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ABSTRACT

This study aims to contribute to the understanding of the library occupation and its capacity to accommodate to several pervasive changes now confronting the field, including moves toward professionalization and unionization, and reorientation of its service role toward working-class clients, and preparing itself for computer-inspired automation and attendant reconceptualizations of the character of librarianship, its traditional role, and the form of the materials with which it works. The study is presented in five chapters: (1) Theoretical Framework: Social Change and Organizational Accommodation, (2) Organizational and Authority Structure, (3) Social and Occupational Structure, (4) Occupational Values and (5) The Accommodation Potential. Appendix A describes the methodology used for the study. Appendix B contains the questionnaires used and appendix C gives job descriptions. (Author/PH)

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TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE AND OCCUPATIONAL RESPONSE:
A STUDY OF LIBRARIANS

Robert Presthus
Department of Political Science
York University
Downsview, Ontario
Canada

June 1970

Part of
A Program of Research into the Identification
of Manpower Requirements, the Educational
Preparation and the Utilization of Manpower
in the Library and Information Profession

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The study reported here was conducted as part of the Maryland Manpower Research Program. While Dr. Presthus is concerned with such specific issues as work group relationships, authority structure, and professionalization as elements related to organizational innovation, other studies treat other factors. The overall project was designed to embrace some of the key organizational and behavioral factors relating to manpower need, utilization, and education in library and information services.

The other studies which make up the Maryland Manpower Research Program are being issued as part of this same technical report series. They include the following:

August C. Bolino, SUPPLY AND DEMAND ANALYSIS OF
MANPOWER TRENDS IN THE LIBRARY AND INFORMATION
FIELD

Edwin E. Olson, INTERLIBRARY COOPERATION

Mary Lee Bundy and Paul Wasserman, LEADERSHIP FOR
CHANGE: The Academic Library Administrator
and His Situation; The Public Library Administrator
and His Situation; The School Library Supervisor
and Her Situation; The Administrator of a Special
Library or Information Center and His Situation

Stanley J. Segal, PERSONALITY AND ABILITY PATTERNS
OF LIBRARY AND INFORMATION SERVICE WORKERS

J. Hart Walters, IMAGE AND STATUS OF THE LIBRARY
AND INFORMATION SERVICES FIELD

Rodney F. White, EDUCATION, CAREERS, AND PROFES-
SIONALIZATION IN LIBRARY AND INFORMATION SCIENCE

Paul Wasserman
Mary Lee Bundy
Project Directors

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Many obligations are incurred in a study of this kind. My greatest debt, of course, is to all those workers in the library field who co-operated with the study by completing yet another questionnaire. Equally important was the excellent response I received from the directors of the 36 American and Canadian libraries included in the study. Almost without exception, the directors gave us their most positive support, even though this meant curtailing their work staff to bring the groups together for the required hour long sessions. Since I have assured them that all findings would be confidential regarding any specific institution, I am unable to name them here.

I have rarely enjoyed a similarly high degree of co-operation, and the question naturally arose as to its explanation. I finally concluded that this lay mainly in the fact that librarians as "brokers of information" find it entirely compatible to participate in research studies. The habit of providing generous assistance proves impossible to break, as it were. But whatever the reason, we received the most generous assistance and are grateful indeed for it.*

I am also indebted to the National Science Foundation, the U.S. Office of Education, and the National Library of Medicine for their joint funding of the research, as one part of a larger Library Manpower Study.

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Mrs. Helen Aron's efficiency in typing several drafts of the manuscript was matched only by her cheerfulness, for which, again, my heartfelt thanks.

April 7, 1970
Toronto, Canada

Robert Prestigis

*The kind of fulsome response we received is perhaps suggested by the words of one director who said, "Of course, we'll be glad to co-operate with you, but I think I should tell you before you begin that this is the worst damn public library in North America!"

Preface

This study is an attempt to contribute to the understanding of the library occupation (i.e., the individuals in it) and its capacity to accommodate to several pervasive changes now confronting the field, including moves toward professionalization and unionization, a reorientation of its service role toward working-class clients, and perhaps most critical, preparing itself for computer-inspired automation and attending reconceptualizations of the character of librarianship, its traditional role, and the very form of the materials with which it works.

At the same time, the study attempts to enhance our understanding of social and technical change through an analysis of the members of a specific occupation, i.e., librarianship. A bench-mark assumption is that the process of technical change, like economic development, is perhaps mainly a function of (or is mediated by) individual-psychological determinants. Cultural values are obviously decisive, but in a "labour-intensive" craft such as librarianship, functioning in a highly developed society, the training and norms of its members seem to be the most critical element in shaping its accommodation to exogenous technological forces, such as the new systems concepts and the automation now impinging upon the field.

Certain research-based formulations from the literature of economic development are therefore used to provide a theoretical framework for interpreting data gained from questionnaires directly administered during 1968-70 to 1,110 librarians and clericals (the latter are sometimes called sub-professionals or technical assistants) in 36 American and Canadian libraries of three kinds, university, public, and special, in four metropolitan areas, Atlanta, Boston, San Francisco, and Toronto.

Formulations from the work of Everett Hagen and David McClelland seem most useful for our purpose, including the well-known idea of "achievement need" and the concept of model "innovative" and "authoritarian" personalities. Some of the normative and behavioural characteristics imputed to these types were used to analyze the social and educational backgrounds, education, job experience, and the occupational values of administrators, librarians, and clericals within the several types and regions of libraries in an attempt to differentiate their "accommodation potential." Since many of the variables associated with innovation are very similar to those subsumed under the rubric of "professional," e.g., "universalism" or the use of objective bases of role selection and performance, the question of professionalization in the library field became a central concern. "Bureaucratization" constitutes a similar focus, for similar reasons, although here the question is complicated by the fact that bureaucracy has both positive and negative effects insofar as innovation and universalism are concerned. On the positive side, bureaucracy tends to encourage specialization, detachment, and objectivity, all of which are characteristic of professional behaviour. On the other hand, certain bureaucratic norms and procedures are professionally inapposite, in that they tend to

substitute external, hierarchical means of supervision for the internalized norms of performance often found in professional milieux. Meanwhile, bureaucracy tends to encourage the displacement of values, since occupational rewards are usually achieved by abandoning one's disciplinary or craft orientation to assume an administrative role.

Various other social science constructs are used to interpret our attitudinal and behavioural data. These include Max Weber's concepts of bureaucracy, authority, and legitimacy; Robert Merton's formulations regarding "localism" and "cosmopolitanism," which have direct implications for professionalization; as well as some of my own conceptions regarding anxiety and authority relations in bureaucratic settings.

Such an analytical cast informs our attempt to place the particular experience of the library occupation in the larger context of social-technological change and occupational response. Obviously, every occupation and perhaps every new technological thrust is to some extent atypical, yet at another level, to which social science necessarily aspires, such phenomena are part of a larger, generalizable reality. Such a perspective, disciplined by relevant empirical data can, hopefully, enable us to build social and organizational theories of ever-increasing generality. My hope is that this study makes some contribution to that end, while at the same time proving useful to men and women in the library field whose interests, quite naturally, have a more pragmatic orientation.

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Chapter 1

Theoretical Framework: Social Change and Organizational Accommodation

The conventional library field is faced with several new challenges. On the one hand, a vast expansion in the volume and rate of acquisition of knowledge has occurred, whereby the accumulated store of knowledge roughly doubles every decade. Merely in terms of sheer volume, an unprecedented physical and organizational problem of capturing, storing and retrieving this mass of information is emerging. Traditional assumptions and the attending organizational systems of libraries are being placed under considerable strain. The present study is an attempt to isolate some of the dimensions of these changes. In a broader context, I shall attempt to illumine the general problem of socio-technological change and organizational and personal accommodation to it.

A related but discrete problem involves the emergence of new technical means of producing information and of presenting it in new forms. Thus, in addition to the increased volume and accelerated rate of production of information, libraries are faced with the problem of integrating new technical mechanisms in to their existing apparatus. Although our research suggests that the operational impact of this change is somewhat less extensive than assumed, a change of both substance and degree for much of the library field is clearly emerging. Contemporary library organization and the skills now required to carry out the work have probably entered upon the process of becoming obsolete.

Similar developments are apparent in other occupational areas and both the dislocations and the solutions experienced elsewhere seem relevant to the field of librarianship. Experience in these areas suggests that technical innovation and its painful by-products are usually cushioned by very gradual introduction and by special dispensations, often worked out between unions and management, which insure that employees are protected against sudden displacement and status loss.¹ Librarianship will probably have a similar experience.

Other emerging forces are pressing upon the conventional library. Perhaps as part of a world-wide demand for revolutionary change in traditional authority and status relations, some librarians and clericals are turning to unionization as a way of upgrading their working conditions, and expanding their participation in larger policy decisions affecting the role of the library. We are not directly concerned with this development, except insofar as it contributes to the present intensity of social change in this field.

A related development is the concern to shift the focus of library service from middle-class clients to less advantaged segments of society. Here again, and despite the broad implications of this thrust, we are concerned mainly with its diffused impact upon the

library field, rather than with its detailed influence upon library perspectives and services. From a sociological point of view, it is moot whether so-called lower class members of society will widely utilize the resources of the library, for many cultural reasons.² Certainly some resocialization will be required, whatever the good intentions of those who determine library policy.

A final problem of somewhat different order in point of continuity and tension is professionalization. This aspect of the library field gets to the heart of the manpower question and the capacity of the field to react to the heterogeneous forces just outlined. Bureaucracy and professionalization are directly related, and in several ways they are inapposite conditions. Their basic significance for change may be briefly stated at this point: Whereas change may be imposed upon a bureaucracy from outside, it is usually characteristic of professions (which do not typically function in a bureaucratic setting) to produce their own knowledge and to implement their own changes, internally, as it were.

This study, in effect, is concerned with a common problem of our time, social and technological change and its human and organizational consequences. The library field provides a nice case study of this problem, in part because it is a "labour intensive" technology, which means that the individual psychological element in the social change equation becomes especially significant. Social change is usually conceived of as a result of interaction between cultural factors and individual (psychological) predisposition. We shall focus mainly on the "human" side of this change by asking, in effect, what is the accommodation potential of the work force in selected North American libraries. Such an inquiry necessarily begins with an analysis of existing organizational work arrangements, and of the people who activate them. We shall also consider tensions in the relationships between librarians and the work environment brought about by changes in technology. A major question thus becomes, "How are librarians, administrators and clerical employees accommodating to these changes?" From a functional point of view, we must also ask, "How capable are librarians, both in terms of training and personal orientation of meeting such emerging demands?" Given the usual time lag, especially in organizations and processes with a high labour component, between innovation and its instrumentation, we shall also ask, "To what extent is there an awareness among librarians of the emerging changes and attending demands in their field?" One suspects that a broad continuum of awareness will be found, ranging from an acute sensitivity among certain special libraries in defense industries and government to a rather tenuous intuition of change in some public and university libraries. Our data will give us precise answers to such questions.

In all these varying states of awareness, the usual dynamics of social and organizational change will no doubt persist, including the pervasive impact of the benchmark values of the surrounding cultural environment, which may honour technological innovation, resist it, or be generally ambivalent about its desirability. Within North America

along both cross-cultural and regional axes, one would expect to find evidence of such differences. Within any given library, moreover, a range of individual preferences and capabilities for innovation will probably exist and provide, perhaps, the decisive limiting condition within which administrators (who are themselves similarly variable) must define and attempt to reconcile new demands upon their organizations. Such an orientation means that we shall be concerned with the skills, attitudes, prestige, security, and professional expectations of libraries and their administrative leaders. We are assuming at the moment that administrators will tend, on the whole, to be more receptive to technological innovation. But this again is an empirical question, some answers to which will be found in our data. Indeed, this entire chapter should be viewed essentially as a statement of hypotheses or tentative propositions which will be tested in the remainder of the book.

It seems that the library field is bound to experience an unusual degree of technological and organizational change in the near future, defined roughly as the next two decades. Perhaps the basic reason is that its major functions of ordering, storing, and (to a lesser extent) retrieving information seem to lend themselves particularly well to automation. Not only are vast numbers of books, journals, and related forms of information involved, but the means of cataloguing, processing, and allocating them are highly repetitive and standardized. A computerized bibliographical system, once designed, can persist almost indefinitely, absorbing modifications as these occur without changing its basic structure and assumptions. Again, a computerized book control system operated from a central library can serve its branches without such reorganization of the basic system. A second reason is that automation will, to some extent, force standardization (of bibliographic search criteria, for example) upon the information field, as an operational necessity to maximize its service potential, even though some flexibility will be sacrificed in the process.

For such reasons, libraries and librarians are probably subject to computer-inspired innovations to a greater degree than the other elements of the academic-literary-reader world of which they are a part. This condition suggests, perhaps, why librarianship is sometimes called a sub-profession, for despite the indispensability of the materials with which they deal, librarians are in some measure essentially the custodians of such informational treasures. They neither create nor do they modify these vital materials in any intrinsic way. If this were not the case, librarians and their workplace would probably be less vulnerable to the new information technologies.

Beyond this is the potential degree of role displacement which seems to be disrupting well-established and comfortable modes of work and thought in the library field. This potential may be seen in several areas. Certainly, the role of the bibliographer becomes precarious as the laborious task of human title searching is superseded by computer-driven modes of search and selection. The organizing intelligence of the subject-matter specialist may remain untouched, in any

negative sense, but the manpower requirements for this service will probably be dramatically scaled down. The skill demands of the role are in danger, it seems, of being somewhat down-graded. Once the initial selection criteria for materials become operative, their role becomes less one of critical interpretation of a client's needs, followed by imaginative search behaviour, than one of activating the poised system. Even though the introduction of these conditions has not proceeded very far, the spread of technological innovation in this society is usually relatively swift and we may assume that such changes will soon be fairly widespread.* Meanwhile, the appreciation of their emergence and potential effects may be creating some uncertainty, occasionally attended by a mild Luddite effect, among librarians.

On the whole, the situation would seem to tend toward the same manpower trend seen in many areas: greater demands for highly skilled specialists and less need for clerical and less-skilled types of people. Since the majority of library staff is made up of the latter groups, we may see a significant change in the rather unusual historical employment situation in libraries where a low-skilled, largely female, temporary, and occupationally uncommitted work force far outnumbers the librarian group. It should be noted that the easing of the anomalous and technically disadvantageous condition has some positive implications for librarianship as a career.

These emerging changes and their human consequences will result in new conditions of participation for librarians. Not only in terms of skill demands, but also regarding existing authority and status relationships within the work-place. The possibility of displacement, or at least, some downgrading of one's skills has inspired some anxiety among those in the field. Library schools are concerned about the relevance and effectiveness of their subject matter. Meanwhile, to the extent that the new technologies remain a mystery, and since one fears the unknown, it may be assumed that some anxiety characterizes those in the field. Our assumption is that such anxiety will be manifested mainly in the character of authority relations and expectations existing in libraries. Here again, it should be said, we are merely stating a hypothesis that will be tested in the following analysis.

The personal capacity to accommodate to change is thus a related dimension of the problem and, here again, certain social science concepts are available as tools of analysis. Observers have argued that selected personality attributes are linked to both the initiation of, and the accommodation to, change. So-called "authoritarian types" have been found to be less capable than others of initiating and accepting change. The difficulty of economic progress in poorer countries has,

*Insofar as the rate of technological innovation is nourished by the desire to avoid high labour costs, it may be that the changes we are speaking of will occur rather more slowly than assumed, since this incentive is somewhat less compelling in the poorly-paid library field.

for example, been attributed to the modal authoritarian personality structure found in such societies.³ Again, the characteristics of "innovative" personalities have been analyzed and contrasted with status-quo oriented types. In organizations, the relationships between personality and the acceptance of change and diversity, mobility, and attitudes toward authority have also been studied.

This general context of technological change, the attending ambivalence among those affected by it, and resulting personal and organizational forms of adaptation provide the broad framework for this study. The challenges now facing the library field can, it seems, be usefully conceptualized as a special instance of the general problem of social change. Such an analytical perspective permits us to define and treat the problem in terms of constructs and theories which have proved their utility in related fields. While the library occupation is probably unique in some ways, our understanding of it should be increased by such a comparative framework. At the same time, this framework will make our analysis relevant for the general field of organizational behaviour.

The phenomenon of social change is one that ultimately confronts most occupations having discrete goals, long-established rules and procedures, and attending career and normative sunk-costs. As noted earlier, several of the constructs used in conceptualizing social change and economic development in poor countries apply to this problem. Although their pervasiveness and impact differ sharply across time and space, the social and organizational barriers that inhibit economic development in such societies may also be seen in the library and information field. The very concept of "modernization," for example, seems to apply quite directly to the problem of the traditional library attempting to change its structure and procedures by the introduction of system concepts. The constellation of social values and institutions that make change so difficult in some parts of the world is often called "traditionalism." Traditionalism, however, defined as a mental set, pervades most members of most organizations everywhere. Man longs for settled relationships and change usually threatens comfortable ways of thought and behaviour.

Prevailing conceptions of time have also been useful in explaining the conditions of change in poorer societies.⁴ The definition of time as a plentiful resource may lead to a lack of urgency regarding change. The leisurely conception of time and the pervasive resistance to work measurement and systematic administration characterizing some library milieux may also inhibit the thrust of change inspired by motives of speed and efficiency.

Not does the humanistic, literary ethos of most librarians lend itself well to either the understanding or the introduction of scientific apparatus. It is perhaps symptomatic that whereas you and I still use the term "library," systems engineers, the carriers of the new technological demi-urge, call it an "information service system." An exotic new language appears, replete with unfamiliar symbols: "real

time," "batching," "retrieval," "multiplexor," "digital simulation," "Bradford's law," etc. While I may be too much influenced by long association with university librarians, it does seem that many individuals who enter the library field love books and the intellectual arts they symbolize.⁵ Seeing themselves as scholars, they have come to share scholarly values of independence, idiosyncrasy, and freedom from constraints of time and organization. In this casual, genteel world, computers and systems concepts may be resisted as alien intruders, signaling the decline of the book as the honoured symbol of knowledge. Surely, too, the fact that librarianship is in some measure a women's field enhances the humanist ethic, and may be among the conditions affecting change. Certainly, as will be shown, this feminine quality has most compelling implications for the occupation's aspirations for professional status, which is itself directly tied to the question of automation and the kinds of accommodation that librarians can work out with it.

Vested status values and aspirations become precarious as technology changes. The appreciation that one's craft and knowledge can be superseded by an impersonal machine is bound to be disenchanting. Professions, as we know, are built upon a monopoly of secret and esoteric knowledge, with attending demands for considerable self-consciousness and career commitment. The sensitive application of such knowledge in variable situations demands the wisdom and judgment of the journeyman. Yet, technical innovation in the library field rests largely upon the assumption that such qualities can be programmed for standardized application. Thus a goal more or less widely held by librarians, professionalization and its psychic incomes, may seem remote as the fund of conventional library knowledge must be shared with outsiders possessing conceptual systems and electronic devices that threaten its very existence. In effect, not only the librarian's partial monopoly of a discrete body of knowledge, but also the very content of such knowledge becomes contingent. At the very least, some uncertainty regarding the relevance of one's occupational armour must follow.

Technical change, meanwhile, brings a change in authority structure and its dividends/ Authority centered in hierarchical roles may become merely symbolic, as practitioners of the new science change the conditions of participation and the currency of prestige. A quite natural human resistance to the impairment of hard-won hierarchical status and influence may follow as the common bureaucratic phenomenon occurs: The displacement of traditional and charismatic-based authority by new bases of legitimation. As Max Weber shows, this "routinization of charisma," the tendency for authority based upon tradition and personality to be replaced by legal-rational skills, has been a relentless process in Western, capitalist society. Enclaves of traditionalism may blunt its thrust, as seen in certain religious orders and, in the secular arena, among certain professions which retain anachronistic norms and forms. But technology tends everywhere to stamp out these residues, and especially so in contemporary North America. The going modification of library methods may be conceptualized as an instance of this secular erosion of traditional processes and values by emerging

technologies in the world arena.

Some analysts of change, especially in the area of economic development, have used psychological constructs to explain differential capabilities to adapt to change. Here again, we have concepts which may prove useful in understanding change in the library field. A so-called "entrepreneurial" type has been found essential to optimal economic progress.⁶ Its creative acceptance is attributed to a "permissive" personality structure, said to be characteristic of highly developed Western societies. Risk-taking, rationality, and achievement-orientation are among the traits attributed to this type. According to David McClelland, a psychological disposition, the "need for achievement" is a crucial element in economic development, particularly with respect to entrepreneurial types who inspire change. Individuals who find the entrepreneurial role attractive tend to have personality characteristics which enable them to perform well under "conditions of moderate uncertainty"; they are highly committed to their work, like new ways of doing things, and are inspired by the opportunity for personal achievement through their work. Such types would make "poor bureaucrats," yet they also need concrete feedback on how well they are doing.

The symbiotic relationship between personality and social change in the context of economic development is similarly emphasized by Everett Hagen, who contrasts "authoritarian" and "innovational" types in, respectively, traditional and modern societies. Innovators are said to be the product of families which have lost a previously honored status in society. Briefly such deprivation results in alienation from traditional values and thus prepares the way for change. Those who suffer such status losses provide the impetus for breaking the static mold of ancient societies, an impetus that "may push through the toughest crust of social controls and set the society on new courses." "Innovation," in turn, is defined as "organizing reality into relationships embodying new mental or aesthetic concepts. . . ." An essential requirement is "creativity," which Poincaré saw as the "capacity to be surprised," to note that "some aspect of an everyday phenomenon differs from the expected and to appreciate the significance of the difference." Here again, commitment is stressed, since innovative types apparently "feel a personal responsibility to transform the world." Fairly heavy anxiety loadings are also characteristic of innovative personalities; the world may be perceived as threatening, a condition which can only be eased by intense activity. Individuals possessing such qualities tend to appear more frequently in developed societies in which rational explanations of social and natural phenomena are stressed. In contrast, it is argued, the social context of poorer countries produces a large proportion of individuals possessing values inapposite to change. Their uncertain economic growth is linked with a modal "authoritarian" character structure typically found in such societies. The patterns of socialization associated with this type include repressive child-raising norms which tend to produce adults whose needs and preferences stress conformity and an uncritical deference to the authority of tradition and hierarchy. Authoritarianism as a generalized reaction seems to occur

when one's conception of the world around him includes the idea that events are idiosyncratic, unrelated to any ordered system or rational explanation, and, as a consequence, that one has little control over his environment. In Hagen's words, the world is seen "as arbitrary, capricious, not amenable to analysis, as consisting of an agglomeration of phenomena not related by a cause and effect network." Such perceptions, which tend to exist in so-called traditional societies, have pervasive social consequences. Gunnar Myrdal has shown how rigidities of social class, time-honoured beliefs, and inapposite educational orientations have effectively prevented economic development in many parts of the world.⁷ Such cultural residues, mediated by the modal personality types produced by them, constitute formidable barriers to innovation in exotic cultures of the world.

Although such extreme conditions are much less common in North America, such theories of social change remain useful across time and space. Whatever the differences in degree which characterize given societies, the similarity of human and organizational response to the unfamiliar has been empirically demonstrated beyond question. Intellectual, artistic, and organizational Luddites appear in every age. In the West, the sabotage of technology through patent controls and financial legerdemain has long since been documented by Thorstein Veblen. Featherbedding by unions, including virtually every area of work, remains common. As recently as World War II, we were assured by certified experts that aircraft could never sink a battleship. The French Impressionist school was received with ridicule by contemporary Parisian cognoscenti. And currently technology, rather than its abuse, is held responsible for all our ills.

It is in some such context that these formulations of social and technical change will be used in an attempt to determine whether certain structural properties of library organization and certain personal characteristics of those who enter the library field affect its capacity to adapt productivity to the changes now confronting it. If organizational authority is highly structured, and centralized to the extent that participation is stifled and new ideas have difficulty in penetrating the system, we may be able to predict something about the probability of successful adaptation to change. If administrators, who largely control the allocation and direction of library resources, remain unaware of or resistant to the innovations now pressing upon the field, we may have found a similar indicator. If needs for order, predictability, and conformity are disproportionately high among those in the field (compared, for example, with those in similar bureaucratic occupations), we may have found yet another explanatory variable. Certainly, history suggests that wise elites anticipate change and accommodate in ways that enable them, to some extent, to channel it in desired paths.

From a rather different vantage point, an important condition affecting change is the extent to which an occupational group maintains control over a body of discrete knowledge and the roles in which such knowledge is applied. (Professions, of course, have several other characteristics, but these must be set aside at the moment.) When such

control is firmly within a group's hands, when, in effect, it is professionalized, it enjoys considerable discretion in either resisting or incorporating technical innovation, and in shaping attending re-definitions of its functional role and the organizational structure in which it is carried out. Empirical data from the library field and from similar occupations, confronted by similar problems, will enable us to test these propositions.

In a basic sense, the fundamental question in social change is one of cultural lag, the time-honoured difficulty of the human mind to adapt to altered social and technological conditions. (To some extent, North America seems to suffer from a usual degree of technical elasticity aggravated by considerable social or normative inelasticity.) In part, this lag is a function of vested normative preferences; change, in effect, threatens cherished personal values and norms of conduct. At bottom, of course, change of any kind often proves unsettling, regardless of its consequences for the individual. In the library field, the relevant implication may be that humanistic preferences encourage a generalized ambivalence regarding efficiency, science, and dispatch.

At another level, vested occupational skills and structures are germane. Bureaucracy and technology, by definition, tend to subordinate individual skills and autonomy. They may be seen (as indeed they are, in certain contexts) as a threat to professionalism. Historically, the knowledge and commitment formerly residing in a highly-trained practitioner, certified, disciplined and supported by a powerful guild, has often been superseded by mechanical or organizational innovation. Understandably, no one welcomes technological obsolescence and disruptive changes in the structure and function of an occupation in which he has extensive commitments. In purely individual terms, resistance to innovation on these grounds is perhaps entirely rational.

However, in larger terms of occupational status and growth, such resistance tends to have dysfunctional consequences. As new needs emerge, and are created by new technologies, most occupations seem to have little choice as to the outcome. They may present a remarkable resistance, as in the case of the medical profession with respect to group practice and government-sponsored insurance programs. But social and technical imperatives usually seem to win out. For any given occupation, the result of prolonged resistance may be to forfeit its control of both job and workplace to emerging skill groups. A less drastic alternative is to share control with such groups, but the optimal solution may be to grasp the opportunities which come along with the dislocations of technical change.

These strategies of survival seem directly relevant to the library field. It is faced with an unprecedented change in the conditions of participation. It has several alternatives which it might follow. Theoretically, it could choose to abandon the struggle to redefine the field to meet emerging conditions. As Carlos Cuadra has put it:

It is in no way necessary or inevitable that librarians shift the balance of their holdings and services to include microforms, digital information, videotapes, holograms and other trappings of advanced technology. It is not necessary that libraries shift their concept of operations from circulation toward outright distribution. It is not necessary that libraries invest in computers and other paraphernalia to provide users with a higher order of access to reference materials. It is not necessary that libraries become elements of net-works for the raised identification and provision of material to users, regardless of geographical location.

However, these functions are going to take place and if the library does not bring them about, some other type of agency will. That agency will then occupy the central role in the information business - the role that was once occupied by the library.⁸

Perhaps the optimal response is clear enough. Certainly, the library field has a vital role to play in the emerging information arena. Technology, after all, is an instrumental process, and clearly not an end in itself. Just as methodological skills in the social sciences must be directed toward substantively relevant questions, so the use of technology in libraries must be similarly informed by those who know the field.⁹ This judgment seems to apply in both the narrow sense of how automation can be harnessed to the library's service tasks, and to the larger question of the ultimate goals of the field.

This critical policy issue suggests again why we have set our research in the context of socio-technical change and the capacity of librarians to respond to it. Since the ultimate response is primarily, although of course not exclusively, a function of the structure of the work-place and the values of those in it, we will focus upon these questions, beginning in the next chapter with an analysis of organizational structure in the library field. Before this is done, however, it seems useful to outline in a brief and general way the kinds of technological change now occurring in the field.

Patterns of Innovation

It is difficult to generalize about the present state of technical innovation in conventional libraries. The initial impression of an outsider, based on the rash of journal articles announcing one or another "firsts," is that the rate of innovation is swift indeed. Yet, further thought and scrutiny suggest that dramatic changes are occurring in only a relatively few institutions, most of which enjoy exceptional local financial resources and access to foundation or federal grants. And even in these institutions system changes are almost always piecemeal and partial. As with computer use generally, programmes are often unavailable or they are not easily adaptable to the specific tasks desired. Thus some systems grind to a halt for the ironic reason that computer time is more easily available than programmers. Despite such

reservations, there is probably a widespread awareness of the vast potential of automation among librarians, and certainly many directors seem to be thinking about its implications for their own organizations.

In this context, we turn to a brief review of illustrative technological innovations. "Technology" here refers only to the implementation of new ways of carrying out traditional library functions. We are not concerned with the larger question of technological change in society generally, whereby libraries are being required to add whole new substantive areas of scientific information to their holdings and to service new kinds of users. Such developments are obviously critical, but in the immediate context we are concerned only with the kinds of technology that enable the library to handle its internal operations more swiftly and accurately, with a mind to improving service to its clientele. Here, our emphasis is mainly on traditional public and university libraries, with only occasional reference to the 12,000 (1966) special libraries and information centres now affiliated with business, the defence industry and, less frequently, with universities and colleges, and which probably form the prototype of the mechanized library of the future.¹⁰ This is because such organizations seem atypical, in terms of resources and state of technological advance.

It seems important to say initially that computers have only existed for about 15 years, which may account for what seems to be a fairly substantial gap between currently available technological systems and their operationalization in the library context. Some of these systems appear to be easily adaptable to library use, but they often have built-in problems which limit their present effectiveness. As Frederick Kilgour concludes, "computer systems have two major shortcomings, 1) high expense, and 2) a predisposition to failure."¹¹ And another expert, Ritvars Bregzis, says, "concerning computer use in libraries, nothing is easy and nothing is cheap."¹² Such consequences are probably temporary, yet in the short run they will inhibit technological implementation in the field. One example is the vast computer discs now available, in which literally millions of characters can be stored in an ordered fashion. Such a potentially useful technology however, has a built-in retrieval problem, brought about in part by the very magnitude of information stored, as well as by the nature of user demands. Because each request has many parameters, the searching device must often scan as many as 100 discrete categories of information, a condition which also reflects the limitations of any index. The computer must, as a result, spend considerable more time than expected tracing through the various categories. Enlarging the scope of the index is one obvious alternative, but this brings disadvantages in the time required to handle each request.

Another dramatic innovation possessing similar dysfunctions is apparent in the microfilm storage area. Five hundred-to-one reduction ratios now make it possible to compress a huge book onto a two-by-two chip. Potentially, at least, this makes it possible to store an entire library in a shoe-box. Yet the librarian may find it very difficult to fully use this innovation, again mainly because of the difficulty of

cataloguing and retrieving information stored in such a highly compressed and divergent form. Moreover, as shown later, the costs of maintaining and storing information on tape are apparently vastly more expensive than doing so in bookform, assuming that the books are already on hand.

Although I have only random evidence secured through discussions with knowledgeable people and a look at the literature, it seems that the operationalization of external systems is often proving difficult and sometimes impossible. As one observer concludes, "Library automation is a complicated undertaking, and the failures now dot the landscape like skeletons around a waterhole."¹³ Among the vexing problems are the new jargon of automation; the "free time" illusion (sometimes characterized as "beware of computer directors bearing free gifts"), where an initial offer of free time by the computing centre may be followed by a phasing-out as the centre finds paying users; the "buck-passing syndrome" whereby the various companies whose equipment often forms part of a system attribute break-downs, etc., to each other; and more fundamentally, the fact that individual libraries cannot usually fully incorporate data from central sources, LC for example, into their ongoing cataloguing and bibliographical systems.¹⁴ Considerable re-writing of local programmes is required and, as one often finds in using computers, it is in this area of software that much of the delay and frustration occur.

Reinforcing such problems of operationalization, and probably even more decisive, is the question of cost. The cost-benefit calculus is critical for almost all libraries, and for many, especially autonomous, single-unit types, the returns in speed and control and efficiency may not seem to justify the high costs of computerized operations, which of course vary greatly but seem to fall within the 100,000 to 1,000,000 dollar range. Such libraries may still benefit by the innovations of other larger, regional or national library systems, but this too reduces their own incentive and need to introduce more extensive changes within their own organization. Costs will go down, as indicated by the increasing availability of second-generation computing equipment, but "in a large library it will cost several hundred thousand dollars to develop, test and implement an automated system."¹⁵

In effect, while the so-called information revolution is surely here, and its potential effect seems virtually unimaginable, its operational impact upon the conventional library field seems as yet somewhat limited, not only for the reasons just outlined, but because the dissemination of scientific and technical innovation has always followed a similar path. It is perhaps significant that the adoption of computers in business and industry in Western society had had a curiously uneven development. In 1967, for example, while the United States had something like 36,000 computers in operation, there were in all of highly industrialized Western Europe only 9,000* such. Here, of course, psychological and cultural traditionalism and conservatism are as relevant as cost and technical feasibility in explaining this difference.

*Computers & Automation, June 1967, p. 77

These caveats, then, are offered to suggest that the innovations reported so fulsomely are probably less symbolic of a pervasive rush to introduce automated systems in North American libraries than selected examples of what a relatively few avant-garde organizations are doing.

Regarding the distribution of types of "nonconventional" systems in operation, the National Science Foundation found in 1966 that over two thirds of the innovations were computer systems.¹⁶ The following table indicates the range and magnitude of the various systems:

Table 1-1 Distribution of non-conventional systems, 1966 (N-175)

	<u>No. of systems</u>
Manual card systems (includes manual card, edge punched and interior punched card, and uniterm systems)	15
Tabulating card systems (includes simple sorter and collative systems)	21
Peek-a-boo systems	19
Computer systems	118
4.1 Query systems only	(17)
4.2 Non-query systems only	(20)
4.3 Systems that produce both query and non-query services	(18)
Photographic systems	2

The total number of such "nonconventional" systems is probably considerably larger now, since the study (1966) used sampling techniques from a universe limited to 1,100 libraries and information centres. Also, the report included only those systems operating in a regular capacity, as opposed to pilot or experimental efforts. It is worth noting that less than ten percent of the institutions included in the study were university libraries. No public libraries were included. Most of the sample comprised industrial and business libraries and information centres. In effect, the major thrust in library automation in the United States has been provided by special and academic libraries. The special libraries, moreover, seem to be concentrated in the areas of government, defence, medicine, drugs, and chemistry. In the field of public libraries, the development of computerized control systems has also been quite extensive among county library systems where joint multi-county programmes have been introduced in several places, including San Jose county in Northern California. Similar joint systems for lower schools have also been fairly common.

Although journals in the field carry a substantial number of reports on automation, the number of books produced remains quite small. As Kilgour reports, only three "stimulating" books appeared during 1968.¹⁷ The best of these, in his view, was Gerald Salton's Automatic Information Organization and Retrieval.¹⁸ Meanwhile, a new Journal of Library Automation appeared in March, 1968, to symbolize the emergence

if not the arrival, of a distinct new field of knowledge. An especially useful development is the appearance of journal articles which provide a vital educational service to the field by detailed reporting and recommendations based upon successful and less than successful examples of automation.¹⁹

Several generalizations can be made about the new kinds of computer systems which provide the most common type of innovation. Mainly, it seems, with rare exception such as the University of Chicago, the approach has been piecemeal. Rather than attempting total system planning, most libraries have focussed on one or two discrete service areas, mainly those related to technical processes and circulation control. The acquisition process lends itself nicely to data processing and many branch systems have worked out co-operative schemes for the selection, purchasing, and circulation control of their collections.

Cataloguing, an arduous, time-consuming element in library science, has naturally been a central target of automation. The Library of Congress well-known MARC programme has been adopted in many libraries,²⁰ and is often regarded as the beginning of a national system of centralized cataloguing.* The scale of the MARC programme is suggested by the following figures: In 1968, the Library of Congress sold 78,000,000 printed cards; some 60,000 order slips were received each day. Other private sources also sold millions of cards. In addition to the reproduction of catalogue cards, change in this area has brought new interest in book catalogues which the computer can produce swiftly and economically in several copies.

Developments in the reference and bibliographic areas seem to be relatively limited, mainly because this function is obviously much harder to standardize. The Library of Congress has a project underway which will determine the common items of information required for machine-readable serials records. "At present (1969), however, few libraries have operational systems and those that exist do not perform all the necessary functions of serials management."²¹ Apparently the pioneer in the development of a comprehensive system, including an integrated bibliographic apparatus, is the University of Chicago, whose system has been operational for about five years.²² Another fully computerized system is the B. F. Goodrich Research Center Library, which uses three computers to operate its cataloguing, information retrieval, serials control, and circulation service.²³

Regarding circulation control, many libraries have introduced

*Among the unanticipated consequences of LC leadership, however, is a "wait-and-see" attitude on the part of some libraries who are afraid to launch new systems which might be made obsolete by subsequent LC programmes. Such a temporal imperative is again fairly common in economic development, whereby, for example, the German coal industry was able to gain substantial technical advantage over England's coal industry by its relatively later entry into the field.

on-line systems which handle almost all the record-keeping involved in borrowing and returning materials. I.D. cards are commonly used to check the borrower's current condition as to status, books drawn, books unreturned, delinquent fines, etc. Such systems typically provide the library a daily printout of all transactions.

A useful summary of other representative innovations is provided in the February, 1970, issue of Datamation. Perhaps because they are written by librarians, the tone of some of these articles is rather skeptical about the benefits of automation, especially in view of the high costs of computer equipment, the shared-time role of most libraries, and the difficulty of designing standardized information retrieval concepts which can meet the range and variety of user needs.

Hopefully, even this very brief summary of recent technological innovation in the library field suggests again why we have used a theoretical framework of social change for ordering the research data to which we now turn. On balance, it seems clear that the library occupation and its organizational structure have entered upon a period of profound modification.

This modification, however, probably relates less to the goals of the field than to the processes by which these goals are achieved. To this extent, the problem is mainly one of harnessing new machinery to old objectives. Nevertheless, the implications of change in traditional functions include the possibility of considerable goal displacement as a result of a potential shift in the locus of control of both processes and practitioners in the library field. The contingent consequences emphasize the critical role that adaptation by librarians will play in the near future. Since the adaptive capacity of an occupational group is closely associated with its organizational structure, we will begin by analysing modal patterns of authority and work in library organizations.

Before doing so, however, it seems useful to outline very briefly the method and the sample used in the study.* Hour-long questionnaires were administered during 1968-70 to selected groups of librarians and clericals brought together in the organizations where they worked. Thirty-six libraries (university, public, and special) in four metropolitan areas (Atlanta, Boston, San Francisco, and Toronto) were selected arbitrarily, and an approximate 20 percent, stratified sample of respondents was drawn in all public and university libraries. The major university and public libraries in all areas were included in the analysis. In the special libraries, given the small size of staff, all members were usually included. The total N was 1,110, apportioned as follows:

	<u>Librarians</u>	<u>Clericals</u>
University (8)	202	368
Public (10)	114	245
Special (18)	81	100
	(397)	(713)

*See an appendix for a detailed account of the methodology of the study.

Footnotes - Chapter 1

1. Among others, see Floyd Mann and L. R. Hoffman, Automation and the Worker (New York: Holt, 1960).
2. See Richard Hoggart, The Uses of Literacy (Cambridge: Beacon Press, 1957).
3. Everett E. Hagen, On the Theory of Social Change (Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press, 1962); see also Lucien Pye, The Spirit of Chinese Politics (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1968); Pye, Politics Personality and Nation-Building: Burma's Search for Identity (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962); Julian Steward, The Theory of Culture Change (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1955.)
4. Robert Presthus, "The Sociology of Economic Development," International Journal of Comparative Sociology (September, 1960), pp. 195-201.
5. After quoting Dylan Thomas', "In a million bits and pieces, all of which were words, words, words, and each of which seemed alive forever in its own delight and glory," one librarian, for example, remarks, "Now that's the kind of talk that makes librarians feel all warm inside, ready to make a street collection for a plague to be installed in the Swansea Public Library." Ellsworth Mason, "Unnatural Places and Practices," 94, Library Journal (October 1, 1969), p. 3399.
6. Among others, see Everett E. Hagen, op.cit.; David McClelland, et al., The Achievement Motive (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1953); David McClelland, The Achieving Society (Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1961); Gideon Sjoberg, Preindustrial Cities (New York: Free Press, 1960). For a useful critique of Hagen and McClelland's formulations, see David Macklin, "A Social-Psychological Perspective on Modernization," in C. Morse (ed.) Modernization by Design (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969), pp. 90-95.
7. Asian Drama (New York: Pantheon, 1968).
8. "Libraries and Technological Forces Affecting Them," ALA Bulletin, June, 1969, p. 767. Italics added.
9. This point has been better made by Joseph L. Wheeler: "The great illusion of electronic retrieval and information specialists ignores the fact that every item of electronic input and storage has first to be put in careful and intelligent typed form by a subject-competent analyst or indexer." "Top Priority for Cataloguing-In-Source," Library Journal, (September 15, 1969), p. 3013.
10. One report on technological innovations, for example, indicates that only about 10 percent of its sample were traditional libraries and all of these, save one, the Library of Congress, were university

libraries. National Science Foundation, Nonconventional Scientific and Technical Information Systems Now in Current Use (NSF 66-24), Washington, D.C., (December 1966).

11. Frederick G. Kilgour, "University Libraries and Computation," 4 Drexel Library Journal (July 1968), p. 175.
12. "Conference on Computers in Canadian Libraries," report prepared for Canadian Association of College and University Libraries, University of British Columbia Library, (June 1966)
13. Richard M. Dougherty, "Symposium on Library Technology," 61, Law Library Journal (November 1968), p. 414.
14. Ibid., pp. 413-18, passim.
15. Ibid., p. 418. Another careful review of the costs of automation indicates that, in several areas, its costs are far greater than traditional methods, William Locke, "Computer Costs for Large Libraries," 16, Datanation (February 1970), pp. 69-74. Locke, for example, estimates (p. 73) that the cost of putting M.I.T.'s research and general book collection on tape would be \$48,000,000 compared with the \$120,000 now required. For a more positive view, see Frederick G. Kilgour, "University Libraries and Computation," pp. 175-176.
16. Op. cit., p. xxix
17. Frederick G. Kilgour, "Library Automation," in C. Cuadra (ed.) Annual Review of Information Science and Technology (Chicago: Britannica, 1969), p. 306.
18. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968).
19. One of the best of these is Richard D. Gennaro, "The Development and Administration of Automated Systems in Academic Libraries," 1, Journal of Library Automation, (March 1968), pp. 75-91.
20. For an analysis and summary of the MARC system, see Henriette D. Avram, et. al., "Project MARC Reports," 12, Library Resources and Technical Services (Summer 1968), pp. 245-311.
21. Cuadra, op. cit., p. 762.
22. University of Chicago Library, Development of an Integrated Computer-Based, Bibliographical Data System for a Large Library, (Chicago, 1968).
23. Alice Chanis, "The Application of Computers at the B. F. Goodrich Research Center Library," 59, Special Libraries, (January 1968), pp. 24-29.

Chapter 2

Organizational and Authority Structure

In this section, we shall discuss the organizational milieu and the attending structure of authority in the "typical" library setting. Since our sample includes three different types of libraries (public, special, and university), of varying size, located in four metropolitan areas of North America, we must obviously generalize considerably in discussing both organizational and authority structures. It is assumed that most readers will be aware of the "organizational chart" that characterizes most libraries, in which a director is usually supported by several assistant directors in charge of the various service areas found in most libraries. Our major concern, instead, is with what might be called the "climate" or the "tone" of administration existing within this structural context.

The field of organizational theory has various constructs that are useful in analysing the library as a work-place. One of these is the ideal-type bureaucratic model designed by Max Weber around the beginning of this century to analyze largescale organizations in Western society. The use of this model enables us to answer an important question, whether the library organization may be called a bureaucratic structure. If it can, we will be able to bring to bear upon it several analytical propositions that will enable us to make some predictions about its goals, the behaviour of its members, certain typical strains and dysfunctions that characterize most such organizations, as well as help answer our central question regarding the capacity of libraries and librarians to accommodate to the changes now emerging in the field.

Weber's ideal-typical model is so named because it is a composite of many variants of bureaucratic organization and their characteristic structural and behavioural properties; it is important to say, parenthetically that no given organization will exhibit all those characteristics; instead they comprise a foil against which actual organizations may be set in order to better understand them.

It may be useful to begin with Weber's conception of the three discrete bases of authority or legitimation upon which bureaucratic organizations rest. These forms are to some extent evolutionary in that one or another tends to be predominate in a given society at a given point in time and that there has been a gradual historical movement from one basis to another in Western society. The oldest form is traditional authority, which as the name suggests rests upon the weight of custom. Here, in Weber's words, authority rests essentially upon the "eternal yesterday." Conventional modes are validated because of their survival value. Like modern conservative thought, this legitimation assumes that institutions which have persisted over time probably have fairly good reasons for their continuity. While this proposition has much to be said for it, its major theoretical inadequacy is its inability to account for change, as well as its attending tendency to equate mere survival with normative and functional necessity. The fact is that even the most venerable of human institutions, the family, does not occur in certain primitive societies.

In any event, historically, the traditional basis of legitimation may be said to be gradually retreating in favour of the legal-rational basis of authority, the second of Weber's trio. Here bureaucratic relations and processes rest upon rules, skill, and knowledge. The modern profession, with its emphasis upon hard-earned skills, disciplined performance, self-government, and internalized norms of conduct illustrates the legal-rational ethos.

A third and somewhat different basis of legitimation is charismatic authority, which rests essentially upon the personal qualities of a leader. Ideally, such qualities are pre-bureaucratic in that they are transitory, the possession of a single man, unteachable, and thus both non-scientific and non-transferable. Charisma, literally the "grace of God," has traditionally been the basis of legitimation in chiliastic religious orders and extremist political movements. Despite its mystical nature, Weber insisted that charismatic authority figures had a role to play in modern organizations. Only such leaders can galvanize the modern hierarchical, rule-oriented apparatus into action. As he put it, only such leaders can escape the castration of bureaucracy. In the context of social change, such personalities are the non-conformists who bring about innovation. The relevance of this concept for the problem facing the library profession is perhaps clear enough.

In Weber's view, the major thrust of Western civilization included a secular trend, inspired by capitalism, toward the replacement of traditional and charismatic basis of authority by legal-rational legitimations. Traditional and charismatic forms remained visible, but the main drift was toward ever more extensive bureaucracy, which Weber, despite the reservations noted a moment ago, called the most efficient means of large-scale effort yet designed.

The elements of this model include above all the idea that operations, recruitment, promotions, indeed the whole functional apparatus, are based upon systematic rules, administered impersonally and impartially to achieve prescribed, limited, extra-personal goals. The ideal objective is a machine which can operate with a minimum of reliance upon any given individual. If human parts, ideally, are interchangeable. Such a condition is sought by systematic recruitment in which candidates are tested and evaluated in objective terms of education, training, and performance, by tests specifically designed to determine their qualification for a particular role in the organization. Such roles, in turn, have been analysed as to their content and the peculiar qualifications required to perform them. In effect, both the technical skill and the personal qualities of the official are rationalized.

Not only is authority legitimated by law and knowledge, it is structured hierarchically in the ideal bureaucratic apparatus. (An inherent tension between these bases of authority characterizes most large-scale organizations). Centralized and maximized at the top, the scope of authority tends to contract as one descends the hierarchy. The strategic role of special skill groups undoubtedly challenges authority based on hierarchy, but in the usual case the generalized authority possessed by administrators tends to overcome the countervailing claims of specialists. This pattern of authority increases the probability that the

organization will act in concert to attain its major institutional goals, which tend to be diffused by the disparate interests and expectations of the groups found within it. Such a pattern also gives the organization an anti-change bias, since each successive level of authority becomes a veto-point for proposed innovations arising from below.

This condition of bureaucratic control is reinforced by Weber's conception of the bureaucratic official as a dedicated specialist, loyal to his particular calling, viewing his work as an honored, permanent career, carried out without fear or fame, using instruments he does not own, toward goals which (in the case of governmental officials, at least) he does not determine. In sum, Weber's ideal-typical model stresses order, skill, predictability, routinization, specialization, lack of conflict, and disinterested performance of one's official role.

A further word on authority is required, in part because authority is the main currency of the organizational market. As Wright Mills' insisted "organizations are systems of roles graded by authority." We also want to analyze authority carefully in order to help determine its characteristic manifestations in the library organization and, ultimately, its influence upon those in such organizations. The influence of authority depends upon both the structure of authority in any organization and the personal preferences and dependency needs of those responsive to it. We shall therefore be especially concerned with the attitudes toward authority and supervision exhibited by librarians. Such attitudes should provide some evidence as to their potential response to technical innovation. From the theoretical propositions set down in Chapter 1, particularly those of Everett Hagen, it would seem that an unafraid and sometimes challenging attitude toward authority is associated with the acceptance of change.¹

We can now ask, how closely does the typical library organization match the Weberian model? Are the structure and the behaviour of such organizations "bureaucratic"? And if so, what are the implications for our central question regarding their capacity to successfully meet the changes now confronting the "library world"?

A preliminary caveat must be restated: there is of course no "typical" library organization. Not only are libraries differentiated according to type, but one assumes that they differ somewhat within each category. Given this uncertainty and variability, we are forced (as Weber wants to deal in terms of an ideal-typical library organization, based upon a survey of existing literature and the evidence provided by our own research. At the same time, we shall be able to determine what, if any, differences exist among librarians in terms of type of library, service, sex, and religion.

At the outset, it is well to think of authority rather abstractly as a set of generalized and unchanging human and task relationships within any organization. In this sense, authority relations might be viewed as an exchange or transaction among hierarchically different individuals

possess different amounts of the resources that define authority and allocate it in terms of the perceived superior and subordinate relationship existing at the moment of any given exchange. In this view, authority has many forms or bases, including hierarchical position, technical expertise, class status, and seniority. In one authority transaction, a certain combination of these values would be operative, and their respective weights would be roughly calculated by the parties concerned, aided of course by the going cultural and institutional definitions of the properties of each "basis" of authority.

A second factor in this conception of authority is that different organizations, having different traditions, technologies, and goals, will tend to assign different but typical weights to the various forms or indexes of authority. It follows from this that the "authority structure," the typical pattern of weighted indexes in given kinds of organizations will differ. Moreover, within each unit or each type of organization, depending upon various empirically determinable factors, some variation will exist. It is assumed, nevertheless, that the members of an organization will, as a result of experience within the organization and of observation or experience in other types of organization during their lifetimes, be able to make a judgment about its position along an authority scale.

Using some such a theory, we included such a scale in the present research. The item read as follows: "Organizations tend to have different kinds of authority structures. Prisons and military organizations, for example, may have rather authoritarian and highly-structured authority relations, whereas research organizations are often quite permissive. Within each type of organization, similar differences often exist. Where would you place your own library on this dimension?"

This statement was followed by a 7 point scale ranging from "highly structured" to "permissive," and respondents were asked to place an X at the appropriate point on the scale. Our hope was that this method would provide one rough but useful means of differentiating the libraries in our sample.

The data reveal that sixty-six percent of the total sample (N=983) placed their own library in the middle of the scale, while the remainder were equally divided between its "highly structured" and "highly permissive" ends. Among librarians in our four regional contexts, some significant differences appear, as shown in the following table:

Table 2-1 Rankings on "structured-permissive" authority scale

	<u>lib r a r i a n s</u>			
	<u>Atlanta</u>	<u>Boston</u>	<u>San Francisco</u>	<u>Toronto</u>
Highly structured	13	12	25	22
Intermediate	65	62	65	62
Highly permissive	23	26	13	15
	(48)	(81)	(122)	(124)

It is immediately clear that San Francisco and Toronto are perceived by a significantly higher proportion of librarians as having a "highly structured" authority system. On the whole, however, almost two-thirds of our respondents experience their organizations as occupying a "middling" position on the continuum. Among clericals, there is very little difference, although those in San Francisco indicate there is somewhat more structuring there, compared with the other regions. We are unable to explain such differences, but some differentiation among the various services will appear when we turn to individual "attitudes toward authority" in a moment.

We turn next to some other typical properties of bureaucratic organizations, beginning with specialization, i.e., the tendency for individuals to carry out a specific task, in which they have received special training and experience, and in which as a result they become highly proficient.

Certainly, regarding the criterion of specialization, the library may be called bureaucratic. Not only do ninety-seven percent of our librarians have a graduate degree in librarianship, but they are recruited to fill and perform certain designated roles in one or another of the various service areas. This is not always so, and our data will show that librarians do shift from one service to another, but a rough content analysis of recruitment ads over a period of several months in the ALA Bulletin indicates that recruitment for specific roles occurs in a large proportion of cases. Also, we shall see that librarians tend to identify strongly with specific work groups formed on the basis of specialized tasks, in circulation, reference, cataloguing, etc.

Regarding operation according to prescribed rules and procedures, libraries again rank high. Essentially, the technique and the inherent nature of the work seem to explain this characteristic. Certainly, the frequent need to carry on a relatively large number of repetitive transactions with a fairly large clientele creates a pressure toward standardization. Exceptions to the rules for certain individuals certainly occur, but these tend to be patently recognized as such, indicating that considerable routinization does in fact exist. Who the client is, how many books he may borrow, how long he may keep them, how much fines will be, the penalties for not paying the, etc., are typically prescribed.

Not only the techniques used in circulation control are germane. The functions of purchasing, cataloguing, storing and retrieving materials are similarly highly conducive to routinization. It will be recalled that one goal and test of bureaucratization is that the system permits interchange of people without much disruption. In many libraries, very little individual discretion is permitted or required in the service areas, as suggested by the fact that sub-professionals often can and do perform such tasks.

The point is that with the exception of reference and bibliographic services, both the technology and the major functions of libraries lend themselves quite nicely to a rule-directed routinization. Here again, one of Weber's generalizations is useful, namely that there is an inverse relation between bureaucracy and professionalism. Put very simply, in highly professional occupations, authority and control are exercised

by colleagues, along with considerable dependence upon internalized norms and standards as a major guide for behaviour; in less professional milieux, an external administrative system of rules and sanctions tends to dominate. These two conditions and the operational balance between them exist along a continuum ranging (for example) from prison administration to university research organizations. Occupationally, librarianship would probably fall somewhere in the middle ranges of such a continuum.

This judgment is reinforced by the nature of library technology. We saw earlier that such central functions as book ordering, cataloguing and circulation control are being most affected by computer systems. We may predict from this that library operations will become increasingly routinized. Some of the attending implications will be discussed later when we look into the question of professionalization. In the present context, this development suggests again that several basic library functions are indeed subject to bureaucratic forms of control.

The career aspects of librarianship are also compatible generally with certain, although certainly not all, bureaucratic assumptions. The first great deviation from the older professions is seen in the field's crucial dependence upon a large number of clerical workers, who in almost every case outnumber trained librarians. The role of these essential members of the apparatus violates several criteria of bureaucracy. They are rarely trained specifically for their library task; they are often transitory; they are largely uncommitted to literary work as a career; they do not always share the librarian's professional values or aspirations; they are generally much younger than career librarians, with lower educational achievement. Despite this, there is not always a sharp distinction between their functional roles and those of trained librarians. We shall discuss the clerical group in more detail later. For the moment it seems clear that, viewed from both a bureaucratic and a professional perspective, they are in many ways an anomalous presence in the library organization.

Yet, from another perspective, involving the reinforcement of the library's reliance on bureaucratic as opposed to professional media of control, clericals may have a decisive impact. Their repetitive tasks, limited educational achievement and lack of occupational commitment encourage close hierarchical forms of control, which, given bureaucratic expansiveness, perhaps tend to encompass librarians as well. Certainly, many clericals have little basis for resisting such controls, since little in their background would have inculcated any countervailing expectation.

What about the librarians? Here again, many of the requisites of a truly bureaucratic work force are met. Librarians are specially trained for their role, which is often viewed as a career. Commitment to their occupation is not very high, but at least is satisfactory, compared with clericals. Although the judgment is impressionistic, most librarians seem quite effective in carrying out their jobs. They dispense their services in an impartial way, according to the going rules, and in most cases their morale at work seems fairly high. However, as we shall show later, job satisfaction among them is not exceptionally high.

A major deviation is related to the well-known fact that librarianship is an occupation in which a high proportion of members are women.² This fact has important and decisive implications for the bureaucratic condition of the library organization. In the present context, the effect is both to enhance bureaucratic norms and control and to weaken them. In an over-simplified generalization, the predominance of women seems to reinforce somewhat the negative control aspects of bureaucratic norms while threatening some of the ir positive efficiency values.

Control tropism seems to be enhanced by certain characteristic personality attributes of women, which are themselves perhaps mainly the product of childhood socialization. Girls are taught to defer to authority, to mediate interpersonal relations by submission, to achieve their ends by indirection, and to employ psychological sanctions in dealing with other, and, perhaps above all, to avoid overt conflict. While class differences affect such socialization and while many exceptions exist, in the round such behavioural tendencies are well documented. They are perhaps reinforced by the familial role of women which again places a premium on security and nonaggressive behaviours which reinforce the security and continuity needs of the family. Such factors account in part for the tendency of women to accept bureaucratic control. Since management roles in librarianship have usually been taken by men, another fillip to deference is added by the tendency of women to accept masculine leadership.

A lack of strongly held career commitment reinforces this acceptance of bureaucratic control. Since one does not thereby tend to have a clearly defined, external occupational group to identify with, he tends instead to have a "local," "on-the-job" reference group which conditions him to accept rather fully the going authority structure. Some evidence, for example, indicates that many individuals drift into library work.³ Our own findings indicate that over a third of librarians "just drifted" into the field. This finding is supported by the tendency of librarians to decide to enter the field rather late.⁴

An interesting reinforcement of low career commitment involves the fact that people who enter the semi-professions seem likely to be client oriented rather than career oriented. Morris Rosenberg, for example, found that university women who were strongly career oriented (only 12 percent of his sample) had less interest in people and were more like men in their values than the much larger proportion of non-career committed women who had people-oriented values.⁵ Most of the semi-professions, indeed, are service oriented; men and women enter them for reasons that do not make for the kind of self-conscious, guild ethos characteristic of the older professions. As the Simpsons conclude, "the main intrinsic appeal of the semi-professions is to the heart, not the mind."⁶ Our own research confirms this judgment: 36 percent of librarians (the largest single segment) chose as first among their job satisfactions, "the chance to do something socially useful through the library."

If career commitment is indeed low among librarians, it seems that bureaucratic controls and incentives will be emphasized in the organization since internalized, individual norms of performance will tend to be precarious. Meanwhile, the predictability and effectiveness which

characterize the ideal bureaucratic apparatus will probably be seen as appealing incentives. Such incentives may be challenged by the desire for pleasant personal relations, an absence of deadlines, and limited responsibility, but the general working-to-the-rule ethos of bureaucratic operations should be satisfying to people who are not highly committed to their work. Obviously some librarians are highly identified with their career, but the evidence suggests that the majority are not and that, among those who are, the commitment is to the ideal of service rather than to the library occupation itself.

We now turn more directly to the structure of authority in the library organization. In part, we shall be guided by Weber's conceptions of traditional, charismatic, and legal-rational authority as discrete bases of legitimating authority in organizations. Such variables as the perceived basis for appointment and promotion will tell us whether so-called "universalistic," objectively based, criteria are generally used in the field or, on the other hand, whether the achievement ethic is less common than so-called "particularistic" criteria, including where one got his degree, "connections," political, and geographical criteria.

Style of supervision is another useful variable in determining authority relations. Many studies, for example, have shown that the quality of supervision is a critical differentiating factor in occupational morale. Supervision is also a prime element in job satisfaction.⁷

It is important to note, in analysing authority in the library field, that authority and influence are not asymmetrical. Instead, the style characteristically used by administrators reflects, to some unknown extent, their judgment as to the expectations of their subordinates. If, as we have suggested, the high proportion of women among librarians tends to encourage dependency in authority situations, we may assume that administrators will be aware of this tendency and tailor their supervisory relations accordingly.

Meanwhile, on the administrator's side, certain personality characteristics will tend to reinforce the kind of authority structure we are hypothesizing in libraries. Some research has found that successful executives tend to score higher on certain "authoritarian" scales.⁸ I have shown elsewhere that some of the structural conditions of large organizations tend to provide a sympathetic milieu for authoritarian types.⁹ In brief, precise delineations of status, authority and prestige; high deference toward authority; low tolerance of ambiguity; and considerable respect for conventional, middle-class values seem to be among such preferences.

In the library organization, we may have a situation where the dependency needs of subordinates and any predisposition of administrators toward dominance result in a fairly explicit authority structure and attendant deferential styles of interpersonal relations.

One rough test of this hypothesis might be the extent to which decision-making within the hierarchy is shared with employees in order to encourage their personal and occupational development. In a recent

study of 138 randomly chosen librarians, Elizabeth Stone concluded that many administrators and supervisors had a negative "outdated" attitude toward delegation and other means of encouraging participation by library staff.¹⁰ "The general tenor of the responses in the study showed that administrators were fostering conditions that the librarians considered minimal for professional growth."¹¹ Some fifteen years ago, Wilson and Tauber found a similar condition among university libraries. "One of the glaring faults of some university libraries has been their unwillingness to permit the departmental head to experiment with new devices or introduce new practices. . . ."¹² Again, in a study of 77 department heads in 15 large university libraries in the Northeast, Kenneth Plate found that over two-thirds of them viewed "the new professional as an intern rather than a professional equal and believe that only after a period of apprenticeship (which may range from 6 months to 3 years) can the subordinate be permitted to participate in the decision-making process."¹³

Such evidence suggests that authority is typically expressed in an hierarchical, top-down way. Indeed the social distance maintained by library executives vis-à-vis their staff has been noted in several research studies. Richard Farley, for example, concludes after a study of 272 directors that, "the library executives in this study were singularly successful in insulating themselves from the personal lives of their subordinates and their immediate job associates. One gets the picture that these executives had well established rules about not associating with their subordinates and fellow executives."¹⁴ Such behaviours are said to be more common among academic head librarians than among those in public libraries, but in our own sample of both types, we found the following attitudes regarding the hiatus between administrative and other library personnel:

Table 2-2 "Differences of function and interest between administrators and technical service staff prevent close social relationships."

	<u>Administrators</u>	<u>Librarians</u>	<u>Clericals</u>
Agree	9%	28%	44%
Undecided	29	32	32
Disagree	63	40	23
	(124)	(230)	(592)

Here we find only the clericals agreeing strongly that some distance exists between administrators and themselves. Librarians are less ready to endorse the generalization although the high proportion who are undecided indicates some support. Those in administrative roles, perhaps as might be expected, disagree most strongly. Although these data do not provide complete support for the earlier research cited above, they do indicate considerable ambivalence about ongoing relationships between administrators and staff.

Administrative styles, however, give us only half the picture. We

must also look at the authority expectations and preferences of librarians generally, since these provide the climate in which administrators function.

Such preferences are also central to the question of professionalization, for as we have seen, there is considerable strain between professional norms and bureaucratic styles of hierarchy and dependence. Logically, if deference and compliance needs are high, the probabilities of achieving an impersonal, task-oriented style of client relationships are decreased. Following Harry Stack Sullivan's conceptions of interpersonal psychiatry, we may say that anxious, dependent people often seek approval by deferring to others, and particularly to those in authority.¹⁵ The attending reduction of anxiety is a powerful reinforcement, which tends to make this particular style of accommodation preferred by highly dependent individuals. In effect, anxiety is reduced by exchanging compliance for approval. Such behaviour can of course have a wide range of intensity, but over time it seems to develop into the characteristic way of reacting to others which is often defined as one's "personality."

In some context, we will now turn to attitudes toward authority and needs for compliance among librarians. Using several items, we have prepared a scale of "deference toward authority," ranging from "high" to "low," as shown in Table 2-3:

Table 2-3 "Deference toward authority" among librarians.*

	<u>Administrators</u>	<u>Acquisitions</u>	<u>Cataloguing</u>	<u>Reference</u>
High	3%	14%	18%	12%
Medium	57	52	57	53
Low	40	32	25	35
	(124)	(140)	(182)	(140)

Here we have included the four service areas which include almost all our librarian respondents, as we shall do for the six scales used throughout the report. It is clear that the major difference in attitudes toward authority exists between administrators and those in technical service roles. As might be expected, the former are less deferential (anxious) regarding hierarchical relationships, perhaps because those they experience tend to run in only one direction, downward. Among the technical services group, those in cataloguing experience the greatest strain in accommodating to the authority gradations that characterize all hierarchically differentiated organizations.

Yet, on the whole, over four-fifths of those in all roles exhibit a generally supportive appreciation of authority relations. Certainly, this evidence does not suggest a challenging attitude toward the status quo. However, in terms of Hagen's major thesis, which regards the origins of innovation as resting in a reaction against existing patterns status and authority, we have here, with the possible exception of administrators, some evidence that innovation will not be a pervasive value

*The "deference toward authority" scale is comprised of five items; as cited in the research instrument, Appendix A.

among our respondents. However, several other aspects of this question must be analysed before any such conclusions can be made.

Although one hesitates to use individual items to measure such a complex variable as deference toward authority, there are some single items in the study that speak directly to this question. The advantage of such items is that they refer to a condition directly within the respondent's experience, contrasted with a hypothetical situation in which he is asked to indicate in some undefined context what his preferences regarding authority are. This condition is insured by a battery of items regarding supervisory preferences, to which we now turn. Here clericals are included for comparison, and since we stressed earlier the significance of sex on authority relations, the data are presented separately on this basis. The following data are from a fairly specific behavioural item, namely, "In your judgment, which one of the following kinds of supervision do librarians you have known prefer?"

Table 2-4 Authority relations preferred by librarians and clericals

	<u>Male</u>		<u>Female</u>	
	<u>Librarians</u>	<u>Clericals</u>	<u>Librarians</u>	<u>Clericals</u>
Highly structured	10%	15%	7%	16%
Fairly structured	43	35	37	39
Doesn't matter	2	5	5	6
Fairly permissive	25	31	36	28
Highly permissive	20	15	15	12
	(93)	(109)	(286)	(535)

As might be expected there is a fairly wide range of preferences, yet it is significant that a slightly higher proportion of female librarians respondents, compared with males reject a "highly structured" system of authority. However, as predicted, at the other end of the scale we find a slightly higher proportion (5 percent) of males who prefer a "highly permissive" climate. On the whole, the difference is not as great as theoretical and comparative considerations would have led one to expect. As noted, however, it is unwise to place too much weight upon a single item, and we would do well to look at further evidence before concluding that no differences exist. Here, it is interesting that librarians differ more than usually from their clerical brethren, the latter as might be expected, have a substantially larger proportion at the "highly structured" end of the scale.

As noted, it seems useful to have a closer look at this data. What other factors, for example, differentiate those who prefer close supervision from those who resist it? Region suggests itself as a possible intervening variables, to which we turn in the next table.

Table 2-5 Supervisory preferences of librarians differentiated by region

	<u>Atlanta</u>	<u>Boston</u>	<u>San Francisco</u>	<u>Toronto</u>
Highly structured	10%	8%	6%	10%
Fairly structured	53	38	36	36
Doesn't matter	2	5	2	6
Fairly permissive	20	34	39	31
Highly permissive	14	16	17	18
	(49)	(80)	(125)	(125)

The major point here is that a significantly higher proportion of librarians in the Atlanta area prefer fairly structured authority relations. Differences among other librarians in other regions are minimal. That we are probably dealing with a cultural aspect of the South is suggested by the fact that a similar, although less pronounced difference is found among clericals. Fully 60 percent of our Atlanta sample prefer closely defined authority relations, compared with 53, 52, and 51 percent in Boston, San Francisco, and Toronto, respectively.

Another discrete item, again relating to the work experience of respondents as contrasted with their generalized judgment about preferences of their co-workers, provides further information on attitudes toward authority, again in the context of supervision.

Table 2-6 "Regarding my relations with superiors, I generally prefer a work situation in which":

	<u>Librarians</u>	<u>Clericals</u>
"Supervision is close to reduce errors."	42%	40%
"My boss works right along with me."	45	35
"I can share responsibility with those above me."	10	15
"I am left completely alone."	4	10
	(385)	(685)

Here, only a very small proportion of librarians prefer to be given a general objective and left alone to carry it through, almost all of them (96 percent) chose a situation in which they can rely to a significant extent upon their superiors. This is in line with our earlier findings which suggest that library work is typically carried out in a bureaucratic milieu in which fairly close supervision and a tendency on the part of librarians to accept it are the norm. An interesting facet of this table is that a slightly greater proportion of clericals prefer to "be left completely alone," compared with their librarian co-workers.

We hypothesized earlier that women are more likely to defer to authority than men, and that this had important implications for bureaucracy and professionalization in the library field where about 80 percent of its members are female. However, when we compare the two at the "supervision is close" preference level we find that fully two-thirds of males elect this response, compared with only 34 percent of their female colleagues. It seems, then, that the important factor contributing to attitudes toward authority among librarians is perhaps less one of sex than of a career self-selection which tends to bring individuals with high dependency needs into the occupation. Certainly,

the evidence in Table 2-4 and the present one supports this conclusion.

Among administrators in the library field, a similar tendency to defer to superiors has been found. In his study of 77 middle-management executives in 15 university libraries in the Northeastern U.S., Kenneth Plate concluded that "very nearly all the managers 88 percent express loyalty to the director, believe in a strong chain-of-command, and either overtly or covertly express the belief that while the director might not always be "right," he is, after all, the director."¹⁶ Eighty percent of these managers, moreover, felt they could only "sometimes" or "rarely" be frank with their superiors regarding matters of library management. Our own findings (Table 2-3), however, indicate that those in administrative roles are much less likely to exhibit deference needs than librarians in technical service roles.

We turn next to evidence from an hypothetical authority situation in which an administrator-librarian conflict is posed. The following item was used. "Assume that your supervisor, after consultation during which you indicated your disapproval, went ahead with an important decision which you believed was wrong from the standpoint of the interests of the organization. Which of the following alternatives would you choose?"

Table 2-7 Reactions to conflict of authority among librarians and clericals

	<u>Librarians</u>	<u>Clerical</u>
"Keep still and carry on."	36%	47%
"Try to reason with him."	58	48
"Go over his head."	4	4
"Consider resigning in protest"	2	1
	(384)	(683)

While the last two alternatives are admittedly stringent, it may be significant that over a third of the librarian respondents would accept the decision without further action, even though it is detrimental to the organization's well-being and against their expressed opposition. On the other hand, and despite the hypothetical nature of the situation, the fact that over 60 percent would continue to actively oppose their supervisor by "trying to reason with him" or "going over his head" is impressive. Whether they would really do so in an actual situation seems problematic from the evidence just presented regarding their preferred relations with superiors. The data regarding middle-level managers in university libraries support a similar judgment.

It seems worth checking again to determine what, if any, effect sex has on this particular authority situation. If, as some observers of librarianship and other "female" occupations have suggested, compliance is rather more characteristic of women than men, we should expect to find some difference. Certainly, this has been found in related occupations. Using an item similar to the one used here in Table 2-7, Ronald Corwin found that while 19 percent of teachers in his sample would directly oppose the administrator, 29 percent would do nothing and the remaining 52 percent would discretely seek support among colleagues.¹⁷

Similarly, regarding the existence of a generalized feminine dependency need, "more than three-quarters of the nurses in a Pennsylvania study felt they should rise when a doctor entered the room."¹⁸

When we check for sex differences in Table 2-8, we do indeed find that women are more likely than men to defer to hierarchical authority.

Table 2-8 Reactions to conflict of authority among librarians by sex

	<u>Lib r a r i a n s</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
"Keep still and carry on"	29%	38%
"Try to reason with him"	64	56
"Go over his head"	5	4
"Consider resigning in protest"	2	2
	(94)	(290)

Here, for the first time, we find some evidence supporting the conventional wisdom regarding differences in dependency needs between men and women in the library, and related, occupations. A significantly smaller proportion of the male respondents are likely to merely defer to their superior's possibly arbitrary judgment. They would be more inclined to appeal the decision and attempt to bring him around to their way of thinking. Given our conflicting evidence, however, the point at issue remains moot.

The whole question of dependency is related to on-the-job supervisory styles to which we again turn. Perhaps the most conclusive evidence is provided by the following scale which measures the "effectiveness" attributed to their immediate supervisors by our sample. It is important to note that supervisory relations are probably the most significant variable in job satisfaction in bureaucratic occupations.¹⁹

Table 2-9 Effectiveness of supervision by type of library and service role*

	<u>Public</u>		<u>University</u>		<u>Special</u>	
	<u>Adm's</u>	<u>Technical</u>	<u>Adm's</u>	<u>Technical</u>	<u>Adm's</u>	<u>Technical</u>
High	59%	41%	32%	43%	27%	48%
Medium	30	37	52	41	60	29
Low	11	21	16	16	13	23
	(50)	(124)	(50)	(130)	(30)	(91)

*This "effectiveness scale" is based upon certain items which may be found in Appendix A.

Considerable variation in satisfaction is evident here. Whereas some 60 percent of administrators in public libraries report a high level of experienced satisfaction, their opposite numbers in university and special library settings are much less sanguine. Technical services,

combined here to simplify presentation, exhibits much more consistency, with those in public and special libraries ranking somewhat higher at the bottom of the scale. On the other hand, librarians in technical services in special libraries also rank highest (48 percent) at the "high" end of the scale.

Within the technical service groups, those in cataloguing in public libraries have the highest proportion (54 percent) of librarians who are highly satisfied with their supervisors, followed closely by acquisitions with 52 percent, while reference lags substantially behind with only 41 percent at this level.

Other data reveal various aspects of the librarian's feelings regarding supervision. The following responses are based upon a series of items relating specifically to the attitudes of librarians toward their own supervisors, as developed in their own workplace. We begin with an overall evaluation of their immediate supervisors.

Table 2-10 "How well would you say your supervisor does his job?"

	<u>Librarians</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Very well	26%	21%
Fairly well	37	42
Not very well	37	36
	(92)	(286)

These ratings indicate that quite a large proportion of librarians, about two-thirds, are quite well satisfied with supervisory-authority relations, yet it is perhaps also significant that over one-third of them rank such relations low in point of satisfaction. These data are rather difficult to interpret, since comparable studies of reactions to supervision in similar settings are limited. In social work, we do know that dissatisfaction with the length and extent of supervision is widespread, the generalization being that the more professionally oriented a worker is, the more critical he is of existing practices. Richard Scott found that half his public welfare respondents thought their supervisory relationship was a "good arrangement."²⁰ If "good" can be compared with our "very well" rating, librarians in our sample appear to be considerably less satisfied than the social workers included in Scott's study.

Regarding closeness of supervision, with its implication for professional autonomy on the one hand and bureaucratic styles of control on the other, we have selected three items for analysis. The first reveals the extent to which supervisors assign specific tasks to library personnel. We are not arguing here that precise assignments of work are necessarily dysfunctional, but rather that such a supervisory style is generally regarded as inappropriate for professionally oriented individuals, even in a bureaucratic setting. We will consider this latter point in more detail later in the context of professionalization; here, supervision is relevant mainly as an indication of the general structure of authority in library organizations.

Table 2-11 "How often does your supervisor clearly assign people to specific tasks?"

	<u>Librarians</u>	<u>Clericals</u>
Always	34%	47%
Often	35	29
Occasionally	21	18
Seldom or never	9	6
	(372)	(678)

Here we note that about 70 percent of librarians are usually or always assigned specific work tasks: this suggests a system in which supervision is characteristically quite close, which would certainly be unsatisfying, and perhaps unacceptable, to many professionally oriented individuals. That some distinction between librarian and clerical roles is maintained in the organization is suggested by the fact that there is a great difference on this variable between the two groups, especially at the "always" level. In all fairness, it should be noted here that this item probably had a positive connotation to respondents. Such a response set may have increased the proportion of "always" replies. On the other hand, perhaps the fact that librarians would regard such an item positively may be significant in itself.

Our second facet of supervision, which again often differentiates professional from clerical work, is the extent of emphasis upon deadlines. This variable also provides another index of close supervision. In order to ensure that deadlines are being met, supervisors must check periodically on the worker.²¹ More important, such a tactic is antithetical in a professional milieu where any regulation of a colleague's work is almost self-consciously muted; and where pace, like quality and means, depends mainly upon the internalized standards of the individual concerned. Here again, however, we find that librarians perceive themselves as being closely supervised. Moreover, and unlike the previous response, differences between them and clericals are small.

Table 2-12 "How much does your supervisor emphasize the meeting of deadlines?"

	<u>Librarians</u>	<u>Clericals</u>
Great deal	18%	23%
Fairly much	25	19
To some extent	30	32
Comparatively little	28	26
	(364)	(662)

While a smaller proportion of librarians, compared with clericals, check the "great deal" category, when the first two categories are combined the result is virtually identical for the two groups. Such data suggest not only that supervision is often rather close in the libraries in our sample, but that styles are similar for both groups.

The third among our battery of supervisory behaviours is the extent to which supervisors criticize an individual's work. Perhaps the only thing more difficult than dispensing criticism is giving advice. And, while the feminine milieu of library work might, on the one hand, encourage rated

styles of criticism, it might also increase the sensitivity to it. Both groups have been sexually differentiated to test this hypothesis. Table 2-13 indicates that most respondents do indeed feel that supervisors dispense criticism, which may in turn be defined as an index of close supervision and an emphasis upon bureaucratic types of sanctions.

Table 2-13 Frequency of criticism by group supervisors

	<u>Librarians</u>		<u>Clericals</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Always	9%	12%	16%	12%
Often	22	20	23	17
Occasionally	40	37	32	38
Seldom or never	29	31	29	34
	(90)	(280)	(116)	(561)

Combining the "always" and "often" categories, we see that about one-third of our respondents experience a great deal of criticism, which might very well explain the rather unexpectedly low proportion of positively affective ties they have with their intimate work group, as shown later.

Since job satisfaction may be defined as the distance between one's expectations and the gratification he experiences in the work situation, it is interesting to check once again the preferences of librarians regarding supervision. It should be repeated here that the nature of supervision is perhaps the major variable in job satisfaction. This is especially so among librarians for whom extrinsic rewards, such as economic and prestige incentives are, as we shall indicate later, relatively weak. One of our items states, "People differ in the kind of supervision they like to receive. Some like fairly close supervision, while others prefer very little. Please indicate the kind you prefer." We will use this item to suggest the dimensions of any disparity between librarians' preferences and the reality of close supervision indicated in the preceding tables.

Table 2-14 "What kind of supervision do you prefer?"

	<u>Librarians</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Wide amount of freedom	51%	42%
Considerable autonomy	43	45
Not very concerned	2	7
Reasonably close supervision	4	6
	(94)	(292)

It is immediately apparent that most librarians, ideally, would prefer a job situation in which they could personally determine the pace and the quality of their work. As some observers have found elsewhere in similar occupations, women are substantially less inclined to prefer a "wide amount of freedom" in the workplace.

The data suggest that there is some basis for occupational disenchantment in the library field. The overwhelming majority of librarians want autonomy, which requires delegation, both in what one does and how he does it, yet our previous evidence suggests a common pattern of executive isolation and bureaucratic norms of supervision and control that tend to inhibit widespread participation in decision-making.²² One suspects that the nature of the work in librarianship is very important in explaining this condition. This proposition will be discussed later; at the moment we are interested mainly in emphasizing authority structure and norms rather than the related question of library techniques as these condition behaviour.

A significant aspect of organizations, particularly regarding morale and identification, is the extent to which small work groups exist and flourish. Such groups have many roles. From the organization's point of view, they constitute functionally-specific units whose cooperation is necessary to keep the larger system going. They are also sub-hierarchies which often reinforce the authority structure of the larger system. In this sense they become instruments of delegation, whereby discrete work tasks, directives, and rewards and sanctions are allocated throughout the organization.

From the group perspective, however, things sometimes look quite different. Such groups become a means of ameliorating certain strains that characterize most large scale organizations. One can, for example, develop ties of sentiment and friendship with members of a small work group with whom one interacts daily.²³ He can develop group loyalties based upon shared technical skills and the collective product which provides the basic reason for the group's existence. He can exchange such values as prestige, affection, and advice with other members. In the restricted spatial and psychological context of a small group, both his relevance and his bargaining power may seem much greater than in the larger organization.

Another vital aspect of this question deals with professionalization, in two contexts. First, if librarians become too closely identified with their functional role, with their particular technical service, there may be a tendency for the collegial ethos, which is a central facet of professionalization, to suffer. Cohesion across the discrete specialized areas of the modern profession is a critical requisite of professionalization.

Secondly, at another level, loyalty to a given organization, as distinct from loyalty to one's occupation, has a similar effect because it symbolizes a tendency to honor professionally irrelevant aspects of work, e.g., work-place, friendly relations on the job, climate, and geographical location, more highly than the work itself. Consideration of these latter points, however, must be delayed until we consider professionalization in detail in Chapter 4.

For such reasons, the extent to which librarians and clericals perceive themselves as part of a small group is worth analyzing. Our findings should also tell us something about the structure of authority in libraries, as well as about the extent to which such groups provide a source of job satisfaction to their members.

We look first at the extent to which librarians perceive themselves as working in a cohesive social group. Eighty-two percent of librarians in our sample see themselves as members of such groups, and the proportion of clericals is virtually the same. It is interesting that a significantly higher proportion, 85 v. 73 percent, of women perceive themselves as members of such groups, compared with men. When librarians and clericals are asked why such groups exist, an interesting difference appears. Four-fifths of the librarians specify technical demands, compared with only two-thirds of the clericals. Presumably the social and personal by-products of work are more salient for clericals than for librarians, which is probably explicable in terms of somewhat lesser job commitment, on their part, a subject to which we turn later. The more personal orientation of clericals is apparent again in their responses to an item which attempts to determine the major locus of their orientation at work. The following table shows the distribution for both groups.

Table 2-15 Work orientations of librarians and clericals

	<u>Librarians</u>	<u>Clericals</u>
The public	12%	6%
Self	3	2
Library as a whole	10	5
Own work group	75	88
	(299)	(529)

Although librarians are relatively more oriented than clericals toward the public and the library as a whole, a strong majority of both groups is mainly identified with its work group, i.e., its own service area. The intensity of this commitment is often revealed by data regarding inter-group loyalty and resulting practices by members to help or protect other members of the group. Such practices, of course, are common in groups of many kinds and suggest the extent to which the chief librarian, like administrators in other contexts, is faced with a constellation of self-conscious groups rather than with a cohesive organization working toward a single goal.

Such is the conventional wisdom in organizational theory. What is the situation with respect to library organizations? Since interesting differences appear between the two groups, Table 2-16 presents them separately:

Table 2-16 "Does your work group band together to protect its members, etc.?"

	<u>Librarians</u>	<u>Clericals</u>
Often	6%	13%
Sometimes	21	26
Rarely	33	27
Never	40	34
	(380)	(668)

Apparently, the kind of collective and protective stratagems used in other organizations also occur in libraries, but to a lesser extent. As might be expected, given somewhat weaker commitment to the work than to intra-group relations, clericals are significantly more likely than librarians to protect individual members of their groups in various ways. Here again, we may assume that the library organization is much like other large-scale bureaucratic settings in which the work is quite specialized and individuals tend to seek and find identification within a more human dimension.

It is instructive to analyse the specific kinds of protective behaviours found among library personnel. Table 2-17 lists the first three in terms of frequency. Since the two groups differ significantly, the data are again presented separately.

Table 2-17 Frequency ranking of small group protective practices*

<u>Rank</u>	<u>Librarians</u>	<u>Clericals</u>
1. Sharing work to help a member	65% (105)	78% (258)
2. "Covering up" for absences, etc.	42 (44)	37 (91)
3. Working "by the book" to handle difficult supervisors or clients	32 (22)	36 (64)

*Columns do not total 100 here because all respondents reported each practice separately as 1st, 2nd, 3rd, etc.

Although one can only speculate as to the precise reasons, it is noteworthy that both the most common group practice and the greatest difference between the two groups involves sharing work to help out a member who may have fallen behind. The significant difference between the groups suggests, however, that librarians are somewhat more inclined to place task-oriented values over those of friendship. It might be thought that this rationale would be controverted by the distribution of the second item. The explanation, however, is probably that clericals, who usually work under the supervision of a librarian, have fewer opportunities to "cover up" for a co-worker. Perhaps, also, for librarians this preference mediates a time-honored professional behaviour: protecting a delinquent colleague! Regarding working "by the book," one would expect that librarians would be less likely to engage in this practice, given their relatively greater commitment to "service" ideals, as will be shown later.

Hopefully, these data on authority, supervision, and small groups have outlined the milieu of the "typical" library organization, as experienced by some 1,100 men and women in the field. We turn next to the manpower component of the library occupation, dealing with the social and educational backgrounds of these in our sample.

Footnotes - Chapter 2

1. Evidence supporting this conclusion may be found in Robert Presthus, Behavioral Approaches to Public Administration (University: University of Alabama Press, 1965), chap. 4 especially p. 116.
2. Richard L. Simpson and Ida H. Simpson, for example, found (using U.S. Census data for 1960) that 86 percent of librarians in the U.S. were women, "Women and Bureaucracy in the Semi-Professions," in Etzioni, The Semi-Professions and Their Organization (New York: Free Press, 1969), p. 197. I have drawn extensively upon this excellent analysis.
3. Ralph Parker, "Ports of Entry into Librarianship," in Philip Ennis and H.W. Winger (eds.) Seven Questions about the Profession of Librarianship (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 50.
4. Simpson and Simpson, op. cit., pp. 201-2.
5. Occupations and Values (New York: Free Press, 1957), p. 50.
6. Op. cit., p. 203.
7. Among others, see F. P. Kilpatrick, et. al., The Image of the Federal Service (Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 1964).
8. W. Lloyd Warner, American Life: Dream and Reality (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953; William Henry, "The Business Executive: The Psychodynamics of a Social Role," 54, American Journal of Sociology, pp. 286-91.
9. Robert Presthus, The Organizational Society (New York: Vintage Books, 1965), pp. 121-34; 174-204.
10. ALA Bulletin, February, 1969, pp. 181-87.
11. Ibid., p. 185.
12. Louis Round Wilson and Maurice F. Tauber, The University Library (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955).
13. Middle Management in University Libraries, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Rutgers University, 1969, p. 46.
14. The American Library Executive (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1967), p. 85.
15. Interpersonal Theory of Psychiatry and Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry (New York: Norton and Co., 1953); For an application of Sullivan's work to organizations, see Robert Presthus, The Organizational Society (New York: Vintage, 1965). High deference needs among a sample of Canadian librarians were found by Laurent-Germain Denis, "Academic and Public Librarians in Canada," (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Rutgers University, 1969), pp. 115-21.
16. Op. cit.

17. "Militant Professionalism, Initiative, and Compliance in Public Education," 38, Sociology of Education (1965), pp. 310-31.
18. M. Bressler and W. M. Kephart, Career Dynamics (Harrisburg: 1955), cited in Simpson and Simpson, *op. cit.*, p. 245.
19. For an excellent study documenting this proposition, see F. P. Kilpatrick, *et. al.*, The Image of the Federal Service (Washington, D C.: Brookings, 1964).
20. Richard Scott, "Reactions to Supervision in a Heteronomous Professional Organization," 10, Administrative Science Quarterly (June 1965), pp. 65-81.
21. Regarding this practice, Kenneth Plate found that whereas four-fifths of the 77 middle-management administrators in his sample thought it very important to provide time for close contacts with their subordinates, further probing revealed that "the necessity for contact with subordinates arises mainly from a desire to 'check up' on their work," *op. cit.*, p. 47. The administrators' concern, in sum, was a pragmatic one rather than one for the professional development of the younger librarians.
22. Recent findings by Elizabeth Stone support this judgment. Some Factors in the Professional Development of Librarians (Scarecrow Press, 1969.).
23. Among others, see George Homans, The Human Group (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1950).

Chapter 3

Social and Occupational Structure

Having analysed some aspects of the organizational structure and its climate of authority in the library field, we now turn directly to its manpower and social aspects. Our central question, here and in the next chapter, is: What kinds of people go into the field? How do they compare along various dimensions, including work role, service area, age, and region? And, finally, how do they perceive the organizational structure in which they work? We shall continue to present data on both librarians and clericals, where comparison seems of special interest. It is important to note here that we have defined "librarians" as all those who have either an undergraduate or graduate degree in librarianship. "Clericals" are defined as those members of library organizations who do not have a degree in the library field. A large proportion (40 percent) of them, however, have college or university degrees of other kinds and share, as we shall show, to an unusual extent the occupational attitudes and aspirations of their librarian co-workers. Once again, some of our data will be presented in the framework of comparative social change, as we attempt to deal further with this question. Mainly, however, we will focus on providing a general factual basis for a closer analysis of the accommodation potential of librarians in subsequent chapters.

We begin with the social class background of those in library science. This variable relates to the capacity to accommodate to change in several ways. We have seen that delegation and participation are vital requisites of an adaptive organization. This is especially so in occupations subject to considerable technological change, where a pronounced "cultural lag" is likely to be found between mature practitioners and recently-trained young people. It is also particularly germane in bureaucratic structures where ideas for change often come from exogenous forces. In the broadest sense, delegation and participation provide an atmosphere of healthy tension, in which ideas can emerge and be tested by advocacy and rebuttal. Social class is directly germane to this condition. Earlier research suggests that both the expectation and the demand for independence and participation are positively associated with class status.¹ In brief, individual preferences for an active role in the change process tend to rise as class status rises.

Parenthetically, regarding the process of change, it should be noted that it usually arises from needs that emerge from the operational or functional level. Significant change often seems to emerge from the top, but this perspective is often blurred because of the confusion between actual and what I have called "mock decision-making."² New departures are necessarily legitimated at the top, but technical demands usually insure that their feasibility is largely determined by specialists, with the result that the final administrative decision is often essentially pro forma.

Another aspect of social class is germane to technological change and the accommodation potential of the library occupation. As noted earlier, Hagen's formulations include the proposition that innovative

personalities are the product of families which have experienced a pronounced status deprivation. In stark outline, the shock of this social decline, produces a reaction against conventional norms and institutions which culminates in innovation. Hagen's theory is thus intergenerational, and we may hypothesize that a deprivation of class status among our librarian samples may inspire a similar release from tradition with an attending positive orientation toward change.

The general class distribution of librarians in our sample is shown in the following table:

Table 3-1 Class status of librarians*

Upper-middle	53%
Middle	26
Lower-middle	21

(388)

*Class status is based upon father's occupation and education, using A.B. Hollingshead's method.

It is immediately clear that librarians include an unusually high proportion of people with upper-middle class origins. Fully half of those in our sample are of upper-middle class status, i.e., their fathers are in professional, managerial, or proprietary roles.³ Forty-five percent of their fathers, moreover, have earned college degrees or done graduate work. This is all the more remarkable since our sample includes one-third of Canadian librarians whose fathers would not have enjoyed equal chances to earn a university degree, given the significantly smaller proportion of the college-age population enrolled in Canadian colleges and universities compared with the United States, both at that time and presently.*

The relatively advantaged social background of librarians compared with those in other similar fields has often been remarked upon. Teachers, nurses, social workers, all members of similar bureaucratically structured occupations, have less-favoured social origins.

There has been some speculation that whereas most women in librarianship are of middle class or upper-middle class status, and have experienced a status loss by entering the field, men in the field have actually achieved social mobility by moving into the occupation. The data presented in the following table tests this proposition:

*Approximately 12 percent of youth of college age are enrolled in Canada, compared with about 45 percent in the United States (1970).

Table 3-2 Social class origins of librarians

<u>Father's Occupation</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Professional	21%	32%
Managerial-proprietary	17	26
Administrative	31	25
Clerical-technical	11	4.4
Skilled	19	10
Unskilled	1	3
	(94)	(294)

The data for the professional and managerial categories show that a significantly higher proportion of women have upper-middle-class origins, compared with their male co-workers. Librarianship is indeed much more likely to be a means of upward-mobility for men than for women. This finding is related to the earlier comments on status deprivation and innovative behaviour. Since 80 percent of librarians are women, of whom some 80 percent enjoy middle and upper-middle class status, we may assume that some degree of status deprivation has occurred. It is important to add that, even though these women may have experienced some status loss in becoming librarians, a women's class status is determined by her husband's occupational role and, even if unmarried, her class status is less likely to be dependent upon her work role. If this is so, the incentive toward innovation is not likely to be highly developed among these women, insofar as it is a function of status loss.

Educational opportunity, of course, is closely related to class status and we are not surprised to find that people in the field have an extraordinarily high achievement level, as shown in the following table. This holds for both librarians and clericals, which may explain the similarity of their occupational values, as will be shown in Chapter 4.

Table 3-3 Highest level of education achievement in the library field

	<u>Librarians</u>	<u>Clericals</u>
Grade-school	0%	2%
High school	0	24
Some college	0	33
College	3	28
Graduate work	97	13
	(394)	(707)

With only two exceptions, Ph.D.'s in library science, the graduate degrees are all M.A.'s or M.S.'s in library science. Almost 60 percent of our sample have graduate degrees, while the remainder have either a B.A. or B.S. in library science. Regarding the source of degrees, the pattern is for each metropolitan area to draw about half of its librarians from a single institution in the immediate area, and almost all the remainder from schools in this region. For example, Atlanta libraries

drew 55 percent of their staff from Emory; 51 percent of those in Boston come from Simmons; 62 percent of those in Toronto libraries come from the University of Toronto. In San Francisco, the libraries draw on a somewhat more broadly national basis, but even here, the University of California and other Bay area institutions supply almost half of the librarians in the sample.

Significant regional differences appear regarding the perceived need for specialized degrees in the field. Combining the two highest scale categories, "indispensable" and "very important" we find the following responses:

	<u>Agree</u>
Atlanta	487
San Francisco	46
Toronto	31
Boston	25
	(389)

This broad range of responses is surprising, but we have no explanation for it. It is a noteworthy commentary on the field's aspirations for professional status that 28 percent of these respondents indicate that specialized training is either "not very important" or "unnecessary."* This somewhat jaundiced view is reinforced by responses to a statement which suggested that library education has been too specialized, that, "too many skills are taught that could be better learned on the job." Fifty-four percent (N=290) agreed; 16 percent were "undecided"; and the remainder "disagreed." Given these views, it is not surprising that almost three-quarters of the librarians recommend the introduction of a joint subject-matter-librarian degree.

The political identification of librarians in the sample may be of interest. Although we have no precise way of demonstrating its impact on occupational values or performance, if left-of-middle party identification suggests a disposition toward "liberal" change-oriented values, as contrasted with the presumably "conservative" posture of those who identify with right-of-centre parties, the following data may have some significance.

*Perhaps the distance between librarianship and the older professions could be determined by putting the same question to a sample of medical doctors or lawyers.

Table 3-4 Political party affiliation

	<u>Librarians</u>	<u>Clericals</u>
Republican	9%	16%
Democrat	34	32
Independent	33	28
Conservative	7	6
Liberal	13	13
Socialist (NDP*)	3	4
	(343)	(614)

*New Democratic Party

Although the distribution is skewed somewhat by the Atlanta respondents, virtually all of whom would be Democratic, the main drift is toward left-of-centre political identifications. The two right-of-centre parties, Republican and Conservative, include only about one-fifth of our respondents, while the vast majority prefer either the more liberal old-line parties or they assume an "independent" political posture. A small proportion of Canadians elect the NDP, which is considerably farther to the left than any American party. In line with political behaviour generally, a somewhat higher proportion, (18 percent) of women librarians, compared with men (14 percent) identify themselves with right-of-centre parties. Also, women are substantially less likely to present themselves as "independents:" whereas 34 percent of male librarians are such, only 11 percent of women so define themselves.

The type of education received by librarians is directly related to the acceptance of change, especially regarding systems concepts and computerized automation. It is well known that the undergraduate major of most librarians is in either humanities, about 70 percent; history, about 25 percent; or social science, which accounts for about 16 percent.⁵ (Some individuals cite more than one major, hence the plus-hundred total). Librarians in our sample are concentrated mainly in three service areas, administration (26 percent) cataloguing (23 percent) and reference (23 percent). Acquisitions is next with 14 percent followed by circulation, a poor fifth with only 5 percent. Two-thirds of them have had two or more jobs during their careers, and fully three-quarters have been in their present job only one-four years.

Librarians, however, are not distributed equally among our three types of libraries. Special libraries have the largest proportion (44 percent), followed by university with 36 percent, with public libraries having 32 percent. This difference, which may be in part an artifact of our sample, seems to be due to the significantly larger proportion of men with degrees in special libraries, compared with the other types. Fully 70 percent of them have library degrees, compared with only 45 and 32 percent in the university and public settings. Regarding the

overall ratio found between librarians and clericals, however, the distribution is roughly two-to-one (i.e., clericals constitute 64 percent of the sample and librarians make up the remaining 36 percent.

For librarianship the implications of class and education include, on the one hand, a potentially positive situation regarding the aggregate sum of expectations for active participation among its numbers. On the other hand, the humanistic thrust of the typical librarian's undergraduate education may result in considerable resistance to technological change. Moreover, evidence in the preceding chapter suggests that delegation, participation and professional development are often subordinated to traditional patterns of authority in the typical library organization.⁶ There is also the matter of the expectations regarding participation of those in the field; apparently certain intervening variables are at work, including the extent of career commitment of those in the field; the "feminine" nature of the occupation; and the tendency for administrative roles to be monopolized by men. With the exception of sex, to which we now turn, we shall look at these variables in the next chapter.

It will astonish no one that our sample indicates librarianship is predominantly a women's occupation, with just under three-quarters (73 percent) of our sample being female. The clerical sample has an even greater proportion of women, with 80 percent. The implications of this condition, which is again shared by other similar occupations such as nursing, teaching, and social work, will be discussed later. For the moment, we note that in relative terms, only nurses and elementary teachers have a larger or similar proportion of women members. Table 3-5 indicates the distribution (1960) among the various "service" occupations, controlled for age.

Table 3-5 Percent Female in different age groups of selected occupations*

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>14-24 years</u>	<u>25-34 Years</u>	<u>35-44 Years</u>	<u>45 years and Older</u>
All professionals	51%	29%	33%	46%
Librarians	76	76	84	93
Nurses	99	97	97	97
Social workers	67	59	61	72
Elementary teachers	88	74	84	93
Secondary teachers	59	39	43	58

*Data source: U.S. Census of Population, 1960. Final Report PC(2)-7a: Characteristics of Professional Workers, Table 3, Simpson and Simpson, "Women and Bureaucracy in the Semi-Professions," in Etzioni, op. cit., p. 211.

Although librarianship ranks third among the five occupations listed, when compared with "all professionals," it is clearly a "feminine" occupation. The highest proportion of women, moreover, is found in

the 45-and-over category, which is suggestive given the assumed negative relationship between age and the acceptance of change.

Age is thus another structural factor which bears directly upon the capacity and the inclination to accept change. In general, one would expect that "traditionalism" would increase with age, perhaps, in a linear path, and such has been found in recent library studies. Insofar as conflict is an agent of organizational change, which some administrative theorists insist, one may assume that age is relevant here too, with an increasing tendency to avoid interpersonal tension as one matures. Any such tendency is likely to be reinforced by the presence of a high proportion of women, among whom conflict avoidance is typically quite salient. Such factors probably nourish blandness in the typical library milieu. Our data should throw some light on these hypotheses. Regarding age, we find the following distribution:

Table 3-6 Age distribution among librarians

Under 24	7%
25 - 34	41
35 - 44	25
45 and older	27

(393)

While the largest single age group falls in the 25-34 category, it is perhaps significant that over one-quarter of those in the sample are 45 and older. Compared with their clerical co-workers, the librarians are an "old" group, since fully 45 percent of the former are under 30, compared with only one-third of the librarians.

Another facet of age and distribution, which has obvious implications for the attitudes toward change in the field is that the largest single proportion of degree holders is concentrated in two widely separated age categories: 26 percent of them are in the 25-29 category and 18 percent are in the 50 and over category. This kind of "generation gap" may result in two quite disparate views of the needs and the desirability of automation within the field, with older people less inclined to accept the need for change. This proposition will be checked in the final chapter by comparison of age and the acceptance of change.

When we look at similar occupational groups, we find that librarians have the largest proportion of females over 50, and that with the exception of elementary school teachers, the smallest proportion of men. It is also noteworthy that, whereas the proportion of men in librarianship remains virtually constant across all age groups, in all the other occupations the proportion of males changes considerably. This suggests that male, unlike female librarians, tend to have a fairly continuous career pattern once they enter the field.

Table 3-7 Age distribution of males and females in selected occupations*

<u>Occupation and Sex</u>	<u>14-24 Years</u>	<u>25-34 Years</u>	<u>35-44 Years</u>	<u>45 Years and Older</u>
All Professions				
Males	9%	32%	27%	32%
Females	16	21	21	42
Librarians				
Males	27	26	23	25
Females	14	14	20	52
Nurses				
Males	9	27	25	39
Females	15	25	24	36
Social Workers				
Males	8	34	24	34
Females	9	19	22	50
Elementary Teachers				
Males	10	43	24	24
Females	12	20	20	49
Secondary Teachers				
Males	7	38	25	30
Females	12	19	21	48

*Data source: U.S. Census of Population, 1960, Final Report PC(2)-7E: Characteristics of Professional Workers, Table 3, Simpson and Simpson, op. cit., p.210.

It is also significant that in all these occupations, save nursing, females outnumber males in the highest age category, indicating that women tend to drop out of the work force during the child-rearing stage of their lives and then return once their children are teen-age. Since a smaller proportion of librarians tend to be married at all age levels this incentive is not so pronounced among them. Yet, career discontinuity is relatively high among librarians since, as the above table shows, they have the smallest proportion of women among the various careers at ages 25-44. This may suggest a lack of career commitment,⁸ which will be considered in the next chapter.

We turn now to some general observations about job titles and assignments within the library occupation. A common observation in this context is that job titles and descriptions are hopelessly unstandardized, (See Appendix C). Clericals, for example, are called (among other things) library assistants, sub-professionals, library technicians, etc. Librarians also work under a number of different titles, often characterizing similar responsibilities. Our data suggest, too, that specialization within the field is not quite as fully developed as in many occupations. Just over two-thirds of our librarians have had from two to four different task or service assignments during their careers. This says something about the skill demands of the various services, and about bureaucratic assumptions regarding the interchangeability of parts of the library manpower apparatus.

In view of such complications, we decided to ask each respondent for his job title and a description of his major task and responsibilities. This data provided the basis for the following categories of jobs among our sample:

Table 3-8 Distribution of job categories among sample

	<u>Librarians</u>	<u>Clericals</u>
Head librarians	9%	1%
Department head	17	1
Technical services	61	3
Assistance librarians	9	1
Research specialists	4	2
Library assistant	.5	50
Cataloguing	.5	4
Senior clerk		6
Clerk		32
	(393)	(703)

This distribution gives us a good cross-section of the library craft, including administrators whom we want to analyse fairly intensively, given their central role in the change process.

One or two other conditions of library work may now be mentioned. A vital question in all occupations is the extent to which a career ladder exists to ensure that one can, through hard work and related behaviour, anticipate mobility, either within the organization or within the occupation. One may assume, despite the common lack of knowledge among young people regarding specific conditions in most occupations that talented people will not knowingly enter an occupation that does not offer this condition. We saw earlier that one of the characteristics of library work, along with bureaucratic work generally, is that one has to renounce his task specialty and become an administrator to achieve maximal career rewards. Another going condition is that library directors are rarely chosen from within the organization, which results in a good deal of lateral mobility as ambitious individuals are obliged to move in order to rise. In some such context, we asked our respondents whether they agreed with the judgment that no career ladder existed in the library field. Although 35 percent "disagreed" with this statement, it is perhaps significant that the largest single proportion, 43 percent, "agreed" while 22 percent were "undecided."

Another related finding, with similar implications, is that a certain proportion of librarians feel ineffectual in their jobs, as indicated by the following evidence: In reply to the statement, "The three things that disturb me most about my present job are," librarians ranked "feeling ineffectual" third.*

*"Overworked" was ranked first.

A closely related structural factor of the field is the felt status of the library occupation among its members. Is their orientation aligned with the public's somewhat ambivalent perception of the field?⁹ Whatever its basis, this factor will have considerable effect upon the field, particularly in its ability to attract talented recruits and to improve its prestige in the eyes of the public, both of which are crucial elements in professionalization. The public must, as William Goode has shown, finally legitimate the claims of any occupation to the monopoly of a skill, independence, high income, and service ethic which define a profession.¹⁰ This legitimation, of course, is partly determined by the morale and dedication and desire for autonomy exhibited by the members of an occupation.

The implications of this evidence go far beyond the obvious ones regarding job satisfaction. Unless librarians prefer an unchallenging work situation, which seems rather unlikely for so highly educated a group, their responses suggest that the intrinsic nature of their work is not always inspiring. If this is so, the implications for professionalization and guild control of the work process are unfortunate, since they suggest that in basic social and occupational terms, there is some question about the need for technical training in library skills. Moreover, if the work itself is not challenging, then we may assume that the expressed feelings of ineffectuality are not because of any inability to do the work, but rather to a conclusion that the whole library task is not accomplishing its larger mission. The root question, perhaps, is one of goals rather than of process.

In order to test this proposition about public legitimation, we asked respondents to answer the following item. "Some observers believe that professional librarians and others working in the field do not receive all the respect they deserve from the public. How do you feel about this?"

Table 3-9 Perceptions of librarians regarding prestige ranking of their field (N=397)

Strongly agree	19
Agree	53
Disagree	24
Strongly disagree	4

It is clear from this data that most librarians tend to agree that the public has an inadequate appreciation of their field. When we asked them to rank the primary reasons for this condition, 62 percent, in three equal parts, chose three reasons as being "most important." These included lack of a strong national organization devoted to improving status, pay, and standards; that the technical skills of librarianship were too easily acquired by others; and that the public doesn't really honour the contemplative arts which librarians symbolize.

Another item which asked respondents to rank several occupations, including librarianship reinforces this conclusion. The responses produced the following scale of occupations, based only upon those ranked

first: medical doctor, 65 percent; university professor, 14 percent; lawyer, 8 percent; politician, 6 percent; bank manager, 4 percent; businessman, 3 percent; with the remainder scattered about. Librarianship, however, was not included, and only appeared at the third choice, when it receives 7 percent of the total distribution. One other piece of evidence is germane here: asked how the performance of their own work group compared with that of other groups, fully 85 percent of librarians (N=369) said that it was either the same (40 percent), or worse (45 percent). In sum, it seems fair to conclude that most librarians experience a certain sense of negativism and prestige deprivation when they contemplate the status of their occupation, compared with other types of work. This question will be considered in more detail later.

A more significant condition from the standpoint of the organization and the professional aspirations of the field is that "outsiders" are apparently often assigned to do jobs for which librarians are specifically trained, and they can, in some cases, at least, do these as well as librarians. In cataloguing, for example, there are many subject fields in which it is sometimes more felicitous to find someone with the substantive knowledge and then train him in cataloguing techniques, rather than the other way around. The other side of the coin is that librarians are often assigned to do clerical types of work. We thus have a situation in which many of the tasks can apparently be performed by either trained or untrained people, and in which many of them do not in any case require extensive specialized training.

Our librarian respondents document this view. Asked "how essential from the standpoint of technical efficiency alone do you think a specialized degree in librarianship is?" 31 percent said "not very important" or "unnecessary," while another 36 percent (the largest single segment) felt it was merely "desirable." Only one-third said it was "very important" or "indispensable." Meanwhile, a careful task analysis of nine branch libraries at Johns Hopkins indicates that only about 45 percent of the total work requires trained librarians.¹¹ The survey, based upon over 1,000 observations of library use, found that about 35 percent of activity was spent in routine shelving, checking material in and out, and keeping records on over-dues, fines, etc.

The larger significance of this situation is its implications for professionalization, upon which we will touch here only briefly: If library skills are indeed of a kind that can be easily performed by non-librarians, the field's claim to professional status becomes moot, since the essence of a profession is that its knowledge and its methods require long hard study, and cannot be practiced by anyone untrained, not only because of the difficulty of the work, but because the health and welfare of the public would be unserved, if not actually endangered by such action.

At this point, we are mainly interested in the extent to which the skills of library science are indeed being performed by clericals, and the related question regarding the proportion of librarians who characteristically perform some clerical tasks. The following table presents the situation among members of our sample as determined from a detailed job description for each respondent and his educational background.

Table 3-10 Task assignments in the field

<u>Assignment</u>	<u>Librarians</u>	<u>Clerical</u>
All professional	61%	2%
Mostly professional	27	4
Professional-clerical	10	4
Mostly clerical	1	18
All clerical	.5	73
	(393)	(703)

Although the overall distribution is probably not ideal, compared with medicine, law, or university teaching, it does seem generally acceptable. I suppose the purist might insist that all, rather than some 60 percent of librarians should be doing only "all professional" types of work. Yet, to find almost 90 percent of them doing "mostly" or "all professional" seems a reasonable situation. If there is some improvement to be made in work assignments, it may well lie in easing the substantially more common tendency to assign women librarians to non-professional tasks: fully three-quarters of men (N=95) perform only professional tasks, compared with only 57 percent of their female colleagues (N=298). Moreover, at the level of mixed professional-clerical assignments the proportion of women is three times greater. Sex has a similar effect among clericals where 13 percent of males perform all or most professional tasks, compared with only 4 percent of women.

We turn next to the social organization of the library, and particularly the question of status differentials among the service areas. A critical element in any structurally differentiated occupation is the status demarcations that characterize its component parts. Such demarcations have obvious implications for patterns of authority, prestige, and morale, and they also give us an "insider's" view of an occupation. Libraries differ along several dimensions, but certain discrete areas or services are functionally necessary in all of them. Essentially, information must be selected, acquired, ordered, stored, retrieved, and disseminated. In library terms, these functions are usually designated as acquisitions, cataloguing, bibliography, serials, reference, administration and circulation.

Each of these functions tends, moreover, to become the technical basis for the informal group structure which characterizes most modern, large-scale bureaucratic organizations. In addition, and again as part of a universal social process, such services tend to be ranked in some hierarchy of status, according to their significance in the larger work process, the relative prestige and income attached to those who work in each, and any differentials in difficulty of preparing for and carrying out the characteristic tasks of each service. An analysis of these structural properties should be useful in understanding the incentives, the reward and sanction mechanisms, and the adaptation potential of the library as a social apparatus.

We saw earlier that 82 percent of librarians and clericals belong to small work groups, as indicated by their responses to the following

them: "People who work closely together and develop personal ties with each other on the same or closely related tasks, are sometimes called a 'work group.' Do you feel you are part of such a group in your present job?" Library work is thus typically defined and experienced by those who perform it as a group process in which individuals have an opportunity to develop friendship and to exchange values that can greatly influence their evaluation of their work-role. Here again, we find another factor differentiating librarianship from the older professions in which the skill and the work tend to be performed individually. In effect, the controls exercised over most members of the older professions are experienced symbolically, in contrast to the direct surveillance maintained by groups (and administration) in a bureaucratic environment.

We assume that library groups will exhibit some of the characteristics found in other bureaucratic occupations. For example, such groups sometimes band together to protect or to assist one of their members. As we saw earlier, about one-third of our respondents (N=1048) indicated that their group engaged in such activity "sometimes," "often," or "very often." Sharing the work to help a harassed co-worker was the most common form of activity (72 percent), although librarians were somewhat less likely than clericals to engage in this practice. We would also expect some differences between the two regarding their perceptions of work groups and the kinds of identifications they develop with them. The following table indicates one such difference:

Table 3-11 Perceptions of the raison d'être of work groups

	<u>Librarians</u>	<u>Clericals</u>
Work demands	80%	70%
Personal satisfactions	19	29
Relieve boredom	1	1
	(299)	(533)

Although both groups see the work itself as the major reason for the existence of small groups, a significantly higher proportion of clericals cite personal ties and sentiments as an alternative. This is probably a function of relatively lesser commitment to their work, as well as a greater desire to establish friendships on the job, compared with librarians: 38 percent of them rank this value as "very" important, "extremely" important or "indispensable," compared with 29 percent of librarians.

Work groups are usually small. They bring together people who share the same skills and tend over time to develop unity and normative consensus through interaction and various kinds of rewards and sanctions. Group relationships also help to ease feelings on anomie and ineffectuality that may attend work in a large bureaucratic setting. For such reasons, we would expect a large majority of our respondents to have a positive view of their own work group. Tables 3-12, 13, and 14, however, indicate that this is not always the case.

Table 3-12 Affective orientation toward work groups

	<u>Librarians</u>	<u>Clericals</u>
Positive	59%	58%
Neutral	25	25
Negative	16	17
	(235)	(372)

Somewhat surprisingly, both groups share similar normative orientations toward their groups. Since librarians, as we have just seen, view the group in more pragmatic terms, and usually play a supervisor's role in it, one might assume that they would have a less positive valence toward their work groups.

Two factors seem germane. We indicated earlier that our respondents were quite negative regarding the performance of their own groups. We also know that close, highly-structured supervision occurs and is often resented, although this varies with the class status, educational level, and professional aspirations of the individual. Although most respondents are generally satisfied with their supervisors, as measured by their combined response to a battery of several items, it could well be that certain discrete supervisory behaviours might still prove disturbing. Close, critical supervision, highly-structured intra-group relations, and frequent setting of deadlines might be among these. In effect, there may be a relation between these factors and the rather high proportion of "neutral" and "negative" responses in Table 3-12. The following tables give us some supporting evidence.

Table 3-13 "How well does the performance of your own work group compare with others?"

	<u>Librarians</u>	<u>Clericals</u>
Better	14%	14%
Same	40	50
Worse	46	36
	(369)	(674)

Here is a clear indication of some disenchantment with one's immediate work group, which, in many bureaucratic settings, is a major source of identification for workers. Librarians, moreover, are significantly more negative than their clerical associates. There are almost no differences between men and women in this context.

One possible explanation deals with the fact that librarians do not place a high priority on making "close friendships" on the job. Only 14 percent say this value is "extremely important," compared with 29 percent who say it is of "little importance." Another 42 percent say it is only "fairly important," the next-to-the-lowest position on the scale. If this is so, the intimacy and empathy offered by small-group associations might well have less salience for them.

This negative view of their group stands in sharp contrast to the generally positive response we receive on a scale measuring "confidence in the organization," as defined by 12 items concerned with the quality of supervision experienced by respondents. Table 3-14 shows the distribution:

Table 3-14 Confidence in the organization

	<u>Librarians</u>	<u>Clericals</u>
High	43%	49%
Medium	44	38
Low	14	13
	(347)	(638)

These data, which are almost precisely the opposite of those in the previous table, are very hard to explain, especially since they deal with closely related situations. Perhaps we can only conclude that it is possible to have high morale without high productivity.

Some other evidence on this general point is provided by data on the extent to which our respondents perceive their work group as being "structured" in terms of authority and interaction. Table 3-15 shows the distribution of values:

Table 3-15 Perceived extent of "structuring" in work group

	<u>Librarians</u>	<u>Clericals</u>
High	20%	9%
Medium	68	74
Low	12	17
	(271)	(364)

Here again, librarians tend to see their work group in less favourable terms than clericals do.* Given their favoured class backgrounds, librarians would tend to be more sensitive to any structuring that did exist, especially if it resulted in decreasing chances for participation in decisions affecting the group. This attitude would probably be most pronounced among women, who, as shown earlier, generally have more advantaged class backgrounds than their male counterparts. This notion has only one disadvantage; the data do not support it: the degree of perceived structuring is the same for male and female librarians.

The next table identifies the major sources of such discontents with library organization and its functions.

*We say less favourable" here on the assumption that highly educated people prefer considerable autonomy in the workplace. That this assumption may be untenable is suggested by Table 2-4, which indicates that just over half of the librarians in our sample prefer "fairly" or "highly" structured authority relations.

Table 3-16 "The three things that disturb me most about my present job are:"

	<u>Librarians</u>		<u>Clericals</u>
<u>First</u> "I am overworked"	50% (262)	<u>First</u> "No challenge"	49% (462)
<u>Second</u> "Resistance to new ideas"	33 (178)	<u>Second</u> "I feel ineffectual"	33 (303)
<u>Third</u> "I feel ineffectual"	16 (84)	<u>Third</u> "I feel ineffectual"	27 (165)

We can, in effect, feel quite secure in generalizing that these four problems are the major ones confounding librarians today. There are, however, a few significant regional variations. Librarians in Atlanta, for example, chose "overworked" as their first discontent by a much wider margin, compared with those in the other areas. Another substantial disparity found one-third of the Boston sample electing "I feel ineffectual" as the second major problem, compared with only 11 percent in Boston, with San Francisco and Toronto midway between. Status gradations among the various services are another aspect of library work and organization which should prove useful in understanding the social structure of the occupation. Our initial assumption, based on other organizational experience, was that certain services would not only be "more equal than others," but that we might well find rather different kinds of individuals working in each. The instrument designed to test these propositions consisted of a set of ideal job elements juxtaposed against the several functional areas of library science. Librarians were asked to indicate the service area in which they had the "best" "second-best" and "least" chance to achieve each job value. Table 3-17 indicates the resulting distributions.

Table 3-17 Ranking of perceived opportunities to achieve selected job values, by service area (N=322)

<u>Job Value</u>	<u>Best Chance</u>	<u>Second-Best</u>	<u>Least</u>
Prestige	Admin. (59%)	Ref. (35%)	Circ. (21%)
Friendship on job	Ref. (32)	Ref. (22)	Cat. (22)
Innovation	Admin. (46)	Acq. (25)	Rare books (21)
Helping clients	Ref. (71)	Circ. (51)	Cat. (29)
Increasing knowledge	Ref. (29)	Ref. (25)	Circ. (19)

Although the degree of support varied somewhat, there was in every case a consensus of these rankings among male and female librarians.

These data indicate that distinct gradations exist among the various services in the typical library, with administration clearly regarded as the main avenue to prestige, and with reference being the most valued area for achieving such types of gratification as service, friendship and knowledge. Also, in the significant area of being able to introduce automation and related changes, administration again ranks first. The central role of administration is confirmed by data from another item which asks, "In view of your own work experience, please rank the three major inadequacies in your education and training for librarianship?" The "need for a background in administration" was marked "first" by the largest single proportion of respondents.

In designating administration as the primary role for legitimating change, the working librarian's perception of the internal structure of power in his occupation seems clear and accurate. The power to accept or reject automation is seen largely as an administrative prerogative, rather than the result of decisions made by technical specialists in the organization. Needless to say, this is an over-simplification, since the director necessarily relies considerably upon the advice of experts in coming to such a decision, yet the librarians' judgments suggest again that the authority structure in libraries is essentially bureaucratic rather than collegial and disciplinary.

The high ranking of administration as a source of power and an avenue of prestige is characteristic of similar occupations where the prevailing reward structure usually requires individuals to abandon their primary task if they hope to achieve substantial increments of pay, power, and prestige. In sociological terms, a displacement of values and roles occurs in which craft activities and norms are shifted to bureaucratic ones. It seems that the intrinsic nature of work in such occupations as nursing, social welfare, lower-school teaching, and librarianship is the most decisive factor in this process. Tasks tend to be specialized, repetitive, measurable, and subject to evaluation by outsiders. As we have seen, library work itself is essentially a collective operation in which tasks are (and can be) specifically assigned by supervisors (70 percent of librarians and 78 percent of clericals indicate that such is the case). Librarians, moreover, do not own the buildings, equipment, or books with which they work. Nor do they have strong collegial organizations which might provide a counterpoise to their local bureaucratic dependency. This conclusion, which will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter, is based in part upon the fact that 53 percent of librarians agree that "a librarian's loyalties should be with the organization employing him rather than with his particular service." Another twenty percent were "undecided." This attitude seems to symbolize a "local" bureaucratic orientation. In effect, both library work and the occupation lend themselves to hierarchical, bureaucratic structuring.

This condition, in turn, tends to magnify administrative roles and values. In comparison with such professions as law and medicine, whose members tend to practice their craft individually, to control the conditions under which they deal with clients, and perhaps most significant, to practice their skills throughout their careers without being obliged

to enter the administrative track to secure exceptional rewards, librarians are disadvantaged. In effect, in bureaucratic occupations, i.e., those in which the work is not carried on under most of the conditions just outlined, the prestige and emoluments of the primary functions tend to be strongly challenged, if not surpassed, by secondary bureaucratic values and roles.

Having analysed some of the structural characteristics of the library occupation and its organizational milieu, we will try to determine in the next chapter the values and expectations of people in the field. In sum, we are concerned next with the extent to which the prevailing structure and procedures of the library field meet the expectations of its highly-educated, mainly female, members.

Footnotes - Chapter 3

1. Marjorie Fiske, Book Selection and Censorship (University of California Press: Berkeley, 1959), pp. 35-36.
2. The Organizational Society (New York: Vintage, 1965).
3. Alice Bryan, for example, found that 55 percent of a national sample of librarians had fathers in professional, entrepreneurial and managerial occupations, The Public Librarian (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), p. 34.
4. Among social workers, for example Polansky found much lower social backgrounds, compared with librarians. Norman Polansky, et. al., "Social Workers in Society," 34, Journal of Social Work (1953), pp. 74-80; moreover, Lebeaux found progressively lower statuses over time among social workers in a longitudinal sample in Detroit, "Factors in the Advancement of Professional Social Workers," unpublished paper read at annual meeting American Sociological Association, 1955, pp. 4-5. Among teachers, Ward Mason found 55 percent of men and women entering the field in 1956 were of blue-collar or farm backgrounds, The Beginning Teacher (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1961), p. 13. See also Douglas More, "A Note on Occupational Origins," 25, American Sociological Review (1960), p. 404.
5. Perry Morrison, Career of the Academic Librarian (Chicago: American Library Association, 1969), p. 19.
6. Victor Thompson, for example, insists that without conflict, there can be no change, Modern Organizations (New York: Knopf, 1961), pp. 81-113.
7. Elizabeth Stone, Some Factors Related to the Professional Development of Librarians (Baltimore: Scarecrow Press, 1970).
8. For similar conclusions, see Richard and Ida Harper Simpson "Women and Bureaucracy in the Semi-Professions," in Etzioni (ed.) op. cit., pp. 199, 203, Chapter 5, passim.
9. Hatt, in Occupational Status.
10. Seven Questions about the Profession of Librarianship, op. cit., pp. 8-22.
11. Arne Myosound, "Work Sampling Study," Progress Report on An Operations Research and Systems Engineering Study (NSF grant-GN-31), Johns Hopkins Research Library, Baltimore, April, 1963, pp. 47-51.

Chapter 4

Occupational Values

As we have seen, library work and its organization are typically bureaucratic. Tasks are specifically assigned; work is performed in groups; supervision is close and often critical; authority tends to flow down formal, hierarchical channels;¹ administrative roles are prestigious; and there is the usual displacement of values from task-oriented activities to administrative ones. Given this legal-rational system, which is effective in many ways, it is interesting to speculate about the personal and career values of those who work in it. Is there generally a nice compatibility between organizational structure and personality, or are librarians often frustrated by the conditions they experience in the going system? Since occupational values are directly related to professionalization, we shall also consider this question at relevant points.

We begin with a general over-view of the kinds of values members of the occupation seek to express through their work. Occasionally, for comparative purposes, we include data on both librarians and clericals, as well as information from similar occupations. Our first table presents eight typical values; they are ranked from left to right in terms of their salience for members of our sample. (See Table 4-1 next page)

Here, perhaps, is the most dramatic proof that librarians and clericals share very similar occupational values, in the sense that the overall rankings of each value are quite similar. Only in the somewhat unexpected area of "contributing to knowledge" do the values of clericals seem out of context. That they rank higher in needs for salary and friendship is consistent with earlier evidence about commitment and work group identification.

Here again, the low ranking of friendship-on-the-job needs by librarians, in addition to explaining their ambivalence toward their work groups, also suggests that many librarians may be more comfortable working with books, etc., than interacting with others. The top ranking of "being able to do work that is personally satisfying to me" adds further support to this proposition. The low ranking of "external" rewards such as salary and prestige indicates that librarians tend to place a high value on "intrinsic," highly personal gratification. The high ranking of "helping people," which at first seems to contravert this judgement, may reflect instead a detached service orientation, rather more than any personal concern with clients. Psychological research has pretty well established the fact that considerable occupational self-selection occurs on the basis of personality needs and one suspects that librarianship draws into its penumbra a substantial proportion of men and women who have what I have called elsewhere an "ambivalent" pattern of accommodation to their work environment. This organizational role type is marked by great tension between job ideals and experiences.

The question of sex differences among value preferences seems vital, given our earlier comments about the significance of its largely feminine work force for the library field. In the main, however, regarding the overall ranking of value preferences, there is a great deal of continuity between men and women. Within each value certain differences appear which

Table 4-1 Occupational value preferences of librarians and clericals

	Personally Satisfying Work		Helping People		Modernization		Contributing Knowledge		New Collection		Prestige		Salary		Friendship	
	L	C	L	C	L	C	L	C	L	C	L	C	L	C	L	C
High ¹	83	90	59	62	55	44	51	55	44	33	20	14	20	28	14	19
Medium ²	14	8	14	21	28	33	23	23	26	25	24	24	27	30	16	18
Low ³	3	2	17	17	17	24	26	22	30	42	56	62	53	42	70	63
	(391)	(698)	(385)	(681)	(385)	(688)	(384)	(686)	(383)	(656)	(387)	(689)	(295)	(575)	(388)	(694)

¹"High" is defined as "indispensable" or "extremely important," i.e., points 1 and 2 on a 5-item scale.

²"Medium" is "very important," i.e., point 3 on a 5-item scale.

³"Low" is "fairly important" or "of little importance," i.e., points 4 and 5 on a 5-item scale.

indicate some aspects of the influence of women upon the occupation. The following table presents such differences for the various job values, for librarians only.

Table 4-2 Sex differences among selected occupational values

	<u>Proportion ranking "high"</u>		
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Difference</u>
Developing new programme	58%	40%	-18%
Prestige	30	16	-14
Contributing new knowledge	61	49	-12
Making high salary	30	20	-10
Using new methods	55	55	--
Friendship-on-job	10	15	+5
Helping people	64	72	+8
Personally satisfying work	88	91	+3
	(94)	(291)	

We saw a moment ago that librarians were characterized by a clear preference for "intrinsic" kinds of job values. The evidence in this table indicates that a primary effect of the feminine component is to intensify such values. In stark quantitative terms, the fact that some four-fifths of librarians are women, makes such values pervasively decisive and decisively pervasive, especially since the men who enter the field also share them, though with less intensity.

The distribution has obvious implications for the accommodation potential of the field, insofar as a receptive work force is a vital ingredient in introducing change. The essential message of the table may be: "If automation is to occur, men will probably be the ones to do it." Two of the largest differences occur in the areas of contributing new knowledge and developing a new programme, both of which require a generalized attitude toward innovation. This suggests again that the vast majority of librarians, i.e., women, have a tenuous commitment to change and innovation. Regarding modernization, i.e., the introduction of new methods, the preferences are precisely the same, but the fact that a bare majority (55 percent) of both groups rank this value "high" hardly suggests a passionate devotion to automation, systems theory and the related innovations confronting the field.

The well-documented characterization of librarianship as a "service" occupation is borne out by these rankings which place "helping people" second. Widespread awareness of the need for automated change is evident in the high ranking of "introducing more modern methods of doing the job." The fourth-ranking value, "contribution to knowledge," is again, at least partly, a "service" type of incentive, as is number five, "developing a new collection." Our earlier observation about the significance of work groups as instruments of personal ties is strongly challenged by the bottom ranking of "developing friendships with people I work with."

In sum, with the possible exception of concern with introducing new methods (which will be analysed in detail in Chapter 5), this hierarchy

of values is consonant with time-honoured conclusions regarding members of the occupation. As Naegele and Stolar found, "ideals of service to the point of self-sacrifice are prominent among librarians."² This orientation moreover, is bifurcated between the librarian's client and his role as a guardian of accumulated wisdom. Thus "librarians become representatives and servants of a certain stream of cultural accomplishment and of a special type of social organization."³

It should be added that the "helping" orientation found here is equally, if not more, prevalent among other similar occupations. Nurses, for example have very strong "service" motivations. As one study concludes, "love of people and particularly the urge to aid the helpless is firmly established as a pervasive motive for nursing and as the greatest satisfaction"⁴ found among its members.

Social work, too, is characterized by a strong client-oriented, service ideology. As one observer maintains, social work "will always have an element of the subjective, the personal, and the emotional."⁵ This condition, moreover, is widely recognized as being to some extent inapposite to the occupation's desire for professionalization. Teachers are similarly selfless in motivational terms. Research on over 3,000 elementary school teachers, almost all of whom are women, found that 78 percent chose "intrinsic" rewards such as "knowing I have 'reached' students," compared with only 22 percent who chose "extrinsic" and "ancillary" regards, e.g., salary, prestige, and job security.⁶ These preferences are very similar to those which have been found for female librarians. Indeed the figures on prestige and salary are almost identical. Another finding in which 60 percent of librarians cited "the chance to realize my own interests through my job" as the major satisfaction derived from their work, reinforces this conclusion.

Regarding the special nature of this service incentive, Simpson and Simpson note that it is different from the ideal-typical relationship of professional to client (as seen, for example, in doctor-patient relations) which is impersonal and instrumental. Instead, "the service orientation is . . . an emotionally felt humanitarian urge to give of oneself, to relate in an intensely personal way to the recipient of the service."⁷

In such terms, librarians seem to rank somewhere between medical doctors and nurses. They do receive much of their work gratification in the response of the client, as contrasted to the satisfaction coming from the skill performed. As one librarian put it, "I like being on the information desk, feeling that my mind is so sharp I can just go and get the books immediately to answer people's questions, and seeing the relief on their faces as I solve their problems."⁸ Yet, librarians often maintain some social distance between themselves and their clients. Naturally, this generalization relates to the typical librarian role and not to the range of behaviours characteristic of any set of librarians. Here, again, the equilibrium reached in any specific interaction between these two poles of impersonality and empathy is surely affected by the large proportion of women among librarians, which would seem to increase the probability of an affective style of accommodation.

Our data tell us something about this question. When sex is controlled, we find the following differences regarding the service orientation, as measured by the "helping people" item.

Table 4-3 Sex differences in service orientation among librarians

<u>Importance</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
High	64%	72%
Medium	16	13
Low	20	15
	(94)	(291)

The data reveal a valence that will appear frequently in this chapter: the higher preference of women for intrinsic gratifications in work, compared with men.

Closely allied with the individualistic "helping orientation," yet more widely diffused is a satisfaction which may be called "social utility." Here the source of gratification is the feeling of contributing something useful to society viewed collectively. When asked to rank the most important satisfaction they received from their work, 30 percent (the largest single proportion) of librarians chose "the chance to do something socially useful through the library." It is important to note here that sex was again a significant differentiating factor. Indeed, when males are considered alone, "social service" is displaced as their first choice (42 percent) by building a new programme. The comparative figures for "social service" were: females 32 percent; males, 25. The combined total was great enough to make "social service" the first choice, followed very closely by "building a new programme."

Another insight into the career perspectives and general normative orientation of our respondents is provided by their responses to a single item regarding their total life activities.

Table 4-4 "What activities in your life give you the most satisfaction?"

<u>Activity</u>	<u>Librarians</u>		<u>Clericals</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Family	34%	50%	34%	60%
Leisure	24	24	34	19
Career	37	21	20	12
Social-Political	2	4	6	2
Religion	2	2	7	7
	(90)	(292)	(109)	(554)

Here it seems, we have dramatic evidence that a rather marginal career commitment is characteristic of the library field, especially among female librarians and clericals. This difference, by the way, is one of the few in which the two groups diverge significantly. Family activities rank first in almost all such analysis, as is true here, except for male

librarians, but the activity most commonly ranked second is career.* Among librarians, however, combining men and women, we find that career is the second most valued activity, but it is strongly challenged by leisure. Here again, sex is a very significant intervening variable: Among male librarians, career is ranked first, although by a narrow margin over family, 37 percent against 34. Female librarians, (N=292) on the other hand, rank family first by a wide margin (50 percent), followed by leisure time (24 percent) and career with 21 percent. Thus we may say that over 80 percent of the library work force give their careers only third priority among their life activities. The implications for professionalization are clear.

The tenuous degree of career commitment revealed here can be checked by other evidence regarding motivation and job satisfaction. Conceptualizing a career in two stages, the first of which involves the decision to enter it and the second one's subsequent experiences in the career, we asked our respondents to indicate their motives for entering the field and whether they would make the same decision again. Their responses are presented in the next two tables.

Table 4-5 "What is the main reason you became a librarian?"

<u>Incentive</u>	
"I just drifted into the field"	32%
"I have always liked books"	28
"Always regarded it as a significant field"	26
"Other"	14
	(371)

These data indicate that the largest single proportion of librarians came into the field without any systematic evaluation or knowledge of its potential. Such a basis for career choice is not uncommon for young men and women with liberal arts degrees in humanities and social science who are not, in the popular phrase, "trained for anything." The resulting occupational perspective is well characterized by the following comments of one of our respondents, a bright young Canadian woman, working in a special library. "I wanted a good-paying job where I didn't have to spend my evenings preparing for the next day's work (e.g., teaching). It's 8:30-4:30 and I can lock the door behind me and forget it until the next morning--and it pays very well!"

Turning to the second career stage, the actual job experience of those in librarianship and their reactions to it, we find the following condition:

*I did find, however, in a study of British European Airways, a public corporation, that its executive-level employees ranked "leisure" above "career."

Table 4-6 "If you could do it over again, would you choose library work as a career?"

	<u>Librarians</u>	<u>Clericals</u>
"Yes"	34%	43%
"No"	66	57
	(385)	(643)

Fully two-thirds of these librarians would not chose the same career. Clericals for reasons which probably include low job involvement, are significantly less alienated from the field. The main drift is clear enough, and the main question is what are the major factors accounting for this rather marginal identification with the field?

Some evidence regarding this important question is provided by responses to an open-ended item which asked for a detailed explanation of their disenchantment with the field.

Table 4-7 Reasons for disenchantment with a library career

	<u>Librarians</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
"Interested in a new field"	38%	41%
"Work too clerical and mechanical"	25	29
"Prestige too low"	13	8
"Work too isolated"	6	10
"Low pay"	-	4
"Other"	19	8
	(16)	(249)

The most frequent reason given, "interest in a new field," is not very helpful, althgh it does suggest that library work is not generally found to be sufficiently demanding. This conclusion is sustained by another finding, namely, that a significant proportion of librarians (34 percent) do not find their present job "a real challenge."

On the problem of low prestige, we saw earlier that librarians did not rank their occupation very high in a scale which sought to determine their perception of the public's attitude toward the field. A similar attitude is shown by their responses to the following item; "Some observers believe that librarians do not receive all the respect they deserve from the public. How do you feel about this?" Seventy-three percent "agreed," and cited as the major reason that "the public doesn't really honour scholarship and reading . . . which we symbolize."

These explanations for experienced career disenchantment and the rather haphazard career selection and motivation symbolized by the "just drifted into the field" item is punctuated by another negative incentive cited by Bryan in her study of public librarians. Sixteen percent of her respondents indicated that fear of being able to do well in other fields had been their main reason for entering librarianship.⁹ The uncertainty with which a library career is sometimes undertaken is

again apparent in data showing that people tend to enter the field at a relatively advanced age, often after a year or two of experience in another field.¹⁰

The tendencies toward career ambivalence revealed here are suggestive in two contexts: The capacity of the occupation for change, and the extent to which the aspirations of librarians for professional status are consonant with modal career patterns in the field, the character of library work, and its organizational setting. Our rationale for going into the well-ploughed field of professional aspirations is that it is directly related to the capacity of library science to adapt creatively to the challenge of automation. In some ways, a continuation of the field's traditional definition of and concern with "professionalization" may reduce its capacity for needed change.

"Professionalization" of course, has many connotations and certainly the concept is very loosely used in North America. As currently used in library publications the term often has a somewhat restricted meaning, focussing on the economic and jurisdictional benefits of professional status for its members.* This "bread-and-butter" thrust is clear in the following resolution presented by the Association of College and Research Librarians to the ALA in 1969:¹¹

Whereas academic librarians must have:

1. Rank equivalent to other members of the teaching faculty;
2. Salary equal to that of other members of the teaching faculty;
3. Sabbatical and other leaves;
4. Tenure;
5. Access to grants, fellowships, and research funds;
6. Responsibilities, for professional duties only;
7. An adequately supportive non-professional staff;
8. Appointment and promotion on the basis of individual accomplishment and involving peer evaluation;
9. Grievance and appeal procedures available to other members of the academic community and involving peer review;
10. Participation of all librarians in library governance;
11. Membership in the academic senate of their institutions, or other governing bodies;

Therefore be it resolved that the Association of College and Research Libraries and the American Library Association adopt as their official policy the support of these standards for all academic librarians and professional means, including:

1. Censure and sanctions (and)
2. Accreditation of libraries.

Similarly, Eldred Smith writing about the newly formed California Librarians' Association, says; "There is no question about the growing

*I am not, of course, making any judgment about the justice of such claims, but merely noting their main drift, in the context of current library definitions of "professionalization."

demand on the part of librarians for higher professional standards, better status and benefits, and a more prominent role in improving library service and collections."¹² Elizabeth Stone provides a broader approach in her research covering 138 librarians: "library administrators must develop a place for professional growth. This is the only way to retain the staff, satisfied and eager, on a high level of professional standards."¹³ Stone is probably correct in concluding that outdated attitudes and methods sometimes characterize library administrators, but, once again, there is little emphasis upon the nature of library work and the attending bureaucratic setting in which it occurs, as these relate to professionalization. Delegation, participation, growth, better utilization are all proper objectives, but the central question remains, it seems, precisely what kinds of substantive tasks exist to be delegated? Do they meet the minimal requirements of a profession? Can library administrators, even with the best will in the world, provide a challenging work milieu? I, as she finds, a large proportion of librarians are seeking such an environment, can their aspirations really be fulfilled through library work in a bureaucratic arena?

To some extent, these authors symbolize the traditional orientation in the field, which often focuses on the derivative benefits of professionalization, without sufficient emphasis upon the operational conditions which ultimately determine whether or not an occupation can achieve professional status. The critical matter, in effect, is not whether librarians want professionalization, but whether the intrinsic character of the work they do and the setting in which they do it have the attributes of a profession.¹⁴

One by-product of such a definition is a neglect of emerging changes in the character and conditions of participation in library science. Surely the challenge of automation and its new skill groups cannot be best met by a concern over fringe benefits and increased participation in organizational decision-making. Contemporary librarianship must instead, if possible, co-opt information science into its own orbit and, if this proves impossible, it must at least wholeheartedly join the information science movement. This again is why the values of the field and its attending capacity to redefine its functional contribution are so critical. Our conclusion is that necessity here is indeed a virtue, since only by some such appreciation of its future can librarianship hope to secure for itself more of the conditions of a profession, including control of the vital policy matters now emerging in the field. The new techniques and their mastery provide a knowledge and a mystique that the field has never had and perhaps could not, (by its nature), hope to achieve.*

However, we are anticipating a bit here. At the moment it is better to continue with the evidence underlying such conclusions. The literature of librarianship establishes beyond doubt its long-standing concern

*The implications are obvious here for the role library schools must assume, and the fundamental curriculum changes which must occur.

with professionalization. Let us accept this generalization, but re-define the question in the context of the essential nature of the field, the values of its members, and the setting in which their work is done. Otherwise, we face the danger of considering professionalization in a vacuum.

Having considered certain attitudes of librarians, their pervasive service orientation, some aspects of their career commitment, and the kinds of values they hope to realize through their work, let us now turn to other related evidence regarding professionalism.

In order to provide an overall view of our respondents' status regarding "professionalism" we built a scale, comprised of five values often identified with this variable. Table 4-8 provides the distribution for librarians, controlled for age, region, and service area. (See Table 4-8 next page).

Looking across the table at the "high" level, it is immediately apparent that cataloguing and acquisitions have the largest proportion of professionally oriented librarians. Within these two settings, public librarians have a significantly higher proportion than those in university or special milieux. Administrators in public libraries have the smallest proportion, followed by those in circulation in special libraries.

These data have implications for the accommodation potential of the field. We saw earlier that administrators have the decisive role in carrying out change. Yet, we find here that administrators rank lowest on professionalism, some of whose values are directly related to the will and capacity for innovation.

Regarding regional differences, our analysis of the "high" category reveals the following distribution:

Table 4-9 Regional distribution of professionalism, by type of activity

	<u>Proportion ranking "high"</u>			
	<u>Acquisitions</u>	<u>Administration</u>	<u>Cataloguing</u>	<u>Reference</u>
Atlanta	12%	13%	8%	7%
Boston	36	20	28	22
San Francisco	22	30	27	25
Toronto	30	37	36	46
	(77)	(56)	(110)	(68)

Here some dramatic variations appear. Toronto enjoys an impressive advantage in three of the four services, while Boston has the largest proportion of professionally oriented staff in the area of acquisitions. Atlanta ranks extremely low in all categories, for reasons which may become clearer when we look in more detail at job satisfaction and related values.

Professionalization is also closely related to the question of change in the sense that change usually requires control of both a given

Table 4-8 Professionalism among librarians, by type of library and service area

Scale*	Acquisitions			Administration			Cataloguing			Reference		
	Pub. %	Univ. %	Spec. %	Pub. %	Univ. %	Spec. %	Pub. %	Univ. %	Spec. %	Pub. %	Univ. %	Spec. %
High	64	53	49	39	48	50	79	56	62	51	49	44
Medium	33	40	47	52	48	40	17	40	24	40	45	50
Low	13	8	4	9	4	10	4	4	15	9	6	6
	(25)	(78)	(23)	(44)	(50)	(30)	(28)	(120)	(34)	(57)	(49)	(34)

*This scale is made up of five items, as indicated in Appendix A.

sector of knowledge and those certified to practice it. The older professions are an odd admixture of individualism and strong collective sentiments. Both the personal internalization of norms of performance and strong collegial ties seem to be required. Corollaries of these values include a desire for autonomy in work, which is to be evaluated only by one's peers, and a strong career or task commitment. We have seen that commitment is a somewhat precarious value among librarians and that, while collegial sentiments may be present, they are not strong enough to overcome the control of the librarian at work by the bureaucratic hierarchy. In this general context, the desire of librarians for autonomy has direct implications for professionalization and the capacity for change. By "autonomy" we refer to the desire for independence in the job setting, for self-realization through one's work, and for the chance to use one's initiative.

A single item which aims directly at these values asks, "How important is it to you in your work to have freedom to carry out your own ideas: to have a chance for originality and initiative?" The following table presents the responses:

Table 4-10 Desire for autonomy in work among librarians

<u>Importance</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Utmost	40%	25%
Considerable	55	59
Little	4	14
No opinion	1	2
	(95)	(296)

Clearly, the great majority of librarians express a desire to work independently and use their own initiative in the work-place. While a significantly higher proportion of males are found at the "utmost" level, certainly both groups seem to share this commitment strongly. Nevertheless, in the face of the marginal career commitment seen earlier, one wonders how deep-seated this value is.

It seems important to be aware, in the most applied sense, of these kinds of differentiations, since we are dealing with the potential agents of change and professionalization in the field. We noted earlier, for example, that class status seemed an important determinant of desire for autonomy. Here, we see that there is indeed a positive relation. Again, the well established fact that women tend to be somewhat less concerned with autonomy at work is evident. The natural tendency to temper one's career claims with experience may also be at work.

Certainly, in view of the strong desire for autonomy indicated in Table 4-11, it seems useful to determine the extent to which librarians feel they are achieving a satisfactory degree of self-realization through their work role. This has been done by preparing a "self-actualization" scale, comprised of five items dealing with such questions as the extent to which respondents find their work challenging and the opportunity it provides to develop their skills and prepare for a better job. The range of values appears below. (See Table 4-11 on next page).

Table 4-11 "Self-actualization" among librarians, by service area and type of library*

	Acquisitions			Administration			Cataloguing			Reference		
	Pub. %	Univ. %	Spec. %	Pub. %	Univ. %	Spec. %	Pub. %	Univ. %	Spec. %	Pub. %	Univ. %	Spec. %
High	13	9	17	23	30	20	4	4	6	4	20	9
Medium	21	23	28	32	46	33	25	24	32	26	27	35
high	26	27	44	16	18	33	18	30	27	18	25	35
Medium	13	21	22	7	2	3	7	24	15	18	20	15
low	28	21	17	23	4	10	46	18	21	35	8	6
Low	(39)	(78)	(23)	(44)	(50)	(30)	(28)	(120)	(34)	(47)	(49)	(34)

* See Appendix A for the items making up this scale

Here, with a few notable exceptions, we find substantial evidence that feelings of self-realization through their work roles are generally marginal among librarians, and especially among men and women in cataloguing and reference. The most extreme case is found among librarians in cataloguing, where regardless of the type of library setting, only about 5 percent rank "high" in self-actualization. The most deviant case is also found in cataloguing, in public libraries where fully 46 percent rank themselves "low." Considerable disenchantment is also found among those doing reference work in public libraries. That the reference librarian's role is not always a happy one is also indicated by the low proportion (9 percent) of them in special libraries who find their work maximally challenging and promising in terms of career advancement. Further analysis indicates that fully 95 percent of those reference librarians in public libraries who rank "low" (i.e., 35 percent) on self-actualization are women in the Toronto area, ranging across all age groups.

The highest ranking is found among those in administration in university libraries, almost one-third of whom rank "high" on this variable. A closer look at this group indicates that the largest proportion (40 percent) are in the Boston area, followed by San Francisco, Toronto, and Atlanta. However, the sub-sample here is quite small (N=15), so it seems best to combine the "medium high" with the "high" category giving us an N of 38. This changes the distribution somewhat: Boston remains first with 39 percent, while Toronto displaces San Francisco, 32 percent v. 24.

We turn next to the question of professionalism. A fundamental attribute of professionalism, mentioned earlier, is a strong sense of task commitment. In effect, personal gratification in work is less concerned with subjective values such as the appreciation of the client for the service he has received or pleasant personal relations with him than with an internalized pride in having done one's work well. The salience of this orientation is tapped in Table 4-12 by a scale comprising three items.

Table 4-12 Task-orientation among librarians*

High	50%
Medium	24
Low	25

(384)

*The scale items are: "Introducing more modern methods;" "Being in a position to make a contribution to knowledge;" "Having a chance to build a new programme or collection."

This table indicates that task-orientation is "high" i.e., either "indispensable" or "extremely important," among half of our respondents. On the other hand, one-quarter rank low, which seems dysfunctional for the development of a strong collective professional orientation in the field. In general, however, we have here a fairly positive valence toward professionalization and, putatively, the conditions which foster change.

Reference-group theory has proved useful in isolating certain role types in organizations. The concept of "locals" and "cosmopolitans" has been developed to characterize two discrete role types.¹⁵ "Locals" are those members of organizations whose reference orientation is essentially "bureaucratic," in that it is directed toward the organization in which one works, as contrasted to one's task or profession. This type has been found to be more loyal, more rule-oriented, less research-oriented and less mobile than his "cosmopolitan" opposite. In the immediate context the important point is that "locals" tend to reflect bureaucratic norms whereas "cosmopolitans" tend to symbolize professional values. Some insight into the orientations of librarians is provided by an item measuring one of these dimensions, i.e., the focus of an individual's loyalty.

Table 4-13 "A librarian's loyalties should be with the organization employing him rather than with his particular service."

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Agree	27%	37%
Undecided	21	21
Disagree	52	43
	(82)	(253)

It is clear from these data that only about one-third of our respondents are "locals," in the terms set down above. If anything, the data suggest a restrained preference for cosmopolitan values, as measured by this single indicator. The rather significant proportion of "undecideds" suggests that the item might have been puzzling to some, but it also indicates considerable ambivalence about the cosmopolitan role. Here again, it seemed worth asking about the distribution of this value, especially among men, who often play administrative roles and who have been found elsewhere to move from one job to another in order to advance their careers.¹⁶ As expected, men prove to be less likely to agree than women. Regarding differences between those in administrative roles and their technical service co-workers, we find the expected difference: only 11 percent of the administrators (N=135) agree, compared with 26 percent of those in other roles (N=252).

A second relevant item concerns the source of the librarian's stimulation in his work role. Here again, the local-cosmopolitan dichotomy is useful. It will be recalled that the cosmopolitan type has an "external," disciplinary orientation, compared with the "internal," organizational focus of a local. The following item measures this dimension:

Table 4-14 "From which three sources do you obtain the greater part of your intellectual and professional stimulation?"

	<u>First choice</u>	<u>Second choice</u>	<u>Third choice</u>
Colleagues in library	<u>32%</u>	<u>20%</u>	<u>25%</u>
Professional library books and journals	20	30	24
Professions outside the library field	13	22	22
Immediate supervisor	12	14	11
Director of the library	7	8	7
Clients	6	-	-
Division head	5	3	5
Others	5	4	4
	(370)	(294)	(255)

Here the preferred orientation is toward the "local" end of the continuum, i.e., toward immediate colleagues. A true cosmopolitan, one suspects, would have made "professional books or journals" in the library field his first choice. This choice, it should be added, would also reflect an orientation toward which leaders in the field tend to gravitate.¹⁷ Here again, librarians compare rather closely with social workers, who when asked the same question responded as follows: 71 percent (compared with the "first choices" of 62 percent of our sample) chose sources inside the organization.¹⁸ One consequence, found in both settings, is that criticism of the organization and the occupation is likely to be muted by this "local" orientation. On the other hand, those aspects of library organization, committee work and community service, which are necessary elements in a successful programme, would benefit from this home-guard role set.

Participation and the reasons for it in library meetings provide another useful index of professionalism, which is in turn closely identified with cosmopolitanism. It is, one supposes, generally true that on the whole those who attend such meetings are probably somewhat more committed to their field than those who do not. The critical point, of course, is why one attends, as shown in the next table. Administrators are separated for comparative purposes.

Table 4-15 Participation in library meetings and the main reason why

<u>Incentive</u>	<u>Librarians</u>	<u>Administrators</u>
"To learn more about my service"	37%	50%
"To make new contacts"	26	26
"To see old friends"	5	7
"To please my director"	1	-
"To find a job"	.5	2
"I rarely attend such meetings"	31	15
78	(247)	(135)

Here we find a professional incentive ranking first, followed not very closely by a rather mixed personal and career motive. It is not surprising that administrators include a significantly higher proportion who attend such meetings, given their somewhat greater cosmopolitan career orientation. The overall rate of participation seems quite high, since only about one-quarter of all librarians "rarely attend." In some associations attendance by one-quarter of the membership is regarded as fulsome. Comparison with a similar occupational group, high school teachers (N=803) reveals a similar incentive for associational activities. Although the item used was not identical, since it asked why respondents belonged to their association rather than why they attended it, it is interesting that almost the same proportion, 39 v. 37 percent, indicated that the primary reason was "to be exposed to professional literature and ideas."¹⁹

One facet of these findings seems atypical. While I know of no research findings, in many academic fields, regional and annual meetings have a placement function; indeed, they are commonly referred to as "slavemarkets." Among librarians, however, we find that only about one percent include this incentive. Perhaps those in the field will be able to explain this rather surprising finding.

Clericals, by the way, attend meetings for the same reasons as their co-workers. This underscores a fact that has appeared again and again: the occupational values of the two groups are often very similar. This is particularly apparent in their shared preference rankings for many occupational values. When differences occur, they are usually found within a given value. We did not inquire into the reasons why, since this isomorphism was unanticipated, but one suspects that some rather effective career socialization is going on, including that at work, in which many clericals may accept librarians as appropriate role models. Since turnover is heavy among clericals, who are often young wives or students doing part-time work (35 percent of our clerical sample is in the 15-24 age category and 50 percent is under 29), this confluence of values seems all the more striking.

Regarding the occupational values of librarians as these relate to professionalism, it is clear from these data that the situation is ambiguous. In such vital matters as career choice, job commitment, and local-cosmopolitanism, most members of our sample exhibit values that seem more characteristic of bureaucratic, semi-professional occupations than of those usually regarded as professional. Yet, in terms of desire for autonomy at work, participation in annual meetings, and to a somewhat lesser extent, task-orientation, most of them express values often identified with professional types of work. On balance, and especially when the going bureaucratic organization of tasks and hierarchical patterns of decision-making in libraries are considered, both the aspirations for and the reality of professionalization seem rather precarious. Many librarians, like other "service" occupations, including university professors, are caught in the modern dilemma whereby professionally-oriented individuals must often spend their work lives in a bureaucratic milieu.²⁰

being achieved. One obvious measure is the extent of job satisfaction among our respondents. If the disparity between their expectations and their experience is substantial, it should be manifested in several ways, including straight responses to typical job satisfaction items and disenchantment with certain conditions of library work.

We begin with a classical test of job satisfaction, the use of an item positing an hypothetical situation which permits the respondent, in effect, to make a new career choice. It will be recalled that two-thirds of the librarian sample indicated (Tables 4-7 and 4-8) that they would not choose the same career again.

A more valid test of job satisfaction is provided by a scale composed of five items covering various facets of library work. The data are presented separately for service area and type of library. (See Table 4-16 next page).

The generalization here is that librarians, regardless of service, experience only a "middling" to "low" degree of satisfaction with their work. Across the board, with only one exception (administrators in public settings, the proportions at the "low" end of the scale far exceed those at the "high" end. Some significant variations do occur: once again, those in cataloguing tend to be relatively less satisfied than those in other services. Looking, for example, at only the "high" and "medium high" categories, one finds that cataloguing has by far the smallest proportion of satisfied librarians, i.e., only 8 percent, compared with the next closest service, reference, which has a total of 34 percent in these two categories. Still the largest single proportion of librarians ranking themselves "low" is found in acquisitions in university libraries. Almost half of this group is in the Boston area, with San Francisco and Toronto sharing the remainder just about equally.

The extent to which librarians are atypical in this regard is suggested by Table 4-17, which presents comparative job satisfaction rates from a national survey of various occupational categories. In this context, it is clear that librarians rank closer to clerical, sales, and skilled worker occupations than to professional and technical workers with whom they compare more closely in terms of education and social class. The data indicate that ego (intrinsic) gratifications are the major quality in determining job satisfaction. This is why some "service" occupations, with their intense personal rewards, tend to have highly satisfied members. It will be recalled that the chance to serve the public (i.e., "helping clients") through one's work role was the job value ranked second by most librarians. This being so, one would expect them to have a higher level of job satisfaction than found here.

At the same time, librarians also differ from some similar occupations. Harmon Zeigler, for example, found that 45 percent of a sample of over 800 high-school teachers would choose their career again.²¹ An interesting fact, which may help explain the total rate of satisfaction found among our respondents, is that women teachers had a much higher rate of job satisfaction than men, 55 percent against only 33. When we check our data for a comparison, (using the same single item) we also find a difference, but in the other direction! Whereas 33 percent of

Table 4-16 Job satisfaction among librarians*

	<u>Acquisitions</u>			<u>Administration</u>			<u>Cataloguing</u>			<u>Reference</u>		
	<u>Pub.</u> <u>%</u>	<u>Univ.</u> <u>%</u>	<u>Spec.</u> <u>%</u>									
High	5	1		7	6	-	-	-	-	5	2	6
Medium	13	3	4	14	2	13	4	4	-	11	4	6
high	36	24	30	41	36	20	46	29	21	46	35	38
Medium	28	27	39	30	24	30	21	30	42	25	25	15
low	18	45	26	9	32	37	29	37	36	14	35	35
Low	(39)	(78)	(23)	(23)	(50)	(30)	(28)	(120)	(33)	(57)	(49)	(34)

*This scale is comprised of five items. See Appendix A.

women librarians would choose library work again, 38 percent of men feel the same.²²

Some of the reasons for this marginal rate of job satisfaction were presented earlier, mainly that librarians had either developed new occupational interests (39 percent) found the work too clerical and mechanical (27 percent), the prestige too low (11 percent), or the job role too isolated (8 percent)* We now turn to some other possible reasons for disenchantment with the library career. Although the majority of individuals at work may not share this value, it seems that the more ambitious and productive members of many occupations tend to prefer that their performance be evaluated and that rewards and sanctions be distributed accordingly. Such a point of view is usually thought to be most characteristic of the professions, which are more "individualized" insofar as standards, income, prestige, and autonomy-at-work are concerned. In sociological terms, "universalistic" (objective) standards of recruitment and promotion are governing, and differential rewards are patently legitimated. Highly collectivized occupations, on the contrary, tend to prefer a more "egalitarian" or "particularistic" system of rewards. The mild cynicism with which school-teachers regard merit increases is germane. A related preference which characterizes "individualized" occupations is the expectation that a promotion ladder is available to those who perform satisfactorily. Our survey includes items which measure these two important occupational conditions. We turn first to performance standards.

Table 4-18 "Some observers believe libraries do not have explicit standards for measuring the productivity and effectiveness of staff. How do you feel about this?"

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Strongly agree	26%	18%
Agree	53	61
Disagree	18	20
Strongly disagree	3	1
	(95)	(287)

Since fully 80 percent of the sample "agrees" with the generalization, we may conclude that a lack of patent standards is one of the underlying causes of discontent. On the other hand, it is of course possible that librarians may actually approve of this situation. We will try to clarify this ambiguity in a moment.

Turning to the second variable which may explain part of the marginal satisfaction exhibited by librarians, we find the following distribution:

*"Others" account for the remaining 15 percent.

Table 4-17 Job satisfaction as related to occupational status*

	Professionals, Technicians	Managers, Proprietors	Clerical Workers	Sales Workers	Skilled Workers	Semiskilled Workers	Unskilled Workers
Very satisfied	42%	38%	22%	24%	22%	27%	13%
Satisfied	41	42	39	44	54	48	52
Neutral	1	6	9	5	6	9	6
Ambivalent	1	6	13	9	10	9	13
Dissatisfied	3	6	17	16	7	6	16
Not ascertained	3	2	--	2	1	1	--
Total	(119)	(127)	(46)	(55)	(202)	(152)	(84)
<u>Sources of Satisfaction</u>							
Mention only ego satisfactions	80%	68%	39%	60%	54%	40%	29%
Mention both ego and extrinsic satisfactions	16	20	35	29	28	31	26
Mention only extrinsic satisfactions	2	9	24	7	14	24	29
Mention no reasons for liking job	--	--	2	2	2	3	8
Not ascertained	2	3	--	2	2	2	8
Total	(119)	(127)	(46)	(55)	(202)	(152)	(84)

*Adapted from G. Gurin, et.al., America Views Her Mental Health (New York: Basic Books, 1960) pp. 159 and 163

Table 4-19 "A common judgment about library work is that no career ladder exists which enables one if he works hard and well, to move up to more rewarding positions. How do you feel about this judgment?"

	<u>Administrators</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Agree strongly	39%	16%	9%
Agree	49	29	30
Undecided	8	12	16
Disagree	5	35	41
Disagree strongly	--	9	3
	(134)	(94)	(286)

Here, rather surprisingly, we find that those in administrative roles, which often provide the major avenue of mobility in bureaucratic settings, are far more critical regarding advancement opportunities than librarians in technical services. Among the latter, although the difference is not large, men are likely to be more critical than women. The fairly common practice in librarianship of not promoting from within for the top position of director is no doubt at work here, as is the much more common tendency to exclude women from higher administrative positions. This condition, however, is either widely tolerated or not generally perceived as highly discriminatory by women librarians, since the largest proportion of them "disagree" or are "undecided" with the generalization. Perhaps the proposition, mentioned earlier, that career mobility is less salient for women than for men is reflected in this distribution.

We have another bit of evidence that enables us to test the proposition that librarians have a "universalistic" perception of the bases of career mobility. Our respondents were asked to respond to the following generalization:

Table 4-20 "Which two qualities do you think really get a young person ahead the fastest today?"

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Brains	28%	41%
Pleasing personality	25	21
Being a good politician	24	19
Knowing the right people	17	15
Good luck	4	2
Hard work	2	3
	(93)	(290)

The main drift of the evidence strongly supports the conclusion that librarians have very mixed values concerning the bases of mobility in their craft. There is, indeed, a dominant opinion among women that "brains," surely a universalistic criterion, are the major element in success. Men, too, rank "brains" at the top, but by a very narrow margin over a "pleasing personality." From this point onward, however, the

choices seem to reflect a rather cynical view, symbolized by the unhappy conclusion that "hard work" is the least relevant factor in career mobility.

One other item bears upon this question, regarding the criteria which librarians would choose "if they were determining promotions." Table 4-21 presents the distribution.

Table 4-21 Preferred promotional criteria of librarians

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Administrators</u>
Technical competence	67%	55%	28%
Interpersonal skill	21	24	52
Combination of 1) and 2)	9	17	16
Seniority	2	1	2
"Connections"	--	--	--
Competing offers	1	3	3
	(91)	(285)	(134)

These data strongly indicate that, ideally, most librarians prefer universalistic criteria of promotion, but that their work experience has convinced most of them that such are not the going currency. Note, for example, that whereas "knowing the right people" and "being a good politician" (i.e., "connections") received a combined total of 37 percent of the attributions in Table 4-20, they received none in the present distribution. That women are somewhat more "personal," i.e., less universalistic, in their work orientation is suggested by the significantly lower score they assign to technical expertise. At the same time, it is noteworthy that administrators place the least emphasis upon technical competence (28 percent) and the most upon interpersonal skill (52 percent). This no doubt reflects their own administrative experience, whereby one tends to use his technical skill less as he moves upward in the bureaucratic hierarchy.

It seems both useful and proper to conclude this survey of career ambivalence with a prescription for improvement. Perhaps we can do no better than present the recommendations proposed by the group itself:

Table 4-22 "In your opinion, which of the following would do the most to improve the quality and prestige of librarianship?"

	<u>Librarians</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
"Increase salaries"	40%	30%
"Improve library schools"	25	30
"Attract better recruits"	20	24
"Clearer distinction between prof. and clerical work"	11	11
"Increase education quals. for librarians"	4	4
	(92)	(289)

That economic incentives are regarded as decisive is clear, although once again women are less sanguine about their efficacy. It is interesting that administrators (44 percent) share the belief that higher salaries are essential for improvement of the field. A wise appreciation of the task and obligation facing library education is also apparent in the high ranking of this value. On the other hand, the relatively low emphasis upon the nature of library work and distinctions among those who practice it is probably unfortunate, in the context of professionalization.

This survey of the occupational values of librarians provides us several generalizations about the field, subject to any limitations of our sample, which may be unrepresentative in some cases. A basic finding is that librarians have a typical "service" orientation to their work role. Self-realization through their work is ranked first among preferred job values, but the remaining choices deal with such intrinsic values as "helping people," "contributing to knowledge," "building a new collection," and "introducing new methods." "Extrinsic" gratifications such as prestige and income are much less salient. In all these contexts, even though overall rankings are similar, there are some sex differences. Women, generally, have a higher valence toward intrinsic rewards, with a lesser tropism toward such "hard" values as prestige and income.

Job commitment is found to be generally marginal, with family and leisure preceding or matching career satisfactions, except among male librarians for whom career was a second priority. Incentives for entering the field are mixed, with the largest proportion (one-third) "just drifting into the field." This negative incentive, however, is followed rather closely by an affection for books and an appreciation of librarianship as a significant field.

The results of such perceptions and motivations are as expected: some two-thirds of our librarian sample, plus 57 percent of the clerical group would not choose the same career again. The two main reasons given by librarians are "interest in a new field" (38 percent) and "work too clerical and mechanical" (25 percent).

Attitudes and value preferences of librarians toward professionalization are found to be rather high, as measured by a "professionalism scale." Variations occur among types of service, with those in cataloguing and acquisitions in public libraries ranking highest (79 and 64 percent respectively) on this dimension. On the other hand, administrators in public libraries are found to have the smallest proportion of respondents ranking "high" (39 percent). Some regional differences appear: across the various technical areas, Toronto librarians score highest (37 percent) with those in reference (46 percent) significantly higher than the other services and, surprisingly, almost twice as high as those in the same service in other areas. Boston and San Francisco rank next, with averages of 27 and 26 percent respectively.

That professionalism is a fairly salient variable is also seen in the fact that about half of the librarians exhibit a "cosmopolitan"

orientation toward their work and enjoy attending meetings and professional journals and books as an important, although not their first source of intellectual and craft stimulation.

When we turn to "self-actualization" through work, the high rankings found in professionalism decline sharply, especially among those in cataloguing and reference in public libraries and university libraries, where only 4 percent of respondents rank "high." Administrators, on the other hand, rank highest on this dimension by a significant margin, and particularly in University settings.

This marginal career position is documented further by the librarians' rankings of a "job satisfaction" scale. The largest proportion of the sample falls in the middle to low portion of the scale. Once again, those in cataloguing and acquisitions, regardless of type of library, tend to rank lowest, along with (somewhat surprisingly in view of their high position on "self-actualization") administrators in special libraries. Compared with a national cross-section of occupations, this library sample does not rank as high as those in related fields.

Specific reasons for this condition include 1) the lack of patent objective criteria for evaluating performance, 2) the felt absence of a career ladder in the field, and 3) some tension between their ideal bases of promotion and going norms. Some variations appear with administrators, for example, placing somewhat more weight upon interpersonal skills and less on technical competence, compared with those in technical service roles.

From their feeling that the public often fails to grant them adequate prestige, and occasional discontents with certain specific aspects of their work such as close supervision and lack of objective means of evaluating their work, it is clear that the vast majority of librarians are somewhat less than satisfied with their work and workplace. This condition, however, has some functional implications for change and professionalization in the sense that dissatisfied occupations are probably more likely to possess and displace the energy required to achieve and maintain the conditions which historically have characterized the older professions. It will be recalled that Everett Hagen's central formulation about the origins of change held that innovators come from strata which have suffered status and prestige deprivation. The present ferment and ambivalence revealed in this chapter may provide the energy and discipline required for the acceptance of innovations in the field. In this context, pervasive discontent may be a more useful condition than a high level of satisfaction.

Footnotes-Chapter 4

1. As Kaspar Naegele and Elaine Stolar conclude, "it seems to be the exception rather than the rule when orders, suggestions, or complaints do not follow authorized channels," in M. Kroll (ed.), Libraries and Librarians of the Pacific Northwest (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1960) p. 62.
2. "Income and Prestige," 85, Library Journal, (1960) p. 2889.
3. Op. cit., p. 117. The strength of the "helping" orientation is also documented by Perry Morrison, who found "service to people" ranked at the top of a list of job satisfactions by 50 percent of 668 university librarians in management and other library roles. "Working with books" and "building collections" was a poor second, at 24 percent. The Career of the Academic Librarian (Chicago: American Library Association, 1969), p. 67.
4. E. C. Hughes, H. M. Hughes, and I. Deutscher, Twenty Thousand Nurses Tell Their Story (Philadelphia, 1958) p. 214.
5. N. Cohen, "Social Work as a Profession," Social Work Yearbook, 1957, p. 559.
6. Dan Fortie, "Control and Autonomy in Elementary School Teaching," in Etzioni, op. cit., p. 32.
7. "Women and Bureaucracy in the Semi-Professions," op. cit., p. 235.
8. Naegele and Stolar, op. cit., p. 109.
9. Alice Bryan, The Public Librarian (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), p. 128.
10. Simpson and Simpson, op. cit., p. 202; Ralph Parker, "Ports of Entry into Librarianship," in Funnis and Winger, Seven Questions about the Profession of Librarianship, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 50.
11. "ACRL Report to Council, 1968/69," 9, College and Research Libraries (October, 1969), p. 317. An interesting dissent from a Canadian librarian against what seems to be a general thrust toward legislative measures to achieve "professionalization" makes a similar point, "To express it perhaps somewhat unfairly, therefore, what 'professionalism' seems to mean for the Institute of Professional Librarians of Ontario is anti-unionism, protectionism, and self-promotion. . . ." Gail Wilson, "Professionalism," 9, IPLO Newsletter, no. 3, 1968, p. 37.
12. "The Librarians' Association at the University of California" ALA Bulletin (March 1969), p. 364. At the same time it should be noted that some librarians in the California University system have taken the union route, by joining the American Federation of Teachers.
13. Some Factors Related to the Professional Development of Librarians (Baltimore: Scarecrow Press, 1970).

14. See, for example, William Goode, "The Librarian: From Occupation to Profession?" Library Quarterly (1961), pp. 306-20; and "Community Within a Community: the Professions" 22, American Sociological Review (April 1957), pp. 194-200.

15. Robert Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (New York: Free Press, 1963), Alvin Gouldner, "Cosmopolitans and Locals: Toward an Analysis of Latent Social Roles," Administrative Science Quarterly (December 1957), pp. 281-306.

16. Morrison, op. cit., pp. 56-59.

17. Morrison, for example, shows that organizational membership, attendance at meetings, service on committees and office-holding occur in the following proportions among his sample of university librarians:

<u>Major</u> <u>executives</u> (230) 74%	<u>Minor</u> <u>executives</u> (228) 59%	<u>Others</u> <u>non-executives</u> (238) 42%
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18. Scott, "Professional Employees in a Bureaucratic Structure," op. cit., p. 95.

19. Zeigler, The Political World of the High School Teacher, (Eugene: University of Oregon, 1966).

20. For resulting strains, see Victor Thompson, Modern Organizations (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1962).

21. Zeigler, op. cit., p. 5.

22. It is worth noting that earlier research in librarianship has found a much lower rate of dissatisfaction. Stone, for example, found only 16 percent in a study of a national random sample (N=138) while Morrison in a study of library directors (N=600) found only 13 percent. The explanation for the differences may lie in the type of item used to measure satisfaction, plus the fact that both studies were done some time ago before the current generalized discontent with practically everything had begun. Stone, Some Factors Related to the Professional Development of Librarians, op. cit., Morrison, The Career of the Academic Librarian, op. cit.

Chapter 5

The Accommodation Potential

We can now turn to the central question of this study, the capacity of those in the library field to make a creative accommodation to the pervasive automation that seems likely to occur in conventional libraries. Our assumption here is that quantitative problems, including cost and the design of appropriate systems, will be solved in the near future, and that a major barrier to accommodation will be socio-psychological. Moreover, even if the vital problem of cost persists, such human and cultural variables will remain decisive. This conclusion is based in part upon the historical course of technological innovation, and also upon contemporary experience where the anxiety and traditionalism of workers have often blunted and sometimes blocked, the thrust of technical change.¹ For such reasons, we shall look closely at the attitudes of librarians toward change, with particular emphasis upon those in administrative roles, who, as we saw earlier, are the major agents of innovation.*

Before turning to the data, it seems useful to restate briefly some of the major theoretical formulations which provide the general framework for our findings. We noted in Chapter One that the concepts and language of social change and economic development seemed especially useful for this purpose. A central concept is "traditionalism," which is generally used to characterize the socio-technic status of poorer (i.e., so-called "developing") nations. Even though the intensity of this condition obviously varies greatly over space and time, even among industrialized Western Societies, it seems fair to assume that most conventional libraries in North America may be called "traditional," in terms of their technical apparatus, authority structure, and the values of their librarians, most of whom were educated in humanities and social science and for whom, one often finds, their subsequent training in librarianship constitutes a rather anomalous technical patina. If this assumption is valid, the concept of traditionalism becomes a useful concept in the present context.

Another useful concept is that of an "entrepreneurial-innovative" personality type and its analytical opposite, an "authoritarian" type. In Everett Hagen's formulation, it will be recalled, innovative types, who tend to appear more frequently in industrialized societies, "feel a personal responsibility to transform the world."² Their perception of the world is often coloured by anxiety and the reduction of this unpleasant burden is sought through intense activity and achievement. Such types, moreover, are often the product of families which have suffered downward mobility, a dislocation which they mediate by a rejection of traditional values and by a search for new social arrangements.

This general formulation of the origin and motives of the innovative type also seems apposite to David McClelland's conception of an entrepreneurial type who is motivated by an "achievement ethic." A high tolerance for moderate uncertainty; a preference for new ways of doing things; considerable ambiguity toward highly structured, bureaucratic procedures; and a great need for a sense of personal achievement

* On the other hand, it seems many of our respondents believe that computer salesmen are the major architects of change in the library field.

through his work--these are characteristic values of this type. The achievement motive is a crucial element in innovation and economic development, as McClelland documents by a great deal of empirical data.³

Many items in the present study attempt to measure librarians along some of these dimensions. In the main, we can only deal generally with them, however, since it is hard to be sure that our indicators (the items used, for example, to define the "acceptance of change" evoke precisely the attitudes and behaviours incorporated in such theoretical constructs as "innovative" types, "anxiety," and "attitudes toward authority." Our findings must therefore be regarded as suggestive, rather than conclusive. Such "slippage" between concepts and the empirical indexes we use to measure them is of course a built-in problem of all research of the kind presented here. And, indeed, such is a general problem of all communication, as the nuances of analytic-philosophy indicate.

Having stated these caveats, we can now turn to the data. It seems useful to determine first the extent to which respondents perceive their organizations as being traditional. Is the behaviour of a substantial proportion of them motivated by the perception that their organizations might require change?

Table 5-1 Distribution of respondents' libraries on traditional-innovative scale*

	<u>Librarians</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Innovative	30%	30%
Intermediate	46	54
Highly traditional	24	17
	(93)	(288)

*This table is based upon responses to the following item: "Most organizations can be placed on a rough scale ranging from traditional to innovative in terms of their response to technological change. How would you rate your own library in this regard?"

Here, it seems, librarians tend to perceive their own setting, presumably as compared with others, as being generally fairly receptive to automation and other current innovations. Only one-fifth regard their organization as "highly traditional." Males are obviously more "critical"* than females but both agree regarding the over-all proportion of "innovative" libraries. As usual we would expect to find some differences among the four metro regions, a subject to which we turn next:

*"Critical" is in quotation marks to suggest that it is an open question as to whether respondents deplore or favour any of the three possible conditions.

Table 5-2 Traditional-innovative scale, by metropolitan region

	<u>Atlanta</u>	<u>Boston</u>	<u>San Francisco</u>	<u>Toronto</u>
Innovative	31%	31%	25%	33%
Intermediate	50	52	51	54
Highly traditional	19	17	24	14
	(49)	(81)	(125)	(126)

A significantly higher proportion of San Francisco respondents perceive their libraries as being traditional, compared with those in other areas. Our intuitive feeling, however, is that the area contains the extremes at both ends of the scale, but that the substantially larger proportion of respondents from its public and university settings tends to obscure the innovative potential of the special libraries in the Bay area. Toronto, on the other hand, ranks highest, by a very small margin, at the "innovative" end of the scale.

Next, it may be useful to determine any differences existing among types of libraries in this regard. Our observations in the field lead us to assume that special libraries would rank significantly higher on perceived innovation than public, with university libraries being least innovative. The data in the next table enable us to check this hypothesis, using our entire sample.

Table 5-3 Traditional-innovative scale, by type of library

	<u>Public</u>	<u>University</u>	<u>Special</u>
Innovative	32%	20%	36%
Intermediate	55	60	52
Highly traditional	13	20	12
	(329)	(494)	(166)

Looking at the "innovative" end of the scale, we do find the expected distribution. Special libraries are indeed most innovative, but the gap between them and public types is not nearly as wide as assumed. University libraries, however, are significantly more traditional than the other two types, for reasons which, we suspect, include the "genteel scholar" self image of some directors mentioned earlier.

The data in the preceding tables are subject to several interpretations, including the possibility that some ego-involvement is at work among those who define their organization as "innovative." Given the current ferment in librarianship, this is probably a highly valued appreciation. Conceivably, too, librarians and clericals may misperceive their own organization, assuming it to be more (or less) innovative than it really is. We tend to discount the latter possibility somewhat, however, since their global ranking of special libraries as most innovative, with public next, and university third, accords nicely with the impressions we received during the study. Since neither they nor we have any absolute standard with which to differentiate the rankings concerning the relative degree of traditionalism-innovativeness of libraries, perhaps we would be well-advised to accept them as a useful, if imprecise, generalization.

Among the variables mentioned earlier as a useful construct in gauging an occupation's capacity for change was the extent to which its members possessed certain attitudes grossly described as "innovative," as opposed to those characterized as "authoritarian." This hypothesis, advanced among others by Gunnar Myrdal and Everett Hagen holds in general that the social structures of poor or "developing" nations tend to produce a substantial proportion of "authoritarian" personality types, whose perceptions of life, time, and change are often innaposite to social and economic innovation.⁴ Such variables would include a patriarchal and/or tribal family structure in which authority tends to be largely in the hands of fathers or elders whose domination tends to inhibit creative experimentation and self-reliance on the part of children. This pattern of socialization tends to produce adults whose high security needs preclude the rise of an entrepreneurial class which might provide leadership in economic development.

In Weberian terms, the primary basis of authority in such regimes is traditional, resting upon conceptions of time and the universe as being essentially changeless. The whole social and intellectual system heavily freighted with the culture of the past, is strongly oriented toward the status quo. In such milieux, a pervasive fatalism, often well-founded, manifests itself as a self-fulfilling prophecy. The vital point is that the barriers to change are essentially cultural and intellectual. As American experience in technical assistance often shows, the physical and mechanical instruments of change can only with great difficulty overcome such deep-seated social and institutional resistances to their successful introduction. There are, indeed, many instances of projects being abandoned once the foreign experts have gone.

In this general context, we turn to certain personal attitudes and behaviours of librarians in an attempt to provide some insight into the occupation's potential for change. Let us begin with their responses to an item which asks which two of a list of statements concerning life and work is, in their judgment, most characteristic of librarians they have known: It is important to set these responses in the context of McClelland's thesis that "interpreneurial," change-oriented types prefer unstructured situations and a moderate degree of uncertainty. Since male and female rankings and frequencies within them are virtually identical, I have combined them.

Table 5-4 Dominant values attributed by librarians to other librarians

First

"It is important to be orderly if one is to be efficient and productive"	44%
--	-----

Second

"Achieving something on one's own is one of the best pleasures we have"	23
---	----

(351)

The "it is important to be orderly" item chosen "first" by 44 percent of the sample, was virtually unchallenged; not only were the remaining "first" responses widely scattered, but the second and largest

single one was endorsed by only 11 percent of the librarians. Regarding the potential for change, this is not a very inspiring preference. Indeed, the item chosen first is a typical bureaucratic, system-oriented perspective, contrasted for example with one "innovative" alternative, selected as a first choice by only 8 percent of the sample, which stated, "Man is able to manipulate and control his environment as he wishes."

The second choice, "achieving something on one's own," is much more positive and attests to the desire to assume responsibility and to act independently, which are critical attributes of a change-oriented individual. This choice, moreover, is followed (with 19 percent) by perhaps the most iconoclastic alternative in the entire set, "to get things done, you have to take risks even if others might disapprove."

Finally, we present variations on this theme according to library type, as shown in the following table, including librarians and clericals:

Table 5-5 Dominant values attributed to other librarians by type of library

	<u>Proportion ranking</u>		
	<u>Public</u>	<u>University</u>	<u>Special</u>
<u>First</u>			
"Important to be orderly"	32%	47%	37%
<u>Second</u>			
"Achieving something on one's own"	21	21	27
	(329)	(506)	(167)

The distribution reinforces our earlier finding that university libraries are the most traditional among our set, and that the potential for accommodation with which we are concerned is most precarious there. Although it is inconsistent with their ranking on the First value, it is not unexpected to find special librarians ranking highest on the Second, "innovatively-oriented" value.

Another value attributed to innovative types is the need for a sense of personal achievement through one's work role. Apparently, this preference co-exists with the desire "to transform the world" which Hagen also found among such types. It is clear from Table 5-5 that this is a widely-held need among our respondents, even though it ranks a rather poor second to the generalized need for order as their first priority. Using another item concerning job satisfactions, which seems to tap a similar need, we can learn something more about the distribution of the "personal achievement" incentive among librarians:

Table 5-6 "Here is a list of satisfactions you may get from your job. Please rank three in order of their importance to you."

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
<u>First</u>		
"Chance to realize own interests through my job"	59%	53%
<u>Second</u>		
"Chance to educate myself through my work"	14	26
<u>Third</u>		
"Earning a living"	10	9
	(88)	(281)

*Columns do not total 100 because only three of seven possible responses (including prestige, long vacations, chance to move geographically, and to get an administrative post) are presented here.

Clearly, the desire for a sense of personal achievement is widely held among librarians as a job value. However, the ingredients upon which this value depends for sustenance seem much more intrinsic than the kinds of motives Hagen and McClelland found to be associated with innovation. The modal needs of librarians, as shown by our earlier data on their ranking of ideal job values (Table 4-1) are more likely to be mediated by highly personal and subjective gratifications than by programmatic achievements which require "executive" motives and skills that librarians as a group (with many exceptions, of course) do not characteristically possess.⁵ As the scale of preferred job values mentioned earlier revealed, the major incentives of librarians are for personally satisfying work (91 percent); meeting people (70 percent); and contributing to knowledge (52 percent). Perhaps the only exception is introducing modern methods, which just over 50 percent ranked as "very important." On the other hand, building a new programme, which comes closest, perhaps to the kind of personal achievement incentive expressed by Hagen and McClelland, is ranked as "extremely important" or "indispensable" by only 32 percent of librarians.

Since they seem to provide an index of the desire to innovate, it may be useful to compare administrators with others in the field on two items in our set of preferred job values. Our expectation is that they would rank somewhat higher on such items as building a programme and introducing modern methods.

Table 5-7 Preferred values by library role

	<u>Administrators</u>		<u>Others</u>	
	<u>New Programme</u>	<u>Modern Methods</u>	<u>New Programme</u>	<u>Modern Methods</u>
Indispensable	18%	20%	10%	17%
Extremely important	37	36	24	29
Very important	27	30	25	31
Fairly important	16	14	24	18
Of little importance	1	1	16	5
	(155)	(156)	(884)	(917)

As expected, a significantly larger proportion of those in administrative roles rank higher on the first of these two values. However, the variation is considerably less on the "introducing modern methods" activity which suggests that administrators may make a distinction between the types of programmes they like to introduce, with possibly less preference for those that entail technical innovations.

Hagen's formulations include the assumptions that innovative types carry fairly heavy anxiety loadings and that such types often experience fairly severe status deprivations, across generational lines. Although these are highly speculative matters, they seem to merit analysis here. Anxiety is not perceived as necessarily dysfunctional, which is consistent with psychological research indicating that anxiety occurs along a continuum, ranging from paralyzing fear, which is dysfunctional by definition, to relatively mild quantities which can enhance adaptation and creativity by inducing an intellectual and emotional set which facilitates learning. Anxiety is germane in the related context of authority, which in turn probably inhibits innovation by maximizing conformity to established norms. As Hagen and others have suggested, innovative values seem to be associated with a rejection of conventional patterns of behaviour, which tends to occur as a result of some personal shock, such as the status loss and deprivation mentioned earlier.

Regarding this latter hypothesis, it is also fascinating to speculate about the effects of the fact that the majority of women in the library field have come from upper-middle class statuses, and have moved into an occupational field in which occupational status is comparatively precarious and prestige is experienced as marginal. As noted earlier, 72 percent of female librarians agreed with the proposition that those "working in libraries do not receive all the respect they deserve from the public." Following Hagen, we assume that this condition of felt deprivation would provide a fruitful source of innovative types, but our data do not permit us to test the hypothesis.

We look next at the data on anxiety, using a straight-forward indicator which, hopefully, isolates this attribute. It is important here to note that the so-called "objective reality" of the respondent's state of anxiety is not of critical concern. As W. I. Thomas noted long ago, "If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences."

Table 5-8 "How would you say you generally react to everyday problems at work and elsewhere?"

	<u>Librarians</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
"They don't bother me"	17%	17%
"They bother me a little"	54	46
"I worry about them"	23	29
"I probably worry more than others do"	6	8
	(95)	(295)

Here we find a substantial minority of putatively anxious respondents who can provide a base line for comparative analysis to determine what, if any, association exists between anxiety and innovativeness. Unfortunately, our data are not presently in a form to pursue this interesting question, although we hope to do so later.

It seems useful to consider next the general awareness of and reaction to automation existing among librarians and the clerical co-workers. Certainly, an active awareness of the promise and the problem of new methods of handling information in its many forms is one prerequisite of an intelligent accommodation. One index of awareness is the extent to which automation is a topic of discussion in the respondent's own work group. When asked about the saliency of technical change to their own work group, 61 percent of librarians and 72 percent of clericals say they discuss them only "rarely" or "sometimes." Only 9 percent of librarians report this as a "major topic."

Perhaps more important is our respondents' judgment about the reaction among their own work groups to such changes when they are discussed. Here we find evidence that automation will be positively received by about 40 percent of those in the field. Table 5-9 presents the distribution.

Table 5-9 "When technological changes are discussed, the major reaction among my own work group is"

	<u>Librarians</u>	<u>Clericals</u>
A certain anxiety	7%	9%
A certain resistance	8	9
A feeling "It can't happen here"	5	6
A recognition that change is inevitable	41	38
A sense of pleased anticipation	38	38
	(375)	(628)

Clearly by this index, a substantial proportion of librarians and clericals have a positive attitude toward the emerging innovations which will probably change their occupation greatly. Moreover, while those who believe that "change is inevitable" may include some reluctant humanists, when they are included with the clearly positive "sense of anticipation" group, we find almost 80 percent of the entire sample on the "positive" side of the continuum. Once again, librarians and clericals share very similar views. An important question is: Where in the

occupation are these positively-oriented types to be found? One would assume that they are concentrated mainly in special and public libraries where as we saw earlier, the most positive view of innovation exists. Table 5-10 indicates that the most positive valence toward change exists among those in special libraries, 43 percent of whom welcome it.

Table 5-10 Work group reactions to potential change, by type of library

	<u>Public</u>	<u>University</u>	<u>Special</u>
A certain anxiety	8%	8%	9%
A certain resistance	8	9	8
A feeling "it can't happen here"	4	7	5
A recognition that change is inevitable	44	38	35
A sense of pleased anticipation	35	38	43
	(333)	(505)	(170)

Responses in Tables 5-9 and 5-10, which seem symptomatic of a fairly positive attitude toward change when change is posed hypothetically, are followed by an item which deals with a behavioural situation, to which it seems valid to attach more weight. It seems useful to present both librarians and clericals here:

Table 5-11 "When changes are introduced in my work group or in the larger organization, my own reaction tends to be"

	<u>Librarians</u>	<u>Clericals</u>
Instinctive resistance	-%	-%
Reluctant acceptance	34	23
A "wait-and-see" attitude	63	69
Positive acceptance	4	7
	(372)	(672)

Here, a striking reversal occurs, which I attribute mainly to the different reactions evoked by hypothetical and experienced situations. Only 4 percent of the librarians accept change positively, while the vast majority assume an ambivalent "wait-and-see" position. This climate of organizational opinion hardly seems conducive to acceptance of the kinds of decisive, if not radical, changes which are clearly upon the field. Here again, clericals share the views of librarians. Since this item is based upon the experience of library staff with change, it seems worth analysing in more detail. When we compare administrators with librarians in technical roles, only a small difference appears, with administrators somewhat more likely (36 percent) than librarians (32 percent) to "reluctantly accept" change. The direction of this distribution, however, is not positive insofar as the potential for change is concerned. A further analysis of types of libraries reveals a similar continuity in which "reluctant acceptance" and "wait-and-see" are major themes.

Our most solid basis for generalizing about the capacity of librarians to adapt positively to change is provided by an "accommodation potential" scale, comprising five items which probe attitudes toward innovation in several contexts. The resulting distribution, controlled for service and type of library is shown in Table 5-12.

Table 5-12 Accommodation potential of librarians

Scale*	Aquisitions		Administration		Cataloguing		Reference					
	Pub. %	Univ. %	Spec. %	Pub. %	Univ. %	Spec. %	Pub. %	Univ. %	Spec. %			
High	28	33	48	25	32	33	21	28	29	11	35	32
Medium	72	67	52	75	68	67	79	69	71	89	65	68
Low	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	3	--	--	--	--
	(39)	(78)	(23)	(44)	(50)	(30)	(28)	(120)	(34)	(57)	(49)	(34)

*This scale is made up of five items, listed in Appendix A.

Here we find a great deal of similarity among services, regardless of type of library, with most respondents ranking in the "middle" and none at the "low" end of the scale. As we have come to expect, those in special libraries have the most positive attitude toward change, and especially in acquisitions. However, in the reference category, librarians in university settings are most positive while those in public libraries rank extremely low (i.e., 11 percent). On the whole, these data permit a fairly optimistic conclusion regarding the future of innovation in special and university libraries, insofar as a receptive staff is a necessary condition. Needless to say, it is not a sufficient condition, since the values of administrators are perhaps the main intra-occupational factor, and their position on this factor is not always inspiring. The prognosis for public libraries, meanwhile, is considerably less sanguine.

It seems useful to look a bit more closely at one other variation of this attribute. Table 5-13 presents the distribution according to region and service area, in terms of the proportion of staff ranking "high" in each category:

Table 5-13 Proportion ranking "high" on accommodation potential by region and service area.*

<u>Service area</u>	<u>Atlanta</u>	<u>Boston</u>	<u>San Francisco</u>	<u>Toronto</u>	
Acquisitions	17%	<u>44%</u>	23%	17%	(48)
Administration	22	<u>38</u>	16	24	(37)
Cataloguing	<u>12</u>	34	28	26	(50)
Reference	15	24	26	35	(34)

*This table of course, unlike most of the others, must be read across, i.e., 44 percent of those in acquisitions who rank "high" on accommodation potential are found in the Boston area.

Significant variations exist, especially regarding acquisitions and administration where a significantly higher proportion of librarians in the Boston area rank "high," compared with the other regions. Toronto enjoys a similar advantage regarding reference services. The low point on the scale is found among those in cataloguing in the Atlanta area. By computing averages we can construct a scale of "metropolitan accommodation potential," with Boston clearly at the top (35 percent), Toronto next (25 percent), followed closely by San Francisco (23 percent), and Atlanta (17 percent). In terms of a positive orientation toward change among service areas, it appears that only in Boston (and, perhaps in Atlanta, although the total proportion of "highs" is not large) can librarianship depend upon those in administrative roles to provide the main leadership in bringing about change. In each of the other regions, moreover, a different service exhibits the most positive valence toward innovation. Although it is not shown here, in terms of type of library we find that the largest proportion of "innovative types" by the criterion used here, is in university settings. Indeed, of a total of 169 men and women in the "high" category, fully 93, 55 percent, work in university settings. Of this group, moreover, 46 percent are in the Boston area. Since university librarians from that area constitute just under 30 percent of the sample, only a slight over-representation,

this remarkable concentration cannot be attributed to a sampling artifact. As a philosopher might say; "Something in the air in Boston accounts for this striking phenomenon!"

An item in our "acceptance of change" scale relates directly to one of the most technical aspects of change, namely systems analysis. In the sense that this indicator provides a stringent test of change-orientation, it seems worth analysing individually. When we combine the responses of both librarians and clericals, the following results appear:

Table 5-14. "In the future, librarians must be well grounded in the techniques of systems analysis."

	<u>Public</u>	<u>University</u>	<u>Special</u>
Agree strongly	16%	20%	26%
Agree	47	50	52
Undecided	30	24	19
Disagree	7	5	4
Disagree strongly	1	1	-
	(324)	(508)	(167)

Here we find an interesting linear progression in which approval increases as we move from public, through university, to special settings. When differences between librarians and clericals are checked, only one significant variation appears, in the proportion of "undecideds," which increases from 17 percent among librarians to 31 percent among clericals. Almost 40 percent of public librarians are either undecided or disagree that an acquaintance with perhaps the essential element in automation is going to be required by librarians in the future. This is a minority view, to be sure, but it seems very large given the wide discussion about automation in libraries today and the fact that this is again an "hypothetical item."

Respondents, however, are much more receptive to another change-related item concerning merging demands upon library education. Here as Table 5-15 shows, an overwhelmingly positive response characterizes fully 90 percent of our sample.

Table 5-15 "Library education needs . . . specialized lib and information specialists"

	<u>Public</u>	<u>University</u>	<u>Special</u>
Strongly agree	35%	42%	57%
Agree	58	49	33
Undecided	5	6	7
Disagree	2	2	2
Strongly disagree	-	1	-
	(337)	(518)	(167)

The disparity revealed in the past two tables is hard to explain. Perhaps many respondents are not aware of the language of computer science, so that the term "systems analysis" in the previous table was not

very meaningful. On the other hand, the term may be understood but may connote a degree of change and automation that seems too extreme for them to accept more fully, whereas the prospect of more information specialists has become generally acceptable.

Another useful indicator of accommodation potential is available in attitudes toward censorship. If Hagen is correct, iconoclasm is highly associated with creativity and innovation. Logically, of course, one who purports to be sympathetic toward innovation must be prepared, to paraphrase Oliver Wendell Holmes, to encourage free competition in the marketplace of ideas. As Adorno and others have shown, this essentially pragmatic ethos is directly inapposite to the authoritarian tendency to prefer conventional ideas and to base one's opinions on traditional authority.⁶ Certainly, very few innovations escape opposition if not ridicule. Most of us are apparently incapable of conceptualizing a new problem in the dramatically new context which permits innovation. When, for example, the British engineer Air Commodore Sir Frank Whittle designed the jet engine, it was widely rejected, apparently because the experts were unable to conceive of so radical a departure in the means of propelling an aircraft.

In some such context, we present the distributions regarding attitudes toward censorship, for the entire sample:

Table 5-16 "Absolutely no censorship of library reading material should be permitted."

	<u>Administrators</u>	<u>Librarians</u>	<u>Clericals</u>
Strongly agree	8%	19%	22%
Agree	14	21	23
Undecided	33	31	40
Disagree	33	22	13
Strongly disagree	12	7	2
	(133)	(252)	(657)

Here we find a dramatic contrast between administrators and librarians in attitudes toward censorship, and by inference, receptivity toward innovation. (Clericals are once again quite similar to librarians). If we take the entire sample, and separate all those in administrative from those in librarian-clerical roles, the same difference appears: only 22 percent of the former (N=150) "agree" compared with fully 43 percent of the librarian-clerical group (N=908). The implications for change, insofar as this item is a valid index, are suggestive. Once again, the administrative component of the occupation, upon which innovation so largely depends, proves to be less oriented toward its introduction.

Some striking differences appear regarding type of setting, with university librarians (N=501) most opposed to censorship, 68 percent; followed by those (N=161) in special libraries, 54 percent; with public librarians last at 47 percent. Interesting regional variations also appear. Not surprisingly, given the sociological dimensions of the Bay Area, San Francisco is most permissive, with 81 percent of its librarians

agreeing, followed by Toronto with 77 percent, Boston, with 72 percent, and Atlanta with 61 percent.

Responses to another single "change" index reinforce the hypothesis that respondents have generally positive views toward change. This item states, "library schools need to emphasize their function of providing research support for the profession." Given the pervasive view that research in the field has been rather limited, and the frequent calls for more research in the journals, the following response seems a good harbinger for the future:

Table 5-17 "Library schools should provide research support . . ."

	<u>Librarians</u>	<u>Clericals</u>
Strongly agree	34%	24%
Agree	51	51
Undecided	11	22
Disagree	4	3
Strongly disagree	-	-
	(387)	(611)

The fact that 85 percent of librarians are convinced that library schools should emphasize their research function suggests a very forward-looking orientation. An interesting aspect of this finding is the significantly different proportion of clericals who "strongly agree" or are "undecided" regarding this item, which is surprising, given the usual continuity between their views and those of librarians.

Implications for professionalization also arise here, in the sense that the control and production of new knowledge in one's field is a vital concern and condition of the traditional professions. Indeed, some semi-professions, such as nursing, have eagerly embraced behavioural science in an attempt to develop generalizations which would set their fields off as a discrete sector of knowledge, with resultant advantages in autonomy and service.⁷

Closely related to orientations toward change is the extent to which one perceives change as a factor in his own experience. In effect, are the responses presented above the result of a direct encounter with automation or are they essentially hypothetical reactions to it? Responses to the following item give us some information on this point. Since we would expect significant variations, the types of libraries are presented separately.

Table 5-18 "How much would you say [automation] has affected your own job?"

	<u>Public</u>	<u>University</u>	<u>Special</u>
A great deal	11%	10%	25%
Quite a bit	14	13	15
Not much	25	23	19
Very little	22	15	21
Not at all	28	38	21
	(356)	(552)	(176)

Fully three-fourths of respondents in public and university milieux indicate that automation has not had very much direct impact on their work. Parenthetically, these data bear out our initial conclusion that automation is restricted to a fairly small proportion of libraries, found mainly in government, large special, and a few university settings. Indeed, when we look at those who have experienced a significant amount of automation, we find them concentrated (40 percent) in the special library area.

This matter of perception regarding the amount of change occurring throughout the library field is worth further analysis. It could be that librarians feel their own library or service is not changing very much, but that this condition is not characteristic of the entire field. The next table (5-19) indicates that such is indeed the case. A substantial majority of librarians believe that far-reaching changes are indeed occurring. Since few of them have been directly affected, they must be assuming that such changes are happening elsewhere. Here, perhaps, we have encountered an occupational (and social) myth, namely that diffusion of innovation is occurring (or occurs) at a more rapid rate than is actually so. If this is true, it suggests that occupational interaction among librarians is rather restricted, since the rate of diffusion usually tends to be a function of interaction among members of a discrete group who, as a result, inspire each other to adopt a given innovation.⁸

Further information on this question is provided in the next table, which asks our entire sample for their judgment concerning the scale and intensity of automation and other innovations in library science.

Table 5-19 Perceptions of the scope and intensity of technological change, by type of library

	<u>Public</u>	<u>University</u>	<u>Special</u>
Change is highly exaggerated	1%	2%	2%
Change hasn't affected my group	24	22	13
Change is here but librarians can easily adapt	23	21	19
Change is here and will require considerable adaption	46	48	60
Change is here and will be disruptive	6	7	6
	(343)	(525)	(175)

In effect, about 75 percent of our sample recognizes that change is here, and the vast majority look upon it positively. While there is a widely-held belief its by-products will include "the need for retraining," only a very small proportion believes that the required accommodation will prove very difficult.

Another important behavioral question follows. When we ask the three types of respondents precisely what their own organization is doing to prepare itself for such extensive changes, the following situation emerges:

Table 5-20 "Which, if any, of the following steps are your directors taking to meet such changes?"

	<u>Public</u>	<u>University</u>	<u>Special</u>
Haven't discussed changes	19%	20%	14%
Have discussed, but regard change as exaggerated	9	7	11
Have had meetings, sent literature around, etc.	30	24	25
Have actively prepared, assigned people, etc.	43	48	50

Here again, we find a very positive condition, indeed almost suspiciously so when set against the earlier finding that three-fourths of our respondents in public and university libraries had not personally experienced innovation in their work-place. In any event, some 75 percent of our respondents maintain their libraries are taking active steps to ease change by assigning individuals to study new procedures; granting leaves for observation of advanced systems elsewhere; and encouraging staff to acquire new skills. It again seems useful to specify more precisely where these positive attitudes tend to be found and, alternatively, where the centers of traditionalism seem to persist. Let us look first at the distributions according to service role.

Table 5-21 Distribution of selected responses to change by service role

	<u>Administration</u>	<u>Technical Services</u>
Haven't discussed changes	8%	14%
Discussed, but regard change as exaggerated	10	8
Had meetings, distributed literature, etc.	20	26
Actively prepared, etc.	62	51
	(132)	(247)

Here, we find a rather hopeful situation, in which a significantly higher proportion (62 v. 51 percent) of those in administrative roles indicate that their own administrative superiors have actively prepared for expected changes in several ways. While their responses may be skewed somewhat by the realization that such behaviour is expected of those in administration, the magnitude of the difference suggests that administrators are providing some leadership in preparing their organizations for the future.

One would expect significant differences among the four regions, especially given earlier data which indicate that the Boston area contains the highest proportion of librarians ranking "high" on the accommodation potential scale. Table 5-22 presents the distribution, for librarians only:

Table 5-22 Preparations for technological change, by region

	<u>Atlanta</u>	<u>Boston</u>	<u>San Francisco</u>	<u>Toronto</u>
Haven't discussed changes	14%	14%	18%	57
Have discussed, but regard change as exaggerated	8	6	10	9
Have had meetings, sent literature around, etc.	28	18	21	29
Have actively prepared, etc.	51	62	51	57
	(51)	(79)	(122)	(127)

Looking only at the last row, which depicts the maximum degree of preparation, we do find Boston ranking highest, but by a rather small margin over Toronto. Boston, meanwhile, is significantly higher than Atlanta and San Francisco. Turning to the other end of the scale, i.e. differences regarding the extent of ignoring automation and related changes, we find a dramatic difference with Toronto substantially less inclined to choose this ancient method of handling a problem. It is significant that when the last two positive levels of response are combined, Toronto ranks first.

CONCLUSIONS

What kind of conclusions are warranted by the evidence in this and earlier chapters regarding the capacity of the library occupation to adapt to the technical revolution now facing it? Obviously, the evidence is highly mixed. Given the technical thrust of North American culture, it is hard to believe that a highly educated group, specializing in the care and feeding of information, can fail to work out a positive accommodation with the new factors impinging upon its field. Much of our data supports this conclusion. Not only do most librarians react positively to the prospect of automation in its several forms, but most of their directors are making specific attempts to prepare them to handle its effects. There is little tendency, moreover, to "wish away" impending changes by various rationalizations, including the view that the degree of innovation occurring and the adaptability of systems concepts and computers to library programme needs are exaggerated. This attitude, however, may be coloured by the fact that most librarians have not yet experienced much innovation directly. There are, moreover, only a few significant differences in these perceptions and preparations among types of libraries or among the four regions included in the survey.

Having said this, however, it is necessary to add a qualifying note. Regarding individual reactions to the actual introduction of changes in their own work-place, as opposed to an hypothetical situation, we find two-thirds of the librarians have a generally ambivalent reaction, ranging from "reluctant acceptance" to a "wait-and-see" posture. Moreover, although librarians and clericals share similar views, only

a tiny proportion indicate an attitude of "positive acceptances."

Insofar as innovation requires an entrepreneurially-oriented body of librarians, and insofar as total organizational climate is a significant factor affecting the diffusion of innovation, there is also some doubt that it will be accepted easily. Not only are most librarians educated as undergraduates in the humanities and social science, which are often unsympathetic to quantification and scientific method, but they seem to have some personality attributes which are inapposite to a felicitous acceptance of change and innovation. Prominent among these are a widespread preference for order in their work situation, reinforced by a pervasive disposition to "wait-and-see" when confronted by new ways of handling information. It should also be noted that on the item concerning the extent of preparation for anticipated changes, administrators were more likely, by a significant margin, to rank their organizations at the highest level, compared with those in technical areas. Some ego-involvement may be at work here. Regarding "accommodation potential," only in Boston did administrators outrank those in other science areas. This orientation has been attributed to "the library executive's inheritance of the quiet gentility image,"⁹ and both observation and research suggest that residues of this image persist in the field, perhaps especially among university librarians. As Richard Farley concludes in a recent study "too many library executives are hostile to the apparatus of scientific management."¹⁰ Our own findings raise other questions about the "accommodation potential" of administrators, who are the primary agents of change within the field. On certain individual items which seem to test attitudes toward change, such as those regarding censorship, they sometimes rank well below their librarian colleagues. Here of course, we are generalizing about all the some 150 administrators in our sample, among whom there are undoubtedly many exceptions to this judgment.

Conflict avoidance, order, and dependency are apparently common needs among librarians, some 80 percent of whom are women.* These "bureaucratic" values, which do not typically inspire strong demands for professional control of one's work milieu, including any new techniques, seem to be aggravated by the uncertain career commitment and the personal, "service" orientation often characteristic of "female" occupations.¹¹

A final and somewhat anomalous characteristic affecting change is the marginal degree of job satisfaction found among our respondents. It will be recalled that fully two-thirds of them indicated that, given another chance, they would not choose the same occupation. Despite its patently negative aspects, in terms of certain theoretical formulations regarding the social and personal characteristics of innovative types, such a condition may actually provide an impetus to change and the disciplined individual effort required to shift traditional perspectives and to retool oneself in the new language and technology of information science and computer operations.

*1960 U. S. Census data show that only 17 percent of the total library work-force of almost 84,000 was male.

On the other hand, discontent is perhaps a slender reed upon which to rest one's hopes for a productive response to the challenge now facing conventional libraries. Substantial change often has to be imposed from outside a given occupation or institution, and some of the values of some of our librarians are, as we have seen, somewhat inapposite to demands now impinging upon their field. In this sense, it would be neither surprising nor unusual if the major thrust for automation and systems concepts would have to wait for a new generation of librarians, trained in schools that have fully incorporated the skills and concepts of a new librarianship into their teaching programmes.

Another alternative is that librarianship may by default allow the emerging "information specialist" groups to determine the conditions of participation in the changing library occupation. Certainly this consequence would be one way of accommodating to the existing situation, but it would probably mean the end of librarianship's aspirations for the independence and prestige that come with professionalization.

Footnotes - Chapter 5

1. Among others, see Robert Merton, Science, Technology and Society in 17th Century England (Bruges: History of Science Monographs, 1938); Bernard Barber, Science and the Social Order (Glencoe: Free Press, 1952); Georges Friedman, The Anatomy of Work (New York: Free Press, 1961); and Emil Durkheim, The Division of Labour in Society, trans. by George Simpson, (New York: Free Press, 1933).
2. On The Theory of Social Change, op. cit.
3. The Achieving Society, op. cit.
4. Asian Drama, op. cit.; On The Theory of Economic Change, op. cit.
5. Morrison, for example, found that even those in administrative roles ranked low on decisiveness, supervisory skill, etc., op. cit. p.87.
6. T. W. Adorno, et. al., The Authoritarian Personality (New York: Harper 1950); For evidence that administrative roles in large bureaucratic organizations are sometimes consistent with authoritarian values, see my The Organizational Society (New York: Vintage, 1965).
7. Fred Katz, "Nurses," in Etzioni, op. cit., pp. 74-75.
8. For quantitative examples of how technological diffusion proceeds, see James Coleman, Introduction to Mathematical Sociology (New York: Free Press, 1964), pp. 41-46; 492-519.
9. Richard Farley, The American Library Executive (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1967), p. 84.
10. Farley, ibid., p. 85.
11. Regarding the "personal" orientation of women in the work situation, Richard Farley concluded in a study of 272 library executives that, "the only difference observed [between male and female executives in their use of management skills] was that women tended to be more personal in their approach to administrative problems." The American Library Executive, p. 84.

Appendix A

Methodology

This research study is essentially a comparative analysis of three types of libraries in four metropolitan areas in North America: Atlanta, Boston, San Francisco, and Toronto. The basic unit of analysis is the individual library, viewed as a case study of a partially autonomous organization charged with a discrete function. Obviously this conceptualization is somewhat artificial since, like all organizations, the library exists as part of a larger social system upon which it depends for its essential resources.* (Parenthetically, an example of the direct relationship between environment and the library occupation is the well-documented fact that job satisfaction tends to be higher among librarians working in large metropolitan centers, compared with those in small and medium-sized communities). We shall be primarily concerned here, however, with the internal organizational aspects of the library and the attitudes of those working in it, including some 1,100 librarians and clericals. Questions of organization, task specialization, patterns of authority relations, job satisfaction and morale, and career expectations are among our central interests.

Another aspect of the research design is that important elements of the environment of the 36 libraries in which the research was carried out will, to some extent, be held constant. This condition reflects in part practical necessity; i.e., the need for the research to include several kinds of libraries, an imperative which could be met only in large metropolitan areas. As a result, the libraries studied have certain environmental continuities of size, large population, political and jurisdictional complexity, social class and ethnic heterogeneity, and financial and tax pressures. Such continuities may add weight to our generalizations about the internal system attributes of the various libraries.

On the other hand, each area has certain, discrete regional characteristics including age, social and political history, per capita income, and public support for the library which may help explain differences found in its libraries! "accommodation-to-change" potential, its financial support, effectiveness, employee morale, and in the attitudes and behavior of its personnel. In effect, since libraries may be affected by cultural differences in the various parts of North America, we have used an explicitly comparative framework in order to isolate and explain the influence of such variables upon its performance. Three categories of library types

*For a systematic demonstration of some functional relationships between an organization and its immediate environment, see Vaughn Blankenship, "Organizational Effectiveness," in Robert Presthus, Men at the Top: A Study in Community Power (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).

have been selected for analysis, university, public, and special libraries,* among which the latter sometimes include those newer information agencies which exist alongside the traditional library field. (Departmental and agency libraries of the U.S. government are categorized here as special libraries.) Distinguished mainly by the form of the information they capture and the methods used to retrieve and store it, such agencies may well provide the best prototype of the library of the future.

Insofar as the 36 libraries themselves were concerned, we chose them arbitrarily, mainly on the basis of their diversity, significance and putative utility for the purposes of the study, and in order to secure at least two similar units of each type in each metropolitan area. In every case we were able to include the major public and university libraries in the area. It is important to note, therefore, that our libraries do not constitute a sample. They are essentially selected "cases" of the three types of libraries in four major metropolitan areas.

The research in these libraries was carried out using questionnaires approximately 1-1/2 hours in length, usually administered on the scene by the research director or his associate to a random sample of approximately 25-30 per cent of the professional and clerical staff in the various technical and public service divisions of the selected libraries.** A total of 397 professional librarians (those having a degree in the library field) and 713 clerical personnel were included in the study. Regarding sampling procedure, we were not able to secure perfect random samples in all the libraries surveyed. In one of our largest libraries, for example, we were given a list of respondents which (like our other samples) was stratified according to service areas, but we cannot be positive that the respondents were randomly chosen. In some of the smaller libraries, including most special and some branch libraries in suburban areas, the entire staff was surveyed. Moreover, since participation was necessarily voluntary, we did not always survey the same proportion of each service area staff in every library.

Although the nature and conditions of work vary among the different task specialists, as well as between librarians and clerical staff, the same questionnaire was used throughout in an attempt to reveal differences in their attitude and behaviour along several bench-mark dimensions, e.g., differences between and among the attitudes of librarians and clerical staff toward librarianship as a career; about the attractiveness and psychic rewards of working in one or another of the various services; about the character of the library as a workplace; about the rationality and "efficiency" of existing task allocations between professional and clerical personnel; and about attitudes toward authority existing among them. Library and clerical staff were differentiated on the single basic criterion of whether or not they had taken a degree in librarianship. Most of the

*Since school libraries are usually regarded as an atypical element in the field, they have not been included in the study.

**See Appendix B for a copy of the research instrument.

questionnaire was designed to treat attitudes which were assumed to be fairly salient and well internalized among professional library staff, e.g., attitudes toward librarianship as a "profession;" toward public images of the profession; toward the type of supervision existing in the typical library, etc. The analytical problem of generalizing about a "typical" library is discussed in Chapter 2. In essence, we have used Max Weber's "ideal-type" construct, in which all libraries are categorized as bureaucratic models possessing several common characteristics, including hierarchy, specialization, roles graded by authority, etc.

We also analysed certain rather more objective aspects of library personnel and their work, including their social backgrounds (social class status was determined by father's occupation and education, weighted according to A.B. Hollingshead's method) - the extent of their satisfaction with library work; whether reasonably objective criteria for the evaluation of performance and the promotion seemed to exist; whether supervisory styles and relationships were generally productive; and the extent to which librarians seemed prepared to accept change and innovation.

In addition to the questionnaires, considerable "free association" interviewing was carried out with the directors of the libraries and their divisional heads, especially those responsible for technical innovation. The degree of autonomy enjoyed by the director and, in turn, his own divisional heads would, for example, be a central concern here. The main part of the field research was completed between 1968-70.

Definition of the scales - The values for the scales used in the study are obtained by adding up the scores given for each individual on the corresponding items, as indicated below.

The score ranges were collapsed in most cases into "high," "medium," and "low."

1. Attitude towards authority

ITEMS			NEW SCALE	
<u>Card</u>		<u>Range</u>	<u>Total Score</u>	<u>Label</u>
2	48	0, 1 - 5	0	Reject
2	50	0, 1 - 4	4 - 5	Low
2	52	0, 1 - 4	6 - 8	Medium
2	56(R)*	0, 4 - 1	9 - 11	
			12 - 14	High
			15 - 17	

*Designates items which had to be reversed for scoring.

2. Supervisor's efficiency

ITEMS			NEW SCALE	
<u>Card</u>		<u>Range</u>	<u>Total Score</u>	<u>Label</u>
1	19	0, 1 - 4	0	Reject
1	20	0, 1 - 5	5 - 8	Low
1	21	0, 1 - 4	9 - 11	Medium
1	22	0, 1 - 5	12 - 14	
1	23	0, 1 - 4	15 - 17	High
			18 - 22	

3. Self actualization scale

ITEMS			NEW SCALE	
Card		Range	Total Score	Label
3	93	0, 1 - 5	0	Reject
3	94	0, 1 - 5	5 - 8	Low
3	95	0, 1 - 5	9 - 12	Medium Low
3	96	0, 1 - 5	13 - 16	Medium
3	97	0, 1 - 5	17 - 20	Medium High
			21 - 25	High

4. Job satisfaction scale

ITEMS			NEW SCALE	
Card		Range	Total Score	Label
3	64	0, 1 - 7	0	Reject
3	65	0, 1 - 5	5 - 8	Low
3	82	0, 1 - 5	9 - 12	Medium Low
2	40(R)	0, 5 - 1	13 - 16	Medium
2	41(R)	0, 2 - 1	17 - 20	Medium High
			21 - 24	High

5. Acceptance of change scale

ITEMS			NEW SCALE	
Card		Range	Total Score	Label
1	27(R)	0, 5 - 1	0	Reject
2	58	0, 1 - 5	5 - 8	Low
3	84(R)	0, 5 - 1	9 - 12	Medium Low
3	85(R)	0, 5 - 1	13 - 16	Medium
3	86(R)	0, 5 - 1	17 - 20	Medium High
			21 - 25	High

6. Professionalism scale

ITEMS			NEW SCALE	
Card		Range	Total Score	Label
1	29(R)	0, 5 - 1	0	Reject
2	45(R)	0, 9 - 1	5 - 9	Low
2	46(R)	0, 6 - 1	10 - 14	Medium Low
3	86(R)	0, 5 - 1	15 - 19	Medium
3	90	0, 1 - 5	20 - 25	Medium High
			26 - 30	High

Appendix B
Research Instrument

Code _____

Interview _____

Date _____

By _____

We'd like your help in this survey which is part of a nation-wide study of emerging trends in the library field. The study is supported by the National Science Foundation, the U.S. Office of Education, and the National Library of Medicine.

All of your answers will be absolutely confidential, and the report based upon them will be presented in anonymous or statistical form.

A. First, we'd like to ask you some questions about yourself.

1. Which of the following age and sex categories are you in?

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. 15 - 19 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5. 35 - 39 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 2. 20 - 24 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6. 40 - 44 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 3. 25 - 29 | <input type="checkbox"/> 7. 45 - 49 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 4. 30 - 34 | <input type="checkbox"/> 8. 50 - |

1a. 1. Male 2. Female

2. Please give us a precise description of your job, including your exact title.

3. How long have you had this job? Other library jobs held and when?

- | | | |
|---|--|----------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. 0 - 4 years | <input type="checkbox"/> 1. Cataloging | (19__ to 19__) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 2. 5 - 9 years | <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Reference | (19__ to 19__) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 3. 10 - 14 years | <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Circulation | (19__ to 19__) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 4. 15 - 19 years | <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Acquisitions | (19__ to 19__) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 5. 20 - years | <input type="checkbox"/> 5. Other _____ | (19__ to 19__) |

4. What is the highest level of school you completed?

- 1. grade school
- 2. high school
- 3. some college
- 4. college
- 5. graduate work

5. Do you have a degree in Librarianship?

- 1. No
- 2. If "yes," what is it? _____ Where taken? _____ Year _____

6. Could you tell me your father's major occupation? _____

- 1. higher executive, professional or proprietor
- 2. lower executive,
- 3. small independent business
- 4. clerical
- 5. skilled worker
- 6. semi-skilled worker
- 7. unskilled worker

7. Could you also tell me the highest grade he completed in school?

- 1. graduate or professional work
- 2. college graduate
- 3. one to three years of college
- 4. high school graduate
- 5. ten or eleven grades of school
- 6. seven through nine grades of school
- 7. under seven grades of school

8. (Optional) Do you regard yourself as a ?

- 1. Republican
- 2. Democrat
- 3. Independent
- 4. Other _____

8. Next we turn to some questions about your job and the people you work with.

9. People who work closely together and develop personal ties with each other on the same or closely related tasks are sometimes called a "work group". Do you feel you are a part of such a group in your present job?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

10. If "yes", how would you describe this work group?

11. If you also work with some people formally, how would you describe this formal group (i.e., people with whom you interact on the job but on a less frequent, more impersonal basis)?

Supervisors perform their jobs differently. How do you feel your immediate supervisor carries out his job? Please check the appropriate number.

12. Clearly assigns people in the work group to specific tasks:
- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. always | <input type="checkbox"/> 4. seldom |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 2. often | <input type="checkbox"/> 5. never |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 3. occasionally | |
13. Criticizes poor work:
- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. always | <input type="checkbox"/> 4. seldom |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 2. often | <input type="checkbox"/> 5. never |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 3. occasionally | |
14. Stresses being ahead of competing work groups:
- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. a great deal | <input type="checkbox"/> 4. comparatively little |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 2. fairly much | <input type="checkbox"/> 5. not at all |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 3. to some degree | |
15. Emphasizes meeting of deadlines:
- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. a great deal | <input type="checkbox"/> 4. comparatively little |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 2. fairly much | <input type="checkbox"/> 5. not at all |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 3. to some degree | |
16. Gets the approval of the work group before going ahead on important matters:
- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. always | <input type="checkbox"/> 4. seldom |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 2. often | <input type="checkbox"/> 5. never |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 3. occasionally | |
17. Helps people in the work group with their personal problems:
- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. often | <input type="checkbox"/> 4. once in a while |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 2. fairly often | <input type="checkbox"/> 5. seldom |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 3. occasionally | |
18. Puts suggestions made by people in the work group into operation:
- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. always | <input type="checkbox"/> 4. seldom |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 2. oft. | <input type="checkbox"/> 5. never |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 3. occasionally | |
19. How well does your supervisor know the jobs he supervises?
- | |
|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. he knows very little about the jobs |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 2. he doesn't know the jobs very well |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 3. he knows the jobs fairly well |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 4. he knows the jobs very well |

20. How much is your supervisor interested in helping those who work under him get ahead in the organization?
- 1. he doesn't want them to get ahead
 - 2. he doesn't care whether they get ahead or not
 - 3. he is glad to see them get ahead, but he doesn't help them much
 - 4. he helps them get ahead, if he gets a chance
 - 5. he goes out of his way to help them get ahead
21. Taking it all in all, how well would you say your supervisor does his job?
- 1. he does a poor job
 - 2. he does a fair job
 - 3. he does a good job
 - 4. he does an excellent job
22. How good would you say your supervisor is at dealing with the people he supervises?
- 1. he is poor at handling people
 - 2. he is not very good at dealing with people; does other things better
 - 3. he is fairly good at dealing with people
 - 4. he is good at this -- better than most
 - 5. he is very good at this -- it's his strongest point
23. What happens when someone like you makes a complaint about something?
- 1. it's hardly ever taken care of
 - 2. it's often not taken care of
 - 3. it's usually taken care of
 - 4. it's almost always taken care of
24. Most people have some idea of what they would want in an ideal job. What importance would each of the following elements have in your ideal job? Please check column A, B, C, D, or E.

	A	B	C	D	E
	Indispensable	Extremely Important	Very Important	Fairly Important	Little or no Importance
25. Having prestige among my colleagues	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
26. Developing close friendships with the people I work with	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
27. Introducing more modern methods of doing the job	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

	A Indispensable	B Extremely Important	C Very Important	D Fairly Important	E Little or no Importance
28. Meeting with and helping people using the library	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
29. Being in a position to make a contribution to knowledge	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
30. Being able to do work that is satisfying to me personally	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
31. Making as high a salary as possible	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
32. Having a chance to build a new collection or program	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Next we'd like to know how much chance you think you'd have to obtain each job element in each of the various services. In which service would you have the best chance? next best? least? Please insert "1", "2", and "3" somewhere along each dotted line below. That is, rank the best (1), next best (2), and least best (3) service according to how they provide opportunities for each job element.

	Cataloging	Acquisition	Bibliography	Serials	Administration	Reference	Circulation	Rare books	Government Documents
34. Having prestige among my colleagues	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
35. Developing close friendships with the people I work with	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Cataloging	Acquisition	Bibliography	Serials	Administration	Reference	Circulation	Rare Books	Government Documents
------------	-------------	--------------	---------	----------------	-----------	-------------	------------	----------------------

36. Introducing more modern methods of doing the job

37. Meeting with and helping people using the library

38. Being in a position to make a contribution to knowledge

39. Here are several typical occupations. Please rank them (1, 2, 3, etc.) according to the prestige you feel the general public gives them.

- () 1. civil servant
- () 2. bank manager
- () 3. teacher
- () 4. librarian
- () 5. doctor
- () 6. university professor
- () 7. lawyer
- () 8. businessman
- () 9. politician
- () 10. salesman
- () 11. army officer
- () 12. dentist
- () 13. economist

40. How well do you think the performance of your own work group compares with others in your library?

- () 1. much better
- () 2. better
- () 3. about the same
- () 4. worse
- () 5. much worse

41. If you could do it over again, would you choose library work as a career?

- () 1. Yes
- () 2. No

42. If "no", could you tell me exactly why?

43. There's a lot of talk now about automation and the use of computers in libraries. How much would you say this factor has affected your own job in your own area of library service?

- 1. a great deal
- 2. quite a bit
- 3. not much
- 4. very little
- 5. not at all

C. Next we would like to know a little about your personal preferences as they relate to your job.

44. In your opinion which one of the following would do most to improve the quality and prestige of librarianship?

- 1. make a clearer distinction between the work performed by professional and clerical personnel
- 2. raise the educational qualifications of professional librarians to an M.S. degree
- 3. restrict membership in the ALA to those with graduate degrees in librarianship
- 4. sharply upgrade salaries and other conditions of work for professional librarians
- 5. try to attract better recruits into the field
- 6. improve teaching, curriculum, and research of the Library Schools

45. From which of the following sources do you obtain the greater part of your intellectual and professional stimulation in connection with your work (please rank three)?

- 1. my colleagues here in the library
 - 2. my immediate supervisor
 - 3. my division head
 - 4. the director of the library
 - 5. professions outside the library (teachers, conference speakers, etc.)
 - 6. professional books or journals
 - 7. others (please specify) _____
-

46. People attend professional meetings for many reasons. Please rank the two main reasons you attend.
- 1. to make new contacts and to become generally known to your professional peers
 - 2. to get a new job
 - 3. to meet old friends, have a few drinks, exchange the latest news or just because you've never seen San Francisco
 - 4. your chief librarian pressures you into going
 - 5. to attend meetings which are of interest to your special field or to some new responsibility you may have
 - 6. I rarely attend professional meetings
47. During the past year, I read approximately the following number of books relating to my profession:
- 1. none
 - 2. less than five
 - 3. 11 to ten
 - 4. ten to twenty
 - 5. twenty to thirty
48. People differ on the kind of supervision they like to receive. Some like fairly close supervision, while others prefer very little. Please check the kind you prefer:
- 1. a wide amount of individual freedom
 - 2. considerable autonomy in deciding how and what to do
 - 3. this matter doesn't really concern me very much
 - 4. reasonably close supervision so as to minimize errors
 - 5. close supervision suits me best
49. Here is a list of satisfactions you may get from your job. Please rank three in order of their importance to you.
- 1. prestige of being a librarian
 - 2. financial returns
 - 3. chance to realize your own interests through your job
 - 4. chance to step into an administrative role
 - 5. chance to educate myself through my work
 - 6. chance to move geographically
 - 7. chance for long vacations
50. Regarding relations with superiors at various levels, which of the following statements best characterizes you?
- 1. I accommodate fairly easily
 - 2. I accommodate fairly well, but I am always conscious of authority differences
 - 3. I accommodate by attempting to minimize or "wish away" authority differences
 - 4. I find it rather difficult to manage my interpersonal relations with superiors

51. How would you say you generally react to everyday problems at work and elsewhere?
- 1. they don't bother me
 - 2. they bother me a little
 - 3. I worry about them
 - 4. I probably worry more about them than others do
52. Assume that your immediate superior, after consultation during which you indicated your disapproval, went ahead with an important decision which you believed was wrong from the standpoint of the interests of the organization. Which of the following alternatives would you follow?
- 1. keep still and carry out the policy as well as possible
 - 2. try to reason with him in an effort to change the policy
 - 3. go over his head to some higher authority in order to change the decision
 - 4. consider resigning as a protest
53. Please rank (1, 2, 3) the three activities in your life which give you the most satisfaction.
- 1. your career or occupation
 - 2. family relationships
 - 3. leisure-time recreational and cultural activities
 - 4. religious beliefs or activities
 - 5. participation in activities directed toward local, national or international betterment
54. What two qualities on this list do you think really get a young person ahead the fastest today? (Check two.)
- 1. hard work
 - 2. having a pleasant personality
 - 3. brains
 - 4. knowing the right people
 - 5. good luck
 - 6. being a good politician
55. The main reason I became a librarian is:
- 1. I could not find another job
 - 2. I have always liked books
 - 3. one of my parents was a librarian
 - 4. I just drifted into the field
 - 5. I always regarded librarianship as a significant kind of work
 - 6. other _____
-

56. Regarding relations with superiors, I generally prefer a work situation in which:

- 1. supervision is fairly close so as to minimize costly errors
- 2. my "boss" works right along with me as the programme or policy develops
- 3. in general, I can share the responsibility for a decision with those above me
- 4. I am given a general objective and left completely alone to carry it out

57. Please rank the two most important satisfactions you derive from your job.

- 1. the chance to do something socially useful through the library
 - 2. the chance to develop or build an important collection or programme
 - 3. the chance to identify with a prestigious institution
 - 4. the chance to work with a certain clientele, e.g., children, students, faculty, etc.
 - 5. the chance to work independently
 - 6. other (please specify) _____
-

58. When changes are introduced in my work group or in the larger organization, my own reaction tends to be:

- 1. instinctive resistance
- 2. reluctant acceptance
- 3. a "wait and see" attitude
- 4. positive acceptance

59. If you had to characterize most professional librarians which three of the following attitude statements do you think they would be most likely to subscribe to? (please rank)

- 1. life is an arbitrary and capricious thing over which we have no control
- 2. life is controlled by superior forces which we cannot affect in any way
- 3. man is able to manipulate and control his environment as he wishes
- 4. it is important to be orderly if one is to be efficient and productive
- 5. one should not take any initiative in one's job, it will just get you into trouble
- 6. to get things done, you have to take risks even if others might disapprove of them
- 7. achieving something on your own is one of the best pleasures we have
- 8. I enjoy my job most when I am working on my own and can take full responsibility for what I am doing

10. Regarding the occupational status of librarians, some observers believe the professional librarians and others working in libraries do not receive all the respect they deserve from the public. How do you feel about this?

- 1. strongly agree
- 2. agree
- 3. disagree
- 4. strongly disagree

11. If you answered "strongly agree" or "agree" to the preceding question, please rank the three most important reasons explaining this condition.

- 1. it's mainly a question of organization, i.e., we have no strong association devoted to improving our bargaining position by setting performance standards, controlling entry, insuring a united front, etc.
 - 2. the technical skills practiced by librarians are too easily acquired by nonprofessionals
 - 3. the public doesn't really honor scholarship and reading, i.e., the contemplative arts which we symbolize
 - 4. inadequate commitment, i.e., too many people in the field are interested in a job rather than in a career in librarianship
 - 5. other (please insert and rank) _____
-
-
-

12. In your judgment, which one of the following kinds of supervision do librarians you have known prefer?

- 1. very permissive, consultative relations
- 2. a fair amount of individual discretion
- 3. styles of supervision aren't very important to librarians
- 4. a fairly well-defined system of authority and responsibility
- 5. close, highly structured relations so that everyone knows where he stands

13. Some observers believe that libraries do not usually have explicit built-in standards for measuring the productivity and effectiveness of staff members. How do you feel about this judgment?

- 1. strongly agree
- 2. agree
- 3. disagree
- 4. strongly disagree

64. In your own library, what is the single major basis for promotion?

- 1. interpersonal or "human relations" skill
- 2. technical competence
- 3. seniority
- 4. "connections"
- 5. competing offers
- 6. other _____

65. If you were determining promotions, which of the following would you weight most heavily?

- 1. interpersonal or "human relations" skill
- 2. technical competence
- 3. seniority
- 4. "connections"
- 5. competing offers
- 6. other _____

66. How much do you want (or) how important is it to you in your work to have freedom to carry out your own ideas; to have a chance for originality and initiative?

- 1. utmost
- 2. considerable
- 3. some or little
- 4. no opinion

67. Much is said these days about the "information revolution," automation, the introduction of computerized retrieval and storage of information, and the resulting need for radical innovations in library science. Which one of the following ideas best describes your own opinion about this development?

- 1. such changes are highly exaggerated
- 2. such changes may be occurring, but they haven't affected my work or that of my work group
- 3. such changes are occurring, but most librarians can easily adapt, both technically and psychologically, to such changes
- 4. this development is clearly upon us and will result in some changes, including the need for retraining
- 5. this development is here and will result in considerable dislocation, including technical obsolescence and some loss in prestige and authority for librarianship as it now exists

68. Which, if any, of the following steps is your library taking toward meeting any such changes (please check one)?

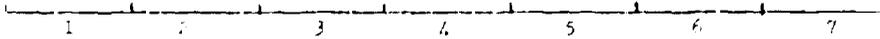
- 1. our administrative heads haven't even discussed this matter with those of us in the various services
- 2. our administrative heads have discussed some of these matters, but generally they believe the changes and their impacts are somewhat exaggerated

- () 3. our administrative heads have had meetings, sent literature around, and generally indicated their awareness of impending changes
- () 4. our administrative heads have actively prepared for such changes by assigning people to study them, granting leaves for observation of dividend systems in other agencies, and encouraging certain staff members to learn some of the emerging skills
66. Concerning technological changes, members of my own work group and colleagues:
- () 1. rarely discuss them
- () 2. discuss them sometimes
- () 3. discuss them fairly often
- () 4. have made them a major topic of discussion
70. When such changes are discussed, the major reaction among my own work group is:
- () 1. a certain amount of anxiety
- () 2. a certain amount of resistance
- () 3. a feeling that "it can't happen here"
- () 4. a recognition that change is inevitable
- () 5. a sense of pleasure at new and faster ways of carrying out the group's task
71. In many organizations, a situation develops in which work groups band together to protect their members, control the pace of work, bargain with supervisors, etc. Would you say that your own work group exhibits these characteristics?
- () 1. very often
- () 2. often
- () 3. sometimes
- () 4. rarely
- () 5. never
72. If you answered "yes", please rank (1, 2, 3) in terms of their frequency any of the following practices used by your own work group:
- () 1. we sometimes "share" the work to help a member who has fallen behind or is having trouble
- () 2. we sometimes build up a "bank" of completed work to meet unforeseen contingencies or to enable us to "take it easy" at certain times
- () 3. we sometimes protect and help other members of the group by answering the phone for them, covering up for unofficial absences, etc.
- () 4. we sometimes discipline members who don't conform to our established ways of doing things
- () 5. we sometimes do things strictly "by the book" to handle difficult supervisors or clients
- () 6. other (please list) _____
-

73. Organizations tend to have different kinds of authority structures. Prisons and military organizations, for example, may have rather authoritarian and high-structured authority relations, whereas research organizations are often quite permissive. Within each type of organization similar differences often exist. Where would you place your own library on this dimension? Place an X at the appropriate point.

Highly structured

Permissive



74. A typical curriculum for a graduate library school degree contains the following courses. In view of your own training, experience, and appreciation of future needs in the field, what would you recommend to the Dean of a library school? Set down opposite this curriculum the given courses ranked in order of their importance, adding one or two others if you wish.

Traditional curriculum:

1975 Revised model:

- | | |
|--|-----------------|
| 1. <u>Reference</u> _____ | 1. _____ |
| 2. <u>Technical procedures</u> _____ | 2. _____ |
| 3. <u>Cataloging</u> _____ | 3. _____ |
| 4. <u>Book selection</u> _____ | 4. _____ |
| 5. <u>Bibliography</u> _____ | 5. _____ |
| 6. <u>Communication media</u> _____ | 6. _____ |
| 7. <u>Library administration</u> _____ | 7. _____ |
| | 8. Other, _____ |
| | 9. Other, _____ |

75. In view of your own work experience, please rank the three major inadequacies in your professional education and training for librarianship?

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

20. One hallmark of established professions, such as law and medicine, is the requirement of a graduate university degree. How much do you think a similar requirement for librarians would enhance the professional status of your own field?
- 1. a great deal
 - 2. considerably
 - 3. somewhat
 - 4. very little
 - 5. not at all
21. From the standpoint of technical proficiency alone, how essential to you think a specialized graduate degree in librarianship is?
- 1. indispensable
 - 2. very important
 - 3. desirable
 - 4. not very important
 - 5. unnecessary
22. Some educators feel that professional education is too specialized. Too many skills are taught that could be better learned on the job or have become obsolete by the time one goes to work. What is your own opinion of this judgment regarding library education?
- 1. strongly agree
 - 2. agree
 - 3. undecided
 - 4. disagree
 - 5. strongly disagree
23. In view of the increasing demand for subject-matter library specialists, especially in science, how do you feel about the proposal that graduate library schools offer a joint subject-matter-librarianship degree?
- 1. strongly agree
 - 2. agree
 - 3. undecided
 - 4. disagree
 - 5. strongly disagree
24. Some 40 professional library schools in the U.S. produce about 3,000 graduates annually. In your opinion, how well are they preparing people for the field as it seems to be evolving?
- 1. very well
 - 2. well
 - 3. don't know
 - 4. adequately
 - 5. not very well

81. If you answered "adequately" or "not very well" to the previous question, please rank (1, 2, 3) the three major reasons for your answer.

- 1. curriculum too traditional
- 2. approach too theoretical
- 3. inadequate research
- 4. faculty too academic
- 5. faculty too practical

82. A common judgment about library work is that no career ladder exists which enables one, if he works hard and well, to move up to more rewarding positions. How do you feel about this judgment?

- 1. strongly agree
- 2. agree
- 3. undecided
- 4. disagree
- 5. strongly disagree

Regarding your own attitude toward library work and toward your own organization, please indicate next how you feel about the following judgments:

	<u>Strongly</u> <u>Agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly</u> <u>Disagree</u>
83. Libraries themselves should tell the library schools what they want their employees to know so that the schools can adjust their programs to meet the needs of the field	---	---	---	---	---
84. In the future librarians must be well-grounded in techniques of systems analysis	---	---	---	---	---
85. Library education needs to look to the future, see the increased demand for specialized librarians and information specialists	---	---	---	---	---
86. Library schools need to emphasize their function of providing research support for the profession	---	---	---	---	---

	<u>Strongly Agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Unecided</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly Disagree</u>
87. The quality of library education will not improve significantly until more talented people are attracted into getting advanced degrees and going into teaching and research	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
88. Library schools should prepare students with a theoretical framework and the individual libraries should train them for application of that theory to specific situations	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
89. Differences of interest and function between administrative and technical service personnel prevent them from having close social relationships	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
90. A librarian's loyalties should be with the organization employing him rather than with his particular service	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
91. Absolutely no censorship of library reading material should be permitted	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
92. Libraries have traditionally catered to middle-class people. Now they must focus more attention on poor and disadvantaged members of our society	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
93. To what extent is your present job a real challenge to what you think you can do?					
	() 1. not at all				
	() 2. to a slight degree				
	() 3. to some degree				
	() 4. to a fairly high degree				
	() 5. to a very high degree				

94. How much chance does your job give you to learn things you are interested in?

- 1. not at all
- 2. to a slight degree
- 3. to some degree
- 4. to a fairly high degree
- 5. to a very high degree

95. Are the things you are learning in your present job helping to train you for a better job in the organization?

- 1. not at all
- 2. to a slight degree
- 3. to some degree
- 4. to a fairly high degree
- 5. to a very high degree

96. How much chance do you have to try out your own ideas on the job?

- 1. not at all
- 2. to a slight degree
- 3. to some degree
- 4. to a fairly high degree
- 5. to a very high degree

97. How much does your job give you a chance to do the things you are best at?

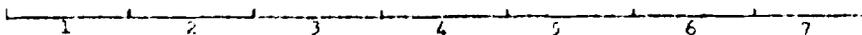
- 1. not at all
- 2. to a slight degree
- 3. to some degree
- 4. to a fairly high degree
- 5. to a very high degree

98. The three things that disturb me about my present job are (please rank):

- 1. it doesn't challenge me
- 2. other members of my work group aren't very friendly
- 3. I dislike the kind of clients I have
- 4. too much resistance to new ideas
- 5. I am overworked
- 6. I feel ineffectual
- 7. other (please specify and rank) _____

99. Most organizations can be placed on a rough scale ranging from traditional to innovative in terms of their response to technological change. Compared with others of the same kind, how would you rate your own library in this regard. Please place an "X" at the appropriate place on the scale.

Traditional Innovative



This concludes the questionnaire. Many thanks for your cooperation.

Appendix C

Job title (job description)

Since the titles given by employers to library personnel (professional and nonprofessional) are misleading and inconsistent in the four metropolitan areas examined, we categorized employees in terms of their own job description, their formal educational background, and their stated work experience.

The job title given each respondent in many cases does not correspond to the title given by the employer.

The job categories, described below, are meaningful in terms of professional (librarian), administrative, supervisory, and clerical tasks and/or responsibilities.

00 No response

01 Head Librarian

This title refers to one with the top position in a library. It involves administrative responsibilities as well as professional librarian duties.

This person may be the chief librarian of a large library or large branch of a library system. He almost always has a library degree. The rare exception is someone with a certificate in librarianship (awarded at a particular school before degrees were granted) and at least 20 years experience (usually more) in library work.

The chief or head librarian of a small branch who has no library degree and less than 20 years experience is coded Librarian's Assistant 06 (see below).

02 Department Head

This title refers to one with professional and usually administrative responsibilities in one department of a large library. If a "department head" (so called by his employer) is head of a specific area - such as Asian studies - but does not administer a department of several employees, he is coded Specific Area Librarian 03 (see below).

Some typical 02 titles are Chief of Adult Services, Head of Periodicals, Co-ordinator of Outside Services, Chief of Special Collections, Head of Business and Science Department, Department Manager.

03 Specific Area Librarian

This title includes librarians with a degree in librarianship, regardless of working experience or working tasks. Examples of "titles" (given by employer) coming under this category are Reference Librarian, Acquisitions Librarian, Children's Librarian, Fine Arts Librarian, Documents Librarian.

04. Assistant Librarian
 This title refers to the assistant (with a library degree) of a head librarian (01) or department head (02). This job includes administrative responsibilities. Typical "titles" are Assistant to the Head, Branch Assistant.
05. Research Information Specialist
 This title refers to a person who has a library degree and/or an advanced degree in science. Typical "titles" in 05 are Research Information Specialist, Engineering Information Analyst, Technical Information Librarian, Data Processing Analyst. This position is usually held in a science or technical library.
06. Library Assistant
 This refers to a person doing more than purely clerical work (typing, filing, answering phone), but who does not have a library degree. He has usually been trained on the job for the library tasks which require some understanding of library work. Many do work which is closely supervised or checked by professional librarians. In some cases some daily tasks are seasonal - the skill necessary having been learned through years of experience and learning from a professional librarian.
07. Head of Technical Processing
 This title includes those individuals involved with technical processing who have college degrees but no library degree. Their job has a technical nature in that some special training is necessary. An individual in this category has no subordinates working under him. (If someone involved in technical processing has a library degree, he is coded 03).
08. Cataloger
 This title is used for a cataloger without a library degree. He usually has a bachelors degree, but his work is not primarily nonprofessional in that he can perform the tasks with a little on-the-job instruction. This category does not include professional cataloger, who usually checks the work of nonprofessionals.
09. Senior Clerk
 This title refers to those with primarily clerical tasks but with some supervisory responsibilities or special machine (key punching, etc.) skills.
10. Clerk
 This title refers to one performing desk routine, typing, filing, checking books in and out, or possibly book binding.
11. Bookmobile Operator
 This title is self-explanatory. The operator may also check books in and out. (If a librarian with a library degree has this job, he is coded 03).

- 12 Specific Area Librarian without a library degree. One in this category must have at least a bachelors in some discipline like fine arts, music, or biology and at least 5 years of library work experience. (Otherwise, he is coded 06). This category does not include a children's librarian - usually with a B.A. but not in a specific discipline directly relating to the library job.

A person in this area usually has charge of one section of a department and has acquired this position on the basis of subject-matter knowledge. The necessary librarian skills are learned on the job or in a few library school courses.