# NEW DIRECTIONS IN PUBLIC LIBRARY DEVELOPMENT

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# CHANGING CONCEPTS OF THE PUBLIC LIBRARY'S ROLE

ROBERT D. LEIGH



MY ASSIGNED task is to provide a historical setting which will serve as background for this conference on the current trends in public librarianship. Fascinating as it might be to trace the evolution of public library thinking and practice from its origins in Colonial America, I shall limit myself largely to our immediate past, the period that many librarians now living and working know at firsthand.

This is not to assume that the public library's influential past began only yesterday. The concept held by Franklin two centuries ago, of a collection of books put to public use and the institution that resulted from it; the quite modern objectives announced by the creators of the Boston Public Library a century ago; the comprehensive survey of American public libraries by the Office of Education three-quarters of a century ago; the Carnegie-financed volumes by Learned on the library's role as an information center and by Alvin Johnson on its role as an agency of adult education—all are still essential parts of the contemporary public library as an idea and as an operating institution.

But time and space compel me to begin our analysis with the public library as we find it a quarter of a century ago and to confine our attention to the several major surveys and appraisals of the institution from that time to the present, with some estimate of their influence on current thinking and practice. This means that I begin with Dr. Joeckel.

Joeckel's *Government of the American Public Library*,[1] published in 1935, followed during the next fifteen years by his chairmanship of several conferences such as this, by his leadership of ALA committees revising national standards[2] and preparing a national library plan,[3] and through his teaching and writing and the activities of his students, turned the attention of librarians sharply to consideration of the problems of public library organization, government, and support. These problems have remained a major interest in public library literature to

[1] Carleton Bruns Joeckel, *The Government of the American Public Library* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935).

[2] American Library Association, Committee on Post-war Planning, *Post-war Standards for Public Libraries* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1943).

[3] Carleton B. Joeckel and Amy Winslow, *A National Plan for Public Library Service* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1948). See also C. B. Joeckel (ed.), *Library Extension: Problems and Solutions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946).

this day. They were among the primary concerns of the *Public Library Inquiry*[4] a decade ago, and they were the center of the theory underlying the new national public library standards approved by the American Library Association a year ago.[5]

There are, of course, other very important theoretical and practical concerns of public librarians that may be seen in historical perspective with advantage. There are the problems connected with library services to children in schools and in public libraries, their relation to each other, and their relation to the ever more accessible products of the newer commercial media. There are the problems of the public library's relation to the other agencies and media of adult education, information, and recreation. There are the problems of selection and organization of the mounting mass of library materials and the perennial problems of recruitment, training, selection, and administration of library personnel. But, again, from necessities of time and space I shall confine myself to the immediate historical background and trends in the closely related areas of public library organization, government, and support. Actually, what I would be able to provide as a preface to your discussions of these other major problems is already in print in the final report of the *Public Library Inquiry* and supporting volumes.[6]

[4] Robert D. Leigh, *The Public Library in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950). Cf. Oliver Garceau, *The Public Library in the Political Process* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949).

[5] American Library Association, Co-ordinating Committee on Revision of Public Library Standards, Public Libraries Division, *Public Library Service: A Guide to Evaluation with Minimum Standards* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1956).

[6] Leigh, *op. cit.*

## FROM INDEPENDENT LOCAL LIBRARY TO LIBRARY "SYSTEM"

The theory, the law, and the custom of the public library in America, as Joeckel found them twenty-five or more years ago, were those of a purely local institution. To provide direct library service at all for a village, township, town, city, or county was a matter of local choice and initiative. State laws permitted such a municipal activity but never required it. A library for the public was an educational-cultural desirability, not a social necessity. In the earlier days a library often began with the gift of a building by a local philanthropist, later a Carnegie donation, or with the book-sharing interests of women's clubs. Once built, the library came—immediately or later—to be supported by local taxation, receiving a tiny share of the general tax on the town's visible property. And it was governed by persons representing the local, municipal government. Thus supported and managed, the library's services were free only to those within the boundaries of the local taxing area.

The concept of the self-inclosed and self-supported public library unit continued unchanged no matter what growth and shifts of population ensued. The pattern persisted for towns that had grown into cities, for cities populating whole counties, and for suburbs surrounding cities with their dual cultural allegiance to separate working and residential governmental entities. Long before 1935, however, it became evident to library leaders that one could not depend on local initiative alone for building public library facilities to serve the growing nation. Some of the state governments began to enter the picture. But their activities had the primary purpose of adding to the number of independent libraries in the smaller communities. This was

the purpose of New York State's action as early as 1835, when funds in small amounts were appropriated to school districts (then the population equivalent of villages) to purchase books for libraries serving the public. The New York legislation was copied by a half-dozen or more states at one time or another during the nineteenth century. The quantity of books available for reading without charge was thereby increased, but the essential pattern of local library organization and government was not changed.

Another initiative at the state level for extending public library service began in the last quarter of the nineteenth century with the creation of state library commissions or library extension agencies. The primary purpose of this movement, also, was to add more independent, local libraries where they did not exist, especially in rural areas where there were unserved populations that on a map extended over half of the country's land area. The public library extension workers brought into being by the state library agencies were true missionaries of the book. No hamlet was too small, no county too poor, for them to lend their expert aid to the local clubwomen in starting a modest community library. And, where there were not enough people or funds to build a library, the state extension service sent out "traveling libraries"—boxes of books on free loan for long periods.

This form of state activity, continued in some jurisdictions to the present day, has performed an essential public library function, by building the necessary substructure of community library outlets. Such units form the points of direct contact with users in any form of public library organization. The point to remember here, however, is that the state library extension services were aiming solely at increasing the numbers of independent, local public library units.

With the state's interest in bringing local public library service tothe unserved rural areas, it centered its efforts, especially in the South and parts of the West, on the development of county libraries. Laws were passed permitting county governments to tax themselves to support a public library. And at a relatively early period, in some of the southern states, state money and other grants were voted for counties establishing libraries. The results of these developments, however, were very much like state extension aid to town and village libraries—an addition of small, independent library units (one-woman libraries), over half of which had appropriations of less than $5,000 a year, hardly enough to support a single professional librarian.

Except for California! There the legal incorporation of huge areas into counties, combined with bounteous gifts of nature, resulted in a number of large and rich counties able to support county libraries with headquarters in the principal county town, with distant, scattered villages and towns serving as branches. These counties were able to provide the rough equivalent of city library services. By happy accident the California State Library in the early 1900's came under the direction of Jim Gillis, a librarian who combined idealism and constructive ability with the practical political knowledge and skill of a former railroad lobbyist. Within a short period of years he had an enabling act passed for county libraries; had persuaded most of the county officials of the state to create such libraries; had built under him a strong state library to serve as a resource for the county libraries through interlibrary loans and reference referrals, aided by a well-developed state union catalog; had legalized

an effective merit system for selection of the chief county librarians; and had created a library school under state library auspices to recruit and train professional librarians for the county posts.

The California county library law was copied by a number of other states. But California's special circumstances of county size, wealth, and brilliant state leadership were not exportable. Indeed, neither the law nor the leadership was able to create in California itself any but a handful of counties with a fully integrated county library system having adequate library resources and library services. Many of the town and city libraries refused, and still refuse, to consolidate with the county library or even to contract with it for services. Other counties were, and are, too poor and sparsely populated to provide an adequate, modern public library service. No state financial grants were provided to aid the poorer counties or to persuade the independent municipalities in other counties to join with the county system. But as a sample and symbol of a regional library system in the wide-open spaces giving modern public library service hitherto considered possible only in sizable cities, Kern, Fresno, and a few other California county libraries prepared the way in practice for a different concept of public library organization to develop in the United States.

This brings us back to Joeckel and the publication in 1935 of *The Government of the American Public Library*. The analysis of existing library structure in this volume was soberly phrased, but its conclusions were revolutionary. With abundant factual material describing the limitations of the locally governed and supported library, Joeckel argued that the prevailing organizational pattern was incapable of providing the country as a whole with adequate, modern library service—at least outside the larger cities. The large city library, he added, was by its nature suited more to a regional than a strictly municipal service. In this connection he pointed out the inconsistency of the metropolitan library's attempt to keep within its legal boundaries by charging out-of-city residents for book loans from the circulation desk, while giving all and sundry its reference services without charge—a service costing the city fully as much to maintain as the circulation activities.

As a solution Joeckel proposed that the public library should be organized as a regional institution, its boundaries following the lines of the natural trading areas of the country. At that time some 641 such areas had been identified in planning literature. He advocated that the existing libraries in a region be consolidated to form a part of the regional library, with the state contributing substantially to the regional library's support—in fact, aiding in the process of consolidation by such support. Only large cities, he stated, could properly maintain their independent status. The regional library "systems," as we would now call them, would actually be agencies of the state. They would not follow existing political boundaries except where these coincided with natural trading areas. People throughout the state would be permitted to use the library most convenient to them. Thus, he concluded, the public library would become a really free service.

Joeckel recognized the difficulties in the way of the realization of his proposal in practice. To use his words: "The librarian is an individualist in his philosophy, an attitude which the library trustee has usually adopted as well. Typically, he loves to do a small, neat job in a work-

manlike manner, without going too far afield." He realized, too, the advantage of maintaining local interest, loyalty, and support for the community's library. Accordingly, he was not averse to small, piecemeal steps in the direction of adequate units of service, to interlibrary loans, to co-operation in book selection, to central pools of books—all the devices we now call "functional consolidation" or "interlibrary co-operation." But, basically, he set forth a new and different concept of public library organization—a library that is regional rather than municipal; an agency of the state, supported, in part, by the state; created by the consolidation or, at least, the federation of existing public and other libraries in each of the state's natural regions without respect to local political boundaries.

Joeckel's philosophy of library organization stemmed from his dual professional background as librarian and political scientist. He was in close touch in Chicago during the 1930's and 1940's with the professional study of local government and administration centered there. He was familiar with the fact that the other traditionally local public services—highways, schools, health, poor relief—feeling the inadequacies and inequalities of local tax sources for the support of enlarged and professionalized services, were moving to obtain state financial aid. They were also seeking consolidation into larger units of local government or, failing to achieve consolidation, were transferring parts of their functions to direct state administration, thus becoming state *and* local services. Meanwhile the public library had remained firmly rooted in purely local government and support.

Joeckel was in close touch, also, with the greatly accelerated movement during the depression of the thirties for the extension of federal aid to state and local government services. After the outbreak of World War II, he was deputized by the federal planning agency in the Office of the President to prepare a national program for public library development to be available for federal pump-priming in the event of an expected postwar depression. The outcome of this assignment was the *Post-war Standards*, issued in 1943, and the *National Plan for Public Library Service*, published in 1948. Officially, both publications were the joint products of committees of librarians appointed by the American Library Association. But Joeckel was the chairman and a leading spirit in both committees and a principal author of both reports.

The *Post-war Standards* represent a compromise between the traditional concept of independent public libraries of all sizes as the permanent pattern of library organization and support and the newer concept of library units large enough in resources to provide adequate modern services. In the section on standards of size and area, larger library units by consolidation or by co-operative devices were advocated ($25,000 was set down as the minimum annual budget for adequacy). But, elsewhere, standards were set up for libraries of all sizes.

The *National Plan* presents a more unqualified adherence to the earlier Joeckel thesis favoring the organization of the nation's public libraries by regions large enough to provide effective, modern library service. A pattern of twelve hundred regional library units was prescribed. Consolidation of libraries in a regional area, under a regional governing board, was recommended for most of the states, although federations of libraries retaining institutional autonomy, or creation of special state districts providing auxiliary library services in the district, were suggested as appropriate for most of the

New England states and for very sparsely populated areas in the West. Substantial state participation in the financial support of the regional libraries, and federal grants on a permanent basis to the states for library service, were included as essential parts of the plan. In addition, a well-conceived proposal was included, based on an earlier published study by Joeckel,[7] for federal grants to the twenty or more metropolitan or university libraries in the best situation to serve as regional research and bibliographic centers for the libraries of the region.

Retrospectively, the *National Plan* seems to lack the flexibility that takes full account of the complex, organic—but illogical—growth of political institutions in a federal society, defects that were characteristic of much of the elaborate national and state planning of the depression–New Deal period. But it brought the Joeckel concepts of regional library systems before larger library audiences and into more active discussion than ever before.

The *National Plan* appeared in the same year that the *Public Library Inquiry*, a new general survey of public libraries in the United States, began its two years of study. As distinguished from the *Post-war Standards* and the *National Plan*, prepared by committees of librarians, the *Inquiry* was consciously designed to have a look at the public library from the outside. It was an examination of public library objectives, programs, structure, operations, and problems by nonlibrarians trained in one or another of the social sciences. As is the case with the present conference, the *Inquiry* attempted to see the library in its contemporary social context: as one of the several services of government with somewhat the same problems of organization and services as the others; as one of the several media of public communication; and as one of the several institutions of childhood and adult education.

The *Inquiry* studies attempted primarily to build up a factual, cross-sectional picture of contemporary public library structure and function—its personnel, its resources, and its clientele. The findings from the studies, when published, were disturbing to many librarians in their first impact, probably because they presented an unflattering, realistic picture of average performance rather than a selective survey of the best accomplishments. But the conclusions drawn by the *Inquiry* from its findings did not strike out in any new direction so far as public library organization, government, and support were concerned. They serve rather to support or to develop further the general lines of thinking of librarians, largely under Joeckel's leadership, during the fifteen years preceding. There were differences in emphasis, and there were some substantive modifications, but there was nothing that suggested any radically different concepts of public library development. The differences may be summarized as follows.

The *Inquiry* staff, reviewing the stubborn opposition of local librarians, library trustees, and municipal and county officials to the surrender of legal control of their libraries through consolidation, recognized this as a reaction which has been characteristic whenever attempts at outright consolidation have been made by other traditionally local public services. They concluded that state library branches providing auxiliary services and federations of libraries represent a more promising political process for achieving adequate units of library

[7] C. B. Joeckel, *Library Service* (Advisory Committee on Education, Staff Study No. 11 [Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1938]).

service than does legal consolidation. The Garceau report on the political process in public libraries,[8] and the *Inquiry*'s final report, therefore, urged full consideration of the more gradualistic alternatives to consolidation.

More than the *National Plan*, the *Public Library Inquiry* stressed the development of strong state library agencies and state aid as the central task for librarians in the foreseeable future. Conversely, it put much less emphasis upon financial participation by the federal government for public library development. The latter position was the result of staff studies of library finance indicating that federal aid to libraries as a measure of equalization of support was unnecessary and inappropriate. The *National Plan* had included federal aid for the purpose of equalization as a means of permanent library support. Instead, the *Inquiry* rested the case for federal aid on its value as a means for stimulation of state library activity and not necessarily a permanent part of the structure of public library support.

On the other hand, the *Inquiry* strongly supported the proposal made originally by Joeckel, in his study of federal library activities, that there be permanent federal aid for regional research library centers. These centers, it was stated in the *Inquiry*'s final report, perform services essentially interstate and national in character and, therefore, are "peculiarly appropriate subjects for Federal rather than State or local financial support."

The conclusions from the *Inquiry* studies of personnel, book materials, film services, and recordings were that an annual income of approximately $100,000 (in 1950 dollars) was necessary to maintain a public library system providing services of minimum adequacy. This was a revision upward of ALA's earlier $25,000 revised to $40,000, then $60,000, in the *National Plan*. More important, the *Inquiry* rejected by complete silence the utility of an over-all per capita expenditures figure for libraries of different sizes, as a realistic measure of adequate library service.

[8] Garceau, *op. cit.*

### IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CONCEPT OF THE LIBRARY SYSTEM

Since the *Inquiry*'s final report in 1950, there have been at least two other studies leading to important public library documents and two important acts of legislation, one by a state, the other by the national government, which together represent related, successive steps in implementing the major concepts of public library organization, government, and support developed over the last twenty-five years.

First in time was the passage in 1950, under the impact of the *Public Library Inquiry*, and under skilled professional and lay leadership, of a statute in New York State granting financial aid to county and multicounty libraries in an amount which for the first time made the state an important contributor to the support of its public libraries. Of equal significance were the regulations under which the state funds were to be granted. State standards were set up to be met in order to qualify for aid. They specified: (1) integration of the county's public libraries; (2) a minimum number of professional library personnel in the county system; (3) a minimum figure for the annual purchase of new book titles; and (4) centralization of technical processes—standards fully in line with the definitions of minimum adequacy suggested by the *Public Library Inquiry* and *National Plan*. What was equally important, the statute permitted counties to qualify

for aid not only by consolidation but also by organization as federations.

A second implementation of modern public library organizational concepts of more than local significance were the framing and the adoption, after careful study and discussion by the state's library leadership and by the state library association's membership, of the new California *Public Library Standards* in 1953.[9] The new standards embodied without compromise the concept of adequate, modern library systems and in every essential foreshadowed the ideas underlying the new national public library standards published three years later.

And now, almost a year ago today, the American Library Association by unanimous vote in convention assembled adopted the new national public library standards[10] and heard from the platform the same day that President Eisenhower had signed into law the Federal Library Services Act.

To summarize most briefly the major ideas underlying the new national standards:

1. The standards are made for library systems, defined most flexibly as libraries banded together formally or informally in groups working co-operatively to make a wide range of materials and services readily available to all residents of a region.

2. The standards set for the "systems" in terms of materials, personnel, services, and technical processing meet fully the tests of minimum adequacy as defined by the *National Plan* and the *Public Library Inquiry*.

3. The small, community library, unrelated to a system, is by definition substandard, unless it provides itself with a grossly extravagant budget.

4. The small community library related to a system, however, stands at a key point in the operation of modern library service. Through the community unit the reader in smaller places is provided access to all the books, other materials, and reference services in his region and, through the regional headquarters, to the library resources of the state and federal government. Public library structure is thus envisaged as on four levels: community, regional, state, and national, all focused upon serving the citizen user rather than on the single community level where all the resources available to the user are inclosed in the community library building.

5. The standards for over-all costs of adequate services are built up from unit costs of the various items that provide adequate facilities, personnel, and services. They are bound to differ for library systems of different sizes and at different times and need to be recalculated periodically to adjust them to changes in price and salary levels. Over-all per capita costs, thus, are not included as standards at all but are to be calculated for each library on the basis of the sum of unit costs for adequate service in libraries of its size.

The new national standards, altogether, provide a blueprint for carrying into actual practice the newer concepts of public library organization and government, developed in the major surveys and appraisals of the last twenty-five years.

The new Federal Library Services Act is only now getting into full operation in the states. It is clear, however, from reading the state plans, that the act will serve during the next four years as a means of

[9] Carma R. Zimmerman, "The California Public Library Standards Project," *News Notes of California Libraries*, XLVIII, No. 3 (July, 1953), 357–61.

[10] American Library Association, Co-ordinating Committee on Revision of Public Library Standards, *op. cit.*

testing out in practice the more modern concepts of public library organization, government, and support. The act specifically authorizes its grants of funds for the purpose of stimulating public library development in the states. It is avowedly a temporary measure (limited to five years from the time of its passage), not the beginning of permanent participation of the federal government in library support for the purpose of equalization. Indeed, its temporary character has become a matter of near-contractual agreement through the commitment made under questioning at the congressional hearings by the responsible ALA officers that the federal stimulation of state library activities could be effectively accomplished during the specified five-year period and that Congress would not be asked for a renewal of funds. Thus the Federal Library Services Act is a magnificent gamble as well as a magnificent opportunity for the public library profession.

The plans and the problems connected with the operation of this very important piece of legislation are dealt with in Mrs. Fyan's paper. Here is attempted only a summary of what seem to be the significant opportunities the act provides for putting into actual practice the concept of public library systems.

1. It is already evident in the state legislation to implement the act and the state plans for administration that during the five-year period the state library agencies will be strengthened as participants in public library development within the state. The federal statute gives *de facto* recognition to the state as responsible for the performance of the public library service within its borders. The regulations for the grant of funds to the states provide, more specifically, that all federal funds received must be spent under the legal supervision of the state library agency. In some cases this has required rulings by state law officers that the state library agency has supervisory responsibilities for public library development, a function not made so explicit hitherto. This recognition of state responsibility for public library service is a clear and important gain that is almost sure to survive the five-year period.

2. Examination of the state plans reveals a quite general pattern of using the federal funds for the development of larger units of library service. A number of the state agencies refer specifically to the promotion of "systems" as defined in the new national standards.

3. The plans reveal a considerable variety in the organizational forms that the systems will take: permanent state library districts; temporary state library districts with the intention of state withdrawal in favor of public library federations after the termination of the federal grants; consolidations; federations; more limited types of interlibrary co-operation. Especially interesting is the fact that a number of states are instituting not one but several of the variant types of regional systems as pilot-plan projects, adapting the type to the sparsity of populations and other local conditions, and with an eye to discovering which type proves generally to be most successful as a political process for creating maximum local participation and support. The formal division of a state into natural library regions, characteristic of earlier state plans, is being modified in a number of the states by a more pragmatic, federate-as-we-go program, which will not be so neat on the map over the state librarian's desk but which in the end may show more "systems" inked in. In sum, it seems evident that the states are accepting flexibility, variety, and complex-

ity as the necessary conditions of progress toward adequate modern library service.

4. The federal money grants during the five-year period will, in fact, be translated into state aid in money or services to local public libraries. Because of the limited amount of federal funds allotted to a number of the states, the state reallotment will be for demonstration purposes, concentrated in a few areas, rather than in the form of general grants spread over all the state. Even with this limitation, there will exist for a period, in one form or another, the fact of state financial aid to local public library services. A pattern will be set for a continuation of state aid after the five-year period is over. And a number of states are making their present plans with this continuum in mind.

5. Not only are state financial participation in the support of local public libraries likely to be established more widely and the state library agencies strengthened in resources and personnel for the task during the five-year period but also the federal public libraries' agency is likely to be appreciably strengthened. The United States Library Services Branch has been given a considerable period to demonstrate the importance of enlarged staff and appropriations to perform its functions as a national public library service. These functions, as a minimum, require it to serve as an efficient clearing house of statistical and other public library information and as an agency of stimulation and communication through field surveys, staff visits, etc. Such minimum services now exist in Washington for all the other major state and local public services. They will be needed more than ever at the end of the five-year period by the state library agencies as well as by library systems within the states.

## METROPOLITAN PUBLIC LIBRARY ORGANIZATION

In the field of public library organization, government, and support, our historical review of the thinking, appraisals, surveys, programs, standards, and legislation seems to indicate a definite line of development from theory to practice. This is not true, however, in all segments of the field. From the earliest days of Joeckel's writing and leadership, reference has been made to the particular problems of public libraries in metropolitan areas: the wasteful duplication of services, the unserved districts that are not in the legal boxes composing the various taxing units in the whole area, the need for city-county consolidation, etc. And in the library literature there is repeated laudatory description of the very few cases where a unified or federated public library service has been extended to cover the whole metropolitan area. Each successive general survey has pointed to the same situation and problems, noted the same need for remedial action, and deplored the same persistent lack of action.

The public library's record of inaction here, it is true, is only one chapter in the story of the attempts over thirty years or more by municipal reformers, city planners, and students of local government to deal generally with the organizational problems of metropolitan government. With them, too, there is a sense of continued frustration, if not complete failure. There have been public services of a compelling character such as water supply, waste disposal, and harbor development that have broken out of the artificial boundaries of big-city particularism to form *ad hoc* agencies serving a whole metropolitan area. The public library has not possessed the urgent or necessitous character, however, that pro-

vided an impetus for enlarging its outgrown governmental boundaries. But in recent years the metropolis has been undergoing important changes. The growth of residential, commercial, and industrial suburbs, along with the continuance of the central city as a focal point of many cultural activities, new forms of transport and communication, may be creating new social forces and specific demands behind the concepts developed in the library literature for a more integrated public library service of adequate quality for the whole metropolitan area.

Meanwhile, public library leadership has concentrated its legislative efforts on the promotion of public library services for the rural areas. The Federal Library Services Act is specifically limited to this purpose. Although justified as a necessary concession to the traditional motivations of the earlier library extension movement, such an exclusive emphasis no longer fits all the needs for public library development. Modern library extension means providing adequate library services for the whole population, whether the people live in cities, suburbs, or villages or on remote farms. Programs of state aid to public libraries need to take account of this fact not only as a matter of justice but also as a matter of political expediency. The 1951 New York county aid law, which assigns grants in proportionate amounts to the state's large city libraries in New York City, Buffalo, and Rochester, as well as to rural counties, is an illustration of the more modern approach. The time has arrived for public library leadership to devote the same energy and resources toward revising the concepts of metropolitan library organization and translating the concepts into action that during the generation past have been concentrated on library service to rural areas. At any rate, building library systems in contemporary terms needs to be seen in its totality, neglecting neither the metropolis, the smaller cities, the villages, nor the forgotten areas in between.

### RESEARCH LIBRARY BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NETWORK

A similar state of long-suspended animation exists with regard to the proposal made decades ago by Joeckel and renewed by the *Public Library Inquiry* to create a loose regional network of the larger research libraries (whether university, public, or state) to receive substantial amounts of continuing federal aid designed to enable them to fulfil more completely their function as bibliographical and reference centers for the libraries of their regions and the nation at large. Actually, there is a great deal of thought, planning, and accomplishment in this area. Activity has centered largely in the Association of Research Libraries but has not taken the form of federal grants to any designated group of libraries constituted so as to serve the major regions of the country. There is a considerable variety of experimentation going forward inside and outside the Association group: regional storage centers; regional bibliographical centers such as at Denver and Seattle; the Farmington plan, representing a voluntary specialization of large libraries in acquisition of new foreign titles; and numbers of other co-operative bibliographical enterprises. Although the largest public libraries are full participants in most of the projects, and all public libraries have a stake in their growth, the center of planning and initiative for the immediate future seems clearly to be in the large university research libraries and in the Library of Congress. Whether the needed developments can be supported by the voluntary

contributions of participating libraries, supplemented by occasional foundation grants, or whether in time federal contributions to promote and sustain a regional research network will again become a live issue, it is impossible to say. It may be that the Council on Library Resources, with funds granted by the Ford Foundation, will be the most important catalytic agent in this field in the years immediately ahead.

### IN CONCLUSION

Our review of the immediate historical setting in the single area of public library organization, government, and support reveals the emergence of significant concepts that are increasingly entering library thinking and give promise of being translated into practice. The concepts, therefore, provide a proper focus for a conference dealing with new directions in public library development. Most simply, the concepts deal with the organizational means of creating a library structure capable of providing adequate, modern public library services for everyone, whoever and wherever he may be. It is the concept that library service is a state as well as a local responsibility. It is the concept that library service can be made universal as well as free.

# PROGRESS AND POLICIES UNDER THE LIBRARY SERVICES ACT

LOLETA D. FYAN

THIS is a preliminary study of the principles embodied in the Library Services Act, of the initial effects of the program on the federal government, on the states, and on the American Library Association, and of the general aims and policies embodied in the plans submitted by thirty-six states. To some extent, it is a picture of state library-extension activities—at mid-century plus seven.

This paper has many limitations. I need only mention that the federal act has been in operation less than a year. The first plans were submitted for formal approval last fall, with the first grants paid in January, 1957. No state's plan has been in operation for more than five months, so it is too early to judge the actual programs. We can only analyze the thirty-six approved plans and study their principles and their scope. We have almost no information about the possibilities for extension in the sixteen states and territories that have not qualified. Hence the picture is far from complete.

To make a judgment, we must know the framework for the new federal program. We need to examine the law which forms the starting line from which we are moving. We need to study the implications in the interpretations of the law that have been made to date.

## ANALYSIS OF THE ACT

The Library Services Act[1] was passed "to promote the further extension by the several States of public library services to rural areas without such services or with inadequate services." A public library is defined as one that "serves free all residents of a community, district or region, and receives its financial support in whole or in part from public funds."

Passed at a time when the pendulum of public opinion was swinging away from federal powers, the law's intention is to encourage the responsibility and initiative of states and their local subdivisions. The law specifically says that the states are to administer or supervise the administration of the public library services provided, select the personnel and the library materials, and determine the best use of the funds, "insofar as is consistent with the purposes of the act." The federal government deals with each state library agency, which in turn determines its relationship with local governmental units. Each state defines what library services are "inadequate."

The Library Services Act requires a state plan for the expenditure of state and/or local funds and provides federal funds to pay for a share of this. Each state plan covers the purposes, policies, and methods to be used and may be amended from time to time. The specific projects and activities are to be spelled out in the annual application for funds.

The original application covers in detail the legal authority of the state and the state library agency to accept and administer federal funds and the financial safeguards and procedures set up to assure that the money will be used for the purpose paid. Regular reports of ex-

[1] Public Law 597 (84th Cong.).

penditures are to be made. Payments will be stopped if the United States Commissioner of Education finds that funds have not been used to carry out the plans approved or have been used for purposes not authorized by the act.

The law sets financial requirements to assure that state funds will not be reduced and will be provided in the proportions set up. Each state and territory receives a basic allotment of $40,000 except for the Virgin Islands, for which the basic amount is $10,000. The federal grant must be matched according to a formula based on the state's per capita income. Additional funds are allotted based on the rural population of the state as compared to the rural population of the United States.

State support for all public library services cannot be reduced below the 1955–56 base year. State and/or local appropriations for public library services for rural areas cannot fall below the amounts expended in 1955–56.

Matching provisions are also set up according to a formula in the law, the proportions varying with the per capita income. The federal share does not go above 66 per cent or below 34 per cent of the total amount.

A restriction on the use of the federal money is that it cannot be used for "the purchase or erection of any building or buildings, or for the purchase of any land."

The law specifies rural areas as being those of less than 10,000 people, but larger centers may be included in plans to extend public library services to rural areas.

### REGULATIONS GOVERNING THE ACT

After the Library Services Act became law, the next step was to have it studied by the Office of the General Counsel of the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to interpret the wording and determine how it would be administered. It was at this stage that four regional conferences were held, at which legal questions were raised, the terms of the act were clarified, and librarians gave their opinions as to what would or would not operate in the field. As a result of the reconciliation in points of view which took place, the first regulations were determined and became a part of the *Federal Register* of December 6, 1956. Others were added on March 7 and April 18, 1957. These have the force of law.

Three points in the regulations add stones in the basic structure upon which the national program is to be built.

The supervision to be given by the state agency over local units when they become part of any state plan is defined. "Supervision" shall mean guidance by the state agency with authority necessary to assure the observance of the policies and methods of administration adopted by the state agency.[2]

> If any part of the plan is to be administered by local agencies, the plan shall set forth the manner in which the State agency will exercise and make effective its supervision over the operations of the local public agencies with respect to such administration.
>
> Such supervision need not be interpreted as requiring close, day by day direction of local library activities. There must be, however, sufficient supervision to insure that local expenditures will be made in accord with policies and methods of administration of the State agency.[3]

The supervision may be provided through formal contracts, if the state agency has the authority to make con-

[2] *Federal Register*, Vol. XXI (December 6, 1956), Title 45, "Public Welfare," chap. 1, § 130.1 (g), p. 9651.

[3] *Ibid.*, § 130.3 (c), p. 9652.

tracts, and by receipt of regular financial reports.

The definition of "public library services" given in the law has been amplified to specific examples of what are not public libraries. "Generally such term would not include services provided by libraries which are organized to serve a special clientele or purpose such as law, medical, and school libraries."

An interpretation from the Library Services Branch clarifies what types of expenditures can be made. Again the responsibility rests with each state. Expenditures may be any item allowed by the laws or regulations of each state. Within this limitation, salary increases, conferences and workshops, scholarships, public relations projects, and out-of-state travel may be included.

### WHAT HAS HAPPENED WITHIN THE UNITED STATES OFFICE OF EDUCATION?

Twenty years ago a Library Services Division was established in the Office of Education and given broad functions by Congress. The program which the American Library Association outlined and wanted had to be restricted for lack of funds and has never been fully provided. The Division has collected statistics and made studies; it has had a school and children's library specialist and a college and research library specialist. The ALA has made efforts intermittently to get the situation improved. In a 1951 reorganization of the Office of Education, the library function was placed near the bottom of the chart under the Division of State and Local School Systems. It had a staff of six.

The passage of the Library Services Act, with the administering of grants totaling $2,050,000 and with an operating budget of $140,000 for 1956–57, brought added importance to library activities. The status within the Office of Education was changed from a division to a branch, with the director reporting to the deputy commissioner. The positions were increased to twenty-four, and the first public library consultant program was started on a regional basis. The functions are being expanded, restudied, and reorganized, with all phases of the work integrated.

An advisory committee to the Commissioner of Education, made up of representative librarians, has been revived. Envisioned first as operating only in regard to the Library Services Act, the committee has recommended broader representation, first, to include a school librarian and a college librarian and, second, to include lay members with broad interests. The committee is receiving regular reports about the program and is making recommendations concerning the direction to be taken and the policies it thinks are important.

### RESEARCH

Dr. L. G. Derthick, Commissioner of Education, points out that the Office of Education is "authorized by the Act to conduct studies and make reports on the values, methods, and results of the library activities carried on by the States with the aid of the grant. The whole country thus becomes, in a sense, a laboratory for research and study in library science, and a true challenge to the ingenuity and skill of our librarians and educators."[4] It is too early in the reorganization of the branch for new studies, but this is a promise for future opportunities.

[4] "Editorial," *ALA Bulletin*, LI (April, 1957), 230.

### WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THE STATES?

The funds were available for fifty-two states and territories during 1956–57. (Hereafter the word "state" will be used to refer to both states and territories.) Guam is not included until 1958. As of June 7, 1957, plans had been approved for thirty-six states, or 69 per cent. The states and the state library agencies have shown a willingness to participate, and most have made great efforts to qualify.

### STATE PLANS AND APPROVALS ON JUNE 7, 1957

Plans were approved and payment made to the following thirty-six states and territories:

| | |
|---|---|
| Alabama | Nebraska |
| Arizona | New Hampshire |
| Arkansas | New Jersey |
| California | New Mexico |
| Colorado | New York |
| Connecticut | North Carolina |
| Georgia | North Dakota |
| Hawaii | Ohio |
| Illinois | Oregon |
| Iowa | South Carolina |
| Kentucky | South Dakota |
| Louisiana | Tennessee |
| Massachusetts | Texas |
| Michigan | Vermont |
| Minnesota | Virginia |
| Mississippi | West Virginia |
| Missouri | Wisconsin |
| Montana | |

The following sixteen states and territories had not qualified for the first grant of $40,000 by June 7, 1957:

| | |
|---|---|
| Alaska | Nevada |
| Delaware | Pennsylvania |
| Florida | Puerto Rico |
| Idaho | Rhode Island |
| Indiana | Utah |
| Kansas | Virgin Islands |
| Maine | Washington |
| Maryland | Wyoming |

John Lorenz, assistant director of the Library Services Branch, reports that the general attitude toward the Library Services Act and its administration has been positive and encouraging. The bi-partisan support of the program, the sincere welcome and hospitality which has been given the extension staff on their visits and the general lack of "Federal control" criticism (from state library agencies) has been heart-warming. We believe it is very important that this high spirit be maintained, particularly as we get deeper into the hard work of the program and away from the flush of victory and novelty.

### WHAT STATES HAVE NOT QUALIFIED?

Sixteen states are not eligible for the current year's grants before June 30, 1957. Five states (Delaware, Florida, Idaho, Maine, and Nevada) were unable to qualify financially. One factor in Delaware is that the state agency has a completely new staff and a new board chairman. Kansas and Rhode Island needed enabling legislation as well as increased appropriations. Utah had no state library agency. Indiana and Wyoming found insurmountable opposition to this new federal program. Alaska and Maryland filed preliminary plans which were later withdrawn. The few libraries in Alaska are sponsored by clubs and subsist on memberships and fees. It is believed that they can be transferred to public support during next year, so that they can meet the law's definition of free public libraries. Pennsylvania did not have the staff to prepare a plan, having been without a state librarian for several years. This has been corrected. Washington attempted to get added funds with which to qualify but did not succeed. Only inadequate information is available on the situation in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.

With the law allowing the states to qualify for this year's funds throughout the succeeding year, it is now known that Alaska, Maryland, and Maine will probably qualify for 1956–57 funds later. Others may also be able to meet this provision within the next twelve months. It is expected that only two states will

be unable to qualify for the second year's funds.

## WHAT HAS THE ACT ACCOMPLISHED TO DATE?

### LEGAL PROGRESS

Over the past several years most states, in anticipation of the Library Services Act, have passed laws authorizing their state library agencies to accept federal funds and have re-examined their legislation relative to library-extension work. This process was completed in 1957, except for Indiana and Wyoming. The enabling legislation in Rhode Island places the responsibility with the secretary of state rather than with the state librarian. The state library is located in this department, as is the case in Illinois. Kansas needed and obtained new legislation to clarify the responsibilities of the Travelling Library Commission when it was found that none of the state library funds could be used as qualifying amounts. The commission was given the power to "establish area or branch offices and service centers." North Dakota reports that getting its enabling bill passed "was by no means easy. There were hurdles aplenty, twice it was all but killed, and in the final victory it suffered a cut to the minimum [$40,000 a year for the biennium]. Nevertheless, it was a real victory."[5] The first state library agency in Utah has been established, as of July 1, 1957. This gives us forty-eight state and five territorial library agencies.

### STRENGTHENING OF FINANCIAL SUPPORT

While the record is far from complete at this date, we know that the Library Services Act is strengthening the financial position of state library agencies. The federal grants to the thirty-six qualifying states add $1,440,000 to state library funds as a whole. In Montana, where both local and state funds were used to qualify, the $40,000 means a 400 per cent increase in state funds for this first half-year. In the better-supported state library agencies it falls as low as 7 per cent of the total being spent for rural public libraries, but it is still a distinct gain.

Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma succeeded in getting emergency appropriations for the current year in order to qualify. A $40,000 appropriation enables Arizona to start an extension program. Oklahoma added $27,579 to current funds. New Mexico added $25,671 for 1956–57 and "$47,000 in matching funds for each year of the 1957–59 biennium."[6]

At least eight states have gained increased appropriations after July 1, 1957, owing to federal grants (Arkansas, Florida, Kansas, Maine, North Dakota, Rhode Island, Utah, and West Virginia). Florida will be able to match the basic $40,000 in 1958 with state funds and expects to match some of the additional funds by county appropriations which are acted upon in the fall. Idaho, with the help of a state-wide library planning committee, has achieved a $37,500 appropriation for each of the years, 1957–58 and 1958–59—a very substantial increase.[7]

Nevada's funds for the new biennium were raised, but not enough to meet the federal requirements. The Nevada Library Association did succeed in repealing a law which prevented county libraries from spending more than $6,000.[8] Rhode Island's state funds for next year

[5] *North Dakota Library Notes and News*, No. 36 (Spring, 1957).

[6] Karl Brown (comp.), "State Plans for Use of Federal Funds," *Library Journal*, LXXXII (May 15, 1957), 1293.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 1292.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 1293.

are up $21,500, and its enabling act says that "the general assembly shall appropriate for succeeding fiscal years of the state such sums as may be necessary to provide the requisite matching funds to take advantage of the federal funds which are made available to this state."[9] Utah's new state library agency has $50,000 for each of the next two years. The federal floor provision prevented a drop in Michigan's 1957–58 appropriation for rural public library purposes and helped get an increase in state aid—the first since 1945. Although the amount gained in state grants was only $58,000, it was a 16 per cent increase. Minnesota and Oregon[10] have passed their first appropriations for state grants, undoubtedly helped by the federal program. During the last hours of the Minnesota legislature the amount was limited to the total needed to qualify for the federal money.

### THE STATE LIBRARY-EXTENSION PICTURE

We turn now to a study of the thirty-six state plans submitted and approved. I am very grateful to the Library Services Branch and to John Lorenz for furnishing copies of these. The material covers the general aims and policies, the methods of administration, and the types of service to be provided by each state's current plan. Presumably, each is at least a five-year plan. Also described is the proposed program for the year ending June 30, 1957.

It is impossible to make many generalizations that will fit all the states. The fifty-three state library agencies run the whole gamut in each item of comparison —in size, population, wealth, and social point of view within the state and in the age, the size, the support, the functions, and the type of programs carried out by the state library agency. Blanket judgments, therefore, do not fit, but, if enough study were given, some groupings could be made and valid comparisons shown within each group.

Utah has just laid the legal keystone for a library department, the formation of which began on July 1, 1957. In the eastern states some library services have been provided by states for over a century. In size the states vary from Rhode Island to Texas. Functions performed by a state library agency vary from one to the eight listed in *The Role of the State Library*.[11] Funds in 1955–56 varied from $14,750 in Idaho to $921,545 for the New York State Library Agency and $2,350,000 for New York state aid.

There are some *regional* similarities and patterns, or first signs of patterns. In New England the states are comparatively small and thickly populated and, there are many libraries, often several in one town. Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut have programs of regional service centers operated and financed by the state. They frequently operate through the libraries in the region. Their plans expand existing programs or improve on them. Maine and Rhode Island are not, as yet, a part of this picture.

In the area north of the Ohio River and east of the Mississippi, we have large and wealthy states, with varied industries, and many metropolitan areas. While each state lists many public libraries, there are also many people in these states with no local libraries. This seems to be the present center of violent partisanship for states' versus federal rights. A num-

[9] State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, H. 1494 (January Session, 1957), approved by the governor, May 6, 1957.

[10] Oregon—$154,086 for 1957–59.

[11] National Association of State Libraries, *The Role of the State Library* ([1955]).

ber of the larger state library agencies with complex programs are located in this region. There are not any significant similarities in their plans for library extension, although there is some relationship among those of Michigan, Minnesota, and Arkansas. This can be credited to an exchange of staff members and early interstate conferences concerned with planning, particularly for the northern areas, in what was formerly called the "cut-over country." I believe that this area would benefit from regular meetings and a cross-fertilization of ideas.

The states included in the South East Library Association are characterized by fewer small libraries. They began to move ahead rapidly about fifteen years ago, with state grants stimulating county and regional libraries. Louisiana has had a program of state demonstrations for thirty years. The Association has stimulated studies, planning, interstate workshops, and exchange of personnel. We can see some general similarities in their present plans.

Miss Tommie Dora Barker has recently done a comparison of the federal plans of these states.[12] She summarizes her study in this way:

> First, it may be said that they are in keeping with the best current thinking on library extension. They envision unified state systems of library service with appropriate division of responsibility between the state and local units and appropriate interrelationships between the state and local units and among local units. They are blueprints for action, both for achieving long-time goals and for the successive steps in achieving them. They are adapted to the present stage of development in each of the several states. There is nothing timid about the plans. They are bold and forward-looking but realistic. They face up frankly to present deficiencies but they are pervaded with confidence and show no hesitation in using a star for a hitching post. With the vitality of the library movement evidenced in the several states and the intelligent leadership revealed by these plans, the outlook for increasing measurably both the breadth and depth of library service in the southeastern states is indeed promising.

[12] To be published in *South Eastern Librarian*, Fall, 1957.

The Mountain Plains states are the ones of the great open spaces, a relatively sparse population, few libraries and with state library agencies that are relatively new and at early stages of development.

### PLANNING

The federal act has stimulated and accelerated the planning process in many states. This influence began long before the act was passed. The librarians who actively worked for its passage gave more thought to the implications of the act and had a more vivid realization of how much preparation and planning was needed for the wise use of added funds.

We know that those states which have made the greatest progress during the last twenty-five years recognized the importance of good planning long ago. The program with state grants, the various methods of stimulating the creation of new local libraries, demonstrations and exhibits, the varied services of library consultants, and the opening of branches by state libraries are a few of the results of earlier planning.

The federal field workers, after their first trips to forty-one states, report that one factor common to all the states which have good plans is that the programs have grown out of co-operative efforts of the state library staff and the state library association. It is evident that consistent planning has not been done in many states and particularly planning shared by the state library agency, the library association, and the people in the areas to be developed. While we

should expect much of the initiative for this to come from the state library agency, this is an area of activity for which the whole profession is responsible.

### SETTING STANDARDS

A moot question about the act is whether it de-emphasizes federal control to such an extent that there will be no standards for operations with the funds. Can we get satisfactory performance on a national basis by leaving the responsibility for setting standards to each of the states?

The act defines its purpose and sets up safeguards, through reporting and auditing, for seeing that the purpose is carried out. It requires submission of plans annually by each state, and these plans are for the total extension program. It requires that the public library services be free to all residents of the area concerned. The state must "administer or supervise the administration" of all fund used locally under any state extension plan, without regard to their source.

In describing their policies, some thirteen states mention the standards upon which new or demonstration projects will be based. Five states have raised their sights to those given in the newly revised standards for public libraries issued by the American Library Association.[13] It is encouraging to find that these standards are thus beginning to become "a working tool rather than an idealistic goal."

Colorado, California, Michigan, and New York refer, in addition, to state standards for public libraries or to rules and regulations set by the state board of education or the state library board.

Kentucky, South Carolina, South Dakota, and Vermont refer only to their own state standards. Connecticut's plan is "guided by the recommendations of the Public Library Inquiry (1950), the library standards recently adopted by other states and the standards of ALA."

The matter of setting standards is not only one of maximum standards, which are frequently goals, but one of minimum standards. How much responsibility should a local governmental unit take for its public library before help is given by the state? If the state is providing a direct service or a demonstration, shall this be a thin layer given to a large group of people or covering a large area? The California and New Mexico plans warn against spreading funds too thinly. If, on the other hand, it begins at a determined level of "reasonably good" service, this usually means offering the new benefits to fewer people and fewer areas.

Clues to minimum standards are found in two places in the applications. Each state must define what is "inadequate service." A number of states also outline the criteria for choosing areas which can qualify for funds. While criteria sometimes cover methods, they also indicate minimum standards.

Here we find two schools of thought emerging. Georgia, Michigan, and the Carolinas are requiring local governmental units to meet the minimum standards for state aid grants before they can be considered for additional aid from state or federal funds. Other states take the point of view that it is the areas below standard that are in need of direct help from these funds. Virginia is using $20,000 as follows: "Rural libraries now with state aid will receive a pro-rata part of federal aid until they have reached the minimum standard of local support."[14]

[13] American Library Association, Public Libraries Division, Co-ordinating Committee on Revision of P. L. Standards, *Public Library Service: A Guide to Evaluation, with Minimum Standards* (Chicago: The Association, 1956).

[14] Karl Brown (comp.), "State Plans for Use of Federal Funds," *Library Journal*, LXXXII (April 15, 1957), 1034.

Here is a problem on which our thinking needs to be refined. I suggest that, where the aim is to develop a layer of library service under local responsibility and local support, the first point of view is the soundest. There are other helps to be given to below-standard areas rather than direct grants or demonstrations. The state library agency can provide consultant services, stimulation projects, exhibits, preliminary organization of citizen groups, and perhaps studies or surveys.

In defining inadequate libraries, some states have declared all the rural services inadequate because they are below those described in the new public library standards (Michigan). Others define inadequacy as any service below the minimum state standards (California, Minnesota, South Carolina).

Many states are planning for library systems, but it is not clear what a "library system" means in each case. Only a few states talk of units for 50,000 or 100,000 people. Thirty-one states mention regional libraries, five multi-county libraries, twenty-two are encouraging county libraries, nine mention federations of libraries, and five mention cooperative arrangements between existing public libraries.

The two most popular types of project in the state plans are demonstrations or the development of regional libraries. Some states envision one demonstration plan from the first federal grant; others say that three or four are to begin this year. This raises a doubt as to how many larger unit projects should be started on a total appropriation of $40,000.

From an examination of the documents written by the various states, it becomes evident that we need to adopt a terminology, so that similar types of extension activities can be grouped and compared. For instance, a "bookmobile exhibit" can be distinguished from a "bookmobile project," which gives service for a limited period. The term "demonstration" might be reserved for large-scale efforts of two or three years aimed at demonstrating services that would become a local responsibility. "Stimulation projects" might cover a whole range of short-time activities leading up to full demonstrations or permanent services.

Scattered requirements worth noting are:

1. At least one full-time professional librarian in any area that is to have new extension services (Georgia, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Ohio). South Carolina adds that all the staff involved are to participate in in-service training.
2. Local participation in demonstrations, with some local suport, perhaps on a graduated scale.
3. A potential for continuation, without reduction in the level of service.
4. All services and systems to become permanently supported with state or local funds.
5. Participation of all the public libraries in a region.

All this adds up to a spotty picture of what standards are being set by the states. To complete the picture, there should be added to the points in current state plans a study of state standards for the distribution of state aid and the policies and operating procedures of state library agencies that contribute to the setting of standards.

### GENERAL AIMS OF THE LONG-RANGE STATE PLANS

What are the general aims of the states beyond those of extending or improving rural public library services? A study of the points listed under "General Aims and Policies" by the various states indicates that often the basic assumptions have not been expressed. However, it seems safe to say that most of the plans are designed (1) to strengthen the state

library agency and (2) to reach every resident in the state, at least as a long-range goal.

Other goals mentioned include (omission of certain states does not necessarily mean that they do not have the specific goal mentioned):

1. To increase local responsibility (Alabama, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Georgia, Illinois, Louisiana, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Carolina, South Dakota).
2. To improve the support of rural public libraries (Arizona, Colorado, Kentucky).
3. To demonstrate regional library service (New Jersey).
4. To influence the development of other public library services through demonstrations (Michigan, South Carolina).
5. To improve the standards of public library service (Arizona, California, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Carolina).
6. To correct major service deficiencies (South Carolina).
7. To promote awareness of the need for professional guidance (Arizona, Missouri).
8. To promote awareness of the value of public libraries among the general public (California).
9. To work toward state grants-in-aid (Colorado).
10. To develop long-range objectives for the state library (California, Michigan).

As contrasted with the over-all plans, what extension of activities has actually taken place this first year?

Probably all the states are preparing for future years by adding staff and buying and preparing materials, supplies, and bookmobiles, but not all of them have specified these activities. Some states list this, or "strengthening the state library," as a necessary first step in their plans. These include Arkansas, Iowa, Michigan, New Jersey, North Dakota, and Oregon. Centralized processing is mentioned by Arkansas, Georgia, North Carolina, and South Dakota. Educational campaigns or public relations programs are envisioned by Michigan, New Jersey, Oregon, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.

It is surprising that not much mention is made of training activities during 1957, although I suspect this will soon show up as a necessity. Georgia and North Carolina plan annual institutes for library personnel and trustees. Kentucky is working with the training agencies to provide a plan for scholarships.

Only a few studies or surveys are in the list, although we should recognize that over the past decade an appreciable number of states have had new statewide studies made as preparatory planning for the Library Services Act. New York has an almost continuous series of surveys and evaluations of projects. Arizona, in its federal application, mentions "making surveys in specific areas and plans for demonstrations." Illinois will assign a librarian to work with a community development team from Southern Illinois University. Michigan is testing public opinion on the need for library service in Oakland County in co-operation with the University of Michigan.

### THE LIBRARY SERVICES ACT AND ALA

What effects has the Library Services Act had on the ALA and its members? A goal of the ALA for the last ten years has been reached, since it was through its efforts that federal aid was established and that added recognition of library needs was gained within the Office of Education. Many divisions and sections of the association have taken part in this. In fact, it has been a common cause, uniting the membership to secure broad, national goals. The expansion of the rural public library program is accentuating the personnel crisis for all libraries and pointing up the necessity for all groups

to work together to counteract the shortages. The shortages raise many questions about professional work assignments, training requirements, and in-service courses.

The year 1956 was marked by another highlight within the association: the issuance of *Public Library Service: A Guide to Evaluation, with Minimum Standards.* This revision of earlier public library standards came off the press at a time when states were seeking help in planning. The federal act has helped to point up the need and the importance of the new standards. The higher standards can help the states set their sights at proper levels.

Thinking toward federal grants—and now their actuality—has been reflected in many programs of the ALA and its divisions. So many parts of the association are affected that the Co-ordinating Committee for the Library Services Act was created a year ago to make sure that efforts within the association are co-ordinated and not duplicated. Mrs. Grace T. Stevenson, deputy executive secretary of the ALA, forecasts that a major portion of the efforts of the association and its members will go into the various phases of the Library Services Act during the next five years.

### SUMMARY OF RESULTS

There is no question, even this early, that the act is having beneficial results on state library agencies. Their legal basis has been strengthened or clarified, and their business procedures have been improved. Their staffs are expanding, and their funds, book collections, and equipment are increasing. They have the responsibility of making plans for the improvement and further extension of rural public library services, and they have new money to help carry out these plans. In some states new functions have been added by the state library agency; in others an ongoing program is being accelerated. All this adds up to an improvement in the status of state library agencies within state government and within the profession.

In almost every state great effort has gone into qualifying or trying to qualify for a grant. We know that in six or eight states the library associations have been spurred to attack stalemate situations in their state library agencies and that some headway has been made in each situation. State officials have been more receptive to the needs of state library agencies because of the federal carrot at the end of the stick.

Some states have excellent long-range plans with an orderly succession of steps for their accomplishment. The most productive ones have been worked out cooperatively by the state library agency and the professional groups in the state. Some states are using federal and state money on a base of local initiative and accomplishment. In other states there has been no plan and little consideration of minimum standards. While the new public library standards have had an effect on clarifying the terms used, we need more specific information to judge whether the systems, regional libraries, and demonstrations are actually adequate in scope.

### DANGER POINTS

I see four danger points in the program which should be carefully considered and counteracted.

For a decade we have looked forward to having added funds from the federal government. This has raised the hopes of many librarians and has brought glowing visions of what might be accomplished. We have given the impression in our pub-

licity that a federal program of $7,500,000 for five years would solve all library problems or, at least, would extend services to all people now without libraries. This delusion has crept into our thinking and, I fear, into the expectations of legislators and of the public. The full program, even when first advocated, was not large enough to accomplish all things for all people. With the continuous shrinkage in the dollar and with the cutback in the appropriations for the first two years, the program can accomplish even less.

For example, take a state with one of the higher grants, say, $150,000 per year. At the new public library standards this could cover operating costs for a demonstration for 50,000 people. It would not meet such capital costs as furniture, bookmobiles, and the original book collection. Assuming that an average demonstration would run two and a half years, federal funds for the five-year period would provide two demonstrations to reach some 100,000 people without libraries in one state. We should expect that increased state funds and requirements for local participation will expand these accomplishments, but, even so, the extension of public library service to rural areas can be only partially solved by the present federal program. This fact should be reflected in our thinking and in our public statements.

A second danger is that states will hold support of the library agencies at the minimum level because of the federal appropriations and that state funds will not show increases by 1962. Legislators are always quick to take advantage of any excuse for refusing appropriation increases. Careful planning of budget requests and of projects that are to be done under state responsibility, such as those benefiting metropolitan areas or cities of 10,000 population or over, will be required. A complete plan for library development in each state, showing what a small proportion of the job can be done with the federal help, may be the solution. Much will depend upon the strategy with which each legislature is approached.

The federal funds are for the extension of public library services to rural areas and are not for "school libraries." Unless a clear distinction is made between the two types of services, the proper development of both public and school libraries will be deterred. The American Association of School Librarians, a division of ALA, and the Public Library Division are struggling to define the distinction. This is a particularly difficult problem in the field, where rural schools are often the best location for reaching children with bookmobile services. With the present growth of the school population, the resources of many county and regional libraries are going for school-library service, with nothing left over for the adult public. The pressure is so great that the librarian and the library board can withstand it only if they have determined clear policies, with good reasons for them.

A fourth danger is that the federal impetus to the extension functions of the state library agency will throw the total program out of balance. State libraries have other important duties to perform, such as service to state government, legislative reference, archives and history, and state and federal documents. These should not suffer because of the publicity, glamor, and added funds now focused on the extension activities.

### IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

The Library Services Act raises problems that should have the immediate attention of the profession. These include the present and future purposes of the

act; the complex questions concerned with the proper division of responsibilities among the local, state, and federal governments; the place of the state library agency in the whole library picture; and the obligation of the whole profession for planning standards and evaluation for the new developments.

The Library Services Act as passed gives the federal government funds to stimulate and prime the pumps of the states for a five-and-a-half-year period. It restates the federal functions, long acknowledged, of collecting statistics and information and of doing research. The administrative funds provide a new development—providing general consultants to the state library agencies.

It is not too early for the ALA to face the question, "Is the act to remain a temporary one, with limited objectives, or is it to become the first phase of a broader federal program?" Officials in the Office of Education report that, following the usual pattern, this can become a permanent expansion. They suggest that, because reduced funds prevent completion of the original program, the ALA has a reason for asking for a continuation. Would this be a reversal of ALA policy, or does the profession favor federal support for certain specified library functions? Even this early, city officials of Philadelphia have raised the issue as to whether there can be federal help for metropolitan areas, many of which are facing crises of growth and realignment.

Such questions take us into the broad field of political science. How should the responsibility for library services of all kinds be divided among local, state, and federal governments? Because this is a complex problem, involving many different basic assumptions and attitudes, I believe that the profession should start studies and discussions now to see whether a consensus can be reached in the near future.

With the expansion of the Library Services Branch in the Office of Education and the addition of public library consultants as well as specialists in college and research libraries and the school and children's library field, the responsibilities of the federal staff and those of the sections of the comparable divisions in ALA should be restudied. What functions are to be carried out by the federal government, as compared with those to be covered by the ALA? Has the ALA been carrying responsibilities that can now be transferred to the enlarged library branch in Washington?

The Library Services Act focuses attention on the state library agency in each state, since responsibility for the plans and for their administration and operation center there. The need for strengthening the state library is evident in practically every plan. The need for more specific knowledge about state library agencies, for standards for their operation, for expansion of their functions, and for proper financing, are becoming evident. The state library has been the forgotten library within the profession and within the state government. It now has an opportunity to fill its proper place. The responsibility for this is one that must be accepted by all librarians, library trustees, and friends of libraries. This is most obvious in states where the state library is not functioning satisfactorily, is new, or has limited functions. Improvements and support must come from the outside, usually from the state library association.

The previous discussion of the first state plans filed in Washington indicates how much needs to be done to assure a continuous and co-operative planning process within each state, to set up stand-

ards for projects, to make studies, and to arrange for the evaluation of what is to be done. If there are conspicuous failures, in even a few states, future appropriations can be endangered. If the results merely change the unserved to the inadequately served, we will have failed to use the funds to the maximum advantage.

Here, again, the profession as a whole must carry the responsibility. If we are to develop "systems of libraries" as described in the new public library standards, all types of libraries and all types of library services will be involved. We cannot create such systems without good planning on both a state-wide and a national basis.

Passage of the Library Services Act and the expansion of the Library Services Branch form a milestone in public library development. Librarians and trustees have a great opportunity which must not be lost. The best efforts of the whole profession are required to carry out the expansion of services now started and to plan for future developments. The progress may seem slow, but we should not get discouraged. "It is idle, having planted an acorn in the morning, to expect that afternoon to sit in the shade of the oak."[15]

[15] Antoine de Saint-Exupéry, *Wind, Sand and Stars* (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1943).

# THE OUTLOOK FOR SUPPORT FOR PUBLIC AGENCIES WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO LIBRARIES

CARL H. CHATTERS

This paper deals with the outlook for public support for local government agencies. Particular attention is given to the factors that influence the resources available to public libraries. In a complete discussion of this subject greater attention would necessarily be given to general economic conditions, recognizable shifts in sources of public revenue, and the public attitudes toward public expenditures generally and the library in particular. Some considerations that affect support of libraries at national, state, and local levels are identified herein. None of the factors affecting library support is immutable—most of them may be influenced by organized effort or individual leadership.

## CONSIDERATIONS AFFECTING LIBRARY SUPPORT

Many factors that affect library support at the national, state, and local levels are listed here. Most of these elements are local in nature. This means that local sentiment, local leadership, and local action (but not necessarily direct local revenues) are most important to the local public library. And may I add parenthetically that my subject matter is intended to refer only to the local public library.

At the *national level* in the United States at this time, library support is influenced by the American Library Association and other related national agencies, by the leadership of individuals representing the "library industry," by the attitudes of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and his commissioners of education, by the attitudes and action of Congress on federal aid for libraries, and by the extent to which federal taxation drains off funds that would otherwise be available locally.

The *states* have direct control over some phases of library support. They define the general character of the state and local revenue systems. They determine rather specifically what state funds are available for state grants to libraries and for all other purposes. If special tax sources are dedicated to libraries or to any other specified activity or if either maximum or minimum tax rates or tax levies are determined for libraries, such action is usually a state action. State legislatures make it possible or impossible to match federal grants. Likewise they determine, generally, the place of the library in the governmental structure in both the cities and the counties. Finally, the state librarian and the state library commission, by their leadership, salesmanship, dedication to their task, or their political acumen, or a combination of these four qualities, influence greatly the state attitude toward, and financial support for, libraries.

The *local level* of government carries out nearly all the services used daily by our citizens. Library support is determined by more factors at the local level than the national or state. These factors are more numerous and complex in the local areas. The over-all condition of lo-

cal government finance in a given area influences the availability of funds for libraries and other activities. Economic conditions in a local area either now or over a long period have a bearing on library revenues. The structural relationship between the public library and the city, county, or school district is important. Of increasing importance is the determination as to whether the library profits or suffers from the recent changes in sources of city revenues. Of course libraries will suffer in any area where the library is subordinate to a city, county, or school government which is unsympathetic to libraries or uninformed about them. The lack of sympathy and absence of information may be due to poor library service or to the library's failure to sell itself to the community. Support for the library, whether manifested by money, laws, services, or attitudes, is influenced primarily by local considerations even when the local libraries join their efforts for state and national support.

### SUPPORT FOR LIBRARIES 1936 AND 1955

Data for library expenditures appear to be available on a comparable basis for 1936 and 1955 for seventy-six of the larger cities in the United States. These figures indicate that library appropriations in these cities grew much faster than the total expenditures for maintenance and operation of all activities in these same cities. There were some exceptions, of course. Eighteen cities showed that a *smaller* proportion of their total budgets went for library expense. Of these eighteen, eight were in the South, five were in Massachusetts, and five were scattered. Only three kept the same proportion. On the other hand, the percentage of total expenditures devoted to library operation increased something less than 50 per cent in seventeen cities, by 50–99 per cent in thirteen more, by 100–200 per cent in seventeen cities, and by over 200 per cent (i.e., trebled or more) in eight cities. On a per capita basis of library support, forty-five of the cities trebled and twenty-seven doubled their expenditures between 1936 and 1955. But the more significant figures on the increased portion of all expenditures going for library operation and maintenance testify to the success of the large city public library in obtaining more adequate support.

### CHANGES IN LOCAL REVENUES

Four important trends have developed in local revenues within the past decade or so. The *local property tax* has become relatively less important to most cities but not necessarily to the counties. *State and federal grants* are more important to many services of government, including libraries. Local governments are using the *sales tax* collected either locally or by the state as well as the *local income* or payroll tax. The use of state grants, distributed usually on the basis of need (so it is alleged), has been recognized as inequitable where the principal measure of need is the assessed value of property. Since assessments are not comparable as between cities, or between counties, or school districts, new and extended efforts are being made to equalize assessed values. The latter is a hopeful step forward, particularly for local units such as libraries which usually receive revenue primarily from the local property tax and from grants-in-aid.

The records (see Table 1) show that total local revenues increased in the twenty-one-year period between 1932 and 1953 by 240 per cent from $6,192 million to $21,007 million. Meanwhile,

property taxes for local purposes were rising 117 per cent, that is, from $4,159 million to $9,010 million. In other words, the property tax increased only half as much proportionately as total local revenues. The most rapid revenue increases in the twenty-one-year period were state grants (573 per cent), federal grants (436 per cent), local sales and gross receipts taxes (2,661 per cent), license and other taxes (488 per cent), and charges and miscellaneous items (285 per cent). The proportionate share of local revenues received from the property tax will probably show a further decline when 1956 and 1957 figures are available.

ended in the 1930's. Nearly all states meanwhile had adopted either the sales tax or the income tax. Since local governments could not administer these taxes as effectively as the states, and since the demands on local government were increasing so rapidly, state sharing of revenues became almost universal.

At the same time the personal property tax has been coming into disfavor. New York State has outlawed it by a constitutional amendment. Delaware has almost eliminated it. In most other states

TABLE 1

LOCAL GOVERNMENT REVENUE SOURCES
1913, 1932, 1942, AND 1953
(In Millions of Dollars)

| | 1913 | 1932 | 1942 | 1953 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total revenue | $1,755 | $6,192 | $8,114 | $21,007 |
| Revenue from states | 91 | 801 | 1,780 | 5,384 |
| Revenue from federal government | 6 | 10 | 56 | 300 |
| Revenue from local sources | 1,658 | 5,381 | 6,278 | 15,323 |
| Property taxes | 1,192 | 4,159 | 4,273 | 9,010 |
| Sales and gross receipt taxes | 3 | 26 | 133 | 718 |
| Individual income taxes | ..... | ..... | 27 | 96 |
| Corporation net income | ..... | ..... | 3 | 7 |
| License and other taxes | 113 | 89 | 189 | 523 |
| Charges and miscellaneous | 232 | 605 | 661 | 2,331 |
| Utility and liquor store | 116 | 463 | 904 | 2,357 |
| Unemployment compensation | ..... | ..... | 8 | 5 |
| Employee retirement | 2 | 39 | 80 | 275 |

Source: Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics on State and Local Government Finances, 1902 to 1953* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1955).

The development of sources of revenue other than the property tax has been motivated by several factors. In the early 1930's there was a wave of state-imposed limitations, constitutional or statutory, on local revenues from real estate. Some new homestead exemption laws were enacted about the same time. Fortunately for local governments, these limitations, adopted in a wave of hysteria, were enacted by no more states after their effects became apparent. State revenues began growing rapidly when the depression

the personal property tax, both tangible and intangible, is generally regarded as inequitable and unenforceable. While the personal property tax may, and in this writer's opinion should, be abolished, the real property tax is being strengthened. Preliminary to proper use of the property tax is the equitable assessment of real estate. As stated earlier herein, the use of assessed valuations as the basis for computing grants-in-aid makes it mandatory that assessments be on a uniform basis not only within a city or county but throughout an entire state. When equity in assessments has been achieved, the local tax yield will probably be greater,

grants will be distributed more fairly, and the personal property tax can be modified or dropped. Toward equalization of assessments great progress has been made in many states, including New York, Pennsylvania, Colorado, California, and Iowa.

The local income or payroll tax started by Philadelphia in 1939 has spread to scores of other local governments in Pennsylvania, to several large Ohio cities, to St. Louis, Louisville, and a few other places. The rates are usually 0.5 or 1 per cent of gross income. The yield is high; the legal and political obstacles to its use are substantial. Although special districts and small communities do not seem fitted to administer this tax, it will eventually extend to more of the large cities.

Sales taxes for local communities have become common. The trend is toward state collection. Nearly all cities in California and Illinois now have a sales tax. To illustrate the yield, Chicago estimates $21,600,000 from this source in 1957. New York and New Orleans were probably the pioneering cities with this tax. These two still administer their own sales taxes.

Other substantial local revenue sources of more limited use are license taxes based on the volume of business, service charges for some services such as garbage collection, local cigarette and beer taxes, and local gasoline taxes. Utility excise taxes are reasonably widespread.

The newer taxes have not been tested by a serious depression. Their yield is fine now, but their stability is questionable.

Grants-in-aid for rural libraries are now paid by the federal government pursuant to Public Law 597, approved June 19, 1956. As Mrs. Fyan has reported, for the year ending June 30, 1957, Congress appropriated $2,050,000, which provides basic grants of $40,000 to each of the forty-eight states, Alaska, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico and $10,000 to the Virgin Islands. By June, 1957, thirty-six states had submitted plans required by the Library Services Act for the improvement and extension of rural library service. For federal fiscal 1958 the President requested an appropriation of $3,000,000. The House Appropriations Committee recommended $5,000,000, which the House later approved. The Senate Appropriations Committee has upheld this sum. Now you who are librarians can rejoice that the money has been made available by the federal government. But as one who views finances more broadly, let me remind you that every one of the forty-eight states had the fiscal capacity to pay the $40,000 from state funds had it been so inclined.

Data on state grants to libraries do not appear to be adequate. But the number of states making such grants is increasing and probably will continue to increase.

### FIXED RATES AND SPECIAL LEVIES

When I talked to the Graduate Library School Institute on August 8, 1938, I said that "fixed tax rates and fixed tax levies for libraries do not seem to have produced favorable library support" and that "I would dismiss as impractical the possibility or advisability of trying to determine what percentage of the total municipal budget should be used for library expense."[1] Note was also taken of the $1.00 per capita standard for library operation and maintenance.

[1] Carl H. Chatters, "Financing the Library as a Municipal Service," in Carleton B. Joeckel (ed.), *Current Issues in Library Administration: Papers Presented before the Library Institute at the University of Chicago, August 1-12, 1938* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), p. 211.

Now, nearly two decades later, I am convinced that neither a maximum nor a minimum tax levy, expressed either in dollars or in rate, is desirable for those who want libraries supported according to need. A fixed per capita figure is passable as a national objective and as a sales point provided that the per capita does not get fixed too firmly in the law or the public mind. If $1.00 per capita was good library support in 1938, think how inadequate it would be now!

John B. Kaiser, director of the Public Library of Newark, wrote me last week with reference to my conclusions in 1938. He said, "Fortunately I [recently] threw out your warning and my own, and got the librarians' committee to take no action at all. The point is, *first*, a fixed minimum is not an advantage, and an *inadequate* fixed minimum is absolutely useless and senseless."

In 1949 and 1950, when I was director of the American Municipal Association, it was apparent that our legislative tactics with respect to federal aid for urban highways would have to be changed. One of the best trade association executives in Washington told me then that we should stop complaining to Congress about the unfair distribution of federal highway moneys as between urban and rural areas and focus the attention of Congress on the *needs* of urban areas. We used this plan before both houses. As a result we were successful in getting the proportion of highway money going to urban areas greatly increased. Again in 1951 we were tempted to abandon our story based on need. However, we continued to discuss only urban highway needs and not the alleged injustice to the urban areas. Again we succeeded. So I say to you, "Base your case for library support on your needs and your services. Stay away from easy slogans and mythical minimum rates." You have a good story to tell. Stick to it!

### OTHER INFLUENCES ON SUPPORT

The support of local services, including libraries, may be affected by other movements or events. For example, present popular interest in the federal budget will cause more careful scrutiny of state and local spending. Bond issues requiring a popular referendum will have an uphill battle. Also, if the movement to limit the federal income tax to a maximum of 25 per cent should be written into the federal constitution (which I hope it will not be), there would be a revolution in the entire federal-state-local tax system whose outcome would be cataclysmic. The current emphasis on highway construction; the consequent diversion of federal, state, and local resources to that end; and the "squeeze" on other expenditures of a less tangible nature may harm the less spectacular services. Continuing price inflation, particularly for personal service payments, not only requires libraries to increase their dollar income but also makes the employment and retention of trained personnel a major concern.

Metropolitan government is the chief interest today of those students of political science who are not gazing at the more remote fields of national and international affairs. You can rest assured, however, that both your urban and rural libraries will find their activities, organization, and finances greatly affected by the reorganization of metropolitan area governments and the consequent financial changes.

State revenue systems are now generally built around the sales tax or the income tax. Both sources are highly vulnerable to economic change. State revenues would drop sharply if business

were to suffer a moderately heavy setback. Under such conditions all activities of government, both state and local, would suffer. State governments generally are no better prepared for economic change than they were in 1929–32. Such drastic unemployment and financial catastrophes probably will not or cannot be repeated. But a less severe reaction would strain the finances of our states and their ability to continue grants.

Additional types of local revenues of a new and substantial nature, such as the income and sales tax, are not visible on the horizon now. Local revenues if increased will have to come directly from local citizens through sales taxes, income taxes, special charges for services, and more equitable property taxes. Both the growth of population and the climbing price level will demand more and more dollars for local activities. Competition for the taxpayers' money will become keener and the taxpayer himself more reluctant. Relief could come most certainly from reduced federal taxes.

Continued economic growth in the United States will prolong our opportunity to expand public services, with each service likely to be treated financially according to the public support it develops. Many factors affect the financial support that will come to libraries in the future. Some are beyond control. The direction and amount of money available from other sources, however, can be influenced. Therefore, the individual librarian and librarians as a group, by the type of service they perform and the public attitudes they create, can influence the direction taken by the social forces affecting library support.

# COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENTS AND THEIR EFFECT ON LIBRARY PLANNING

PHILIP M. HAUSER

LIBRARY planning over the next several decades will necessarily have to take into account the great changes the nation is now experiencing in population growth, distribution, and composition and in the physical structures of our metropolitan areas. Under the impact of two world wars and a great depression within the compass of a single human generation, the United States is experiencing basic population and physical changes, some of which are reinforcing or accelerating long-time trends and some of which represent reversals of them. The public library, like other agencies and institutions on the contemporary scene, must necessarily adapt itself to these developments. "Library planning," which may be regarded as a short expression for "rational decision-making in respect to the future of libraries," is a way to effect the accommodation of the library to the changing scene with a minimum of friction and with the greatest possible efficiency. To achieve these objectives, the library planner must be conversant with the basic changes under way and in prospect. Let us turn, first, to a consideration of the basic population changes under way and, second, to the structural changes in the metropolitan area which have important implications for the library.

## POPULATION CHANGES

### TOTAL POPULATION GROWTH

Until the beginning of World War II, the long-time trend of total population growth in the United States was definitely downward. Between 1790 and 1950 the population of the country doubled five times. The first three times, between 1790 and 1865, it took twenty-five years each time. The fourth time, between 1865 and 1900, it took thirty-five years. The fifth time the doubling of the population, between 1900 and 1950, took fifty years.[1] The downward secular trend in rate of national population growth was augmented by the depression in the thirties, during which the American birth rate and the rate of population growth reached new lows. Widely accepted population projections during the 1930's indicated that the United States would reach a maximum population of about 165 million by the end of the century and remain stationary or decline shortly thereafter.[2]

[1] Data utilized unless otherwise specified are drawn largely from publications of the United States Bureau of the Census. To prevent a bulky number of footnotes, the main sources are indicated below: United States Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1956* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1956); *Historical Statistics of the United States, 1789–1945* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1949); *Continuation to 1952 of Historical Statistics of the United States, 1789–1945* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1954); *United States Census of Population: 1950*, Vol. II: *Characteristics of the Population*, Part I: *United States Summary* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1953); *Revised Projections of the Population of the United States, by Age and Sex: 1960 to 1975* ("Current Population Reports—Population Estimates," Series P-25, No. 123 [Washington, D.C.]); *Civilian Population of the United States, by Type of Residence: April 1955 and 1950* ("Current Population Reports—Population Characteristics," Series P-20, No. 63 [Washington, D.C.]).

[2] P. K. Whelpton, *Forecasts of the Population of the United States, 1945 to 1975* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1947), p. 41.

The effects of World War II and post-war developments, however, have drastically altered the population prospects of the country. The economic boom which has accompanied these developments has produced an upsurge in marriage and fertility unanticipated either in magnitude or in duration. In consequence, the population of the United States passed the 165 million mark in 1955 and exceeded 171 million by June, 1957. Projections of the United States Bureau of the Census indicate that the population of the United States will reach a total of about 228 million by 1975 if the birth rate remains at relatively high levels and a population of at least 207 million even if the birth rate should drop considerably.

Thus, the library which accommodated itself to a national growth of 7 per cent, or 9 million persons between 1930 and 1940, must be prepared for an increase of up to 30 million persons per decade between 1950 and 1975. In the short span of twenty-five years the library must be prepared for a population increase of from 55 to 75 million persons —an increase over the period of from 37 to 50 per cent.

An increase of up to 50 per cent in library facilities and services within the compass of twenty-five years may seem difficult if not impossible in the light of present library budgets and resources. But it must be borne in mind that the population increase in prospect will also generate at least comparable increases in national income. That we can afford to pay for the indicated expansion is suggested by the fact that the increase in the national income of the United States which may be anticipated between 1950 and 1975 even under conservative assumptions will exceed the national income of any nation on the earth today, except the United States itself.[3]

### METROPOLITAN AREA CONCENTRATION

For purposes of the 1950 Census and other statistical uses the federal government has delineated 168 Standard Metropolitan Areas in the United States.[4] These consist, in general, of central cities of 50,000 or more inhabitants, together with one or more contiguous county populations which according to certain criteria are metropolitan in character and oriented toward the central city.

In 1900 the Standard Metropolitan Areas in the United States contained less than one-third of the population. By 1950 the Standard Metropolitan Areas accounted for over half (57 per cent) of the population of the country. In the first half of this century, while the total population of the United States doubled, the population in the metropolitan areas increased three and one-half fold. The tendency for the population to become increasingly concentrated in metropolitan areas not only is continuing but is also accelerating. Between 1900 and 1950, metropolitan areas absorbed 73 per cent of the total population increase of the country. In the last decade of this period, between 1940 and 1950, metropolitan areas absorbed 81 per cent of the total population increase of the country. Between 1940 and 1950, it is estimated by the Bureau of the Census, the metropolitan areas absorbed about 97 per cent of the total national population increase.

If the changes experienced between 1950 and 1955 were to continue, the Standard Metropolitan Areas would increase by some 60 million persons between 1950 and 1975 and would contain more than two-thirds of the population of the United States.

[3] Based on calculations by the writer, assuming no increase in national income per head.

[4] For definitions see *United States Census of Population*, Vol. II: *Characteristics of the Population*, p. 27.

The library has, of course, from its inception been essentially an urban institution identified with urbanism as a way of life. Library facilities continue to be concentrated primarily in urban areas and especially in the larger metropolitan areas. In the allocation of resources for libraries in the coming decades it is clear that the problem of expansion is, even more than in the past, a problem of keeping up with the tremendous increase in metropolitan-area inhabitants. The extent to which individual metropolitan areas may be expected to increase may be determined through the same analytical procedures utilized in analyzing the trends and making the projections for the country as a whole. Projections for a number of individual areas are already available.[5]

### DECENTRALIZATION OF METROPOLITAN AREA POPULATION

The large city identified with Western civilization is, in the main, the product of the industrial revolution and especially of nineteenth-century industrial technology. That is, the large cities of the United States, in common with the large cities in the Western world, tended in their nineteenth-century development to be organized in response to the centripetal forces of the steam engine and the belt and the pulley.

At the present time metropolitan-area populations are apparently responding to centrifugal rather than centripetal forces, as is evidenced by increased attention to the problem of "decentralization."

[5] E.g., Philip M. Hauser and Gerald S. Newman, "Projections of Population for the Chicago Standard Metropolitan Area to 1980: Report by the Chicago Community Inventory, University of Chicago, to the Chicago Plan Commission and the Office of the Housing and Redevelopment Coordinator, Chicago, August, 1955." Such projections are often available through city planning commissions.

The "decentralization" of population within our metropolitan areas is in part real and in part only apparent. It is real in the sense that the metropolitan physical plant is now responding to twentieth-century technology—the automobile, electric power, and the telephone—which permits wider dispersion of the population than did nineteenth-century technology. A good example of this is afforded by perhaps the most fully twentieth-century metropolitan area in the United States, namely, Los Angeles.

On the other hand, the fact that larger and larger proportions of the population of our metropolitan areas is resident in the suburban ring rather than the central city results more from natural growth processes than from centrifugal technological forces. The "rings" of our metropolitan areas have been growing more rapidly than our central cities throughout the course of this century largely because our central cities have become filled up. Cities have arbitrary boundaries set forth in their charters of incorporation. In consequence, as the economic base and population of the metropolitan area continues to grow, the time comes when both industry and population can find locations only outside city limits in the metropolitan ring. Between 1900 and 1950 the rate of growth of the outlying rings in relation to the rate of growth of central cities was something like 1.33 to 1 (208 compared with 159 per cent). Between 1940 and 1950 the ratio of growth of metropolitan rings to growth in the central cities was about 2.5 to 1 (35 compared with 14 per cent). In the first half of this decade, from 1950 to 1955, the ratio was 7 to 1 (28 compared with 4 per cent).

Since our metropolitan areas will continue to grow, the proportion of metropolitan-area population resident in sub-

urban rings will continue to increase. If we assume an increase of about 60 million persons in metropolitan United States between 1950 and 1975—a real possibility—continuation of recent changes would place about 50 million persons in the metropolitan ring and only 10 million in our central cities. Moreover, of the 50 million to be added to the metropolitan rings, it is possible that about half will be resident in parts of metropolitan areas which are today unincorporated "rural fringe."

The implications of these changes should be clear to library planners. If library facilities are to be readily accessible to the population in 1975, it is obvious that the library, like the retail outlet, must continue to follow the new population distribution. Various ways of dealing with increasingly "decentralized" populations will undoubtedly continue to develop. Some effective way of dealing with this situation, however, must be found by all library administrative personnel charged with planning activities during the years which lie ahead.

### AGE STRUCTURE

Great decreases in the birth rates and death rates of the United States and changes in our immigration policy have greatly affected the age structure of the population. Undoubtedly, the outstanding single change is that referred to as the aging of the population. The long-run trend can briefly be summarized by referring to the fact that in 1800 the average American was only sixteen years old; by 1950 he was over thirty. Changes in the average age of the population and the relative size of the various age groupings undoubtedly affect reading habits and therefore merit the attention of the library planners.

During the first half of this century the median age of the population of the United States rose from 22.9 to 30.1 years, an increase of over seven years. While the population of the United States as a whole doubled, between 1900 and 1950, persons roughly of elementary-school age—five to fourteen years—increased by only 43 per cent. In consequence, persons of elementary-school age decreased from 22 per cent of the total population in 1900 to 16 per cent of the total by 1950. Persons of high-school age, fifteen to nineteen years, increased by about 40 per cent between 1900 and 1950, to decline from 10 per cent of the population in 1900 to about 7 per cent of the population in 1950. While younger persons were decreasing as the proportion of the total, persons sixty-five years of age and over increased from 4 per cent in 1900 to over 8 per cent of the population in 1950. While the population doubled, the number of senior citizens, those sixty-five and over, quadrupled.

The postwar boom in marriages and babies in conjunction with previous age trends will produce further significant changes in age structure in the coming decades. Persons of elementary-school age, five to fourteen years, are likely to increase by from 6 to 17 million between 1950 and 1975, or from 24 to 71 per cent, depending on the course of the birth rate. Persons of high-school age, fifteen to nineteen years, are likely to increase from 7 to 10 million, or by from 62 to 90 per cent in the same period. While the number and proportions of young persons are undergoing this rapid growth, the number and proportion of senior citizens will also continue to expand rapidly. Between 1950 and 1975, persons sixty-five years of age and over will increase by about $6\frac{1}{2}$ million, or by 66 per cent.

Thus, the library planner, while con-

fronted with a total population increase of from 37 to 50 per cent between 1950 and 1975, must plan for up to a 71 per cent increase in elementary-school children, a 90 per cent increase in high-school children, and a 66 per cent increase in oldsters. Persons twenty to sixty-four years of age will, of course, remain relatively stable, while the upper and lower ends of the age structure rapidly change. Persons in this intermediate age group will increase by about 30 per cent between 1950 and 1975.

To the extent that library acquisitions are oriented to age, it is clear that the library planner has important growth differentials by age with which to contend in the period ahead.

### ETHNICITY AND RACE

The reading habits of the American people and the characteristics of volumes on library shelves have undoubtedly been influenced by the diversity of the ethnic and racial composition of the American population. The rapid population growth of the country was in large part a result of foreign immigration. Between 1820 and 1950 the United States admitted 40 million immigrants, mostly from Europe. Moreover, the population contains considerable elements of non-white persons, mainly the Negro, who between 1790 and 1820 made up a fifth of the total population.

Despite heavy immigration, the foreign-born in the United States never exceeded 15 per cent of the total population. Foreign white stock as defined by the Census (i.e., the foreign-born plus natives of foreign or mixed parentage) made up more than one-third of the population (35 per cent) in 1910 but have decreased in proportion ever since. The characteristics of our immigrant populations were undoubtedly reflected in some measure in the stocks of our libraries. As successive waves of immigrants came to our shores, waves of Germans, Irish, and Scandinavians during the nineteenth century and southern and eastern European stocks—Poles, Russians (particularly Jewish), Italians, Slavs, Greeks, etc.—during the twentieth century, their needs for literature and their tastes in it must have been reflected in library acquisitions.

In the coming decades the foreign-born will become increasingly unimportant as consumers of library services. By reason of our immigration exclusion acts of the 1920's, the proportion of foreign-born, 6.7 per cent in 1950, will have shrunk to negligible proportions, 1 or 2 per cent, by 1975.

As the foreign-born have declined, the American Negro has increased in importance as a library consumer. Despite the fact that the American Negro has been a resident and a citizen of the United States for a longer period than the average white person, he has, until relatively recently, been largely excluded from the American urban way of life. He has, therefore, been a relatively unimportant consumer of library services. Trends of recent origin which are now accelerating will make the Negro a more avid consumer of literature and may affect library planning because of the special problems with which the Negro will be confronted in the transition from a rural to an urban and metropolitan way of life.

Changes in the role of the Negro as a consumer of library services may be understood in the light of the following facts. First, since 1820 the Negro has been a decreasing proportion of the total population, shrinking from about 20 per cent to about 10 per cent in 1930—a level at about which he has remained

ever since. Second, it may be observed that in 1860, the date of the last Census before the outbreak of the Civil War, 92 per cent of the Negroes were resident in the South. A half-century later, in 1910, the Census before the outbreak of World War I showed that this concentration of Negroes had declined by only 3 percentage points to 89 per cent. The first large migratory flows of Negroes from the South to the North began during World War I. Negro migration in response to the need for manpower to man our World War I industrial plant was a replacement for European immigration which came to almost a complete halt during the war. Third, after the passage of our immigration exclusion acts, Negro migration continued as a substitute for European immigration to meet the needs for manpower of an expanding industrial base. Negro migration was greatly accelerated during World War II and will continue to be a major source of manpower for our expanding economy.

Finally, the changed character of the Negro as a library consumer is highlighted by the fact that the Negro is rapidly becoming urbanized through internal migration. In 1910, only 27 per cent of the Negroes lived in cities; by 1950 over 90 per cent of the Negroes in the North and in the West were urban residents. Moreover, 48 per cent of the Negroes in the South also lived in cities. Thus, the Negro has been called upon in a little more than a single generation to make the transition from a rural to an urban way of life. The library is undoubtedly contributing toward this transition and will undoubtedly play an increasingly important role in this respect in the decades which lie ahead.

By 1975 it is possible that the North and the West will have as many Negroes as the South and that from a third to a half of the population of many of our great cities, and a fifth to a third of the population of a number of our Standard Metropolitan Areas, will be Negro.

### THE FAMILY

The family in the United States has undergone, and is still undergoing, significant changes in size and composition and in the nature of family living and interpersonal relations. Some of these changes undoubtedly affect reading habits in respect to both available time and subject matter. Moreover, the changing character of the family and the new type of problems which these changes pose for its members have become subjects for much written material, processed and circulated by libraries for the benefit of family consumers. Since the growth in the number of households and parents is not identical with the growth of total population, data relating to household and family growth point to the special consumer requirements, to the extent that they can be differentiated, of parents, children, and other related persons and non-related persons living in household groups.

The size of the family in the United States, as measured by the number of persons per household, decreased from 5.8 in 1790 to 3.5 in 1950. Even the postwar baby boom did not arrest the long-time downward trend of persons per household. Between 1940 and 1950, persons per household decreased from 3.8 to 3.5, and, although there has been a slight upturn during this decade, the probabilities are high that the average size of household in 1960 will be below that in 1950. The decline in the size of family reflects, of course, both the decline in fertility and the transition from the large-family to the small-family sys-

tem. The latter trend has continued even during periods of increases in fertility so as to maintain the downward trend in average size of family.

The decrease in average size of family produces, of course, a larger proportion of household heads among the total population and accounts for the greater rate of growth of households or families than of total population. Between 1900 and 1950, while the total population of the United States increased by about 2 per cent per year or doubled, the number of households increased by about $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per year or tripled.

The formation of new households is affected both by the changing age structure of the population and by the marriage rate. Marriages per 1,000 persons, that is, the crude marriage rate, reached an all-time high in 1946 at a level of 16.4, through the combined influence of unprecedented levels of economic activity, demobilization, and a relatively favorable age structure, that is, a relatively large proportion of persons attaining marriageable age (reflecting the birth rate of the mid-twenties). The postwar marriage boom has created new records in the proportion of the American population married. In 1900 only 53 per cent of males fourteen and over were married; by 1950 this proportion had increased to 71 per cent. For females fourteen years of age and over the proportion married over the same time span increased from 55 to 66 per cent.

Because of the unavailability of data, long-time trends cannot be established on the changing household status of the population. Between 1940 and 1950, for example, the proportion of men in the population who were heads of households increased from about 46 per cent to 51 per cent. The proportion of male children in the population living in households decreased from 42 per cent to 39 per cent; the proportion of male lodgers from 4 per cent to less than 3 per cent. Among females the proportion of wives increased from 41 per cent in 1940 to 45 per cent in 1950. Such shifts in household status, certainly over the long run, must point to changes in reading habits and the demand for various types of library services.

Other types of family changes of undoubted import to library planners are beginning to become available, among the most important of which are those related to changes in the "family cycle."[6] Between 1890 and 1950, for example, average age at first marriage decreased from 26.1 years to 22.8 years for the groom and from 22 years to 20.1 years for the bride. This decrease in average age at marriage was accompanied also by a decline in age of parents at the birth of the first child. The average wife, who was about 23 years old at the birth of the first child in 1890, was about 22.5 years old by 1950. Of perhaps greater significance for effect on reading habits is the decrease in average age of parents at the birth of the last child. In 1950, both parents were well under thirty at the birth of their last child, the wife with an average of 26 years and the husband with an average of 28.7 years. In 1890 the average wife was about 32 years old and the average husband 36 years old at the birth of their last child.

The changing character of interpersonal relations in the family, indicating changes in time available for various types of pursuits including reading, is indicated by the earlier departure of children from

[6] Paul C. Glick, "The Life Cycle of the Family," *Marriage and Family Living*, XVII, No. 1 (February, 1955), 3–9; "The Family Cycle," *American Sociological Review*, XII, No. 2 (April 1947), 164–72; *American Families* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1957).

the family fold and the increase in husband-wife years remaining after such departure. In 1950 the average age of the wife at the marriage of her last child was 47.5 years, 7.8 years below the average age of 55.3 years in 1890. The average age of the husband under similar circumstances in 1950 was 50.2 years, a decrease of 9.2 years from 1890.

The earlier departure of children, combined with increased longevity, has resulted in a great increase in husband-wife years remaining after the departure of their last child. In 1890 the average wife still had an unmarried child at home at the death of her husband. By 1950 the average couple could look forward to fourteen years of life together after their last child had married.

Other changes in the family which must affect reading habits include the following: the average age of the wife at the death of her husband increased by 8.1 years between 1890 and 1950 to reach a total of 61.4 years. The average age of the husband at the death of his wife increased by 6.7 years to 64.1 years. The average age of death of a surviving spouse increased from 67.7 to 77.2 years for the surviving wife; and from 66.4 to 71.6 years for the surviving husband. Between 1890 and 1950 the average duration of first marriage before dissolution by death increased by almost a third, from 31 to 41 years. Freedom from childbearing by the average wife, that is, the interval between the birth of the last child and end of life, increased by over 40 per cent, from 36 to 51 years.

In respect of the increases in the number of households which may be anticipated, projections indicate a possible increase of about 18 million households between 1950 and 1975, by which time the number of households in the United States will approximate 62 million.

Many other changes in families might be cited, the full meaning of which, for various types of consumption including that of library services, is not yet fully comprehended. That these types of changes do affect library services, however, can hardly be disputed.

## STRUCTURAL CHANGES

### THE HISTORICAL PATTERN

The physical structure of the urban community in the United States reflects the combined influences of remarkably rapid growth of development during a period of great technological change and of the play of forces of competition in what has been, in the main, a free-market economy. The interplay of these factors has produced the modern industrial plant, which simultaneously is one of the great triumphs of man as an environment- and culture-building animal and one of the great matrices of man's acute physical and social problems.

A helpful perspective in understanding the physical problems of the metropolis is afforded by the fact that, whereas man has been on the globe for perhaps a million years, the metropolis of a million or more inhabitants has been with us probably not more than a mere one hundred and fifty years, little more than five human generations. This time perspective is particularly applicable to the United States. In our first Census in 1790 only twenty-four urban places were reported (that is, places having 2,500 or more persons), and only two of them had populations exceeding 25,000.

Cities in the United States grew not structure by structure but subdivision, neighborhood, and community at a time. Chicago, for example, became a city of a million in a half-century. In the 1840 Census, the first in which Chicago ap-

peared, the population of the city was 4,470. By 1890 it had exceeded a million.

Students of the city have documented patterns of growth which indicate that our urban areas grow outward from one or more centers of origin. Although urban areas are characterized by both vertical and horizontal growth, the latter is the dominant form of development. In consequence of the simple geometry of growth, the newer areas are always those farthest from the center or centers of origin. Since our urban plant grew during a period of rapid technological changes newer and outlying structures tended to be more desirable places of residence not only because they were newer but also because they embodied the technological advances. In their first cycle of development, then, our metropolitan areas tended to have definite spatial patterns in respect to the character of residential structures. The older, the most outmoded, and the least desirable places to live have tended to be toward the center of our cities; the newer, the more advanced, and the more desirable places to live tended to be toward the periphery.

The physical patterning of our metropolitan plant has produced a parallel, socioeconomic, spatial stratification of the urban population. Persons of lowest income, education, and occupational status, usually the newcomers to the urban environment, tended to occupy the less desirable residences toward the center of the city. Persons of higher income, education, and social status tended to be located toward the peripheries of the metropolis. In consequence, agencies and institutions of all sorts distributed in accordance with the distribution of population tended to be attuned to, and to reflect, the characteristics of the areas in which they were located. This must certainly have been true for the branch library whose stocks of reading material and general services reflected the interests of the population among whom they were located. For one thing, the branch library closest to the center of the city tended, like residential housing, to be older and more outmoded than that toward the newer, peripheral areas of the city.

As our urban plant has aged, the early patterns of remarkably rapid growth have been paralleled by equally remarkable obsolescence and decay. Just as our cities grew not structure by structure but community by community, so have our cities decayed not by structure but by community. Consequently, our cities have uniformly become characterized by areas of substandard housing and by slums which have become not only a national disgrace but also a major national political issue. The area of substandard housing or the slum may be viewed as one of the by-products or frictions of rapid growth in a free-market economy which produced the highest mass level of living in human history. In our initial rush toward ever higher levels of economic activity and of living standards, we tended to overlook our obsolescent and decaying areas. At mid-twentieth century, however, we are beginning to eradicate these ugly by-products of our rapid nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century development under a host of programs—federal, state, and local—which are being increasingly lumped together under the designation of "urban renewal."

Under the urban renewal program which has tended to consolidate efforts at slum clearance, rehabilitation, and conservation, we are now, in keeping with the heroic patterns of the past, beginning to destroy and rebuild decayed areas of our cities not structure by structure but communities at a time. Popu-

lations of inner zones are, therefore, being uprooted and dispersed to various sections of the metropolitan area. Inner zones are being rebuilt or rehabilitated so as to attract not only lower-income groupings of the population but also higher income and social groups. These developments together with new developments in the suburban rings of the metropolitan areas presage basic changes in the physical structure of our metropolitan areas and of the manner in which they are used. These changes have important implications for all agencies providing goods or services to the population, including the library.

### THE PROSPECT

It seems reasonable to expect that the trends in process will produce a much more heterogeneously composed metropolitan area in the decades which lie ahead. The spatial patterning of the physical residential plant of our metropolitan areas with its correlative socioeconomic stratification of the population is likely to be drastically modified. It is the outlying peripheral areas which are now experiencing the relatively rapid growth experienced by the central cities and inner zones during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is possible that, while our decayed and obsolescent inner areas are replaced or renovated, decay and obsolescence will occur in our suburban rings. Moreover, with increased interventionism and with the increased utilization of the tools of urban renewal, it is likely that the physical and socioeconomic character of a community in the future will depend less on the historical accident of its origin and its location in respect to the center and older section of the city and more on the will of organized population groupings as manifest in their planning and development activities. Thus, there will be both "good" and "bad" communities at both the center of the metropolitan areas and at their peripheries.

Finally, it is possible that an emergent pattern of residence within the metropolitan area may become the modal one in the decades to come. There is increasing evidence that the family is tending toward a cyclical use of the metropolitan area in correspondence with the family cycle. The newly married couples tend to live toward the center of the city near their places of work. As children come, they tend to move to the outlying suburban area to place their youngsters in the surrounding of green lawns and open spaces. As the last youngster departs for college or gets married to start his own family career, the parents show an increasing tendency to move back toward a rebuilt or renovated inner zone of the city, on the one hand, to escape the chore of mowing the lawn, and, on the other, to be closer to work, friends, recreation, and the many other services and amenities of urban existence.

The changes under way and those which may be anticipated may call for important adjustments in the present distribution of libraries and their branches and the makeup of the services which they provide. Specific analyses are desirable for the wide variety of situations both within and between metropolitan areas. But, in general, it may be stated that the library and its branches will be faced with the need to adjust to the changing physical structure of the metropolitan area and changes in the way in which the metropolitan area is used by its inhabitants as well as to changes in population composition and population type.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The materials presented above by no means exhaust the changes in population and physical structure in the communities of the United States which will affect library planning. One obvious development, that it is scarcely necessary to mention in this paper, is the trend toward increasing enrolment in secondary and higher education which must inevitably affect reading habits. This is a trend which it may be assumed is familiar to the library planner.

Among the population changes which cannot be ignored are the increased tempo of population growth occasioned by the war and postwar marriage and baby boom and the profound changes in the age structure which may be anticipated, reflecting previous developments in fertility, mortality, and immigration. In general, library services must be expanded to meet a population increase of from 37 to 50 per cent to accommodate an additional 55–75 million persons between 1950 and 1975. Moreover, to the extent that age differences point to significant differences in reading habits, even greater accommodations must be made for individual age groups. The library planner must allow for an increase between 1950 and 1975 of from 24 to 71 per cent in the population of elementary-school age and of from 62 to 90 per cent in the population of high-school age. Simultaneously, the planner must take into account an increase of 66 per cent in persons sixty-five years of age and over who are increasingly leaving the labor force and being confronted with the need to find new ways of filling the life-space in their declining years. Finally, while dealing with these great changes for the younger and older groups, the library planner must also reckon with a 30 per cent increase in the population of intermediate age—that is, between twenty and sixty-four years.

Of more subtle import, perhaps, are the changes which may be anticipated in ethnicity and race. Library services for the foreign-born and the foreign stock will decrease in importance as the foreign-born shrink to the negligible proportion of 1 or 2 per cent of the population by 1975. As a special consumer group, however, the Negro who has become the major newcomer to metropolitan United States, may replace the foreign-born as a consumer of library services. In many of our metropolitan areas the Negro, who is now in transition from a rural to an urban way of life, may make up from a fifth to a half of the population. The library may become a highly significant agency among the various institutions which will assist the Negro in making this basic transition in his way of life.

Also more subtle in its implications for the library planner are the changes which may be anticipated in family size, composition, and interpersonal relations. The astute library planner may do well to pursue the implications of the more rapid rates of growth of families than of population, of the increasing number of husband-wife years of life together occasioned by decreasing mortality, of the increasing number of years of life free from childbearing by the American woman who is marrying earlier and having the last of her children earlier, and by the increasing number of husband-wife years together after the children have left the family. These changes could conceivably afford libraries new opportunities for highly significant services.

National growth, it has been indicated,

will be disproportionately concentrated in our great metropolitan areas and in the suburban rings of those areas including what is now unincorporated rural territory. Libraries will be faced with the necessity of providing services to perhaps 50 million additional Americans who will be located in the suburban rings of metropolitan areas, half of whom may find residences in what is now unincorporated open country.

Finally, the library planner must face the fundamental changes in the physical structure and in the use of the physical plant of the metropolitan area. While confronted with the necessity for tremendous expansion of services within a relatively short period of time, he must also be prepared to make drastic accommodations to greatly changing neighborhoods within the metropolitan complex.

The tasks which lie ahead for the library planner—and it may be added for anyone associated with the development or administration of library services—are not easy ones. The additional financial and other burdens which they will impose upon the community will not be minor ones. But the size of the task and the size of the burden must be viewed against the perspective of the fundamental importance of literacy and its role in the American way of life and of the tremendous productivity and purchasing power of the American people, which indicate that we can afford to assume the burdens and to complete the requisite tasks.

# THE CHILD IN THE CHANGING SOCIETY: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE LIBRARIAN

J. W. GETZELS

Let me confess at once that my field of specialized competence is not library science. In a sense I am something of an interloper here, but this is not without distinct advantages, since it gives me a leverage into the problem under consideration that I might otherwise not have. It affords me, for example, a fresh look into the literature and the issues, unencumbered by preconceptions and prejudices. It permits me, too, a certain objectivity, since I have not already taken a position in the field that I must now defend and maintain.

It seems to me that the crucial context within which the general theme of the conference, "New Directions in Public Library Development," must be considered is the problem of *values* and more especially the radical shift in values we as a people are currently undergoing. I believe this is as true for librarianship as it is for education or, for that matter, any existing social institution.

Indeed, there is a peculiar—or on second thought perhaps not so peculiar—parallelism between the present conceptual situation in librarianship and that in education.[1] One of the significant phenomena in education today is the dilemma posed by current theory that somehow the school must provide for the child simultaneously what wisdom requires, the market place demands, and the child himself wants. It need hardly be said that no institution can do all these things at once, or at least do them well, and the consequence of this dilemma is seen in the increasing strain between the child and the school, the parent and the teacher, the educational objectives and the school curriculum. In trying to explain the predicament into which we have gotten ourselves, the educator typically likes to allude to such things as the atomic age, technological change, mass society, mass communication, and such.[2] And I find similarly that the librarian, in trying to explain the increasing strains in *his* field—for example, between those who argue that the library should provide the child with what he wants and those who argue that the library should provide the child with only what is "good" for him—also likes to allude to such things as the atomic age, technological change, mass society, and mass communication, although, to be sure, he tends to emphasize the television, radio, and moving-picture aspects of our changing society. It is as if just making these allusions would define the problem for us, clarify the issues, and suggest the solution. It seems to me, however, that this is not so—that for both the educator and the librarian these generalized allusions to environmental changes, real as these changes are of course, by-pass rather than go to the core of the matter. They do not by themselves really explain anything. And the

[1] Parts of this paper, which are as relevant for education as for librarianship, have previously appeared in J. W. Getzels, "Changing Values Challenge the Schools," *School Review*, LXV (Spring, 1957), 92–102.

[2] For a fuller analysis of this see G. D. Spindler, "Education in a Transforming American Culture," *Harvard Educational Review*, XXV, No. 3 (1955), 145–53.

core of the matter is, as I have remarked, the problem of values, and more especially the radical shift in values we as a people are currently undergoing.[3]

For of this you may be sure: whatever else the child may be expected to learn as he grows up—whether from his school, his home, or the library—he is inevitably exposed, either explicitly or implicitly, to *some* system of values. The nature of these values plays a crucial role in the child's development individually as a person and socially as a citizen. And whether we will it or not—in fact, whether we know it or not—the choices we ourselves make as parents, as educators, and as librarians with respect to the objectives we are trying to achieve in our institutions, the procedures we use, the personnel we select, and even the buildings we construct are founded on some system of values, however unconsciously we may hold the values in any particular case. Indeed, I would argue that the significant processes and decisions of a given society or community—and the choice of what should and should not be communicated to the child is surely one of these decisions—cannot be understood outside the context of the dominant values of that society or community.

Now, before proceeding to the main argument, let me raise two objections that I myself recognize in the use of the value concept within the present context. The first objection is that the term "value" as a rigorous variable is in disrepute today. It has a sort of quaint philosophical or even theological flavor foreign to our modern, emancipated, value-free, so-called scientific age. But the disrepute into which questions of value have fallen is exactly one of the marks of our changing society, and this must be taken into consideration if we are to understand our own behavior and the behavior of our children. Choice—whether of ultimate life-goals, favorite political candidates, or desirable library objectives—invariably implies *some* criterion of selection. Yet we as a people have become increasingly uncertain whether we are entitled to have such a criterion or set of values. It is thoroughly shocking to see a professional teacher or librarian give way to pressure groups in his own field of expertness for want of a criterion to which he can appeal or for fear of stating a criterion even when he does have one. Choices are then made on the basis of threat and power rather than on the basis of rational standards and values. In fact, it is the mark of the professional person that he has such set of rational standards and values with which he can withstand the threat and power of non-professional pressure groups. And, until the teacher and librarian acquire and feel free to express such criteria, they will remain only second-class professional people. In self-justification, the teacher and librarian will say that they do not wish to become involved in *value judgments*, and, in fact, the term "value judgment" itself has come to carry with it a negative connotation. But I need hardly add that the decision not to apply values is a value decision in itself—and, as we shall show, a value judgment of considerable consequence for us and for our children.

The second objection to the concept of values is that it is difficult to measure values with any precision and that it is even more difficult to measure changes in values. To be sure, it is certainly easier to measure head size than to understand emotions, to count the movement of populations than to gauge the expression of attitudes. The assessment of underlying values, which are inevi-

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 145.

tably inferential, is always hazardous, and of course it is even more hazardous to assess change over time. But, to understand what we are about in education and in librarianship, we must be concerned not only with changes in the tangibles but with changes in the intangibles. And we are not altogether without resources to assist us. Let me cite as an instance one study in the area of changing values which is not only relevant to the present argument but of interest in its own right.

In 1923 the Pressey X-O Personality Test was given to 955 undergraduate students at Ohio State University. The test contains a series of 125 items such as "immodesty," "extravagance," "slang," "flirting," and so on, and the respondent is required to indicate the items he believes to be objectionable or *wrong*, that is, the behaviors that outrage his value standards. In 1953, 842 students at the same institution were given the same test. In addition, 408 adults ranging in age from the twenties to the sixties were given the test. An analysis of the responses given by the Juniors and Seniors in 1923 and in 1953 and by the adults over fifty years of age in 1953 provides some illuminating data—which, you will note, is quite "objective"—regarding changes in what is considered right and wrong over a thirty-year chronological or lifespan.[4]

Here is a sampling of results (to save space, I shall give the results only for the men): The item "extravagance" was held to be wrong in 1923 by 61 per cent of the Juniors and Seniors; in 1953, by only 25 per cent. But 65 per cent of the 1953 sample of fifty-year-olds held this to be wrong—note the similarity of the older group to the Juniors and Seniors of 1923 and the difference from the Juniors and Seniors of their own time. The item "immodesty" was held to be wrong in 1923 by 70 per cent of the Juniors and Seniors; in 1953, by only 40 per cent. But 86 per cent of the 1953 sample of fifty-year-olds held this to be wrong—again note the similarity to the 1923 group and the difference from the young group of their own time. The item "slang" was held to be wrong in 1923 by 43 per cent of the Juniors and Seniors; in 1953, by only 11 per cent. But 45 per cent of the 1953 sample of fifty-year-olds held this to be wrong—once more note the greater similarity of the older group of 1953 to the younger group of 1923 than to the younger group of their own time. And so on for a number of the other items.

To be sure, these are rather simple data, and of course I am not arguing here the superiority of the one set of standards over the other. But I should like to use these findings to make two obvious points that are at once as important as they are frequently overlooked by teachers and librarians alike in their dealings with younger people: (1) there are continuous transformations in the standards of right and wrong over time and (2) there are real and sometimes startling cleavages between age groups with respect to the values they hold, even though they are living at the same time and in the same community.

These transformations and cleavages in values are of the greatest import not only for ourselves but for our children. In order to understand the child in our changing society, we must understand the nature of the adult values to which he must react and which he must at least in part learn to assimilate. Accordingly, what I should like to do in the bal-

[4] S. L. Pressey and A. W. Jones, "1923–1953 and 20–60 Age Changes in Moral Codes, Anxieties, and Interests," *Journal of Psychology*, XXXIX (1955), 485–502.

ance of the paper is to consider the following three major issues:

1. What is the nature of the dominant American values?

2. What is the nature of the current cleavages and transformations in these values?

3. What is the effect of these cleavages and transformations in values on the child and what are the implications of this for the child's relationship to the library?

### ON THE NATURE OF OUR TRADITIONAL SACRED AND SECULAR VALUES

Let me define the term "value" as I shall use it here. I borrow the definition from Clyde Kluckhohn: "A value is a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action."[5]

As one looks at Americans from this point of view, we seem in many ways an enigma. As Kaspar Naegele points out, at one time our values appear obvious and clear cut; at another time they are elusive and complicated in the extreme.[6] One oscillates between the conviction that there is a common value orientation and a common type of American, both of which it should not be too difficult to describe, and the doubt as to what indeed is held in common by the western farmer and the eastern businessman, the member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Illinois and the supporter of the White Citizens Protective Council or some such in Alabama, the subscriber to *Fortune* and the reader of *True Romances*. The American foreground is full of contrasts as well as of similarities. Where do our values overlap? Where do they diverge?

Our values overlap at the ideological level in the American creed. For there is an American creed which has variously been enunciated since Jefferson first wrote it—and this creed constitutes our basic and undivorcible beliefs, our "sacred values," as Naegele calls them. And it is these that we try to teach our children as our ultimate goals, "the things really worth fighting for." Most briefly stated these are the major sacred values:

1. *Democracy.*—As a general value, democracy implies that the experience of the many is more inclusive than the experience of the few, that what people want is what they need, and that the people are the best judge of their needs. It implies further the right to have wrong opinions and the familiar freedoms of speech, press, assemblage, and organization. And this, we hope, our children will learn.

2. *Individualism.*—As a general value, individualism implies that "the individual is the fountain source of energy, initiative, and responsibility in society, and has a right to self-expression."[7] This has three major implications, we tell the child: politically, it means subservience of the government to the citizenry; economically, it means free enterprise based

[5] C. Kluckhohn and others, "Values and Value-Orientations in the Theory of Action," in *Toward a General Theory of Action*, ed. Talcott Parsons and E. A. Shils (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952), p. 395.

[6] I am indebted for many of the formulations and sources in this section of the paper to an unpublished memorandum on selected studies of American values by Professor Kaspar Naegele, who very kindly permitted me to make use of the material. It is regrettable that this comprehensive and provocative research memorandum has not been published for general reference.

[7] E. W. Burgess, "Social Planning and the Mores," *Publication of the American Sociological Society*, XXIX (August, 1935), 1–18.

on individual risk; morally and religiously, it means that man is a free agent with a right to live his life in his own way.

3. *Equality.*—Alexis de Tocqueville, among other detached observers, emphasized equality as perhaps the fundamental American value. He wrote:

> In America, no one is degraded because he works, for everyone about him works also; nor is any one humiliated by the notion of receiving pay, for the President of the United States also works for pay. He is paid for commanding, other men for obeying orders. In the United States professions are more or less laborious, more or less profitable, but they are neither high or low; every honest calling is honorable.[8]

This is of course an overstatement, but nonetheless equality is one of the values by which we would want to live, and which we try, at least formally, to teach our children.

4. *Human perfectibility.*—As Naegele states, "To be basically hopeful, because the future counts and the past can be forgotten, even rejected, is defiantly cherished by all of us." Even when we are most pessimistic about the present, there is always the optimistic dream that things will be better by-and-by; we and our environment, we promise our children, are ultimately perfectible.

These are the values all of us cherish and want our children to cherish—at least those that we feel we and they *ought* to cherish. It is to these values that we appeal when we wish to legitimize action (I note, for example, that the most recent statement of library objectives begins with such an appeal—this time, to "democracy").[9] But in a sense we stand in relation to these values as we do to the Ten Commandments or the Golden Rule; at the moment when we may be departing from them most directly we would maintain that we are supporting them most firmly. And just as it is impossible to understand our Judeo-Christian culture by only reading the precepts of the Bible, so it is impossible to understand the American culture by knowing only the creed or the sacred values. For, in addition to these, there are, at another level, a core of operating or down-to-earth beliefs which constitute our *secular* values. In effect, if I may overstate the case somewhat, we pay homage most frequently to the sacred values on Sundays and state occasions, and we behave in our day-to-day activity in terms of the secular values—a circumstance, as I shall show, that does not make it easy for the ingenuous child to determine what it is he is really supposed to be living up to.

Traditionally—and I want to emphasize the word "traditionally," for evidence is accumulating that our changing society is departing from these beliefs—the major secular values have been:[10]

1. *The work-success ethic.*—Values of *achievement* take precedence over values of *being*. Anyone can get to the top if he tries hard enough, and everyone has an obligation to try hard enough to get to the top. To be sure, as Naegele points out, "kindness, forbearance, charity, and compassion," as aspects of what one *is* rather than what one *does*, also have a value. But, as he adds, success can excuse one for having intermittently broken the Golden Rule.

2. *Future-time orientation.*—The future, not the past or even the present, is important. We must be—and note the vernacular—"forward-looking" and "on

[8] *Democracy in America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Sever & Francis, 1864), II, 185–86.

[9] *Public Library Service: A Guide to Evaluation, with Minimum Standards* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1956), p. vii.

[10] The classification and analysis of *traditional* and *emergent* values are based in part on Spindler, *op. cit.*

the go." For what is to come is always bigger and better than what is now. Time therefore becomes a value in its own right and becomes equated with money—again note the vernacular, "Time is money." The present is undervalued for the sake of the future, and immediate needs must be denied satisfaction for greater satisfactions to come.

3. *Independence, or the autonomous self.*—The self is inviolable and as such of greater ultimate significance than the group. Its independence must be guarded from authority and from bureaucratic interference. Self-determination, self-activity, and self-perfection are the criteria of personal worth.

4. *Puritan morality.*—Respectability, thrift, self-denial, hard work, sexual constraint—these are the marks of common decency.[11] Personal virtue is measured by the seriousness of the ethical commitment. To be sure, there is the holiday, the opportunity to "blow off steam" and to "have fun." But, as Naegele says, this is kept outside the values of everyday living. Indeed, for many of us even now, vacations must be rationalized as the replenishment of energy—a good investment, as it were—for the serious and therefore significant things of life. Sociability for the sake of sociability was held to be akin to sloth—and sloth was a sin second only to idolatry.

### CLEAVAGES AND TRANSFORMATIONS IN OUR VALUES

The sacred values of the creed have remained relatively stable. This is not to say that they have not undergone stress and strain. As De Tocqueville pointed out long ago, and others have reiterated periodically since, the contrast between the principles of democracy and its practice is nowhere as sharp as in certain aspects of our life. We value individualism but fear personal individuality; we value personal initiative but gladly join the band wagon; we value personal responsibility but insist on social conformity. Equality is one of the values by which we would want to live, but our democratic institutions, to quote De Tocqueville, "awaken and foster a passion for equality they can never satisfy in practice." We keep faith in our ultimate perfectibility, but, as Lynd remarks, "the reverse side of the optimistic dream is woven of trouble. . . . In a culture in which to be unsuccessful means automatically to be in some wise a failure, one tends perforce to struggle with one's black moods alone and unaided."[12] Yet, despite these stresses and strains, democracy, equality, individualism, and human perfectibility as values remain sacred and are celebrated as *ideals* for ourselves and our children no less today than they were a hundred and fifty years ago.

The traditional operating or secular values, however—the work-success ethic, future-time orientation, personal independence, and Puritan morality—have undergone and are undergoing crucial transformation as a function of cleavage and change in our social structure. The diversity of the American scene has been remarked upon frequently enough, and the image of America as a melting pot is well known. I should like to suggest, however, that perhaps a more appropriate image than the melting pot is that of the *mosaic*. There are regional differences, and, when we go from Maine to southern California, we are moving not only from one place to another but from one way of life to another. There have always been rural-urban differences, and, al-

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 149.

[12] E. L. Koos, *Families in Trouble* (New York: King's Crown Press, 1946), pp. vii–viii.

though these are diminishing, we now have in addition differences between the urban, the sub-urban, and the so-called ex-urban points of view. For such observers as Lloyd Warner and Allison Davis, social class is the major source of cleavage, and they would argue that any understanding of the child in our society —changing or otherwise—must take into account the critical differences in attitudes and goals produced by differences in social class membership. They point out, for example, that, with respect to property, the middle class lays stress on the piling-up of material goods, the lower class on immediate spending of material goods; with respect to family life, the middle class is likely to be child-centered, the lower class, not child-centered; with respect to books and education, the middle class is likely to emphasize books and a good education as a primary vehicle for success, the lower class is likely to look upon education as in some vague way helpful but on the person who is "too bookish" as a misfit in the community.

Regional, rural-urban, and social class are not of course the only lines of cleavage in our society. I might cite in addition occupational, ethnic, religious, and other differences. But these are sufficient to make the general point: Our society is discontinuous along many dimensions, and our operating values are equally discontinuous along these dimensions. Now, without in any way minimizing the preceding well-known cleavages, we may suggest that the most significant cleavage of our time is the rapid and crucial transformation that the dominant secular values themselves are undergoing. Riesman called our attention to this in his trenchant distinction between our former *inner-directed* values and our prevailing *other-directed* values.[13] And, more recently, Spindler in a brilliant paper remarked upon the transformation as a change from *traditional* to *emergent* values.[14] Among the more notable of the changes are the following:

1. *From the work-success ethic to sociability.*—Instead of the work-success ethic, there is an overriding value of sociability and frictionless interpersonal relations. The hard-working, self-determined Horatio Alger hero as a national model is giving way to the affable young man in the gray flannel suit. Let me cite just one relevant study. Two hundred Seniors, both liberal-arts and professional students in twenty colleges and universities, were asked to describe their personal aspirations and life-goals. *Fortune* magazine published the findings under the suggestive title "None of This Ulcer Stuff."[15] Typically, the Seniors talked more about home than about career achievement. They reject the "push" of their fathers and aspire to Suburbia as their goal. As one of their number says quite bluntly, "Dad was a lone wolf, and I wouldn't have the brass." And another adds, "I'm not really interested in one of these big executive jobs. None of this ulcer and breakdown stuff for me—just making money doesn't stack up with keeping your health." One midwesterner sums it all up as follows—and note the emphasis on the "affable" as against the "ambitious" values: "I'm not money-mad by any means, but I'd like enough to buy a house, and have transportation, and of course good clothes for the family. Plus entertainment: I'd like to be able to see all the good plays and movies. And I suppose I'd want a trip every year: visit

[13] David Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1950).

[14] *Op. cit.*

[15] LIV (October, 1956), 155.

around in the big urban areas, you know, Berlin, Paris, Rome. I can't set any exact amount I'd like to make, so long as it's enough for the necessities of life."

2. *From future-time orientation to present-time orientation.*—Instead of future-time orientation and consequent self-denial, there is a hedonistic present-time orientation. Our former national slogan, "A penny saved is a penny earned," is giving way to the more modern slogan, "No down payment necessary." As a recent article in *Harper's Bazaar* points out, "The people principally responsible for our twenty-nine billion dollar installment debt on consumer goods are married couples under thirty: two thirds of these young families are in debt. Interest rates are so high that there is often more money to be made in financing merchandise than in retailing it, yet credit men say many young marrieds don't even bother to ask what interest they are paying."[16]

3. *From independence to conformity.*—Instead of independence and the autonomous self, there is compliance and conformity to the group. As Riesman has observed, we are replacing our inner gyroscope with a built-in radar that alerts us to the feelings of others. The goal of behavior is not personal rectitude but group consensus, not originality but adjustment. There are numerous signs of this transformation, and I shall mention only two—one from literature and one from industry—that happened to come my way as I was writing this paper. In literature, for example, a study of "Values in Mass Periodical Fiction, 1921–1940" suggests that "the change [during this period] . . . represents a shift away from the 'titan' success theme, in which the hero is exalted for his own genius over and above other group values, to the 'little man' success theme, in which the reward symbol is due the hero as the bearer of specific group virtues."[17] In industry, William Whyte points out, there are now master profiles of personal characteristics for various occupational groups, and, the closer one fits the group profile, the better.[18] The three common denominators of these profiles are: extroversion, disinterest in the arts, and a cheerful acceptance of the status quo. If you are being evaluated for a job, Whyte suggests you take the following precautions:

> (1) When asked for word associations or comments about the world, give the most conventional, run-of-the-mill, pedestrian answer possible.
>
> (2) When in doubt about the most beneficial answer to any question, repeat to yourself:
>
> I loved my mother and my father, but my father a little bit more.
>
> I like things pretty well the way they are.
>
> I never worry much about anything.
>
> I don't care for books or music much.
>
> I love my wife and children.
>
> I don't let them get in the way of company work.[19]

Individual stimulation as a value has given way to group tranquility as a value—the switch on the drug counter has been from benzedrine to "Miltown."

4. *From Puritan morality to moral relativism.*—Finally, instead of Puritan morality or at least moral commitment as a value, there are relativistic moral attitudes without strong personal commitments. Absolutes in right and wrong are questionable. In a sense, morality has

[16] Caroline Bird, "Born 1930: The Unlost Generation," *Harper's Bazaar*, XC (February, 1957), 106.

[17] Patricke Johns-Heine and Hans H. Gerth, in *Mass Culture: The Popular Arts in America*, ed. Bernard Rosenberg and David M. White (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957), p. 230.

[18] "Beware of Your Personality," *Encounter*, VII (August, 1956), 5–19.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

become a statistical rather than an ethical concept: morality is what the group thinks is moral.

These conflicting values—these values in flux—are held in various degree by the different persons and collectivities of persons in our society and in our schools. As Spindler points out, the younger teachers, for example, are more likely to be emergent in their values than the older teachers, the superintendents and principals more emergent than the parents and public they serve, the parents and public more emergent than the school-board members they select.[20] And I venture to say what is true of the school situation is probably true also of the library situation: the younger librarians are more likely to be emergent in their values than the older librarians, the directors of libraries more emergent than the public they serve, the general public more emergent than the library-board members who represent them.

And so we have side by side in the community and in its educational institutions a kaleidoscope of shifting and confusing, if not absolutely contradictory, assumptions about life and the values that are really ours. The child is exposed from the very first not only to a variety of beliefs about what is right and wrong but to a variety of divergent beliefs. He may be required at once to "work hard" but also to "get to know the right people," to be "individualistic and stand up for what he believes" but also to "conform and not stand out like a sore thumb," to be "educated in the pure arts and sciences" but also never to forget that it is "the simple and practical things in life that are really important." Current misunderstandings and conflicts between parents and children, between public and teachers, among teachers themselves—and, if you will, among librarians—may be understood in the context of these value dilemmas. Underlying all of these are the conflicting values—not only between what we have called the sacred and secular values but among the changing secular values themselves.

[20] *Op. cit.*, p. 151.

### GROWING UP IN A WORLD OF SHIFTING VALUES: SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR THE LIBRARY

What does all of this mean for the child in our society?

Growing up successfully involves the acquisition of a satisfactory set of values to live by and the attainment of a stable self-identity. This cannot be left to chance or to time alone; it takes some doing on the child's part and on society's part. For the human organism is not born into the world with a ready-made set of culturally adaptive behavior and values. Instead he must inevitably learn to put the question to himself: "May I yield to the impulse within me, or will I by doing so imperil the highest values of my society?" The child learns, on the one hand, to suppress or to modify certain of his drives. He learns, on the other hand, to acquire certain culturally adaptive attitudes and values.

But the word "learning" is something of a euphemism here, for it is not the same kind of learning as, say, memorizing the multiplication tables, or the capitals of the several states, or the pledge of allegiance to one perfect recitation. The child's learning, or—perhaps better here—interiorizing of social values is a much more intimate and complex process. Learning, imitation, and conscious emulation play a part, to be sure, but as Hutt and Miller, among others have argued, the fundamental mechanism by which

we interiorize values is *identification*.[21] As the child struggles to integrate a stable self-image from among his piecemeal perceptions of who he is and where he fits, he is led to view himself as at one with another person. The parents are the child's earliest objects of identification. Later, he adds older siblings, favorite neighbors, community heroes, and others, not excluding of course fictional characters. In making these identifications, the child not only assumes the outer trappings and expressive movements of his "significant figures" but attempts also to incorporate their values and attitudes.

When the child is caught in a period of changing values—and surely, as we have tried to indicate, this is such a period—the various significant figures and institutions provide inconsistent and contradictory models for the child. And, while we are worrying about motivating the child to acquire an appropriate set of values, the child may properly be asking the prior question: "*What* values?"—a question to which we have only contradictory answers.

A pilot study I made recently of the values and the value dilemmas of a sample of sixty teachers shows, for example, that, when asked to indicate their agreement or disagreement with the following value statements, "Religion and the finer things of life are our ultimate values and the things all of us are really working for" and "A man owes it to himself and to his family to make as much money as he can," 66 per cent tended to agree with the first statement, 48 per cent with the second statement, and 39 per cent with *both* statements. Again, asked to indicate their agreement or disagreement with the following statements, "Poverty is deplorable and should be abolished" and "There has never been enough to go around, and the Bible tells us that 'the poor you have always with you,'"75 per cent tended to agree with the first statement, 52 per cent with the second statement, and 41 per cent with *both* statements.[22] In the present context we may ask the question of what happens to the child as he moves from a teacher with one set of values to a teacher with another set of values to a teacher with unresolved conflicts in values, or from a parent with one set of values to a teacher or librarian with another set of values. In these situations, identification, if it occurs at all, results in conflict and anxiety, for to incorporate one model means to reject another. To incorporate the parent's values may mean to reject the teacher's values; to accept the teacher's values may mean to reject the community hero's values; to accept the community hero's values may mean to reject the librarian's values; and so on.

Let me underscore this before I am misunderstood: I am not of course arguing that everyone should have the same set of values or that indeed we can do away with value dilemmas. I am arguing that differences and conflicts in values should be faced and be made explicit rather than be permitted to remain implicit. The danger lies not in complexities and differences which are in the open and understood but in complexities and

[21] Daniel R. Miller and Max L. Hutt, "Value Interiorization and Democratic Education," *Journal of Social Issues*, V, No. 4 (1949), 2–30. See also Erik H. Erikson, *Childhood and Society* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1950).

[22] The value statements are taken from R. S. Lynd, *Knowledge for What?* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1946), pp. 60–62. The pilot study referred to is part of a research project on the acquisition of values supported by a grant from the Lilly Endowment, which we wish to acknowledge here.

differences which are underground and misunderstood.

In any event, the crucial point about our rapidly changing society is that there is a dissonance in the value structure and that the child faces a difficult problem in adaptation to the various pressures—both manifest and latent—to which he is liable. The solution may be either inflexible incorporation of one model or renunciation of all models. In one case we have *overidentification* and consequent neurotic restriction; in the other case we have *underidentification* and consequent delinquent license. Both represent serious inadequacy in personal development. Our own failure in values has provided the model for our children's failure.

I have already indicated that I am unfamiliar with the thinking in the area of librarianship. I am obviously not the person to admonish or advise you. Each of you will have to make up your own mind about the relationship between what I have been saying and your own practice and policy. But to specify some of the implications of my remarks—at least the way I see them—I can raise certain issues for your consideration. If I were a children's or young people's librarian, I might ask myself some of the following questions:

1. Do I have a set of criteria—a set of explicit values—for the choices I am required to make on behalf of the children I serve? And are the library values of the sort likely to invite increasing identification or rejection on the part of the children—that is, in the long run?

2. Have I taken into account the cleavages inherent in the American scene, and more exactly that idiosyncratic portion of the scene where my institution is located? Or have I modeled the library unknowingly in the image only of the limited segment of the population that I myself happen to represent?

3. Have I taken into account the transformations that our values have been undergoing? Am I aware that, although the age of the children in the library remains the same from year to year, the values these children bring with them inevitably change over time; and, conversely, although my age is changing from year to year, my values may very well be remaining the same? What is the effect of such increasing discrepancy of my relationship to the prospective library clientele?

4. More specifically, I would want to ask myself: Is the image of the young person whom I am supposed to serve truly modeled on the young person of today or on some wishful image of the young person of my own day? As Dean Asheim remarked to me, it is not only that we refuse to accept Holden Caulfield of *Catcher in the Rye* as more representative of today's young person than is Tarkington's Willie Baxter but that, as adults, we tend to believe that the young person today *should* be like Willie Baxter and try to force him into that mold.

5. And this raises another question I might want to ask myself, a question that Anselm Strauss poses for all types of educational insitutions:[23] Who are the clients, or, if you will, the customers, of the children's room in my library? At first blush, the answer is, "The children, of course." But as Strauss says about the school, and we may paraphrase for the library, it may pay us to consider who are the children's hidden competitors for our consideration. It may very well be that, when crucial decisions are made, it is the *parents* of the children rather than the *children* who are held to be the

[23] "Sociology and Education," *School Review*, LXV (Autumn, 1957), 330–38.

real clients of the children's library, in the sense that we may abdicate from our own professional judgment in favor of the will of the parents—a will that is not necessarily at one with our values or their own children's values.

The paper is already overlong. There are surely other issues that we may raise. But of this I am certain: The children's library, like the children's school, must face up to the complexities posed by the shifts in values and the value dilemmas of our rapidly changing society. It is out of communication and understanding of the complexities (not their denial) that we can provide the child in the library as in the school with a realistic model for identification and growth—a model that is consistent with his own personality and the transitory secular and abiding sacred values of the world of which we are all a part.

# THE ADULT IN A CHANGING SOCIETY: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE PUBLIC LIBRARY

DAN LACY

THE decades through which we are passing are a period of unusually rapid and comprehensive change—social, political, technological, and intellectual. Many of our ordered patterns are being stretched or broken into quite new shapes. To survey this flux entire and depict its surging interplay of force is beyond the scope of any single paper and certainly far beyond my competence. Nor is it necessary to our purpose, for not all aspects of change affect the status of individual institutions, many of whose characteristics may survive radical alterations in their environing society. For example, though the purposes and orientation of public and university libraries in the United States and the Soviet Union reflect the radically different societies in which they function, their internal processes and problems remain in many ways remarkably similar. Our problem is hence to seek, in the swift welter of change which we are now experiencing and which we see in prospect, those particular elements that seem most likely to affect the public library itself.

In part these changes have been dealt with in other papers—as they involve, for example, the increase in the number of people, their regrouping in new geographical patterns, their greater capacity to support library service, and their changing systems of values affecting the child and his relation to education and libraries. We are here concerned only with those social changes that affect the adult as a library user.

Perhaps the fact about libraries most packed with the capacity for major change is that, at least when Berelson and Asheim did their study of *The Library's Public* some eight years ago, only about 10–15 per cent of the adult population were even reasonably active library users. Probably these figures have changed only slightly since. Such media of communication as radio, television, and newspapers and such social institutions as elementary schools are already used by practically all eligible persons; and such media as magazines and such institutions as hospitals and high schools by most. The use of such media and institutions hence can grow little beyond the increase in population itself. If population increase alone has been sufficient to leave our schools bursting and has forced them to new teaching techniques and philosophies, think, then, of the explosive potentialities of growth in library use. Adult population increase, which will begin to be felt heavily in another decade, will produce upon libraries the same impact the schools are now experiencing even if the percentage of active users remains constant. But if so few as one in eight of adult non-users of the library became a regular user, the already increased use from population growth would be further doubled. That is, a 10 per cent shift of non-users to users means an almost 100 per cent increase in use. Like elementary schools a century ago or high schools fifty years ago, libraries have a potentiality of growth which could not merely strain and enlarge

their facilities but entirely revolutionize their status in society.

It is obvious that the most important thing we have to do is assess the possibility of changes that might materially affect the ratio of library users among the population. This is the area in which the potentiality of change has the most revolutionary implications.

We may begin by noting the characteristics which Berelson found to be closely correlated with library use and seek for evidences of changing intensity and magnitude among them. Library use was found to increase with income, short of wealth; to be more prevalent among youth than adults and among women than men; among whites than Negroes; in towns and small cities than in either villages or large cities; among white-collar occupational groups than among either laboring men or executives and professional men. Most of these various indexes may perhaps be reduced to two: the more leisure and, most important of all, the more education, the more library use.

These relationships are obvious. For few people is public library use a necessary occupation; it is a use that will be made only in the time not demanded by earning a living and keeping a house. Similarly, the pleasures and utilities of library use are available only to those with sufficient education to read easily and comprehendingly; and that use is likely to increase with the education-engendered tastes and curiosities that reading can uniquely satisfy.

Present trends are bringing about swift increases in both these factors: leisure and educational level.

The steady trend in reduction of working hours that has been in process since the turn of the century has slowed its pace, but the thirty-five-hour week seems likely to spread from clerical to factory occupations; and talk of a four-day week does not seem as fantastic as once did talk of a five. Moreover, vacations with pay have become almost universal and seem certain to be lengthened. Less capable of statistical measurement is the net increase of leisure within the home as machines take the place of servants.

The principal increase in leisure in our society comes, however, from increased longevity and earlier retirement. In 1950 there were 12,250,000 people over the age of sixty-five in the United States, and this number has been increasing steadily at about 400,000–500,000 a year. It is now upward of 15,000,000. Only a minority, and a decreasing minority, are employed.

As compared with the prewar years, this abundance is offset by the nearly full employment, so that there are not now the desperate millions whose enforced leisure filled so many reading rooms in the thirties. One has, too, a perhaps subjective impression of an accelerated busy-ness of family and community life pressing hard on margins of leisure. But in spite of these offsets there can be no doubt of the steady increase in time freed of occupational demands. It should be noted, however, that gains in leisure have been greatest among groups that are relatively inactive as library users and least among the white-collar and professional classes that are more active users.

The increase in the educational level is even more dramatic. Though general high-school attendance was attained almost a generation ago, the effects of that achievement are still spreading through our society as older generations without high-school training are replaced by those who grew up when it was almost

universal. But the revolutionary changes are taking place at the college level. The proportion of youths who enter college has been increasing steadily for a century. In 1870 about 1 person in 60 of college age was enrolled; by 1900, 1 in 25; by 1930, 1 in 8; today about 1 in 3; the trend is rapidly toward 1 in 2. We today are feeling a dual impact: from present increases and from the spreading of earlier increases upward through successive age groups.

The implications of these figures are startling. Berelson pointed out in 1949 that only about 10–15 per cent of those with grade-school education were library users, as compared with four times as high a proportion of college graduates. Since the proportion of those with no more than grade-school training is rapidly dwindling, and since the proportion of college-educated seems on its way from about 1 in 16 toward nearly half the population, and since these effects are being projected upon a rapidly rising population, the figures suggest a probable threefold or fourfold increase in library use over the next twenty or twenty-five years.

Before we exult, however, at so dramatically enlarged a role, or recoil at the thought of its budgetary implications, let us take a sobering look backward. Many of the factors we anticipate as operative over the next twenty years or so were also operative over the last twenty. Though net leisure probably declined (because of fuller employment) or at least did not rise as it is likely to in the future, we have benefited over the last twenty years, as we will in the next, from a steady extension of educational opportunity and from a rapidly rising level of college attendance. Moreover, libraries in those decades markedly improved their resources and their competence to give service. If the grounds of our startling surmise as to the future be sound, a backward projection would lead to an assumption of at least a doubling of library use since 1937. But the fact is that that use, at least as measured by adult circulation, has remained static—and on a per capita basis has probably decreased.[1] This is not true of the last few years when circulation has swung upward again after a long decline. But it is clear that we have no assurance that increases in education and leisure will in fact be transformed into library use. In the tide of social change in which we find ourselves, complex patterns of eddies and cross-currents may obscure or distort or even reverse the anticipated flow.

In order to carry our analysis further, I think we must make at least a crude distinction of two major kinds of library use: pastime use and purposeful use. This is not a value judgment: who can say it is better to use a library to learn how to build an outdoor fireplace than to pass time in the reading of William Faulkner? Nor is it a distinction that can be made with precision. It is nevertheless, I believe, both a valid and important one, for social needs are changing differently in these two areas, and the competitive position of the library with respect both to other forms of recreation and communication and other sources of reading is quite different in the two cases.

By pastime use I mean that use for recreational reading that responds to a generalized desire to be entertained, a desire that might be satisfied more or

[1] All figures on circulation need to be qualified by the realization that some distortion has been introduced by the general shift from two-week renewable loans to four-week non-renewable ones, thus eliminating renewals from more recent circulation figures.

less indifferently by one book or another within the range of the user's taste or by another form of recreation entirely. By purposive use I mean not only use in seeking information but also use for a particular and discriminated cultural experience which, even though in a sense recreational, cannot readily be replaced by a different experience. Very roughly, we might measure these uses by fiction circulation, on the one hand, and non-fiction circulation plus reference use, on the other. Very roughly indeed, for much fiction use is by this definition purposive, and a good deal of non-fiction use is of a recreational or pastime character; but perhaps such figures will serve to measure trends.

Though truly comparable statistics in this area are not easy to come by, it seems clear that in the prewar years the large majority of adult use of public libraries was for what may be loosely called pastime reading and that it is fluctuations in the volume of such reading that has had the greatest impact on the volume of library use. Moreover, it is this type of library use that has been decreasing certainly relatively and probably absolutely. What are the factors that have produced this decline?

There are four that appear to me to be of principal importance. One is the rise over the last decade of a wholly new medium of communication and entertainment: television. One is greater prosperity, permitting a wider choice of diversions. One, less tangible than the others, is what seems to be a growing propensity for shared or group activities. These three relate to the status of reading as a pastime. The fourth is the rise of new commercial book-distribution methods affording alternative sources of reading matter.

Television is the most discussed of these various kinds of competitors, but on the whole it seems to me the least important. It is true that it has had a tremendous impact on American life. Five American families out of six now have television sets. It is estimated that, in the average home with television, the set is on about five hours a day. Families questioned have generally believed that they read less after having acquired television, and surely so massive a body of time must draw on reading. When one compares home radio-listening and movie attendance, however, it is apparent whence more than half the time was taken that is now devoted to television. Weekly motion-picture attendance has dropped in the last decade from 81,000,000 to 41,000,000. The average radio set is now on about two and a quarter hours a day as compared with nearly five before the advent of television. And undoubtedly much of the time now devoted to sitting before the television screen was formerly devoted simply to sitting on the front stoop or its equivalent.

Other forms of diversion, more expensive and more gregarious, have probably made deeper inroads on reading, which is one of the cheapest and one of the most solitary of recreations. We have come to be able to afford a wide diversity of leisure-time activities which twenty years ago were available only to a well-to-do minority. There are over 50,000,000 passenger automobiles today as compared with 25,000,000 twenty years ago. In the six years from 1947 to 1953 it has been estimated that expenditures for sports and hobby equipment increased by about $600,000,000; and this growth has doubtless been even more rapid in the succeeding years. Expenditures on recreational travel in those same years rose from about $6 billion to $9.2 billion and is still rising rapidly. The surge to the

suburbs has filled the lives of many families—of precisely the sorts who were previously active library users—with new burdens of homeownership and new opportunities for gardening, carpentry, masonry, and handicrafts. Expenditure for home power tools, for example, quadrupled between 1947 and 1953. And the burgeoning families of the 1940's and 1950's, though they may be producing a flood of future library users, are for the present filling with parental chores and family activities many hours that were formerly occupied in reading.

It is not only that we can afford travel, sports, gardening, and other recreational activities beyond our prewar means. The whole tenor of our time seems to call for active, participant, and gregarious pastimes. David Riesman has vividly contrasted the inner-directed, purposeful character of an earlier day—associated with the lonely practice of reading—with the other-directed character of today, whose very pleasures require a group interplay for their appreciation.

In very large degree the competition for reading time comes not so much from the other media of communication as from forms of participant recreation that abandon all the media. People do not read of a Sunday afternoon as they used to; but the fact that television saves up all its "culture" for those hours suggests that they are not looking at television either.

Prosperity, gregariousness, and television have all tended to lead away from reading and hence from the library; but even these do not account, I believe, for the precipitate drop in fiction circulation and, presumably, of pastime use of the library. They have offset the dramatic increases in reading that might otherwise have followed increases in leisure, income, and education, but they have by no means stopped it. Reading itself, on the contrary, if measured by book sales rather than by library circulation, would appear to have increased many-fold over the last twenty years. In 1937 fewer than 40,000,000 adult books were sold in the United States, exclusive of textbooks; reference books; scientific, technical, medical, and law books; Bibles and testaments. In 1956 the equivalent number was about 375,000,000.

The ninefold growth was due principally to two publishing developments of major significance to libraries. One is the rapid recent growth of book clubs, which, though dating back for more than thirty years, have had their greatest expansion since 1945. Book clubs presently distribute about 65,000,000 books annually (an indeterminate minority of which are juveniles) as compared with probably less than 5,000,000 in 1939. Even more dramatic has been the growth of inexpensive paperbound editions sold through magazine channels. This most significant development was barely initiated before World War II, and its growth has been almost wholly in the postwar period. Last year about 245,000,000 books were distributed through this channel, as compared with almost none twenty years before.

It will be noted that both book clubs and mass-distributed paperbounds were aimed primarily at pastime or recreational reading. Again, this is not a value or qualitative judgment; books distributed through these channels are usually reprints of works distributed through traditional channels and probably of as high or higher average quality as the great body of books from which they are selected. To a steadily increasing degree they include the classics and serious non-fiction. But, because the method of distribution necessarily allows

the reader a relatively limited choice of titles, it better serves the needs of one who merely "wants a book to read" than one seeking specific information or a specific title or who is otherwise engaged in what we have called purposive reading.

It is interesting to contrast the trends in adult fiction circulation and the sales through paperbound and book-club channels. Though there are no adequate figures nationally, if we may project upon the total circulation figures of the United States Office of Education the trends indicated by the University of Illinois Library School index of circulation in thirty-nine reporting systems, it would appear that in the late prewar years adult fiction circulation was about 175,000,000 annually and that it has hovered around 100,000,000–110,000,000 in the postwar years.[2] This decline of approximately 75,000,000 contrasts with an increase of over 300,000,000 in book-club and paperbound sales over the last twenty years—predominantly, of course, in fiction. Adding in retail-book sales, which have remained more nearly stable, does not alter this dramatic picture. In the 1930's American adults got most of their books for pastime reading through libraries. Today they buy most of them, mostly in inexpensive paper editions, secondarily through book clubs, and in some degree—as prewar—through bookstores.

In part this is a measure of prosperity; in part it is a measure of success in providing books on the newsstand about as cheaply (considering transportation to and from the library, overdue fines, etc.) as through library loan and in providing through book clubs, a quicker and more convenient availablity of current best-sellers.

[2] There is some statistical distortion in this projection, which exaggerates the decrease by an indeterminable amount.

In other words, a re-examination of trends over the last two decades suggests that, for all the competition from television and from group activity, travel, and sports, pastime reading has probably increased quite rapidly—though not, of course, so rapidly as it might have in the absence of alternative means of recreation. Pastime use of libraries by adults, however, though stable or increasing over the last few years, has declined sharply from prewar years—even precipitately in per capita terms. This has been attributable more to the competition of alternative sources of book supply than to the competition of other media or other forms of recreation. These new or enlarged sources of book supply—newsstand sale of paperbacks and, in somewhat smaller figures, book clubs—are characterized primarily by convenience in avoiding going out of the way to visit a library, seeking out a book, charging it out, returning it, etc. In this respect, book supply has followed the patterns marked out by food supply and many other aspects of current consumption, in which higher costs are gladly paid to avoid inconvenience.

What of the future? Will the forces that have caused so rapid a decline in pastime reading continue to operate? On the whole, I should expect this type of use to be stabilized at approximately its present per capita level, assuming the continuance of peace and prosperity. This has in fact been the case over the last few years. Per capita stability will, of course, be reflected in steadily increasing total use, reversing the war and immediately postwar trends. This stability can be anticipated on the basis that television and alternative modes of recreation, on the one hand, and alternative modes of book distribution, on the other, appear to have completed their cycles of

revolutionary early growth. Their slower mature development will probably be offset or more than offset by the effect of rising educational levels in stimulating reading as a preferred pastime.

A war that avoided general destruction would, of course, diminish recreational use of the library by curtailing leisure, and any marked depression would certainly increase it by increasing idleness and by reducing expenditures available for other forms of recreation. Beyond these extremes, the public librarian can himself control the recreational use of his library by curtailing or by expanding his purchases of currently popular books and by measures to diminish the inconvenience of library use, particularly by the increase in the number of small neighborhood branches.

In turning to the purposive use of the library, we find quite a different trend, crudely measured by the fact that nonfiction has risen since 1939 from 31 per cent of all adult circulation to 54 per cent in 1955. This has meant that non-fiction circulation has been able to overcome all the trends that have limited the growth of reading and reduced the use of libraries and to achieve a 33⅓ per cent increase between 1939 and 1955. What are the accompaniments of this trend and what do they forecast for the future?

In its broadest sense the growing use of books as sources of information and of cultural, as distinguished from merely recreational, experience is a part of the broadening and diffusion of what has been called the "high cultural tradition"—a process that may well be remembered in future centuries as the most revolutionary of all the many revolutionary developments of our time. From the earliest rise of self-conscious civilization there has existed a body of learning and culture deliberately cultivated and enjoyed by an elite. Embodied in books, enlarged by scholarship, patronized by men of power and wealth, transmitted by universities, this "high cultural tradition" has been the possession of a very small minority. It has existed largely in independence of the deeply rooted, slowly changing body of workaday knowledge and habit, handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation, that throughout history has made up the intellectual environment of most of mankind.

For at least two centuries powerful forces have been at work to democratize if not to universalize this formerly restricted cultural tradition. Doubtless the most powerful of these forces has been the revolution in technology based on the sciences embodied in the high cultural tradition. This is essentially a modern development. One can, of course, find precedents (such as the contributions of Archimedes to the defense of Syracuse), but by and large until the mid-nineteenth century the science of the universities and the learning in books touched but lightly the daily round of occupations by which the world's goods were produced. It is needless to recite the revolution that has followed and has brought the findings of the laboratory into every kind of job. It is relevant, however, to note that the result is the requirement of an ever higher level of professional and technical knowledge simply to earn a living. We appear to be at the beginning of a new wave of automation that will go much farther in eliminating the need for simple and repetitive jobs and greatly increase the need for skilled and professionally trained persons. Peter Drucker reports that one corporation's need for college-trained personnel will be increased from three hundred to seven thousand by automation. In other words,

the learning of universities and of books has come to dominate the world of economic life from which it was formerly so aloof.

A second major force—or pair of forces—democratizing learning has been the simultaneous complication and democratization of government. Participation in the high cultural tradition has historically been both the requisite and the perquisite of membership in the ruling group, and training in the liberal arts has been seen as indispensable to the education of the citizen. As the concept of a ruling class has merged into the general public, the whole philosophy of an equal opportunity to participate in government has brought with it the concept of an equal access to learning. On no point were two such differing men as Thomas Jefferson and John Adams more united than this, and the concept has expressed itself through our history in the movement for universal elementary education and subsequently for the nearly universal public high school. But neither of these levels of education suffices for the duties of citizenship, much less of leadership, when the business of governing both the state and the larger corporations has become so vast and intricate and when the issues to be decided are so complex and demand information so remote from daily experience.

And, finally, there is the drive toward an equal dignity of men in the cultural as well as the economic and political sense. In a hundred ways we see the earnest efforts of millions to acquire or to strengthen their sense of participation in the high cultural tradition. Surveys have indicated that this motive joins with vocational advancement as one of the dominant drives in sending tens of millions of persons annually to some form of adult educational activity. And this force is working, as evidenced in simple economic terms by the sale of inexpensive prints of excellent quality and high-fidelity equipment and records of serious music, the enormous mass market for the very best books in inexpensive editions, the burgeoning of amateur and semiprofessional symphony orchestras throughout the country, the popular enthusiasm for ballet, and in museum attendance, now so much greater than attendance at baseball games.

Other forces have supplemented these three basic drives in whetting the intellectual appetite and broadening the interest of the American people. Among these is the incalculable effect of the revolutionary increase in travel. It is not easy today to recall the provinciality—indeed, the localism—of American life two generations, or even one generation, ago. Foreign travel, except for a tiny elite, was all but unknown, and in thousands of communities the man who had been to New York or Chicago stood out by reason of his travels. The second World War, churning our population from state to state and sending millions of men across the whole face of the globe, dramatically destroyed what was left of this provinciality. Prosperity and improved transportation have caused travel to leap ahead ever since. Nearly a million Americans a year now visit foreign countries, and the probabilities are that with steadily reduced international air fares this figure will continue to increase. Extensive domestic travel has, of course, become simply commonplace. There is no way by which the intellectual broadening of this cosmopolitanism can be measured, but it is surely great.

Probably an even greater impact has come from the mass media themselves, and especially from television. There seems to be, for example, no other ex-

planation of the sharp increase in voting in the 1952 and 1956 presidential elections. The percentage voting among those eligible was far higher than in any of the frequently much closer and more bitterly fought elections of the past, and the obvious cause seems to have been the televising of the conventions and campaign addresses and debates. Consider the massive attention to Senator McCarthy arising from the televising of his hearings, when millions hung over their sets from day to day, and compare this with the limited interest that would have attended such a hearing twenty years before. The more serious television programs, despite the banality of much of the medium, have acted powerfully to broaden the range of experience and awareness of most Americans.

Finally, there has been the sheer impact of events themselves. To take but two examples, consider the range of popular interest in science that has been forced by the release of atomic energy or the interest in foreign affairs generated by the life-and-death tensions of our generation.

The consequence of these converging forces is the development of a level of popular intellectual curiosity—even hunger—such as we have never known before in this country and an almost revolutionary elevation of popular cultural tastes. This statement may be surprising in the face of widespread laments of the deterioration of American education, the decline of intellectualism, and the vulgarization of American culture. All these weaknesses exist; but they are symptoms not of decay but rather of the swift expansion of cultural and intellectual life to embrace millions who as yet participate in it somewhat ineptly and without sophistication but who a generation or two ago would have been entirely isolated from it.

This intellectual and cultural upsurge has manifested itself in many ways, as we have indicated, and these various manifestations are mutually reinforcing. Because of the heightened economic and cultural status attached to higher education, many more attend colleges and universities, where they acquire curiosities and tastes that stimulate them to read more and with more purpose and to seek out better television programs. And their reading and viewing further broaden their experience and sharpen their appetites, so that the whole movement builds up momentum. In time, this further strengthens the social approval given to more fully developed intellectual and cultural life and hence brings "fashion" into play as a further reinforcement.

All these educational and cultural developments are combining to produce an audience potentially far more apt to use the library purposively for information, for further self-education, and for cultural experience and development than before. The existence of this potential audience is already reflected in the rise in non-fiction circulation and in reference service. But it seems clear that the public library is not receiving an increased use of this character at all comparable to the increased use by the American people of their other intellectual and cultural resources. Over the last twenty years the use of other resources of this sort have characteristically doubled, tripled, or quadrupled. A guess at the increase of what we have called purposive use of the library would range around one-third—or, roughly, an unchanging per capita use.

Why is this true? Are there implications for librarians in the character and form of the rising cultural and intellectual activity of which we have spoken?

Has there been a failure of libraries to respond to the changing social needs—or, more accurately, a failure of society to respond through its libraries?

In part the same factors that have diverted recreational use from the library operate as well at the more purposive informational and cultural level. The informational flow through the mass media is almost incomparably larger than it was a generation or even a couple of decades ago. An attentive reader of *Time*, *Life*, and *Newsweek* who has also seen an hour-and-a-half documentary by Ed Murrow on television may have slaked even a rather active curiosity about the Middle East without visiting the library at all. It is certainly difficult to induce readers to buy a book on topics like radiation, disarmament, inflation, or foreign policy that have received extensive press, magazine, and radio and television discussion; and the satiety affects library users as well.

Steadily rising prosperity also permits a variety of forms of cultural expression that were limited in the thirties. The greater attendance at concerts, ballet performances, and art exhibits—and even more the active participation in music, the dance, and art—are evidences of a generally rising cultural level that embraces as well an interest in literature and serious reading generally. But they are also competitors of that interest.

In other words, the more purposive use of the library, like the recreational use but in less degree, is in part inhibited by competition of other media and by the attraction of other and often more actively participant forms of expression. This competition is, however, far less direct and important than in the case of pastime reading. By its very nature, a specifically motivated use of books finds no ready alternative. A man who wants to find out something about the history of China or the life of Mozart or the income-tax laws of Alabama or to renew his acquaintance with Molière or Melville would have to wait before his television screen many a weary day for an answer. Nor do the newer sources of books offer an adequate substitute for a library. The man who wants to read *The Brothers Karamazov* or find out how to care for an Irish setter puppy not only must turn to books; he must have recourse to a *collection* of books large enough to contain the specific one he is seeking. In serving the growing informational needs of the public and their steadily more discriminating cultural demands, the library serves a unique role in which it cannot be satisfactorily replaced by any other institution or service.

A more serious limiting factor, it seems to me, is the increasing degree to which the efforts of adults to inform themselves and to achieve aesthetic satisfaction are being institutionalized in group activities of one form or another. And with these group activities the public library, whose tradition is serving the individual needs of the lone inquirer, is as yet not generally well integrated. Let me illustrate. A generation ago a young bookkeeper or mechanic or clerk seeking to improve his vocational knowledge had to do it on his own. And one of his ways of doing it was often to use the resources of the public library. Today he will enrol in an evening class given by the school system of his city and using its book resources; or, even more likely, his training for advancement will be taken over by his company itself, which will provide him with his requisite educational materials.

This process is going on in many other fields. A person who wants to learn about the history of painting, or the modern novel, or world politics is very likely to

join a study group or some other organized pursuit of the subject. This is nothing new in American life. The lyceum, the debating society, the hundred-and-one forms of self-improvement groups go far back into American life. Two things are, however, new.

One is the scale of organized self-education. As Frank Ernest Hill has pointed out: "Adult education in the United States embraces a field of interests as wide as human activity itself. It is helping millions of citizens move forward in vocational and professional skills, in family living, in the pleasure and profit of artistic accomplishments, in cultural values, and in learning the skills of solving individual and community problems."[3] The number of adults in classes and organized discussion groups is larger than the total of all children and young people in school and college. Almost every kind of institution is woven into this movement, and almost every field of knowledge and social relations is dealt with.

The other is the degree of reliance on discussion and group participation as an educational device in itself, in part independent of the subject matter discussed. In earlier adult educational groups an audience generally listened to an informed speaker, and questions sought out further facts. Today's adult educational efforts—other than for vocational studies—seem aimed less at acquiring a knowledge of facts than at understanding how one ought to feel and react to situations. A discussion of the United Nations, for example, appears to be directed not so much toward a mastery of the charter provisions or other specific factual data as toward the formation of attitudes toward the United Nations and, indeed, toward "others" generally; similarly, discussions of child-rearing or racial problems are likely to be directed at helping the participants "feel" right about their children or about persons of other races.

These emphases have had the result that, as Cyril O. Houle has pointed out, the increasingly institutionalized programs of adult education make little use of printed materials in their work; and those materials that are used are generally pamphlets specially prepared for the program.[4] It is ironic that in one major adult educational effort specifically devoted to books themselves and often sponsored by libraries, the participants are provided with small collections of excerpts issued by the sponsoring organization rather than the "Great Books" themselves. A national program on world politics, also often sponsored by libraries, set forth in its promotional literature: "You could do it alone and spend months collecting and reading a costly library of scores of volumes," and suggested instead that one do it the easy way by reading a few pamphlets and then discussing.

This failure to make effective contact with organized needs for information is also shown in connection with business. The need of business firms for technical and economic information of all sorts has increased enormously; but the processes of getting it, especially in the larger corporations, have been organized and institutionalized in ways that involve limited if any use of the public library. Research divisions, special corporation libraries, and reliance on outside research and in-

[3] *International Directory of Adult Education* (Paris: UNESCO, 1952), p. 265.

[4] Cyril O. Houle, "The Use of Print in Adult Education Agencies," in Nelson B. Henry (ed.), *Adult Reading* (Fifty-fifth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956]), pp. 157–87.

formation services meet their needs. This sort of specialized, expensive, directly controlled service is of course essential to large businesses. But among the millions of smaller businesses that cannot afford such private service, there is an acute and rapidly growing need—not always recognized—for scientific, technical, economic, and market data which might well look to an adequately supported public library for at least partial fulfilment. This does, of course, take place on a limited basis with the largest and best public libraries; but, in general, again there has not been an effective integration between the public library and the informational needs of American business.

And, finally, a major obstacle to the realization of the great potential for more purposive library use derives from the limited resources of the public library system itself. The character and the general level of support of American libraries were formed when the number of their potential users was much smaller than it is today and when the range of users' wants was more limited. Most reading was of a pastime or recreational character and could be served with reasonable success from collections that did not pretend to completeness or currency. Reference and informational use was of a limited character, predominantly associated with high-school work, club papers, and the like, again making only limited demands upon the range and scope of the collections or the caliber of the reference staff. And, in spite of the remarkable increases in library appropriations over the last decade, these have on the whole been not much more than enough to keep pace with increases in building costs, salaries, book prices, and the growth of the population, especially in the younger age groups. The new public library standards recently promulgated by the ALA indicate in a general way the level of library support needed to respond with modest adequacy if the rising educational, intellectual, and cultural level of the population were reflected in a correspondingly increased purposive use of the public library. Yet how far below what is called for in the standards falls the support of even the better public library systems of the country.

In part this is a cyclical situation. To some extent the library cannot obtain the public financial support needed to respond to any dramatically increased use because that increase has not been made manifest. And to some extent the revolutionary increase that lies potential in the social changes I have described is inhibited and directed away from the library because its resources, already strained to meet the present level of use, are not adequate either to invite or to serve such an increase.

One can gain some more concrete impression of the inadequacy of present levels of support in the face of the potential increase in library use of the sorts we have been discussing if we imagine for a moment that in a middle-sized city one person in, say, five hundred actually turned to the library for background reading on the Middle East or on radioactivity—or if one in a hundred did—and if we stop to realize how even so modest a demand would overwhelm the resources of the institution.

In summary, and barring catastrophes of depression or war, we can with some confidence foresee the adult in our changing society as prosperous, alert, leisured, better educated and more highly cultured than ever before, more broadly informed and more intellectually curious, and more imperatively confronted with needs for continued self-education and for the

widest diversity of information in his daily business and civic rounds—in other words, better prepared than any of his predecessors to make use of a high level of library service. He is, however, less bound by a limited range of opportunities for recreation, information, and cultural expression than his predecessors. Travel, sports, gardening, and hobbies consume his time. Television attracts him. He reads, not for lack of anything better to do, but only to the degree that reading specifically gives him pleasures and rewards that he does not find equally in other media or other pursuits. And, when he does wish to read, he finds on the newsstand at least a limited range of popular books almost as inexpensively and more conveniently available to him than in the public library.

His more highly developed cultural tastes and his growing need for information, coupled with his greater familiarity and competence with books, offer the potentiality of a vastly increased library use; but again a wide diversity of opportunities for cultural expression is offered him, and the mass media have responded actively to many of his general informational needs. His need for specific knowledge, like many of his recreational and cultural needs, is finding expression in group activities and is being met by new resources. Only in part is the public library equipped in staff and collection to respond to these new types of needs, and it is achieving only an imperfect integration with the cultural and intellectual forces it might well serve.

The implications of this general, and highly oversimplified, picture will, of course, be drawn by every public librarian for himself. I would, however, advance these tentative inferences, in part in summary of what has already been said:

1. The library's role as a source of recreational reading, though it will remain important, and will probably even reverse the trend of the 1940's and early 1950's and grow slowly in actual volume of service, will not resume its prewar relative importance to the community. This, on the whole, should be regarded favorably as freeing resources for more demanding challenges to the library.

2. There exists and will rapidly grow in every community a latent demand of considerable magnitude for services addressed to specific informational and educational needs and more sophisticated and informed cultural tastes, a demand that cannot readily be met by other institutions. The future of the public library will depend on its success in finding a full place for itself in these activities.

3. The sort of service in which the growth possibilities of the library now lie is much more demanding of collections and staff and much more expensive to provide than traditional public library service. The measure of the higher level of resources and performance that will be required is well indicated in the new public library standards adopted by ALA. In general, a library can hope to respond adequately to the growing diversity and purposefulness of use only if (*a*) it has a large enough collection to provide specifically desired books over a very broad range; (*b*) it is able to acquire promptly the majority of the flow of worthwhile books, in sufficient numbers of duplicates to have them generally available when needed; and (*c*) it has a reference staff with specialized subject competences.

4. It is obvious that this sort of service lies within the potentiality only of quite large library systems, and only such systems will be able to find a really effective role in the future. Few library

questions share importance with the building-up of consolidated systems as set forth in the new standards.

5. It is obvious also that to provide the library services needed by adults in the future will require even the large systems to reverse sharply the trend toward a steadily decreasing proportion of the budget for acquisitions. What will be needed to serve the changing character of demand is not only a large, comprehensive, available collection but a current one.

6. At the risk of trespassing on the domain of another paper, I should like to point out the library's success in meeting the new needs will depend on its being able not only to offer needed services but to offer them conveniently. This means in particular adapting to the rapid population shifts that have removed so large a part of what might well be the most active adult library users from convenient access to metropolitan library resources.

7. The rapidly rising interest in music and art and the appropriateness of prints and recordings for library handling suggest the desirability of expanding those collections.

8. A rarely exploited opportunity exists for the performance, probably in part fee-supported, of special library services for smaller corporations that cannot afford adequate special libraries of their own. Even in the case of the larger corporation, there are many opportunities to supplement the service of its own library. The demand for technical and economic information for the conduct of business creates one of the most important and rapidly growing needs of our day, which—on the part of small and middle-sized business, at least—is just coming into realization. This demand is not now looking, except occasionally and obliquely, to the public library; it will not unless the library is actively alert to needs and able to meet them. I may add that this would appear to be among the most useful and proper of the special services to attract and strengthen industry and business that municipalities and chambers of commerce seek to provide.

9. Perhaps the greatest opportunity for expanding library usefulness lies in closer identification with all the manifold wealth of group discussion and informational activities which we loosely call adult education. In part, libraries have sought to achieve this identification by entering the adult-education field directly—sponsoring, initiating, or even conducting discussion groups. On the whole, I believe that—except for experimental purposes—this is a mistake. The staff limitations of even the largest systems will allow only a very small directly sponsored adult educational activity, which can reach only a tiny portion of this great ferment of activity. The problem is not that of the library *creating* adult educational activities; it is to find a role in providing effective library service for the enormous range of activities originating in other institutions and organizations—including those that have not realized their need for service. An important practical point here is the simple provision of meeting rooms when possible; but the major opportunity lies in close, co-operative, imaginative relations with those responsible for programming and leading group activities. The community surveys of adult-education resources and needs being undertaken by certain public libraries with the support of the Fund for Adult Education appear to be excellently conceived steps in this direction.

All this is to say that nothing in our changing society fixes the future of the public library. Its growth potential is enormous, but the realization of this potential is by no means assured or even highly probable. The library's opportunities are much greater, but so is its competition from other forms of recreational, cultural, and informational service. And its growth opportunities all lie in directions that will require much ampler resources and larger and more professionally specialized staff. The future of the library depends on how adequately it can equip itself to give this sort of service and with what imagination and competence it can establish itself in a truly useful association with the new, largely group and institutional, foci of our burgeoning cultural and intellectual life.

If, however, it can indeed meet this challenge, then the very fact that its present use falls so far short of the potential opens the way to a growth in function and usefulness beyond anything we now know. It is tremendously important that it should attain that usefulness, for no other agency of communication can provide the enormous range of information and cultural experience at the command of the user that our age requires and the library provides.

# NEW APPROACHES TO THE COLLECTION AND SERVICES

RALPH MUNN

THE preceding papers have dealt with the changing social and economic conditions under which the public library must operate; it now becomes my duty to describe the ways in which the library is to meet these changes. This sequence is quite logical, except that my paper had to be prepared before I had heard the others on which it presumably should be based. The situation is not, though, completely hopeless. There are certain general broad changes in American life which are quite apparent even to the ordinary, garden variety of librarian, without benefit of the social science expert.

This paper is based, then, upon these assumptions: (1) that we are facing tremendous growth in total population, in the number of students at all levels, and in the older age groups; (2) that the growth in population will come principally in the suburbs, in smaller cities and towns, and in what is now open country between cities, with relatively little growth in the central cities of our metropolitan areas, and perhaps a shrinkage in farm population; (3) that industry will continue to move to small towns, suburban areas, and the open country; (4) that we are to move toward higher stages in formal schooling, standards of living, and leisure time; and (5) that public tax funds will become increasingly tight as the tax structure is affected by shifts in population and industry and as more public services of all kinds are demanded.

These assumptions lead to far-reaching changes which must be made in the type and resources of a large number of our public libraries.

If we allow a bit for real growth and something more for inflation, the conditions described in the Public Library Inquiry are no doubt substantially true today. You may recall that the Inquiry found that 65 per cent of all public libraries are in towns of less than 5,000 inhabitants; that 71 per cent of them spend less than $4,000 annually; and that 44 per cent of them possess fewer than 6,000 books. They are described as making little effort to build collections of reliable books in the major areas of serious adult interests. Fiction predominates in their collections and circulation.

Many of these small libraries may not be greatly affected even if our assumptions are all proved to be true. Others, particularly those which lie in the path of industrial settlement with the consequent growth in population, will find themselves wholly unable to meet the increased and, more importantly, the widened scope of demands for service. In many cases the difference in the nature of the demands made upon the city and the small-town library will disappear.

Traditionally, industries have been clustered in and around cities, and the city library has borne the brunt of their demands for business and technical information. We have already seen a marked movement of industrial corporations with their plants and research laboratories, and even their general offices, to suburban areas, open land beyond the suburbs, and small towns. The typical

new factory is no longer a multistoried building in the congested industrial area of a city. Instead, it is a one-story structure spread over several acres of former farm land, and with large parking lots. Employees tend to follow the company, and new residential areas are developed in the general vicinity. Land economists tell us that this trend will continue and become much more pronounced.

This movement away from easy access to the city library will no doubt compel many more corporations to establish special libraries for their own company use. Their employees, however, will look to the local public library for their reading materials and will demand collections and services to which the typical suburban and small-town library has heretofore given scant attention. Books relating to business, science, and technology already lead in demand among non-fiction titles in some small libraries.

As suburbs and small towns receive the influx of new residents, organizations are formed—civic and improvement councils, church groups, women's clubs, and P.T.A.'s. The demand then arises for program materials, reference services, and audio-visual aids as well as for a wide variety of general reading.

New residents of the suburbs and small towns come largely from the nearby cities and are accustomed to city services of all kinds. They know that there are public libraries with comprehensive book collections and specialized services, and they soon form a citizens' committee to investigate the possibility of securing more adequate local library service for themselves.

These committees usually seek advice from the state library or a nearby city library. This gives you and me the golden opportunity to present the necessity of forming a large unit system through the consolidation or federation of the existing small independent libraries of the county or region. So far, the path toward consolidation or federation has been a rocky one. Local pride of ownership, fear of losing identity in a system, and antagonism toward change by the older residents all play a part.

And it does involve increased costs. We sometimes speak as though adequate resources come automatically by pooling facilities. It helps, but combining ten poor libraries is likely to result in a poor system, unless something more can be added.

We must assume, though, that the movement toward consolidation or federation will advance. State library commissions are promoting it. The new public library standards are based upon this assumption. The new Library Services Act will provide an incentive toward the formation of larger units if it is wisely administered by the states. Finally, the industries, their personnel, and other residents, new to the suburbs and small towns, will demand it.

Much of the growth which we see today is not in suburbs or small towns which have established services but in housing developments which surround almost every sizable city. Many of them occupy land which was formerly so sparsely settled that there is no library to be consolidated or federated. Political scientists are agreed, I think, that the central city government should be extended to cover the metropolitan area. Housing developments and many suburbs are, however, filled with people who have chosen to move from the city. Many have real or imagined grudges against the city, and they are jealous of their separateness; they are almost unanimous in their opposition to city taxes.

An alternative is for the county government to assume functions which cannot be performed adequately by each community acting separately. Although it also involves increased taxes, this alternative is more palatable to the housing-development resident. He is often forced to look to the county for water, sanitation, roads, and other primary services. He thus becomes conditioned to the idea of increased county functions and may next demand a county library. To cite from my own experience, Allegheny County residents are bitterly opposed to extending Pittsburgh's limits to form a metropolitan area government. "Metropolitan" has become a dirty word, not used publicly in the suburbs. These people welcomed, however, the steps recently taken by the county to enlarge the service area of the Pittsburgh libraries to include the county.

As the suburbs, small towns, and housing areas grow, and civic life becomes organized, book selection will be dominated by the need of non-fiction. High-grade novels with literary merit or social significance will continue to be supplied, and rightfully so, but the emphasis upon the purely escapist mystery, western, and light romance will pass in the small library just as it has in the more progressive of the larger ones. It will not be a case of the librarian arbitrarily raising standards or dictating what the public shall read. The librarian will be forced to conclude that neither book funds nor staff time can be stretched to include both the trivial and the purposeful types of material. He will merely be following a larger and more insistent demand for subject materials of all kinds.

For many years the librarians of the United States waged a heated debate relating to the provision of light novels. Apparently this battle has virtually ceased. *Library Literature, 1952–1955* refers to only six articles in the library press of this country. Interest has apparently passed to Britain and the Continent, as there are twenty-one references to their publications.

The rise in the student population will be the greatest factor in the growing demand for reference and subject materials. Students have always constituted our largest group of users, but educators now speak of the anticipated increase in the number of students as an "explosion." You have all heard predictions such as this one—that the number of college and university students, now three million, will jump to six million by 1970. Listen to this statement by Neil McElroy, chairman of the National Industrial Conference Board: "In the next fifteen years we will have to build in this country facilities for higher education equal to the total of all those built since the landing of the Pilgrims."[1]

Existing institutions are preparing to enlarge their facilities, but emphasis is being placed upon the establishment of community and junior colleges throughout the land. Is there any doubt in your minds that library resources will be inadequate in these newly hatched emergency institutions? In any event, we all know that day students in colleges and universities have always placed heavy demands upon the local public library. And remember that this flood of students will be with us during their high-school years before they reach college age.

School and college authorities are obviously alarmed at the prospects, and librarians should also face the facts. It requires less than a minor prophet, I think, to forecast that public libraries will be

[1] In a speech at Massachusetts Institute of Technology's ninetieth commencement (*New York Times*, June 9, 1956).

called upon to supply reference and supplementary materials for high-school and college students to an extent such as we have never known before. One can foresee the need of a much wider duplication of many titles, and even of their administration in a manner comparable with that of the college's reserve reading collections. This may call for special space and staff. In the years ahead the demand for service to students will no doubt become so heavy that one of our chief administrative problems will be to absorb it, with the least possible hindrance to other services.

Special facilities for the high school age are, of course, a long established feature in many libraries. These rooms—or parts of rooms—often provide materials directly related to school assignments, but their chief objective is to contribute to the understanding and adjustment of the maturing youth as a person rather than as a student. The young people's librarian seeks to broaden reading interests and to show young people that libraries can increase their knowledge and enrich their lives. Recreational reading, vocational material, helpful books on those subjects which concern youth—dating, etiquette, boy and girl, family and school relationships—these are the prominently displayed materials.

Public librarians are fully alert to the importance of this specialized service. Virtually every new building, ranging from the large ones in Cincinnati and Denver, down to the moderate-sized ones in Midland and Montclair, make provision for it. An alcove or section is usually set aside for young people in small library and branch plans, and space is being adapted for this purpose in many older buildings.

Occasionally, one sees plans which suggest that the young people's room is still regarded as an isolation ward, protecting older readers from confusion and noise. Fortunately, such cases are becoming rare, as the young adult is recognized as presenting one of the library's greatest opportunities for helpful service; and the young people's room proves itself to be an effective bridge between the children's room and intelligent use of the adult collection.

Librarians with special training and experience in work with young people are increasing in number, though there are, of course, far too few to fill the demand. Library-school courses in work with young people are now common, and many larger libraries give in-service training. A growing number of the larger libraries are appointing co-ordinators to give direction to work with young people throughout the system.

A thorough knowledge of books on the part of the young people's librarian is just as basic as her knowledge and understanding of the young people themselves. She must be enthusiastic about reading, or she never will succeed in getting the young people to read for the joy of it. The Association of Young People's Librarians has just published *Book Bait*, which lists ninety-six of the books most popular with young people—books which are already on the adult shelves in many libraries. Long detailed notes tell the librarian what the books are about, to what uses they may be put, what to use for book talks, and what books to suggest when the young person says, "I want another book just like this one." This is a book which will help even the smallest library give better service to young people.

A committee of young people's librarians is also working on a book which will amplify young adult work as set forth in the new standards. It should be ready

for the publisher early in 1958. It will establish the standards for work with young people as well as be a "how-to-do-it" book for those who lack specialized training in this field.

Our libraries as a whole are far from ready to receive the mass of young adults who will be attracted to them for both academic and general reading. Effective patterns of service have been set, though, and are being demonstrated daily in many libraries. Others need only follow.

The changes in our social and economic world which form the basis of this conference—particularly higher levels of formal education and greater leisure—point toward the desirability of expanded activities in adult education. Adult education has been a prominent library objective ever since the A.L.A. Commission on the Library and Adult Education made its historic report in 1926. In most of our thinking, adult education activities have now come to mean work with groups.

If I read the 1926 report correctly, the original intent of work with groups was to promote the use of books and the library. Discussion groups and forums were intended primarily to attract people who had not responded as individuals. Group discussions were credited, of course, with bringing better understanding and appreciation of the subject matter. No doubt was cast upon their educational value, but this was an incidental by-product. Continued reading and use of the library were the basic objectives.

The committee of librarians which formulated the new standards seems to share this opinion. After listing various appropriate types of group activities, the committee added this significant limitation: "All group activities sponsored or co-sponsored by the library should be clearly related to the further use of library materials." I see only a slight disposition on the part of librarians to stray from this principle.

True, we are extending our activities well beyond the strictly book-centered discussion groups. The program-planning institute, the reading-improvement clinic, the retirement-planning program, and Brooklyn's investment seminar are, however, all calculated to encourage the use of books and the library. They are simply the library's response to newly recognized community interests. If they gain purposeful readers, they are as legitimate as any book-centered program. I hope that we may be continuously alert to the emergence of other interests which come from changing economic and social conditions.

The growth of suburbs and small towns and the establishment of so-called company towns will sometimes bring conditions under which the library may properly go far afield. We already see cases in which the library is deliberately planned as a real community center, the focal point of civic and social activity as well as cultural interests. Under such conditions the library may well respond to any interest, even including duplicate bridge and square dancing, if it has the appropriate facilities. These activities will bring people to the library, and, according to my thesis, that is the principal objective of all group work as we know it today.

The general growth in population is unlikely to create new types of groups. If our communications are effective, it should, however, result in more groups and the need of larger book and audio-visual collections and more librarians with special training in group work. As the load becomes heavier, we will find it advantageous to follow two courses: (1) to work wherever feasible with groups

which are organized by other agencies, perhaps aiding them in planning and publicity, but principally in furnishing materials; to be effective as a means of gaining readers, the library's function as a supplier of materials must be an active one and well publicized within the group; and (2) when the library chooses or is forced to take greater responsibility, it can seek the co-sponsorship of one or more other agencies which will carry part of the load.

There is no doubt that librarians still regard group activities as a means of recruiting individual readers. It is equally clear, however, that they are now placing increasing emphasis upon the discussion group as a positive educational force in itself. This may be a fortunate turn.

The experts forecast that in the years ahead there may well be a million or more college-bound youths who will be denied admission because of the lack of facilities for them. This mass of young people, added to the normal adult population, may bring greater demand for informal but deeply purposeful educational opportunities, something more than the somewhat casual and superficial approach which characterizes many of our current group activities. If this proves to be true, and if we try to meet the need, it will call for greater understanding and skill than most of us now possess. Presumably, it will also call for the use of subject specialists from the community.

The participation of all libraries in adult education is dependent upon the grouping of small libraries into systems. The typical small library, dependent upon its own staff and book resources, can do little or no group work. When given a moderate amount of professional and financial help, however, some of them have gained notable results. Some of the best American Heritage programs are reported to have been operated in towns of no more than 1,500 inhabitants. When organized into regional systems, this help would come naturally from the headquarters library. The regional system would also provide the framework for film and record circuits, valuable assets to an adult-education program.

It must be admitted, I think, that the library's record in adult education over the last thirty years has been somewhat less than brilliant. We have, though, resolved a great many doubts and some active opposition within our own ranks. There are now few who question the opportunity and responsibility of the library in the general field of adult education. A few ground rules are now recognized. A substantial number of libraries have made some progress, and a few have made notable strides. The "Calendar of Events" of the Chicago Public Library resembles the catalogue of a university extension division. We have learned that even in New York City and Chicago, with their many divergent attractions, people will respond to well-planned programs. We have learned that the town of 1,500 inhabitants can, with some help from the outside, operate successfully.

Today we see a growing awareness among librarians, important experimental work financed by the Fund for Adult Education, and an increasing number of successful programs. There is good reason to believe that in the years ahead libraries will contribute more substantially to the need for informal educational activities directed at groups of many kinds.

Before we leave this discussion of work with groups, may I invite your attention to a recent article by Sarah L. Wallace, of the Minneapolis Public Library, titled "One Man's Worth."[2] "Libraries," says

[2] *A.L.A. Bulletin*, LI (February, 1957), 105.

Miss Wallace, "are a bulwark against the dread dictators—mass communication, mass education, mass persuasion." For myself, may I say that, no matter how we may assess the value of group work, may we not forget that the combination of an understanding librarian, the right book, and a willing reader still has educational significance.

The so-called explosion in the student population and the growth of informal adult education activities give promise of bringing much greater demands for reference services. A survey of developments in reference work between 1946 and 1956 by Sarah Rebecca Reed, led Miss Reed to conclude that the twenty-five libraries in her sample are giving "a dynamic, streamlined, personalized service to meet the needs of a particular locality."[3] Miss Reed's sampling included the medium-sized cities of Gary, Racine, and Spokane; the others ranged in population from Miami up to New York City.

Subject departmentalization, first used on a large scale in Cleveland, has replaced the old circulation-reference type of organization in the larger cities. All new buildings—Cincinnati, Denver, Miami, New Orleans, and San Diego are examples—are planned for varying degrees of division by subject. Philadelphia, Detroit, Chicago, Minneapolis, and others have adapted older buildings to subject departmentalization.

Division by subject brings two important results: all resources on a given subject are brought together and the divisional staff can become more effective because of its limited field. It is advantageous to the research worker and serious student. It is, however, costly to operate, and it shunts the general reader from pillar to post. It is my own belief that it should be adopted only in those fields in which there is local demand for service of a more expert nature than can be given by a librarian with a general educational background and experience.

Brooklyn, Denver, Detroit, Philadelphia, and Queens are among the cities in which a co-ordinator of reference services has been appointed in recent years. The co-ordinator's activities may be limited to the central library, where he integrates the work of the subject divisions, or they may extend to the branch system.

As cities become larger, there is need of well-developed reference centers in regional branches. New York City and Chicago maintain several.

The increasing use of libraries by business and industry, the movement of people to the suburbs, and the lack of parking space around central buildings have combined to make inquiries received by telephone a special problem. Many libraries report that from 25 to 50 per cent of their questions come by telephone. Because of its location, three miles from the business center, the telephone brings 77 per cent of the inquiries reaching Pittsburgh's general reference room. A three-position telephone desk, surrounded by ready reference books, has been installed. Other libraries report comparable telephone facilities.

Microphotography in its various forms is more widely used each year as binding costs grow higher and, much more important, as shelf space becomes limited. The microfilming of newspapers is now standard procedure. In its first catalogue published in 1949, University Microfilms offered 164 periodicals; 840 titles appear in the 1956 edition. Microcards and

[3] Many of these facts concerning reference services come from Sarah Rebecca Reed, "1946–56 Public Library Reference Services," *Library Journal*, LXXXII (January 15, 1957), 131.

microprint are being used to reproduce not only a wide variety of rare original items but current periodicals, government documents, and other titles. Microfilm has to some extent replaced the sending of the original materials as interlibrary loans.

Microphotography is a poor substitute for ink print from the user's standpoint, but the scholar and researcher will have to accept eyestrain and a headache as occupational hazards. Any device which reduces a month's issues of the daily newspaper to a pocket-size film is an economic necessity. And we can, of course, hope for improved reading machines.

Co-operation among the public library and other libraries in its community is growing. A division of responsibility for providing research materials is often agreed upon. In Pittsburgh, for example, the university assumes responsibility for the humanities and social sciences, while Carnegie Library and Carnegie Tech provide for the natural sciences and technology.

Union catalogues of the serials held by the public, academic, and special libraries are now found in many metropolitan areas, and more extensive bibliographical centers are not uncommon.

These are some of the developments which led Miss Reed to conclude that the libraries in her sample are offering a progressive reference service. Again, consolidation or federation into systems is the key which will permit the small libraries to provide adequate reference resources from the headquarters library.

Special facilities for the older age groups—"senior citizens" is the accepted term—is one of the desirable services which may be neglected as the student load becomes heavier. Students are aggressive and insistent; the older generation is less demanding. Comfortable reading rooms with a generous supply of books, periodicals, and newspapers go far in satisfying individual needs, particularly of the men. Beyond that are the group activities, "Golden Age Clubs" of many varieties which a considerable number of libraries have themselves established or to which they give meeting rooms and incidental help.

Book-centered programs appeal to a somewhat limited number of older people. Many libraries have had more success with musical programs, travel films, current affairs discussions, and what might be called "personal reminiscence sessions" in which the members tell of their own travels, hobbies, and favorite reading.

The lack of staff has been the chief deterrent in establishing work with older age groups. We are conditioned to look askance at volunteer help, but this is a sphere in which it can operate successfully. In some instances, leaders can be found in the group itself. The A.L.A. survey of adult education discovered that 55 per cent of the group leaders were volunteer lay people from the community. Work with "senior citizens" is less demanding than leadership of adult-education groups.

In times of staff or financial shortage we should perhaps remember that the library is the community's sole public source of book and information services. They must be maintained at all costs. Group services to our older citizens is a responsibility which has also been accepted by churches, social agencies, and municipal recreation departments.

There can be no doubt that mass communications, mass entertainment, lessened parental control, changing and confused values, and the tensions of the world have all affected a substantial pro-

portion of our children. Certainly, many of them are now more knowledgeable, but emotionally and psychologically they may be no further advanced than yesterday's children. I can, however, discover no significant changes in the philosophy of the children's librarians or the conduct of our children's rooms. There appear to be no broad general trends. To be sure, more boys now become young scientists and mechanics, and some girls become interested in romance at an earlier age. Book selection for the children's room takes care of changes such as these. Also, the children's librarian may take more boys and girls to the teenage or adult sections to satisfy special or advanced interests. But this is nothing new; it is all part of a well-established pattern.

Perhaps no change is needed in children's service, since it has always been characterized by its flexibility. It is based upon a close relationship between librarian and child, which permits the librarian to discover and encourage individual interests and capabilities.

One of our assumptions is that tax funds will become increasingly tight. Never before in recent years have people been so tax-conscious. Most of the clamor seems now to be directed against federal expenditures, but state and local taxes are spiraling upward and will draw fire from the embattled taxpayer. Legislators are stretching their imaginations for additional sources of taxes.

Everything in this paper points to the need of more comprehensive book collections and new and improved services. Every educator, social worker, public housing advocate, and health promoter —to mention only a few— will also struggle for more tax dollars. How are these two factors to be reconciled? Economies in operation are not the full answer by any means; we shall need more—many more—dollars. When we demand more dollars, we should, though, have what the courts call "clean hands." We should be able to demonstrate that we have used all the administrative skill and ingenuity which we can muster to reduce operating costs. Mr. Wight has something to say about pushing job assignments down to the lowest practicable level of preparation and salary. The library which is employing a much larger professional staff than another one of comparable size may be giving superior service, or it may merely have slighted the task of job analysis.

A recent, unpublished study by the Enoch Pratt Free Library of the circulation departments of sixteen large libraries shows that they are fully alert to the need of streamlining their operations. Fifteen of the sixteen use photographic charging, thus eliminating the entire process of finding and replacing the book card, and effecting a considerable saving in clerical time. Fifteen have centralized registration files in varying degrees. Some are keeping an alphabetical file of delinquent borrowers only. Ten are using punched cards, and three have sorting and tabulating machines. Eight have centralized procedures relating to overdues. Renewals and varying due dates have been almost entirely eliminated in all sixteen libraries.

Cataloguing costs have always concerned us. King County, Washington, and Los Angeles County have recently used an I.B.M. machine to make simple catalogues for county library branches. Many mechanical duplicating devices are now in use.

The *World List of Scientific Periodicals* lists approximately fifty thousand jour-

nals. It has been said that they contain a million useful scientific articles each year.

These figures indicate the desirability of some type of electronic literature searcher. Work at the Center for Documentation and Communication at Western Reserve University gives promise of perfecting such a machine. The anticipated cost of the machine and, more importantly, the cost of coding materials would seem to limit its use to rather few of the public libraries which we are discussing today. We may, however, look hopefully to the Center for Documentation and Communication and to the newly established Council on Library Resources for the discovery and development of techniques and mechanisms which will help even the smaller library system in organizing and administering its materials.

Certainly, librarians are eager for improved and labor-saving methods. They are not afraid of machines, although they usually involve a substantial initial outlay and often a maintenance charge and they do tend to freeze methods. Perhaps some machines will not seem so attractive to us if there is ever again a sufficient supply of clerical help.

But, after we have saved the last possible penny through work simplification, there will remain the need of additional funds to develop the libraries which today are so far under par. "Them that has, gits" is just as true as it is inelegant. Most of the larger public libraries which can give comprehensive services are now moderately well supported. They seem able to secure additional funds as new facilities and resources are required. They are in this relatively favorable position because they can offer services which are regarded as important to the community.

In general, it is the library in the small community which is starving. Because the small community cannot provide an adequate working fund, its library cannot offer services which seem important. Because the library cannot offer important services, the community has little regard for it. Once this circle is broken by the development of strong library systems based upon larger units of population and taxable property, we can expect the community to respond to improved services with greater support.

The Public Library Inquiry brought out the fact that our public libraries vary so widely in size, resources, and facilities that for practical purposes the typical large and small libraries are different kinds of institutions having the same name. It is equally true, however, that a person's need of library service may bear no relationship whatever to the size of his home community.

When we speak of comprehensive book collections, reference services, staff members with specialized training, and adult-education programs, we are referring to a distinct minority of our public libraries. This minority group of libraries can, I am sure, be depended upon to initiate new services and adapt older ones to meet changing social and economic conditions, just as they met the needs of the depression and the war years. For the most part, these libraries are directed by progressive and socially minded librarians who are intent upon making their institutions real forces in their communities. A study of the recent library literature gives abundant evidence that a knowledge of community needs, administrative skill, imagination, and a willingness to experiment characterize the operation of most of the larger libraries.

They are truly dynamic in the sense that they attempt to meet local needs with energy and effective action.

No definite line of cleavage between adequate and inadequate libraries can be drawn on the basis of population alone. We can all name some backward libraries in populous centers and some exceptionally favored smaller cities whose libraries are giving notable service. In general, however, the question of adequacy boils down to dollars. The library's dollars are usually derived from taxes, and, even though the small community is willing to tax itself heroically, it contains too little taxable property to bring a sufficient working fund.

As a brief summary, then, may we agree that most of the larger libraries will exert understanding and ingenuity in directing their resources toward increased and changing needs. The typical small library can do little as long as it remains dependent upon its own local resources. The consolidation or federation of the smaller libraries into county or regional systems is the only means by which the country as a whole can secure adequate public library service in the years ahead.

# IMPLICATIONS FOR PERSONNEL

EDWARD A. WIGHT

CHANGING concepts of the public library's role in the dynamic society of which we and the library are a part have implications for personnel which grow out of the present as well as the future public library program. Obviously, we have personnel with us now as a starting point; that is, we do not start from nothing, but from the point where we now are. And, just as obviously, in the sense in which we are using the term "personnel" to mean the total staff of the library, the personnel does not shape the future lines of development, but, rather, the function of personnel is to work toward the attainment of the socially derived goals set for the library by its leaders, both local and national. The large outlines of public library goals for which our personnel must be trained and toward which their energies must be directed will here be assumed to be those outlined in our national standards.

The general objectives of the public library are sufficiently broad so that they are adaptable to our ever changing society. I assume that some of the foreseeable or predicted changes by 1965 are, first, the reduction in the work-week, which will release more hours of the day and week for the individual to pursue his cultural and recreational interests. Second, the increasing complexity of our civilization, which will create a need for more reliable factual information as well as for a better understanding of ourselves in the changing world around us. These changes suggest that the public library should play a more vital role in helping the individual to gain the knowledge and the points of view which will enable him to adjust to a rapidly changing world.

Third, there is the relative shift in the age distribution of the population, which will mean a larger proportion of adults, especially older adults, in the total population. The average increase in the population of about $2\frac{3}{4}$ million each year in the decade ending in 1965 means a large number of new people to be served. The extension of service to the approximately 30 million not served in 1950 also means a large increase in the number of persons who will need public library service.

Finally, a significant shift in the occupational distribution of employed persons in the next ten years indicates proportionate increases in the professional and technical groups and decreases in the number of persons employed in agricultural and manual-labor categories. The last two groups are among the lighter users of the public library, and the former among the heavier users.

Most of these anticipated changes, depending on their direction and magnitude, indicate new challenges, new opportunities, and a large volume of new patrons for the public library, with consequent increases in the number and perhaps types of personnel needed.

In thus predicting tremendous new demands for and on personnel, we have assumed that there will be no major technological changes which will result in displacing print and reading; our crystal ball does not indicate that there will be developed some such innovation as a set of magic pills which, taken internally, or a serum which, injected intravenously

or subcutaneously, will produce the new technical knowledge and social understanding needed. While we now have tranquilizing pills to relieve us of some of our tensions, we do not anticipate the development of any sort of dosage that will replace our present methods of acquiring and disseminating knowledge; that is, that will replace the need for books and the other forms of communication.

### THE NUMBERS OF PERSONNEL

Let us attempt to establish a benchmark to show where we now are in numbers of public library personnel. In 1950 we had approximately 15,000 librarians and 30,000 non-librarians employed in our public libraries, or a total of 45,000 persons working full time or part time. In full-time equivalent this is about 14,000 librarians and 22,000 non-librarians, or 36,000 full-time equivalent employees in our public libraries.

According to the 1950 census, we had about 151 million population in April of that year. The total full-time equivalent of public library employees to total population is approximately 2.4 persons per 10,000. If we omit the 30 million persons residing in areas not served by public libraries in 1950, we find about 3.0 library employees per 10,000 population in the service area. This is 25 per cent less than the 4 employees per 10,000 population recommended by new national library service standards.

Assuming complete library coverage to the estimated population of 193.3 million by 1965 and subtracting the 121.7 million population living in areas served by public libraries in 1950, we have an estimated 71.6 million new people to be provided with public library service between 1950 and 1965. Obviously, some of these have already been added to the service areas since 1950, but we have no accurate figures of population served as of 1956 or 1957. This total of 71.6 million new people to be provided with library service averages $4\frac{2}{3}$ million new people per year. Again using the new ALA service standards of 4 employees per 10,000 population, and assuming that only one-third of these employees are professional librarians, we find a total of 11,773 more professional librarians, or an average of 785 new professional personnel per year, needed just for new population to be served. This figure of 785 new public librarians does not include any replacements in the professional group to meet the annual losses from retirement, death, and numerous other natural causes. Roughly, we appear to need at least 1,000 new professional librarians to be brought into the public library service in each year through 1965.

Data for the number of persons receiving a certificate, diploma, or degree from our ALA-accredited schools for most of the years from 1925 through 1955 (given in Table 1) show a range of from 408 in 1925 to 1,693 in 1951. In 1955 our ALA-accredited library schools graduated 1,480 persons. From 1950 through 1955 the average number per year was 1,522 persons with first-year degrees. The best estimate I can make is that approximately one-third of these go into public library work, giving a figure of about 500 presumably newly trained public librarians per year now entering the profession or qualified for it.

We appear to need annually about twice as many new library-school graduates entering public library service as we have had in the first six years of this decade. The increases in total population which have been mentioned also mean increased total enrolments in educational institutions and the consequent need for

many more professional library personnel in school and higher educational institutions. Increased needs will probably be just as acute in the special library fields. Since library-school students often have not selected a field of specialization on entrance to the professional school and since shifts in the field of employment frequently occur after entering the profession, recruiting should be on a broad basis for the profession of librarianship rather than specifically for any one group of libraries.

### RECRUITING FOR LIBRARIANSHIP

Recruiting efforts in our profession have been intensified generally in recent years. The Joint Committee on Library Work as a Career was created in 1947. Long before that time, however, the need for more professionally trained librarians was expressed by such groups as the Board of Education for Librarianship. From its first annual report, for 1924–25, the following is quoted: "The Board is convinced by its survey of the field that the repeated assertions concerning the scarcity of well-qualified librarians are in no way exaggerated. . . . Most of the library schools also report that demand is far in excess of supply of available candidates" (p. 6).

In its annual report for 1944–45 the Board wrote: "Recruiting for the library profession received the first attention in the work of the year. A new folder, *Books and People: A Career in Library Service* emphasized opportunities and development in librarianship previously presented in *Post-war Library Personnel*. . . . Revised editions of *Training for Library Work* and *Librarianship as a Career* were sent on request to inquirers whose number indicates that the recent recruiting efforts of many library groups as well as the board are having desirable effect" (p. 388). Reference to Table 1 shows that the number of persons completing their first degree, certificate, or diploma from accredited library schools increased from the 790 in 1944 (the lowest number since 1934) in every following year except one to a new high of 1,693 in 1951. This is still the highest point ever reached by the ALA-accredited schools as a group.

TABLE 1

NUMBER OF PERSONS COMPLETING ONE YEAR OR FIRST PROFESSIONAL PROGRAM IN ALA-ACCREDITED LIBRARY SCHOOLS*

| Year | No. of Persons | Year | No. of Persons |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1955 | 1,480 | 1939 | 1,335 |
| 1954 | 1,524 | 1938 | 1,253 |
| 1953 | 1,370 | 1937 | 1,098 |
| 1952 | 1,476 | 1936 | 975 |
| 1951 | 1,693 | 1935 | 836 |
| 1950 | 1,588 | | |
| | | 1934 | 764 |
| 1949 | 1,214 | 1933 | 944 |
| 1948 | 1,279 | 1932 | 1,139 |
| 1947 | 1,273 | 1931 | 1,262 |
| 1946 | 1,018 | 1930 | 1,007 |
| 1945 | 935 | | |
| | | 1929 | 873 |
| 1944 | 790 | 1928 | ..... |
| 1943 | 1,013 | 1927 | 558 |
| 1942 | 1,362 | 1926 | 509 |
| 1941 | 1,574 | 1925† | 408 |
| 1940 | 1,605 | | |

* Data from the annual reports of ALA Board of Education for Librarianship, published at first separately by the Board, then in the *ALA Bulletin*, and since 1951 as supplements to the *AALS Newsletter*. Effort has been made to keep the data comparable from year to year and to exclude Master's degrees when they represented the second professional degree. In the earlier years persons completing a one-year program are included, without respect to whether they received a certificate or degree.

† Eighteen schools.

In 1951–52 a Committee on Recruiting and Personnel of the Association of American Library Schools made a study in an effort to learn what led students to enrol in the then thirty-six ALA-accredited library schools. Questionnaires were returned by 1,246 students of that year. Only 10 per cent of the 773 students who had decided *after* 1947 to become librarians said that they had seen any of the materials prepared for recruiting purposes. Of the total group of 1,246 re-

spondents then in ALA-accredited library schools, about 50 persons (4 per cent) reported that library work as a career was first brought to their attention by publications. A total of 11 persons reported vocational guidance or counseling as a factor in their choice. Excellent recruiting folders have been prepared, but apparently small results can be traced directly to them.

After the 1957 ALA mid-winter meeting, at which I sat in with the board of directors of the Library Education Division while it considered plans for a recruiting program at the annual meeting of the Association at Kansas City, I decided to find out more about the college-level advisory service to students on my own campus. We have an active guidance program, well staffed and conveniently located. It counsels something over 3,000 students a year. After I had talked with the director of guidance for some time, she asked me to look over the collection of guidance materials in librarianship, and brought me two folders of this material. The collection was good and varied, but it suffered from two faults: (1) most of the new pamphlets since 1953 were not there and (2) many of the older ones, undated, were still there, referring to such a salary figure as $2,600. You can imagine the effect that 1948 and 1953 salaries will have on 1957 students looking for a career and a living wage at 1957 prices!

From reading many of the annual reports of the Board of Education for Librarianship, looking at the recruiting pamphlets available in the University of California's guidance service files and those of our Library School library, inspecting the figures on graduates of the accredited library schools, and examining the evidence of the 1951–52 survey of the lack of effect of recruiting pamphlets on the students then in accredited library schools, I cannot reach any clear conclusion, but suggest that most of the increase in graduates from 1945 to 1951 came from the influx of veterans. Some of these undoubtedly would have come to library school earlier had they not been in the armed services, and others were undoubtedly interested by war-service library experiences or by veterans' counselors. It does seem clear that, by and large, the college vocational guidance counselors have not contributed notably to the numbers recruited to librarianship.

But we must remember that vocational counselors are not recruiters for our—or any—profession. They need factual data about the nature of our work, its job content, its educational requirements (particularly the way subject interests can be utilized), and the specific types of positions where needs and opportunities are greatest. The typical recruiting folder is definitely not useful to the vocations counselor. To my knowledge there is no good up-to-date complete factual manual for the college-level vocational counselor. One is very much needed.[1]

I therefore recommend that we make a concentrated effort in this direction in 1957–58 by preparing a counselor's manual on librarianship as a profession and conducting an intensive drive in each institution of higher education in the United States. The manual could be prepared by or for the Joint Committee on Library Work as a Career, and the drive could be organized by ALA, by the state library associations, or by both together, so that this winter each college counseling office would receive a copy of the manual, multiple copies of each of the recent recruiting folders developed by our professional

[1] The paper of Janet D. French, "Vocational Counseling and Library Recruiting," written at Pratt Institute in May, 1955, in connection with her Master's degree requirements, has some useful suggestions.

groups, and a sheet of salary data for positions accepted by 1957 graduates of ALA-accredited library schools.

Other forms of recruiting are being used in colleges and should continue: open house; behind-the-scenes tours of libraries; posters; a photographic exhibit featuring library work which is shown at various colleges; and, what has apparently been most productive, personal solicitation by librarians. All these and many more methods described in John Harvey's *Action Manual for Library Recruiters*[2] are good; but, when the interested student goes to the college guidance office, he should have available the most recent literature and, probably most important, current salary figures. Let's get this information to guidance officers each year.

There are now several excellent recruiting folders. In general, however, they are weakest on the one point which at present, owing to the recent rapid rise in the level of salary for the beginning professional, is most important, in my opinion, namely, current salaries. While the salaries for beginning professional positions in 1957 are still not comparable to those offered by other professions which are competing for college and graduate-school graduates, certainly we cannot compete by describing salaries of 1950 or 1951.

One other personal observation is pertinent here. It is my impression that the largest consumers of recruiting pamphlets have been high-school students and that much of this apparent interest is stimulated by the requirements of teachers of guidance courses. State library association recruiting committees have also devoted considerable time and attention to the high-school student. I do not decry this emphasis on the high-school student but suggest that this is not the level of effort which will produce the now-needed quick recruiting results. I believe, on the other hand, that there is a reservoir of qualified college Juniors and Seniors who have not made vocational choices and who might be interested in a one-year program in librarianship.

There is one other source for recruiting staff for professional library work that should be mentioned. This is the present professional staff of the public library. The rule-of-thumb measure of one-third staff time in professional work to two-thirds in non-professional work has been checked in several careful studies. Obviously, a total program which has a large per capita volume of reference and readers' advisory and group services and which sends librarians outside the walls of the library to hospital rooms and wards, to schools, and to a variety of clubs, etc., will have a somewhat larger proportion of professional to total staff. But, conversely, a system which does little per capita volume of this work and serves primarily as a circulation agency should have a professional staff that is considerably smaller than one-third of the total staff.

I can cite only one recent specific example here. The necessary data are usually not available except where a specific study has been made of the problem. In November, 1954, one of the more progressive head librarians of the group comprising the Public Libraries Executives of Central California (primarily those in the Bay Area and contiguous counties) proposed a study of the job content of the Junior Librarian or Librarian I positions. Wide variations were known to exist in the salary scales for Librarian I among this group of public libraries. The

[2] John F. Harvey, *Action Manual for Library Recruiters* (reprinted from the September, 1956, *Wilson Library Bulletin* by The Joint Committee on Library Work as a Career).

hypothesis upon which the investigation was based was that higher rates of pay for the first professional class of position were positively related to higher proportions of professional work—in other words, that the Librarian I who did primarily professional work received more pay than the librarian who did primarily non-professional (i.e., clerical) work. Definitions of ALA's list of professional and non-professional work were used, and a data sheet was developed.

The hypothesis was found to be invalid. High pay as Librarian I was not positively associated with high percentage of professional work. A by-product of the study was the finding that, for 119 persons holding the position of Librarian I, the percentage of professional work was 57.7; for the work in circulation activities, requiring 31 per cent of the total man-hours, only 5 per cent of the total was judged professional; in technical processes, using 14 per cent of the total time, 36.5 per cent of the total was professional. For the individual public libraries the range in total percentage of work of Librarian I which was professional in character was from 11.6 to 70.0. These data are from only fourteen public libraries; and they are probably not typical of all. But certainly there are hundreds of thousands of man-hours of professional time each year being spent on non-professional work in our public libraries.

It seems to me to be reasonably clear that one of the demands of the present situation of shortage of professional librarians is to restudy the nature of the work of the professional librarian, to separate that which really requires professional knowledge from that which does not, and to reassign tasks so that our present professional staff is engaged primarily in professional work. The technique for such analysis is relatively simple and has been described in our literature.

### REGROUPING OF WORK AND JOB ENLARGEMENT

When tasks are regrouped for assignment to persons, both professional and non-professional, the basic principle to be followed is homogeneity in level of difficulty (and, concomitantly, in knowledge and skill required). The work of the professional librarian who has had a broad general education followed by a year of professional graduate schooling can be assigned in the small and medium-sized libraries across what are the too-common narrow departmental lines to include a variety of professional tasks of beginning average difficulty—reference and readers' advisory work, selection and other activities in development and maintenance of a part of the collection, work with community groups, or perhaps subject cataloging in a defined field of one or more subjects. This type of *job enlargement* is made more difficult in assignment and in supervision by the tendency toward proliferation of many small departments, especially in the small and medium-sized libraries.

For example, it is not uncommon in my observation to see the head of the children's department not only doing the top level of professional children's work but also working at routine operations of charging and discharging, and even counting and recording the previous day's circulation, and performing other simple routine tasks. I know, too, the typical answers from the children's and other librarians who want to do this type of routine work; and almost none of the answers are, to me, valid ones!

The same principle of horizontal grouping of clerical work suggests that a variety of simple clerical tasks can be as-

signed to the lowest level of library clerical employees, including part-time high-school and college pages or junior library assistants—whatever title is used for the lowest level of non-professional employee.

The more difficult clerical work, sometimes call "subprofessional," can also be assigned to secure job enlargement, using the same principles of homogeneity of level of work. Even the small library with only three or four clerks can assign to the person allocated to the top clerical class of position the more difficult clerical work of descriptive cataloging of fiction and simple current trade non-fiction, of performing such other cataloging tasks as adding duplicates to the shelf list and assigning book numbers, of supervising the duplication and heading of duplicate sets of catalog cards, of supervising clerical operations and staff in routine circulation work, and even of studying and recommending changes in clerical routines.

By thus grouping non-professional work in levels of difficulty and having appropriate classes of positions to provide a promotional clerical series of classes, we not only can enlarge the jobs and increase their attractiveness to well-qualified clerical employees but can relieve the professional staff of many of its present non-professional duties, so that they can take up full professional responsibilities. More important, we can develop in the clerical classes of positions a class which includes competent top-level clerks to supervise groups of clerical workers in lower classes of positions.

To summarize this discussion of regrouping of work according to broad levels of difficulty in both professional and non-professional work: we need to take a fresh look at departmentation, with a view to having few departments, relatively large in personnel, so that tasks of all levels, professional and non-professional, can be more effectively grouped for assignment according to levels of difficulty, thus providing job enlargement for the individual worker and a stimulating variety of work for employees at practically all levels. An important by-product of this type of grouping of work will be that it will free many thousands of professional man-hours of work to be reassigned from non-professional to professional tasks and will set the basis for a general improvement in many personnel practices. There is another deliberate by-product: a smaller number of departments in small and medium-sized public libraries means fewer department heads, with the remaining positions greatly enlarged to include important responsibilities in program planning and development.

Parenthetically, the large public library can also profit by applying these and related principles, particularly when developing subject departments or divisions. Most of the assumed advantages to the public service which accompany the subject basis of administrative organization can be secured without overproliferation of subject departments by arrangement of book collection and service desks to secure specialization of staff in professional assignments without the corresponding elaboration of numerous subject departments.

Job enlargement and simplification of departmental organization go together. A few strong and large departments is the administrative view. Job enlargement is the personnel view. When good personnel have been recruited, challenging jobs are necessary to utilize their abilities to the fullest.

The branch library deserves special mention here in connection with the top-

ic of large versus small operating units and job enlargement. Obviously, with the basic, system-wide collection in the central library, and with centralization of ordering and other technical operations, the range of levels and types of professional work is somewhat smaller in branches than at headquarters.

With the larger regional type of branch circulating 12,000–15,000 or more items monthly and having a substantial volume of reference and reader's advisory and group work, there is no major problem in grouping work in homogeneous levels and in enlarging jobs—if it is worked at consistently, persistently, and intelligently. In the small branch the problem is more difficult. Let us assume that a small branch circulates less than 5,000 items monthly, has a reference collection of less than 200 titles, and, in general, has a relatively small volume of professional work, most of it of a simple information type. In my opinion, with our present shortage of professional staff, this type of agency should be defined as a circulation center rather than as a branch library. The name is not so important as is the recognition of the limits of service which are possible with small resources at hand in terms of size and range of collection, number and expertness of staff, and so on. The volume of professional work at this circulation center is usually too small to require even one full-time qualified professional librarian. Yet there is real need for at least one person who knows the agency's collection of materials and who can exploit it to the fullest with the patrons who use the circulation center.

Here a logical solution seems to be to recruit from the community college graduates who have basic interest in books and people and knowledge of them, but who have no professional library training. It is not broad professional training in reference, cataloging, administration, and other typical library-school course content that is needed for this position. Neither is it skill in difficult technical routines. If this analysis is correct, we need neither a top-grade clerk nor a library-school graduate but a good, community book-sales type of person. As I envisage it, the position is neither the top of a clerical series of classes of positions nor one of full professional status leading to promotion to higher professional positions but a single class of position, requiring bookish knowledge of a relatively small collection, a broad understanding of people, and an interest in working with them. In keeping with the "circulation center" title, this position might be titled "circulation specialist," and its salary range would probably begin just below that for Librarian I and should be high enough to attract well-qualified persons. Since it would not be in a promotional series, it would be recognized as one which provides no long-term career in the library. Its chief appeal might be to the young woman college graduate who is not seeking a lifelong career and to the youngish, middle-aged homemaker whose children have outgrown the need of day-long care. Fairly intensive preliminary training would need to be given by the library, with emphasis upon knowledge of the agency's resources and the supporting services of the main library. The routine technical operations would, obviously, be carefully set up with established routines, and a full-time clerk and part-time junior clerks or pages with schedules adjusted to the typical fluctuations in daily and hourly work load. Some circulation specialists will undoubtedly decide to go to library school to enter the professional group.

This same principle can, I believe, be

extended to the type of library system consisting of several small independent public libraries, in some cases with perhaps one stronger library within the system. In the 1954 United States Office of Education publication, *Public Library Statistics, 1950*, annual operating expenditures are reported for 5,773 independent public libraries. Seventy-seven per cent of these had total operating expenditures of less than $10,000. Another 1,674 identified public libraries did not report annual operating expenditures; it seems reasonably safe to assume that most of these were also in the "under $10,000" expenditures group. Obviously, with less than $10,000, even in 1950, a single public library could not employ a qualified head librarian, purchase a considerable range and number of new titles, and provide building and other facilities for reasonably adequate minimum service.

The full adoption of the idea of the *library system* is recognition that the small library cannot stand alone. Let us recognize this in fact as well and staff it appropriately for the type of service which can be given—and make that a first-rate service. One of the new standards (No. 129) says: "All libraries serving populations of 5,000 or more should have full-time professional personnel." That this standard can now be reached within reasonable limits of efficient levels of unit costs, I doubt. Certainly, with the present shortage of professionally trained librarians, it is unrealistic to expect to have a library-school graduate in each small community outlet, even in a well-administered system. When the library serving between 5,000 and 10,000 persons stands alone as an independent unit, a professional librarian is certainly needed. But let us recognize frankly that it is now unrealistic to assign a professional librarian full time to the small library which is part of a system. Parenthetically, it would seem to be more realistic in terms of operating needs for personnel to describe the small unit in terms of volume of basic work, such as circulation, reference and reader's advisory questions, and groups served rather than in terms of population in the service area.

### IN-SERVICE TRAINING

Up to this point I have referred to the shortage of professional personnel of the metropolitan public library only in relation to the staffing of the medium-sized and small urban branch, which we have called for convenience the "circulation center." The metropolitan public library also has difficulty in finding qualified staff for its main-library public service departments. The metropolitan public library is likely to be more successful in recruiting the available current graduates of library schools than is the smaller library, primarily because it can offer a more varied and challenging professional job content, opportunities for promotion, and frequently a more satisfactory salary schedule. The greater variety of cultural and recreational opportunities in the metropolitan area are probably added attractions. But, even with these assumed advantages, some metropolitan libraries are having to recruit and to some extent train their own professional staff, and possibly others are considering similar action.

While it is too sweeping a generalization to say that a public library system can probably not do as good a job of well-rounded professional training as can an ALA-accredited graduate professional school, except by a large expenditure of money and/or time of its professional staff, it does seem reasonable to assume that a return to on-the-job basic professional training by the individual library

will be a backward step. The older professions of medicine and law have gone through the in-service training stage of producing doctors and lawyers and have abandoned it. Medicine, with its acute shortages, especially during the World War II period, has used other methods of recruiting and training. In passing, it might be stressed that one device used to make available more man-hours of expertly trained doctors and dentists has been the removal from the doctor's work load of much of the routine but nonetheless skilled technical work. A dental technician cleans the patient's teeth and performs other services once the province of the dentist. The well-staffed hospital could not carry its patient load without the services of many specialists below the level of the doctor—specialized nurses, X-ray technicians, laboratory technicians, anesthetists, etc.—to relieve the doctor to perform his unique professional jobs. None of these technicians, with specialized technical training in limited fields, goes on to become a doctor—unless he follows the prescribed method of professional medical-school preparation.

So in librarianship, the non-library-school graduate may be trained to perform specialized tasks that have been performed previously by professional librarians. This method of staffing has already been recommended for the circulation center and the small library which is a part of a library system. It can also be used for specialized jobs in the large public library. A college graduate with a general science major or a literature major might, if selected for the specific knowledge and skills required, make a very acceptable employee for certain types of simple professional work in the appropriate subject division after a period of on-the-job training. However, it would be a great mistake to permit this type of training to lead to a position which carries admission to the profession, with full opportunities for promotion to higher professional classes of positions. This short and limited training should be for specialized positions of a non-professional class. It is important at least to maintain the present minimum standard of one year of graduate professional work for entrance to the profession.

Some of the persons selected to perform a limited type of professional service, as in a small branch or in a limited specialized field, will undoubtedly go on to library school if given the opportunity. In Newark, a person admitted to library school may be employed as a trainee and work in the library while attending professional school. Employment in a professional class of position comes after graduation from library school. The Brooklyn and more recently the Detroit public libraries are recruiting and employing college graduates on a work-study basis. However, these libraries are, properly, requiring library-school graduation for entrance into full professional classes of positions. As professional courses are completed, job content can be shifted to include more professional work.

This practice has sometimes been called "pre-professional training," which seems to me to be a misleading title. Even if such persons do not go on to completion of professional school, they can render valuable services of a semi-professional, or technical, type and could presumably continue for a number of years to be valuable. They fill the hospital laboratory technician and the dental technician type of positions, but their knowledge and skills are of people and books rather than of laboratory and hygiene.

One other type of in-service training

should be mentioned. There is a very great need for training of middle management (department heads) and top management (the chief librarian of the jurisdiction). A recent unpublished study[3] has suggested that the leadership qualities of middle management—our department heads—are not the same as those of top management and that specific means need to be developed to identify and train competent members for middle management. Earlier, I have suggested that there are, in general, too many department heads and that, again in general, their level of competence for departmental administration is too low. This probably requires a little elaboration. At the department-head level I do not question competence for carrying out routine operations, so much as for planning, developing, and evaluating programs and for making factual studies and reports as a basis for recommending policy and specific actions. Undoubtedly, the chief librarian, who often does not expect, want, or require this type of departmental leadership, is too often to blame for the low level of performance by department heads of high-level departmental functions appropriate to their positions.

In the large library, with a half-dozen or more strong departments, the top administrator can do a great deal to strengthen his present and potential department heads. In smaller libraries the responsibility must be shared by groups of libraries, by the state agency and professional association, and by the professional schools.

May I cite a single regional example. In March, 1956, the California State Library held a workshop on co-operation, at which only librarians were admitted who had, with one or more other registrants, a problem in co-operation to be worked on. Two groups, in widely separated parts of the state, worked on programs of in-service training, both of which were successfully put into practice. One of the groups in southern California consisted of five libraries. The top librarians have continued to meet regularly, and they decided this year that their department heads and supervisors needed a training program in human relations, aimed particularly at improving supervision. They asked a university professor to meet with them to discuss the specific problems they had. He took their lists of problems, combined them, and came for a second meeting. He said, in effect, "These are not primarily or exclusively problems for department heads; they are problems on which top management must make basic decisions. It is you, the head librarians, who first need to study these problem areas." So now the five chief librarians have employed the professor to conduct a class for themselves. This, I submit, is a serious and sane approach, starting at the level where study of major problems is most needed.

We do not have enough knowledge of the professional-life history of the top librarian, and careful studies of the typical and atypical patterns of progression to top administration are needed. But the chief librarian normally comes up through the ranks, with little or no more professional schooling than most of his fellow librarians, including those on his own staff, and with almost no really specialized training for top administration. It seems reasonably clear that, with the Master's degree now the mark of the first year of professional study, relatively few librarians are going on to a second or third year. In 1955 only 35 students were reported as receiving the two-year Master's degree in ALA-accredited

[3] By Edwin H. Ghiselli and Lyman W. Porter, University of California.

schools. In 1951, the peak year for first-year degrees, the number was 96. It scarcely seems debatable that our top people in the public library field should have more than one year of professional schooling.

In-service training of top administrators and of department heads in medium-sized and large public libraries seems to be the joint responsibility of ALA and of its divisions, the state professional associations and the state library agency, the accredited professional schools, and libraries working together.

May I draw another parallel with one of our older, firmly established professional groups. In 1933 the House of Delegates of the American Medical Association expressed its approval of "examining boards in medical specialties." An American Board in a specialty is organized "(*a*) to assist in improving the quality of graduate education in that field, (*b*) to establish minimum educational and training standards in the specialty . . . , (*c*) to determine whether candidates have received adequate preparation as defined by the Board, (*d*) to provide comprehensive examinations to determine the ability and fitness of physicians who have satisfied the requirements of the boards as a protection to the public and profession."[4] Between 1933 and 1949 nineteen American Boards were established to certify specialists.

If we assume that librarianship is to become a recognized profession of high standing, we might substitute "librarians" for "physicians" and have a very pertinent statement about the purposes of advanced and specialized training for librarians. Our "type of work" divisions as ALA is being reorganized might furnish broad areas of specialization and a part of the framework within which there could be developed a professionally controlled mechanics for examining and certifying to a high level of competence in specialized fields. This is an essential ingredient of a full-grown professional group. A broad framework within which qualifications for specialized competence might be developed would probably include: (1) graduation from an accredited professional library school; (2) admission to the professional library group as indicated by certification; (3) a period of successful work in the specialized field in a library strong enough to offer challenging professional experience; (4) specialized graduate training in advanced courses, seminars, workshops, and similar activities germane to the field of specialization; and (5) examination and certification by a board of representative experts in the field of specialization. The necessary research and implementation for establishing such a national program should be an appropriate project for applying for a foundation grant for the initial stages of development.

While this proposal is made to a group whose primary interest is the public library field, we have here people who are also interested in most of the broad fields of specialization, such as administration, technical processes, adult education, reference, children's work, and so on. Other groups within ALA and other national professional library organizations also have vested interests in the development and certification of high-level specialized competence in their respective fields. It is high time that our profession recognize the need for some type of specialized training, instead of leaving the development of our future leaders to chance, and that we take co-operative steps to organize and administer a program of training and certification at this top level.

[4] *American Medical Directory* (19th ed.; Chicago: American Medical Association Press, 1956), p. 74.

### CERTIFICATION OF LIBRARIANS

It has long been my personal opinion that public librarianship has not yet reached the point where a high standard of legal certification of all public librarians is clearly attainable. However, I firmly believe that the public welfare would be better served by required certification of all professional librarians in public libraries. Our national standards specify required certification. The chief situations which have retarded the development of certification are the mixture of work of professional and nonprofessional levels of which I have spoken at some length and the public image of the librarian as a person who sits behind a charging desk and stamps books.

The basis for a reasonably sane and consistent system of certification of librarians would include a few simple principles like the following:

1. The profession should establish and maintain standards of professional competence.
2. The certificate should serve as a badge of membership in the profession.
3. The certificate should be based upon broad general education of four years of college, one year of graduate professional school, and one or more years of experience in an approved public library.
4. The professional school is responsible for selecting and preparing candidates for the profession.
5. The individual library or library system is responsible for continuing education by assigning both graduated and certificated staff to positions which require professional qualifications and the job content of which is primarily or exclusively professional.
6. The processes of selecting and training and of assigning to professional work are interdependent and must support each other and make a consistent whole. This implies (*a*) accreditation of professional schools so that adequate programs will be available and minimum standards maintained and (*b*), at the local library level, sufficient resources and administrative competence in their direction to assure the continued training and effective use of both graduated and certificated personnel; that is, approved lists at the local level of libraries and systems which meet minimum ALA standards, or the equivalent state standards, and are qualified to give professional experience to graduated and to certificated personnel.
7. Responsibility for accreditation of schools, establishing approved lists of libraries, and certification of professional personnel should be assigned to the agency or agencies that can be expected best to perform them.

This brief statement of principles suggests the framework for certification:

1. A graduate of an accredited library school, on recommendation of its faculty, would receive with his diploma a recommendation for admission to a national examination administered by a National Board for Examination and Certification.
2. Each candidate for a certificate would be required to pass the national professional examination within a specified period, as two years, after graduation from professional school.
3. Each candidate would be required to work for at least one year in a professional position in an approved public library.
4. The National Board would review the results of the professional examination, evaluate reports of the quality, content, and extent of professional work and experience,[5] review other pertinent records and reports, and issue the general professional certificate to those who qualified. It would be hoped that state certification boards, where they exist, would accept the certification of the National Board and issue a state certificate, if required, on the basis of the national certificate.

Admittedly, this is no easy program, but it is one of tremendous importance at this stage in our professional develop-

[5] Provision should be made for adequate evaluation of the internship or study-work type of program where a part of study and experience run concurrently.

ment. The possibilities of rapid expansion are upon us, and we should establish safeguards for the competence of those who shall carry the leadership responsibilities. The development of a high level of graduate professional training and the certification of competence seem to me to be an essential national responsibility of the profession.

## SUMMARY

Our data on the number, qualifications, work assignments, and competence of personnel in public libraries are woefully inadequate. It is difficult to assess accurately our present position. However, it seems reasonably clear on the basis of predictions of current trends that we are in a period of relatively rapid expansion of public library service. From the benchmark of 1950, with some supplementary census data for 1956, it appears that our attainable goal by 1965 is to extend public library service to the 30 million population without it in 1950 and to give service to the 41.6 million population increase between 1950 and 1965, thereby serving our total estimated population of 193.3 million by the middle of the next decade.

This rapid increase in the number of persons to be served will probably be accompanied by a decrease of 5 or 6 per cent in our work week by 1965, requiring additional personnel or corresponding improvements in work methods and productivity per man hour, if we are to maintain or improve quality and quantity of service. Our population to be served is gradually changing, with larger proportions in the professional and technical groups, presumably requiring more and better library service. The accompanying changes in technology and the higher proportion of older adults in the population imply a more vital role for the public library in carrying out its major responsibility for helping to keep the adult educated.

Recruiting and training the non-professional staff are primarily problems of the local library and library system. The use of more young, part-time, non-career personnel for the large volume of simple routine work can be expanded, and greater use can be made of non-career, mature, well-qualified, specially trained persons for the smaller library agencies, both branches and independent libraries organized in systems.

Recruiting of approximately twice as many new professional workers annually is imperative. Intensive work by the professional associations in each state, buttressed by the national professional associations, concentrated especially upon vocational counselors and students in institutions of higher education, and using up-to-date materials and methods and annual compilations of salaries paid current graduates of library schools, should be tried out immediately on an intensive basis.

It seems likely that the basic pattern of professional training at the graduate level has now been set for perhaps a decade. Modifications in the content of the program may be desirable, but their nature and direction have not yet emerged nor do I hazard a guess at what these are likely to be.

Improvements in the effectiveness of the administrative organization of the individual library are essential. More efficient methods of work and the regrouping of work assignments according to homogeneous levels of difficulty to produce relatively fewer departments with larger numbers of personnel, attractive enlargement of job content of positions, increased effectiveness of supervisors and department heads—all seem clearly in-

dicated. One of the important by-products of improved grouping and assignment of work should be the release of several hundred thousand man-hours of professional employees from clerical for professional work.

The affiliation of small and medium-sized libraries into systems, as outlined in our new national standards, is closely related to the same cluster of problems. The weaknesses of the small department are akin to those of small independent libraries. A system of small libraries will not meet minimum standards just by cooperating. There will need to be changes in routines and procedures, redistribution of staff assignments, and other adaptations calculated to produce greater efficiency and strength.

Extension of the concept of basic professional training to include postgraduation, professional experience in an approved public library prior to certification by a national board should give us a sound basis for establishing reasonable minimum standards for admission to the profession of librarianship.

The development of state-wide cooperatively sponsored programs for training and developing competent middle administrators is needed. Finally, a cooperative sponsored national program for training and certifying qualified specialists and top administrators is imperative if we are to develop as a mature and responsible professional group.

# SUMMARY OF THE CONFERENCE

LESTER ASHEIM

ANYONE who accepts the task of summarizing, in one short paper, the important ideas from eight papers rushes in where angels fear to tread. When the eight papers are as excellent as those in this Conference, his task is made easier in one sense but more difficult in another. It is made easier because the ideas have already been so well and clearly stated that a summary is hardly necessary; it is made more difficult because the ideas have already been so well and clearly stated that a summary—that will add anything useful—is hardly possible. Knowing this, I offer this so-called summary, not as a substitute for the preceding papers or even an adequate report upon them, but only, if you will permit me, as one man's view of some of the high points and their implications.

What the papers in this Conference have done is to paint a picture of the American public library in an era of exciting social change. That picture has been viewed from several vantage points, and these several views taken together provide an enlightening depth and perspective. In some of the papers the view has been historical, giving us an insight into the past and the present, with some tentative glimpses of the future. In others the view has been mainly sociological, with the society of today in the foreground. In still others the view has been primarily library-oriented, with society as a backdrop. While all of the social trends of our time have not been analyzed here, those which are most likely to influence the nature of the library and its social role have been identified and brought to our attention. And thanks to the insight and penetration of the experts who have reported on each segment of the total picture, we have an interrelated whole which is considerably greater than the sum of its individual parts.

Take, for example, the population trends which have been analyzed in the papers of Hauser, Lacy, Munn, and Wight. Some of the purely factual information in them was already known to us: the increase in the population, the rise in the average age level, the crowding of the schools, and the move to the suburbs. But in each case the familiar facts have been combined imaginatively and have been put in a context which gives them richer meaning. It is not merely that the population is growing and that therefore there will be more people from whom will come a correspondingly larger number of patrons for the library. The important aspect of this fact is that the growth is occurring in those parts of the total population which have traditionally been the greatest users of the book. There are not going to be merely more people in the years ahead, but more educated people, more people in professional and technical positions, more people with leisure, more people involved in some organized activity of continuing education. The implications for the library of this combination of facts about the population add up to something considerably more than just a growth in library use; they point to a more serious, more intensive, more demanding employment of what Lacy de-

scribes as the purposive rather than the pastime use of library materials. And as he points out, the purposive use of the library demands a much more current and extensive collection and a much more specialized staff than does pastime use. This has implications for the preparation of librarians, for the selection of materials, for their organization—indeed, for every aspect of professional librarianship.

Or let us take a look at what Hauser describes as the aging of the population. Here again it is not merely a matter of an increase in the number of older people in the population, but of the probability that, in the years ahead, the older groups are going to be of a different stamp. Hauser calls attention to the earlier release of the mother from child-rearing responsibilities, the earlier departure of children from the family fold, the increase in the number of years that remain to the husband and wife to share, the increasing amount of leisure available to both the homemaker and the breadwinner, and the earlier age of retirement with adequate income. All of these factors, combined with the higher educational level reached by each succeeding generation, point to an active audience for library services at an average age level considerably higher than that which characterizes library use today. Again there are implications for services, for book selection, and for specialized talents on the part of the librarian which do indeed point in a new direction.

The increase in population is reflected also in the younger groups, and the baby boom of a few years ago is now being felt in the schools, high schools, and colleges. It is that ever growing group who go on with their schooling through college and the university which will supply most of the library users of the future; and it is from those in elementary and secondary school today that we get at least half of our present library users. Yet it is also among the young people that we seem most to fear the rivalry of the mass media. Although the library's children's service is still one of its major activities, the library is no longer, as it once was, the major source of children's literature and of the kinds of pleasure, recreation, and knowledge which books used uniquely to offer. On the other hand, the public library is becoming increasingly a resource for school-connected activities, and Munn predicts that we may, in the future, have to supply much more reference and supplementary material and administer portions of our collections like the reserve reading collections in the schools. The pressure will be great on both the school libraries and the public libraries, and their services to children and young people could probably best be met by some kind of joint school and public library program. If the future should see the school librarian and the public librarian actually willing to submerge their own jurisdictional disputes for the welfare of the children they both serve, the present difficulties will be well worth struggling through.

Or, let us take the familiar fact of the growing suburb. One result for the public library, not mentioned in this conference, is that the phenomenon of suburbia has given rise to a flood of books to fill our already overcrowded shelves. Fiction and nonfiction both depict for us an organization man in a gray flannel suit who, having reached the point of no return, and suffering from a surfeit of honey, contemplates the crack in the picture window. But this sorry character is also a library user, or a potential one, and the facts of his life are factors for us to consider. Typically he repre-

sents a man with a high level of education, an interest in what Lacy calls the "high cultural tradition," and professional and technical requirements in his work which rely heavily on the content to be found in books. Such a man, and his family, will want the kinds of library service to which their pre-suburbia experiences have accustomed them; more than that, because suburbia removes them from ready access to some of the cultural and entertainment facilities of the big city, they may well turn to the book more frequently than their urban peers for relaxation and recreation. And since the move to suburbia is being made not only by the individual but by business and industry and the work force which follows the factory and the plant, the demand for technical, scientific, professional, and self-education materials will notably increase in the libraries serving these outlying areas.

Thus these libraries will become, as Munn points out, more and more like the libraries in the urban center; the old-fashioned kind of branch and suburban library is likely to become less acceptable as the suburban rings grow. And yet the pressure on the libraries in the metropolitan centers will not be any the less, for the cyclical character of the move to the suburbs means that the young marrieds (before their family comes) and the older generation (after the family has moved away) are likely to be city dwellers. This whole problem of library service for the large, densely populated areas is becoming increasingly urgent. Despite the facilities in the urban centers, Leigh reminds us that inadequacies are as pressing in the enlarged metropolitan area as they are in the rural, and that our traditional emphasis upon extension of services to the rural areas too often causes us to overlook the urgent needs of the changing city and its burgeoning suburbs. While no services heretofore unknown to librarians have been proposed in this Conference to meet these new demands, an entirely new direction in library organization, and in the relation of branches to the central library, appears to be in the offing.

Still another change in the library's future is presaged by another set of facts about the population. This is the decline in the importance of the foreign-born as consumers of library services and the growing importance of the American Negro as a patron of the library. At first glance, if we rely too heavily on the characteristics of these two groups as we knew them in the past, this shift in the make-up of the library's potential audience would seem to foretell a decline in serious use of the library, since the foreign-born, notably the northern Europeans, have brought a book tradition with them and have made heavy demands upon the library as they strove to train for citizenship and maintain their cultural ties. The American Negro, on the other hand, underprivileged economically and academically, and primarily tied to the rural areas, has been an infrequent user of library services. The demands upon the library made by the Negro in the future, however, are likely to be very like those of the ambitious immigrant, anxious to make the best possible use of a promising new life. The library, as Hauser points out, can help the Negro to make the transition from the rural to the metropolitan way of life. As educational opportunities for the Negro improve, there is every likelihood that he will not long continue to be a special case as a library user. The differences in library use in the future will not be explained by the differences between white and colored users but by the differences

between educated and uneducated ones —which is primarily what the key was all along.

Such factors as these seem to point to increasing use of the public library, increasing need for more and more varied services, more intensive and challenging demands upon the library's collection and staff than ever before. The librarian's solution for this problem has been the movement toward library systems and the extension of services supported at long last by the passage of the Library Services Act. This is an exciting development—certainly the most exciting development in the library field in a long time. The effect of the Act upon the future of librarianship will undoubtedly be, as both Leigh and Fyan indicate, to strengthen the role of the state and federal library agencies and to accustom librarians and the public to state financial aid to local library operations. But it can hardly be called evidence of a "new direction." Mrs. Fyan's comprehensive report of the plans submitted under the Act reveals no ingenious deviations from the concepts of library service that have been forcing themselves upon librarians for many years. The plans employ such terms as "continuation," "intensification," "increase," "further development," "demonstration," "expansion"—all of them pointing to the extension of existing services, not to new services as yet untried.

If we assume for a moment that it is a good thing for the future to bring an increase in the number of people using the libraries, the number of services being called for, the number of additional plants to be erected, then we must face the fact that some means must be found in the future to find the staffs to man these operations (Fyan and Wight) and the money to pay for them (Chatters and Munn). Co-operation and federation per se are not the answers to this problem. Wight and Munn both make the important point that a federation of poor libraries does not create a good library service and that changes in routines and procedures, redistribution of staff assignments, work simplification, better classification of jobs, and the use of labor-saving devices will all have to be introduced to assure the efficiency and strength desired. This will reduce some costs—but only some costs. Considering the increased services they will make available, the plans for co-operation, federation, and larger systems will be less expensive than a similar expansion under the present system would be, but if any of these plans is to go into efficient operation increased—not reduced—support for libraries will be called for. Indeed, there is a growing conviction among librarians—a conviction that underlies the movement toward library *systems*—that truly professional library service cannot be had cheaply (as Munn puts it: "The question of adequacy boils down to dollars"), and Mr. Wight's proposal that we rename our branch libraries "circulation centers" is an attempt to force the recognition that restricted resources, limited collections, and small or untrained staffs cannot supply the kind of service which we wish to identify with our concept of the library. Mr. Wight's defense of certification also includes a rider for standards of the acceptable library agency. The librarian eligible for certification will not only have had a broad general education and professional education from an accredited library school. He must also have spent at least one year in a library which meets the minimum ALA standards. Thus we raise not only the standard of performance of the individual librarian; we emphasize

also the importance of the standards of the library in which he works.

As we upgrade the requirements and the quality of professional librarianship, we inevitably increase the costs of personnel also. The need for recruits for librarianship is not being met at the present levels of qualifications and salaries, and in the immediate future, Mr. Wight tells us, we will have to bring about 1,000 new professional librarians into the public library service each year. Since we are presently recruiting about half that number, the possibility of our catching up with the accumulating demand appears to be very remote, especially since this scarcity of recruits for professional education is one that is shared by other intellectual professions. As Chatters and Wight inform us, that means that librarians will have to face competition in terms of salaries, working conditions, and fringe benefits—and this, of course, adds to the cost of library operation.

But Mr. Chatters warns that although the national income is increasing, competition for the taxpayers' money will become keener in the years ahead, while the taxpayer himself becomes more reluctant. He predicts an up-hill battle for bond issues requiring a popular referendum, and a much closer scrutiny of state and local spending. When we need it most, the amount of public support could conceivably be less, and none of our projected plans for improving the service through co-operation, federation, confederation, or consolidation is designed to reduce the over-all bill for library service.

Some proposals which could introduce economies have been made during the past three days. Mr. Wight calls for the regrouping of work assignments, a fresh look at departmentation, and a really serious attempt to redefine what is professional and what is not in library operations. If the latter can be accomplished, professional librarians can be freed for professional tasks, and many of the activities now being performed by professionally trained people could be taken over by nonprofessional technicians. This would certainly reduce some personnel costs as well as the costs of the basic training now required for first-level positions. Munn suggests that economies may be introduced through wider and better use of machines and other labor-saving devices, although it is recognized that at present the machines and their operation are so costly as to be of little use to any but the very largest libraries or library systems. Taken all in all, it looks as though economies can be introduced only over the long pull and that, for the time being at least, we are going to have to spend money to save money. Which means that we are going to have to try to get that money to spend, and that is going to be increasingly difficult to do.

Lacy, meanwhile, raises another very interesting if disturbing point, which is that the increasing incidence of the many correlates of reading and library use in our society does not necessarily mean that library use will inevitably be greater. As he makes clear, these same correlates were all present during the past twenty years, but library use did not reflect the expected increase. The very signs which we took to be encouraging—greater prosperity, adult education activities, a growing audience for books—contrived to work against the library. They did lead to the use of books, but from other sources. Thus the intensification of these factors, much as librarians are anxious to promote them, could lose

us some of the audience which should be ours, and much of the fault would be our own.

For the negligible increase in library circulation in these past years—at a time when a large popular audience emerged for art, good music, ballet, and the very best books in inexpensive editions—may well have been, as Lacy's paper indirectly suggests, a measure of the library's inadequate response to the opportunities presented to it. American librarians have engaged too infrequently in any long-term planning based on a serious and penetrating analysis of trends in the society we serve. Almost every paper underlines the need for such planning, and none more graphically than Mrs. Fyan's. Her report of the states which are not receiving the first year's funds because they are not ready, of the hurriedly thrown together character of several of the projects submitted after ten years of battling for passage of the Act, underlines the librarian's typical failure, while the superiority of the programs and projects in those states which recognized the importance of planning long ago demonstrates on the positive side the value of planning where the librarian has been forward looking enough to practice it. Without planning, it seems quite clear, there cannot be leadership.

Nor can there be leadership without a philosophy which gives meaning to what we do. In this connection, Mr. Getzels confronts us with a very pertinent question: What relation do our professional decisions, or lack of them, bear to the needs and interests of the publics we are trying to serve? It is not enough that we reorganize our administrations, co-ordinate our services, join in systems and in other ways improve the efficiency of our operations if the operations do not really serve the public for whom they are ostensibly designed. To serve our publics we must understand them, but, as Getzels points out, different groups hold different values in our society, and the librarian may well be defining his library in terms of the values of his own group, which may or may not be consistent with those of his audiences. The cleavages between age groups in respect to the values they hold are especially startling, and it is a very real question whether, for example, our children's librarians continue to impose the values they held when they were children upon a generation which no longer holds them. We find it easy to justify such action because our values are likely to be shared by the parents—the taxpayers—whose favor we may unconsciously seek. On the other hand, to what extent should—or must—the library reflect the new values? Should we, through our library collections, support and promote the values of today's generation if we feel the values of an earlier time are the ones that should be fostered, no matter how great the resistance they encounter? The questions centered about our services to children and youth, but their essential import—what is the impact of the librarian upon the character of his library?—applies at every point in the library operation.

For the questions have to do, of course, with the philosophy of librarianship held by each individual librarian. From the emphasis in most of the papers in this Conference it would appear that the librarian's philosophy is mainly one of "how"rather than "why." It was the nonlibrarian who raised the more abstract question, forcing the librarian to look, for a moment, for the causes of his library's particular character inside his own concept of the library's social role.

And yet—despite the stress on social forces and the march of history practically forced by the design of this Conference—it is interesting to see how in one way or another each of the papers focuses eventually upon the individual librarian and his responsibilities. While they recognize that many forces are at work, they see that the ultimate fate of the library, barring some universal catastrophe, rests upon the way the librarian reacts to these forces, or upon them. Those who are skilled in analyzing the forces and adapting them to the specific needs and resources of their own communities can bend the forces to work for them. As Mr. Chatters put it, ". . . the individual librarian and librarians as a group, by the type of service they perform and the public attitudes they create, can influence the direction taken by the social forces. . . ." If the library of the future rises to the challenge of these changing times, it will not be by accident and good luck but because librarians have clearly defined goals based on an understanding of the society and have made careful plans for attaining them. The papers of this Conference provide librarians with a forceful reminder of this basic truth.



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