however, we take into consideration that Northwestern is a high-ranking university, and our Great Books participants enter the program usually more than a decade past their undergraduate training, our guess would be that even on entry, Great Books people score somewhat higher than their formal level of training would indicate. Likewise, we may hazard the guess that the advanced-year Great Books participant, regardless of level of formal education, compares rather favorably in his scores with persons still in the process of studying the liberal arts. This latter conclusion is reinforced when we note that the upper-classmen in the N.U. sample were drawn from an advanced English course, which probably attracts students especially interested in the humanities.

#### Music, Education, and Exposure

At this point we shall introduce another test variable, "musical sophistication." Since improvement in musical taste is not an objective of the Great Books program, we should begin by explaining the research strategy behind the use of this variable. While formal education has the useful property of being relatively unmodifiable by participation in Great Books, a good case can be made that it is a pretty crude measure of "liberal arts" capacity, despite its high relations with the cartoon scores. In the first place, many of our college graduates attended engineering and other technical schools, which, to say the least, did not stress liberal arts; and in the second, the time since graduation may have produced either a decline or an increase in liberal arts knowledge, depending on the motivations of the participant and his cultural climate.

Therefore, we should like to have a more "contemporary" control variable. It should, however, be one which probably does not vary with exposure to Great Books. Knowledge of classical music suggested itself as a candidate for these two reasons: such knowledge is probably correlated with general intellectual sophistication, and changes in musical knowledge are probably not a function of exposure to Great Books.

If these assumptions are correct, we would expect the following:

- 1) Musical sophistication should be related to scores on the cartoon test.
- 2) Musical sophistication should not be related to exposure to Great Books.
- 3) When we control simultaneously for education and musical sophistication, exposure groups should still vary in cartoon scores if the differences are due to exposure and not to selectivity of apt participants.

Our measure of musical sophistication was developed as follows: In our questionnaire we listed thirteen "classical" musical compositions. They were selected arbitrarily on the assumption that they covered a range of musical sophistication ranging from the "lower-middlebrow" (The 1812 Overture, Nutcracker Suite, William Tell Overture) through the "upper-middlebrow" (Brahms' Second Piano Concerto, Beethoven's Seventh Symphony, Brahms' First Symphony) to the "high-brow" (Missa Papae Marcelli, by Palestrina, Ives' Second Symphony, Beethoven's Variations on a Theme by Diabelli).

The respondents were given the following instructions:

"Let's assume that you are going to a concert tomorrow, and the following musical works might be on the program. Rate each in terms of its familiarity, as follows:

- "1) Very familiar -- I'd recognize it if I heard it, even if the title wasn't announced.
- "2) Familiar -- I might not know the title just from hearing it played, but it's something I've heard before and know a little about.
- "3) Less familiar -- I don't know much about this specific work, but I am relatively familiar with the composer and the general type of music he is known for.
- "4) Unfamiliar -- As far as I know, I've never heard of this work, and I know little or nothing about the composer."

Those who survived reading these lengthy instructions then proceeded to check the thirteen musical titles.

Inspection of the data from our survey sample indicated that the effective range we could hope to get was between the non-musical and the upper-middlebrow, since very few respondents checked the high-brow titles as familiar (only 45 out of 1,909 checked the Diabelli variations as "very familiar," and only 72 checked the Ives symphony as "very familiar" or "familiar").

From the titles with less extreme "marginals," we selected four as the possible components of a (no pun intended) musical scale. They were: The 1812 Overture (80 per cent "very familiar" or "familiar"), Brahms' First Symphony (59 per cent "very familiar" or "familiar"), Mozart's "Jupiter" Symphony (43 per cent "very familiar" or "familiar"), and Beethoven's "Archduke" Trio (20 per cent "very familiar" or "familiar").

Table 8 indicates that these four items will make an excellent Guttman-type scale.

TABLE B-I-8  
MUSICAL SOPHISTICATION -- SCALABILITY

=====					
Item					
1812	Brahms	Jupiter	Archduke	Scale Type	N
+	+	+	+	I	258
+	+	+	-	II	350
+	+	-	-	III	277
+	-	-	-	IV	327
-	-	-	-	V	242
+	-	+	-		77
-	+	-	-		53
+	+	-	+		26
-	+	+	-		21
+	-	-	+		19
+	-	+	+		12
-	+	-	+		9
-	-	+	-		8
-	-	-	+		3
-	-	+	+		1
					<u>1,693</u>
Reproducibility = .963					

TABLE B-I-8a  
ITEM INTER-ASSOCIATIONS (Q)

=====			
	Brahms	Jupiter	Archduke
1812. . . .	.702	.784	.623
Brahms. . .	-	.827	.780
Jupiter . .		-	.813

Both the reproducibility coefficient and the item inter-associations suggest that our index is highly consistent internally and will make a respectable cumulative scale in the sense that a person who claims familiarity with the "Archduke" Trio has a high probability of also claiming familiarity with the three other items; a person who claims familiarity with the "Jupiter" also will tend to claim familiarity with the 1812 and Brahms, etc.

It should be noted, however, that we have no way of telling the degree to which the subjects have "inflated" or "deflated" their true level of knowledge. There was nothing in the measure to prohibit a less knowledgeable person from claiming a high level of musical sophistication. Nevertheless, we may assume that "inflation" is not rampant, for if there were wholesale "guessing," we should not get the internal consistency we have observed. Thus, if the respondents are "cheating," they are apparently cheating in a non-random fashion, which, in this situation, by definition, is not cheating.

Since we are going to have to consider several variables simultaneously, we dichotomized our musical index as "high or low," the highs being Scale-Types I and II (cf. Table 8) and the lows being Types III, IV, and V.<sup>9</sup>

Table 9 provides the necessary data for our analysis.

TABLE B-I-9  
MUSICAL SOPHISTICATION, EDUCATION, EXPOSURE,  
AND CARTOON SCORES

Data

Cartoon <sup>a</sup>	Music <sup>b</sup>	Education <sup>c</sup>	Years of Great Books Completed		
			0	1 and 2	3 or more
Low	Low	Low	146	82	32
Low	Low	High	129	99	49
Low	High	Low	36	24	14
Low	High	High	47	30	15
High	Low	Low	26	42	39
High	Low	High	92	92	86
High	High	Low	28	32	52
High	High	High	118	108	91
			622	509	378 = 1509

<sup>a</sup>High = 11 or more correct; Low = 10 or fewer correct.

<sup>b</sup>High = Scale Types I and II; Low = Scale Types III, IV, V.

<sup>c</sup>High = College graduate or more; Low = Less than college graduate.

<sup>9</sup>Error types were assigned to the median of the perfect scale types to which they could be allocated by minimal changes.

Let us begin by looking at the relationships between our two "background" variables (education and musical sophistication) and cartoon scores, ignoring Great Books experience for the moment. The following table summarizes the results:

TABLE B-I-10

MUSICAL SOPHISTICATION, EDUCATION, AND CARTOON SCORES

(a) Per cent with 11 or more cartoons correct

Education	Musical Sophistication	
	High	Low
College graduate. . . .	78 (409)	49 (547)
Less than college graduate . . . . .	60 (186)	29 (367)

(b) Per cent high on musical sophistication

Education	Per cent High	N
College graduate. . . .	43	956
Less than college graduate . . . . .	34	<u>553</u>
		1,509

Musical taste appears to be quite a powerful predictor of cartoon scores, in spite of the fact that only two of the 30 cartoons involve music, and the fact that one measure is a "test" and the other is a self-evaluation. Independently of its correlation with education (cf. Table 10(b) ), it contributes to the dependent variable. In fact, one could claim that it is a more powerful correlate than education. (The percentage differences in the educational rows are about 30 per cent in each, while the percentage differences in the musical columns are about 20 per cent each.) Thus, about 20 per cent more non-college musically-sophisticated do well on the cartoons than do the non-musical college-graduates.

What, then, about musical sophistication and exposure to Great Books?

TABLE B-I-11

EDUCATION, MUSICAL SOPHISTICATED, AND  
YEARS OF EXPOSURE TO GREAT BOOKS  
Per cent high on musical  
sophistication

Education	Years of Great Books Completed		
	0	1 and 2	3 or more
College graduate. .	43 (386)	42 (329)	44 (241)
Less than college graduate . . . . .	27 (236)	31 (180)	48 (137)

Table 11 gives the bad news. From the viewpoint of the technical research analyst, it is a very fascinating set of data, but from the viewpoint of simple conclusions about exposure to Great Books, it raises a number of difficulties. The best way to look at it is to read along the two rows. If we treat the two educational groups separately, we find:

- 1) Among the college graduates, there is no relationship between exposure and musical scores ( $x^2 = 1.529$ ,  $p > .30$ ).
- 2) Among the non-graduates, there is a fairly strong positive relationship between exposure and musical sophistication ( $x^2 = 18.035$ ,  $p < .001$ ).

This, in turn, suggests two possible conclusions:

- 1) Great Books exposure improves the musical taste of non-college-graduates but does not affect the musical taste of college graduates.
- 2) Non-college-graduates who are low on musical sophistication tend to drop out of the program.

Since our choice between these two conclusions will affect considerably the conclusions about exposure and cartoon scores, let us detour briefly to consider them. While we have no hard evidence on the subject, our inclination is to favor Hypothesis Two: First, we see no reason why Great Books exposure should necessarily raise anyone's musical taste more than a few percentage points (while the number of musically-high almost doubles in the low-educated group), and, conversely, if it does raise musical taste, we see no reason why it should not do so for the college graduate. (The fact that less than half of them even claim to be relatively familiar with the "Jupiter" Symphony argues that they have not reached such a plateau of musical sophistication that further progress is impossible.)

The only statistical evidence on the subject comes from our index of "adherence" to the program. While we have no data on who did drop out of the program, we did ask the participants, in effect, whether they might do so in the future. The two specific items are reproduced below:

Items in Adherence Index

A. How do you feel about continuing in Great Books?

- 1\_\_ I definitely plan to continue through the year and next year too, if the program is still available
- 2\_\_ I definitely plan to continue through this year, but I'll have to wait and see about next year
- 3\_\_ I may or may not continue through this year
- 4\_\_ I probably won't continue until the end of the year

B. Even the most enthusiastic Great Books participant finds some things that cut down his interest in the program. Please check any of the following that might tend to decrease your interest in Great Books in the near future.

- 1\_\_ My health
- 2\_\_ Increased family responsibilities
- 3\_\_ The program isn't sufficiently challenging intellectually
- 4\_\_ My group is getting a little stale
- 5\_\_ I want to get into other activities to apply the things I've gotten out of Great Books
- 6\_\_ I've become interested in another continuing education program
- 7\_\_ The time or place of the meeting is inconvenient for me
- 8\_\_ I've gotten into other community activities which interest me more
- 9\_\_ I'm cutting down on all of my outside activities
- 10\_\_ I have to give more time and attention to my job
- 11\_\_ I don't get much out of the readings
- 12\_\_ Personality clashes in the group I'm in
- 13\_\_ Great Books just isn't for me
- 14\_\_ Other

Since the two items in question are positively related to each other (24 per cent of the people checking "1" on Item A checked two or more "impedances" in Item B, while 49 per cent of the people checking "3" or "4" marked two or more "impedances" in Item B), we decided to assign an "adherence score" to each participant on the basis of his responses to Items A and B. The participants who are most likely to remain in the program were given a score of "4"; those least likely to remain in the program received a score of "1."

TABLE B-I-12

DISTRIBUTION OF ADHERENCE SCORES

Intention to Continue Another Year*	Number of Impedances to Continuing**	Score	Number of Participants
Definitely plan to continue. . . . .	None	4	436
Definitely plan to continue. . . . .	1	3	669
Definitely plan to continue. . . . .	2 or more	2	351
Qualified or doubtful continuation. . . . .	Any	1	370
No answer to one or both items. .			<u>83</u>
Total			1909

\* Based on responses to Item A.

\*\* Based on responses to Item B.

We hope to use this index to help determine whether the difference in music scores by exposure for the low-education group is an "effect" or a reflection of the drop-out process. If the difference is a function of dropping out, we should observe the following:

- 1) Within the non-college group, the "low-music" should be lower on adherence to the program.
- 2) Within the college group, there should be no difference in the adherence scores for the "high-" and "low-music" group.

In addition, the data imply a third hypothesis. Remembering that we found no educational difference by exposure, any dropping out of the low-educated, low-music, must be compensated for by a generally lower adherence in the

high-educated than among the low-educated. Therefore, we have a third prediction:

- 3) College graduates should show a lower adherence than the non-college high-music group.

Table 13 presents the findings on each of these hypotheses, controlling years of exposure.

TABLE B-I-13

EDUCATION, MUSIC, EXPOSURE, AND ADHERENCE INDEX  
 Per cent low adherence (Scale scores 1 and 2)

		Exposure		
Education	Music	0	1 and 2	3 or more
High	High	47 (163)	36 (136)	32 (104)
High	Low	52 (217)	41 (188)	36 (132)
Low	High	37 (60)	34 (56)	23 (65)
Low	Low	35 (165)	38 (121)	41 (70)

In terms of the specific hypotheses, we would conclude:

- 1) Hypothesis 1: In two out of the three groups, the low-music have lower adherence within the low-education group; however, only in the third year is the difference statistically significant ( $p < .001$ ).
- 2) Hypothesis 2: There is no statistically significant relationship between adherence scores and music scores in the college-graduate group ( $\chi^2 = 1.881$ , for 1 d.f.,  $p > .30$ ), although in each exposure group the low-music show slightly lower adherence.
- 3) Hypothesis 3: The college graduates as a whole show lower adherence than the non-college high-music ( $\chi^2 = 7.438$ ,  $p < .01$ ).

As in most complicated tests of hypotheses, these data neither clearly confirm nor clearly refute the hypotheses. In particular, the adherence scores in the low-education low-music group should be considerably lower in the earlier years, if the results are to be unambiguous. Nevertheless, we may conclude that if the adherence data support any hypothesis, they lean toward bolstering our conjecture that the music improvement in the low-education group is at least partially a function of dropping out.

Returning to the main research problem, the question arises as to what these findings imply about the hypothesis that Great Books experience increases scores on the cartoon test. We have shown fairly clearly that the differences are not a function of educational difference by exposure. The use of music as a control, however, depends on some assumptions about adherence, our working assumption being that in the low-education group there are higher drop-outs in the low-music participants (i.e., among those with the least "readiness" for the program). Therefore, a conservative approach would be to examine, as our final step, the relationships between exposure and cartoon scores, simultaneously controlling education, music, and adherence.

TABLE B-I-14  
 EDUCATION, MUSIC, ADHERENCE, EXPOSURE,  
 AND CARTOON SCORES  
 Per cent with 11 or more cartoons correct

Education	Music	Adherence	Exposure			Row
			0	1 and 2	3 or more	
High	High	High	71 (86)	79 (87)	86 (71)	a
High	High	Low	73 (77)	78 (49)	88 (33)	b
High	High	High and Low	72 (163)	79 (136)	86 (104)	c
High	Low	High	40 (104)	48 (111)	59 (85)	d
High	Low	Low	44 (113)	48 (77)	74 (47)	e
High	Low	High and Low	42 (217)	48 (188)	64 (132)	f
Low	High	High	42 (38)	65 (37)	76 (50)	g
Low	High	Low	54 (22)	42 (19)	87 (15)	h
Low	High	High and Low	47 (60)	57 (56)	88 (65)	i
Low	Low	High	13 (107)	40 (75)	51 (41)	j
Low	Low	Low	17 (58)	26 (46)	62 (29)	k
Low	Low	High and Low	14 (165)	35 (121)	56 (70)	l

N = 1,477

Table 14 is not a friendly-looking thing at all, but if we approach it gradually and cautiously, we find that it has some fairly direct suggestions for our thinking about cartoons and exposure. Let us take it one step at a time:

1) If we look at exposure and cartoon scores, controlling education and music but ignoring for the moment the adherence index, we find the crucial percentages summarized in Rows c, f, i, and l. We note:

- a) In each of these rows, scores on the cartoon test increase directly with the number of years of exposure -- as, for example, in Row c (high-education high-music), where they run from 72 to 79 to 86 per cent high.
- b) Within each exposure level, education and music powerfully affect the cartoon scores.

TABLE B-I-15

MUSIC, EDUCATION, AND CARTOONS,

CONTROLLING EXPOSURE

Per cent scoring 11 or more on cartoons

=====

a) 0 Exposure

		Education	
		High	Low
<u>Music:</u>	High	72	47
	Low	42	14

b) 1 and 2 Exposure

		Education	
		High	Low
<u>Music:</u>	High	79	57
	Low	48	35

c) 3 or more Exposure

		Education	
		High	Low
<u>Music:</u>	High	86	78
	Low	64	56

- c) Even controlling for musical sophistication, the effects of Great Books are about as strong as the effects of initial educational level. Thus, in both high-music and low-music groups, the advanced-year, low-educational group (less-than-college-graduate) does better than the high-education (college-graduate) does in the first years, although controlling for music does lower the relationship in comparison with Table B-I-11.

TABLE B-I-16

EXPOSURE, EDUCATION, AND CARTOONS,

CONTROLLING MUSIC

Per cent high on cartoons

a) High-music			
Education	Exposure		
	0	1 and 2	3 or more
High . . . . .	72	79	86
Low . . . . .	47	57	78

b) Low-music			
Education	Exposure		
	0	1 and 2	3 or more
High . . . . .	42	48	64
Low . . . . .	14	35	56

- d) When we control for education, the effect of music remains as strong as, or stronger than, the effect of Great Books. While in the lower-educational level the musically unsophisticated do better in the advanced years than the musically sophisticated do in the first year, for the college graduates (who make up some 60 per cent of the program, according to our sample) the musically unsophisticated, although they improve considerably, never catch up with the scores of the musically sophisticated in the first year.

TABLE B-I-17

MUSIC, EXPOSURE, AND CARTOONS,

CONTROLLING EDUCATION

Per cent high on cartoons

a) High-education			
Music	Exposure		
	0	1 and 2	3 or more
High . . . .	72	79	86
Low. . . . .	42	48	64

b) Low-education			
Music	Exposure		
	0	1 and 2	3 or more
High . . . .	47	57	78
Low. . . . .	14	35	56

e) In summary, we may say that the effect of exposure to Great Books remains consistently strong, even when two powerful predictors of cartoon scores -- education and music -- are controlled. Roughly speaking, the effect of exposure is greater than that of initial educational level, although not greater than that of "music" (which we interpret as a measure of current intellectual sophistication).

2) Now, let us see whether these conclusions would be modified if we added our adherence index to the pot of controls. This requires inspection of Rows a and b, d and e, g and h, j and k. Our conclusions are:

- a) Within seven of the eight rows, cartoon scores increase with exposure, controlling education, music, and adherence simultaneously. In Row h, there is a minor reversal, which is, however, based on a very small number of cases.
- b) There appears to be no consistent relation between adherence and cartoon scores when one controls for education and music, although nine of the twelve cells show the low adherents higher on the cartoon test.
- c) The following pattern, and this is probably the most crucial trend in Table 14, holds with no reversals and only one indeterminate case: Controlling education and music, advanced-year participants, regardless of their adherence, do better on the cartoon test than do earlier-year participants, regardless of their adherence. This means, in short, that if every

single participant who was low on adherence dropped out, the exposure differences in cartoon scores would still hold. In fact, if anything, the tendency for high cartoon scores to be low on adherence argues that there is a greater exposure difference than our data indicate.

### Summary.

In this section we have attempted to explore the hypothesis that exposure to Great Books increases the participant's knowledge of the liberal arts and humanities. While this "effect" is not the most sophisticated and subtle, we argued that unless we can present evidence for it, it would be useless to proceed to analyze effects which are assumed to flow from the increased knowledge.

In order to measure knowledge of the liberal arts and humanities, we used a "cartoon" test designed to assess knowledge of a curriculum similar to that of Great Books. Analysis of the test itself indicated that it was internally fairly consistent, both in the Great Books sample and in a judgmental sample of Northwestern University undergraduates. While we have no "hard" evidence of its validity, its pattern of correlations with such variables as education and musical sophistication is consistent with the assumptions we have made about it.

Our data showed a fairly strong and statistically significant relationship between number of years completed in the Great Books program and scores on our cartoon measure. It was admitted that in a "cross-sectional" design, no test could be made of the hypotheses that a) the participants would have improved without Great Books, and b) the quality of recruits to the program has declined.<sup>10</sup>

In the remainder of the section, consideration was given to the possibility that the observed difference could be spurious because of a tendency for persons low on cartoon scores to drop out. Our analysis reached the following conclusions:

1) No significant educational differences among the exposure years were found, and although education is related to cartoon scores, the relationship between exposure and cartoon scores appeared not to be a function of differences in education.

2) While "education" was considered as a fair test of general background, we deemed it desirable to consider other measures of intellectual ability which were more contemporaneous. We chose "musical sophistication" on the assumption that it would relate to cartoon scores and not change with exposure to Great Books. It clearly relates to cartoon scores (being a more

---

<sup>10</sup> For the record, the only shred of evidence on this subject is as follows: A 1953 survey showed that 75 per cent of the participants reported "college" education, while our sample shows 84 per cent with part college or more. The 1953 data failed to make clear whether "college" meant part college or college graduate; but if we follow the author's assumption that it meant "part college or more," our data indicate no decrease in the quality of a variable which we know relates to cartoon scores.

powerful predictor than education, and equal to or greater than exposure in predictive power), but whether it changes with exposure to Great Books is a moot point. What we found was that among the non-college-graduates musical-sophistication scores increased with exposure. Our a priori reasoning suggested that low-education, low-music people tend to drop out of the program. As a check on this, we introduced our "adherence" measure, which is based on the respondent's statements about his plans to continue in the program. The relations between adherence, music, education, and exposure tended in a very slight way to support the following hypotheses:

- a) Low-education, low-music participants tend to drop out of the program.
- b) High-education participants, regardless of their musical scores, tend to drop out more frequently than low-education, high-music participants.

If these conclusions are correct, and we must reiterate that our evidence is very shaky, we may hazard the guess that program losses are greater among the "least prepared," who find Great Books too much of a challenge, and the "most prepared," who either find it too little challenge or who are attracted to competing activities.

3) The indeterminacy of our conclusions about musical sophistication as a control suggested that we test education, music, and adherence as simultaneous controls. The results, almost without exception, were consistent with the hypothesis that cartoon scores improve with exposure. Thus, although we do not know what assumptions to make about the interrelations of intellectual abilities and drop-out, regardless of which assumptions we choose to make, the data are consistent with the original hypothesis and inconsistent with the drop-out hypothesis.

4) In short, as far as we can tell, exposure to Great Books increases the participant's knowledge of the liberal arts and humanities.

## CHURCH, STATE, AND CARTOON SCORES

In the preceding section we looked at scores on our test of liberal arts knowledge (the cartoon quiz) in terms of their relationships with Great Books exposure and their correlations with other measures of intellectual prowess such as education and musical sophistication. In this section we shall consider the relations between cartoon scores and another order of variable -- "institutional involvement."

Sociologists tend to think of people as the "weighted" sum of their "memberships" in the formal and informal organizations which make up the society. While this is a point of view which is guaranteed to incite the rage of both psychologists and literary critics, it is still fairly safe to predict, for example, that, notwithstanding their individual differences, rural Southern Baptists share a lot of things which differentiate them from urban Northern Catholics. Furthermore, the institutional context where one finds one's self has a lot to do with whether and how one can "apply" the ideas gained from education. Thus, it is rather doubtful that the Great Books group which once existed in San Quentin Prison had the potential for developing community leaders that other groups in the Bay area had.

Other parts of our analysis have indicated that, despite some folklore to the contrary, Great Books participants are not refugees from the real world but maintain a considerable volume of social relationships aside from participation in their discussion groups. Thus, the problem we shall examine is not whether Great Books people are involved in anything else, but whether there are differentials in involvement which are related to gains from participation in Great Books.

The two "involvements" we shall consider are political-party preference and church attendance. (Chapter V of Part B considers in some detail involvement in local community affairs.) We need not, we think, stress that of the major institutions of our society, these two would rank near the top in terms of their "strategic location."

In Chapter I of Part A we saw that our participants are fairly well distributed among the pigeon-holes in these two large areas of involvement; all levels of exposure have generous portions of Republicans, Democrats, Independents, non-religionists, Protestants, Catholics, and Jews. It is the thesis of this section, however, that within our group of participants the more able, in terms of knowledge of the liberal arts and humanities, are not so randomly distributed among these categories.

Let us begin our examination by looking at the relationship between party preference and scores on the cartoon test.

TABLE B-I-18

PARTY PREFERENCE AND CARTOON SCORES

Preference	Per cent Scoring 11 or More	Number of Cases
"I'm a Democrat" . . . . .	56	(308)
"I usually lean toward the Democratic candidates" .	57	(539)
"I usually split my ballot 50-50" . . . . .	46	(182)
"I usually lean toward the Republican candidates" .	44	(453)
"I'm a Republican" . . . . .	47	(278)
		1,760

The "Democrats" tend to score higher on the test than the other politically-affiliated groups. Furthermore, we note two other properties. First, since the "Independents" score about like the "Republicans," it seems fairer to say, not that "Republicans" score low, but rather that the "Democrats" score high. Second, within the two parties, extremes of advocacy do not seem to affect the scores. Thus, it appears that while the categories are logically arranged to form a ranked continuum of party fealty, the relationship is not (at least by the informal criteria we are using) a "continuous" one, but rather, for some reason, those of "Democratic" leanings score higher than those with any other party preference. (We ignored the single third-party adherent in our sample, feeling that the sample size was a little small!)

What, then, about church attendance?

TABLE B-I-19

FREQUENCY OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE AND CARTOON SCORES

Reported Frequency	Per cent Scoring 11 or More	N
"Regularly, almost with- out exception" . . . . .	44	(628)
"Fairly regularly" . . . . .	42	(348)
"Occasionally" . . . . .	53	(330)
"Seldom" . . . . .	63	(302)
"Never" . . . . .	66	(194)
		1,802

The trend here is even more clear-cut. Knowledge of the liberal arts and humanities decreases steadily with increased frequency of church attendance, the "never" group providing half again as many high scorers proportionally as the "regularly, almost without exception" group.

Since, as we shall see, church attendance is correlated with party preference, let us see whether these can be thought of as independent relationships. In order to conserve cases, we collapsed party preference as "Democratic" ("I'm a Democrat" and "I usually lean toward the Democratic candidates") versus all others; and collapsed church attendance as "Regularly" and "Fairly regularly" versus all others. The table below gives the cartoon scores for both variables at once.

TABLE B-I-20

PARTY PREFERENCE, CHURCH ATTENDANCE, AND CARTOON SCORES  
Per cent scoring 11 or more on cartoons

Party	Church Attendance	
	Regular	Occasional, Seldom, Never
Democrat . . .	50 (379)	62 (456)
Other . . . . .	38 (559)	56 (342)

In spite of the correlation between the two (45 per cent of the Democrats are regular church-attenders, 62 per cent of the non-Democrats), they apparently have independent relations to cartoon scores, the per cent of high scorers rising in both columns and declining in the left category of both rows. At the extremes, 63 per cent more Democrats who are infrequent church-attenders than non-Democrats who are regular-attenders score high.

Let us now proceed to interpret these findings by the introduction of other variables into the table. We shall begin by asking whether the relationship might be a spurious one. We already know that cartoon scores are strongly related to education and years of exposure to Great Books. Tables 21 and 22 show what happens to the political party-church attendance relation when these two variables are controlled. Table 23 shows what happens when community type is controlled.

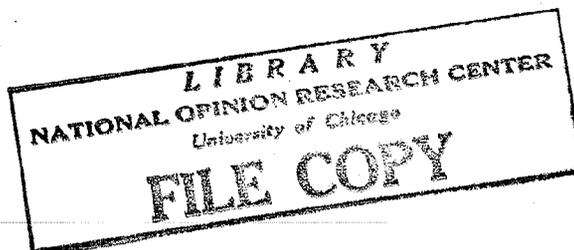


TABLE B-I-21

PARTY PREFERENCE, CHURCH ATTENDANCE, AND CARTOON SCORES,  
 CONTROLLING EXPOSURE TO GREAT BOOKS  
 Per cent scoring 11 or more on cartoons

Years of Great Books Completed	Party	Church Attendance	
		Regular	Occasional, Seldom, Never
0 . . . . .	Democrat	40 (167)	52 (163)
	Non-Democrat	28 (235)	39 (115)
1 and 2 . . .	Democrat	52 (108)	66 (138)
	Non-Democrat	38 (168)	57 (117)
3 or more . .	Democrat	69 (77)	72 (120)
	Non-Democrat	57 (121)	71 (91)

TABLE B-I-22

PARTY PREFERENCE, CHURCH ATTENDANCE, AND CARTOON SCORES,  
 CONTROLLING EDUCATION  
 Per cent scoring 11 or more on cartoons

Education	Party	Church Attendance	
		Regular	Occasional, Seldom, Never
No college . . .	Democrat	30 (60)	32 (73)
	Non-Democrat	18 (72)	34 (59)
Part college and Bachelor's .	Democrat	49 (158)	62 (182)
	Non-Democrat	36 (267)	58 (172)
Graduate study .	Democrat	62 (147)	75 (186)
	Non-Democrat	52 (198)	68 (102)

TABLE B-I-23

PARTY PREFERENCE, CHURCH ATTENDANCE, AND CARTOON SCORES,

CONTROLLING FOR COMMUNITY TYPE\*

Per cent scoring 11 or more on cartoons

Community	Party	Church Attendance	
		Regular	Occasional, Seldom, Never
Very big cities.	Democrat	57 (42)	59 (117)
	Non-Democrat	30 (53)	57 (49)
Big cities . . .	Democrat	45 (154)	67 (97)
	Non-Democrat	30 (154)	58 (67)
Suburbs. . . . .	Democrat	56 (131)	58 (165)
	Non-Democrat	43 (244)	53 (164)
Small towns. . .	Democrat	52 (46)	71 (51)
	Non-Democrat	43 (89)	64 (52)

\* The classification of cities is described in detail in the introduction to the report.

Let's take Table 21 first. If we think of it as three separate tables, each compiled for a group which is homogeneous on Great Books exposure, we find that within each of the three, both of our relationships hold. In the very-advanced-year group, however, the gap begins to close, particularly in the low church-attenders. This is consistent with our previous conclusion that long-term exposure to Great Books tends to override the influence of "demographic" characteristics on these scores. In addition, it is interesting to note that, as we will mention in other analyses, advanced-year people tend to be lower in their church attendance (59 per cent of the zero-exposure group are regulars, 52 per cent of the 1-and-2-year group, and 48 per cent of the advanced group), but this does not account for the relationship between attendance and cartoon scores. (There is no trend with exposure for party preference, the per cent Democratic for the three exposure groups being 49, 46, and 48, respectively.)

Repeating the process for Table 22, we conclude that, as in the case of exposure, our relationships still hold in each educational level. The thing does get a little blurred in the non-college group, but the number of cases is relatively small, and we do find the "extremely" high and low cartoon scores in their proper diagonal cells.

Similarly, despite the relationship between community type and party preference, and a tendency for participants from the very large cities to be low on church attendance, Table 23 shows that our relationship holds within each of our types of cities. This, in turn, suggests that a sample which had a truer proportion of small-town members would probably show the same thing as our more urbanized group.

In summary, our institutional effects apparently operate independently of education and exposure to Great Books. Therefore, we doubt that we can find variables which will explain away our findings; however, the addition of still further variables may help us to understand the findings.

Denomination

We will begin by looking at religious denomination, having so far considered attendance in independence of what church the participant is attending or staying away from. Table 24 gives us our raw materials.

TABLE B-1-24

PARTY PREFERENCE, CHURCH ATTENDANCE, AND CARTOON SCORES,  
CONTROLLING DENOMINATIONAL PREFERENCE  
Per cent scoring 11 or more on cartoons

Denomination	Party	Church Attendance	
		Regular	Occasional, Seldom, Never
Protestant . . .	Democrat	50 (258)	66 (119)
	Non-Democrat	39 (442)	53 (197)
Catholic . . . . .	Democrat	48 (63)	- (5)
	Non-Democrat	37 (86)	- (4)
Jewish . . . . .	Democrat	56 (34)	61 (172)
	Non-Democrat	- (7)	55 (31)
None . . . . .	Democrat	- (8)	63 (114)
	Non-Democrat	- (2)	71 (76)

Table 24 is crawling with what the statistician calls "second-order interactions" and what anybody can see are some very peculiar sets of numbers. To begin with the only case that is fairly clear-cut, we find that our relationships still hold among the Protestants. For the other denominations, however, the interrelations of denomination, attendance, and party preference are so strong and so complicated that instead of the "relationship vanishing" when we control for another variable, our tables have vanished. What we mean by this statement becomes clear when we take a look at each of the non-Protestant denominations.

TABLE B-I-25  
 DENOMINATION, PARTY PREFERENCE, CHURCH ATTENDANCE,  
 AND CARTOON SCORES  
 Per cent who are....

Denomination	Democrats	Regular Attenders	High on Cartoons	N
Protestant .	37	69	48	(1016)
Catholic . .	43	94	42	(158)
Jewish . . .	84	17	59	(66)
None . . . .	61	5	66	(200)

1) Our Catholic respondents are very high on church attendance (94 per cent regulars); in fact, they are so high that we do not have enough cases to look at their liberal arts knowledge scores in a low-attendance group. (Whether our Catholics are particularly devout or whether low-attending Catholics tend to drop their denominational identification, we do not know.) Since, however, they do split on party preference (although, as many studies have shown, they are slightly more pro-Democratic than the Protestants), we can see that within the regulars our party difference in cartoon scores still holds up.

2) The Jewish respondents tend to be both low church-attenders and Democrats, thus providing only a negligible number of cases for our non-Democratic, high-attending cell. Within the other three corners of our table, however, our faithful old relationship is found waiting for us, although perhaps in a slightly weakened condition.

3) The "Nones" -- that is, the participants who specifically denied any denominational or creedal adherence -- do contradict us slightly. In the first place, five per cent of them (10 cases) are regular church-attenders. A few of these cases may well be respondent recording errors or inconsistencies; but there were respondents without any denominational loyalty who also said they attended church regularly (choir directors, etc.). In the second place, they slightly reverse our political trend, the non-Democrats being somewhat higher scorers than the Democrats (although the difference is not statistically reliable). Our best guess about this would be that, although church attendance and political effects are generally independent, at extremes (such as our low-attending "Nones"), the effect blurs. Thus, the important thing about the "Nones" is that they have very high cartoon scores, regardless of their party affiliation.

With the single exception of party preference among the "Nones," Table 24 generally supports our findings. As a matter of fact, rather than denomination "washing-out" our trends, the opposite is true. Where the

comparisons can be made, the denominational differences disappear when we control party preference and attendance. Thus, 59 per cent of the Jews as a whole are high on the cartoon test, as compared with 48 per cent of the Protestants, an eleven-percentage-point difference. Within the regular-attending Democrats, the percentage-point difference between Protestants and Jews drops to six, within the low-attending Republicans to two, and within the low-attending Democrats we get a five-point difference in the opposite direction. Thus, when we control for party preference and church attendance, we find no consistent denominational difference. While we have no reason to assume that our findings would generalize to other groups not in Great Books, it is interesting to note that the intellectual superiority of Jews in Great Books does not appear to be a function of the specific content of their religion but rather of the fact that they don't attend their church frequently and tend disproportionately to identify with a specific secular political position.

Our findings on denomination suggest that the "content" of a religious position has very little to do with the relationship between church attendance and cartoon scores. Historically, it is fairly clear that Judaism places a high stress on intellectual values, Protestantism a medium stress, and Catholicism a lesser stress. Nevertheless, among our respondents we find no important differences in the cartoon scores by denomination among the regular-attenders. Regardless of what content they are staying away from, the less-regular-attenders have higher scores.

This suggests, more by free association than by syllogistic reasoning, that what may lie behind our findings is not the content of the institutional ideologies, but rather the location of the institutions in the local social order. The respondents in our study are essentially upper middle-class, well-to-do adults. In the social world in which most of them move, the dominant institutional structures are the church and the Republican party, and the hallmark of solid integration into that social world is adherence to both. Thus, what our high-scorers seem to have in common is distance from the major institutions in their neck of the woods. The farther they appear to move away from the majority institutions toward the Democratic party and away from their churches, the higher their scores.

We have no way of making a specific test of so abstract an interpretation, but the following evidence may be considered. If the underlying factor here is actually the degree of involvement in the "majority" institutions, where the majority-minority position of an institution reverses, the relationship should reverse also. While we can think of no community where non-church-going is more respectable than church-going, the relative standing of the two national parties among upper middle-class people does vary with region. Thus, if our hypothesis is correct, when we look at the relationship between party affiliation and scores for respondents in the South, it should look quite different. If our interpretation is correct, what should we expect to find?

- 1) In the South the negative relationship between Democratic-party affiliation and church attendance should disappear or reverse.
- 2) In all regions and party affiliations, church-going should still show its relationship.

- 3) In the South the party difference should lessen or disappear, particularly among the regular church-attenders.
- 4) In the North the party difference should be, if anything, stronger.

We coded as "Southerners"<sup>11</sup> all respondents in the following sample points: 1) Atlanta, Georgia; 2) Birmingham, Alabama; 3) Memphis, Tennessee; and 4) Houston, Texas. The remainder we appropriately classified as "non-South." (We wrestled with Baltimore, Maryland, but decided that since it elects Republican governors, it would be non-South.)

TABLE B-I-26

PARTY PREFERENCE, CHURCH ATTENDANCE, AND CARTOON SCORES,  
CONTROLLING FOR REGION  
Per cent scoring 11 or more on cartoons

Southern Respondents		
Party	Church Attendance	
	Regular	Occasional, Seldom, Never
Democrat . . . . .	44 (114)	70 (160)
Other. . . . .	43 (77)	58 (108)
Non-Southern Respondents		
Party	Church Attendance	
	Regular	Occasional, Seldom, Never
Democrat . . . . .	53 (265)	61 (410)
Other. . . . .	37 (482)	56 (311)

<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately, our data are not as unambiguous as we would like them to be with respect to this classification. The question we asked about political-party affiliation referred to national elections, and the adherence in the Deep South to Democratic presidential candidates has been a matter of some ambivalence in the last few decades. Furthermore, since our samples are heavily urban, we may have a number of Yankee in-migrants concealed in our Southern sample.

Now, let's check this out against our hypotheses:

1) As we predicted, the correlation between Republicanism and church-attendance disappears, although it does not reverse in the South, and (as it has to, algebraically) it increases in the non-South. (In the South, 42 per cent of the Democrats and 42 per cent of the non-Democrats are regular church-attenders. In the non-South, 39 per cent of the Democrats are regulars, 61 per cent of the non-Democrats.)

2) In all six political-geographic groups, the church attendance relationship remains constant, as our hypotheses required.

3) and 4) If we consider only regular church-attenders, our prediction about regional differences is essentially substantiated. In the South, among the regular church-attenders, the political-party difference disappears. In the non-South (we can't call it the North since we have large samples from the West Coast), the party difference is quite strong. Non-South Democrats score the highest, followed by Southerners regardless of party; followed by Northern non-Democrats. Complete vindication is denied us, however, because we do not observe the same pattern among the "irregulars." In both South and non-South, the Democrats do better among the irregulars, and the size of the differences is about equal in each. Now, it would be most advantageous for us to argue that in the South the non-church-going Democrats are identifying with an aspect of the national Democratic party which is not the same as that attracting the church-goers (and we think that anyone will have to admit that the Democratic party attracts the identification of a greater variety of ideological stances than does the Republican), and that the finding does not destroy the hypothesis. A fairer conclusion might be this: The hypothesis of social distance from major institutions cannot be ignored, for it does make sensible the lack of denominational difference and the situation among Southern church-attenders; however, it fails to explain completely the relationships we have observed.

### Summary

All our evidence certainly indicates that participation in the program does raise the cultural level of its members. The evidence reviewed in this chapter, however, suggests that the "output" of the program is not going to be allocated randomly to the major social institutions -- the church and the political party -- of the society. A disproportionate number of the program's most able members will not be involved in the dominant institutions of their social world.

In short, if one thinks of the program as a way of reaching "people" -- improving their cultural level -- all our evidence suggests that the participants are reached. If, however, one thinks of the program as a mechanism for reaching "institutions" by means of improving the intellectual abilities of the people who man them, the effectiveness of the program must be qualified, for our evidence suggests that the absolute levels of intellectual knowledge (we did not attempt to assess relative growth) are somewhat less for the people who are more involved in the dominant institutions of the society than for those who are less involved.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I

The Cartoon Quiz

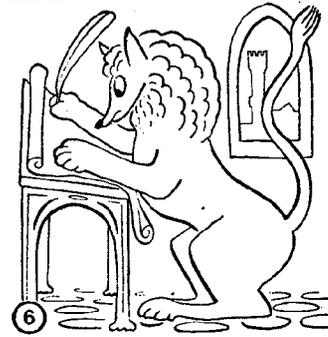
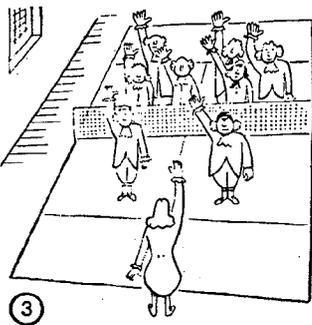
Your Name \_\_\_\_\_

Each of the 32 drawings on this and the following pages should suggest something—some book, person, episode, or work of art. Please jot down next to each picture a word or phrase which identifies it. Guess if you are not certain. (The first answer has been given as an example.)

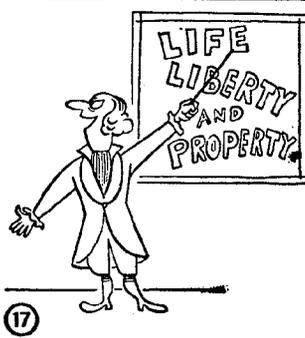
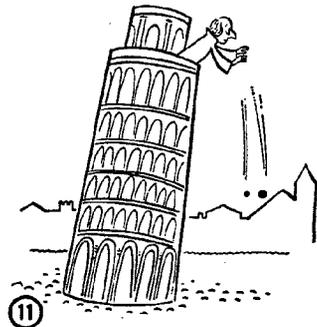
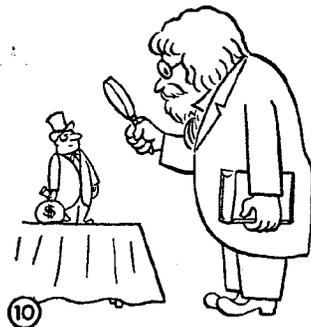
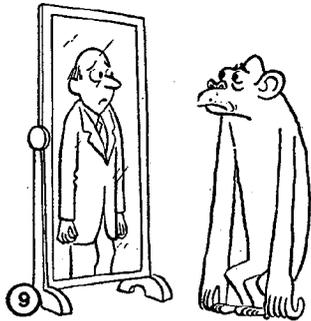
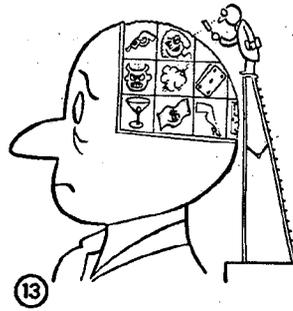


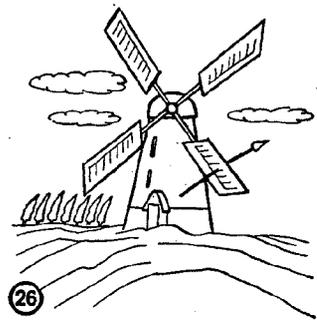
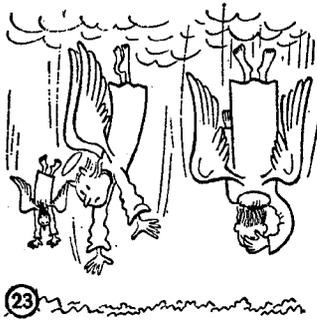
*"Sir Walter Raleigh  
spreading his cape  
for Queen Elizabeth"*

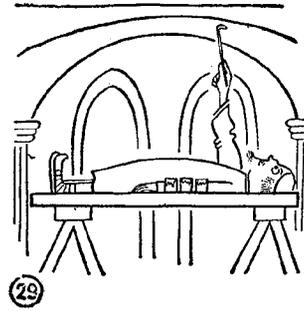
HISTORY AND POLITICS



1096)  
SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY







ANSWERS TO CARTOON QUIZ

1. Sir Walter Raleigh spreading his cape for Queen Elizabeth.
2. King John signing Magna Carta.
3. Tennis-court Oath, French Revolution.
4. Martin Luther and his ninety-five theses.
5. British suffragettes who chained themselves to the fence outside the Houses of Parliament.
6. Machiavelli, The Prince. (Prince should be a combination of the Lion and the Fox.)
7. Jean Marat, assassinated by Charlotte Corday during the French Revolution.
8. Rousseau's idea of the noble savage.
9. Darwin's theory of evolution.
10. Karl Marx and his theory of capitalism.
11. Galileo testing his law of falling bodies at the Tower of Pisa.
12. Isaac Newton and his law of gravity.
13. Freud, Psychoanalysis.
14. Saint Augustine stealing a pear. (Related in the Confessions.)
15. Nietzsche, theory of the Superman in Also Sprach Zarathustra.
16. Malthus and his theory of eventual overpopulation of the earth.
17. John Locke.
18. Job.
19. Aristophanes, The Clouds, The Birds, The Frogs.
20. Dante, The Inferno.
21. Shelley, Prometheus Unbound.
22. Rabelais, Gargantua.
23. Milton, the fallen angels in Paradise Lost.
24. Shakespeare, Birnam Forest coming to Dunsinane in Macbeth.
25. Swift, Houyhnhnms in Gulliver's Travels.
26. Cervantes, Don Quixote.
27. Voltaire, "Cultivate your own garden," in Candide.
28. Wagner, Ring of the Niebelung.
29. Michelangelo painting the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel.
30. Mozart.
31. Beethoven destroying dedication of the Third Symphony ("Eroica") to Napoleon.
32. Renoir, who had the brush tied to his hand when arthritis deprived him of the free use of his hands.

CHAPTER II

ESTHETICS

### Introduction

Although there is little or no "lyric poetry" in the Great Books readings, the participant who continues in the program eventually will have read a considerable amount of verse. Even before he gets to the fourth year when Aristotle's Poetics presumably tell him what to make of it, he will have read a large amount of verse drama (Shakespeare, Aeschylus, Sophocles) and epic poetry (Homer). In the fourth and later years he will add Milton, Dante, The Song of the Volsungs and the Nieblungs and more Shakespeare and Aeschylus. While heavy doses of Calvin's Institutes and St. Thomas may offset these, the fact remains that Great Books participants have been exposed to quite a bit of poetry.

It is suggested, therefore, that one of the effects of participation in the program may be increased sensitivity to excellence in verse. Remembering back to Chapter II of Part A, we note that 24 per cent of the sample checked "Improving my taste in fiction and poetry" as a reason for joining. Now Chapter III of Part A indicated that this motive belongs in the "less successful" pile, but just as we don't take the respondent's word for the successes, we want to make a more sophisticated check before we conclude that the program does not increase these abilities.

### Measurement

Our measure of ability to judge poetry is based on an instrument developed by Trabue and Abott in 1920,<sup>1</sup> and a very fascinating one it is. What the authors did was to collect a large set of poems ranging from Mother Goose to Milton and to construct "bad" versions of brief selections from each. In a systematic fashion they created for each poem: a) a version sentimentalized in wording, b) a version which was systematically flattened to make it "matter-of-fact," and c) a metrically damaged version. These were then submitted to a panel of "experts" who, as one might expect, often preferred the damaged version to the original, but those poems on which there was consensus were preserved. The final instrument consisted of a set of poems which was administered to samples of respondents of different educational levels (the authors were interested in elementary education, so a large part of their sample was from grade and high schools) who were asked to pick the version which they preferred.

We were unable to locate, even with the kind assistance of Dr. Trabue and the long distance telephone, a complete set of the poems, so we used in our study the four which appeared in the original publication. They are reproduced at the end of this chapter. For each we gave the original, sentimental, and the matter-of-fact version. Unfortunately, since the publication of the original study, Sandburg's "Fog" has been embalmed in so many high school textbooks that it is not a fair test, since many people know the correct version by rote. However, 23 per cent of our sample managed to get it wrong, so we kept it in the analysis.

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<sup>1</sup>M. R. Trabue and Allen Abott, "A Measure of Ability to Judge Poetry," Teacher's College Record, Vol. XXII, March, 1921.

Tables 1 and 2 summarize the crude results.

TABLE B-II-1

NUMBER OF "CORRECT" CHOICES (FOR THOSE  
RESPONDENTS WHO ATTEMPTED ONE OR MORE)

Number of Correct Choices	Per cent	Number of Cases
0 . . .	7	139
1 . . .	27	507
2 . . .	37	696
3 . . .	22	419
4 . . .	6	108
	99	1,869

TABLE B-II-2

RESPONSES TO SPECIFIC POEMS

Per cent giving each response

Version	Poem			
	Fog	Sea Shell	House Fear	Milton
Correct . . . . .	77	52	38	29
Matter-of-fact . .	10	24	44	40
Sentimentalized . .	13	24	18	31
N <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	(1,854)	(1,824)	(1,831)	(1,833)

<sup>1</sup> Throughout the report, N refers to the base on which the percentages were calculated.

Tables 1 and 2, alone, tell us little. In subjecting the test results to more intensive and, we hope, more revealing, examination, let us first look at the intercorrelations among respondents' correct choices for the four poems. Table 3 gives the "Q" coefficients.

TABLE B-II-3  
INTERCORRELATIONS OF POEMS

Poem	Fog	Sea Shell	House Fear	Milton
Fog . . . .	-	.188	.160	-.080
Sea Shell .	.188	-	.091	.193
House Fear .	.160	.091	-	.196
Milton . . .	-.080	.193	.196	-

Although, given our large sample, some of the relationships are "statistically significant," they are all so low as to suggest either that the poems measure four different dimensions of poetic sophistication, or else an awful lot of people were guessing. Since data like these will not make satisfactory scales, we merely dichotomized the respondents into a high and a low group--those who got three or four correct versus those who got zero, one, or two correct. This dichotomization was used in much of the analysis which follows.

By way of further exploration of the test results we shall consider three separate questions: 1) How do Great Books participants compare with the original authors' norms? 2) How do scores on poetry, musical sophistication, and knowledge relate to each other? 3) What sorts of people in the program are better and poorer judges of poetry?, and 4) Does continued exposure to the program increase poetic discrimination?

Great Books Participants vs. Original Test Subjects

Trabue and Abott report norms for each specific poem for fairly large numbers of students ranging from grade school to graduate study in English. Although the data were not obtained from a probability sample and are almost 40 years old, they are, nevertheless, probably the only good data existing on poetic sensitivity in the United States. In any case, a comparison of the scores of our respondents with the responses of these original subjects may be somewhat illuminating. To make the two sets of responses comparable, however, it was necessary for us to apply a corrective factor to the scores of the Great Books participants. The original study presented four versions of each poem to each respondent, whereas we used only three versions. In the original research, therefore, respondents on the average could be expected to get 25 per cent of the poems right by sheer guesswork, while in our study, a pair of dice could get 33 per cent right. Comparability of the two sets of data was achieved by dividing the proportion who picked the correct version for each poem by the chance expectation. For the original materials the chance expectation was .250; for Great Books, .333. Thus if .420 Great Books participants got a certain poem right they would get an index value of 1.26, which means that 1.26 times as many got it right as would have from sheer guessing. Any value greater than 1.00 then indicates the superiority of the respondents

over a pair of dice. The resulting comparative scores are given by educational level in the table below:

TABLE B-II-4  
INDEX OF CORRECT POETRY CHOICES BY EDUCATION AND SPECIFIC  
POEM, GREAT BOOKS AND ORIGINAL STUDY SAMPLE

Poem	Sample	Education*						
		High School		Post High Non-College	College			Graduate
		III	IV		I	II	III-IV	
Milton .	Trabue . .	0.50	0.80		0.77	0.86	1.17	1.79
	Great Books	0.73	0.82	0.76		0.74	0.95	0.96
House Fear	Trabue . .	0.71	1.31		1.53	1.89	1.94	2.67
	Great Books	0.97	1.05	0.64		1.09	1.26	1.16
Sea Shell	Trabue . .	1.60	2.00		2.37	2.04	2.22	2.54
	Great Books	1.00	1.44	1.52		1.70	1.60	1.52
Fog . .	Trabue . .	0.53	0.65		1.38	1.46	1.54	1.93
	Great Books	1.71	1.87	2.24		2.22	2.49	2.43

\* We worked out the following rough equivalents to Trabue's years of school: For Great Books, 11th grade or less (N=37) was set equivalent to third year high; high school graduate (N=146) was set equivalent to fourth year high; post high, non-college (N=104) was inserted between high school and college and has no direct comparison; part college (N=423) was set equivalent to college II; college graduate (N=411) was set equivalent to III-IV; and graduate work (N=672) was compared with graduate work. The numbers of cases in Trabue's samples, reading from left to right along the top of the table are: 288, 284, 228, 178, 202, and 261.

Great Books participants were consistently more likely to get "Fog" right, but for poems which are not widely known, there was little difference between the scores of the two groups. If anything, within a roughly comparable educational level, the Great Books participant was a little less likely to pick the correct version. Excluding "Fog," there were 15 comparisons, 12 of which favored the original sample, three of which favored the Great Books participants. At least three of the 12 are unfair, for in the "graduate" group the comparison is between graduate students in English in the original sample, and graduate students in a number of fields in Great Books. We should note, however, that Great Books graduate students generally did less well than Trabue's undergraduates so the difference is not merely one of graduate training in the field of English.

On the whole, though, the Great Books participants were neither clearly superior nor inferior to the original study group (which was probably, of course, quite selected itself, in that the respondents came from schools well above the national average).

There are some more details in Table 4 which are of interest. In both samples and in each education group there is a consistent difference in proportion of correct choices among the three "unknown" poems, Milton having the

lowest scores, and "Sea Shell" the highest, with Frost ("House Fear") in between. Thus, although the choices will not scale, they do appear to differ consistently in difficulty. For Milton, Great Books respondents at all educational levels appear to be just around the chance expectation, but for "Sea Shell" they consistently surpass the chance expectation. Also we note a strong tendency in Trabue's data for poetic skill to increase with years of education, and a slight and irregular tendency in that direction within Great Books.

#### Comparison of Poetry Test Results with Other Test Results

Before directing our attention to internal differences in poetic acuity within the Great Books sample by asking what types of people do well and what types do poorly on the test, we should consider the interrelationships of our set of cultural "tests."

The three basic measures of high cultural aptitude in our study are: 1) The "cartoon test" of knowledge of the liberal arts and humanities, 2) The musical sophistication scale, and 3) The poetry test. The first two were described in detail in Chapter I of this section, and the last was anatomized in the preceding paragraphs. We can begin by asking about their statistical relationships with each other. There are two good reasons for this. First, if they are highly related, we will have to use the other two as "controls" before we can really understand whether the third has a genuine or spurious relationship with such variables as sex, education, religion, and so on. A somewhat more interesting reason, though, is this: Throughout our study we have had a continuing interest in describing the intellectual and cultural orientations of the people in Great Books. We are interested in what they know, what they read, and what they are interested in. Each of these questions is treated in separate places in our study. There is, however, a more general question of how these cultural interests and abilities hang together. Do people who do well on one test also tend to do well on another, or are there "specialists" who focus on one area and not on another? The problem is a genuine one for those interested in liberal adult education, for the implicit assumption of such people is that it is possible to develop a "well rounded" person who is interested in a wide variety of aspects of high culture. We don't propose to decide here and now whether it is possible to develop a well rounded person, but we do hope to examine the pattern of relationships for our three tests.

To begin with, we could advance a number of hypotheses. Perhaps music and poetry correlate strongly because they are both "esthetic," contrasted to the cartoon test. Perhaps, however, poetry and cartoons are closely associated because both are verbal, while music is an auditory phenomenon. Or perhaps cartoon scores and music will be highly congruent because, with the growth of education and the rise of the record player, both are more widely "propagated" than poetry.

Let us look at the correlations. In Table 5 we see the "Q" coefficients of music, poetry, and cartoon scores. Both poetry and music have positive relationships with the knowledge measure, but they are independent of each other. In other words, people who are musically sophisticated or good judges of poetry will tend to have pretty high knowledge scores, but there is no way of predicting from music to poetry or from poetry to music.

TABLE B-II-5  
 ASSOCIATIONS AMONG POETRY, MUSIC, AND  
 CARTOON SCORES

Correlates	Music	Cartoons	Poetry
Music .	-	.492	.033
Cartoons	.492	-	.215
Poetry .	.033	.215	-

Just to make sure that somehow formal level of education isn't operating the strings here, let us look at these associations within different educational groups.

TABLE B-II-6  
 ASSOCIATIONS AMONG POETRY, MUSIC, AND CARTOON  
 SCORES, CONTROLLING FOR FORMAL EDUCATION

Education	(N)	Scores	Music	Cartoons	Poetry
No college . .	(215)	Music	-	.686	-.200
		Cartoons	.686	-	.223
		Poetry	-.200	.223	-
Part college & A/B. . . .	(763)	Music	-	.550	.071
		Cartoons	.550	-	.124
		Poetry	.071	.124	-
Graduate work .	(631)	Music	-	.504	.067
		Cartoons	.504	-	.241
		Poetry	.067	.241	-

In each of the three education groups, the patterning is the same as in Table 5, a fairly high association between music and cartoons, a low but positive relationship between poetry and cartoons, and virtual independence of music and poetry.

The implication of these findings is that there is no "esthetic" type to be found here; rather, within a given level of knowledge of the whole range of culture, some people cultivate musical sensitivity, some cultivate poetry, some neither--but there is no relationship between excellence in the two areas of esthetics.

These ruminations, in turn, suggest that the most fruitful approach to the problem of locating the poetically sensitive is to consider a typology of high cultural emphasis rather than just looking for good and bad judges of the poems. Table 7 distributes the cases in our basic framework.

TABLE B-II-7  
 DISTRIBUTION OF CASES IN TYPOLOGY OF  
 CULTURAL ABILITIES

Knowledge	Musical Sophistication	Poetry Skill	
		High	Low
High	High	153	302
	Low	135	263
Low	High	48	146
	Low	150	425

Now, when we look at the relationship between a given background variable and the typology we can ask a number of questions:

- 1) Is the variable related to knowledge, regardless of type of esthetic interest?
- 2) Is the variable related to music as an area of esthetic specialization, independent of its relationship to general cultural knowledge?
- 3) Is the variable related to poetry as an area of esthetic specialization, independent of its relationship to general cultural knowledge?
- 4) Is the variable related to both types of esthetic specialization, independent of its relationship to general cultural knowledge?

In the following table the relationships between a number of social characteristics and the typology are summarized.

Table 8 is the sort of table that demands another table to summarize it, and we will present one shortly. Before that, however, let us demonstrate how the table works. We can begin with characteristic number 1, education. The number in the cell is the per cent of that group with a bachelor's degree or more (i.e., college graduates). Thus, 52 per cent of the high poetry, high music, and high knowledge group are college graduates. Now, let us see how education relates to our three types of high cultural skills.

TABLE B-II-8

CORRELATES OF CULTURAL TYPOLOGY

Correlates	High Knowledge			Low Knowledge		
	Music	Poetry		Music	Poetry	
		High	Low		High	Low
1. Education (Per cent A.B. or more) . . . . .	High Low	52 (151) 43 (132)	49 (299) 45 (259)	High Low	33 ( 45) 26 (143)	38 (135) 27 (412)
2. Self-Conception (Per cent "Intellectual") . . . . .	High Low	29 (147) 19 (131)	25 (292) 19 (256)	High Low	9 ( 44) 4 (141)	12 (125) 6 (410)
3. Sex (Per cent Female) . . . . .	High Low	56 (151) 60 (134)	55 (299) 50 (263)	High Low	75 ( 48) 76 (147)	65 (142) 68 (419)
4. Party Preference (Per cent Democratic)	High Low	68 (148) 57 (131)	53 (288) 47 (253)	High Low	38 ( 45) 34 (146)	49 (138) 44 (411)
5. Church Attendance (Per cent Frequent)	High Low	45 (152) 50 (133)	43 (290) 47 (258)	High Low	57 ( 46) 72 (143)	49 (135) 64 (412)
6. Generation (Per cent Foreign Born of Children of Foreign Born Parent or Parents) . . . . .	High Low	34 (148) 26 (132)	38 (296) 27 (258)	High Low	28 ( 46) 26 (143)	48 (135) 31 (412)
7. Status of Occupation of Household Head (Per cent High) . . . . .	High Low	44 (144) 46 (134)	43 (279) 43 (249)	High Low	39 ( 41) 34 (136)	40 (126) 34 (384)
8. Age (Per cent under 35) . . . . .	High Low	42 (151) 37 (134)	38 (296) 36 (263)	High Low	35 ( 46) 42 (144)	31 (140) 42 (415)
9. Housewives (Per cent Housewives within women only) . . . . .	High Low	65 ( 83) 56 ( 79)	54 (164) 48 (126)	High Low	46 ( 35) 57 (107)	55 ( 86) 62 (280)
10. Community (Per cent in city limits of large Standard Metropolitan Area)	High Low	42 (152) 36 (133)	46 (300) 38 (262)	High Low	46 ( 48) 44 (148)	45 (142) 44 (421)
11. Religion (Per cent Catholic) . . . . .	High Low	6 (145) 10 (126)	6 (277) 9 (243)	High Low	9 ( 43) 19 (140)	4 ( 86) 12 (397)
12. Religion (Per cent Jewish) . . . . .	High Low	21 (145) 12 (126)	22 (277) 13 (243)	High Low	14 ( 43) 9 (140)	22 ( 86) 11 (397)

- 1) When we compare people who are the same in their esthetic skills but who differ in their knowledge score, we find in each case more college graduates among the high knowledge group (e.g., 52 per cent vs. 33 per cent among the high music, high poetry; 45 per cent vs. 27 per cent among the low music, low poetry).
- 2) When we compare people who have the same knowledge and poetry scores, we find in each case that there are more college graduates among the more musically sophisticated (e.g., 52 per cent vs. 43 per cent among the high poetry, high knowledge; 33 per cent vs. 26 per cent among the high poetry, low knowledge).
- 3) When we compare people who have the same musical sophistication and knowledge, we find no consistent relationship between education and poetry, (e.g., among the high music, high knowledge, the high poetry have 52 per cent college graduates, the low poetry 49 per cent; while among the high music, low knowledge, we get a reverse difference of 33 per cent vs. 38 per cent).

We conclude that education is related to knowledge and also to musical sophistication, but that it has no relationship with poetry.

We repeated this same process for each of our variables, with results which are summarized in the following table.

TABLE B-II-9

SUMMARY OF CORRELATES OF CULTURAL TYPOLOGY

Characteristic	Consistent Relationship with..		
	Knowledge	Music	Poetry
1. Education . . . . .	Yes	Yes	-
2. Self-Conception . .	Yes	Yes	-
3. Sex . . . . .	Yes	-	Yes
4. Party Preference .	Yes	Yes	-
5. Church Attendance .	Yes	Yes	Yes
6. Generation . . . . .	-	Yes	Yes
7. Status of Household Head . . . . .	Yes	-	-
8. Age . . . . .	-	-	?
9. "Housewives" . . .	-	-	-
10. Community . . . . .	-	Yes	-
11. Catholics . . . . .	-	Yes	?
12. Jews . . . . .	Yes	Yes	?

As we suspected, the pattern is different for the three types of cultural emphasis. In only one case, church attendance, does a given variable relate to all three tests, and in that one the correlations are in opposite directions for different cultural measures.

Since we have considered the correlates of knowledge scores in extensive detail, we shall not repeat them here, but concentrate on music and poetry.

Regardless of their level of general cultural knowledge and their ability to judge poetry, people high on musical sophistication tend disproportionately to be: 1) Highly educated, 2) Self-defined intellectuals, 3) Democrats, 4) Infrequent church attenders, 5) Foreign born or the children of foreign born, 6) Residents of very large cities, 7) Non-Catholic, and 8) Jewish. Now, our number of cases is becoming too small to disentangle the relative contributions of these eight separate characteristics to musical sophistication, but it is clear that they make a lot of sociological sense. What these eight variables describe is the highly urban "intellectual," or to put it another way, what we have here is the 1956 Adlai Stevenson vote.

When we turn to the poetically sophisticated, we find that regardless of their level of knowledge and their musical sophistication, they tend to be: 1) Women, 2) Frequent church attenders, and 3) Native born and children of native born parents. Somewhat less consistently, they tend to be: 4) Younger, 5) Roman Catholics, and 6) Non-Jewish. The complex which these variables describe is much less clear-cut than that suggested by the correlates of musical sophistication. With the exception of age, these characteristics suggest not a cultural type, but rather a temperament, which is difficult to put into words but might be suggested by phrases like "culturally conservative," this time using the sociological rather than popular sense of the word cultural.

Regardless of the names we choose to give these packages of characteristics, it is clear that we will be unable to order our respondents in a simple ranking in terms of their mastery of the elements of liberal arts and knowledge. Neither will we be able to think of a simple distinction between the "bookish" and the "arty," for within the esthetic area, it appears that the type of specialization is both statistically independent and related to very different sets of social characteristics.

#### Exposure to Great Books and Poetry Scores

We began with the question of whether continued exposure to verse in the readings and to the esthetic discussions of the group result in increased poetic sensitivity. Having set the poetry test in the context of the original sample group and differences among the participants, we are ready to attack the problem directly. In Table 10 we see the proportion scoring high on the test, by exposure group, and in Table 11, the proportions for individual poems.

There is no trend at all in the total scores, and among the specific poems, only the selection from Milton even hints of a trend, and that trend is too small to consider, given the other negative findings.

TABLE B-II-10

EXPOSURE AND POETRY SCORES

Exposure	Number of Poems Correct					Total Per cent	Number of Cases
	0	1	2	3	4		
0 . . . .	6	30	36	22	6	100	694
1 & 2	7	23	39	26	5	100	548
3 or more	8	25	37	22	7	99	417

TABLE B-II-11

EXPOSURE AND SPECIFIC POEMS

Poem	Proportion Checking Correct Version		
	Exposure		
	0	1 & 2	3 or More
Fog . . . . .	76 (721)	79 (569)	75 (432)
Sea Shell . .	53 (713)	51 (558)	52 (425)
House Fear .	36 (717)	39 (558)	37 (427)
Milton . . . .	26 (714)	30 (558)	32 (429)

In short, there is no evidence that continued exposure to Great Books raises scores on the poetry test.

We do have fairly strong evidence that knowledge scores do improve with exposure. Since knowledge has a slight correlation with poetry scores, is it possible that actually there is a true decline, when cartoon scores are held constant?

TABLE B-II-12

EXPOSURE AND POETRY SCORES, CONTROLLING

FOR CARTOON TEST OF KNOWLEDGE

Per cent high on poetry

Cartoon	Exposure		
	0	1 & 2	3 or More
High . . . . .	30 (243)	34 (276)	33 (269)
Low . . . . .	25 (381)	29 (237)	26 (112)

There is no pattern in either level of knowledge scores.

We have only two comments to make on this negative finding. First, from our previous analysis, it would appear that the sort of characteristics which are associated with high poetry scores are not the salient characteristics of Great Books participants. We remember from our earlier analysis that motivation appears to be a crucial determinant of "effect" and the motivation to "improve my taste in fiction and poetry" is mentioned by only 24 per cent of the respondents, not all of whom would necessarily give equal weights to fiction and to poetry.

Second, other studies indicate that all programs have great difficulty in teaching poetic sensitivity. We remember that Trabue's graduate students in English didn't do quite twice as well as guessing on the Milton selection, which is probably the most distinguished piece of verse in the lot.

We would probably consider Cambridge University as a fairly effective educational program. In 1929 I. A. Richards, the literary critic, published the results of an informal experiment, analogous in form to our study.<sup>2</sup> He gave untitled poems to advanced undergraduates for their comments, and from their protocols evaluated the students' poetic sensitivity. His own comments are judicial and calm, but the results have been more mordantly summarized by Stanley Edgar Hyman:

"What the protocols reveal, by and large, is probably the most shocking picture, exhaustively documented, of the general reading of poetry ever presented. Perhaps the most frightening single thing Richards got was evidence that his students (and, presumably, all but a few particularly qualified readers and poets) lean absolutely on the authority of the writer's name, and their sense of its rank in the pantheon, as a crutch."<sup>3</sup>

Richards' own conclusions may serve well for us.<sup>4</sup>

"It is not inevitable, or in the nature of things, that poetry should seem such a remote, mysterious, unmanageable thing to so large a majority of readers. The deficiencies so noticeable in the protocol writers (and, if we could be franker with ourselves, in our own reading) are not native inalterable defects in the average human mind. They are due in a large degree to mistakes that can be avoided, and to bad training. In fact, does anyone ever receive any useful training in this matter?"

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<sup>2</sup>I. A. Richards, Practical Criticism: A Study of Literary Judgment, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1929.

<sup>3</sup>Stanley Edgar Hyman, The Armed Vision: A Study in the Methods of Modern Literary Criticism, revised and abridged by the author. New York, Vintage Books, 1955, p. 291.

<sup>4</sup>Richards, op. cit., p. 309.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II

Poetry

POETRY

Listed below and on the following pages are four poems. For each, three versions are given. Please check the version which you prefer as poetry.

Poem 1.

A.

Tender, tender Sea Shell,  
Wilt thou sing me, please,  
Of thy happy, happy home  
'Neath the tropic trees?  
Ah, the coral islands!  
Ah, the wondrous fish!  
For such a song I'd give thee, dear,  
Whate'er a Shell could wish.

B.

Sea Shell, please sing me a song  
Of ships and sailor-men;  
Of strange kinds of birds and trees  
On the Spanish Main:  
Of fish and seaweed in the sea,  
And whatever creature there may be, --  
Sea Shell, please sing me a song!

C. (Original)

Sea Shell, Sea Shell,  
Sing me a song, Oh please!  
A song of ships and sailor men,  
Of parrots and tropical trees.  
Of islands lost in the Spanish Main  
Which no man ever may find again,  
Of fishes and coral under the waves,  
And sea-horses stabled in great green caves --  
Sea Shell, Sea Shell  
Sing me a song, Oh please!

Poem 2.

A.

Let there be Light, said God, and lo! the Light  
Sprung from Tithonus' bed in darksome gloom,  
Deck'd her fair form in garments rich and rare  
And scattered smiles along the mournful sky.  
Her chariot of the Sun not yet created,  
Upon a cloud the nymph ethereal rode,  
And when the cloud wept raindrops down, she flung  
Comforting rainbows from her shining tent.

B. (Original)

Let there be Light, said God, and forthwith Light  
Ethereal, first of things, quintessence pure,  
Sprung from the Deep, and from her native east  
To journey through the airy gloom began,  
Spher'd in a radiant cloud, for yet the Sun  
Was not; she in a cloudy tabernacle  
Sojourn'd the while. God saw the Light was good.

C.

And God said "Let Light be," and there was Light  
The first ethereal created thing  
To being sprang, and daily from the east  
Began to travel through the darksome air;  
Until the golden sun should be created  
She sojourn'd in a radiant, shining cloud.  
God look'd upon the Light and it was good.

Poem 3.

A.

This was the routine they learned  
Always at night when they returned  
To lamps unlighted and fires gone gray  
When they had been away all day.  
They learned to build the fire up quick  
With half a split-up kindling stick --  
And knowing how the cat delights  
To sleep indoors by the fire of nights,  
They learned to leave the house door wide  
For fear they might leave her shut outside.

B. (Original)

Always--I tell you this they learned--  
Always at night when they returned  
To the lonely house from far away  
To lamps unlighted and fire gone gray,  
They learned to rattle the lock and key  
To give whatever might chance to be  
Warning and time to be off in flight:  
And preferring the out- to the in-door night,  
They learned to leave the house-door wide,  
Until they had lit the lamp inside.

C.

Always their hearts would thrill with fear  
When at dead of night they again drew near  
To the dismal, lonely, dark abode  
Where not a glimmer of lamp-light showed.  
Trembling, they turned the lock and key  
With pallid face and shaking knee.  
There was nothing to cause their fright,  
But they felt more safe in the out-door night!  
So they left the house-door open wide,  
And fell in a faint on the floor inside.

Poem 4.

A.

Who sends the fog  
so still and gray?  
I fondly ask.  
And Echo answers,  
"E'en the same all-seeing Eye  
that sends the still, gray cat."

B.

The Fog is like a maltese cat,  
it is so gray and still,  
and like a cat it creeps  
about the city streets.  
How gray it is! How cat-like!  
Especially when it steals away,  
Just like a cat.

C. (Original)

The fog comes  
on little cat feet.  
It sits looking  
over harbor and city  
on silent haunches  
and then moves on.

CHAPTER III

READING

## Introduction

This chapter deals with the reading patterns of Great Books participants, both in connection with the discussions and outside of the program. The discussion will cover three major areas:

1. The general pattern of reading which characterizes Great Books participants.
2. Observed differences in the reading of people with different lengths of program experience.
3. Changes in reading habits which members themselves attribute to participation in the program.

### THE PARTICIPANTS' GENERAL PATTERN OF READING

#### How They Compare with Other Americans

Compared to the American public in general, or to the public of their own educational level as studied in national surveys, Great Books participants are outstanding as readers.

In 1945 NORC, on behalf of the American Library Association, surveyed the reading habits of a sample of adults in 17 cities.<sup>1</sup> Of the people in this sample who had attended college, 41 per cent reported that they spent seven or more hours a week in reading books. Because we separated reading into "light" and "serious" rather than into the format of the material read, we do not have an exactly comparable question; however, 80 per cent of the Great Books respondents spend at least seven hours a week on their total reading, and 50 per cent spend 11 or more hours a week in reading. Even if one assumes that almost a third of their total reading time is spent on newspapers and periodicals, the Great Books participants have a higher per cent spending at least an hour a day reading books than does the college segment of the urban public surveyed by NORC.

A slightly more recent and comparable study done by the University of Michigan provides another basis of comparison. Table 1 below gives the distribution of college (i.e., one year of college or more) people in the Michigan study on the number of books read in the preceding year.

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<sup>1</sup>National Opinion Research Center, What...Where...Why... Do People Read?, Report No. 28 (1945), p. 6.

TABLE B-III-1

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS WITH SOME COLLEGE EDUCATION  
ON BOOKS READ DURING THE YEAR PRECEDING STUDY\*

Number of Books	None	1-4	5-9	10-49	50 or more	Number Not Known	Total Per Cent
Per Cent	12	16	13	38	19	2	100

\* Source: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, Public Use of the Library (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1950), p. 47, Table A-1. Base numbers not included in the original table.

Half of the Great Books participants spend more than ten hours a week in reading; if two-thirds of this time is devoted to reading books, this means that half of the participants spend almost eight hours a week reading books. At this rate, one can read a good many books in a year. In view of the fact that 41 per cent of the Michigan sample reported reading less than ten books in the preceding year, and that it takes a range going from 10 through 49 books to build up the next 38 per cent of the group, it seems reasonable to conclude that Great Books participants probably read a good many more books on an average than do other Americans of their educational level. When one considers that neither the first NORC survey nor the Michigan one asked the respondents to exclude reading related to their work and that the current study did exclude occupational reading, it seems even more probable that Great Books members are high readers in both time and amount.

Going from numbers to level of taste and difficulty, one immediately loses any easily-agreed-upon basis of judgment. We can, however, report the general impression gained from reading the lists of books which the participants reported as among the "particularly worthwhile" ones which they had read in the past year (aside from the Great Books readings). None or almost none of the books were of a "low-brow" sort, and only a few were highly popular historical novels. Among the less difficult books listed, Kennedy's Profiles in Courage, several books by Erich Fromm, By Love Possessed, widely-read popular religious books, and The Diary of Anne Frank are fairly typical.

Very seriously intellectual books are almost as completely missing as wholly superficial ones, however. Serious philosophy and criticism were extreme rarities, and literary works of the first rank were not very common. It is, of course, possible that the time and attention devoted to the Great Books reading turned the participants' attention away from the more difficult books which they might otherwise have read, but one does not come away from the questionnaires with the impression that such is the case.

When one turns to magazine-reading, other studies which are comparable in their samples have asked questions which are too different to provide material for useful comparisons. When one compares the per cent of Great Books entrants who reported themselves as regular or occasional<sup>2</sup> readers of certain magazines with general knowledge of the circulation of the magazines, however, he gets at least a rough picture of the relative magazine-reading habits of Great Books members.

Table B-III-2 gives the per cents of Great Books entrants who classed themselves as regular or occasional readers of a selected list of magazines, here presented in order of their popularity rank among the participants.

TABLE B-III-2  
MAGAZINE-READING HABITS OF GREAT BOOKS ENTRANTS  
(Selected magazines)

Magazine	Per Cent of Respondents Who Read Regularly or Occasionally	N*
Time. . . . .	90	702
New Yorker. . . . .	76	661
Reader's Digest. . . . .	74	695
Saturday Evening Post .	68	654
Saturday Review . . . . .	52	624
Harper's. . . . .	49	637
Scientific American . .	24	596
New Republic. . . . .	21	593
Art News. . . . .	10	592
High Fidelity . . . . .	8	572
Partisan Review . . . . .	5	570

\*Throughout the report, N refers to the base on which the per cents were calculated.

When one considers the relative circulation of the Saturday Evening Post and the Saturday Review, or that of the New Yorker and the Reader's Digest, or even that of Time and the New Republic or Scientific American, it appears safe to say that Great Books entrants read a disproportionate number of serious or sophisticated magazines. Quite obviously, however, most of them

<sup>2</sup>Given the way that the magazine question was set up, the answer "Occasionally" implies more frequent reading than does "Seldom" and approaches "fairly regularly" in meaning.

do not exclude such highly popular magazines as the Reader's Digest and the Saturday Evening Post from their reading.

The pattern of magazine-reading reinforces the impression made by the lists of worthwhile books: that the level of difficulty in the reading of most Great Books participants goes above the purely popular but does not exclude it and seldom extends to the most seriously intellectual.

#### How They Divide Their Reading Time

The summary figures in the introduction to this chapter give only a hint of the way in which Great Books participants use their reading time. The respondents were asked to estimate the average number of hours a week that they spend on:

1. Reading for relaxation (detective stories, light fiction, sports section of the newspaper, etc.).
2. Preparation for the Great Books discussions.
3. Serious reading (history, philosophy, serious novels, etc.) not connected with Great Books or their occupations.

The hours listed in each category were recorded separately and also added to give the total hours spent in reading. Table B-III-3 shows the distribution of the participants on total average hours of reading.

TABLE B-III-3  
DISTRIBUTION OF PARTICIPANTS BY AVERAGE TOTAL WEEKLY  
HOURS OF NON-OCCUPATIONAL READING

Hours	1-7	8-10	11-14	15-19	20 and more	N
Per Cent	25	25	24	14	12	1476*

\* Includes only respondents who listed reading in each of the three categories above.

One-fourth of the participants spend an hour a day or less on any sort of reading, about half spend between one and two hours, and one-fourth spend more than two hours.

Several questions can be asked about this distribution: Does the total time spent in reading relate to education? Do the people who spend

a good many hours in reading differ in their emphasis (light-serious) from the people who read for fewer hours? How does Great Books preparation-time relate to total hours of reading?

The question of relationship between total reading and education has a somewhat surprising answer. Using first-year participants only, in order to avoid the question of program effects for the moment, one has the distribution presented in Table B-III-4.

TABLE B-III-4  
 DISTRIBUTION OF FIRST-YEAR PARTICIPANTS ON TOTAL HOURS  
 SPENT WEEKLY IN READING  
 (Education controlled)

Education	Hours			Total	N
	1-7	8-14	15 and more		
No college . . .	28	44	28	100%	(68)
Some college . .	25	39	26	100%	(126)
College degree .	28	53	19	100%	(136)
Graduate study .	29	46	25	100%	(212)

With the small numbers involved here, such differences as appear between the educational sub-groups are probably the result of chance factors; on the whole, the distributions are remarkably similar. Level of formal education appears to make little, if any, difference in the time spent on reading among people who enter the Great Books program. (From this distribution one can be reasonably sure that the Great Books entrants who have not attended college spend many more hours in reading on the average than do other Americans of comparable education. In reading, they are a highly selected group of non-college citizens.)

Our second question is whether total hours of reading is related to type of reading. It is, for we find that the proportion of time spent in serious reading increases with total reading time. Table B-III-5 shows the per cent of people in each total reading group who spend as much as half their total reading time on serious reading.

TABLE B-III-5

RESPONDENTS' TOTAL WEEKLY READING HOURS

AND PROPORTION SERIOUS READING

Per cent who spend as much as half of total reading time on serious reading

Total Reading Hours	1-7	8-10	11-14	15 and more
	20 (368)	21 (362)	32 (359)	44 (387)

In spite of the rise, however, the proportion never reaches one-half. Even among the participants who spend two or more hours a day reading, the majority do not concentrate on serious reading outside of Great Books preparation.

If one takes a set number of hours and asks whether the per cent of people devoting this number of hours to Great Books preparation rises with total hours, the answer is, as one would expect, positive. Table B-III-6 shows the per cents of people in each total reading group who devote at least three hours a week to preparation for the discussions.

TABLE B-III-6

PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO SPEND AT LEAST THREE HOURS

A WEEK ON GREAT BOOKS PREPARATION READING

(By hours of total reading)

Total Reading Hours	1-7	8-10	11-14	15 and more
	39 (368)	59 (362)	69 (359)	84 (387)

When, however, one asks about the proportion of people who spend as much as one-fourth of their total reading time on Great Books preparation, the per cent remains quite constant. About 70 per cent of the participants,

regardless of their total hours of reading, spend as much as one-fourth of their reading time in preparation for the discussions.

The proportion of time spent in discussion preparation does not seem to have much relationship to whether the rest of the respondent's reading is dominantly light or dominantly serious; "light" and "serious" readers seem to spend about the same proportion of their time on Great Books preparation.

In summary, education does not influence the total amount of time Great Books participants spend in reading; the total time spent in reading has almost no relationship to the proportion of it spent in Great Books preparation; the per cent of people who spend half or more of their reading time in serious reading does rise with total reading but never includes half the participants.

#### The Range of Difficulty in the Participants' Reading: Books, Magazines, the Combination

The amount of one's reading and its level of difficulty may be two very different matters, having different relationships with both education and experience in the program. We have two indications of the reading level of Great Books participants: their own list of worthwhile books read in the past year, and their pattern of magazine-reading from a list presented in the questionnaire.

#### Books

The relevant question on book-reading asked: "What book or books--outside of the Great Books readings--which you read in the last year impressed you as particularly worthwhile?" Six hundred and nine failed to list any books, and an additional 142 listed books which were impossible to classify, 17 including only the Bible and the rest listing books dealing with hobbies, religious devotions, or special technical interests. Eleven hundred and fifty-eight people, however, did list books which could be classified as fiction or non-fiction and roughly rated as to level of difficulty or taste. We cannot make serious claims of scientific objectivity in the rating of the books as more and less difficult but can say that the division was made thoughtfully by the study director and spot-checked for agreement by another staff member. People were classified on the basis of whether their list of "worthwhile books" included only the more difficult ones, only less difficult ones, or a mixture. To give the reader an idea of the standards used, the lists below give some of the "particularly worthwhile" reading the participants listed and our classification of it.

#### More Difficult

Barnett, The Universe and Dr. Einstein  
Camus, The Fall  
Ortega y Gasset, Revolt of the Masses  
Proust, Remembrance of Things Past  
Spinoza, Ethics  
Strindberg, Dance of Death

#### Less Difficult

Cozzens, By Love Possessed  
Ferber, Giant  
Fromm, The Art of Loving  
Hulme, The Nun's Story  
Lindbergh, Gift from the Sea  
Marshall, Mr. Jones, Meet the Master

As the introductory summary has already noted, there were no listings of books of a really "low-brow" sort. Romantic novels from the best-seller lists are about the bottom of the reading mentioned. The following table gives the distribution of respondents on the level of books listed.

TABLE B-III-7  
PER CENT READING...

Difficult Only	Mixture	Less Difficult Only	N
23	35	42	(1158)

As a look at the table shows, 58 per cent of the respondents who listed classifiable books included one or more which fell into the "difficult" category. Given the fact that the participants were asked to list books which they had found particularly worthwhile, this distribution does not suggest that their serious reading is of an extremely high level of difficulty.

Whether this level relates to total hours of reading is another question. Table B-III-8 shows the distribution of each total reading group on the level of the worthwhile books reported.

TABLE B-III-8  
LEVEL OF DIFFICULTY OF "WORTHWHILE" BOOKS LISTED BY RESPONDENTS,  
BY RESPONDENTS' TOTAL WEEKLY HOURS OF READING

Per cent in each total reading group reporting books of each level

Level of Books	Total Hours Reading		
	1-7	8-14	15 or more
All "difficult" . .	24)	21)	26)
Some "difficult". .	32) 56	33) 54	37) 63
None "difficult". .	44	46	37
	(218)	(475)	(271)

Adding the top two items in each column, as the brackets indicate, one sees that the proportion of people who include some "difficult" works in their lists of worthwhile books is somewhat higher among the people who do the most reading.

Dividing the "worthwhile" reading on the basis of its including only fiction, only non-fiction, or a mixture, one has the distribution presented below.

TABLE B-III-9

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY TYPES OF "WORTHWHILE BOOKS" LISTED

Per cent of each total weekly hours of reading group

Types Reported	Total Hours Reading		
	1-7	8-14	15 or more
Fiction only. . . . .	36	26	23
Fiction and non-fiction .	19	31	32
Non-fiction only. . . . .	45	43	45
	(218)	(475)	(271)

The per cent of people reporting fiction alone declines as the total hours of reading rise, but the per cent reporting non-fiction alone remains constant.

Magazines

A second and different measure of level of reading is a scale constructed from the answers to the question on magazines read. The respondents were presented with the list of magazines shown in Table B-III-2 and asked to check whether they read them regularly, occasionally, or seldom, had heard of them but never read them, or had never heard of them. Within this pattern of choice, occasional reading was combined with regular reading in the construction of the scale described below.

The association between reading each magazine and each other, regularly or occasionally, was measured by calculating the Q values. Table B-III-10 gives the matrix of intercorrelations. The general point of the table is that the association declines as the magazines are farther apart from each other in the listing. There is no statistical magic in this; the magazines have been listed in the order which gives the effect. Such listing is possible, however, only if in fact the magazines have the underlying pattern of relationship. Four periodicals, Gadfly (the "house organ" of the Great Books program) and three appealing to more or less special interests, did not fit into the scale, although the pattern suggests that Art News, Scientific American, and High Fidelity do belong toward the more "difficult" end of the scale. The others showed a pattern of relationship which strongly suggests that the pattern classifies readers on the basis of the level of

TABLE B-III-10

MAGAZINE-READING INTERCORRELATIONS

(Based on "read regularly" and "read occasionally")

	Reader's Digest	Sat.Eve. Post	Time	New Yorker	Harpers	Sat. Review	New Republic	Partisan Review
Reader's Digest . .	---	.768	.463	-.247	-.262	-.322	-.271	-.480
Sat.Eve. Post . .	.768	---	.491	.050	-.053	-.033	-.198	-.334
Time . .	.463	.491	---	.307	-.068	.075	-.032	-.126
New Yorker . .	-.247	.050	.307	---	.572	.507	.426	.370
Harpers . .	-.262	-.053	-.068	.572	---	.621	.630	.558
Sat. Review . .	-.322	-.033	.075	.507	.621	---	.597	.704
New Republic . .	-.271	-.198	-.032	.426	.630	.597	---	.763
Partisan Review . .	-.480	-.334	-.126	.370	.558	.704	.763	---

Not Scalable

Art News . .	-.317	-.226	.104	.406	.440	.414	.268	.632
High Fidelity	-.176	-.095	.189	.252	.164	.370	.326	-.044
Scientific American	-.215	.038	.074	.166	.336	.289	.381	.224
Gadfly . .	-.188	-.118	-.131	-.101	.058	.111	-.019	-.071

seriousness of their typical magazine-reading. Reading across the top line as an example, one sees that people who read the Reader's Digest are quite likely to read the Saturday Evening Post and moderately likely to read Time. It is somewhat unlikely that they read the New Yorker, Harper's, the Saturday Review, or the New Republic, and more unlikely that they read the Partisan Review.

On the basis of the associations which the magazines showed, five were selected arbitrarily for use in a scale of the level of magazine reading: the Reader's Digest, the New Yorker OR Harper's, and the New Republic OR Partisan Review. The fact that this selection of magazines represents the range of the respondents' magazine-reading is indicated by the fact that only 130 of the 1900 people who answered the questions on magazines cannot be included in the scale. The distribution of the respondents whose magazine-reading could be scaled is indicated in Table B-III-11. A plus-sign indicates regular or occasional reading, and a minus-sign anything less than that.

TABLE B-III-11

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS ON SCALE OF MAGAZINE-READING

Reader's Digest	New Yorker OR Harper's	New Republic OR Partisan Review	Per Cent of Respondents
+	-	-	21
+	+	-	38
-	+	-	22
-	+	+	9
-	-	+	1
+	+	+	8
+	-	+	1
			(1770)
+ indicates regular or occasional reading			
- indicates less frequent reading, including not reading			

While only about one-fifth of the respondents show magazine-reading only at the Reader's Digest level of difficulty, only one per cent include only the New Republic or Partisan Review in their reading. Like the finding on the level of books reported as particularly worthwhile, the pattern of magazine-reading suggests that Great Books participants tend to read magazines of a middle level of difficulty, with few limiting themselves to the completely popular magazines on the list and few including those of more than middling seriousness.

When one looks at the relationship between total time spent on reading and level of magazine-reading, he sees the picture presented below.

TABLE B-III-12

TOTAL WEEKLY HOURS OF READING AND

LEVEL OF MAGAZINE-READING

Per cent of respondents in each total weekly reading hours group who report each level of magazine-reading

Magazine Level	Total Hours Reading		
	1-7	8-14	15 or more
Includes "difficult" magazines .	15	18	26
Includes middle level only . . .	23	24	21
Includes least difficult and no "difficult" magazines. . . .	38	40	38
Includes only least difficult. .	24	18	15
	(340)	(677)	(364)

As the headings indicate, the categories of the table have been collapsed so that respondents are divided into four groups on the basis of level of difficulty. While the two categories which include some middle-difficulty magazines form a quite constant per cent regardless of the total hours of reading, the per cent including least difficult magazines only declines, and the per cent including some most difficult ones rises with increase in total reading. The differences, however, are slight and involve less than one-half of the people in any of the total reading groups. In general, the same finding applies to magazine-reading as applied to worthwhile books reported: there is a very slight tendency for more extensive readers to have a higher proportion of people who include difficult material in their reading.

The differences in the per cents of people falling in the top category on book- as compared with magazine-reading tempt one to make comparisons, but the data should not be used in this way. The books include only those which the respondents listed as the particularly worthwhile ones read in the preceding year, while the magazines represent unevaluated reading. It is not surprising that the report on books includes a much higher proportion of people falling in the top category than does the report on magazines.

Combined Level of Reading

Although the choices do, thus, reflect different things -- on books, those considered particularly worthwhile, and on magazines, habitual reading -- some comparison (and later combination) seems possible. Table B-III-13 divides the respondents who listed codable books on the basis of including or not including some "difficult" books in their lists and presents the distribution of each group on level of magazine-reading.

TABLE B-III-13

LEVEL OF "WORTHWHILE" BOOKS REPORTED BY RESPONDENTS,  
BY RESPONDENTS' LEVEL OF MAGAZINE-READING

Level of Respondents' Magazine-Reading	Respondents Who Included "Difficult" Books in Their List of Worthwhile Books	Respondents Who Did Not Include Any "Difficult" Books
Includes "difficult" magazines. . . . .	24%)	18%)
Includes middle-level only . . . . .	31 ) 55	18 ) 36
Includes least difficult and no "difficult" magazines. . .	31 )	43 )
Includes least difficult only. . . . .	14 ) 45	21 ) 64
	(619)	(463)

There is evidently a tendency for the listers of difficult books to read more difficult magazines, but the categories are far from cleanly divided. If one divides the magazine readers on the basis of including or not including the least difficult level in their reading (as has been done by the brackets on Table B-III-13), a fairly clear difference emerges. (On the basis of this separation, the association between books and magazines shows a Q of .377.) This sort of classifying seems to combine rather different things, however. It maintains a fairly high standard for inclusion in the upper category on book-reading and puts anyone who does not read the Reader's Digest with fair regularity in the upper category on magazine-reading. The best interpretation of the fact that the Q based on this division is still quite low is to stress the range of habitual magazine-reading represented even among the participants whose important book-reading includes works of a rather difficult level.

Although the book and magazine levels show only a slight relationship -- in fact, because they do -- there seems to be some use in combining them. Neither alone is a representative measure of reading level, and yet,

people who read more difficult material in books but not in magazines, or vice versa, may have different characteristics from people who do not read more difficult material in either books or magazines. On this line of reasoning, the participants were classified according to the general reading-level scale shown in Table B-III-14. People were classified essentially on whether they included some "difficult" reading in both their book- and magazine-reading, whether they included it in one but not the other, whether they did not include it in either. People in the last group were subdivided on the basis of whether they included middle-level magazines or only those of the least difficult level. (The people who did not list any worthwhile books were classified on the basis of their magazine-reading.)

TABLE B-III-14  
DISTRIBUTION OF PARTICIPANTS ON  
GENERAL READING-LEVEL SCALE

Category	Per cent
Include both "difficult" books and "difficult" magazines. . . . .	9
Include "difficult" books only. . .	29
Include "difficult" magazines only.	10
Include no "difficult" material but some middle-level magazines. . . .	23
Include no "difficult" material and only the least difficult magazines	39
	(1,639)

When the participants are grouped by their total hours of reading, their distribution on the reading-level scale is that shown in the table below.

TABLE B-III-15

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS ON GENERAL READING-LEVEL SCALE  
BY TOTAL WEEKLY HOURS OF READING

Positions on General Reading-Level Scale	Total Weekly Hours Reading		
	1-7	8-14	15 or more
Both books and magazines include "difficult". . . . .	7)	8)	14)
Books include only "difficult". . . . .	28)	30)	33)
Magazines include only "difficult". . . . .	7) 42	10) 48	11) 58
Neither includes "difficult"; includes middle-level magazines. . . . .	27	26	21
Neither includes "difficult"; least difficult magazines only . . . . .	31	26	21
	(312)	(630)	(338)

In this table, for the first time, one can see a relationship between amount and level of reading that is large enough to be worth any serious attention. Although the per cents still remain within a 40-60 per cent range, the more extensive readers include more people who have difficult material in at least one area of their reading than do the less extensive readers.

Summary

In summary, we have examined four separate indexes of reading; total hours of reading reported; hours of reading reported for light, serious, and Great Books reading; ratings of the level of difficulty of books reported as "particularly worthwhile"; and classification of magazine-reading by level of difficulty. These measures of "quantity" and "quality" all show some degree of statistical relationship; however, the relationships are not terribly strong. There is a general tendency for those who read more difficult books also to read more difficult magazines and also to report more total hours' reading and more hours of serious reading. Tendencies are not so strong, however, that we can hope to achieve much by using a single measure of reading. When we turn to the effects of participation in Great Books on reading, we shall have to ask the separate questions: Does continued participation result in changes in quantity of reading? Does continued participation result in changes in the level of difficulty of magazine- and/or book-reading?

OBSERVED DIFFERENCES IN READING PATTERN  
WITH INCREASED PROGRAM EXPERIENCE

Having looked at patterns of reading in general, we are now ready to ask whether continued exposure to Great Books is associated with differences in reading, outside of the reading required for the discussions. Chapter I of Part B has already shown some of the effects associated with continued exposure to the Great Books themselves. Now, however, let us consider whether there is a "transfer" effect on other reading patterns.

We can begin by looking at "quantity," the total hours of reading reported.

TABLE B-III-16  
RESPONDENTS' TOTAL WEEKLY HOURS OF READING,  
BY YEARS IN THE PROGRAM  
(Education controlled)

Years in Program	Total Weekly Hours Reading															
	No College				Some College				College Degree				Graduate Study			
	1-7	8-14	15 and more	N	1-7	8-14	15 and more	N	1-7	8-14	15 and more	N	1-7	8-14	15 and more	N
0 . . .	28	44	28	(68)	25	49	26	(126)	28	53	19	(136)	29	46	25	(212)
1-2 . .	25	58	17	(64)	22	52	26	(103)	36	39	25	(117)	24	51	24	(179)
3 and more	19	44	37	(52)	14	40	46	(67)	29	47	24	(66)	22	54	24	(140)

With the exception of the "college graduate" group, Table B-III-16 suggests a consistent slight decline in the proportion of low readers (0-7 hours per week) as one moves from the beginning to the advanced years of exposure. The proportion of high readers (15 or more hours per week) does not show such a consistent increase, but except for those with graduate training, the most advanced group does show more high readers than the first year. The relationship is not extremely strong, and apparently the effect is largely concentrated among those without college degrees, but there is a tendency for total reading to increase with years of exposure to the program.

When one recalls that total hours of reading has only a relatively slight relationship to level of reading, he may well regard any change in total reading or any lack of change in it as quite unimportant. If participants merely read more without reading at a higher level, there would be slight, if any, gain.

When one turns to the matter of general reading, there appears to be some rise with length of experience in the program. Such a rise, however, might be a result of increased age (which is associated with greater length of program experience). We examined this possibility and also looked at the effect of sex and employment status, dividing women on the basis of whether they were working or not. The differences among age-groups are erratic rather than patterned and do not favor the older people in general level of reading. There also is no clear relationship within experience groups between reading level and sex or employment status; within each sex-employment status sub-group, the per cent of people with some "difficult" reading rises as length of program experience increases.

The only important correlate of general reading level is education, as Table B-III-17 indicates.

TABLE B-III-17

RESPONDENTS' GENERAL READING LEVEL, BY YEARS IN THE PROGRAM

(Education controlled)

Per cent of respondents in each educational group who include "difficult" works in their reading

Years in Program	No College	Some College	College Degree or Graduate Study
0 . . . . .	33 (97)	37 (148)	50 (370)
1-2 . . . . .	33 (75)	52 (108)	50 (305)
3 and more.	41 (61)	58 (79)	57 (203)

The per cents of people with some "difficult" reading rises with education (along the rows), and within each educational sub-group it rises somewhat with length of experience in the program. While all three educational groups show increases, the greatest difference is in the "some college" group. In the first year the proportion reporting a difficult work is only slightly greater than the non-college participants, but in the advanced years it is equal to, and in fact a little higher than, those with graduate training. Over-all, the conclusion is that education is the factor which is importantly related to general reading level, that the per cent of people within each educational sub-group who read some difficult material rises with program experience, but that even in the advanced years of the program the difference between people who have had some college and those who have had none does not disappear.

When one turns from the differences which can be observed between groups with different lengths of program experience and examines the changes in reading patterns which the participants themselves attribute to their program experience, he gets another sort of measure of program effect. If the

participants' feelings were at variance with the observed differences between the experience groups, one would have cause for concern. They are quite consistent, however, and allow us to consider changes in the more subtle matters which the fairly rough measures of hours and the general reading-level scale cannot tap.

CHANGES WHICH THE PARTICIPANTS ATTRIBUTE TO PROGRAM EXPERIENCE

Changes in Reading Skills and Selection

The participants were asked a completely open question about the effects of program participation on their reading habits. After a question on changes in time spent in reading, this latter question gave them an opportunity to mention any qualitative changes which they felt had occurred. Replies were classified into two major categories on the basis of whether they referred to changes in reading skills or to changes in the type and level of material read and an attitude toward reading (the latter changes being called changes in "selection" as a shorthand term for headings in tables).

Since the first-year participants had been to only a few meetings at the time they filled out the questionnaires, one would expect that they would report the smallest number of effects on their reading. It also seems reasonable that not many more-advanced participants than intermediate-year participants would report effects. The question did not ask for the depth of change, only whether it had occurred, and it seems reasonable that for most people any major change which is going to occur will have come to their attention by the end of their first year in the program. Table B-III-18 shows that these expectations are met in the replies. The proportion of people who say that the program has had no qualitative effects on their reading declines sharply after the first year and slightly thereafter. The proportion of people who claim change but do not say what it is remains constant, and the proportion of people who report a specific sort of change rises sharply after the first year and slightly thereafter.

TABLE B-III-18  
QUALITATIVE EFFECT OF PROGRAM PARTICIPATION  
ON PARTICIPANTS' READING

Change Reported	Years in the Program		
	0	1-2	3-4
"None" or "Too early to tell" . . .	35%	22%	19%
"Yes," no further explanation . . .	13	11	13
Specific changes reported . . . . .	40	57	61
Changes in reading skills only. .	19	26	27
Changes in selections only. . . .	19	24	27
Changes in skills and selection .	2	7	7
No answer on this question, but other questions on reading answered	12	10	7
	(727)	(571)	(445)

Among the people who reported some kind of specific change, about the same proportion reported changes in their reading skills only and in their selection of reading only, and very few reported changes in both. People evidently tend to be influenced in either one area or the other, but not in both.

The kinds of changes reported under what we have called skills fell easily into three general categories, all improvements (except in the case of one housewife with several years of college who reported that she found reading harder). The three classifications are:

- 1) Technical improvements: Reading faster, having an increased vocabulary, finding serious books easier to understand;
- 2) Critical improvements: Finding it easier to analyze arguments, to understand logic, to follow complicated reasoning, etc.;
- 3) Improvement in intellectual background: Increased ability to understand the meaning of books not read in connection with the discussion because of concepts and background developed in the program.

Among the people who reported a specific improvement in skills, the largest improvement was in critical ability, the next in technical skill, and the least common in intellectual background. Table B-III-19 shows the pattern of changes reported.

TABLE B-III-19

EFFECTS OF THE PROGRAM ON PARTICIPANTS' READING SKILLS  
Per cent of changes reported, by years in the program

Type of Change	Years in the Program		
	0	1-2	3-4
Critical . . . . .	47	48	41
Technical. . . . .	37	33	41
Intellectual background. . .	15	19	18
	(175)	(212)	(171)

Although the proportion reporting a skill effect increases with years of exposure, within the group who do report such effects there is no difference in the type of skill reported in different exposure groups. One might have predicted that "technical" changes would come earliest and that "intellectual background" would turn up after longer periods in the program, but our data in no way suggest such trends.

Another point is also of some importance in the interpretation of Table B-III-19 and all the other tables concerned with reported changes in reading skills or selection of reading. These tables reflect only the improvements of which the respondents were sufficiently aware to list them spontaneously in answer to a very general question. They may, therefore, be taken more as a list of "most important effects," rather than merely "effects," of the program on qualitative changes in reading.

When one turns to changes in the selection of reading material which respondents attribute to their participation in the program, the answers fall into four fairly specific categories and one more general one. The specific ones are:

- 1) Exclusion: The decision not to read or to read less of a given type of literature because of standards developed through participation in the program;
- 2) Other works of Great Books authors: Reading other works of authors discussed, or unassigned parts of works under discussion, or re-reading works originally read in preparation for the discussions;
- 3) Directly related works: Reading works of non-Great Books authors on the ideas and problems discussed in the program;
- 4) Peripherally related works: Reading in areas peripherally related to matters discussed or in areas or periods (18th century France, for example) in which Great Books aroused interest.

In addition to the reports of these specific sorts of effect, there were almost as many reports which were not specific enough to classify but involved a general increase in interest in reading and a feeling of broadened interests. These replies should not be thought of as falling in a catch-all category of unclassifiably unspecific answers. They are more nearly a reflection of a change of general attitude toward reading as an activity and may represent a more important change than the development of any particular interest. Table B-III-20 gives the proportions of the reported changes in selection in each experience-group falling into each category.

TABLE B-III-20  
 REPORTED CHANGES IN SELECTION OF READING MATERIAL,  
 BY YEARS IN THE PROGRAM

Type of Change	Years in the Program		
	0	1-2	3-4
Exclusion . . . . .	7%	15%	27%
Other works of GB authors .	7	10	5
Directly related works. . .	22	14	9
Peripherally related works.	18	11	12
General increase and broadening of interest in reading . . . . .	46	50	47
	(164)	(189)	(173)

As Table B-III-20 indicates, almost half of the changes in selection reported fall into the category of a general increase and broadening in interest, and the proportion remains constant regardless of length of experience in the program. With base numbers of the size involved here, per cent differences of the size of those for "Other works of Great Books authors" and "Peripherally related works" had better not be interpreted as reflecting differences by program experience among the population of Great Books participants. The cases of "Directly related works" and "Exclusion" are of a different sort, however.

The increase in "Exclusion" involves the logical possibility that it may be simply the mathematical reverse of the decrease in "Directly related works." Other findings suggest, however, that this possibility is not a very live one. As will be discussed later, time spent on serious reading is reported as increasing with program experience, and the people who report an increase in serious reading tend to be the people who report changes in their selection of readings. Given the logical direction of the changes, the most reasonable conclusion is that the exclusion of certain types of reading as a result of standards developed in the program does occur among increased numbers of participants as experience in the program increases. If so, the decline in the proportion of effects formed by the reading of related books may be largely the mathematical result of the increase in "Exclusion" and may not reflect a decline in the proportion of participants who read works related to the ideas discussed in the group meetings.

In sum, it appears that a general raising and broadening of interest in reading is a major effect of program experience and that it occurs very early and retains its importance regardless of length of experience. The increasing exclusion of certain types of reading because of standards developed in the program is probably a consequence of increased program experience. The other specific effects may or may not be either intensified or reduced by increased program experience.

#### Education and Reported Changes in Reading Skills and Selection

In the preceding analyses our data suggested that changes in total hours of reading are greatest for the no-college and part-college people and that changes in quality are greatest for the part-college. Now, let us look at the subjectively-reported changes in terms of education and years of exposure simultaneously.

TABLE B-III-21

QUALITATIVE EFFECTS OF PROGRAM PARTICIPATION ON READING,  
BY YEARS IN THE PROGRAM AND EDUCATION

Effect	Years in Program	Education		
		No College	Some College	College Degree
Skills. . . .	0	20%	28%	19%
	1&2	30	38	32
	3+	26	46	32
Selection . .	0	17	29	20
	1&2	30	28	32
	3+	38	43	32
Unspecified .	0	13	14	11
	1&2	15	17	8
	3+	12	12	11
None. . . . .	0	50	33	52
	1&2	32	25	35
	3+	28	14	30
Base N. . . .	0	(109)	(166)	(411)
	1&2	(79)	(130)	(351)
	3+	(76)	(96)	(255)

As in the measures of quality, it is the part-college group which seems to show the strongest trend. They are least likely, in each exposure category, to report "no change," and with the exception of "selection," changes in the middle-exposure group are more likely to report both skill changes and selection changes. They are particularly likely to report skill changes. Interestingly, the non-college and the college graduates show little or no difference in their frequency or type of change reported.

When one looks within the category of changes in skills to see whether there are any differences in the emphasis of the educational sub-groups, he finds little sub-group difference. Among the first-year participants, the emphasis on improvements in intellectual background does decline as the amount of formal education rises, and, as usually happens with matters related to background factors, this difference disappears among the advanced participants.

When we turn to educational differences in sub-types of reading selection, we find very few trends.

TABLE B-III-22

RELATIVE EMPHASIS IN CHANGES IN READING SELECTION,  
BY YEARS IN THE PROGRAM AND EDUCATION

Type of Selection Change	Years in Program	Education		
		No College	Some College	College Degree
Exclusion. . . . .	0	9%	12%	3%
	1&2	8	23	13
	3+	27	27	26
Other works of GB authors and related works . . . . .	0	24	30	38
	1&2	19	24	26
	3+	12	13	16
Peripherally related works . . . . .	0	29	12	20
	1&2	11	7	13
	3+	9	8	14
General increase and broadening of interest. . . . .	0	38	46	48
	1&2	62	44	49
	3+	55	52	44
N . . . . .	0	21	50	87
	1&2	26	41	117
	3+	33	48	91

The proportion reporting reading of other books by Great Books authors and directly related works does increase with education, but since peripheral reading shows no pattern, we cannot say that "inclusion" in general is more common for the more highly educated. There is a slight trend, as our previous analyses would predict, for the some-college group to be higher on "exclusion," but the differences are of no practical consequence. Finally, we note that the tendency for "inclusion" to decline with years of exposure seems to hold within each educational category.

Changes in Reading Time

Participants were asked to indicate whether the time they spend on relaxation, Great Books, and serious reading had changed since they entered the program and were given the choice of five answers ranging from "increased a lot" to "decreased a lot."

Presenting the underlying tables in this instance would probably add length without adding much to clarity. Their substance follows. The per cent of respondents who report a decrease in the time spent on reading for relaxation (both "a little" and "a lot") increases with length of program experience,

reaching 48 per cent of the respondents in the advanced groups. This decrease is consistent with the fact that the hours which people report spending on reading for relaxation decline as length of program experience increases.

A few people (nine to ten per cent) report that their time on reading for relaxation has increased, but this per cent seems to be unrelated to length of program experience. The dominant program effect appears to be a decline in time spent in light reading.

In the matter of changes in time spent on preparation for the discussions, people are presumably comparing their behavior when they first entered the program with that at the time they answered the question. For first-year participants, the figures can show differences only between their first and later few weeks of participation; for the others, the comparison should be between their first few weeks and the present. The chief point of interest is that the per cent of people who report some increase ("a lot" plus "a little") in their preparation time remains quite constant regardless of length of program experience. In other words, about three-quarters of the participants spend somewhat longer on preparation after a few weeks or months in the program than they spent when they first entered.

The report of changes in time spent on serious reading indicates a considerable increase. Ten to fifteen per cent of the respondents report some decrease, but the decrease does not seem to be related to length of program experience. The per cent reporting an increase, however, rises with the length of experience in the program. The per cent of people reporting a slight increase ("a little") remains quite constant at about 30 per cent; it is the per cent of participants reporting a large increase which rises steadily and reaches 27 per cent among the people in advanced groups.

The next question concerns whether these changes are evenly distributed among the various educational sub-groups or have a relation to formal education. In the case of time spent on Great Books preparation, the educational differences are quite slight. The only one worth reporting is that somewhat fewer college graduates than others report an increase in their preparation time. Serious reading presents a similar picture. The college graduates have a slightly smaller per cent of people reporting an increase and are particularly low in the per cent of people reporting a large increase. In light reading, the graduates have the highest per cent of people reporting no change and are particularly low in the per cent of people reporting a large decrease. In summary, college graduates, in comparison with people of less formal education, have a little less tendency to change their reading time as a result of program participation.

All of the differences discussed above are relatively slight. The general conclusion probably should be that education does not make any differences that are important from the point of view of judging program effects. If 55 per cent of the participants who have had some college increase their time spent on serious reading, and only 44 per cent of the participants who have completed college increase theirs, the difference is statistically significant, but it is still true that approximately half of the people in each sub-group increase their serious-reading time and approximately half do not. The general finding that about one-half of the participants report an increase

in the time they spend on serious reading is much more important than any slight differences among sub-groups. The major finding on the direction of changes in time spent on Great Books, relaxation, and serious reading are summarized in Table B-III-23 below.

TABLE B-III-23  
CHANGES REPORTED BY PARTICIPANTS IN TIME SPENT  
ON VARIOUS KINDS OF READING  
Per cent of respondents reporting each sort  
of change for each kind of reading

Kind of Reading	Nature of Change					N
	Increased a Lot	Increased a Little	No Change	Decreased a Little	Decreased a Lot	
Relaxation. . .	2	7	55	22	13	1,692
Great Books preparation.	45	31	20	4	-*	1,708
Serious . . . .	16	31	40	10	3	1,745

\*Less than one per cent.

Changes in Reading Time Emphasis and Changes in Skills and Selection

If there is a relationship between an increase in time spent on serious reading and changes in reading selection or skill, the people who report an increase in time on serious reading should show a different pattern of change in skills and selection from those who do not. Table B-III-24 shows the striking differences.

TABLE B-III-24  
PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS REPORTING CHANGES IN THEIR READING HABITS,  
BY WHETHER OR NOT THEY REPORT AN INCREASE IN TIME SPENT  
ON SERIOUS READING

Type of Change Reported	Respondents Who Report an Increase in Time Spent on Serious Reading	Respondents Who Report No Increase in Time Spent on Serious Reading
No change reported . . . .	20%	53%
Type of change not specified	17	9
Specific change reported . . . .	63	38
In skills only . . . . .	25	20
In selection only. . . . .	30	15
In skills and selection.	8	3
	(819)	(750)

A little over half of the people who have not increased time spent on serious reading since joining the program do not report any change in their reading skills or selection, while only one-fifth of the people who have increased their serious reading fail to report a change. Apparently participation in the discussions without change in serious reading outside of the program has left half of the participants without any recognized effect on their reading skill or selection, whereas the joint effect of participation and increase in time on serious reading outside has been to change the reading skills or selection of four-fifths of that group.

When one looks at the differences between the groups on the specific changes reported, he sees that all are in the expected direction but that they differ in amount. The change in skills has somewhat less logical connection with change in amount of serious reading and shows a difference which, although statistically significant ( $p < .05$  on a two-tailed test), is quite small.

The other, change in selection, shows differences which are large enough to be important. One may very safely conclude that one of the program's main channels for qualitative effects on reading habits, especially on the selection of materials read, is through its influence in raising the amount of time participants spend in serious reading beyond that assigned for the meetings.

#### SUMMARY

Great Books participants, on the average, spend more time in reading than do other Americans of comparable education.

Their level of reading extends above the purely popular but does not exclude it and seldom includes the most seriously intellectual.

There is little relation between the total time participants spend in reading and either reading-seriousness or time spent on Great Books preparation, although the heaviest readers do have a somewhat higher proportion of people who devote half or more of their reading time to serious reading.

Amount of formal education has little, if any, influence on the amount of the participants' reading but does influence its general level of difficulty.

Amount of time spent in reading increases slightly with lengthened program-experience, as does the proportion of participants with a high general reading level. This increase is general, including all educational sub-groups, but quantitative changes appear greater in the no-college and part-college participants, qualitative changes appear greater among the part-college. The quality differential between participants who have attended college and those who have had no college remains even in the advanced groups.

The per cent of participants who attribute specific qualitative changes in their reading habits to the program rises with length of program

experience. The commonest change reported is heightened and broadened interest in reading as an activity, and the commonest change in skill reported is the development of greater critical sharpness.

One of the chief means by which the program effects qualitative changes in the participants' reading habits appears to be through motivating an increase in time spent in serious reading beyond that assigned for the discussions.

CHAPTER IV

VALUES AND IDEOLOGIES

## Introduction

Chapters I and II of this report can be interpreted as saying that, while the program appears to have little effect in the purely esthetic areas of the liberal arts and humanities, continued participation in the program generally yields a much broader knowledge of liberal arts and humanities. The impact of the program appears much higher in the "prose" arena than in the "poetic."

Chapter I dealt at length with changes in this "prose" area of high culture but dealt with them only in terms of knowledge. Now, knowing that the advanced-year participant is much more likely to recognize the gentleman with the beard as Karl Marx does not tell us much about the impact of reading the Communist Manifesto. Likewise, the increased probability that one can identify the pedagogue at the blackboard as John Locke, after being in the program two or more years, does not tell us whether the program is converting its members to eighteenth-century liberalism.

With the exception of the verse discussed in Chapter II and some highly abstract works such as Euclid, a large proportion of the Great Books readings can be thought of as discourses in social and political values -- that is, statements on what is preferable and desirable in the areas of political organization, religion, and social relationships. We need only think of Marx, St. Thomas, Thoreau, Mill, Adam Smith, Plato, and Aristotle to document this point.

Our impression is that the readings themselves betray no "party line," except that, as implied in the definition of the program, twentieth-century thought and works of pure science receive lesser stress. The participants read a range of political thought from Marx to Mill, and the Christian theologians (St. Thomas and St. Augustine) are counter-balanced by Freud, Darwin, Nietzsche, and a large number of classical "pagans."

Out of this welter of value positions, one wonders whether certain ones "take" better than others, and whether continued participation in the program is associated with any specific leanings on the social and political questions which loom so large in the readings.

## Subjective Reports

We can begin by asking the respondents whether they think they have changed in their basic positions. A pretty good index can be derived from the following two questions:

"Since you began Great Books have there been any particular authors or schools of thought which you once disliked, but now find more acceptable? If 'yes,' which ones?"

"Since you began Great Books are there any particular authors or schools of thought which you once accepted, but now find less acceptable? If 'yes,' which ones?"

When we cross-tabulate these two questions for the entire sample, we get the following:

TABLE B-IV-1  
 REPORTED CHANGES IN ACCEPTANCE OF  
 PARTICULAR SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT<sup>1</sup>

More Acceptable	Less Acceptable		Total
	Yes	No	
Yes . . . .	6%	21%	27%
No . . . .	6	66	72
	12%	87%	99%
N = 1,507			

Over-all, we find 27 per cent reporting one or more authors or schools of thought found to be more acceptable; 12 per cent reporting some area as less acceptable; and when the two are considered together, we find 33 per cent reporting some form of change and 66 per cent reporting no change. The major pattern of change appears to be that of increasing one's likes without abandoning any previously admired position, this pattern being almost twice as common as the other two types of change combined. Thus, about one-third of the respondents do report some type of change of the sort we are exploring in this chapter.

As one would expect, the longer one has been in the program, the more likely he is to report such a change.

TABLE B-IV-2  
 EXPOSURE AND ACCEPTANCE PATTERN

Change	More Acceptable	Less Acceptable	Exposure		
			0	1 and 2	3 or more
Mixed . . .	Yes	Yes	2%	6%	13%
Pro. . . .	Yes	No	13	21	34
Anti . . . .	No	Yes	6	6	8
None . . . .	No	No	79	67	44
			100%	100%	99%
N =			(646)	(510)	(376)

<sup>1</sup> Throughout the report, N refers to the base on which the percentages were calculated.

The per cent reporting no changes at all declines sharply with increased years of exposure, while all types of change increase. The "agin" pattern (reporting an increasing antipathy without a compensating area of growing acceptance) is rare and shows the least increase. Thus, we can conclude that in the advanced years most of the participants feel some definite change in their pattern of intellectual allegiances.

Table 3 shows the proportion reporting "no change" for various sub-groups, controlling for exposure.

TABLE B-IV-3  
SUB-GROUP DIFFERENCES IN ACCEPTANCE PATTERN  
Per cent reporting no change

	Exposure		
	0	1 and 2	3 or more
<b>Education:</b>			
No college . . . . .	87 (93)	64 (67)	40 (57)
Part college and A.B.	78 (281)	65 (243)	43 (155)
Graduate study . . . . .	77 (236)	70 (191)	44 (148)
<b>Sex:</b>			
Male . . . . .	78 (232)	72 (198)	46 (166)
Female . . . . .	79 (400)	64 (308)	42 (203)
<b>Age:</b>			
Under 35 . . . . .	79 (299)	64 (212)	46 (65)
35-44. . . . .	81 (178)	66 (154)	37 (130)
45 or more . . . . .	74 (149)	71 (135)	48 (175)
<b>Impact:</b>			
High . . . . .	73 (173)	58 (209)	39 (222)
Low. . . . .	81 (435)	74 (285)	51 (141)
<b>Religion:</b>			
Protestant . . . . .	79 (385)	68 (277)	41 (207)
Catholic . . . . .	82 (68)	80 (50)	47 (19)
Jewish . . . . .	76 (84)	65 (72)	52 (58)
None . . . . .	74 (57)	55 (67)	39 (59)

(Base N in parentheses)

None of the sub-group differences is terribly strong, but several deserve a few words of comment. Educational trends are slight, but they show an interesting reversal. In the first year, those with lower education are more likely to report a change, but in the advanced years, more changers (i.e., in terms of Table 3, non-non-changers) are found in the higher educational levels. It may be that the person with lower education experiences a quicker immediate impact but that over the long haul more changers are found among those of higher education. There is a slight but consistent sex difference

in favor of the women, which is probably not an artifact of the educational difference in the sexes, since it appears in all three exposure groups, while the educational difference reverses after the first year. There is no consistent age difference. With the exception of the Jews in the advanced years, there does appear to be a slight but consistent religious difference. On the whole, Catholics are least likely to report a change, Protestants next least likely, Jews somewhat more likely to report a change, and "Nones" the most likely to report some change. In the context of the materials discussed in Chapter I of this section, the difference appears to be one of "devoutness," for those groups who are the strongest religious participators are least likely to report a change. We shall soon return to this theme.

With these findings in mind, let us now turn to the question of the content of these changes.

Specific Values and Ideologies

The changes in values and ideologies suggested by the above analysis could be of two different types. One type could be that of a high "turnover" in individuals, but little net effect. The other could be that of high turnover in individuals, with an over-all direction. Table 4 gives a hypothetical example of these two types of change.

TABLE B-IV-4

HYPOTHETICAL TYPES OF CHANGE

A.				B.					
		Time 2				Time 2			
		X	Y			X	Y		
Time 1	X	25	25	50	Time 1	X	0	50	50
	Y	25	25	50		Y	0	50	50
		50	50	100			0	100	100

Let us think of two value positions, X and Y, and the same population measured at two times (Time 1 and Time 2). In both situations, A and B, 50 people, or half of the population, have changed their position on the values. In Situation A, however, the changes cancel each other out, 25 people moving from X to Y, and 25 from Y to X, leaving the proportions of adherents of X and Y the same. In Situation B, all 50 shifted from X to Y, and the proportion of Y's shifts from 50 per cent at Time 1 to 100 per cent at Time 2.

Now, we can conclude from the previous analysis that the "turnover" may be fairly high in Great Books, but since we do not have measures on the same person at two different times, we will be unable to detect any "A"-like situations. Therefore, when we turn to specific content, we compare beginning

and advanced participants to look for "net effects" and can tell little from our data about "gross" rates of change, except for the subjective materials reported above.<sup>2</sup>

We shall examine four types of values here. We shall begin with the value instrument developed by Morris, to which we have already referred in Chapter I of Part A. We shall then turn to some specific social and intellectual values. Next we shall examine religious orientations, and, finally, materials on political ideology.

Morris Values

The Morris value vignettes, as the reader of Chapter I will remember, consist of four brief statements of basic value positions which we described with the labels of "Groupyness," "Activity," "Hedonism," and "Contemplation." At that time we remarked that the participants seemed to be characterized by high adherence to what might be called modal middle-class values of groupyness and activity, and lesser adherence to the deviant values of hedonism or contemplation. Let us now see whether continued participation in Great Books is associated with any differences in these patterns.

TABLE B-IV-5

MORRIS VALUES

Per cent checking "Like very much" or "Like quite a lot" by years of exposure

Value	Exposure		
	0	1 and 2	3 or more
Groupyness . . .	46 (711)	43 (550)	51 (427)
Activity . . . .	38 (704)	32 (544)	36 (427)
Hedonism . . . .	23 (700)	28 (550)	25 (418)
Contemplation. .	18 (702)	19 (545)	22 (415)

We see in Table 5 no differences either in the percentages or in the relative popularity of these values. This is not too surprising, as this measure was developed essentially for cross-cultural studies, and within a given culture, the range of variation is presumably quite small. Exposure to Great Books seems to show no "net" relationship with scores on these measures.

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<sup>2</sup>A difference of the type we shall examine could also be due to differential drop-out rates for persons with different values and ideologies. Even so, the findings are worth considering, as they will suggest the "directionality" of the program, regardless of whether the differences arise through change, drop-out, or what is probably the case, through a combination of the two.

The Multi-Millionaire Philanthropist

In order to assess values in a somewhat more concrete way than in the Morris vignettes, we asked the respondents the following question:

"Suppose that you are a multi-millionaire philanthropist. The following programs have been submitted for your support. Please rank them in terms of your preference. Place a '1' by the program you think is most worthy of your support, a '6' by the program you believe is least worthy of your support, etc.

- "a) Publishing the works of young poets.
- b) Establishing a commission to implement improvements in urban problems like traffic, juvenile delinquency, and housing.
- c) Providing more counselors and psychologists for mental health work in the high schools.
- d) Fellowships for basic research in chemistry and physics.
- e) Raising the salaries of ministers.
- f) Providing free chamber music concerts."

These items were designed as measures of the respondents' relative evaluation of the areas of poetry, civic problems, mental health, natural-science research, organized religion, and music, and, of course, they parallel to a large extent specific problems and chapters of this report.<sup>3</sup>

Since many of the respondents, like real multi-millionaires, were unable to choose unambiguously among the programs proffered, we coded the materials in terms of whether the given item was in the highest "group" indicated by the respondent. Thus, someone who put down three ones and three sixes was coded as giving a "high" to all three of the items checked "1." The following table gives the proportion of "high's" by program and by exposure.

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<sup>3</sup>Had we included in this list the Great Books program, it would have been interesting to see how it ranked. But its inclusion might have impaired the value of the other rankings.

TABLE B-IV-6

ITEM PREFERENCE BY EXPOSURE  
Per cent checking item "high"\*

Program	Exposure		
	0	1 and 2	3 or more
Urban problems . . . .	43	37	38
Mental health . . . .	35	35	33
Basic research in chemistry and physics	29	31	31
Chamber music . . . .	6	4	5
Young poets . . . . .	4	4	3
Ministers . . . . .	4	2	3
	N = 705	548	426

\*The per cents in each column add to more than 100 for reasons explained in the paragraph preceding.

Again we note no differences among the exposure groups but a consistent ordering within each. Between seven and ten times as many of the would-be philanthropists prefer supporting research in physics and chemistry to publishing the works of young poets. The big gap appears to be between the three pragmatic, empirical areas and the three spiritual, esthetic ones. Within the solid and substantial favorites there is a slight preference for the social rather than the abstract intellectual problem. Whether or not the reader shares these preferences, it is clear that the beginning and the advanced participant share very similar criteria of social utility.

Religious Systems

In an attempt to get at intellectual orientations toward religion, as well as denominational preference and attendance, we asked the following question:

"Below are twelve different systems of religious thought. In the column headed 'Most Congenial' please check the three systems which you find most congenial intellectually. In the column headed 'Least Congenial' please check the three systems which you find least congenial intellectually."

The following were then listed in alphabetical order:

- Atheism
- Agnosticism
- Buddhism
- Mysticism
- Reform Judaism
- Christian Science
- "Fundamentalist" Protestantism
- "Middle of the Road" Protestantism
- Thomism
- Orthodox Judaism
- "Liberal" Protestantism
- Mohammedanism.

Table 7 reports the per cent checking "Most Congenial" for each of the twelve.

TABLE B-IV-7  
EXPOSURE AND INTELLECTUAL PREFERENCE  
FOR SPECIFIC RELIGIOUS SYSTEMS

System	Exposure		
	0	1 and 2	3 or more
<u>A.</u>			
Agnosticism. . . . .	31	41	41
Buddhism . . . . .	15	19	22
Mysticism. . . . .	9	13	15
Reform Judaism . . . .	31	34	36
<u>B.</u>			
Christian Science. . .	20	17	12
"Fundamentalist" Protestantism. . . . .	14	11	6
"Middle of the Road" Protestantism. . . . .	40	32	26
Thomism. . . . .	20	17	12
Orthodox Judaism . . .	11	11	8
<u>C.</u>			
Atheism. . . . .	10	14	11
"Liberal" Protestantism. . . . .	62	58	67
Mohammedanism. . . . .	6	8	7
	N = 687	546	426

There are some rather striking trends in Table 7, but before we look at them, let us summarize some of our other data in the general area of religion.

TABLE B-IV-8

EXPOSURE AND RELIGIOUS BEHAVIOR

Per cent...

Item	Exposure		
	0	1 and 2	3 or more
Checking "Church going aside, religious ideas and theological problems are extremely important to me" . . . . .	40 (705)	43 (551)	41 (436)
Reporting attending church "regularly" or "fairly regularly" . . .	59 (729)	53 (562)	49 (438)
Reporting attending church "seldom" or "never"	22 (729)	30 (528)	32 (438)
Listing religious preference as "None". . . . .	9 (683)	14 (529)	15 (415)
Among those reporting preference for the three major faiths:			
Protestant. . . . .	71 (611)	70 (452)	73 (346)
Jewish. . . . .	17 (611)	17 (452)	19 (346)
Catholic. . . . .	12 (611)	13 (452)	7 (346)

In Table 7 the religious ideologies are divided into three groups, those which are more frequent in advanced years (A), those which are less frequent in the advanced years (B), and those which show no clear-cut trend (C).

Over-all, the trend appears to be: 1) away from conservative religious positions (e.g., Reform Judaism increases, Orthodox Judaism decreases), and 2) away from established American religious institutions (e.g., the increase in the appeal of Buddhism and Mysticism).

Before drawing any final conclusions, let us see if the same trends hold when we control for religious preference..

TABLE B-IV-8a  
 EXPOSURE AND INTELLECTUAL PREFERENCE  
 FOR SPECIFIC RELIGIOUS SYSTEMS  
 BY RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE  
 Per cent choosing as "Most Congenial"

Religious Preference	Exposure		
	0	1 and 2	3 or more
<b>A. Protestants:</b>			
Agnosticism . . . . .	26	32	32
Buddhism. . . . .	12	17	19
Mysticism . . . . .	9	13	16
Reform Judaism. . . . .	25	26	31
Christian Science . . . . .	22	20	13
Fundamental Protestantism . .	19	17	7
Middle-Road Protestantism . .	56	46	39
Thomism . . . . .	13	10	7
Orthodox Judaism. . . . .	5	4	3
Atheism . . . . .	5	8	6
Liberal Protestantism . . . . .	78	72	84
Mohammedanism . . . . .	6	9	9
	N=415	306	246
<b>B. Catholics:</b>			
Agnosticism . . . . .	13	6	14
Buddhism. . . . .	7	15	14
Mysticism . . . . .	10	15	23
Reform Judaism. . . . .	22	20	9
Christian Science . . . . .	13	11	9
Fundamental Protestantism . .	13	7	9
Middle-Road Protestantism . .	20	22	14
Thomism . . . . .	93	94	86
Orthodox Judaism. . . . .	33	37	50
Atheism . . . . .	1	7	5
Liberal Protestantism . . . . .	22	17	9
Mohammedanism . . . . .	6	15	9
	N= 69	54	22
<b>C. Jews:</b>			
Agnosticism . . . . .	32	61	43
Buddhism. . . . .	15	12	14
Mysticism . . . . .	4	11	3
Reform Judaism. . . . .	85	84	80
Christian Science . . . . .	16	14	12
Fundamental Protestantism . .	0	1	3
Middle-Road Protestantism . .	11	7	9
Thomism . . . . .	2	1	5
Orthodox Judaism. . . . .	29	30	12
Atheism . . . . .	14	16	14
Liberal Protestantism . . . . .	45	39	55
Mohammedanism . . . . .	5	7	6
	N= 93	74	65

TABLE B-IV-8a--Continued

Religious Preference	Exposure		
	0	1 and 2	3 or more
<b>D. Nones:</b>			
Agnosticism . . . . .	80	85	82
Buddhism. . . . .	29	36	39
Mysticism . . . . .	15	12	15
Reform Judaism. . . . .	13	22	21
Christian Science . . . . .	20	11	8
Fundamental Protestantism . .	0	4	2
Middle-Road Protestantism . .	5	9	6
Thomism . . . . .	13	14	8
Orthodox Judaism. . . . .	2	5	6
Atheism . . . . .	45	45	35
Liberal Protestantism . . . .	40	43	44
Mohammedanism . . . . .	4	4	5
	N= 55	74	62

Table B-IV-8a suggests that denomination must be taken into consideration before we draw any general conclusions. The trends noted above clearly hold for the Protestants, and since Protestants make up a large majority of the participants, they are probably the typical trends of the program. For the other denominations, however, the pattern is not so clear. Within Catholics, Jews, and "Nones," there is a slight tendency for adherence to one's "own" position to decline with exposure. There are very few Catholics in the advanced years, but among them Thomism does show a tiny decline; among Jews, both Reform and Orthodox preferences tend to decline; and among the "Nones," Atheism goes down a little. Thus, for all four of our denominational categories, there is a slight trend away from what might be called the original religious position. The direction of shift varies, however. Among the Catholics the trend may be toward Buddhism, Mysticism, and, interestingly, Orthodox Judaism, but away from the "liberal" forms of Protestantism and Judaism. Among the Jews the trend may be toward Agnosticism and not to any specific theological position; and among the "Nones" the only increase appears to be for Buddhism.

Jumping back and forth among Tables 7, 8, and 8a, we can draw the following inferences:

1) The trend does not appear to be away from "religion" per se. Atheism is infrequent among the participants stating a religious preference and does not increase with exposure. For the "Nones," Atheism decreases with exposure.

2) While there is some trend toward a lessening objective religiosity, the "objective" trends are much slighter than the "intellectual" ones. This, in turn, suggests two things: First of all, it suggests that the changes are not a function of drop-outs alone, since a very high loss of religiously devout would produce a greater change in the distribution of religious preferences

than we found. Second, it suggests that the changes may not be those of abandoning or altering a fundamental religious stance, but rather they may be those of changing evaluations of other viewpoints. What we mean by this is that while the bulk of the respondents are practising Liberal Protestants and remain so, religious ideologies such as Agnosticism, Buddhism, Mysticism, Reform Judaism, and Mohammedanism are viewed more favorably by the participants in the advanced years than by the participants with fewer years of exposure to the program. Likewise, the more conservative ideologies, such as Fundamental Protestantism, Thomism, and even Middle-of-the-Road Protestantism, are less favored among participants in the advanced years than in the beginning years. The general picture is not one of "reversals" or dramatic changes in religious ideas, but rather one of expansion of the breadth and scope of religious ideas which are considered within the pale, an expansion which is generally in the "liberal" rather than in the "conservative" direction.

### Political Ideologies

We didn't plan it that way, but, curiously, throughout our study political preferences have played an important part in the analyses. In independence of its relationships with such variables as education, age, and status, party preference has turned up as a correlate of motivations for joining the program (Chapter I of Part A), knowledge of liberal arts and humanities (Chapter I of Part B), and musical and poetic sophistication (Chapter II of Part B). Therefore, even aside from the fact that the readings in the program have a heavy political emphasis, we shall be interested in the question of whether political values, too, vary with exposure to Great Books.

The contemporary American political scene is a little too complicated to be covered by two questions in a survey, but in designing our study we felt that two important axes of political values today are the question of "civil liberties" and the question of "government control." Many political observers, of course, believe that in the late 1950's political ideologies have become considerably less important in a national scene dominated by questions of foreign policy and by technical economic and administrative issues which don't lend themselves to simple ideological polarities. Nevertheless, we felt that the questions of whether governmental activities have been extended too far or not far enough (the continuing question of where one stands vis-a-vis the New Deal), and whether a balance has been struck between the competing demands of civil liberties and national security (at one time the issue of "McCarthyism"; now, perhaps, where one stands in evaluating the Warren court), would still provide a basis of differentiation.

Tables 9 and 10 give the specific items and the distribution of answers for the total sample.

TABLE B-IV-9

GOVERNMENT

"In general, which of the following statements comes closest to expressing your basic position on government in the United States?"

Statement	Per cent	N
There is too much government control today. Governmental activities should be cut back. . . . .	27	482
There is a lot of government control today, but, in general, it is called for by the needs of our society. . .	67	1,227
We need to expand the scope of government a lot more. . . . .	6	111
	100%	1,820
No answer. . . . .		89
Total. . . . .		1,909

TABLE B-IV-10

CIVIL LIBERTIES

"Which of the following comes closest to your opinion on the conflicting demands of national security and civil liberties?"

Statement	Per cent	N
We have gone too far in the direction of national security, and have weakened our civil liberties. . . .	42	733
We have struck a pretty good balance between the conflicting demands of national security and civil liberties. . . . .	48	847
We have gone too far in the direction of preserving civil liberties, and have weakened our national security.	10	169
	100%	1,749
No answer. . . . .		160
Total. . . . .		1,909

Apparently these are not burning issues which split the respondents into hostile camps, for in both cases the largest group of participants managed to light between the horns of the dilemma.

Now, let us look at the cross-tabulation of the two items.

TABLE B-IV-11  
GOVERNMENT AND CIVIL LIBERTIES  
Per cent of total sample

Civil Liberties	Government			Total
	Need to Cut Back	Neutral	Need to Expand	
Too much security	12 (201)	26 (451)	4 (68)	42
Neutral . . . . .	13 (217)	35 (599)	1 (24)	49
Too much civil liberties . . . .	2 (41)	7 (113)	-(*) (13)	9
	27%	68%	5%	100%

\* Less than one per cent.

One of the interesting things about Table 11 is that there is not much correlation between the two items.

TABLE B-IV-12  
Per cent checking "Too much security"

Position on Government	Per cent
Need to cut back . . . . .	44
Neutral. . . . .	39
Need to expand . . . . .	61

While the small number of need-to-expanders do appear more worried about threats to civil liberties, there is little or no difference in the civil-liberties position of the two large groups -- the neutrals and the need-to-cut-backers.

Perhaps the best way to think of Table 11 is in terms of a map of the political terrain. In the center we find the area of the "Contented," those participants who are happy with the current state of affairs with regard to both governmental activities and civil liberties. Moving away from this center, up in the northeast corner<sup>4</sup> ("Need to Expand" and "Too Much Security") we come to the territory of the New Deal Democrat. In the opposite direction, down in the southwest territory, lies the domain of the arch-conservative, the classical Midwest Republican, and some Texas Democrats. Moving across to the southeast corner, we find a combination which is rare in American politics, thirteen respondents whose answers, if taken literally, imply a totalitarian ideology. Finally, up in the northwest quadrant, we find what might have been thought of as an extinct species but is actually the most common of the extreme types, the combination of "Need to Cut Back" and "Too Much Security." This has the distinct air of 18th century liberalism.

We should stress that the labels we have given to these combinations are descriptive, not analytical, in the sense that we are not implying that these positions can be traced in any causal sense to the historical ideologies which provided the names. Rather, we have used these labels to convey the "feel" of the combination of values represented. In an informal communication, Professor Peter Rossi of the University of Chicago has informed us that the position we call "18th century liberalism" has been found, in a number of unpublished studies, to be common among high-status professionals. Perhaps we should call it "the new conservatism," but since the term we picked has a sort of Great Bookish ring to it, we will stick to it throughout this chapter.

Following this analogy, we divided the respondents as follows (excluding the "totalitarians" because there were only thirteen of them):

TABLE B-IV-13

IDEOLOGICAL TYPES

Type and Government	Civil Liberties	Per cent
<u>18th Century Liberals:</u>		
Cut back . . . . .	Too much security	12
Cut back . . . . .	Neutral	13
Neutral . . . . .	Too much security	26
<u>Contenteds:</u>		<u>35</u>
Neutral . . . . .	Neutral	35
<u>Arch-conservatives:</u>		
Cut back . . . . .	Too much civil liberties	2
Neutral . . . . .	Too much civil liberties	7
<u>New Dealers:</u>		<u>5</u>
Expand . . . . .	Too much security	4
Expand . . . . .	Neutral	1

<sup>4</sup>While regional terms have been employed, they refer to the regions of our imaginary map of the political terrain; there is no intention of equating the northeast corner of our map with the Northeast section of the United States.

Obviously, the combinations are arbitrary, and the absolute proportions could be varied considerably by re-assigning the mixed categories. We chose the path we did, however, through our terrain (or possible jungle) for the plain and simple reason that it appears that the tendency of Great Books is to increase the proportion of 18th century liberals, and we wanted to have enough cases to analyze this in detail.

Let us begin by looking at the distribution of ideological types by years of exposure to the program.

TABLE B-IV-14

EXPOSURE AND IDEOLOGICAL TYPES  
Per cent of exposure group

Type	Exposure		
	0	1 and 2	3 or more
18th Century Liberals:	46	48	60
Total* . . . . .	9	12	14
Civil liberties. . .	24	24	32
Government . . . . .	13	12	14
Contenteds . . . . .	39	37	28
Arch-conservatives . .	9	10	7
New Dealers. . . . .	6	4	5
	100%	99%	100%
	N= 666	522	405

\*"Total" refers to Need-to-cut-back on government and Pro-civil liberties.

The proportion of Contenteds appears to decline with exposure, while the proportion of 18th-century-liberals increases. Arch-conservatives and New Dealers show no trend. Within the group of 18th century liberals, it is the Total and the Civil-libertarian sub-types which show the increase (Civil-libertarians being pro-civil liberties but neutral on the government question). The proportion of the "anti-government" sub-type (Need-to-cut-back but neutral on civil liberties) does not increase much, but when it is added to the Total group, the proportion of people who are in favor of cutting back government but are not pro-security increases steadily with years of exposure. In short, in the advanced years we find more people who tend to be pro-civil liberties but anti-governmental activity.

Furthermore, this trend appears in both of the types of party preference we have used in our analysis -- Democrats and Republicans-plus-Independents.

TABLE B-IV-15

IDEOLOGY, PARTY PREFERENCE, AND EXPOSURE

Ideology	Party	Exposure		
		0	1 and 2	3 or more
18th Century Liberals:				
Total* . . . . .	D**	5%	8%	8%
	D***	12	16	18
Civil liberties . . .	D	35	39	50
	D̄	12	13	17
Government . . . . .	D	5	2	2
	D̄	20	21	24
Contenteds . . . . .	D	37	34	24
	D̄	41	38	33
Arch-conservatives . . .	D	8	10	6
	D̄	10	10	8
New Dealers . . . . .	D	10	7	9
	D̄	3	2	1

\*"Total" refers to Need-to-cut-back on government and Pro-civil liberties.

\*\* D = Democrats and those who "usually lean" to the Democrats. Their N's by exposure-group are 305, 230, and 189.

\*\*\* D̄ = Independents, Republicans, and those who "usually lean" to the Republicans. Their N's by exposure-group are 333, 276, and 202.

Within each party-preference group, the trend is the same, except for the small number of Democrats in the anti-government, neutral-on-civil-liberties sub-type of 18th century liberals. The Democrats do show a rise in Total, but not enough to compensate for this. Thus, our conclusions should be modified as follows:

- 1) It appears that both Democrats and non-Democrats show greater concern over civil liberties in the advanced years than in the beginning years.
- 2) Non-Democrats in the advanced years are also more likely to believe that there is too much government, while Democrats show no difference.
- 3) In toto, there appears to be a trend toward a political position somewhere in between the poles of New Dealism and arch-conservatism, a position which can be thought of as much akin to 18th century liberalism.

Now, as usual, we must note that these trends could be due to drop-outs as well as to changes in political opinions, but the fact that the trends occur in both major political-preference types at least suggests that it is an "ideological" trend, not a selection on the basis of party affiliation.

We can only speculate as to why such a trend appears. It is probably not a simple function of exposure to the readings, since, although we have made no content analysis, our guess would be that the readings have, if anything, a slight "authoritarian" political coloring (Plato and Nietzsche and St. Thomas are certainly not 18th century liberals), although Mill, Thoreau, the Declaration of Independence, Adam Smith, The Federalist, and the Areopagitica certainly would provide persuasive arguments for those who wish to be persuaded. Somewhat more fairly, it would probably be better to state that the readings have little to lead one to the New Deal pole, although there are adherents of each of the other positions in large numbers among the readings.

### Summary

In this chapter we explored the problem of whether continued exposure to Great Books tends to induce changes in the participant's basic values and fundamental positions on social and political policy. We began by indicating that many respondents, quite a majority by the time they reach the advanced years, do report changes in ideas and schools of thought. Because we have a "cross-sectional" design, we were unable to examine the possibility of changes which cancel each other out, but by comparing beginning and advanced participants, we were able to look for "net effects." Our data suggested that in terms of basic values and in terms of areas of orientation, there is little or no change; however, within the religious and within the political arenas, there is evidence of shifting, some of which may be due to differential "dropping-out," but probably not in entirety. In terms of intellectual approaches to religion, our data suggest that increased exposure is associated with greater acceptance of "liberal" and "non-Western" religious ideas, and a lesser acceptance of conservative and traditional American religious positions. In terms of political ideologies, we noted an apparent trend for increased concern about civil liberties, and a definite but lesser trend toward opposition of government activities, the two together being interpreted as a trend toward an ideological position analogous to 18th century liberalism, or perhaps "new conservatism."

CHAPTER V

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

THE GENERAL PICTURE

This chapter deals with the involvement of Great Books members in the civic and organizational life of their communities. The general question is whether association with the program has any effect on involvement in the community.

Involvement is looked at in three ways: interest in public affairs, membership in voluntary associations or informal groups dealing with community problems, and feelings of concern with community problems.

Since there is no evidence that the program attracted different sorts of people last year from those to whom it appealed in the few years preceding, last year's beginners probably provide a good picture of the people who enter the Great Books program. As Chapter I indicates, they stand high on formal education, with 74 per cent of the men and 49 per cent of the women having a bachelor's degree or more; and their occupational background is predominantly that of professionals, managers, or proprietors. Any consideration of their involvement in their communities must start from the fact that most of them have the sort of educational and occupational background which tends to be associated with membership in voluntary associations.

A recent summary of survey findings on the voluntary association memberships of American adults<sup>1</sup> provides a base against which Great Books participants can be compared.

TABLE B-V-1

MEMBERSHIP IN ORGANIZATIONS BY FORMAL EDUCATION:

GREAT BOOKS ENTRANTS AND A U.S. NATIONAL SAMPLE<sup>†</sup>

Per cent with membership in organization

Number of Organizations	Education					
	12 Years		Some College		College Degree or More	
	Great Books**	U.S.	Great Books	U.S.	Great Books	U.S.
0 . . .	37	57	35	46	32	20
1 . . .	33	23	28	24	23	30
2 and more .	30	20	37	30	45	36
N**=	(119)	(610)	(169)	(232)	(416)	(170)

<sup>†</sup>National sample figures taken from Table 3 of the Wright and Hyman article.

\* Throughout the report, N refers to the base on which percentages were calculated.

\*\* Includes entrants with less than four years of high school.

<sup>1</sup>Charles R. Wright and Herbert H. Hyman, "Voluntary Association Memberships of American Adults: Evidence from National Sample Surveys," American Sociological Review, June, 1958, Vol. 23, No. 3, pp. 284-294.

A look at Table 1 indicates that participants are somewhat more involved in organizations than are other Americans of comparable education. The entrants who have not attended college have a strikingly lower percentage of people who do not belong to any organizations and a higher percentage of people who belong to two or more; the part-college entrants show the same differences although in lesser degree; the college graduates have a higher percentage of people who do not belong to any organization but balance it by also having a higher percentage who belong to two or more organizations. We excluded from the tally membership in churches, organizations attached to particular congregations, and adult education programs. Had we included them, all categories of Great Books participants would almost certainly have shown more memberships than the people in the national sample.

The program evidently selects people who are interested in what goes on in the world of public affairs. When asked about their degrees of interest in local, national, and world affairs, 76 per cent of the entrants said that they were highly interested in at least one of the areas and most said that they were highly interested in two or more.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>There is some room for disagreement on how much the picture of people's interests and activities is distorted by the people who develop sudden enthusiasms because they feel that the mere presence of the question indicates that the questionnaire constructor felt that people should be interested or active in whatever is under consideration.

The number of respondents who felt free to declare themselves only "fairly" or "somewhat" interested in the matters discussed, however, and the striking differences among the per cents of people highly interested in the different areas of public affairs suggest that the figures are probably trustworthy. The general seriousness with which group members treated the questionnaire indicates that they made an honest effort to estimate such things as average number of visits a month, and that, therefore, the general pattern can be trusted even though there must be some error of memory in estimates of this kind. Similar arguments support accepting the reasonable accuracy of the report on organizational memberships, especially as in this case the names of the organizations were listed.

SOURCES AND APPROACHES USED IN THE ANALYSIS

Sources

With the preceding sketch of the entrants' community involvement as a sort of appetizer, we turn to the methods used in analyzing the data. The major sources for the analysis in this section lie in the part of the questionnaire entitled "Great Books and the Community." They are indicated below.

A. The Participant's Current Interest in the Area of Public Affairs and Social Activities

Interest in local politics, civic organizations, national politics, and world affairs (P. 14, Q. 9)

B. The Participant's Civic and Social Activities

Civic or professional organizations to which the participant belongs. (P. 14, Q. 10)

Action which the participant has taken about community problems. (P. 14, Q. 7)

Any local offices ever held by the participant. (P. 15, Q. 11)

Amount of informal visiting and entertaining. (P. 16, Q. 15)

Number of fellow group members seen outside of the discussions. (P. 23, Q. 7)

C. Changes in Participant's Perception of His Civic and Social Activities and Interests.

Changes in interest and involvement in civic organizations, community problems and issues, local politics, national politics, world affairs, and informal visiting. (P. 16, Q. 18)

Effect of Great Books on understanding of or action concerning community problems. (P. 14, Q. 8)

Approaches

Since the basic question of this section is the community involvement of Great Books participants, we need some way of describing people on the basis of the pattern of their public-affairs interests and organizational activities. With such a description in hand, we can then relate a number of attributes to some other factor simultaneously rather than having to analyze each relationship in turn.

The first question then becomes whether people have patterns in their interests and organizational activities. The answer is that they do, but that analyzing the patterns makes for some fairly complicated technical reading.

With the technical section put first, however, one can then read the later substantive material without constant digressions for definitions and explanations.

### Patterns of Interest in Public Affairs

The questionnaire asked about interest in local politics, civic organizations, national politics, and gave choices of answers ranging from definite lack of interest to high interest in each of these areas.<sup>3</sup>

Table 2, below, measures the association between high interest in any one of the areas and in each of the others.

The general meaning of the table, and of the individual tables from which the Q.s were derived, is that there are definite patterns in areas of interests. People who say that they are highly interested in either world affairs or national politics in the great majority of cases also say that they are highly interested in the other. Similarly, people who are highly interested in civic organizations are usually interested in local politics and people highly interested in local politics tend to be highly interested in civic organizations. There is also something of a political axis of interest: people highly interested in local politics tend to be highly interested in national politics and the reverse. However, this relationship is lower than the others. The more striking finding is that the participants' interests split into two geographical areas, local and what may be called the cosmopolitan. (We should stress that this use of the term is different from the use in Chapters I, II, and III of Part A.)

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<sup>3</sup>Throughout the analysis "highly interested" equals "replied that they are 'very interested'" in whatever matter is under consideration. "Rise in high interest" and similar phrases mean that the per cent of respondents saying that they are "very interested" rises. Sometimes the awkwardness of precisely correct statistical terminology has led to refuge in "become more interested" as a more readable way of saying that the per cent of people reporting themselves "very interested" rises.

Cutting the replies at "very" interested rather than at "very or fairly" interested probably needs some comment here. Given the three other categories open to respondents, the choice of "very" means the choice of the highest category of interest offered and involves mentally separating oneself from people who are only "fairly interested." Including the "fairly interested" not only would have brought in most of the sample in the most popular areas but would have permitted inclusion of people who hesitated to come out and say that they were "not too interested" and used "fairly interested" as a refuge from candor.

TABLE B-V-2

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG HIGH INTEREST IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS AREAS:

VALUES OF Q\*

Public Affairs Areas	Local Politics	Civic Organizations	National Politics	World Affairs
Local Politics	----	.732	.659	.336
Civic Organizations . . .	.732	----	.397	.202
National Politics . . . .	.659	.397	----	.925
World Affairs .	.336	.202	.925	----

\*For the nontechnical reader a brief explanation of Q as a measure of association may be in order. The possible values of Q range from -1 to +1. Using national politics and world affairs as the example, the values Q would take under different circumstances follow:

If high interest in national politics were always associated with high interest in world affairs and lack of high interest in national politics were always associated with lack of high interest in world affairs, Q would equal +1. If high interest in one area were always associated with lack of high interest in the other, and lack of high interest in the other were always associated with high interest in the one, Q would equal -1. If high interest in one area had no relationship to high interest in the other, that is, if the numbers in the cells of the table were equal, Q would equal 0.

Unfortunately no means is available for measuring the differences between Qs. The reader should not make any interpretation beyond noting that the associations are "considerably" or "somewhat" higher or lower.

As Table 3 indicates, relatively few of the participants are highly interested in local affairs while a majority have a high interest in "cosmopolitan" matters.

TABLE B-V-3

RESPONDENTS BY AREA OF HIGH INTEREST\*  
Per cent

Local	Cosmopolitan	No High Interest Area	N
30	70	25	1,909

\*Table does not add to 100 per cent since some respondents have two high interest areas.

In the course of a study of personal influence in a town on the Eastern seaboard, Professor Robert Merton of Columbia University developed the distinction between types of influential people: the local and the cosmopolitan.<sup>4</sup> The distinction does not refer to the area in which influence was exerted; in both cases the influence was personal and was limited to the local area. The distinction lay in the orientation to the town; for Merton's "locals" the town was the world while for the "cosmopolitans" the town, while a pleasant place to live, was one among many.

The questions asked in the Merton study and in this one are not identical but they get at sufficiently similar matters to provide a basis for comparison. It appears that among Great Books participants there is a distinction between people of high local interest and people without it, but the distinction cuts the other way. Of the participants with a high local interest 85 per cent also have a high interest in national politics or world affairs;<sup>5</sup> but only 36 per cent of those with "cosmopolitan" interests also have a high local interest. In this case the difference is not between having only a local orientation and having broader horizons; rather it is between including local matters in one's areas of high interest and reserving high interest for affairs beyond the local scene.<sup>6</sup> Rather than dividing into "locals" and "cosmopolitans," Great Books participants who have some area of high interest more nearly divide themselves into "locals" and "nonlocals," that is, people who have a high interest in local affairs and usually in national and world affairs as well, and people who are highly interested in national and world affairs but do not include local politics or organizations in their areas of high interest.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Robert K. Merton, "Patterns of Influence: Local and Cosmopolitan Influentials" in Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure. (Rev. ed.) Glencoe, Ill., 1957, pp. 387-420.

<sup>5</sup>The low Qs between interest in national and world affairs and local politics and civic organizations in Table 3 occur because the respondents interested in local politics and civic organizations form only a relatively small per cent of the total and most of the people highly interested in national and world affairs are not highly interested in local affairs. In other words, the effect is largely one way.

<sup>6</sup>It must, of course, be admitted that the distribution of cases would have been somewhat different if the measure of local interest had been based on questions of some other wording than that used. However, the consistency with which respondents with high local interest by the criteria used differ from others, strongly suggests that the particular questions used did succeed in getting at a real difference in orientation which is salient for a number of matters of belief and attitude.

<sup>7</sup>For the interested technical reader, the relevant Guttman scales and their coefficients of reproducibility are given below.

TABLE B-V-4

GUTTMAN SCALE OF AREAS OF HIGH INTEREST:  
 LOCAL POLITICS-NATIONAL POLITICS  
 -WORLD AFFAIRS

Local Politics-National Politics-World Affairs			N
+	+	+	297
-	+	+	620
-	-	+	239
-	-	-	<u>441</u>
			1,597
Error Types			
-	+	-	36
+	-	-	50
+	+	-	32
+	-	+	<u>20</u>
			138

Zero Order: R= .9735 (based on totals, including respondents with length of time in program unknown)

By years in program:

0	1-2	3 and more
R = .9716	R = .9697	R = .9749
(680)	(528)	(408)

TABLE B-V-4a

GUTTMAN SCALE OF AREAS OF HIGH INTEREST:  
 LOCAL POLITICS OR CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS-  
 NATIONAL POLITICS-WORLD POLITICS

Local Politics or Civic Orgs.-National Politics-World Affairs			N
+	+	+	371
-	+	+	546
-	-	+	217
-	-	-	<u>404</u>
			1,538
Error Types			
+	-	-	87
+	-	+	42
+	+	-	38
-	+	-	<u>30</u>
			197

Zero Order: R= .9622 (includes respondents with years in program unknown)

By years in program:

0	1-2	3 and more
R = .9618	R = .9596	R = .9665
(680)	(528)	(408)

Not all the Great Books participants can be classified as "local" or "nonlocal" in their areas of high interest; some have no area of public affairs in which they are highly interested. They may be "fairly interested" in several areas, of course, and many of them are. However, they are people who did not feel great enough interest to put themselves in the top category of even one of the four areas offered. In this they differ from the 77 per cent of the participants who have at least one area of high interest in public affairs. Table 5 below shows the distribution of participants in terms of interest areas.

TABLE B-V-5

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY AREAS OF HIGH INTEREST

Local . . . . .	31
Local only . . . . .	5*
Local and Nonlocal . . . . .	26
Nonlocal (National-World) . . . . .	46
No Area of High Interest . . . . .	23
	N = (1,849)

\*The local-nonlocal division fails to mark off the 87 people of purely local interest from their 487 fellow "locals" who also have broader interests but this makes fewer difficulties than a subcategory of only 87 cases would. The "pure locals" are so small a proportion of the "locals" that they cannot usually have any important influence on findings concerning the "local" group as a whole.

So far, then, we have a division of people on the basis of their areas of high interest (or lack of them) in public affairs. This provides a classification of community involvement in terms of the participant's orientation on public affairs: toward the local community, away from the local community, and away from high interest in public affairs in general.

Patterns of Participation in Voluntary Associations and Other Local Groups

On the basis of both common experience and studies of the organizational participation of Americans it seemed sensible to assume that Great Books participants would differ in their organizational "activeness" as well as in the nature and extent of their interests. On this assumption it seemed reasonable to divide people within each area of interest into those who were relatively active and those who were relatively inactive in terms of organizational participation. The distinctions could not be fine ones even where the questionnaire provided the data for making them because of the danger of coming out with so few cases in a category that one could mistake sampling variability for real differences. After both substantive and statistical consideration it was decided to use membership in at least two organizations as the criterion for being "active."<sup>8</sup> This, of course, provides a very loose definition

<sup>8</sup> People who failed to answer the question on their organizational memberships were put in the "inactive" category. This was done because the unusually high proportion of failures to answer the question on organizations combined with low nonresponse rates on the surrounding questions suggested that leaving the question blank had often been intended to indicate that the respondent did not belong to any organizations.

of "activeness." One can belong to an organization and not take any part in its activities. On the other hand, having joined at least marks one off from people who have not even joined.<sup>9</sup> If one belongs to at least two organizations, he is in the upper 36 per cent of Americans with college degrees according to the national sample study quoted earlier.<sup>10</sup>

Among the "active" people, it seems reasonable to make some distinctions based on the kinds of organizations to which they belong and the amount of responsibility they have carried. Especially among people with high local interest two subtypes of "activeness" turned up often enough to justify a separate category of "AAA Active" locally interested people. They were holding local office and carrying major responsibility in private organizations working for the melioration of some community problem.

Among people carrying less responsibility than these there still seemed to be a logical division based on the nature of the organization to which they belonged. Membership in purely social organizations, in professional organizations, or in organizations based on some special interest or social characteristic may reflect a different sort of relationship to one's community from membership in organizations of a "Red Feather" sort or in organizations concerned with policies and problems of the community as a whole. The last, whether political "action" organizations such as the League of Women Voters or the county Republican Committee or nonpartisan civic action organizations such as Better Government Associations, seemed logically to represent a special sort of involvement in one's community and were used as the basis of a category of activeness. (Partly because of the problem of sampling error when numbers in categories get small and partly because most of the people belonging to a "Red Feather" organization also belong to an "action" organization, membership in "Red Feather" organizations was not used as the basis of a separate category.)

Out of all the considerations above came nine categories of a typology, the three categories of interest and divisions of activeness within each category of interest. The "types" are not, of course, supposed to be related to any ideas of personality types or to any other set of ideas about "types" of human beings. They are merely a reasonable way of collapsing relevant information about Great Books participants into a manageable number of categories which give names to recognizable patterns of behavior. The typology is outlined on the following page and forms the basis for most of the analysis which follows.

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<sup>9</sup> Organizations attached to a particular church or synagogue were excluded from the count of organizational memberships but unions and professional associations, if listed by name, were included.

<sup>10</sup> Union memberships, held by few college graduates, were excluded from the count in the quoted study while memberships in particular church organizations, held by many college graduates, were included. (Information from Jacob J. Feldman, Senior Study Director, NORC.)

THE INTEREST-ACTIVITY TYPOLOGY

	<u>N</u>
A. Local: expresses high interest in either or both local politics and civic organizations	
AAA Active: holds or has held local office or has organized a group to take action about one or more community problems or has been a major office holder in an established organization taking action about one or more local problems . . . . .	116
AA Active : is a member of two or more organizations at least one of which is an "action" organization or has taken nonleadership group action about one or more local problems . . . . .	267
A Active : is a member of two or more organizations neither of which is an "action" organization . . . . .	54
Inactive : belongs to fewer than two organizations and has not participated in any group activity about a local problem . . . . .	137
B. Nonlocal: expresses high interest in either world affairs or national politics, or both, but does not express high interest in either local politics or civic organizations.	
AA Active : belongs to two or more organizations of which at least one is an "action" organization . . . . .	125
A Active : belongs to two or more organizations of which neither is an "action" organization . . . . .	192
Inactive : belongs to fewer than two organizations . . . . .	534
C. No High Interest: does not express high interest in local politics or civic organizations or national politics or world affairs.	
A Active : belongs to two or more organizations (of any kind)	153
Inactive : belongs to fewer than two organizations . . . . .	271
Not classifiable . . . . .	<u>60</u>
	1,909

EXPERIENCE IN THE PROGRAM AND CHANGES IN INTERESTS AND ACTIVITY

The first use to which the typology will be put is consideration of possible effects of Great Books experience on the participants' interests and organizational activities. The general question will be discussed in three main parts:

1. Objective differences in interests:
  - a. Do more participants become highly interested in public affairs as experience in the program increases?
  - b. Do the participants' areas of high interest change with increased experience in the program?
2. Objective differences in activity: do more participants become active in community organizations as program experience increases?
3. How do the participants feel that the program has influenced their interests and organizational activities?

The two sorts of questions outlined--whether the proportion of participants with a given interest or activity increases and whether participants say that their interests and activities have increased--can have different answers without involving any inconsistency.

If, for example, people who entered the program feeling only "fairly interested" in a certain area, have gained a greater degree of interest but still not quite enough to put themselves in the "very interested" category, they will check "fairly interested" as describing their present situation but will also report that their interest has increased since they entered the program. In effect, the subjective and objective questions are measuring different things, and in most cases, a difference of category on the objective question requires a greater difference of feeling than does the simple report that there is a difference of feeling. With this in mind one can reasonably use different standards in interpreting the two sets of findings.

Do Interests Differ with Different Lengths of Program Experience?

As is true throughout the study, the lack of data collected over time means that many of the conclusions about changes must depend on rather complicated analyses of the differences among people with different lengths of time in the program. This problem does not mean, however, that the conclusions must remain suspect. The use of logical inference can result in a chain of reasoning which attaches the conclusions quite tightly to the data. Unfortunately forging the chain may require patience on the part of the reader who is eager to get to the conclusions. The reward lies in being able to accept the conclusions with fewer doubts than would have been left if they had been presented with less documentation.

Levels of Interest

With the above more or less in reserve for later tasks, we now turn to findings which at first seem clear enough to render further discussion unnecessary.

Table 6 supports the general conclusion that experience in the program does not have a significant influence on the participants' level or kind of interest in public affairs if one takes the achievement of a high interest as the criterion.

TABLE B-V-6  
PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF PARTICIPANTS BY INTEREST  
AREAS BY YEARS IN PROGRAM

Years in Program	High Local Interest	High Nonlocal Interest	No High Interest	N
0 . .	30	47	23	(723)
1-2 . .	29	46	25	(560)
3 and more	34	45	21	(442)

The differences between experience groups are very slight and could easily arise by chance factors of sampling.

The matter of areas of interest will be discussed later; for the present the "No High Interest" column deserves attention. These participants, of course, form less than a quarter of the total number; one of the most striking things about the table is the generally high level of interest of Great Books participants. Nevertheless, the continued existence of the group without any area of high interest documents the fact that it is possible to have been in Great Books groups for at least three years without having acquired a high interest in any area of public affairs. The constancy of the percentages argues that people who have no area of high interest, and are not likely to acquire any, are not dropping out of Great Books groups disproportionately while people of a greater degree of interest in public affairs remain. They are apparently remaining in the same proportion as those who have a high level of interest.

Although it is tempting to turn to the question of characteristics which distinguish people with and without any area of high interest, that question is being deferred to another section in order to keep attention on the question of change. Only two other comments seem in order here. First, the lack of any significant increase in the proportion of people who have an area of high interest is hardly a matter for surprise when one considers the number of personal and social factors which influence anyone's interest in public affairs and the high level of interest at which participants enter the program.

Second, there should probably be some comment on the possibility of any subgroups among whose members interest level does rise. We will spare the reader the statistical gyrations involved and simply say that we divided participants into groups on the basis of such things as formal education, age, and length of residence in their communities, and did not find any groups in which the level of interest rose.

Kinds of Interest: Local

A second look at Table 6 will show that the per cent of people highly interested in local affairs rises slightly as experience in the program lengthens.

The difference can be seen more easily in Table 7, where the people with a local interest are shown as a per cent of the people who have some interest.

TABLE B-V-7

PER CENT WITH HIGH LOCAL INTEREST OF RESPONDENTS WITH  
A HIGH INTEREST, BY YEARS IN THE PROGRAM

0	1-2	3 and more
39	38	43
N =(553)	(418)	(347)

As was done in the case of the general interest level, we did enough exploring to be sure that the small total increase in local interest does not reflect a significant increase on the part of some subgroup combined with no increase on the part of others. The explanation lies rather in the length of time participants have lived in their communities.<sup>11</sup> People who have lived in

TABLE B-V-8

PER CENT WITH HIGH LOCAL INTEREST OF RESPONDENTS  
WITH A HIGH INTEREST, BY YEARS IN THE PROGRAM,  
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

(Length of Residence Controlled)

Years in Program	Less Than 10 Years	Ten Years or More
0 . . . . .	32 (328)	50 (184)
1-2 . . . . .	34 (216)	44 (192)
3 and more . .	31 (139)	50 (189)

TABLE B-V-9

PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE LIVED IN THEIR  
COMMUNITIES FOR TEN YEARS OR MORE,  
BY YEARS IN THE PROGRAM

0	1-2	3 and More
32 (730)	44 (568)	58 (445)

<sup>11</sup> For those who prefer the tabular presentation, the relevant tables are Tables 8 and 9.

their communities for ten years or more have a higher per cent interested in local affairs than do people who have lived in their communities a shorter time, and the more advanced Great Books groups include more "old residents" than the beginning groups do. In consequence, the per cent of people with a high local interest is higher in advanced groups.

Kinds of Interest: National and World

Although the minor increase in local interest has been accounted for, another sort of change deserves some comment. As Table 10 indicates, both world affairs and national politics show some increase in the per cent of people interested. Insofar as people who already have a high interest in one area develop a high interest in another area, this sort of change will not be reflected in the typology. The differences in Table 10 have, therefore, largely been hidden in the analysis, up to this point.

TABLE B-V-10

PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO ARE "VERY MUCH INTERESTED" BY  
AREA AND YEARS IN THE PROGRAM

Area	Years in Program		
	0	1-2	3 and More
World Affairs .	68 (730)	66 (558)	71 (439)
National Politics.	56 (718)	54 (554)	61 (435)

As in the preceding cases, the slight differences were further explored on the theory that they might be a composite of significant changes in some subgroup and no change in another. In this case the suspicion was justified. Participants with less than a bachelor's degree show an increase in interest in both national politics and world affairs while those with a bachelor's degree or more do not show an increase.

Before discussing the increased interest in the non-degree group, we should probably comment on the educational division that was used. The level of formal education was broken at the bachelor's degree or more as opposed to less than a bachelor's degree on both social and statistical grounds. While the possession of a bachelor's degree is no guarantee that the bearer is in any real sense an educated person, and its absence is no proof of lack of education, it is a socially recognized symbol of at least a certain intellectual attainment. Variable as bachelor's degrees are, they are probably a little less variable than the educational levels which are found among people who report that they have had "some" college study. Among people who have completed college the relevance of graduate work to interest in public affairs is extremely variable. There seemed no reason to assume that the study of medicine or an advanced degree in engineering tended so to increase the student's general education that he needed to be marked off from people who had completed only a bachelor's degree.

The second, and not unimportant, reason was statistical. If the cut had been made at "some college" and more versus "no college," the number of people in the "no college" group would have been relatively small. When they were further subdivided by their length of time in the program, and any other characteristic relevant to the analysis in hand, the cases would have been so reduced that even considerable variations in the proportions making a given response could occur by chance alone and not reflect any real difference among the participants in the program. Especially where the expectation of genuinely large differences seemed unreasonable, it seemed doubly important to guard against the danger of mistaking sampling variation for real difference.

Turning now to the finding which occasioned the above comments, we have Table 11.

TABLE B-V-11  
 PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS "VERY MUCH INTERESTED"  
 BY AREA BY YEARS IN PROGRAM  
 (Education Controlled)

Years in Program	World Affairs		National Politics	
	Less Than A.B.	A.B. and More	Less Than A.B.	A.B. and More
0 .	66 (278)	69 (413)	50 (269)	58 (410)
1-2.	65 (204)	66 (346)	56 (201)	54 (344)
3 and more	76 (169)	67 (254)	66 (167)	56 (252)

College graduates show only the sort of differences in interest which result from sampling variation whereas the nongraduates show a consistent increase of interest in both national politics and world affairs. By the intermediate years in the program they have caught up with the graduates in the per cent interested and in the advanced years they exceed them.

The nongraduates are, of course, a minority of the program's participants and their per cent increase in interest is hardly large enough to be considered a major finding. Nevertheless, it is of some interest. In the case of cartoon scores it was the nongraduates who made the greater gain, and there was considerable evidence for the conclusion that the gain was really a reflection of learning and not a result of the dropout of potential low scorers.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> It would be interesting to relate changes in cartoon scores to changes in interests but a one-time study cannot provide data for such a comparison. Among the nongraduate group, low scorers make up the great majority of the group in the beginning year of the program, whereas by the fourth year they are a minority. Comparing high and low scorers in different experience groups on their interests would, therefore, be comparing people who in different years stand in different intellectual relationships to their fellow group members of the same amount of formal education.

We do not have an independent measure from the same area of life (like music scores in the case of cartoons) which can be used to find out whether nongraduates in the program increase their interest in national and world affairs or whether those unlikely to acquire a high interest drop out. Given the fact that the increase is quite small after all, it is probably not worthwhile to pursue such clues as there are; they could not lead to a firm choice between the alternatives. We can at least conclude, however, that either non-graduates widen their interests in the nonlocal area as they have longer program experience or that nongraduates unlikely to widen their interests tend to leave the program and those of wider interests stay in it. In the light of the findings on cartoons, the first alternative seems the preferable guess.

Does Activeness Increase with Experience in the Program?

During the course of the analysis of levels of interest it began to look as if the per cent of the participants active in the organizational life of their communities rose as length of time in the program increased. If the rise had been limited to subgroups in which the per cent highly interested in local affairs rose, it would not have been surprising and could easily have been a product of the increased interest or of the factors which led to the increased interest. The rise was not so conveniently explainable, however, and seemed to call for a little detective work. Even a slight rise in organizational activeness seemed worth pursuing both for the light it might shed on the community involvement of people who remain in the program and for the possibility that some sort of stimulation associated with the program had been reflected in joining more community organizations.

As Table 12 shows, participants in each interest area show an increase in per cent active with increased experience in the program and those without any high interest show the highest per cent increase (although not, of course, the highest per cent of the distance they might have risen). This rise in the per cent active without the acquisition of an area of high interest underlines the fact that activeness is a dimension of community involvement in itself and not simply a correlate of interest in public affairs.

TABLE B-V-12

PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO ARE ACTIVE, BY AREA OF  
INTEREST AND YEARS IN PROGRAM

Years in Program	High Local Interest	High Nonlocal Interest	No High Interest
0	75 (216)	33 (337)	28 (170)
1-2	78 (160)	36 (258)	39 (142)
3 and more	79 (150)	39 (197)	44 ( 95)

To make a rather long statistical story short, let us say at the outset that most of even the mild increase evident in Table 12 can be related to factors other than participation in the Great Books program, but that after these factors are "held constant" some program effect does seem to remain.

Studies consistently show that age and formal education are factors in the organizational activity of Americans and length of residence had already shown a relationship to interest in community affairs, and this interest to activeness. We, therefore, looked at the effects of these factors. To simplify presentation, each factor will be controlled in turn rather than simultaneously even though they were controlled simultaneously in the underlying analysis.

Table 13 shows that when the participants are divided into age brackets, the per cent active in each bracket rises with experience in the program and the per cents active across the brackets follow the pattern that its members' stage of life suggests.

TABLE B-V-13  
 PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO ARE ACTIVE BY  
 YEARS IN THE PROGRAM  
 (Age Controlled)

Years in Program	Under 35	35-59*	60 and Over
0	30 (328)	60 (322)	35 (48)
1-2	37 (231)	59 (299)	- (18)
3 and more	38 ( 74)	65 (289)	39 (66)

\* The per cent active of the 35-44 age group is the same (to 0.1 per cent) as that of the 45-59 age group. The latter group has a higher proportion of people who belong to three or more organizations but with "activeness" defined as membership in two or more organizations, this difference has no effect on the table above.

Table 14 "controls" education and shows that the per cent active rises in both groups, steadily among the college graduates, and irregularly among the nongraduates.

TABLE B-V-14  
 PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO ARE ACTIVE BY  
 YEARS IN THE PROGRAM  
 (Education Controlled)

Years in Program	Less than Bachelor's Degree	Bachelor's Degree and More
0	41 (267)	47 (408)
1-2	53 (234)	54 (344)
3 and more	47 (167)	65 (243)

When one looks at Table 15, the generally somewhat greater activeness of the "old residents" is evident as well as the fact that both old and newer residents show a per cent increase in activeness.

TABLE B-V-15  
 PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO ARE ACTIVE BY  
 YEARS IN THE PROGRAM  
 (Length of Residence Controlled)

Years in Program	Less than Ten Years	Ten Years or More
0 . . . .	42 (422)	50 (253)
1-2 . . .	49 (306)	48 (239)
3 and more .	52 (184)	60 (236)

From the persistence of the increase it seems reasonable to conclude that a slight increase in organizational activeness is probably really associated with increased experience in the Great Books program. Whether its basis lies in a true change among the program's participants or the greater dropout of the inactive must remain a partially open question. There is some evidence that the pattern of dropping out of the program is one factor. Table 16, based on the "Adherence Index," suggests that people who take little part in organized community activities will leave the program in somewhat larger numbers than those who are more active. However, an explanation entirely in terms of the characteristics of the people who leave the program would require a singularly curious pattern of dropping out; the participants who did and did not graduate from college, who are older and younger, and who are newer or older residents of their communities would have to be found among those leaving the program in proportions which are almost impossible to explain in terms of having any relationship to these very matters. It seems reasonably safe to conclude that the program both keeps more active than inactive people and encourages some who were not active when they entered to take part in the clubs and associations of their communities.

TABLE B-V-16  
 PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WITH A LOW "ADHERENCE INDEX"  
 SCORE (HIGH PROBABILITY OF DROPPING OUT)  
 BY ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVENESS

Active	Inactive
18 (875)	23 (905)

This conclusion raises some curiosity as to the means by which it comes about. Continued discussion of great ideas, even great ideas concerning human relationships and public affairs, need not necessarily be expected to increase the proportion of participants who take part in professional organizations, youth leadership groups, fund-raising drives, better government associations, social action groups, and businessmen's service clubs.

A clue as to one means through which participants increase in activeness with longer participation in the program is provided by their habits of visiting and informal entertaining, especially by the frequency with which they see their fellow group members outside of the group meetings.

Participants were asked to estimate the average number of evenings a month that they visited friends or entertained informally, and the answers ranged from those of 31 people who claimed that they saw friends on less than one evening a month to those of the 250 who said they spent one evening in three with friends. Most people, of course, fall between these extremes; the sample as a whole is divided 50-50 between people who visit or entertain at home more than once a week and those who visit or entertain once a week or less. In this section the group has been divided into "more sociable" and "less sociable" subgroups on the basis of visiting five times a month or less. "Sociable" is not being used with any idea of passing judgment, of course; it simply saves having to repeat endlessly, "visits friends or entertains at home \_\_\_ times a month on an average."

Table 17 shows that among old residents both the more sociable and the less sociable show an increase in activeness with program experience whereas among the newer residents the more sociable become increasingly active and the less sociable do not.

TABLE B-V-17

PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO ARE ACTIVE BY  
YEARS IN THE PROGRAM

(Length of Residence and Sociability Controlled)

Years in Program	Less Than 10 Years		Ten Years or More	
	Less Sociable	More Sociable	Less Sociable	More Sociable
0 . . .	46 (202)	40 (216)	51 (105)	48 (139)
1-2 . .	45 (154)	56 (145)	48 (109)	49 (118)
3 and more.	46 ( 97)	64 ( 75)	63 (114)	58 (108)

NOTES: Less Sociable = Visit or entertain informally less than five evenings a month.

More Sociable = Visit or entertain informally five or more evenings a month.

Table 17 is suggestive but far from conclusive. It seems quite reasonable that newer residents of a town who have friends whom they see frequently should be the people most likely to become involved in community activities and to be increasingly involved with each additional year in town regardless of whether or not they are in a Great Books group. If friendships with other members of one's Great Books group have any influence on one's participation in community affairs, then the people who see a good many fellow members of their groups outside of the group meetings should increase their per cent of active people more than do those who see none or only a few of their fellow group members. As Table 18 shows, this is the case and the effect occurs among both the newer and the old residents.

TABLE B-V-18

PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO ARE ACTIVE BY  
YEARS IN THE PROGRAM

(Length of Residence and Regular Social Contacts  
with Group Members Controlled)

Years in Program	Length of Residence			
	Less than Ten Years		Ten Years and More	
	Few Contacts*	Many Contacts*	Few Contacts*	Many Contacts*
0 . . .	40 (302)	48 ( 98)	48 (191)	54 ( 43)
1-2 . .	51 (196)	56 ( 97)	48 (171)	49 ( 57)
3 and more .	45 (111)	63 ( 70)	54 (143)	63 ( 79)

\*"Few" = 0-2; "Many" = 3 through "All members"

If one wants to make sure that friendships with fellow group members are really having an effect and that the apparent effect is not just a result of the fact that generally more sociable people see more of their fellow group members, Table 19 provides the answer. It looks as if great ideas very often lead to greater involvement in the organizations of one's community because they lead to the formation of friendships with people who are active in them.

TABLE B-V-19

PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO ARE ACTIVE BY  
YEARS IN THE PROGRAM  
(General Sociability and Regular Social Contacts with  
Group Members Controlled)

Years in Program	Less Sociable		More Sociable	
	Few Contacts*	Many Contacts*	Few Contacts*	Many Contacts*
0 . . . .	47 (227)	55 ( 64)	41 (260)	47 ( 70)
1-2 . . .	45 (185)	51 ( 70)	56 (172)	56 ( 81)
3 and more . .	50 (137)	67 ( 69)	55 (106)	71 ( 72)

\*"Few" = 0-2; "Many"=3 through "All members"

How Do Participants Feel That the Program Has Influenced  
Their Interests and Activities?

If Great Books experience has little or no influence on the pattern of high interest in public affairs for most of the participants, and the increase in organizational activeness is a consequence of program contacts rather than program content, one may well ask whether the participants themselves think that the program has any relevance to their involvement in their communities.

Certainly only a few people (19 per cent) included "gaining a better understanding for my participation in community organizations and community affairs" among their reasons for entering the program and a slightly smaller number (15 per cent) entered in expectation of "finding solutions to contemporary social problems."

As Table 20 shows, the majority of participants, regardless of their area or degree of interest, feel that Great Books should provide an understanding of specific social and community problems but few, if any, keys to action. The participants, of course, are not claiming that the program should necessarily provide greater understanding of the particular problems facing their own communities. They simply mean that the content of the program is relevant to specific problems as well as to general ideas.

Reading down the columns of Table 20, one sees that the proportion believing that Great Books should provide keys to action is unrelated to area or degree of interest and remains quite constant regardless of length of program experience. The proportion of participants believing that the program provides general understanding without keys to action rises with program experience regardless of the participants' current degree or area of interest.

TABLE B-V-20

APPLICABILITY OF GREAT BOOKS BY YEARS IN THE PROGRAM AND AREA OF INTEREST:

(Per cent of Respondents Thinking That, "With regard to specific social and community problems, the Great Books...")

Area of Interest and Years in Program	Provide Understanding and Keys to Action	Provide Understanding but Few Keys to Action	Are Not Applicable to Specific Problems	N
High Local Interest:				
) 0 . . . .	25	56	18	(181)
Years: ) 1-2 . . . .	26	63	11	(153)
) 3 and more . .	29	64	8	(140)
High Nonlocal Interest:				
) 0 . . . .	20	64	16	(294)
Years: ) 1-2 . . . .	24	66	10	(243)
) 3 and more . .	22	72	5	(188)
No High Interest:				
) 0 . . . .	21	65	14	(156)
Years: ) 1-2 . . . .	18	68	14	(132)
) 3 and more . .	20	67	12	( 89)

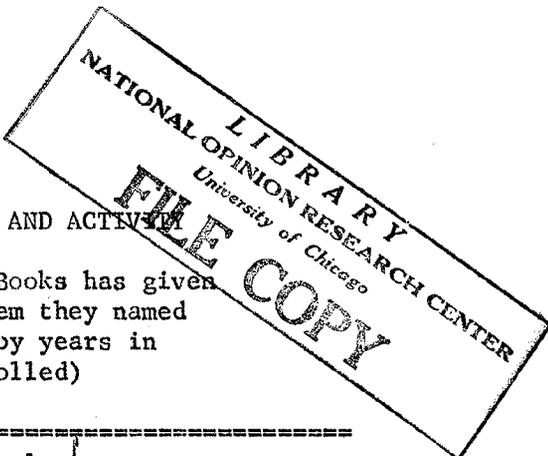
The proportion skeptical about any specific applicability of Great Books declines with experience among the people who have an area of high interest but remains constant among those who do not.

When one asks directly what effects participation in the program has had on the participant's understanding of the first of several community problems which he had listed, the per cent of people who do not list any effects declines a little as years in the program increase, but it remains well over 50 per cent for all groups except the active people with a high interest in local affairs. Only a minority of participants are aware of any effects which the program has had on their approach to specific community problems. The largest group of these effects which were listed could be classified as a heightened awareness that the problem existed. As Table 21 indicates, the per cents of people who feel that the program has heightened their awareness of some problem in their communities increases somewhat with length of time in the program but never exceeds one-fifth of any group except the active people with a high interest in local affairs.

TABLE B-V-21

PROBLEM AWARENESS BY EXPOSURE, INTEREST, AND ACTIVITY

(Per cent of Respondents saying that Great Books has given them a heightened awareness of the problem they named first as a pressing community problem, by years in program, interest and activity controlled)



Years in Program	High Local Interest		High Nonlocal Interest		No High Interest	
	Active	Inactive	Active	Inactive	Active	Inactive
0 . . . .	9 (159)	9 (43)	10 (104)	9 (182)	6 ( 46)	6 (103)
1-2 . . . .	19 (131)	11 (35)	20 ( 90)	12 (146)	8 ( 52)	15 ( 72)
3 and more .	28 (111)	4 (27)	19 ( 78)	15 (100)	15 ( 40)	18 ( 45)

Plainly most participants do not feel that the program has influenced their own behavior about whatever they think is the outstanding current problem in their communities, although they do feel it can provide a greater understanding of some problems. The large number of people who said that they were not aware of any influence of the program on their approach to what they considered their community's outstanding problem is something of a guarantee that the influence is real when they do claim that the program has had an effect on them.

There is an in-between area of changes in interests which may involve some "side effects" of the program unrecognized by the participants. Table 22 shows the per cents of participants who feel that their interest and involvement in a number of areas has increased since they first began attending Great Books. In the question on which the table is based, people were not asked whether the program was related to their change in interest and involvement, merely whether any had occurred. Very few people reported a decrease in interest in the public affairs areas; the difference between 100 per cent and the figures in the table will give the approximate per cent of people who reported no change. Obviously the people reporting no change form a majority.<sup>13</sup>

Nevertheless the table has several points of interest. Evidently people did not simply fall into the pattern of checking the column which indicated an increase in interest; the per cents differ considerably among the columns. The per cent of people who feel that their interest in informal visiting has increased has no relationship to years in the program and, in this case, the per cent of people who feel that their interest has decreased grows larger with years in the program. This situation parallels the fact that the per cent of people who visit or entertain as often as five evenings a month decreases as years in the program increase.<sup>14</sup> The situation in regard to church attendance is similar. The per cent of people claiming that their interest has decreased

<sup>13</sup>This holds true except in the case of world affairs among people in the advanced years of the program.

<sup>14</sup>The reason is not that Great Books participants grow progressively less sociable. Older participants have a lower proportion of people who visit and entertain frequently in the evening and the proportion of older people increases as years in the program increase.

rises with years in the program, rises a little more than the per cent of people who feel that their interest has increased.<sup>15</sup> In parallel fashion the per cent of people who say that they are very much interested in church affairs declines slightly as years in the program increase. They support the belief that people for the most part claim an increase in interest only if they really feel it.

TABLE B-V-22

PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS REPORTING AN INCREASE IN INTEREST SINCE THEY FIRST ENTERED A GREAT BOOKS GROUP, BY AREA AND YEARS IN PROGRAM

Years in Program	Areas of Public Affairs					Other Areas		
	Civic Organizations	Community Problems	Local Politics	Nat'l Politics	World Affairs	Church Attendance	Continuing Education (Other than GB)	Informal Visiting
0	9 (635)	20 (633)	11 (635)	16 (634)	23 (627)	5 (638)	43 (640)	13 (636)
1-2	17 (538)	31 (538)	19 (537)	32 (545)	41 (539)	10 (544)	48 (536)	16 (532)
3 and more	27 (404)	40 (404)	26 (403)	36 (409)	50 (406)	11 (413)	46 (412)	15 (406)

It looks, then, as if rather substantial numbers of participants do feel that their interest in world affairs, national politics, and community problems has increased since they first entered the Great Books program. In the case of community problems, the per cent who feel that their interest has increased is consistently higher than the per cents of people who feel that their interest in local politics or civic organizations has increased.

These figures leave a number of questions open. Participants were not asked about any effects of the program on their interest in national and world affairs and the number who say that their interest in community problems has increased since they entered the program is considerably greater than the number who say that the program has influenced their approach to the problem they listed as outstanding in their community. We may have here the kind of difference in response to which a difference in the wording of a question gives rise. It may be that social influences which increase with age or length of residence in the community raised the interest of people during the time that they were in the program but without regard to the program. On the other hand, increased age and length of residence did not explain the rise of high interest in national and world affairs. It may be that something about the association with people or general intellectual stimulation from the discussions in the Great Books program leads some participants to increase their interest in both the affairs of the nation and world and the problems of their local communities, but does it in such a fashion that they may not be able to list the method in answer to a direct question.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Chapter IV of this Part.

## Conclusions

The findings of this subsection return us to the discussion with which the general section opened: differences in answers to the subjective and objective questions. It appears that in general participants feel that Great Books are relevant to specific social problems insofar as they provide a greater understanding, and they feel that they have gained a somewhat greater understanding and awareness from their participation in the program. When one turns to the kinds of fairly great changes in interests to which the objective questions refer, one concludes that the increases which the participants feel have not been great enough to move many people from one category of interest to another. The felt changes are probably real enough but are not great enough to change the pattern of high interests.

In general, Great Books experience seems to have little or no effect on the participants' tendency to focus their high interest on a given area of the community or world. Increased program experience may be related to increased activeness within the relatively inflexible interest areas, however.

Regardless of whether objective changes occur as a result of program experience, the generally high level of the participants' interests and activity destroys any basis for the impression that they are people who withdraw from the active world of affairs. Although they are relatively more interested in the world and national scene, large numbers are interested in their home communities and take an active part in community affairs.

Because of the focus of the analysis on possible changes with program experience, the characteristics which distinguish people with high local and nonlocal interests have been withheld. One hint of them appears in the chapter on cartoon scores, and it is an important enough matter to deserve analysis in a section on community involvement. Whether or not the participants' objective community involvement changes as a result of program participation, it is of considerable interest to know what factors influence the nature of the community involvement of such a large sample of rather well-educated Americans as Great Books participants form. The next section turns to this analysis.

WHAT RELATES TO INTEREST AND DEGREE OF ACTIVENESS?

Since the Great Books program is concerned with the development of liberal arts knowledge and critical thinking, we may well ask whether people who give evidence of being either more knowledgeable or more critical in their thinking are more or less involved in their communities than those who have fewer of the attributes the program seeks to develop. It is, of course, obvious that the questionnaire does not contain any test of the quality of the respondents' thinking. However, we can use the cartoon test here as in Chapter II as an index to one sort of liberal arts knowledge.

Before we turn to the more interesting question, however, some other matters must be settled. If one's involvement in the community turns out to be chiefly a matter of one's education, sex, or length of residence, inquiry about degree of liberal arts knowledge is obviously a waste of time. We will look first at the effect of the "demographic" variables on interest, both degree and kind, and then at their effect on activeness.

Relationships with Demographic and Social Variables

Degree of Interest

Amount of formal education and sex are two obvious candidates for matters which may affect the degree of interest one has in public affairs. Somewhat surprisingly, neither makes any major difference among the Great Books participants. There are some subgroup differences, which will be discussed in due time, but the overall picture is clear. As Table 23 shows, both college graduates and nongraduates and both men and women have substantially the same per cents of people who have some area of high interest in public affairs.

TABLE B-V-23

PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS HAVING SOME AREA OF  
HIGH INTEREST

Formal Education		Sex	
Less Than Bachelor's Degree	Bachelor's Degree or More	Male	Female
76 (634)	76 (1,016)	76 (686)	77 (1,137)

On the surface there seems to be no reason why one's length of residence in the community or one's feeling toward it should have an influence on one's general degree of interest in public matters, unless the effect operates through arousing local interest in people who do not have any broader interest. Given the earlier finding that well over four-fifths of the participants who have a high local interest have a broader interest as well, this seems like an off-beat possibility. Nonetheless, it should be looked at just to be sure that it is not occurring in a way which can distort the later analysis.

If one has in mind that the possible influence goes from length of residence and feeling toward the community to interest in public affairs, he will probably set up a table in the form of Table 24.

TABLE B-V-24

AREA OF INTEREST BY ATTACHMENT TO COMMUNITY

(Length of Residence Controlled)

Attachment to Community	Less Than Ten Years			N	Ten Years or More			N
	High Local Interest	High Nonlocal Interest	No High Interest		High Local Interest	High Nonlocal Interest	No High Interest	
"Real Member"*	38	42	20	(442)	46	36	19	(573)
Other . . . .	15	56	29	(530)	18	58	25	(239)

\*Based on answers to the following question:

What is your emotional feeling about your community? (Check one)

- 1 \_\_\_ I feel I'm a real member of the community. I'm a part of it, and it's a part of me.
- 2 \_\_\_ I do like the community, but I don't feel that I'm really a part of it.
- 3 \_\_\_ I rather dislike the community, and I definitely do not feel I'm a part of it.

From this he will probably conclude that attachment to one's community has much more effect on one's kind of interest than on one's degree of interest but that it may have a slight tendency to lead to the development of some area of high interest.

If one has in mind the equally logical proposition that lack of any area of high interest may reduce one's chances of feeling that he really belongs to the community, he may set up a table like Table 24a.

TABLE B-V-24a

PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO FEEL LIKE "REAL MEMBERS" OF THEIR

COMMUNITIES, BY AREA AND DEGREE OF INTEREST

(Length of Residence Controlled)

Less Than Ten Years			Ten Years or More		
High Local Interest	High Nonlocal Interest	No High Interest	High Local Interest	High Nonlocal Interest	No High Interest
68 (246)	38 (483)	37 (243)	86 (305)	60 (341)	64 (166)

From this table it is clear that interested nonlocals and the less interested do not differ significantly in the proportion of people who feel that they are real members of their communities. One's kind of interest and not the degree of interest is the crucial factor.

Whichever way one turns the argument, then, it comes out that there is at most a very slight relationship between one's feeling of attachment to his community and the degree of his interest in public affairs in general, but there is a high relationship between a feeling of real attachment to the community and one's kind of interest--that is, interest in local affairs.

Kind of Interest

In addition to the conclusion above, that length of residence and feeling of attachment to the community influence the kind of interest much more than its degree, Tables 24 and 24a contain other information of interest. In Table 24, it is clear not only that people who feel like real members of their communities have a higher per cent of people who have a high local interest, but that length of residence raises the local interest of the "real members" whereas it has almost no effect on the local interest of the others.

Since it is fairly clear that the feeling of attachment to one's community is a primary factor in taking an interest in its affairs, the next question becomes that of finding out what relates to the feeling of real membership in the community (besides, of course, a longer time of living in it). If one takes only a quick look, several things appear to relate to the feeling of community membership, but the relationships disappear when one takes length of residence into account. Of the demographic variables, only sex survives. As Table 25 shows, women in each residence group have a somewhat higher per cent of people who feel like real members of their communities.

TABLE B-V-25

PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO FEEL LIKE "REAL MEMBERS"  
OF THEIR COMMUNITIES  
(Length of Residence Controlled)

Less Than Ten Years		Ten Years and More	
Male	Female	Male	Female
40 (371)	48 (592)	66 (289)	72 (496)

If a feeling of real membership in one's community is associated with a high interest in its affairs (even though the relationship is far from one to one),<sup>16</sup> women should have a somewhat higher proportion of people with a high local interest. Table 26 shows that they do.

<sup>16</sup>The relationships between feeling like a real member of the community and having a high local interest are:

Residents for Less Than 10 Years ; Residents for 10 Years or More  
Male: Q = .530 Female: Q = .545 ; Male: Q = .564 Female: Q = .682

TABLE B-V-26

PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WITH HIGH LOCAL INTEREST OF THOSE WHO HAVE AN AREA OF HIGH INTEREST

Male	Female
36 (525)	43 (875)

When one turns to the remaining obvious demographic variable, education, he might predict that people without college degrees (because they are disproportionately women) would have a somewhat higher local interest than the college graduates. It happens, however, that a subgroup of college-graduate men (represented in a table to be presented later) have such a low per cent interested in local affairs that they balance the lower educational level of the women. If one considers the effect of formal education only, without regard to which sex has more of it, Table 27 shows that education as such has no effect on interest in local affairs.

TABLE B-V-27

PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WITH SOME HIGH INTEREST WHO HAVE A HIGH LOCAL INTEREST, BY EDUCATION

Less Than Bachelor's Degree	Bachelor's Degree or More
39 (484)	39 (771)

It appears, then, that the demographic variables, with the slight exception of sex, do not influence the focus of one's high interest directly. The more important matter seems to be their indirect operation through the feeling of attachment to the community. It is also true, however, that a feeling of membership in the community does not necessarily lead to a high interest in its political affairs; there is considerable room for other factors to be operating.

Organizational Activeness

When one turns to the matter of organizational activeness, he can put the earlier analysis of changes in activeness to good use. A second look at Tables 12 through 15 will recall to mind that activeness is related to area of interest, to age, to formal education, and to length of residence in the community. Even when one controls for area of interest, within each interest category, the middle-aged, the college graduates, and the old residents have a higher proportion active than do their opposites.

Contrary to the case in regard to area of interest, sex, as Table 28 shows, does not make any overall difference in activeness. When one considers the kinds of organization to which men and women belong, some sex differences

turn up but the general conclusion stands that men and women are equal in activeness. Great Books groups do not generally include men who have experience in group activities and women who do not or women who have and men who have not.

TABLE B-V-28

PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO ARE ACTIVE

(Sex Controlled)

Male	Female
50 (686)	49 (1,137)

When one turns to Table 29, two things about the importance of interest area for activeness stand out. As in the earlier table (Table 12), people with high nonlocal interest and those without any area of high interest have activity patterns much more like each other than like people of high local interest. The crucial matter is having a local interest, not just having an interest. Nevertheless, the fact that activeness is a separate dimension and not just a correlate of local interest is also evident from the table; the per cent active rises with length of residence for people without any interest as it does for those with local interest, but it remains constant for people with a high non-local interest.

TABLE B-V-29

PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO ARE ACTIVE BY AREA OF HIGH INTEREST

(Length of Residence Controlled)

Area of High Interest					
Less Than Ten Years			Ten Years and More		
Local	Nonlocal	None	Local	Nonlocal	None
68 (246)	37 (483)	35 (243)	78 (305)	38 (341)	49 (166)

Going to our now familiar friend, attachment to the community, one sees from Table 30 that it plays a major part in organizational activeness. The effect of local interest remains but within this area, as within the others, the people who feel that they are real members of their communities are much more active in the community's organizations than are those who feel less closely attached.

TABLE B-V-30

PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO ARE ACTIVE  
BY ATTACHMENT TO THE COMMUNITY  
(Area of Interest Controlled,  
Length of Residence Collapsed)

High Local Interest		High Nonlocal Interest		No High Interest	
Real Members	Others	Real Members	Others	Real Members	Others
80 (430)	65 (121)	48 (388)	28 (436)	47 (197)	28 (212)

Summary

The effects of the demographic and social variables so far discussed provide a framework within which the final analysis can be put. Both the earlier sections and this one have shown that area of interest and level of activeness are highly associated but that they are separate dimensions of behavior, differently related to several demographic variables.

In general, degree of interest is not related to demographic variables and only slightly to community attachment. Both area of interest and level of activity show a strong but not overriding association with attachment to the community. The association remains when relevant demographic factors are controlled, but is low enough to indicate that neither local interest nor level of activity is dominated by it.

CARTOON QUIZ SCORES AND LOCAL COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

Interest in Local Affairs

The analysis in Chapter I led to the conclusion that people who score high on the Cartoon Quiz tend to be those who stand off from the dominant political and religious institutions of their regions. In this case the respondent's party in national politics was used as the basis for his political identification.

A similar sort of relationship, this time involving local political affairs, is indicated by Table 31.<sup>17</sup>

TABLE B-V-31

PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS SCORING HIGH ON CARTOON QUIZ BY  
AREA OF INTEREST, BY YEARS IN PROGRAM

Years in Program	High Local Interest	High Nonlocal Interest	No High Interest
0 . . .	32 (207)	44 (328)	39 (168)
1-2 . . .	48 (153)	60 (252)	44 (138)
3 and more .	63 (143)	69 (192)	72 ( 91)

Within each exposure group, people with a high interest in local affairs score less well than people without it. In the other two subgroups the relative positions depend on the year in which the greatest rise in score comes, but in both beginning and advanced years they are very much alike, differing less from each other than they differ from the people with high local interest. From this it appears that lack of a high interest in local politics is associated with the factors which make for high cartoon scores.

This apparent finding raises several questions, one of which must be disposed of before the analysis can proceed. The earlier part of the chapter showed that old residents of their communities have more locally interested people than new residents, and that advanced Great Books groups contain more old residents. However, advanced groups also contain more high cartoon scorers and in general high scorers have fewer locally interested. The situation appears to be impossible.

The problem lies in words, not in behavior, however. Among the old residents the high cartoon scorers do have a lower per cent locally interested than do the low scorers. Nevertheless, their general level of local interest is so high that even the high scorers among the old residents have a higher per cent locally interested than any group of newer residents.

With this oddity out of the way we can proceed to a more important question. If Great Books experience raises cartoon scores and high scorers tend to turn their interest away from local affairs, can Great Books be charged with tending to wean people away from interest in their local communities? This is a ticklish question, obviously ticklish in its substance but also ticklish to analyze.

<sup>17</sup> People with high local interest are predominantly those who have a high interest in local politics; less than one-fourth have a high interest in civic organizations but lack a high interest in local politics.

Because cartoon scores rise with program experience, high scorers are in the minority in beginning groups but are in the majority in advanced groups. Therefore, being a high scorer in a beginning group (especially if one has not finished college) suggests a relatively much more knowledgeable person than does being a high scorer in an advanced group. For this reason it is not logical simply to control cartoon scores and compare the per cent locally interested as program experience increases. Table 32 can be seriously compared only along the rows and used merely for speculation down the columns.

TABLE B-V-32

PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WITH HIGH LOCAL INTEREST BY  
YEARS IN THE PROGRAM

(Cartoon Scores and Education Controlled)

Years in Program	Less Than A.B.		A.B. and More	
	Cartoon Score		Cartoon Score	
	Low	High	Low	High
0 . . . .	32 (200)	20 ( 55)	33 (188)	25 (206)
1-2 . . .	31 (114)	26 ( 76)	31 (137)	25 (202)
3 and more .	34 ( 62)	35 ( 97)	40 ( 65)	29 (177)

Looking first at row one, it is clear that high scorers regardless of education have less local interest. The difference continues but less strongly in the second row, and in the third row it disappears among the nongraduates but is extremely strong among the graduates. Differences in community attachment are at work under the surface of this table and suggest that interpretation proceed with caution; but one thing is fairly clear and another forms an interesting speculation.

The differences among the first year participants (most of whom had attended only a few meetings when they filled out the questionnaire) clearly reflect situations in the communities out of which they come rather than any effect of Great Books experience. If the modest superiority which a high cartoon score implies is enough to turn some people's interest away from their communities, the commentary is on contemporary attitudes, not the Great Books program.

If such an effect really exists, it should be greatest in the cases where the high or low scorers form a small minority (entering nongraduates and advanced year graduates), and less where the scores divide nearly fifty-fifty (entering A.B.s and advanced year nongraduates). The differences in Table 32 generally meet these expectations.

In the earlier analysis it was pointed out that community attachment was not influenced by formal education. If minor intellectual superiority has a slightly "detaching" effect, however, high scorers should have lower proportions of people who feel like real members of their communities when

both length of residence and formal education are controlled. Table 33 confirms this unfortunate expectation quite well.

TABLE B-V-33

PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO FEEL THAT THEY ARE "REAL MEMBERS"

OF THEIR COMMUNITIES

(Length of Residence, Formal Education, and  
Cartoon Scores Controlled)

Less Than Ten Years				Ten Years and More			
Less Than Bachelor's Degree		Bachelor's Degree and More		Less Than Bachelor's Degree		Bachelor's Degree and More	
Cartoon Score		Cartoon Score		Cartoon Score		Cartoon Score	
Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High
54(196)	43(107)	48(249)	40(380)	71(197)	66(140)	74(161)	66(241)

This takes us back to another calculation from the data underlying Table 32. Is the effect of the high scores operating completely through their effect on community attachment or do scores make a difference even among people who do feel like real members of their communities? If they do, the high scorers among the "real members" should have less local interest than the low scorers. While the differences in Table 34 are not statistically significant, they are (with one exception) in the expected direction and thus suggest that the intellectual quality which cartoon scores reflect may have some effect on local interest independently of attachment to the community.

TABLE B-V-34

PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WITH A HIGH LOCAL INTEREST OF THOSE WHO FEEL LIKE "REAL MEMBERS" OF THEIR COMMUNITIES BY YEARS IN PROGRAM

(Education and Cartoon Scores Controlled)

Years in Program	Less Than Bachelor's Degree		Bachelor's Degree and More	
	Cartoon Scores		Cartoon Scores	
	Low	High	Low	High
0 . . . . .	45 (124)	33 (24)	40 (100)	40 ( 86)
1-2 . . . . .	35 ( 69)	30 (46)	43 ( 76)	38 ( 93)
3 and more . . . . .	46 ( 43)	48 (60)	48 ( 52)	41 (114)

In the findings above we have a slightly different version of the same effect discussed in Chapter I of this part. Major social institutions are not the matter in question here, but a focus of interest related to a social institution, local government, is. Again it appears that people who do well on the cartoon quiz tend to be people whose orientation does not include the political affairs of the local community.

Activeness in Organizations

When one turns from involvement in the sense of interest in local political affairs to participation in community organizations, the picture changes. As has been evident before, community organizations represent another dimension of involvement. In Table 35 (with one exception) people who are active in community organizations score better on the cartoon quiz than those who are inactive. The usual relationship with area of interest remains but within each area the more active score better.

TABLE B-V-35

PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WITH HIGH SCORES ON CARTOON QUIZ,  
BY YEARS IN THE PROGRAM

(Area of Interest and Activity Controlled)

Years in Program	High Local Interest		High Nonlocal Interest		No High Interest	
	Active	Inactive	Active	Inactive	Active	Inactive
0 . . . .	32(158)	31 (49)	48(105)	43(223)	44 (48)	38(120)
1-2 . . .	50(119)	41 (34)	67( 92)	56(160)	40 (55)	47( 83)
3 and more .	67(114)	48 (29)	72( 86)	60(106)	74 (42)	71( 49)

The earlier part of this section has shown that there is a positive relationship between being a "real member" of one's community and taking part in its organizations. It now appears, in Table 36, that high cartoon scores have some effect on activeness independently of their operation through the feeling of community attachment.

TABLE B-V-36

PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO ARE ACTIVE BY CARTOON SCORES  
(Community Attachment and Formal Education Controlled)\*

"Real Members"				Others			
Less Than Bachelor's Degree		Bachelor's Degree and More		Less Than Bachelor's Degree		Bachelor's Degree and More	
Cartoon Scores				Cartoon Scores			
Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High
51 (236)	61 (130)	66 (228)	70 (293)	19 (140)	32 (98)	39 (162)	36 (292)

\*Area of interest has been collapsed in the interests of simple presentation. The effect holds among "Real Members" without exception and among the much smaller number of "Others" with two exceptions.

### Summary

In agreement with the general finding of Chapter I, Part B, it appears that by and large people with high scores on liberal arts knowledge are less interested in official local affairs than are their lower scoring fellow participants.

However, within each interest level, the more able are more active in community organizations.

Thus higher levels of knowledge may be thought of as 1) diverting interest from the local scene but also 2) increasing the level of organizational activity within any given interest area.

### GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The major conclusions of this chapter are outlined below.

1. Great Books experience seems to have little or no effect on the participants' tendencies to focus their interest on a given area of the community or world.
2. Increased program experience may be related to increased activity within the participants' relatively inflexible interest areas, and it definitely is related to the participants' beliefs that Great Books are relevant to community, national, and world affairs.
3. The survey gives no support to the belief that the participants are retreatists, uninterested in the real world around them. Relatively more interested in the world and national scenes, they nevertheless include a large number who identify with the local scene. Many who do not include it as an area of highest interest are active in its organizational life and concerned about local problems. Any changes or hints of changes we have found are in the direction of increased involvement in the local community, none suggest decreased involvement.
4. Aside from any effect of the program, the survey hints that the contemporary scene is of a sort to turn the attention of people knowledgeable in the liberal arts away from interest in the political affairs of their local communities, but that their intellectual skills keep them involved in the nongovernmental organizations of their communities.

PART C

THE DISCUSSION GROUP

Here and there in the two previous parts of this report we have dealt briefly with aspects of the group discussion process in the context of their influence on the participants. In Part A we noted that those motivations which could be satisfied within the discussion group were among those for which highest rates of satisfaction were reported, and we also saw that active participants in group discussions were somewhat more likely to report generally high levels of impact from participation in the program. In Part B, in our discussion of community involvement, we found evidence which strongly suggested that social contacts with members of the discussion group were an important vehicle for the changes we found.

In the three chapters of Part C, we shall turn our direct attention to the discussion group, its social organization, and some of its processes. The materials reported here are not a complete analysis of the discussion group as a factor in the Great Books program. Our major commission was to study the effects of Great Books on the individual participants, and a thorough investigation of the "group-level" materials would have resulted in too much diversion of money and staff from that purpose. The chapters in this section then are reports on those aspects of the groups which came to light during the course of our analysis and are believed to be of some interest to the reader.

Chapter I describes briefly the salient characteristics of the groups in our sample in terms of such things as size, meeting place, pattern of social characteristics, and differences in effectiveness. Chapter II is a discussion of the "participation roles," the type of contributions different members make to the discussions, and ends with a classification of the major types of participation. Chapter III, a companion to Chapter II, describes the social characteristics of the people who play the different roles.

CHAPTER I

WHAT ARE THE DISCUSSION GROUPS LIKE?

A companion to the question, "What are the participants like?", asked in Chapter I of Part A, is "What are the groups like?" Just as the individual members vary in their education, occupation, length of participation in the program, and so on, the discussion groups vary in size, form of organization, sponsorship, etc. In this chapter we shall describe briefly some of the characteristics of the groups in our sample.

Size

The number of people who participate is probably one of the most important characteristics of any discussion group. Below a given size, the group may be too small to survive, and above a certain size limitations on individual participation arise. It is difficult to assess the size of our groups since the numbers depend on whether you count the people who attend every meeting, only people who attended the meeting during which the schedules were collected, or people who attended at least one meeting during the year. Our estimate of group size consists of the sum of two numbers: 1) the number of people attending the meeting at the time of the schedule administration and 2) the total number of people reported by the group leader as "regular" attenders who happened to be absent on that specific evening.

TABLE C-I-1

DISTRIBUTION OF GROUPS BY NUMBER OF MEMBERS

Number of Members	Number of Groups	Per cent of Groups
Fewer than 10 .	10	6
10-14 . . . . .	44	26
15-19 . . . . .	67	39
20-24 . . . . .	33	19
25 or more . .	18	10
	172	100%

The great bulk (94 per cent) of the groups have 10 or more members and 65 per cent have between 10 and 19.

Actual meeting attendance, of course, runs somewhat smaller than membership. The average number of persons attending on "NORC night" was 11.1; 40 per cent of the groups had an attendance in the 10 through 13 range; 50 per cent in the nine through 14 range; and 66 per cent had attendance totals between eight and 15, inclusive. The highest attendance was 23 (three groups) and the lowest was three (two groups).

Preliminary analysis has shown little relationship between size of the group and such variables as morale, impact on the participants, and pattern of "role performance" (a variable discussed in the following two chapters). Thus, despite a large amount of research literature in social science on the influence of group size on the discussion process, our analysis has not shown this group variable to be important. However, our field reports on the history of our groups do indicate that groups which have more than 25 or so members

are often broken down into smaller groups which have a more "comfortable" size in order to encourage participation in the discussions.

Natural History

Since we did not follow our groups over time we have only circumstantial evidence on the "natural history" of Great Books discussion groups, but comparison of beginning and advanced groups does suggest a few general patterns.

In terms of their "founding" the groups in our sample split fairly evenly between those started by formal organizations and those started by individuals. Table C-I-2 gives the distributions, although we should note that for a large number of groups the materials on the history of the group were incomplete.

TABLE C-I-2  
FOUNDING OF THE GROUPS

Type	1st Year	Advanced	Total	
	N	N	N	Per cent
Founded by an individual . . . . .	17	33	50	43
Founded by an informal group such as neighbors, without official auspices . . . . .	3	7	10	8
Founded by a formal organization	19	34	53	46
Public Library . . . . .	9	16	25	22
Educational institution or program . . . . .	4	13	17	15
Church, business, etc., for the benefit of its own personnel . . . . .	2	1	3	3
Great Books or local Great Books council . . . . .	4	4	8	7
Made up of original groups which had different auspices . . . . .	1	2	3	3
Total . . . . .	40	76	116	100
Insufficient information to classify . . . . .			56	

More of our groups were started on an informal basis than by a formal organization, although the proportion is very close to 50-50. For those cases where data are available the individuals who founded groups on their own were typically persons with previous experience in the program (say, a person who had been in the program in Cincinnati and then moved to Kansas City where there

was no program going) although a dozen or so were started by people without any previous experience in Great Books. The distribution appears quite similar for beginning and advanced years, so we may guess that the founding and auspices probably have very little to do with the survival or mortality of the groups.

The following table gives the distribution by type of meeting place.

TABLE C-I-3

PLACE OF MEETING

Place of Meeting	1st Year		Advanced		Total	
	N	Per cent	N	Per cent	N	Per cent
Public Library .	31	58	58	49	89	52
Civic Institution (YMCA, City Hall, etc.) . . . . .	16	30	30	25	46	26
Member's Home .	1	2	17	14	18	11
Church, Parish House, or Jewish Community Center.	4	8	11	9	15	9
Other . . . . .	1	2	2	2	3	2
	53	100	118	99	171	100
Insufficient information to classify . . .					1	
					172	

About half of the groups meet in public libraries, and 79 per cent meet in "neutral territory," i.e., social settings which are not associated with any closed social grouping. The only time trend suggested in the table is that of an increased number meeting in members' homes in the advanced years, either because such groups are more viable or because the members tend to shift their meeting place after they become well acquainted.

Now, let us look at the pattern of formal organization of the groups. Table 4 suggests that the predominant pattern in both beginning and advanced years is that of having two people designated as "leaders."

Formal leadership, of course, is not the whole story on the discussion pattern, but a detailed analysis of patterns of participation is reserved for Chapters II and III of this section.

TABLE C-I-4

TYPE OF LEADERSHIP

Pattern of Leadership	1st Year		Advanced		Total	
	N	Per cent	N	Per cent	N	Per cent
One leader . . . . .	7	13	23	19	30	18
Two leaders . . . . .	42	31	82	69	124	73
Three or more leaders, but not the entire group . . . . .	0	0	4	3	4	2
Leadership rotates among the members . . . . .	2	4	8	7	10	6
No leader . . . . .	1	2	0	0	1	*
Guest or Temporary leader . . . . .	0	0	2	2	2	1
	52	100	119	100	171	100
Insufficient information to classify . . . . .					<u>1</u>	
					172	

\* = Less than one per cent.

Formal leadership, of course, is not the whole story on the discussion pattern, but a detailed analysis of patterns of participation is reserved for Chapters II and III of this section.

Of the groups which founded and organized each year, in the ways detailed above, a certain proportion fail to continue in the following year. We have no data on group mortality, but an estimate made by Mr. Orace Johnson of the Great Books Foundation is given in the table below.

TABLE C-I-5

PER CENT OF GROUPS SURVIVING BY STARTING YEAR  
(Estimate by Orace Johnson of the  
Great Books Foundation)

Starting Year	II	III	IV	V	VI
1952 .	67	46	38	28	19
1953 .	66	42	36	26	-
1954 .	58	48	37	-	-
1955 .	75	59	-	-	-
1956 .	82	-	-	-	-

Groups which failed to survive are, by definition, excluded from our sample. However, we do have some data on patterns of change within the groups which did continue. On the basis of the group histories gathered by our field staff when the questionnaire was administered, we classified the advanced year groups as follows:

TABLE C-I-6  
PATTERN OF CHANGE IN ADVANCED YEAR GROUPS

Pattern of Change	2nd Year		3rd or Beyond	
	N	Per cent	N	Per cent
No important changes of personnel noted	15	55	24	28
Turn-over of personnel, drop-outs replaced by newcomers . . . . .	8	30	36	42
Merger with new group or part of group breaking off*	4	15	26	30
Total . . . . .	27	100	86	100
Insufficient information to classify	<u>2</u>		<u>4</u>	
	29		90	

\*Excludes the division of a large first year group into smaller parts after first few meetings.

Table 6 suggests that even for the group which survives, the advanced year group seldom has the same composition as it had at its founding date. Thus, as time goes on, the original members are lost through drop-outs and "schisms," but they are frequently replaced by newcomers. Two net effects of this process may be seen. In the first place, there is a tendency for losses to be a little greater than gains, apparently, for advanced year groups are slightly smaller than beginning groups.

TABLE C-I-7  
GROUP SIZE FOR BEGINNING AND ADVANCED GROUPS

Number of Members	1st Year	Advanced
Less than 10 .	2%	8%
10-14 . . . . .	19	29
15-19 . . . . .	36	40
20-24 . . . . .	30	14
25 or more . .	13	9
Base N =	100% 53	100% 119

Forty-three per cent of the beginning groups have 20 or more members, as compared with 23 per cent of the advanced year groups.

In the second place, in the advanced year groups, "newcomers" make up rather high proportions of the total groups. The following table suggests a general trend.

TABLE C-I-8  
PER CENT, BY READING YEAR, WHO ARE PROBABLY  
NEWCOMERS TO THE GROUP SINCE ITS FOUNDING

X (Year of Readings)	Per cent Who Have Completed Less Than X-1 Years in Program	N
2 . . . . .	26	301
3 . . . . .	38	304
4 . . . . .	40	278
5 and beyond.	58	268

For each year of readings, we computed the per cent of respondents who had completed less than X-1 total years of Great Books (e.g., for 4th year readings the per cent who had completed only zero, one, or two years in Great Books). Now, groups do occasionally skip a year in their reading and four per cent of the respondents have returned to the program after a lapse of a year or more; but on the whole, these data suggest that in advanced year groups, the original members make up only a minority.

These figures, however, should not be read to imply that advanced year groups are particularly subject to disorganization and weak social ties. If anything, the few materials we have examined suggest the opposite. Thus, for instance, we asked our field workers to note their impressions of the "closeness" of the members, and we classified their reports as follows:

TABLE C-I-9  
"CLOSENESS" AND AGE OF GROUP

"Closeness" of Members	Per cent	
	1st Year	Advanced
"Close": members seem to know each other very well, and are very friendly with each other . . . . .	38	70
"Neither close nor distant": . . . . .	31	20
"Distant": the members don't know each other well, don't know the names of others in the group, etc.	28	3
"Subgroupings": group appears to be made up of smaller groups who know each other well, but aren't close to the entire group . . . . .	3	7
	100	100
Base N =	32	88
Insufficient information to classify . . . . .	21	31
	53	119

There are too many cases with insufficient data to draw any firm conclusions, but the evidence does suggest that social relationships are often quite close in advanced year groups.

In summary, as time goes on, Great Books groups appear to be subject to the demographic contingencies of birth, death, divorce, and marriage. A certain number of groups fail to survive, another proportion combine with another group or split into smaller groups; the original members gradually become fewer, and replacements are added. This raises such questions as: What types of groups fail? What types lose large numbers of members, but can replace them and continue? What types of groups continue without any major change in personnel? Is there a "critical" size, below which groups will fail to continue? Such intriguing problems are, however, topics for additional research on the Great Books Program.

### Social Characteristics

In addition to such group characteristics as type of leadership, sponsorship, history of mergers, etc., one of the important characteristics of any social group is its particular configuration of "individual" characteristics. Thus, a person's sex is an individual characteristic, but the degree to which any group is "coeducational" is a group characteristic which may be quite important in determining its organization and functioning.

In our data we have something like 400 individual characteristics taken from the schedules. For each of these we could examine the group distributions (e.g., the number of groups which have 70 per cent or more active in community affairs, the number of groups which have no participants who are musically sophisticated, etc., etc.) and look for patterns. We have not, the reader will be gratified to find, done this, but we have looked at the group-level distributions of selected social characteristics. We shall report here the results for: 1) Education, 2) Sex, 3) "Housewives," 4) Religion, and 5) Age.

The first general question we may ask here is that of the degree of homogeneity of the social groups. If the program as a whole is characterized by X per cent college graduates, we find three logical possibilities. First, it may be that the groups each tend to have about X per cent college graduates and differ from each other only to the extent one would expect from a random selection process. Second, it may be that the groups are significantly homogeneous and that although the program as a whole has X per cent college graduates, groups tend to be either almost all college graduates or almost none. Third, the groups could be significantly heterogeneous, in the sense that each group would have a greater range of college education than one would predict from chance distributions.

For the five characteristics we checked, it turned out, as is usually the case in social groups, that the groups tend significantly toward homogeneity. Thus, while the program as a whole shows a narrower range of ages, religions, educational levels, and so on, than the general population, the individual groups, in turn, tend to be more homogeneous than the entire program.

Our tests were made as follows: For each group, we predicted that its proportion of college graduates, women, housewives, Protestants, and persons under 35 years of age would be the same as for the program as a whole. The discrepancies between these predictions and the observed proportions of college

graduates, women, housewives, Protestants, and persons under 35, were checked by the "Chi Square" test, to determine if the discrepancies were greater than one would expect by chance. Age was checked within a given year of reading to control for differences solely due to exposure to the program, and the proportion of housewives was computed within the female members. For the technical reader the results are summarized in the following table.

TABLE C-I-10

HOMOGENEITY OF THE DISCUSSION GROUPS

Characteristic	Coefficients			
	Chi Square	d.f.	t	Probability That a "t" This Great Would Occur by Chance
Per cent Protestant .	657.49	171	17.80	Less than .0001
Per cent under 35 years of age				
1st Year Groups .	154.87	52	7.450	Less than .0001
2nd and 3rd . . .	119.40	58	4.729	Less than .0001
4th or more . . .	204.90	59	9.420	Less than .0001
Per cent of females who are housewives.	309.75	171	6.40	Less than .0001
Per cent college graduates . . . . .	288.05	171	5.53	Less than .0001
Per cent male . . . . .	244.40	171	3.64	Less than .0001

In each of the cases, the observed proportions depart highly significantly from the expected. Hence, we may conclude that the groups tend to be socially homogeneous.

The distribution of the groups by the proportions of members possessing these characteristics is given below:

TABLE C-I-11

DISTRIBUTION OF GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

Per cent of Groups Having Specified Proportions of ...

Proportion	Protestants	Members Under 35	Women Who Are Housewives	College Graduates	Males
0 - .19	8	14	10	1	15
.20 - .39	12	13	15	14	36
.40 - .59	27	33	29	31	36
.60 - .79	23	24	22	33	11
.80 - 1.00	30	16	24	21	2
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table C-I-11 can be read as follows: Eight per cent of the groups have less than 20 per cent Protestants; 30 per cent of the groups have 80 per cent or more; in 10 per cent of the groups, fewer than 20 per cent of the women are housewives, and in 24 per cent of the groups 80 per cent or more of the women are housewives.

The fact that the groups tend toward homogeneity is, in itself, not too important, as this appears to be a general characteristic of any type of social organization. What is somewhat more suggestive, however, is the relative degree of clustering for different characteristics. Since we had the same number of groups for each characteristic, and we dichotomized each characteristic, and the expected proportions were fairly similar, we can use the size of the coefficients in Table 10 as a rough measure of the degree of concentration for the various characteristics. From this point of view, it appears that religion is the characteristic with the greatest degree of clustering, and that the groups are considerably less homogeneous on the other four variables.

Now, it should be noted that Table 10 does not necessarily mean that Great Books Groups "discriminate" for or against any particular religion. For one thing, members are usually from the same community, and communities are probably more homogeneous in their religious composition than they are in their sex and age compositions. It does suggest that the groups are somewhat more homogeneous on religious preference than on the other variables. With this in mind let us look at the religious distribution in detail. In the following table groups are classified according to whether they include one or more persons who report themselves as Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, or None.<sup>1</sup>

TABLE C-I-12  
RELIGIOUS COMPOSITION

Religious Composition	Number of Groups	Per cent of Groups
One Position Only . . . . .	25	14
All Protestant . . . . .	23	13
All Jewish . . . . .	2	1
All Catholic . . . . .	0	0
All "None" . . . . .	0	0
Two Positions . . . . .	51	28
Protestant and "None" . . . . .	21	11
Protestant and Catholic . . . . .	14	8
Protestant and Jewish . . . . .	11	6
Jewish and "None" . . . . .	4	2
Catholic and "None" . . . . .	1	1
Three Positions . . . . .	53	33
Protestant, Catholic, and "None" . .	24	14
Protestant, Jewish, and "None" . . .	17	12
Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish . .	12	7
Jewish, Catholic, and "None" . . . .	0	0
Four Positions . . . . .	43	25
Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, and "None" . . . . .	43	25
		100 100

<sup>1</sup>"Other" religions, which account for one per cent of those reporting a religious preference, were excluded from the tabulations.

Table 12 suggests that although relatively speaking there is high religious homogeneity in the groups, from an absolute point of view, variety is not totally lacking. If we consider the presence of one member of a given religion as sufficient to represent that point of view in the discussion, we find that only 14 per cent of the groups have only one point of view represented; 43 per cent have only one or two; and 76 per cent have one, two, or three. (Obviously, we should note that even the presence of only one major type of denomination does not mean that everybody in the group has the same ideas about religion.) Table 13 summarizes these data in another fashion.

TABLE C-I-13

PER CENT OF GROUPS WITH NO MEMBERS WHO ARE ...

<u>Religion</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
Protestants . . . . .	4
None . . . . .	36
Catholic . . . . .	45
Jews . . . . .	48

Table 13 suggests that almost all groups will have a "spokesman" for Protestantism; two-thirds will have a spokesman for those without a denomination; and a little more than one-half will have a spokesman for Catholicism or Judaism.

That demographic distributions of the sort we have been discussing have some implications for the discussion process is suggested by the relationship between the "spokesman" distribution and answers to the following question, "How would you rate the amount of agreement on ideas and issues in your group?"

TABLE C-I-14

NUMBER OF RELIGIOUS VIEWPOINTS REPRESENTED IN THE GROUP AND RATINGS ON DISCUSSION AGREEMENT

Response	Number of Viewpoints Represented in Group			
	1	2	3	4
"By-and-large, almost all of the members have pretty much the same views" . . . . .	15	11	6	3
"By-and-large, most of the members have similar views, but there are a few who have very different points of view". . . . .	69	70	67	69
"By-and-large, the members differ greatly in their points of view on most issues" . . . . .	16	19	27	28
Total per cent . . . . .	100	100	100	100
Base N = . . . . .	(219)	(466)	(565)	(542)

Although the rating question did not single out religion for special attention, it appears that the distribution of religious positions in the specific group does have an influence on the perceived heterogeneity of viewpoints, as the proportion reporting group differences increases steadily with the number of viewpoints. Since, in the final section of this chapter, we will present evidence that perceived difference in viewpoint, in turn, is related to group differences in program impact, it may be that these distributions of social characteristics are of some importance for understanding the functioning of the discussion group.

Group Differences in Program Impact

The reader will remember that in Chapter III of Part A (pp. 48-57) we discussed a measure of impact of Great Books which divided the participants into those who claimed that the program "has had a genuine impact on me" and those who liked the program but didn't report any personal changes. In that analysis we found that perceptions of impact were quite strongly related to a series of social characteristics: education, age, social status, motivations for joining Great Books, as well as length of exposure to the program.

In that same analysis we showed that the more active participants in the discussions were also somewhat more likely to report high impact. This suggested that the type of discussion group too may influence the degree of change reported. While the finding on participation suggested that within any group the active members report higher impact, the question we are examining now is whether the 172 groups in our sample differ in the average impact, and hence, presumably in their effectiveness. To begin with, let us look at the distribution of the groups in terms of the proportion of their members reporting high impact.

TABLE C-I-15  
DISTRIBUTION OF GROUPS BY PROPORTION OF  
MEMBERS REPORTING HIGH IMPACT

Proportion Reporting High Impact	Number of Groups	Per cent
0 - .20 . . . . .	33	19
.21 - .40 . . . . .	48	28
.41 - .60 . . . . .	61	35
.61 - .80 . . . . .	25	5
.81 or more . . . . .	5	3
	172	100

Table 15 shows considerable variation. Forty-seven per cent of the groups have 40 per cent or fewer reporting high impact, but 18 per cent have 61 per cent or more.

Such differences as these can be thought of as a function of two different types of processes. First, it may be that the groups differ in their impact because they differ in their recruitment of the kind of people who tend to report high impact. Thus, impact increases with exposure, lower education, and older age, and we would expect that any advanced year groups made up of older people who had not graduated from college would show a very high level of impact. However, a second possibility is that regardless of the personal

characteristics of the members, in some groups the discussion process leads to high impact and in others it has a lesser effect. The first hypothesis thinks of a group as the sum of its individual members, and the second thinks of a "group process" entering into the picture.

The test of these two hypotheses would be to see whether, when the individual characteristics of the membership are controlled, there is any significant variation among the groups in their impact, or whether after one has controlled for the individual characteristics, group variation is within the range expected on the basis of chance.

For our test we chose the individual characteristics of 1) exposure, 2) education, and 3) age as controls. Exposure and education are quite powerful correlates of impact, the two of them alone producing differences in impact ranging from 21 per cent high among the college graduates in the first year to 69 per cent high among the nongraduates with three or more years in the program. (Cf. Table A-III-2, p. 49) We added age because, although it is not as powerful a correlate, our preceding analysis suggested that there is considerable age variation among the groups even allowing for differences in years of exposure.

For each participant, we punched onto his IBM card his probability of reporting high impact, based on his classification in terms of education, exposure, and age. These probabilities are given in Table A-III-6 (p. 51) of this report. Thus, persons with zero years completed, who were under 35 and had an A.B. or more, received an expected probability of .37. For each group we summed the individual probabilities and divided by the number of individuals giving us the expected proportion of "high impacts" on the basis of these three individual characteristics. Then, the expected proportion was compared with the observed proportion for each group.

TABLE C-I-16

OBSERVED AND EXPECTED PROPORTIONS SHOWING

HIGH IMPACT

(Distribution for Groups)

Proportion	Observed	Expected	Observed - Expected
0 - .10	7	0	+ 7
.11 - .20	26	2	+24
.21 - .30	22	16	+ 6
.31 - .40	26	51	-25
.41 - .50	35	54	-19
.51 - .60	26	26	0
.61 - .70	13	24	-11
.71 - .80	12	0	+12
.81 - .90	4	0	+ 4
.91 - 1.00	1	0	+ 1

The distributions of "observed" show many more groups at the extremes than one would predict from the distribution of personal characteristics which are correlated with impact. The Chi Square statistic was used to test whether the discrepancy was greater than that expected by chance, (comparing each group with its own expectation) with a resulting "t" value of 3.08, which is significant at the .001 level.

The implication of these findings is that the group process itself contributes to impact levels, apart from the characteristics of the members. Now, we must stress that such a conclusion does not follow Q.E.D. It is entirely possible that there are one or more personal characteristics we did not discover, which, if used as controls, would result in only random departures from the chance expectation.

Nevertheless, we do have some statistical evidence that processes at the group level may be important. We dichotomized our 172 groups into those which had higher impact than one would expect from the characteristics of the members versus those with lower levels of impact than one would expect. We then "ran" these against the members' descriptions of their groups. The following table reports trends which are admittedly quite slender, but these data do support the hypothesis that the group process has some relationship to impact.

TABLE C-I-17

PERCEIVED GROUP CHARACTERISTICS IN HIGH AND LOW IMPACT GROUPS

Participant's Rating of Group's . .	Type of Group	
	High Impact	Low Impact
Morale		
Extremely High . . . . .	33%	27%
High . . . . .	53	53
Average to Poor . . . . .	<u>14</u>	<u>20</u>
	100%	100%
Base N = . . . . .	923	888
Proportion of Members Very Interested in the program		
Almost all . . . . .	50	41
Most . . . . .	42	46
Half or less . . . . .	<u>8</u>	<u>13</u>
	100%	100%
Base N = . . . . .	923	896
Agreement on Issues		
Almost all pretty much the same views .	7	8
Most similar, but a few different . . .	67	71
Members differ greatly . . . . .	<u>26</u>	<u>21</u>
	100%	100%
Base N = . . . . .	902	890
Intellectual Calibre of the Discussions		
Almost all pretty serious . . . . .	55	50
Most serious, but a few turn into "bull sessions" . . . . .	39	42
Most or almost all "bull sessions" . .	<u>6</u>	<u>8</u>
	100%	100%
Base N = . . . . .	912	885

The differences in Table 17 are, we repeat, slight, but there is a tendency for the person in a high impact group (we should stress that this does not necessarily mean an absolutely high level of impact, but a high level relative to that predicted from the characteristics of the participants) to be more likely to report his group as having high morale, high interest, diverse points of view, and a serious level of discussions.

The trend still remains when we consider these group characteristics two at a time. Here is the relationship between group impact and "agreement" and "morale."

TABLE C-I-18

AGREEMENT, MORALE, AND GROUP IMPACT LEVEL

Per cent Who are in High Impact Groups

Agreement	Morale		
	Extremely High	High	Average to Poor
Almost all pretty much the same .	56 ( 36)	42 ( 77)	- ( 19)
Most similar, but a few different	53 (343)	50 (653)	39 (227)
Members differ greatly . . . .	58 (156)	55 (207)	51 ( 59)

There is a tendency for the proportion from high impact groups to increase with morale in each row and to increase with diversity of viewpoints in each column. The relationships reported in these tables are too small to be considered as "explanations" of group differences in impact. However, they do suggest that group level variables do contribute to the impact of Great Books on the individual. More extensive research, however, would be necessary to isolate the specific characteristics of groups which would explain these differences.

Summary

In this chapter we have presented materials on the characteristics and types of discussion groups in our survey sample. We began by describing the 172 groups in our study in terms of their size, sponsoring organization, meeting place, and type of leadership, concluding that the typical group has around 15 members, meets in a public library, has two leaders, and was equally likely to be founded by an individual or by a formal organization. We then looked at our cross sectional data in order to see what they would suggest about the metamorphosis of the group over time. Our data suggested that over time there is a fairly high rate of turnover, original members tending to leave the groups and new members being recruited. The net result seems to be for groups to show a slight drop in size as they age, along with a tendency to merge with other groups. Then we looked at the distribution of individual characteristics in our groups and found that they tend to be significantly homogeneous in terms of religion, age, sex, life role, and education.

A closer look at religious composition indicated, however, that most groups do have "spokesmen" for more than one religious point of view and that the more points of view there are in a group, the more likely are the members to report their group as having diversity of viewpoints in general. Finally, we examined group differences in impact upon the participants. We found that, even controlling for individual characteristics which are related to impact, groups differ significantly in their levels of impact, and that differences in impact level are related, although slightly, to such aspects of the group as morale, interest of the members, seriousness of the discussions, and diversity of viewpoints.

CHAPTER II

THE ROLE STRUCTURE OF THE DISCUSSION GROUP

## Introduction

From one point of view, each of the 172 discussion groups in our study consists of a dozen or so specific people who meet regularly to talk about Great Books readings. From a more abstract perspective, however, each group may be viewed as a system of social roles. Although the concept of "role" is one of the bread-and-butter ideas of the sociologist's repertory, it is difficult to find a definition which is agreed on by everyone in the profession. For purposes of getting the point, it is probably just as easy to think of a role as "the parts one plays in a social group" as to use a formal definition; however, we can note that even this simple definition implies some rather specific properties. Thus:

- 1) The role is not the same as the person. "Hamlet" is not the same as Gielgud; "The President of the United States" is not always Dwight D. Eisenhower. It follows from this that a single person may play many roles.
- 2) Roles assume consensus. In order for roles to exist, the people who play them must know what is expected, and the people with whom they play must know what to expect.
- 3) Roles assume some action. By definition they are something you "do," not something you "are." Thus, being "middle-class" is not a role; but being a "middle-class businessman" is a role.

Given our definition, it follows that "participant" in Great Books is a social role. The participants are not "the same" as the people, since the "people" do many other things; there is consensus in the groups as to what a participant is; and being a participant involves the members in the action of discussing the Great Books.

What we are concerned with, however, in this chapter is an analysis of the "kinds" of participation that arise in the discussion. We shall ask such questions as:

- 1) Are there participation roles that are recognized by the participants?
- 2) If so, what are the basic "kinds"?
- 3) How are these roles organized?

In the following chapter we shall ask the additional question, "What sorts of people play what sorts of roles?"

Measurement

Our basic data for analyzing the role structure of the Great Books groups come from answers to the following questions:

1. In many informal discussion groups a "division of labor" develops, so that some participants tend to specialize in certain aspects of the discussion process. Please check each of the "specialties" below in the appropriate column.

I tend to specialize in this aspect:

	3	2	1
	More than the other members of my group	About as often as the other members	Less often than the other members
a) Pulling the threads of the discussion together and getting different viewpoints reconciled.			
b) Joking and kidding, finding the potentially humorous implications of the discussion.			
c) Providing "fuel" for the discussion by introducing ideas and opinions for the rest of the group to discuss.			
d) Making tactful comments to heal any hurt feelings which might arise in the discussion.			
e) Clarification, getting the discussion to the point by getting terms defined and pointing out logical problems.			

2. The same "specialties" are repeated below. After each, jot down the names of any members of your group who tend to perform this role frequently.

- a) Pulling the threads of the discussion together and getting different viewpoints reconciled.
- b) Joking and kidding, finding the potentially humorous implications of the discussion.
- c) Providing "fuel" for the discussion by introducing ideas and opinions for the rest of the group to discuss.
- d) Making tactful comments to heal any hurt feelings which might arise in the discussion.
- e) Clarification, getting the discussion to the point by getting terms defined and asking about logical problems.

We described five different roles (a) "threads," b) "joking," c) "fuel," d) "tact," and e) "clarification" and, in effect, asked each respondent to rate himself and then to name others in his group who play the roles. The specific roles were "home-made" on the basis of some observation of Great Books discussion and on the basis of the findings of recent small-group research that small groups tend to differentiate along lines similar to these.

The following table gives the distribution of responses:

TABLE C-II-1  
DISTRIBUTION OF ROLE RESPONSES

Role	Subjective					Objective				
	Per cent rating themselves...					Per cent named by...				
	More than the Others	About as Often	Less Often	No Answer	Total Per Cent	No Member	1 Member	2 Members	3 or more Members	Total Per Cent
c) Fuel . .	23	46	17	14	100	59	22	9	10	100
e) Clarification.	21	47	17	15	100	65	19	8	7	99
f) Joking .	16	45	23	16	100	74	15	5	6	100
a) Threads.	10	45	27	17	99	66	18	7	8	99
d) Tact . .	5	46	26	23	100	75	17	5	2	99

Both the objective and subjective ratings seem to indicate that the roles differ in frequency. "Fuel" is most frequently rated high subjectively, and it also shows the greatest proportion who are mentioned one or more times by their fellow members. "Tact," on the other hand, is least frequently mentioned both subjectively and objectively. Except that "joking" and "threads" reverse in the two distributions, the order is consistent: 1) Fuel, 2) Clarification, 3) Joking, 4) Threads, and 5) Tact. Roughly speaking, we find that the roles of initiating ideas and opinions are more frequent than the roles of reacting to them and handling the "socio-emotional" problems that arise in the discussion.

We had a high number of "no answers" to the subjective question, from 14 to 23 per cent for the various items. We note, however, that the per cent varies with the over-all frequency of the roles, and many respondents answered one item while skipping another. We excluded from the analysis the 208 respondents who answered none of the items,<sup>1</sup> but treated the remainder as "less often" on the items they skipped, since the internal properties of the data suggested that skips were meant as "low."

<sup>1</sup>Some of these "no answers" undoubtedly came from low cooperation, but quite a number came from people who were attending their first meeting, many of whom wrote on their schedules that they didn't know enough about the group to fill out the items.

Before we continue in our speculations about "initiators" and "reactors" (we will return to them before long, though), both our definition of role and our common sense require that we show some relationship between our subjective and objective measures. That is, if we are really talking about roles, the self-ratings should tend to coincide with the number of times the person is named by others in the group.

To test this we dichotomized the subjective ratings as "More than the others" versus "About as often" and "Less often," excluding the no-answers. The objective measure was dichotomized simply as "One or more mentions" versus "No mentions." A typical table is given below:

TABLE C-II-2

OBJECTIVE AND SUBJECTIVE MEASURES OF "FUEL"

Subjective	Objective	
	No Mentions	1 or more Mentions
More than the others.	161	279
About as often and Less often . . . . .	751	434

The relationship is fairly strong. Most of the people who claim to be above average are mentioned by their fellow participants, while most of the people who do not make this claim are not mentioned. For each of the five roles we computed "Q," a measure of association for non-quantitative data. If the objective measures are randomly related, Q should be near zero; if there is high agreement, it should tend toward 1.00; while if the two measures contradict each other, Q should head toward -1.00. The results are given in the following table.

TABLE C-II-3

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN OBJECTIVE AND  
SUBJECTIVE ROLE MEASURES

Role	Q
Joking . . . . .	.647
Threads . . . . .	.557
Fuel . . . . .	.500
Tact. . . . .	.457
Clarification . . . . .	.420

All the relationships are positive and, although not terribly high, are strong enough to conclude that objective ratings tend to agree with subjective ones. Thus, we think it is fair to claim that our data meet the definitional requirement of "roles."

### Role Structure

In addition to "roles," small groups are believed to have "role structures," by which the sociologist means "the ways in which roles are related to each other." The remainder of this chapter is devoted to the question of pinpointing the role structure of our discussion groups.

When sociologists talk about the "interrelationships" of roles, we tend to slide off into a vague, verbal cloud of pious statements such as "Roles are dynamically interrelated." For purposes of research, however, we need some very definite methods for specifying what we mean by "related" and what the possible kinds of "relatedness" can be.

To begin with, at this point we will consider only how the roles relate to each other "within a given person." By this we mean that the issue is what combinations of roles a person may play, not how people who play one role get along with people who play another.

Let us begin by considering only two roles at a time. We suggest that there are three logically possible relationships:

- 1) The roles are positively related. That is, persons who perform one role tend disproportionately to perform the other. Thus, the roles of "wife" and "mother" are positively related, although the relationship is not perfect.
- 2) The roles are randomly related. That is, persons who perform one role are about as likely to perform the other as persons who don't perform the first. Thus, age and sex roles are probably randomly related, there being just about as many female adolescents as female non-adolescents.
- 3) The roles are mutually exclusive. That is, persons who tend to perform a given role tend, disproportionately, not to perform the other. "Mother" and "father" are logically mutually exclusive, and "mother" and "policeman" are probably statistically so.

These definitions of role relationships imply that some measure of association or correlation will be sufficient to analyze any pair of roles.

Now, what about sets of roles? Most sociological thinking about roles tends to consider them in batches much larger than the pair, but the methodology for doing research on these problems has not been formally worked out. To begin with, techniques such as factor-analysis would probably be the theoretically most appropriate way of looking at role clusters, but in the majority of cases the data are not of a technical quality to justify this technique.

Recently, however, Guttman has outlined some models for "non-parametric" factor analysis.<sup>2</sup> He begins with some abstract models of types of statistical relationships and then deduces what patterns should appear in a matrix of correlations if the model were correct. We, however, will reverse the process, beginning with a matrix of relationships and trying to infer the type of "structure" which produced them.

We can begin by examining the intercorrelations of the subjective measures:

TABLE C-II-4  
Q MEASURES OF INTERRELATIONSHIP FOR  
SUBJECTIVE ROLE MEASURES

	Fuel	Clarification	Threads	Tact	Joking
Fuel . . . . .	---	.783	.647	.450	.183
Clarification .	.783	---	.844	.544	.107
Threads . . . . .	.647	.844	---	.749	-.098
Tact . . . . .	.450	.544	.749	---	.128
Joking . . . . .	.183	.107	-.098	.128	---

The first thing we notice is that "joking" is fairly randomly related to all the other variables. This does not mean that "jokers" tend to avoid the other roles, but that they distribute themselves about as chance would predict in the other role-areas. Thus, we may think of "joking" as an independent role-dimension.

The remaining roles, which we can call the "task"-dimension (since they all appear to deal with different specialty functions in carrying out the discussion -- which is the "task" of these groups), do show positive relationships. Thus, we can say that none of the task roles tend toward "mutual exclusion," and we do not find an extreme division of labor in our groups.

The pattern we do see in the matrix is essentially what Guttman calls the "simplex." For our purposes we can think of it as a box-car structure. The hallmark of the "simplex structure" is this: All the relationships increase as one moves toward the diagonal (the row of dashes in the middle of the table) from either the top or bottom, and decline steadily as one moves away from the dashes in any given row.

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<sup>2</sup>Louis Guttman, "A New Approach to Factor Analysis: The Radex," Mathematical Thinking in the Social Sciences, ed. by Paul F. Lazarsfeld (Glencoe: Free Press, 1954), pp. 258-348.

What this implies is this: The variables we observe are hooked together like a train of box-cars, and each is highly related to its nearest neighbors in the train and more and more weakly related as one moves away in either direction. In short, the suggestion here is that the four task roles tap a single dimension, but each taps a different qualitative area on that dimension, which runs from "fuel" at one extreme to "tact" at the other.

Now, what this suggests to us (and in candor we must stress that "factor-naming" is one of the most pleasurable and most dangerous games in research) is that the order involved is one of the "time-process" of discussion. We may hazard the guess that discussions tend to begin with "fuel" -- ideas, comments and suggestions which are thrown out by certain members. This period is followed by a phase of "clarification," in which the members think through and attempt to understand the material provided. Following this there may be a period when the group attempts to knit together and synthesize ("threads") the ideas which have been presented. Finally, there occasionally may be the necessity to deal with and heal any emotional rifts which have arisen in the discussion ("tact"). While this is all highly speculative, this interpretation is roughly congruent with the research findings of Bales and his co-workers in their laboratory studies of small groups.

Now, where our findings differ from Bales, however, is that we find no "gap" between the various task roles, all of which show positive relationships; rather, we find our respondents distributed along a continuum from initiation to reaction. Taking off from the idea of a continuum, we can think of the task roles as distributed roughly as follows:

- 1) Initiators: persons whose role is to provide fuel for the discussion but who leave the later part of the "work" to others;
- 2) Generalists: persons who contribute to both the initiation and reaction phases of the discussion;
- 3) Reactors: persons who contribute to the end phases of the discussion but who leave the "fuel" stage to others.

Before we proceed to the construction of our actual role typology, let us check our conclusions by seeing whether the "objective" role-measures give us that same "box-car" pattern of correlations.

The following table gives the Q interrelations of the objective mentions, dichotomized as before as "mentioned one or more times" versus "not mentioned":

TABLE C-II-5  
 Q MEASURES OF INTERRELATIONSHIP FOR  
 OBJECTIVE ROLE MEASURES

	Fuel	Clarifi- cation	Threads	Tact	Joking
Fuel. . . . .	---	.796	.760	.427	.562
Clarification .	.795	---	.803	.509	.156
Threads . . . .	.760	.803	---	.579	.422
Tact. . . . .	.427	.509	.579	---	.149
Joking. . . . .	.562	.156	.422	.149	---

Within the "task dimension" we observe the same patterning as we did among the subjective roles; however, the "joking" situation is a little different. While it shows an erratic relationship with the role dimension, it does give some high relationships with individual items which were not observed in the subjective matrix. In particular, high "fuel" people tend to be perceived as high "jokers," while subjectively they do not see the relationship. In short, it may be that the subjective dimensions are a little more clear-cut than the objective ones. Nevertheless, Table C-II-5 generally supports the analysis of Table C-II-4.

Now, let us see whether we can assign the respondents to our abstract framework. We decided to call a "jokester" anyone who said he was "more than the others" on joking. Within the task role area, however, we had to do a little combining because of the relatively smaller frequencies in the "reactor" roles. Thus, we scored a subject as "initiator" if he said he was "more than the others" on "fuel," and as a "reactor" if he said he was "more than the others" on any of the other three task dimensions. In effect, our task dimension is skewed toward heavy initiation, and we had to make an "extreme" cut to get enough cases. This would be like contrasting "extreme Democrats" versus "weak Democrats, Republicans, and Independents" in a poll of Mississippi.

From these definitions we can distribute our respondents according to role-type, as follows:

TABLE C-II-6  
ROLE CLASSIFICATION

Task Dimension	Role	Joking Dimension		Total
		Jokester	Non-Jokester	
<u>High-Task:</u>	Initiators . .	48	116 (A)	164
	Generalists . .	47	229 (B)	276
	Reactors . . .	56	187 (C)	243
	Total . .	151	532	683
<u>Low-Task:</u>		145 (D)	873 (E)	1,018
TOTAL		296	1,405	1,701
	No answer			208
				1,909

The capital letters in the table indicate the major role-types in our Great Books discussion groups. In order of frequency they are:

- E) Inactives: people who are not high on any role area (873);
- B) Task generalists: people who are high on initiation and reaction but low on joking (229);
- C) Reactors: people who are high on the reaction task roles but low on joking and on fuel (187);
- D) Jokesters: people who are high on joking but low on task roles (145);
- A) Initiators: people who are high on fuel but low on joking and reaction roles (116).

We should stress again that the "absolute numbers" in this classification are largely a function of the "cutting-points" we used and that we could increase or decrease the numbers of people in each role category by shifting our definitions. We do see in Table C-II-6, however, a classification of the respondents by their relative specialization in the discussion.

In the following chapter we shall turn to the question of what sorts of people tend to take on what sorts of roles.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF ROLE PARTICIPANTS

Introduction

While the previous chapter asked what roles are written into the script of the Great Books discussions, this section turns to the question of which people are recruited to play these roles. From a theoretical point of view there is, of course, no necessity for the types of roles we have described to show any strong correlation with particular social characteristics. Nevertheless, it turns out that there are rather strong differences in the types of people who perform the different types of chores in the discussions.

The classification of role types presented above (Cf. Table C-I-6) enables us to ask the following series of questions, each of which, in effect, "controls" for the answers to its predecessor:

- 1) Are there differences in "activeness" .i.e., differences between those who play roles (regardless of the specific role) and those who claim to play none?
- 2) Within the "actives" are there differences between those who are high on the task dimension and those who are high on the joking dimension?
- 3) Within the task dimension are there differences between the "generalists" and the "specialists"?
- 4) Within the task specialists, are there differences between the "initiators" and the "reactors"?

Activeness

We will label as "active," following the analysis of the previous chapter, any participant who reports himself as taking any one of the five roles "more often," the inactives being defined residually as those who do not report themselves as taking any one of the roles "more often."

Actives, as we see in Table 1, are much more likely to be leaders of the group and men, despite the non-directive leadership ethos of the program and what our culture says about the loquaciousness of the feminine sex.

TABLE C-III-1

PER CENT WHO TAKE A ROLE "MORE OFTEN"

Characteristic	Per cent	Base N
Leadership		
Leaders . . .	71	( 455)
Members . . .	45	(1,208)
Sex		
Male . . .	68	( 657)
Female . . .	36	(1,025)

Since men are more likely to be leaders, let us look at the simultaneous distribution.

TABLE C-III-2

PER CENT "ACTIVE" BY SEX AND LEADERSHIP

Leadership	Sex	
	Male	Female
Leaders .	82 (230)*	60 (225)
Members .	60 (418)	30 (790)

\*Throughout this report, the figures in parentheses represent the Base N.

Sex and formal role appear to contribute independently producing a range from 30 per cent active among the female members to 82 per cent among the male leaders. Although both relationships are strong, it is interesting to note that the informal role system described in the preceding chapter is not just a cumbersome way to locate the formal leader. Thus, there are just as many actives among male members as among female leaders, 40 per cent of whom do not claim to take any one of the roles more often!

Since it could be that formal education may underly these differences, let us look at the relationship between level of formal education and our participation variables of sex and leadership.

TABLE C-III-3

PER CENT WHO ARE COLLEGE GRADUATES,  
BY SEX AND LEADERSHIP

Leadership	Sex	
	Male	Female
Leaders . .	80 (213)	59 (202)
Members . .	74 (379)	40 (600)

Even controlling for sex, the leaders are more highly educated. The difference, however, varies by sex, the male leaders showing less education difference than the female. This sex difference appears in a more striking way if we re-percentage these same data in terms of leadership, instead of education.

TABLE C-III-4

PER CENT WHO ARE LEADERS, BY SEX AND EDUCATION

Education	Sex	
	Male	Female
College Degree . .	38 (452)	33 (362)
No College Degree . .	31 (140)	19 (440)

Read this way, these data suggest that the sex difference in leadership is largely a discrimination against the non-college woman. The college graduate woman has almost as good a chance of being a leader as a college graduate man, but the non-college man has a much better chance than the non-college woman, and almost as good a chance as the college graduate woman.

Let us now look at the joint contribution to activity of these three intertwined variables.

TABLE C-III-5

PER CENT ACTIVE, BY SEX, LEADERSHIP, AND EDUCATION

Leadership	College Graduate	Not College Graduate
Leaders		
Male . . . . .	81 (170)	86 ( 43)
Female . . . . .	61 (119)	54 ( 83)
Members		
Male . . . . .	63 (282)	52 ( 97)
Female . . . . .	32 (243)	27 (357)

The contribution of education is negligible, although in three out of four comparisons, the college graduates are a little more active. Does the fact that a non-college male member is two-thirds more likely to have an active role than a college graduate woman member mean, then, that intellectual characteristics are irrelevant for predicting roles in an intellectual discussion group? Not quite, for it turns out that our cartoon test of knowledge of liberal arts and humanities (for the rare reader who has not read this report through from page one to this point, we may point out that this test is described in detail in Chapter I of Part B) will contribute to the prediction.

TABLE C-III-6

PER CENT ACTIVE, BY SEX, LEADERSHIP, AND CARTOON SCORES

Leadership	Cartoon Scores	
	11 or More Correct	10 or Fewer Correct
Leaders		
Male . . . .	88 (169)	72 ( 58)
Female . . . .	61 (148)	59 ( 73)
Members		
Male . . . .	68 (224)	51 (191)
Female . . . .	33 (314)	27 (446)

In each of the four comparisons the high scorer in our knowledge test is a little more likely to be an active participant, even controlling for leadership and sex which are related to the cartoon scores. However, it should be noted that the difference is only strong among the men, within the women, cartoon score differences being quite small, both among leaders and members.

We shall not present the tables in full here, but it is worth noting that the differences are not an artifact of exposure, which is, of course, related to cartoon scores. When one controls years of exposure and cartoon scores there are no differences in participation by length of time in the program, but within each exposure group the cartoon test differences still hold.

In summary, without delving into personality characteristics or subtle social variables, we have been able to show some rather strong differences in the activity of different participants. The interesting thing about the three variables--knowledge scores, formal leadership, and sex--is that their predictive power is roughly inverse to one's common sense expectation. Knowledge of intellectual matters, which, after all, is what the discussions are about, is a consistent but not too formidable predictor, and sex--independent of any relationship with knowledge, formal education, or leadership--is a very powerful predictor, just about as strong as that of formal leadership. Thus, within the group who are high scorers on the test and leaders, the men are still about one-third more likely to be active role incumbents than the the women; and among the high scoring members, the men are twice as likely to be active as the women. Within a sex and cartoon score group, the differences between the leaders and members are no stronger and in some cases smaller. Presumably cultural definitions from outside of the immediate setting enter in powerfully to affect the distribution of roles in the discussion groups.

Other than this truism we have little information on the factors underlying the sex difference. The only additional suggestion from our data is that it is, in a sense, pure sex, for within each sex, differences in marital status and life role have no relationship with activity.

TABLE C-III-7

LIFE ROLE AND ACTIVITY, CONTROLLING FOR SEX

Per cent Who Are ...

Sex	Life Role	Active	Less Active
Male	Married . . .	83	80
	Not married .	17	20
	Base N =	441	208
Female	Housewives*.	55	55
	Working wives	22	17
	Career women	21	23
	Other . . .	2	5
		100%	100%
	Base N =	363	636

\*These classifications are defined in Table A-I-6 (p. 9).

Task Versus Joking

Our "actives," once they have been sorted out from those who claim no role at all, can, in turn, be sorted into a number of sub-types. The first step is to look at our two major axes of role differentiation, task performance, and joking. Both types of social behavior have been well discussed in behavioral science, but we have little in the way of particular hypotheses, so let us turn directly to the data. The following tables provide the necessary information to see whether our three role variables--sex, cartoon scores, and leadership--relate to these content axes.

TABLE C-III-8

SEX, JOKING, AND TASK, CONTROLLING FOR CARTOON

SCORES, AND FORMAL LEADERSHIP

Per cent Male

Cartoon	Leadership	Task	Joking	Non-Joking
High)	Leader	High Task	78 (54)	59 (157)
		Low Task	44 (25)	30 ( 81)
	Member	High Task	66 (53)	59 (148)
		Low Task	54 (56)	27 (281)
Low)	Leader	High Task	- (10)	51 ( 67)
		Low Task	- ( 8)	35 ( 46)
	Member	High Task	54 (26)	45 (139)
		Low Task	40 (52)	22 (420)

Table C-III-8 is set up to examine sex as a variable in the content of role distribution. The pattern appears to be quite consistent. In each row, there is a greater proportion of males among the jokers than among the non-jokers. Likewise, in each comparison between high and low task participants there are more males in the high task group. Thus, it appears that males are more likely to take on a role specialty in either dimension than are females, and are more likely than females to take on roles in both dimensions rather than in one. The only hint of any difference is that when we look at "pure types," i.e., jokers who are low on the task dimension and "taskers" who are low on joking, we find in each case a greater proportion of males in the task than in the joking corner. Thus, the sex differential appears to extend to role content as well as degree of activity in the discussion.

Now, let us consider cartoon scores.

TABLE C-III-9  
 CARTOON SCORES, JOKING AND TASK, CONTROLLING FOR  
 SEX AND FORMAL LEADERSHIP  
 Per cent High on Cartoon Test

Sex	Leadership	Task	Joking	Non-Joking	
Male )	Leaders	High Task	86 (49)	73 (126)	
		Low Task	- (12)	60 (40)	
Female )		High Task	- (15)	66 (98)	
		Low Task	67 (21)	66 (87)	
Male )		Members	High Task	71 (49)	58 (150)
			Low Task	59 (51)	44 (165)
Female )	High Task		60 (30)	45 (137)	
	Low Task		46 (57)	39 (536)	

A rather similar story unfolds in Table C-III-9, although because of the intercorrelations of these variables we have too few cases in certain key cells. Except among the female leaders, high scorers on the cartoon test tend to be relatively higher on joking, task, and the joking-task combination. While one is not surprised that the better prepared intellectually surpass the less well prepared in task roles, their superiority in joking is less expected. This suggests to us that this role, as defined by the participants, is not that of the "clown," but rather, that of the "wit."

Finally, let us look at formal leadership, re-percentaging the same data in a third and final fashion.

Table C-III-10 departs from the pattern of its two predecessors, in that the relationship between leadership and role type is limited to the content dimension. Leaders, as is hardly surprising, are higher on task roles in every comparison, but appear fairly randomly distributed on the joking dimension. The leader appears no less likely to be a wit, but he has no greater probability of taking on this role.

TABLE C-III-10

FORMAL LEADERSHIP, JOKING AND TASK, CONTROLLING FOR

SEX AND CARTOON SCORES

Per cent Who Are Leaders

Sex	Cartoon Scores	Task	Joking	Non-Joking
Male	High Cartoon	High Task	55 (77)	51 (179)
		Low Task	27 (41)	25 (96)
	Low Cartoon	High Task	33 (21)	35 (97)
		Low Task	5 (22)	15 (109)
Female	High Cartoon	High Task	40 (30)	52 (126)
		Low Task	35 (40)	21 (266)
	Low Cartoon	High Task	- (15)	30 (109)
		Low Task	18 (38)	8 (357)

In summary, we find that our same three variables are related to the type of role as well as the degree of activity. Men and high cartoon scorers tend to be high on both content dimensions. Within the content dimensions, the disproportion of men is relatively higher for joking than for task performance. Leadership, however, relates only to the task performance dimension.

Types of Task Roles

Finally, let us look at correlates of differences in the three types of task roles described in Chapter II: Initiators, Generalists, and Reactors. We will present the three necessary tables and then comment on them together.

TABLE C-III-11

SEX AND TYPE OF TASK ROLE, CONTROLLING FOR

LEADERSHIP AND CARTOON SCORES

Per cent Male

Leadership	Cartoon Scores	Initiators	Generalists	Reactors
Leaders	High Cartoon	59 (37)	69 (119)	55 (55)
	Low Cartoon	- (10)	51 (35)	42 (26)
Members	High Cartoon	46 (56)	76 (74)	56 (71)
	Low Cartoon	38 (52)	60 (40)	45 (73)

TABLE C-III-12

CARTOON SCORES AND TYPE OF TASK ROLE,  
CONTROLLING FOR SEX AND LEADERSHIP

Per cent High on Cartoons

Sex	Leadership	Initiators	Generalists	Reactors
Male	Leaders )	65 (34)	82 (100)	73 (41)
Female		- (19)	69 ( 54)	62 (40)
Male	Members )	57 (46)	56 (100)	55 (73)
Female		48 (62)	52 ( 33)	44 (71)

TABLE C-III-13

LEADERSHIP AND TYPE OF TASK ROLE, CONTROLLING  
FOR SEX AND CARTOON SCORES

Per cent Who Are Leaders

Sex	Cartoon Scores	Initiators	Generalists	Reactors
Male )	High Cartoon	46 (48)	59 (138)	43 (70)
	Low Cartoon	38 (32)	43 ( 42)	25 (44)
Female )	High Cartoon	33 (45)	67 ( 55)	45 (56)
	Low Cartoon	11 (36)	52 ( 33)	28 (55)

The trends within these three tables are much less clear than in the others. They are set up to answer Questions 3 and 4 from our introduction, but show only trends on Question 3, that of generalists versus specialists. Clearly, leaders are more likely to be task generalists than are members, as are men. The differences are not as great for cartoon scores, but by and large the generalist scores higher than the two types of specialists.

When, however, we compare the two types of specialists--initiators, who start off the discussion, and reactors, who finish it--we find that our three variables fail to distinguish between the two types. Initiators are just as likely to be leaders, men, or high on cartoons, as are reactors. This distinction is probably theoretically the most interesting of the lot, but empirically we have been unable to make much of it. The only variable which we have found to distinguish between the two types is that of frequency of church attendance.

Frequent church attendance, as one might predict from previous analyses, seems to be related moderately to low role performance, both on the task and joking dimensions. Within the task area, however, the high church attender appears to lean toward the reaction rather than initiation pole. For the record, party preference, which we have often paired with church attendance, as

indices of institutional conformity, does not discriminate within the task dimension, although Democrats are a little more likely to have task roles than non-Democrats.

TABLE C-III-14

CHURCH ATTENDANCE AND TYPE OF ROLE  
Per cent Who Attend Church Regularly

Task						
High Task			Low Task			
Among Those Who Are High Task:			Joking	Non-Joking	Joking	Non-Joking
Initiator	Generalist	Reactor				
42 (163)	44 (271)	60 (239)	43 (150)	51 (522)	52 (143)	59 (855)

Summary

From the large number of complex correlations reported in this brief chapter, we think three generalizations may be worth noting.

In the first place, the importance of sex as a correlate of role activity, independent of its relationships with cartoon scores, education or formal leadership, suggests that there is a relationship between the larger total culture and the process of the small group. We tend to think of "small group" sociology as an area of study which has little or nothing to do with extra-experimental aspects of the discipline. Nevertheless, our data strongly suggest that the members of the discussion groups bring with them proclivities from outside the group situation which have a strong effect on the process of discussion.

Second, although it is an obvious point, it may be well to stress that leadership in the formal sense is only a part of the story on roles in these small groups. The process of discussion does not appear to be dominated in any way by the group leader, but rather he appears, statistically at least, only as the first among peers.

Third, our data suggests that in Great Books discussion groups, unlike other situations, the generalist has a higher status than the specialist. In most of our comparisons and correlations, the specialists were found to be more like the inactive participants than were the generalists. Recent sociological research has tended to stress the importance of the discussion specialist, but, although our data strongly suggests that there are both generalists and specialists in Great Books, the pattern of correlations hints that the specialist is more likely to be a person who isn't quite a generalist rather than a very special breed of participant.

**SUMMARY**

## SUMMARY OF FINDINGS -- Survey 408

The following paragraphs summarize the major findings of our survey of the Great Books program. In the report itself, these conclusions are developed from rather extensive statistical analysis and are subject to a number of qualifications and specifications which we have left out of the summary. We hope that any reader who wishes to make serious use of these findings will avail himself of the full text in addition to this brief over-view.

### What Are the Participants Like?

In a capsule, Great Books participants tend to be well-educated, high-status, socially active, youngish adults.

It is perhaps more interesting to note what they are not. They are not "ivory-tower intellectuals," but rather show "middle-brow" intellectual interests; and far from being alienated from their society, they share its middle-class values and norms of community participation. Neither are they "social misfits," for the old and the unmarried (people for whom society often has no niche) are under-represented; and for most of the members, Great Books is only among a fairly large number of formal and informal social groups to which they belong. The "climber," while not unrepresented in the program, is not a typical type, for if anything, the members are already highly educated and less upwardly mobile socially than comparable adults.

### What Do They Want from the Program?

Great Books attracts people with a wide diversity of motivations, from those who want to learn speed-reading to those who want to solve the world's problems. Most of the members come with a varied collection of aims, some of which are abstractly intellectual and a lot of which are highly pragmatic. The discussion group itself appears to be important, for we found many members reporting a cluster of motives which indicated they were concerned about the intellectual narrowness of their lives and wanted not just knowledge of great authors but also contact with other group-members who shared their intellectual orientations. It is the combination of the social and the intellectual -- not one or the other -- which appears to be the hallmark of the participants' motivations.

### What Do They Say They Get from the Program?

Levels of satisfaction run high, partly because the dissatisfied quickly drop out of the program. Large proportions of those who continue reported that participation in Great Books has had a "genuine impact" on their lives, high impact being more common among those who started from a lower level of cultural sophistication. Specific "effects" vary considerably in their reported attainment, and two things seem to relate to differences in the effectiveness of different program aims. First, it is always the case that people who wanted a specific effect are more likely to report achieving it. Great Books is apparently diffuse enough that the major

determinant of an effect is the participant's motivations. Beyond this, we noted that those things which "pay off" right in the discussion groups (e.g., "getting a chance to express ideas I had been thinking and reading about") seemed much more effective than those things which required application to the resistant world outside the immediate program (e.g., "finding solutions to contemporary social problems").

### Specific Effects

#### Knowledge

The strongest and clearest effect of continued participation in Great Books is increased knowledge of the liberal arts and humanities. Even when a number of statistical controls are applied, the advanced year participant is considerably more knowledgeable than the first year participant. After three years or more in the program the participant with no college training scores about as well on the knowledge test as the beginning member who has a bachelor's degree.

Even when one controls for such things as educational differences and length of time in the program, levels of knowledge vary considerably with political party preference and frequency of church attendance, in a way that suggested to us, as do several other findings in the study, that the most intellectually able among the participants are least likely to be involved in or identified with the dominant institutions of their social worlds.

#### Esthetics

The respondents were given a test of their ability to judge excellence in verse and a measure of their familiarity with classical music. It was our conclusion that in neither case could we show that the program has any effect in these esthetic areas, advanced year members being no better judges of these matters than beginners. Since the program excludes music, there is no reason why musical tastes should improve; but the members do read a considerable amount of verse, apparently without gains in general poetic sensitivity.

#### Reading

The Great Books participants are heavy readers, and apparently read more than people of comparable education, even aside from preparation for the discussions. Their non-program reading is considerably less challenging than the curriculum of the program, and runs, metaphorically speaking, somewhere between the Book of the Month Club and Book Find Club. Continued participation in the program does seem to increase both the number of hours spent in reading and the "quality" level of what is read.

#### Values and Ideologies

The advanced year participant has not only learned more about the content of Great Books, but is also quite likely to report that he has been persuaded by them and has changed his mind on the value of some author or school of thought. Our survey was unable to detect any changes in basic values for the participant, but we did find evidence of some shifts in religious and

political positions. Religious changes are different for different denominations. In general, members of each major faith show a less single-minded dedication to their own denominational position, and a greater acceptance of alternatives. The trend is not interpreted as one of dramatic changes in faith, but rather an expansion of the breadth and scope of religious ideas which are considered to be worth serious attention. Political changes appear to be more clear-cut, the trend being for an increase in concern about loss of civil liberties accompanied by an increase in concern about too much government; a syndrome which may be alternatively interpreted as "18th Century Liberalism" or "New Conservatism."

### Community Involvement

We divided community involvement into two aspects, expressed interest in local and civic affairs, and overt activity in community organizations and events. It turns out that different things happen in these two areas of involvement.

In terms of interest, we find that the participants are quite interested in the local scene and in civic affairs, but that relatively speaking they show greater interest in the national and world arena than they do in their home towns. Exposure to the program doesn't seem to alter this picture toward either increased or decreased localism. However, we do find that those people who do best on our measure of knowledge of the liberal arts and humanities are least interested in the local scene, hence, some de-localization of interest may be a by-product of the greater knowledge the program produces.

In terms of activities, we find that the participants are quite active in terms of memberships in organizations and participation in programs to change or improve the community. Activity appears to increase with exposure to Great Books, particularly for those who are new in the community. The newcomer who finds his friends in Great Books, finds them to be active people, and presumably is drawn into local events through them. Within a given interest level, the more knowledgeable (in terms of our measure of liberal arts and humanities knowledge) are more active, and hence, while Great Books may indirectly lower interest in local affairs, it also may tend to make its members more active than their interest level would predict, perhaps because the intellectual and discussion skills gained from participation are in great demand in local groups and organizations.

### The Discussion Group

The final three chapters of the report summarize some of our findings on the discussion group itself. These groups average about 15 members and most have two formal leaders who lead the discussions, although other patterns do exist. Over time most of the groups are subjected to a process of member loss and recruitment of substitutes which creates a continually changing membership. Groups differ considerably in their social characteristics, tending to be quite homogeneous in terms of such things as education, religion, age, and sex. Groups also differ considerably in their reported impact on the members, the high impact groups being somewhat more frequently characterized as having high morale, high level of discussion, and a wide variety of viewpoints represented.

Two kinds of participants were isolated through statistical analysis, "jokesters" who tend to be above average in terms of seeing the humorous side of the discussion, and "task specialists" who tend to be above average in such things as providing ideas for discussion, clarifying issues, and drawing the threads of the discussion together. Leaders, of course, tend to be more active than members, but the correlation is far from perfect. The highly educated tend to be more active too, but the most powerful predictor of role performance is sex. Men, despite folklore to the contrary, tend to monopolize both the jokester and the task roles.

Any attempt to achieve a final balancing of the books here is beyond the ability of the researcher, for it requires decisions about the relative weight of the high success areas--increased knowledge, changes in ideologies, and participants' subjective satisfactions; the areas of smaller change, such as reading and community activity; and the areas of no effect at all, esthetics and basic values. In addition, even if such a balance could be determined, we would have no idea whether another program or a modified version of the current program, would do as well, or better. Such final conclusions will have to be drawn by the reader on the basis of his own system of values and his evaluation of the practical possibilities in the world of adult education in the liberal arts and humanities.

**APPENDIXES**

APPENDIX 1

The Great Books Readings

The Great Books Readings

First Year:

Declaration of Independence

Plato: Apology; Crito

Sophocles: Antigone

Aristotle: Politics, Bk. I

Plutarch: Lycurgus & Numa with a comparison

The Gospel according to St. Matthew

Epictetus: Discourses, Bk. I, Chs. 1-4, 6, 9, 11, 15, 17, 20, 23, 26;  
Bk. II, Ch. 8

Machiavelli: The Prince

Shakespeare: Macbeth

Milton: Areopagitica

Adam Smith: The Wealth of Nations, Bk. I, Chs. 1-9, 11; Bk. IV, parts  
The Federalist, Nos. 1, 10, 15, 51; Constitution of the United States

Tocqueville: Democracy in America, Vol. II, Bk. I, Chs. 1-4; Bk. II,  
Chs. 1, 2, 4-15, 19, 20; Bk. IV

Marx & Engels: Communist Manifesto

Thoreau: Civil Disobedience; Walden, Chs. 1, 2, 11, 17, 18

Tolstoy: The Death of Ivan Ilych

A Great Books Primer

Second Year:

Ecclesiastes

Homer: The Odyssey

Sophocles: Oedipus Rex; Oedipus at Colonus

Plato: Meno

Aristotle: Ethics, Bks. I; II; X, Chs. 6-9

Lucretius: Of the Nature of Things, Bks. I-III

St. Augustine: Confessions, Bks. I-VIII

Shakespeare: Hamlet

Descartes: Discourse on Method

Hobbes: Leviathan, Intro.; Pt. I, Chs. 11-16, Pt. II, Chs. 17, 18, 29

Pascal: Pensées, selections

Swift: Gulliver's Travels

Rousseau: On the Origin of Inequality

Kant: Perpetual Peace

Mill: On Liberty

Mark Twain: The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn

A Great Books Reader

Third Year:

The Book of Job

Aeschylus: The Oresteia, a trilogy

Thucydides: History of the Peloponnesian War, Bk. I, Chs. 1, 3, 5-7;  
Bk. V, Ch. 17

Plato: Symposium

Aristotle: Politics, Bks. III-V

St. Thomas Aquinas: Treatise on Law: QQ. 90-97 from the Summa Theologica, I-II

Rabelais: Gargantua & Pantagruel, Bk. I

Calvin: Institutes, Bk. II, Ch. 2; Bk. IV, Ch. 20

Shakespeare: King Lear

Francis Bacon: Novum Organum, Bk. I

Locke: Of Civil Government

Voltaire: Candide

Rousseau: The Social Contract, Bks. I-II

Gibbon: Decline and Fall, Chs. 15, 16

Dostoyevsky: The Brothers Karamazov, Pt. II, Bk. V, Ch. 5; Bk. VI,  
Chs. 1-3

Freud: The Origin & Development of Psychoanalysis

A Great Books Reader II

Fourth Year:

Confucius: The Analects, selections

Plato: The Republic, Bks. VI-VII

Aristophanes: Lysistrata; The Clouds

Aristotle: Poetics

Euclid: Elements of Geometry, Bk. I

Marcus Aurelius: Meditations

Sextus Empiricus: Outlines of Pyrrhonism, Bk. I

Song of the Volsungs and the Nibelungs

St. Thomas Aquinas: On Truth and Falsity: QQ. 16-17 from the Summa Theologica, I

Montaigne: Essays, Bk. I, Chs. XL, XXII, XXIV, XXVI, XXX

Shakespeare: The Tempest

Locke: An Essay Concerning Human Understanding, Bk. III, Chs. I, III,  
IX-XI

Milton: Paradise Lost

Hume: An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding

Nietzsche: Beyond Good and Evil, Chs. I, III, V, VI, VII, IX

William James: Pragmatism, selections

Fifth Year:

Euripides: Medea, Hippolytus, Trojan Women  
Plato: Theaetetus  
Aristotle: Physics, Bk. IV, Chs. 1-4, 6-7, 10-13  
Virgil: Aeneid  
St. Francis: Little Flowers  
St. Thomas Aquinas: Treatise on Man: QQ. 75-79 from the Summa Theologica, I  
Dante: Divine Comedy: Hell, Purgatory  
Dante: Divine Comedy: Paradise  
Pico della Mirandola: Oration on the Dignity of Man  
Berkeley: Principles of Human Knowledge  
Newton: Math. Prin. of Natural Philosophy, selections  
Boswell: Life of Johnson, selections  
Kant: Prolegomena  
Woolman: Journal  
Melville: Moby Dick  
Einstein: Relativity: The Special & General Theory

Sixth Year:

Aeschylus: Prometheus Bound  
Plato: Phaedrus  
Aristotle: Metaphysics, Bk. XII  
Longinus: On the Sublime  
St. Augustine: On Nature and Grace; On Grace and Free Will  
St. Thomas Aquinas: The Existence and Simplicity of God: QQ. 2-3 from the Summa Theologica, I  
Chaucer: Canterbury Tales, selections  
Shakespeare: Richard II  
Cervantes: Don Quixote, Pt. I  
Spinoza: Ethics, Pt. I  
Hume: Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion  
Voltaire: Philosophical Dictionary, selections  
Hegel: Philosophy of History, Intro. and Classification of Historic Data  
Darwin: The Origin of Species, Chs. I-VI, XV  
Melville: Billy Budd, Foretopman  
Henry James: The Turn of the Screw

APPENDIX 2

The Questionnaire

NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER  
University of Chicago

Survey 408  
11/57

1. When did you attend your first Great Books Discussion group meeting?

Fall 1957 \_\_\_\_\_  
" 1956 \_\_\_\_\_  
" 1955 \_\_\_\_\_  
" 1954 \_\_\_\_\_  
Other \_\_\_\_\_

2. Have you been with this group continuously since you began Great Books?

Yes \_\_\_ \*No \_\_\_

\*IF "NO": Did you attend another group meeting, or drop out of the program temporarily, or what?

3. How many meetings of this group have you attended, since it started this Fall? (If your group doesn't start in the Fall, please tell us the number of meetings you have attended since September 1.)

4. Have you ever "led" a Great Books Discussion? \*Yes \_\_\_ 1 No \_\_\_ 2

\*IF "YES":

- 1 \_\_\_ I am the current leader or co-leader of this group.
- 2 \_\_\_ I am one of the current rotating leaders of this group.
- 3 \_\_\_ I have been the leader or co-leader of this group, but am not leading now.
- 4 \_\_\_ I have been the leader or co-leader of another group, but am not leading now.
- 5 \_\_\_ I am the current leader or co-leader of another group, but attend this one as a participant.
- 6 \_\_\_ Other \_\_\_\_\_

5. Have you ever had a Great Books Leader Training Course? Yes \_\_\_ No \_\_\_

6. How would you rate your attendance in this group?

- 1 \_\_\_ I attend every meeting
- 2 \_\_\_ I attend all but a few meetings
- 3 \_\_\_ I attend most meetings
- 4 \_\_\_ I attend some meetings, but not most
- 5 \_\_\_ I attend on occasion
- 6 \_\_\_ This is my first meeting with this group, so I can't say

Listed below are 23 "results" of participating in Great Books.

1) Please think back to the time when you decided to attend your first Great Books meeting.

In the left hand column please check any item on the list which you definitely had in mind as a reason for joining--regardless of whether or not Great Books met this expectation.

2) In the right hand column, please place a check by any of the items which you think has definitely been an effect of Great Books for you--regardless of whether or not it was a reason for joining.

Reason for Joining		Effect of Great Books
	1. Improving my reading skills.	
	2. Making new friends.	
	3. Improving my taste in fiction and poetry.	
	4. Escaping the intellectual narrowness of my occupation.	
	5. Becoming more sure of myself when talking with people of higher educational background.	
	6. Developing the ability to lead group discussions outside of Great Books.	
	7. Escaping the intellectual narrowness of my community.	
	8. Gaining insight into myself and my personal problems.	
	9. Improving my ability to carry out my job through the intellectual training of reading Great Books.	
	10. Gaining the equivalent of a college education.	
	11. Developing common interests with my spouse.	
	12. Gaining a better intellectual background for my participation in community organizations and community affairs.	
	13. Escaping the intellectual narrowness of being a housewife	
	14. To learn what the greatest minds in history have to say about the basic issues of life.	
	15. Getting a chance to express ideas I had been thinking and reading about.	
	16. Reacquainting myself with a cultural background which had become rusty.	
	17. Finding solutions to contemporary social problems.	
	18. Increasing my ability to carry out my job through improving my ability to participate in group discussions.	
	19. Supplementing an unduly narrow or technical college training.	
	20. Becoming a more effective participant in group discussions outside of Great Books.	
	21. Meeting people who are quite different from me.	
	22. Talking with people who have more intellectual interests than my usual "social" friends.	
	23. Improving my ability to analyze and criticize arguments.	
	24. Other _____	
	_____	
	_____	
	_____	

1. Since you began Great Books have there been any particular authors or school of thought which you once disliked, but now find more acceptable?

\*Yes \_\_\_ 1      No \_\_\_ 2

\*IF "YES": Which ones?

Why was there a change?

2. Since you began Great Books are there any particular authors or schools of thought which you once accepted, but now find less acceptable?

\*Yes \_\_\_ 1      No \_\_\_ 2

\*IF "YES": Which ones?

Why was there a change?

READING

1. On the average, about how many hours per week do you spend on the following types of reading?

- 1) For relaxation (detective stories, light fiction, sports section of the newspaper, etc.) \_\_\_\_\_
- 2) Preparation for Great Books discussion groups \_\_\_\_\_
- 3) Serious reading on your own (history, philosophy, serious novels, etc., not connected with Great Books or with your job) \_\_\_\_\_

2. Since you began Great Books, has the amount of time spent on the following changed?

	5	4	3	2	1
	Increased a Lot	Increased a Little	No Change	Decreased a Little	Decreased a Lot
1) Reading for relaxation,					
2) Preparation for Great Books.					
3) Serious reading on your own.					

3. Hours of reading aside, do you think Great Books has had any effect on your reading--aside from preparing for the discussions?

4. Do you own a set of the Great Books readings which your group is discussing this year?

0 \_\_\_ No

1 \_\_\_ No, but I intend to purchase them

2 \_\_\_ Yes

5. What book or books--outside of the Great Books readings--which you read in the last year impressed you as particularly worthwhile?

6. Following is a list of magazines. Please check each in the appropriate column.

	5	4	3	2	1
	I read it regularly	I read it on occasion but not regularly	I have seen a copy now and then, but I seldom read it	I've heard about it but I've never seen a copy of it	Never heard of this one
1) Art News					
2) The Gadfly					
3) Harpers Monthly					
4) High Fidelity					
5) New Republic					
6) New Yorker					
7) Partisan Review					
8) Reader's Digest					
9) Saturday Evening Post					
10) Saturday Review					
11) Scientific American					
12) Time					

WAYS TO LIVE

Below are listed four ways to live which various persons at various times have advocated and followed.

Indicate by numbers in the spaces below each "way to live" how much you, yourself, like or dislike each of them, using the following scale:

- 7..I like it very much
- 6..I like it quite a lot
- 5..I like it slightly
- 4..I am indifferent to it
- 3..I dislike it slightly
- 2..I dislike it quite a lot
- 1..I dislike it very much

Rate each one in terms of the kind of life you personally would like to live, not in terms of the kind of life you now lead, the kind of life you think is prudent to live in our society, or the kind you think is good for other people.

(1)

Life is something to be enjoyed--sensuously enjoyed, enjoyed with relish and abandonment. The aim in life should not be to control the course of the world or society or the lives of others, but to be open and receptive to things and persons, and to delight in them. To let oneself go, to let things and persons affect oneself, is more important than to "do"--or to "do good."

RATING OF #1 \_\_\_\_\_

(2)

A person should merge oneself with a social group, enjoy cooperation and companionship, join with others in resolute activity for the realization of common goals. Persons are social and persons are active; life should merge energetic group activity and cooperative group enjoyment.

RATING OF #2 \_\_\_\_\_

(3)

A person must stress the need of constant activity--physical action, adventure, the realistic solution of specific problems as they appear, the improvement of techniques for controlling the world and society. Man's future depends primarily on what he does, not on what he feels or on his speculations. Improvements must always be made if man is to progress. We can't just follow the past or dream of what the future might be.

RATING OF #3 \_\_\_\_\_

(4)

The contemplative life is the good life. The external world is no fit habitat for man. It is too big, too cold, too pressing. Rather it is the life turned inward that is rewarding. The rich internal world of ideals, of sensitive feelings, of reverie, of self-knowledge is man's true home.

RATING OF #4 \_\_\_\_\_

POETRY

Listed below and on the following pages are four poems. For each, three versions are given. Please check the version which you prefer as poetry.

Poem 1.

A.

Tender, tender Sea Shell,  
Wilt though sing me, please,  
Of thy happy, happy home  
'Neath the tropic trees?  
Ah, the coral islands!  
Ah, the wondrous fish!  
For such a song I'd give thee dear,  
Whate'er a Shell could wish.

B.

Sea Shell, please sing me a song  
Of ships and sailor-men;  
Of strange kinds of birds and trees  
On the Spanish Main:  
Of fish and seaweed in the sea,  
And whatever creature there may be, --  
Sea Shell, please sing me a song!

C.

Sea Shell, Sea Shell,  
Sing me a song, Oh please!  
A song of ships and sailor men,  
Of parrots and tropical trees.  
Of islands lost in the Spanish Main  
Which no man ever may find again,  
Of fishes and coral under the waves,  
And sea-horses stabled in great green caves --  
Sea Shell, Sea Shell  
Sing me a song, Oh please!

Preference \_\_\_\_\_

Poem 2.

A.

Let there be Light, said God, and lo! the Light  
Sprung from Tithonus' bed in darksome gloom,  
Deck'd her fair form in garments rich and rare  
And scattered smiles along the mournful sky.  
Her chariot of the Sun not yet created,  
Upon a cloud the nymph ethereal rode,  
And when the cloud wept raindrops down, she flung  
Comforting rainbows from her shining tent.

B.

Let there be Light, said God, and forthwith Light  
Ethereal, first of things, quintessence pure,  
Sprung from the Deep, and from her native east  
To journey through the airy gloom began,  
Spher'd in a radiant cloud, for yet the Sun  
Was not; she in a cloudy tabernacle  
Sojourn'd the while. God saw the Light was good.

C.

And God said "Let Light be," and there was Light  
The first ethereal created thing  
To being sprang, and daily from the east  
Began to travel through the darksome air;  
Until the golden sun should be created  
She sojourn'd in a radiant, shining cloud.  
God look'd upon the Light and it was good.

Preference \_\_\_\_\_

Poem 3.

A.

This was the routine they learned  
Always at night when they returned  
To lamps unlighted and fires gone gray  
When they had been away all day.  
They learned to build the fire up quick  
With half a split-up kindling stick --  
And knowing how the cat delights  
To sleep indoors by the fire of nights,  
They learned to leave the house door wide  
For fear they might leave her shut outside.

B.

Always--I tell you this they learned--  
Always at night when they returned  
To the lonely house from far away  
To lamps unlighted and fire gone gray,  
They learned to rattle the lock and key  
To give whatever might chance to be  
Warning and time to be off in flight:  
And preferring the out- to the in-door night,  
They learned to leave the house-door wide,  
Until they had lit the lamp inside.

C.

Always their hearts would thrill with fear  
When at dead of night they again drew near  
To the dismal, lonely, dark abode  
Where not a glimmer of lamp-light showed.  
Trembling, they turned the lock and key  
With pallid face and shaking knee.  
There was nothing to cause their fright,  
But they felt more safe in the out-door night!  
So they left the house-door open wide,  
And fell in a faint on the floor inside.

Preference \_\_\_\_\_

Poem 4.

A.

Who sends the fog  
so still and gray?  
I fondly ask.  
And Echo answers,  
"E'en the same all-seeing Eye  
that sends the still, gray cat."

B.

The Fog is like a maltese cat,  
it is so gray and still,  
and like a cat it creeps  
about the city streets.  
How gray it is! How cat-like!  
Especially when it steals away,  
Just like a cat.

C.

The fog comes  
on little cat feet.  
It sits looking  
over harbor and city  
on silent haunches  
and then moves on.

Preference \_\_\_\_\_

DISCUSSION METHOD

1. How often should an "ideal" Great Books discussion leader . . .  
(Check each one)

	5	4	3	2	1
	Always	Usually	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
1) Tactfully squelch over-talkative participants?					
2) Summarize the results of the discussion?					
3) Give a short lecture on the historical and biographical background of the reading?					
4) Refrain from communicating, even indirectly, his own opinion?					
5) "Cross-examine" a participant to clarify the discussion?					

2. On the whole, which of the following best describes your group? (If you have several leaders during the course of the year, try to estimate on the basis of an "average.") (Check one)

- 1 \_\_\_ The leader always dominates the discussion.  
 2 \_\_\_ The leader tends to dominate the discussion.  
 3 \_\_\_ There is an equal balance between the leader's talking and the group's talking.  
 4 \_\_\_ The leader seldom talks, except for a few comments and questions.

3. Some people have suggested that it would be a good idea for more decisions in business, education, and community organizations to be made on the basis of informal discussions like Great Books. Which of the following best describes your opinion? (Check one)

- 1 \_\_\_ The discussion technique should be extended radically in business, education, and community organizations.  
 2 \_\_\_ The discussion technique should be extended somewhat in business, education, and community organizations.  
 3 \_\_\_ The discussion technique should neither be extended nor lessened in business, education, and community organizations.  
 4 \_\_\_ The discussion technique should be lessened in business, education, and community organizations.

MUSIC

Let's assume that you are going to a concert tomorrow evening, and the following musical works might be on the program.

FIRST: Rate each in terms of its familiarity, as follows:

1. Very familiar--I'd recognize it if I heard it, even if the title wasn't announced.
2. Familiar--I might not know the title just from hearing it played, but it's something I've heard before and know a little about.
3. Less familiar--I don't know much about this specific work, but I am relatively familiar with the composer and the general type of music he is known for.
4. Unfamiliar--as far as I know, I've never heard this work, and I know little or nothing about the composer.

THEN: Regardless of familiarity, rate each work in terms of how much you might enjoy hearing it, as follows:

- A. I'd enjoy hearing it very much--it probably would be one of the high points of the concert.
- B. I'd enjoy hearing it, but it probably wouldn't be one of the high points of the concert.
- C. Frankly, I'd just as soon skip this one.
- D. I don't know enough about it or the composer even to guess.

	Familiarity	Enjoyment
1) Concerto No. 2 in B Flat Major for Piano (Brahms)		
2) 1812 Overture (Tchaikovsky)		
3) Missa Papae Marcelli (Palestrina)		
4) Music for Strings Percussion and Celeste (Bartok)		
5) Nutcracker Suite (Tchaikovsky)		
6) Rhapsody in Blue (Gershwin)		
7) Symphony No. 7 (Beethoven)		
8) Symphony No. 1 (Brahms)		
9) Symphony No. 2 (Ives)		
10) Symphony No. 41 ("Jupiter") by Mozart		
11) Trio No. 7 in B Flat Major ("Archduke") by Beethoven		
12) Variations on a Theme by Diabelli (Beethoven)		
13) William Tell Overture (Rossini)		

GREAT BOOKS AND THE COMMUNITY

1. What is your present street address? Street \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_
2. How long have you lived in that city? \_\_\_\_\_
3. What is your emotional feeling about your community? (Check one)
  - 1\_\_ I feel I'm a real member of the community. I'm a part of it, and it's a part of me.
  - 2\_\_ I do like the community, but I don't feel that I'm really a part of it.
  - 3\_\_ I rather dislike the community, and I definitely do not feel I'm a part of it.
4. For towns of its size, how does your community rate as a place to live (in terms of housing, schools, services, etc.)? (Check one)
  - 1\_\_ Outstanding
  - 2\_\_ Very good, but not outstanding
  - 3\_\_ Average
  - 4\_\_ Below average
  - 5\_\_ Poor
5. For towns of its size, how does your community rate in terms of cultural resources (art galleries, music, libraries, theaters, colleges, etc.)? (Check one)
  - 1\_\_ Outstanding
  - 2\_\_ Very good, but not outstanding
  - 3\_\_ Average
  - 4\_\_ Below average
  - 5\_\_ Poor

6. What would you say were the two or three most important problems facing your community today?

- 1) \_\_\_\_\_
- 2) \_\_\_\_\_
- 3) \_\_\_\_\_

7. For each of the problems you listed above, indicate below any ways in which you personally have been involved in community action to help solve them (e.g., circulating petitions, serving on committees, talking with your friends, contributing money).

Problem 1)

Problem 2)

Problem 3)

8. For each of the problems you listed in question 6, indicate below any ways in which you think your participation in Great Books has affected your understanding of the problem or your activity regarding the problem.

Problem 1)

Problem 2)

Problem 3)

9. How would you rate your interest in the following areas?

	4	3	2	1
	Very Interested	Fairly Interested	Not Too Interested	Disinterested
1) Local politics				
2) Civic organizations				
3) National politics				
4) World affairs				
5) Church activities				

10. Please list below any civic or professional organizations in your community to which you belong (e.g., PTA, Labor unions, Kiwanis, Bar Association).

- 1) \_\_\_\_\_
- 2) \_\_\_\_\_
- 3) \_\_\_\_\_
- 4) \_\_\_\_\_
- 5) \_\_\_\_\_
- 6) \_\_\_\_\_
- 7) \_\_\_\_\_
- 8) \_\_\_\_\_

11. Have you ever held an official office in your community (mayor, member of library board, member of a city commission, etc.)?

\*Yes \_\_\_ No \_\_\_

\*IF "YES": Please indicate the office and dates you served.

Office	Dates
1)	
2)	
3)	

12. How do you lean in national politics? (Check one)

- 1 \_\_\_ I'm a Democrat.
- 2 \_\_\_ I usually lean toward the Democratic candidates.
- 3 \_\_\_ I usually split my ballot 50-50.
- 4 \_\_\_ I usually lean toward the Republican candidates.
- 5 \_\_\_ I'm a Republican.

13. Do you know of any "continuing education" programs or classes available in your community?

\*Yes \_\_\_ No \_\_\_

\*IF "YES": Describe them briefly.

1)

2)

3)

4)

5)

14. Have you ever participated in any of the "continuing education" programs you listed above?

\*Yes \_\_\_ No \_\_\_

\*IF "YES": Which program was that?

Program	Date
1)	
2)	
3)	
4)	

15. About how many evenings per month (on the average) do you spend in informal visiting and entertaining?

\_\_\_\_\_

16. What is your religious preference?

\_\_\_\_\_

17. How often do you attend religious services?

- 1 \_\_\_ Regularly, almost without exception
- 2 \_\_\_ Fairly regularly
- 3 \_\_\_ Occasionally
- 4 \_\_\_ Seldom
- 5 \_\_\_ Never

18. Listed below are various areas of activity and interest. Please check each in terms of whether your interest and involvement has changed since you first began attending Great Books.

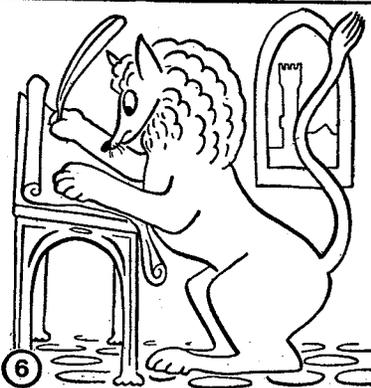
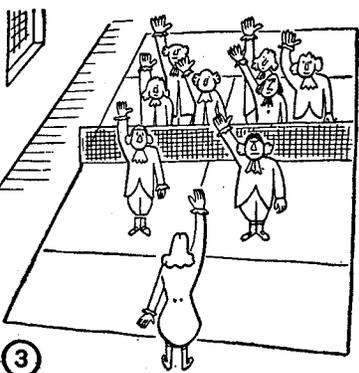
	5	4	3	2	1
	Much More Involved & Interested	Somewhat More Involved & Interested	No Change	Somewhat Less Involved & Interested	Much Less Involved & Interested
1) Civic organizations					
2) Community problems and issues					
3) Local politics					
4) National politics					
5) World affairs					
6) Continuing education other than Great Books					
7) Informal visiting					
8) Church attendance					

Each of the 32 drawings on this and the following pages should suggest something—some book, person, episode, or work of art. Please jot down next to each picture a word or phrase which identifies it. Guess if you are not certain. (The first answer has been given as an example.)

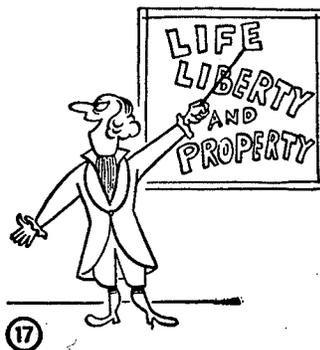
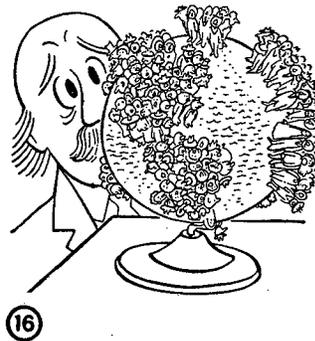
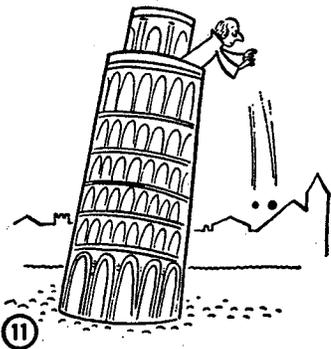
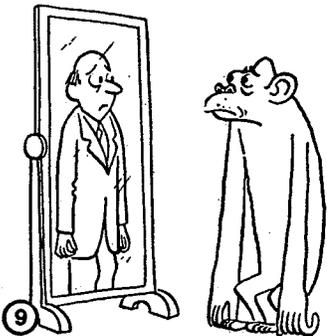
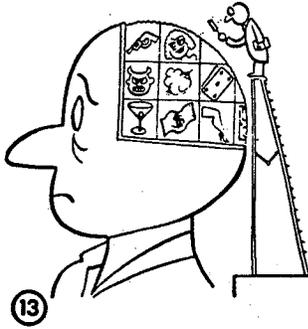


*"Sir Walter Raleigh  
spreading his cape  
for Queen Elizabeth"*

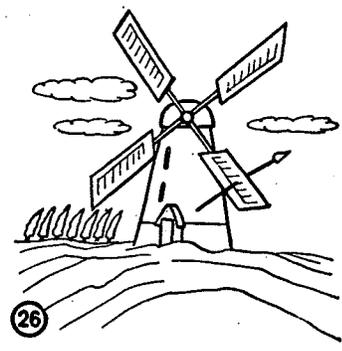
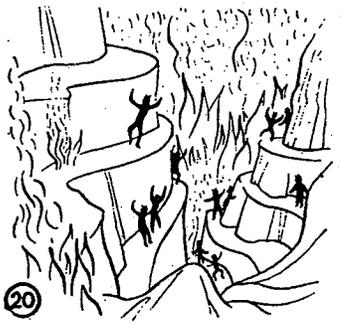
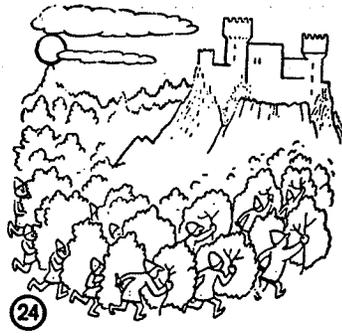
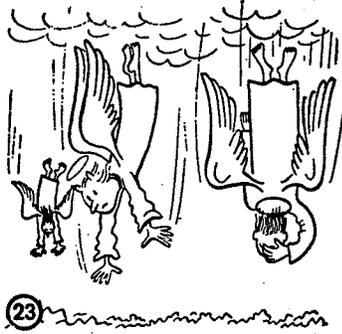
## HISTORY AND POLITICS



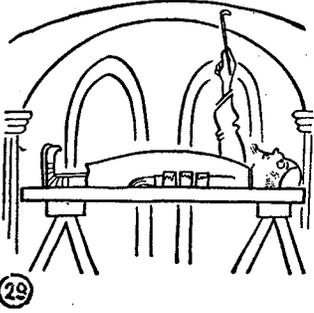
# SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY



# LITERATURE



# MUSIC AND ART



### GROUP DISCUSSION

One of the most important aspects of Great Books is the process of group discussion. The questions in this and the following two pages will enable us to understand some of the ways in which different groups go about discussing the readings.

1. In many informal discussion groups a "division of labor" develops, so that some participants tend to specialize in certain aspects of the discussion process. Please check each of the "specialties" below in the appropriate column.

I tend to specialize in this aspect.

	3	2	1
	More than the other members of my group	About as often as the other members	Less often than the other members
a) Pulling the threads of the discussion together and getting different viewpoints reconciled.			
b) Joking and kidding, finding the potentially humorous implications of the discussion.			
c) Providing "fuel" for the discussion by introducing ideas and opinions for the rest of the group to discuss.			
d) Making tactful comments to heal any hurt feelings which might arise in the discussion.			
e) Clarification, getting the discussion to the point by getting terms defined and pointing out logical problems.			

2. The same "specialties" are repeated below. After each, jot down the names of any members of your group who tend to perform this role frequently.

a) Pulling the threads of the discussion together and getting different viewpoints reconciled.

- |          |          |
|----------|----------|
| 1) _____ | 4) _____ |
| 2) _____ | 5) _____ |
| 3) _____ | 6) _____ |

b) Joking and kidding, finding the potentially humorous implications of the discussion.

- |          |          |
|----------|----------|
| 1) _____ | 4) _____ |
| 2) _____ | 5) _____ |
| 3) _____ | 6) _____ |

c) Providing "fuel" for the discussion by introducing ideas and opinions for the rest of the group to discuss.

- |          |          |
|----------|----------|
| 1) _____ | 4) _____ |
| 2) _____ | 5) _____ |
| 3) _____ | 6) _____ |

d) Making tactful comments to heal any hurt feelings which might arise in the discussion.

- |          |          |
|----------|----------|
| 1) _____ | 4) _____ |
| 2) _____ | 5) _____ |
| 3) _____ | 6) _____ |

e) Clarification, getting the discussion to the point by getting terms defined and asking about logical problems.

- |          |          |
|----------|----------|
| 1) _____ | 4) _____ |
| 2) _____ | 5) _____ |
| 3) _____ | 6) _____ |

3. How would you rate the "morale" of your group?

- 1\_\_ Extremely high
- 2\_\_ High
- 3\_\_ Average
- 4\_\_ Below average
- 5\_\_ Poor

4. How would you rate your group in terms of the members' interest in the program?

- 1\_\_ Almost all are very interested
- 2\_\_ Most are very interested
- 3\_\_ About half are very interested
- 4\_\_ A minority are very interested
- 5\_\_ Few or none are very interested

5. How would you rate the amount of agreement on ideas and issues in your group?

- 1\_\_ By-and-large, almost all of the members have pretty much the same views
- 2\_\_ By-and-large, most of the members have similar views, but there are a few who have very different points of view
- 3\_\_ By-and-large, the members differ greatly in their points of view on most issues

6. How would you rate the intellectual "calibre" of your group's discussions?

- 1\_\_ Almost all of the discussions are on a pretty serious intellectual level
- 2\_\_ Most of the discussions are on a pretty serious intellectual level, but some turn into sort of "bull sessions"
- 3\_\_ Most of the discussions are sort of "bull sessions," but some are on a pretty serious intellectual level
- 4\_\_ Almost all of the discussions turn into "bull sessions"

7. How many of the members of your group (excluding your spouse) do you see regularly outside of the group discussions?

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OPINIONS

1. In general, which of the following statements comes closest to expressing your basic position on government in the United States?
  - 1\_\_ There is too much government control today. Governmental activities should be cut back.
  - 2\_\_ There is a lot of government control today, but, in general, it is called for by the needs of our society.
  - 3\_\_ We need to expand the scope of government a lot more.
  
2. Which of the following comes closest to your opinion on the conflicting demands of national security and civil liberties?
  - 1\_\_ We have gone too far in the direction of national security, and have weakened our civil liberties.
  - 2\_\_ We have struck a pretty good balance between the conflicting demands of national security and civil liberties.
  - 3\_\_ We have gone too far in the direction of preserving civil liberties, and have weakened our national security.
  
3. The course of history justifies... (Check one)
  - 1\_\_ Optimism with respect to society's future.
  - 2\_\_ Optimism with respect to society's future in some areas, pessimism with respect to society's future in other areas.
  - 3\_\_ Pessimism with respect to society's future.
  
4. The course of history is... (Check one)
  - 1\_\_ Capricious
  - 2\_\_ Purposive
  - 3\_\_ Mechanistic

5. With regard to solving specific social and community problems... (Check one)
- 1 \_\_\_ The Great Books provide both an understanding of the problems and a key to plans of action.
  - 2 \_\_\_ The Great Books provide an intellectual understanding of the problems, but few or no keys to plans of action.
  - 3 \_\_\_ The Great Books are not applicable to specific social and community problems.
6. The universe is... (Check one)
- 1 \_\_\_ A society of selves.
  - 2 \_\_\_ A set of material objects or energies.
  - 3 \_\_\_ An intellectual system or structure.
7. Church going aside, religious ideas and theological problems are... (Check one)
- 1 \_\_\_ Extremely important to me.
  - 2 \_\_\_ Important to me, but not extremely so.
  - 3 \_\_\_ A matter of relative indifference.
8. Below are 12 different systems of religious thought.  
In the column headed "Most Congenial" please check the three systems which you find most congenial intellectually.  
In the column headed "Least Congenial" please check the three systems which you find least congenial intellectually.

	Most Congenial	Least Congenial
Agnosticism		
Atheism		
Buddhism		
Christian Science		
"Fundamentalist" Protestantism		
"Liberal" Protestantism		
"Middle of the Road" Protestantism		
Mohammedanism		
Mysticism		
Orthodox Judaism		
Reform Judaism		
Thomism (Roman Catholicism)		

9. The moral person should.... (Check one)

- 1\_\_ Follow the established moral laws.
- 2\_\_ Judge acts as right or wrong in terms of their consequences.
- 3\_\_ Follow his personal conscience.

10. Suppose that you are a multi-millionaire philanthropist. The following programs have been submitted for your support. Please rank them in terms of your preference. Place a "1" by the program you think is most worthy of your support, a "6" by the program you believe is least worthy of your support, etc.

- \_\_\_ Publishing the works of young poets.
- \_\_\_ Establishing a commission to implement improvements in urban problems like traffic, juvenile delinquency, and housing.
- \_\_\_ Providing more counselors and psychologists for mental health work in the high schools.
- \_\_\_ Fellowships for basic research in chemistry and physics.
- \_\_\_ Raising the salaries of ministers.
- \_\_\_ Providing free chamber music concerts.

11. Which of the following comes closest to the way you think about yourself?

- 1\_\_ I don't like the phrase particularly, but I guess you'd have to call me an "intellectual."
- 2\_\_ I consider myself an educated person, but not really an "intellectual."
- 3\_\_ I haven't had too much education, so I can't really call myself either an "intellectual" or an "educated person," but I am pretty serious in my approach to things.
- 4\_\_ I guess I'm sort of a "low brow" when it comes down to it.

EVALUATIONS

1. On the whole, which of the following best describes your feeling about Great Books?

- 1\_\_ It is a marvelous program and has had a genuine impact on me
- 2\_\_ It is a fine thing and I enjoy it very much, but I can't say it has changed me much
- 3\_\_ I have enjoyed some parts of it, but on the whole I haven't gotten much out of it
- 4\_\_ I haven't gotten anything at all out of Great Books.

2. How do you feel about continuing in Great Books?

- 1\_\_ I definitely plan to continue through the year and next year too, if the program is still available
- 2\_\_ I definitely plan to continue through this year, but I'll have to wait and see about next year
- 3\_\_ I may or may not continue through this year
- 4\_\_ I probably won't continue until the end of the year

3. Even the most enthusiastic Great Books participant finds some things that cut down his interest in the program. Please check any of the following that might tend to decrease your interest in Great Books in the near future.

- 1\_\_ My health
  - 2\_\_ Increased family responsibilities
  - 3\_\_ The program isn't sufficiently challenging intellectually
  - 4\_\_ My group is getting a little stale
  - 5\_\_ I want to get into other activities to apply the things I've gotten out of Great Books
  - 6\_\_ I've become interested in another continuing education program
  - 7\_\_ The time or place of the meeting is inconvenient for me
  - 8\_\_ I've gotten into other community activities which interest me more
  - 9\_\_ I'm cutting down on all of my outside activities
  - 10\_\_ I have to give more time and attention to my job
  - 11\_\_ I don't get much out of the readings
  - 12\_\_ Personality clashes in the group I'm in
  - 13\_\_ Great Books just isn't for me
  - 14\_\_ Other \_\_\_\_\_
- 
- 
-

4. What would you think of these possible alternatives to Great Books, in comparison with your present set-up?

	5	4	3	2	1
Keep your same discussion group, but: change the readings in the direction of more:	Definitely prefer the alternative	Probably prefer the alternative	"50-50"	Probably prefer the present arrangement	Definitely prefer the present arrangement
1) Fiction and poetry					
2) Science and math					
3) Current events					
4) Anthropology, psychology, sociology, economics, etc.					
5) Local community issues					
6) Religion					
7) Philosophy					
8) Fine arts					
9) The same content areas, but discuss the works of contemporary authors					
Keep the same readings, but:					
1) Join a different group					
2) Take a course with a professionally trained teacher					
3) Take a correspondence course					
OTHER:					

1. How old are you?

- 1\_\_ Under 25
- 2\_\_ 25-29
- 3\_\_ 30-34
- 4\_\_ 35-39
- 5\_\_ 40-44
- 6\_\_ 45-49
- 7\_\_ 50-54
- 8\_\_ 55-59
- 9\_\_ 60-64
- 0\_\_ 65-69
- X\_\_ 70 and over

2. Sex                    1\_\_ Male                    2\_\_ Female

3. Your full name\* \_\_\_\_\_

\*Although you will not be identified in any way in the research report and your questionnaire will be treated as confidential, for the purposes of sampling, it is vitally important to have the name of every participant in the study.

4. Which of the following best describes your current situation?

- 1\_\_ Housewife
- 2\_\_ Employed full time
- 3\_\_ Housewife with part time job
- 4\_\_ Full time student
- 5\_\_ Retired, not working at all
- 6\_\_ Retired, working part time
- 7\_\_ Other \_\_\_\_\_

5. What is the name and location of the last school you attended? (E.g., "McKinely High School, Smithville, Ohio" or "Wayne University, Detroit, Michigan")

\_\_\_\_\_

6. Please check the highest grade you completed in school.

- 1\_\_ Six grades or less
- 2\_\_ Seventh grade through eleventh
- 3\_\_ High school graduate
- 4\_\_ Technical training beyond high school (e.g., business college)
- 5\_\_ Some college, but no bachelor's degree
- 6\_\_ Bachelor's degree
- 7\_\_ Graduate work beyond the a.b., but no graduate degree
- 8\_\_ Master's degree
- 9\_\_ Doctor's degree
- 0\_\_ Other graduate degree (Please specify \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_)

7. What field did you specialize in in the last school you attended?

\_\_\_\_\_

8. IF YOU ARE CURRENTLY EMPLOYED:

a) What is your occupation? \_\_\_\_\_ - \_\_\_\_\_

b) What are the major duties of your job?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

c) What sort of organization do you work for--(not the name, but the type, for instance, "a small factory" or "the public school system")?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

9. Are you the chief wage earner of your family? Yes \_\_\_ \*No \_\_\_

\*IF "NO":

a) Who is the chief wage earner?

1 \_\_\_ My husband

2 \_\_\_ My father

3 \_\_\_ Other \_\_\_\_\_

b) Please describe the chief wage earner's job, as follows:

Occupation \_\_\_\_\_

Major duties of that job \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Type of organization \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

10. Were you born in the United States? Yes \_\_\_ 1 No \_\_\_ 2

11. Were your parents born in the United States?

1 \_\_\_ Both born in U.S.

2 \_\_\_ One born in U.S.

3 \_\_\_ Neither born in U.S.

12. Were your grandparents born in the United States?

1 \_\_\_ All born in U.S.

2 \_\_\_ Some born in U.S., some not born in U.S.

3 \_\_\_ None born in U.S.

13. What is your "nationality background"?

14. What was your father's usual occupation? (Please describe it in some detail.)

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15. Your marital status:

- 1\_\_\_ Single (never married)
- 2\_\_\_ Married, no previous marriage
- 3\_\_\_ Married, a previous marriage
- 4\_\_\_ Legally separated or divorced
- 5\_\_\_ Widowed