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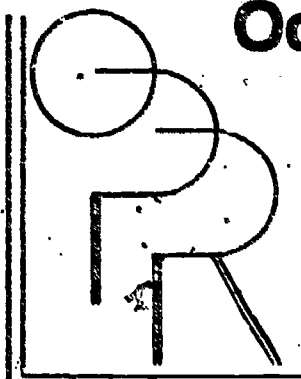
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ABSTRACT

This paper argues that assessments of the correlation between emotional problems and reading have been, for the most part, products of particular historical periods and have been influenced by particular psychological theories--theories that also influenced education and counseling. The paper first traces the history of research investigations related to the correlation between emotional and reading difficulties, showing that the development of the personality (including emotional factors) has long been linked to reading. Three general psychotherapeutic theories that have had great impact on the question of emotional correlates to reading are then outlined, and research about those correlates, with emphasis on the varying influences of the psychological theories at different times, is examined. (FL)

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COUNSELING AND READING: HISTORICALLY CONSIDERED

Emotional problems have long been linked to reading difficulties. As early as 1928, Blanchard identified specific emotional problems correlated with poor reading. Both the reading and counseling literature has, since that time, abounded with studies and observations of this correlation. Emotional factors -- and, by extension, the total personality of the reader -- have been shown repeatedly to be related to reading performance. The extent and nature of this relationship, however, has remained unresolved for several reasons. First, researchers have encountered difficulties in defining and assessing personality variables. Second, researchers and theoreticians have often disagreed about the causes, manifestations and definitions of personality disorders and emotional problems, due to basic differences among schools of educational and counseling psychology. Third, researchers have encountered difficulty in establishing a direct relationship between reading and emotional factors without contamination by other influences.

Despite these problems in determining the relationship, few researchers or theoreticians have discounted the correlation between reading and emotional problems. This correlation has led to attempts at incorporating remedial reading with counseling and psychotherapy techniques. The types of techniques employed, their prominence in the total remediation program, and the actual assessment of emotional difficulties, have varied greatly according to the counseling theories and techniques in vogue, the professional training of the practitioner, and the amount of stress placed on the affective aspects of reading

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during various historical periods. The correlation of emotions with reading has also led to attempts at using reading to resolve emotional problems, mainly through bibliotherapy.

This paper, then, traces the history and research investigations related to the correlation between emotional and reading difficulties. The paper first attempts to establish some historical background showing that the development of the personality (including emotional factors) has long been linked to reading. Second, three general psychotherapeutic theories which have had great impact on the question of emotional correlates to reading are outlined. Third, research about these correlates is examined chronologically, with emphasis placed on the varying influences at different times of the psychological theories.

This paper, then, attempts to show that the assessment of emotional problems and remedial programs using counseling have been, for the most part, products of particular historical periods. These historical periods, in turn, were molded by the varying influences of particular psychological theories -- theories that influenced both education and counseling.

I. PERSONALITY LINKED TO READING: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Although assessment of particular emotional problems and their observed correlation to reading difficulties is a relatively recent phenomenon, the notion that reading and the personality are somehow connected has a long history. Matthews (1966) cited the use of reading and writing in Greece to provide moral -- and emotional -- instruction. Milne (1908) listed some of the "instruction in virtue" used in ancient

Greek schools. Such instruction included respect for the gods, industry, honesty, family loyalty, and cooperation -- all attributes that have been cited at one time or another as indicative of good personality adjustment. The ancient Greeks felt that by reading and writing about such virtues, the virtues would be incorporated within the individual and thus develop the personality. Aristotle felt that there was a healing power in art and literature caused by the art form stirring up the emotions within the person. He felt that the presence of evil in literature and art evoked feelings of fear, pity, joy, and sadness and thus produced a healing effect upon the individual. Plato likewise felt that literature and art in general stirred up the emotions; he felt, however, that this effect served to destroy the rational side of the individual. (Zaccaria & Moses, 1968).

This idea that the written word has a great impact on the emotions recurs throughout the history of education. In the Middle Ages books, partly because they were scarce, were felt to have special powers. Certain letters and books (notably the Bible) were felt to have the power within themselves to heal, to cast spells, or to cause personality transformations. Individuals who could read were held in great respect. Toynbee points out that religious change means spiritual change, "and spirit means personality." (1948, p. 245). Thus, the proliferation of tracts and countertracts in the Reformation, the bannings and book burnings, and the stress by the Reformists that people should read the Bible for themselves can be seen as based on the assumption that the written word profoundly affects personality. Likewise, the use of reading in Colonial times was primarily aimed at religious -- and thus

personality -- education. Clearly, the long religious trend in education and reading stems from the belief that reading can and should change the personality of the reader.

Beginning in the nineteenth century, education was influenced by a number of forces other than religious. These forces, including democracy, capitalism, industrialism, humanism, and science forced the schools to deal more with the total development of the individual. Although the schools did not stress emotional development per se, they did stress character and moral development and attempt to train children in democratic values. Although books were used primarily to promote academic learning, clearly some personality formation and modification were also promoted. (Zaccaria & Moses, 1968, pp. 2-3)

The nineteenth century also saw the emergence of the educational goal of individual development. Rousseau and Pestalozzi were primarily responsible for this view which stressed the full development of an individual's potential, including his emotional potential. Although this goal was not a major thrust of education in the nineteenth century, it became quite important in the twentieth (Butts, 1955).

The most significant event in the nineteenth century dealing with personality and emotions was the formulation of Freud's psychoanalytic theories. Freud, by making the study of personality and emotions a science complete with terminology, scientific methods, and definite characteristics, gave people the tools to observe and quantify specific personality problems. This, then enabled the study of emotional problems and reading difficulty to begin. Primarily this type of study proceeded along case-history lines. Later, with the emergence of personality,

tests and statistical methods applied to education, studies capable of replication appeared. Russell (1970) cites the movement, historically, from general personality scores related to reading to specific personality measures and more clearly defined emotional factors.

Freud's work also showed the possibility of curing, and preventing, personality maladjustments. This created a strong impetus to study personality and its correlates, for if the personality were so important, and if it could be changed through therapy, then a new avenue of helping people with a multitude of problems was opened.

Freud's impact was first felt in American education in the early 1900's. Clifford Beers' (1907) book, A Mind that Found Itself, described his time spent in a lunatic asylum and his efforts to achieve a more normal existence. He introduced the term "mental hygiene," and, although the terms "mental hygiene" and "mental health" were associated solely with mental illness for many years, Beers sensitized some American educators to the need for the furtherance of mental health in the schools.

Although Beers' book excited some interest in mental health and in psychoanalysis, and although a number of Americans had presented some of Freud's ideas in the U.S., it was not until 1920, when Freud's General Introduction to Psychoanalysis appeared in English, that psychoanalysis began to have a major effect on American education.

II. PSYCHOTHERAPY THEORIES: (a. Psychoanalysis)

Freud's theories were applied to reading in two different ways, beginning in the 1920's. Literary work was subjected to psychoanalytic

interpretation, and studies linking specific personality traits to good and poor readers emerged.

Psychoanalytic studies of literary work did not directly affect reading and reading instruction. Such studies did, however, provide a theoretical basis for understanding how a reader reacts, emotionally, to print. This theoretical basis provided impetus for viewing reading as more than just a mechanical process; reading began to be viewed more seriously as a means for facilitating both cognitive and affective growth. Additionally, this theoretical basis led to the beginning of bibliotherapy -- using reading as a vehicle for treating emotional problems.

These psychoanalytic studies of literature were based on Freud's contention that the unconscious responds to the unconscious. Thus, literature (and all art) is an expression of the unconscious; the reader responds to the literature largely through her own unconscious. Lewis (1970), summarized the work done in this area, and concluded, "Studies of individual readers and groups have validated statements by Freud and others concerning the power of the unconscious in determining response to the literature." (Russell, 1970, p. 45).

Russell (1970) stated this theoretical basis linking literature and reading to emotions in a different way. He contended that literature and psychology were both concerned with the same emotions, ideas and imagery and that both attempt to describe human lives "in terms of overt action and in relation to personality." (p. 6). He felt that reading was a function of the total personality; that it involved a reader's personality interacting with an author's personality. This



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idea suggests that emotions and personality would profoundly effect the reading act.

At the same time that Freud's theories were being applied to literary work in attempts to explain the interaction of reader with print, other researchers were applying Freud's ideas to their studies of poor readers. Phyllis Blanchard appears to be the first researcher to make this application. In her earliest articles (1926), Blanchard stressed the significance of conditioned emotional response, showing more of an influence from Watson than from Freud. In 1928, she identified such characteristics as daydreaming, seclusiveness, lack of interest, laziness, inattention, and sensitiveness as correlates to reading disability cases. She also reported great success using behavioral ideas applied to the remedial teaching situation. In 1935, however, she reported on more severe reading disability cases. In this article (Blanchard, 1935), there was a much greater stress on psychoanalytic ideas. She presented four case studies of remedial readers with inhibiting emotional conflicts. The psychogenic factors she identified in these cases affecting reading performance were quite Freudian: one child's letter reversals were "a substitute for sadistic fantasies of torturing and killing or a magic spell to produce death;" (p. 367). Another child, suffering from nursing deprivation, expended all his energy suppressing early memories and thus had no energy to learn to read; other factors included unresolved Oedipus complexes, jealousy and hostility toward siblings, and transferred feelings of guilt. Blanchard's study was indicative of a number of studies, reviewed in a later section, that relied on Freud's theories in identifying correlates and treatments

of disabled readers.

b. Behaviorism

At the same time that Freud's theories were having an impact on views of reading and emotions, the behaviorists were emerging as a force in American education. Watson (1928) endorsed Pavlov's theories and presented his own theory for child rearing and child development based on conditioning. Thorndike (1932) took and expanded upon Watson's theories to develop his theories of learning. Studies of, and remediation plans for, emotional problems and reading have been strongly influenced by Watson, Thorndike, and, more recently, Skinner, Bandura, and others. Specifically, the behaviorists' theme of associations between stimulus and response has led to multiple studies trying to determine causality (i.e. is reading difficulty the stimulus and emotional problems the response, or vice versa?) Additionally, the behaviorists' stress on objective observation of overt behavior has led many researchers to attempt to identify overt manifestations of emotional problems and correlate them to reading problems. Thirdly, the behaviorist view that modifying behavior would modify personality was adopted in a number of early programs dealing with reading and emotional problems. Blanchard's earliest study (1928) stressed the significance of conditioned emotion responses to reading failure. She advocated the use of remedial reading methods coupled with simple measures for modifying the emotional reactions and attitudes. In a later (1935) study, Blanchard indicated that remedial reading instruction, coupled with types of behavior modification, should be used with all but the most severely emotionally

maladjusted readers. The severely emotionally maladjusted readers -- those whose personality problems prevent reading instruction -- should, she suggests, be treated with psychoanalysis.

c. Gestalt Psychology

A group of German psychologists, working at the same time as Watson, performed a number of experiments to show that people also learn through the development of insight. They stressed the importance of patterns (hence Gestalt -- "configurations"), and they also developed the idea of cognitive field theory, that is, the interaction of factors influencing a person's behavior at a given time. Like the behaviorists, the cognitive-field theorists gained a foothold in American educational thought that has lasted to the present. These theories influenced the study of reading and emotions in several ways: they presented the possibility that reading problems and emotional problems, if correlated, were not necessarily in a causal relationship; they presented the notion that an individual could be treated wholistically (a notion that was adopted by humanist education and client-centered counseling); and, most importantly, they presented the possibility that change within the individual was always possible. Freudian psychology, in stressing the prime importance of very early experiences in shaping personality, had not provided much hope for affecting emotional change. Freud stressed long, intensive psychotherapy -- clearly impossible for public education; the behaviorists, on the other hand, stressed constant manipulation of the environment to force behavior change which in turn, would cause emotional change. By stressing the study of underlying mental processes that cause

behavior, and by stressing the idea that learning can be encouraged (rather than controlled) through the gaining of new insights, the cognitive field theorists had great effect on classroom and clinic programs aimed at the emotional and reading problems of students.

d. Learning and Counseling Theories Developed

The tasks of counseling are paralleled in reading and in education (Russell, 1970, p. 50). Generally, the tasks of changing an individual's behavior, personality, social adjustment, and cognition have been adopted to differing degrees by both education and counseling. Because of the similarity of intent, counseling and reading theories and techniques have, to a large extent, sprung from the same roots. Smith and Dechant (1977) proposed that all learning (and, by extension, counseling) theories are based on the ideas set in motion by either the behaviorists or the Gestaltists. They divided learning theories into two major branches -- the Behaviorist (S-R) and the Field Theories.

Figure 1 indicates this division. The S-R theories were characterized by the situation or stimulus, the response to the stimulus, and the connection or association between the two. Experience was viewed as a necessary condition for learning (and behavior change) and various types of conditioning and manipulation of the learner's environment were used for education and for therapy. The Field Theorists, on the other hand, were characterized by emphasis on cognitive processes, purposive behavior, contemporary experience, examination of the total organism in learning or counseling situations, and the idea of learning as an organizational process.

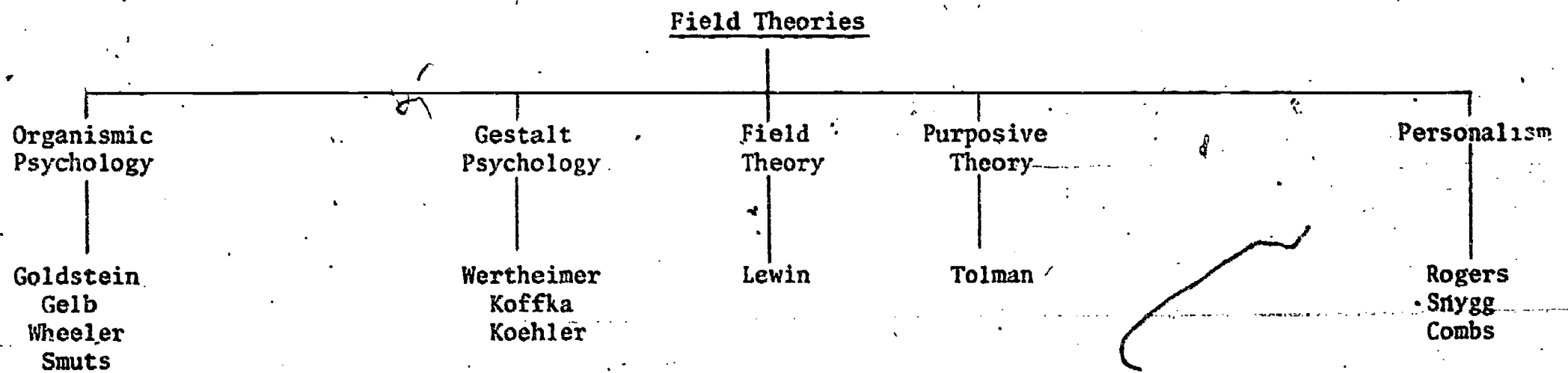
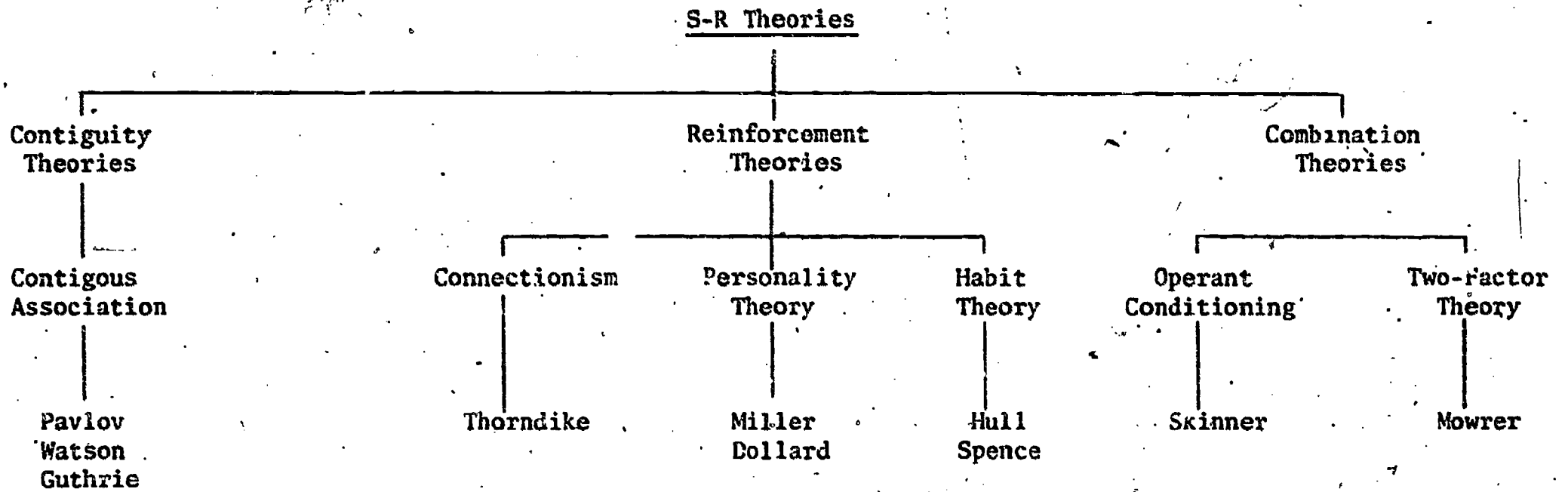
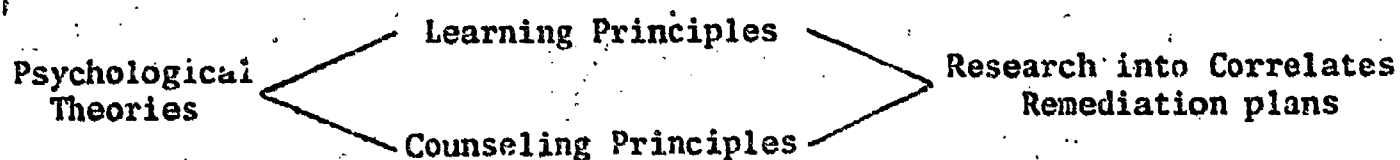


Figure 1 Theories of learning (Smith & Dechant, 1977, p. 51)

Natchez (1968) presented a similar division of learning and counseling theory, again with two branches -- one influenced by behaviorists and one by field theorists. She proposed that theories have as their basis either a "drive-reduction" or a "self-affirming" hypothesis. "Drive-reduction" indicated that human beings sought homeostasis, that they are motivated by the need to avoid the unpleasant or painful, and that learning is not fun and thus the role of the educator or counselor is to manipulate the environment and provide extrinsic compensation or deprivation in order to motivate the person from his natural state of inertia. Clearly, the behaviorists fall in this camp. The "self-affirming" hypothesis asserts that the basic motivation in life is the search for active fulfillment, awareness and competence. With this hypothesis, learning is fun, and the task of education and counseling is to facilitate the efforts at self affirmation. Many of the field theories fall into this camp. A basic difference between the two hypotheses, and one that profoundly affected research and instruction in reading and emotional problems, is one of the cause of reading failure. With the drive-reduction hypothesis, failure (to learn or to grow emotionally) is society's fault -- the right experiences were not provided by the parents, the school, the environment; remediation, then, involves motivating the child through reward and punishment so that he is forced to learn in order to re-establish homeostasis. With the self-affirming hypothesis, on the other hand, reading or emotional problems are caused by the intrusion of school or society into the child's natural desire to reach out; remediation, in this case, involves removing the intrusion and encouraging

the resumption of the natural process. The difference in opinion about external versus internal motivation, and external versus internal need-satisfaction is clear; views of emotional and reading problems are often greatly influenced by one or the other hypothesis.

The basic theories of psychology formulated by the behaviorists, and the Gestalt psychologists have led to a vast number of learning and counseling theories. These theories have had impact on instruction and research into emotional correlates of reading. The relationship can be viewed as follows:



This influence of psychology on education and counseling provided the theoretical bases, and the practical tools, for explaining emotional correlates to reading. Each learning theory presented some of its own terminology and explanations for the interaction of emotions and reading. Studies of these correlations served several purposes: they attempted to provide proof for a particular theory; they attempted to isolate emotional difficulties that, if treated, would affect reading performance; they attempted to identify emotional problems that were a result of reading problems and thus could be cured through remedial reading; and/or they attempted to identify emotional correlates that could serve as identifiers or predictors of future reading problems. Although many studies relied heavily on a particular learning or counseling construct, most studies relied on emotional and learning characteristics outlined by more than one theory. The strength of the

influence of various theories -- from psychoanalytic therapies to behavioral and Field Theories -- changed as the influence of these theories changed in the Zeitgeist of American education. Thus, many of the early studies of personality, emotions and reading from the 1920's to the 1940's reflected great influence from psychoanalysis and from the behaviorists. By the 1960's, studies ranged from psychoanalytic to client-centered (Hill, 1962; Raygor, 1960; Cory, 1968; Gardner and Ransom, 1968) and even Zen Buddhist (Maxwell, 1966).

HISTORICAL TRENDS IN EMOTIONAL CORRELATES TO READING

a. Research from the 1920's to 1950's

Blanchard's work, cited earlier, first appeared in 1928 and was the first attempt to correlate specific emotional problems with reading problems. Prior to 1928, lists of correlates to reading difficulty made passing reference only to generalized emotional problems. Gray (1922), for example, included "lack of interest" and "anxiety" in his list of correlates. McCall (1922) included "absence of interest" among his six fundamentals of ability deficits. Blanchard, by identifying particular manifestations of this generalized construct called "lack of interest" began the study of specific emotional correlates. She listed daydreaming, seclusiveness, laziness, inattention, absent-mindedness, lack of interest, and sensitiveness as these manifestations. (Blanchard, 1928)

Beginning in the 1930's and continuing through the 1950's, American education put stress on social relations and personality development, among other things (Russell, 1970). This stress led to

increasing numbers of studies of emotional problems. Monroe's Children Who Cannot Read (1932) was a major work in this area. She studied a number of "reading-deficit" cases and compared their I.Q., reading, and other achievement scores to a group of "Controls" (juvenile research cases). She relied on observed and reported emotional attributes and correlated these attributes with her groups. Her conclusion was that "reading deficit" children were more inclined to be school problems, to have temper tantrums, to daydream, and to have enuresis. She listed emotional factors as being one of the factors causing reading difficulty:

"Among the personality and emotional factors which may limit progress in reading may be mentioned the following: attentional instability; resistance to reading; fear, timidity, embarrassment, withdrawal, etc. In some cases, the emotional factors may be due to constitutional instability or poor habit-training. In other cases, the emotional factors may result directly from the failure to learn to read due to other reasons and this in turn, aggravates the disability." (p. 110)

Monroe, in a later report (Monroe & Backus, 1937) reflected even more of an influence from psychoanalytic thought. She continued to stress the role of early experience ("poor habit training") on emotional and reading problems and included the following psychoanalytic correlates to reading disability: aggressive opposition, withdrawal (through truancy or daydreaming), compensating mechanisms, defeatism, and hypertension with anxiety and nervous mannerisms. A similar

influence can be seen in Gates' assessment (Gates, 1936.) He studied 100 random cases of reading disability and concluded that 92 of them exhibited emotional problems, including defense reactions (such as bragging and defiance), retreat reactions (such as truancy and mind-wandering), self-consciousness, submissive adjustment, and nervous tension and habits. Sherman (1939) relied heavily on psychoanalysis to assess personality traits of a number of poor readers. As summarized by Robinson, he concluded that such readers are characterized by these reactions to reading problems: "indifference to failure with compensatory interests in other areas; withdrawal of efforts; antagonism to academic problems with defense reactions; refusal to improve reading as a bid for further attention." (from Robinson, 1949). Similarly, Preston (1939) found reading difficulties to be linked with either fearful, inhibited, "shut-in" feelings or with antagonism and rebellious and anti-social feelings. Most of the studies in the 1930's tended to be influenced by psychoanalysis (see, for example, Tulchin, 1935; Ladd, 1933).

Studies such as these led reading researchers to attempt to establish causality and correlation, and to stress the importance of looking at emotional problems in the reading clinic. Witty and Kopel (1939) concluded that "fully 50% of seriously retarded readers are characterized by fears and anxieties so serious and far-reaching that no program of re-education could possibly succeed which did not aim to re-establish self-confidence and to remove anxieties." (p. 251). Strang (1940) felt that poor readers often exhibited a profound feeling of inadequacy when faced with a reading task, had a great

fear of reading, and overall had a general lack of satisfactions in life. She felt that such affective factors "must be considered in remedial work on all levels." (p. 315). Robert Challman (1939) reported that three-fourths of poor readers are not able to compensate for reading failure and show nervousness, aggression, defeatism, withdrawal, or become chronic worriers. (pp. 9-10). In his article, Challman also suggested that reading failure and personality maladjustment may have their own distinct causes, or that a third variable might cause both.

Studies in the 1940's continued to be strongly influenced by psychoanalytic and behavioristic terminology and methods of assessment. More studies did appear that examined both good and poor readers. Tuddenham (1943) found that low achievement and the highest achievement were associated with maladjustment.

Robinson (1946) published a thorough review of the research to that time on the causes of severe reading disability. Emotional and personal anomalies were listed among the major causes. Her most important conclusion, however, was that no single cause had been found that could account, in general, for reading problems. She supplemented this review of the research with a carefully controlled experiment carried on under the guidance of a staff of experts -- including a psychiatrist, a social worker, a pediatrician, and a neurologist. This study indicated that "pupils who are seriously retarded in reading also exhibit numerous anomalies... those least retarded presented fewest." (p. 220). She reported that emotional difficulties, along with social and visual problems, "appeared most frequently as causes of poor

progress or failure in learning to read." (p. 221). In a later review of the literature (Robinson, 1949), she again concluded that emotional problems were correlated strongly with reading difficulty, and that the more reading was retarded, the stronger the emotional influences. She also listed symptoms reflecting a psychodynamic influence -- aggressive reactions, withdrawal tendency, and general insecurity. She found significant the conclusions from research that "some pupils improved their emotional adjustment as they became more adequate in reading -- while other pupils' progress was materially facilitated by psychotherapy." (p. 122).

This conclusion was in agreement with Blanchard's (1935) earlier conclusion that in some cases remedial reading instruction aided emotional development and sometimes therapy aided reading. Blanchard's position was that if psychogenic factors predominated, psychotherapy alone could bring about reading improvement.

The prominence of psychotherapy in the 1940's can be seen in a number of studies carried out by psychiatrists and reading specialists on reading deficit children. (Kunst, 1949; Missildine, 1946; Ellis, 1949; Wilking, 1941; Sherman, 1949; Wiksell, 1948). Sylvester and Kunst (1943) are representative of these studies. They were psychiatrists and concluded, after working with and analyzing thirteen children, that "disturbances in reading are disturbances of the exploratory function and symptomatic treatment by pedagogical methods are not enough." (p. 43). They viewed reading disability as a defense mechanism -- a defense against anxiety which is generated either by inadequate capacity for mastery, fear of loss of love, or a destructive

threat by the child towards the persons on whom he depends. This defense mechanism is seen operating in a number of ways -- the reader who hesitates and pauses while reading, for example, is attempting to dose anxiety; the poor reader who rushes through is escaping anxiety. Sylvester and Kunst even cite the most massive defense reaction -- treating books as phobic objects.

Gann's (1945) study is also representative of this period. Gann used personality and the Rorschach tests to uncover characteristics of disabled readers. He found these readers less well adjusted and less stable than other students. They were also found to be insecure and fearful when confronted with emotionally challenging situations and were socially less adaptable. Gann reported that these readers tended to turn to less favorable activities for compensation for their reading failure (such activities included fantasy and solitary activity).

The 1940's also saw the beginning of other types of therapy -- besides psychotherapy and forms of behavior modification -- for poor readers with emotional problems. Ellis, founder of the rational-emotive psychotherapy approach, applied his ideas about therapy through reorganizing perceptions and thinking to the reading problem. He suggested a mental hygiene approach to poor reading. (Ellis, 1949). McGann (1947) recommended the use of dramatic dialogues to simultaneously treat reading and personality problems. Axline (1949) and Bills (1950) recommended and used nondirective therapy for retarded readers. Axline specifically used play therapy and a type of client-centered interviewing approach. This type of therapy is indicative of the rising status, at the end of the 1940's, of some of the field theories (in this case,

personalism). This trend can be seen as a result of an identical trend in counseling psychology; Carl Rogers published his first theories on counseling in 1942 (Counseling and Psychotherapy); by 1951, when he published Client-Centered Counseling, his approaches had become crystallized. Included in this important book were theories of therapy and personality - clearly from the field theory point of view -- and applications in play therapy, group-centered therapy and student-centered teaching. Researchers influenced by this trend tended to assess the relationship between poor reading and emotional problems quite differently than the psychoanalysts. Axline, for example, stated that generally, the basic causes of emotional difficulties that stand between the child and reading achievement "are feelings of tension and conflict that are created when the individual's feeling of personal worth is attacked..." (1949, p. 149).

By the end of the 1940's, the study of personality and reading had advanced a great deal; debates concerning the causality, the treatment, the extent and the particular emotional characteristics involved were unresolved. Psychoanalysis and behaviorism continued to be the major theoretical bases for these studies and for remediation, but humanistic and other field theories were rising in prominence. Robinsol. n 1949, concluded that research to that point indicated that there were four main emotional manifestations of reading problems: aggression, withdrawal, loss of emotional effectivity, and personal tenseness. She also concluded that research indicated that students reacted to reading failure in one of three ways: by refusing to accept failure, by accepting failure and losing confidence, or by

rationalizing failure; Robinson contended that research supported the findings that students who accepted their reading failure and lost confidence were the most emotionally disturbed. Lastly, Robinson concluded that all the work in this area had made many teachers aware of the relationship between emotions and reading, and that this awareness affected classroom treatment of the poor or disabled reader. Robinson warned, however, that experimental studies were still not numerous and the evidence of this relationship, and what form it took, was still scanty. While Robinson was cautious, Gates stated that research indicated that "personality maladjustment or emotional tensions appear in all cases of reading difficulty or even in all cases of very serious disability or failure." (Gates, 1941, p. 82). Gates contended that in about 25% of these cases, emotional maladjustments were the cause of reading problems.

CHANGES IN FOCUS BEGINNING IN THE 1950'S

At the end of the 1940's, and throughout the 1950's, a variety of counseling approaches began to find widespread acceptance. Many of these approaches had been developing for many years, but it was not until the 1950's that they became important forces along with psychoanalysis and behaviorism. Thorne published his definitive statement on his eclectic method of personality counseling in 1950; the Minnesota approach, a rational counseling approach aimed specifically at educational and vocational counseling was first formulated, following years of work, in 1950 by Williamson; Ellis, after working with both psychoanalysis and behavior modification, developed his rational-

emotive theories and first began publishing these ideas in 1954; Rotter's Social Learning Approach, an approach with an emphasis upon a rational, problem-solving approach to counseling, was first presented in 1954; Kelly first published his book about the Psychology of Personal Constructs, an approach that deals with people in a wholistic way and that sees individuals as having a number of different viable ways of viewing the world (hence, personal constructs), in 1955; Rogers first expounded his client-centered approach in 1942, and provided a more total picture of it in 1951; Frankl's Logotherapy, with his stress upon man's search for meaningfulness, was first published in English in 1955; Lewin published his Field Theory in Social Science in 1951; Snygg and Combs presented their views, reflecting a personalism similar to Rogers, in 1952; Maslow published his Motivation and Personality, which included his hierarchy of motives, in 1954. Thus, in the 1950's, while psychotherapy and behaviorism were still in the forefront, and were themselves going through a number of changes, a vast variety of other counseling theories and techniques were emerging. This emergence affected the direction of and conclusions of a number of studies and remediation techniques dealing with emotional factors and reading.

A second important development in the 1950's and early 60's was the emergence of studies questioning the effectiveness of psychotherapy. Eysenck (1952; 1958; 1960) reviewed controlled research on the effectiveness of psychotherapy and concluded that the evidence indicated that psychoanalysis was not effective and, in fact, might be detrimental. Based on his review, he concluded that 44 percent

of patients undergoing psychoanalysis and 64 percent of patients undergoing some type of eclectic counseling approach showed improvement. At the same time, 72 percent of patients who had no treatment (were put on waiting lists, for example) improved. Eysenck contended that this spontaneous remission could account for the claimed success of psychotherapy. Other researchers later disproved Eysenck's findings (Meltzoff and Kornreich, 1970; Luborsky, Singer and Luborsky, 1975; Smith and Glass, 1977). These researchers, using larger numbers of controlled studies, concluded that psychotherapeutic approaches (including insight-oriented therapies, behavioral therapies, client-centered therapies, and others) were more successful than no-treatment. However, these researchers found no significant differences among types of therapies in terms of effectiveness for most personality disorders. Eysenck thus seriously questioned the assumed efficacy of psychoanalysis; later researchers, while vindicating counseling and psychotherapy techniques in general, found no support for the claims of psychoanalysts, or behaviorists, that their approaches were the treatment of choice for all personality problems. The decrease in the number of studies linking behavioral problems, as defined by one school of psychotherapy, with reading difficulties -- a decrease that began in the 1950's -- can be seen partly as a result of the lessened influence of schools of psychotherapy on the thinking of researchers, due to studies such as Eysenck's.

RESEARCH FROM THE 1950'S

Despite the emergence of other approaches to counseling and

psychotherapy, and despite studies that questioned the effectiveness of psychoanalysis, some studies using psychoanalytic approaches to examining emotional correlates to reading problems did continue throughout the 1950's. Fewer were to be found in the 1960's and 1970's.

Graham (1951), for example, found similarities between unsuccessful readers, adult hysterics, and adolescent psychopaths. Unsuccessful readers, he felt, based on psychanalysis, had unconscious, repressed resistance to a hostile emotional environment. Ephron, in Emotional Difficulties and Reading (1953), suggested that poor reading reflected a vague expression of fear; fearlessness, he felt, should be the goal of psychotherapy. (pp. 21-25). Ephron presented many examples of a psychoanalytic view of emotional problems; for example, he suggested that "stuttering reading" is psychogenic and represents a child's desperate appeal for affection (p. 42). Siegel (1954) concluded from his studies that children with reading disabilities should not be regarded as educational problems, but as emotionally disturbed children who require psychotherapy. He suggested that where one child might become a poor reader, another might become a stutterer, from the same emotional problems. Pearson (1954) presented a very complete psychoanalytic view of reading problems. He maintained that children learn to read because the "child envies the power, self-sufficiency, and apparent freedom from fear of the adult and desires to be like him so as to not be tormented with his ever-present feelings of fear, inadequacy, and incapability" (p. 38). Children also read because other children read (competitive envy) or because of a relationship with a teacher. When children don't learn, it is due to some type of

intrapsychic conflict which causes the child to deflect attention from the learning task to his own internal conflicts. Pearson related this deflection of attention to a number of external manifestations of conflict, such as daydreaming (which Freud felt was particularly interfering with learning), inhibition, fatigue, shame, guilt, and anxiety. Havighurst (1959) felt that forms of deprivation (including deprivation of love) were causes of poor reading attitudes. Singer and Pittman (1956) studied poor readers and adult hysterics and concluded that children with reading problems exhibited behavior much like the hysterics, including high degrees of insincerity, exploitiveness, dishonesty, and hypocrisy. Woolf (1965) studied poor readers and concluded that they exhibited less ego strength than good readers. Eisenberg (1966) found that psychiatric disturbances and reading disabilities were often mutually reinforcing and that psychiatric treatment may be necessary before remedial reading instruction can be successful. Abrams (1968) assessed the role of a psychotherapist in reading programs in attempting to deal with the psychological problems that inhibit learning. Abrams (1970) felt that disabled reading may come from conflicts being internalized, often unconsciously, or from using the reading disability as a weapon to show resentment against parents or peers. Lipton (1975) discussed the psycholinguistic perspective on emotional correlates with reading problems and concluded that research was needed on the relationship of psycholinguistics and psychodynamic theories as they both relate to the interactions of teachers and students. Bell, Lewis, and Anderson (1972) studied fifty white and fifty black junior high students.

They factor analyzed forty-three variables related to reading disability and concluded that, among other things, inadequate readers were either aggressive (excitable, impulsive, unrestrained, demanding), negative (opposed to authority) or passive (obedient, calm, low psychic energy). They felt the poor readers in this study did not benefit appropriately from formal education. The above mentioned studies are representative of the continuing influence from the 50's to the 70's of psychoanalysis. Generally, there were fewer studies with a psychoanalytic model as time progressed.

Even fewer studies with a behavioral orientation were found during these decades. Hall (1959) felt emotional difficulties rendered a student incapable of being receptive to learning; since reading is an important skill in acquiring knowledge, this resistance is especially detrimental to reading. Hall advocated modification to overcome this resistance. Dorney (1963) saw value in reading instruction in modifying the attitudes of students towards authority figures. Shrodes (1961) saw a direct modification of behavior as one of the results of bibliotherapy. Levi (1965) incorporated reinforcement techniques, remedial reading instruction, and counseling in her work with a poor reader. Gardner and Ransom (1968) studied poor college readers and concluded that they showed more avoidance behaviors than good readers. They found, in their review of research, that there was not one reference to any specific counseling technique found to be successful with remedial readers. They therefore developed a technique ("academic reorientation"). This approach was designed to confront and change the avoidance techniques manifested by the subjects, and included aspects

of behavioral modification (providing social reinforcement for positive statements about school, showing students the aversive consequences of using avoidance techniques, building alternative responses, etc.) Wark (1969) studied six students of varying backgrounds and reported on how behavior modification affected study and reading habits. McConkie and Meyer (1974) replicated an earlier study examining the influences of reinforcement (payoff) conditions on the reading strategies of college students. Walen et. al. (1974) also compared varied reinforcement procedures on reading fluency.

Although few research studies linking behavior problems and reading difficulties from a behavioral perspective were found in the literature, it should be noted that many principles of these learning theories are incorporated into reading programs; in fact, much of the remedial reading materials are based on aspects of behavioristic learning theories. Reinforcement techniques, for example, are incorporated into much reading material -- most notably programmed materials. The Distar program, for example, uses a type of classical conditioning model in which an object is paired with a response. Techniques based on social learning and modeling paradigms (Bandura, 1969; 1971) are being advocated to a greater extent now. USSR (Uninterrupted Sustained Silent Reading), for example, assumes the importance of children seeing good reading behavior modeled by adults and peers. Research in early reading indicates that the influence of parent modeling has a significant impact on reading attitude and achievement and thus educators have been stressing the importance of parents reading with their children, and having children see them read. Additionally, modeling

research has helped to show why some reading techniques tend to be effective. For example, Gerst (1971) examines different types of symbolic coding processes (based on Bandura's modeling paradigm) in order to determine which had the greatest effect on retention of written material. He found that the group who provided "summary labels" for the material had the best recall, followed by the groups that used vivid imagery (imaginal coding) and that gave verbal descriptions of the material. All three groups outperformed the control group on reproduction of material, indicating the importance of symbolic coding. A number of successful reading and study techniques (e.g. SQ3R, PARS) utilize summary labels and verbal descriptions (encoding) as an integral part of the technique. Modeling research suggests explanations for the effectiveness of such techniques.

In addition to psychoanalytic and behavioral studies of emotional problems and reading, eclectic studies and psychometric studies were conducted from the 1950's to the present. As this period felt the influence of various counseling theories and techniques, so it also saw a resultant increase in the variety of studies linking emotional factors to reading, in the identification of emotional factors, in the treatment of emotional and/or reading problems, and in the assessed correlations. Generally, researchers moved away from any one particular psychotherapeutic model, relied more on objective tests and less on observation, and tended to use both good and poor readers in an attempt to better specify emotional links to reading problems.

Spache (1954, 1955, 1957) is representative of this type of research effort. Spache used the Rosenzweig Picture Frustration

Study, a projective test using cartoonlike figures showing conflicts between children and adults, with good and poor readers. He reported that retarded readers showed more hostility and aggressiveness towards others, less ability to accept blame, were more resistant to adult suggestion, and had less tolerance and greater defensiveness than normal readers. Spache also identified five distinct subpatterns in the responses given by poor readers (Spache, 1976, p. 239).

The Rorschach was used in several studies of good and poor readers (Ames and Walker, 1964; Dudek and Lester, 1968; Knoblock, 1965; Stavrianos and Landsman, 1969). Results from these studies indicated that poor readers showed anxiety about dealing with their aggressive impulses and tended to become passive and depressed as a result (Dudek and Lester, 1968), and gave fewer mature and emotionally balanced patterns of responses than good readers (Stavrianos and Landsman, 1969).

Several self-concept measures were used and consistently showed a relationship between reading ability and self-concept. These studies are discussed in the next section. Additional tests were used on samples of good and poor readers during this period. As examples, the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule was used by Joseph and McDonald (1964), and indicated that poor readers showed more aggression and need for order and less need to achieve; the California Test of Personality was used by Galloway, Jerrolds and Tisdale (1972) and indicated that relationships existed between reading ability and the test subscores in Community Relations, School Relations, and Family Relations (with poorer readers scoring significantly lower).

Such studies have tended to throw little additional light on emotional correlates to reading problems, mainly because of the diversity of results. Spache (1976), in reviewing studies of good and poor readers, concludes that generally, it would appear that "poor readers show many more symptoms of maladjustment such as aggressiveness (especially in boys), anxiety, negativeness, and withdrawal... " (p. 240). Furthermore, Spache indicates that the variety of personality problems found to be associated with poor readers may indicate that reading problems are simply one more symptom of a general failure to deal with the demands of school and life. It is interesting to note that almost three decades earlier Robinson (1949), in her review of the literature, reached almost identical conclusions. She indicated that aggressive reactions, withdrawal tendencies, and general insecurity were associated with reading problems. Furthermore, she found that the more seriously retarded readers tended to exhibit more personality maladjustments -- indicating that reading problems may be one manifestation of general maladjustment. The similarities between Spache's and Robinson's conclusions suggest that research has shed little new light on emotional correlates to reading difficulties.

The results of studies of emotional correlates to reading problems mentioned thus far have been diverse; many of the results are contradictory, while others are difficult to interpret. Additionally, although relationships have been found in these studies, few attempts have been to show the implications of these relationships for classroom and clinic. This is at least partly because many of the emotional correlates (such as "poor ego strength") found are abstract and dif-

difficult to measure and change. Such problems are one reason why less research in this area has been conducted in the last decade.

A second reason for declining research in this correlate is a fundamental change in the way reading disabilities are viewed. Chall (1978) states that in the early 1950's, emotional correlates to reading disabilities were felt to be so important that many teachers were afraid to teach reading to children with emotional problems because they felt they might further confound the emotional problems. By the late 1960's, however, a shift had occurred from a collaboration of teachers with school psychologists (in treating emotional and educative factors) to a collaboration of teachers with special education personnel and neurologists (in treating neurological and physiological problems). By the late 1960's, in other words, concern had moved away from personality correlates with reading problems to the concept of organicity (Stauffer, Abrams and Pikulski, 1978). Minimal brain damage, dyslexia, learning disabilities, etc. emerged as the area of concern and research in causes of reading problems. This shift came as a result of the work of a government task force headed by Clements in 1966. This task force was charged with reviewing research and formulating a clearer understanding of the issues and constructs used in learning disabilities. Clements et. al. joined thirty-eight different terms (including learning disabilities, hyperactivity, and organic drivenness) into one construct -- minimal brain dysfunction. They then identified 99 symptoms associated with m.b.d. This task force report, and later books and articles on m.b.d. (e.g. M.P.B., Wender, 1971) served to direct attention away from

emotional correlates, and towards "organic" correlates and neurological impairments.

For these reasons, less emphasis has been placed on emotional correlates to reading problems in the last decade. It is clear from reviews of the research, however, that some correlations do exist, and that emotional problems cannot be discounted as possible causes or correlates to reading problems. What has been needed is a clear direction for research in this area. This direction might come from a counseling theory that addresses cognitive and linguistic links to personality, or from a more wholistic construct (such as self-concept). Both Athey and Spache (1976) indicate that this construct holds much promise for understanding and helping poor readers. Self-concept is a construct common to most wholistic, field-theories. In general, self-concept is a set of perceptions that the individual has of himself in various roles and situations. Super, Starishevsky, Matlin & Jordaan (1963) define self-concept as "self percepts which have an acquired meaning and which have been related to other self percepts... the individual's picture of himself, the perceived self with accrued meanings." (p. 18). A number of self-concept tests and scales were developed and have been used in establishing correlations between self-concept and reading achievement. Such tests include: Thomas Self-Concept Values Test, the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale and various self-report instruments. Studies have consistently shown a relationship between reading achievement and self-concept. Athey states, "...More specifically, feelings of adequacy and personal worth, self-confidence and self-reliance seem to emerge as important factors in the

the relationship with reading achievement. Conversely, under-achieving readers tend to be characterized by immaturity, impulsivity, and negative feelings towards themselves and their world (Blackham, 1955; Bodwin, 1957; Schwyhart, 1967; Toller, 1967)" (p. 357).

Perhaps because they were so fruitful, studies relating self-concept to reading abounded from the 1950's on. Among the studies cited by Athey are the following: 1. Brandt (1958) conducted a study to show that self-concept is an organized and organizing dynamic within the personality structure and as such affects all behavior (including reading). 2. Hill (1972) criticized attempts to relate specific personality traits to reading disability; he felt the self-concept construct was more appropriate. 3. Brookover, Patterson and Sheiler (1962) found that self-concept functioned independently of intelligence in predicting school achievement, and that changes in self-concept affected both teacher and parent expectations, and actual performance. 4. Keshian (1962) studied 72 successful readers in an attempt to establish any single factor to account for reading success. He found that an integrated personality with good self-concept was one factor that seemed to result in reading success. 5. Bricklin (1963) found the relationship to be stronger if one measured the self-concept as a reader to reading ability. 6. Similarly, Dennerll found reading achievement to be significantly correlated to self-concept as a reader or learner, but not to a generalized self-concept. 7. Brunken and Shen (1966) found effective college readers perceived themselves as having a high degree of personality characteristics considered important for adjustment and achievement in college and in work.

8. Studies also showed correlations between the expectations of others (especially parents and teachers) with both self-concept and reading ability (Sebeson, 1970; Lumpkin, 1955).

Studies continue to look at the relationship of self-concept to reading achievement. Fitzpatrick (1977), for example, found that values-clarification exercises improved student self concepts and reading ability. Cuchens (1975) found that low-income black children's success with reading was significantly correlated with, among other factors, their self-concept. Schluck (1977) placed 157 seniors into three randomly assigned groups. These groups were then identified as high, average and low ability. Schluck found that such ability grouping significantly affected the students' attitudes towards themselves, towards their reading ability, and even towards their reading ability when they had been in first grade (with the supposedly low ability group scoring lower on all three attitudes).

The relationship between self-concept and reading ability has been well established. This construct helps to clarify some of the research findings mentioned earlier in this paper. Many of the correlations mentioned -- such as anxiety, withdrawal, loneliness, poor peer relations and social participation, and dependency -- could be the result of poor self-concept. This construct, then, holds some promise for understanding the total relationship between emotional problems and reading problems. Additionally, some efforts to enhance self-concept, and thus build reading ability, have been successful (Hedges, 1971; P.W. Smith, 1969) Practical ideas for enhancing self-concept and reading have been appearing in professional journals

(Treat, 1977; Williamson, 1973).

A second construct that received much attention in studies of emotions and reading was competence. Robert White (1959) presented the theory of competence -- that a basic drive in man was for ordering and mastering the environment. Erikson, Jahoda, and other field theorists see this drive as essential to mental health. Athey (1976) elaborates on Erikson's writing and contends that this competence construct, in its elaborated form, implies a number of things about good and poor readers. Using this construct of competence, and based on Erikson's stages which would precede and influence schooling, good readers would be expected to show strong feelings of self-esteem and self-worth, have more basic trust, autonomy and initiative, value and enjoy school work, identify with teachers, and be free from anxiety. Poor readers would show the opposite, or a lack of these qualities. A number of studies from the 1950's to 70's have established the relationship of many of these social-emotional factors with reading achievement. A few representative studies cited by Athey using this construct follow:

1. Henderson and Long (1971) studied 95 black children in first grade. Using teacher ratings and the Children's Self-Social Constructs Test, they examined reading achievement and personality variables and concluded that the better readers were more mature and showed realistic independence.

2. Tabarlet (1958) studied retarded readers in fifth grade and found them to be inferior in social participation, interpersonal skills, satisfactory work and recreation and adequate outlook and goals.

3. Stott (1973) concluded that the overriding causes of reading failure were the use of incorrect strategies, including the decision to not use cognitive and perceptual powers. (See Athey, pp. 361-68 for an extensive review of this research.)

Many of the research findings cited earlier could easily be interpreted in light of the competency theory. For example, much of the psychoanalytically-oriented research found resistance to reading and withdrawal as correlates; the researchers interpreted these correlates as representative of defense mechanisms. However, such resistance may result, as competence theory would suggest, from children not valuing schoolwork, or having lower initiative. Likewise, correlates mentioned earlier in this paper such as daydreaming (Gates, 1936), defeatism (Tulchin, 1935), unfounded fear (Ephron, 1953) and poor ego strength (Barber, 1952; Monroe, 1932; others) may be interpreted as problems in having an accurate perception of reality. Almost all of the emotional correlates to reading disability that have been mentioned in this review can be interpreted and understood in light of Erikson's stages of competence. Competence theory thus provides a most useful construct in which to examine emotional correlates; more importantly, the stages of competence identified by Erikson may prove to be useful predictors of future reading problems, and may present insights into ways to help poor readers.

A third construct that has been the focus of research is locus of control. Locus of control is based on Rotter's (1966) social learning theory. Rotter indicates that expectancy is an important component of social learning; if an individual expects that he can affect the outcome

of a situation, his behavior will be strengthened. Individuals with internal locus of control have stronger feelings that they can control the outcomes of situations and tasks. Athey (1976) cites a number of research studies indicating that good readers have internal locus of control -- at least in terms of reading. Thus, good readers tend to view reading both as a meaningful, consistent system, and as a tool to help with other problems. Poor readers tend to view reading as one more thing imposed on them by more powerful authority figures. Coleman (1966) found that internal locus of control was an important variable in low-income good readers. Culver and Morgan (1977) did not find a relationship between locus of control as measured by Rotter's I-E scale and reading achievement of college freshmen, but they did find significant relationships using Levenson's I, P, and C scales to measure locus of control. McWilliams (1975) found that remedial reading instruction caused an increase in internal locus of control (the increase was more notable in males). Drummond, (1975), on the other hand, found that in his sample of college students, those with external locus of control tended to achieve more in an individualized reading course. Such a result may suggest that individualization, with a stricter, more demanding external control, may work better with students with external locus of control. More research in this area would be useful.

The construct of locus of control also holds promise for reading theory and practice. Entswisle (1971) suggests that this construct may explain why class differences in reading achievement occur, since middle-class parents tend to teach their children to expect meaning and

order. Additionally, middle class parents are more likely to read to their children, and to model reading behavior, and thus children develop the belief that reading is meaningful, and can be mastered and controlled and used. The usefulness of locus of control for the classroom has been suggested in the professional literature (Morgan and Culver, 1978).

A very different approach to understanding emotional correlates with reading disabilities is presented by Stauffer, Abrams and Pikulski (1978) in their chapter on "An Ego Approach to the Study of Reading Disability" (pp. 196-207). Based on the work of Hartmann, Kris, and Loewenstein (1948), Stauffer et. al. view "the basic functions of the developing personality as the functions of the developing ego." (p. 198). The ego -- a psychoanalytic construct -- is viewed as the mechanism that allows individuals to deal with psychological (internal) and physiological (external) functions in a unified manner. Especially important in ego development and function is the maintenance of "relative autonomy", that is, the maintenance of a balance between the demands of the world and the internal strivings and desires (or, in Freudian terms, the demands of the world and the superego and the demands of the primary drives and the id). Stauffer et. al. suggest that anything that interferes with the development of the ego also interferes with the person's adaptation to the world, including the person's capacity for learning. Thus, neurological impairments, perceptual problems, improper impulse control' (manifested in impulsivity, hyperactivity, etc.), and the development of inappropriate defense mechanisms can all be understood and accounted for in an ego theory.

The interrelationships between cognitive (including reading) functioning and correlates such as emotional problems, neurological problems, etc. can be interpreted as the results of some impairment to the development of functioning of the ego. Neurological impairment, for example, "may really be the result of a unique interaction of both organic and functional factors" (Stauffer et. al., 207).

Stauffer et. al. indicate that the ego approach to studying reading disability allows researchers and teachers to view the various correlates to poor reading in a unified way. The ego approach suggests, furthermore, that it is possible and desirable to approach reading problems in terms of the "current ego functioning of the child, no matter what the original etiology may have been." (p. 207).

There is much research to support the use of this ego approach in examining emotional correlates to poor reading. Research cited earlier stemming from a psychoanalytic orientation tends to support the idea that problems in ego development or functioning are at the root of both emotional correlates and reading problems. However, it should be reiterated that several problems exist in using this type of construct in examining personality problems and reading. First, concepts (such as ego, or reaction formation) tend to be difficult or impossible to measure; furthermore, the exact meanings and parameters of these terms are open to interpretation. Because assessment of ego functions (such as defense mechanisms) is difficult to accomplish using objective measures, research examining these functions is difficult and often questionable. Lastly, psychoanalytic theories generally maintain that the basic parameters of the personality (including the ego) are

established before the child is of school age. This belief can easily lead teachers to assume that they can do nothing to assist a child with emotional problems correlated with reading problems. Clearly other theories and constructs -- such as self-concept -- are more fruitful in their potential application to classroom situations.

The most recent theoretical and research efforts, then, have been aimed at identifying theories or constructs that could account for the interrelationships between emotional problems and reading problems, that could give some focus to research efforts in this area, and that hold promise for application in schools and clinics. Such efforts have indicated that constructs such as self-concept and locus of control are indeed related to reading ability and personality factors. Theories such as competence and ego theories have also been forwarded as providing useful frameworks for understanding this relationship. The review of the literature, however, indicates that little has been done to apply these constructs and theories to working with poor or disabled readers. With so much attention being directed at poor readers, and with so much evidence indicating emotional correlates and/or uses, it seems that applied research is definitely needed to test the usefulness of these constructs and theories in working with students with reading problems. Most of the efforts aimed at applying this research have tended to be based on inferences and expert opinions, rather than on the use of controlled studies.

CONCLUSION

There has been a long history of research into emotional correlates

to reading ability. This research has been approached in a number of ways -- from observation, case-study analysis, and individual psychotherapy to comparison of groups of good and poor readers, use of psychometric techniques, and factor analytic studies. Additionally, research has varied according to the theories of personality and psychotherapy adhered to by the particular researcher. Although research techniques and theoretical orientations have differed, most research has indicated some correlation between reading difficulties or disabilities and emotional maladjustments. Some researchers have felt that there is a causal relationship (e.g. Robinson, 1946, felt that emotional problems caused reading problems in 32 percent of the cases of reading disabilities; Gates (1941) concluded that emotional problems were the cause of reading problems in about 20 percent of all cases). Most researchers, however, have concluded that emotional and reading problems were either mutually reinforcing or were both the manifestations of a different problem; causality, because it is so difficult to establish, has been suggested but not proven.

The more important conclusion of this paper, however, is that research into emotional factors and reading has encountered many problems because of difficulties in defining and assessing personality variables, because of differences of opinion and definition among schools of counseling and educational psychology, and because of difficulties in isolating emotional factors to compare, in uncontaminated form, with reading. Researchers have been greatly affected by the Zeitgeist in determining emotional correlates; the Zeitgeist, in turn has been partially shaped by the particular psychological theories in

vogue. Thus, psychoanalysis was the primary tool for looking at emotional difficulties in the 1930's and 1940's; its influence continued to the present, but to a lesser extent partly because of research questioning its effectiveness and partly because of the emergence of other theories of personality and psychotherapy. Some research from a behavioral or learning theory framework has occurred in each decade since the 1920's; behavioral influences, however, have been more strongly felt in terms of applications to reading programs and materials. Field theories, as well as humanistic and phenomenological theories, have provided more impetus for research since the 1950's. Research in the late 1960's and the 1970's had decreased, mainly because more attention has been paid to organic causes and correlates of reading difficulties than to emotional correlates. Recent research has been aimed at establishing and defining wholistic constructs and theories that can account for the relationships of emotional factors and reading ability, and that can provide directions for additional research and application. Additional research using these constructs and theories that hold promise for bridging the gap between reading theory and personality theory is needed; of equal importance is the need for applied research that can suggest successful counseling approaches and techniques for use with poor or disabled readers.

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