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ABSTRACT

The papers presented at a one day workshop on the aspects of comparative librarianship are presented in this volume. The topics discussed are: (1) Methods and Evidence in Comparative Studies; (2) Social Change and Library Development; (3) Library Development in Latin America, a Scalogram; (4) Cross-Cultural Aspects of Assistance to Developing Countries; (5) Patterns of Librarianship in West Africa, and (6) Librarianship in France and the United States: A Comparative Study with Some Implications for Emerging Nations. A list of the participants is included, as are the introductory remarks by William L. Williamson. (SJ)

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ASSISTANCE TO LIBRARIES IN DEVELOPING NATIONS

PAPERS ON COMPARATIVE STUDIES

Proceedings of a Conference Held at the  
Wisconsin Center, Madison, Wisconsin  
May 14, 1971

Edited by

William L. Williamson

LIBRARY SCHOOL  
University of Wisconsin  
1971

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## PREFACE

On Friday, May 14, 1971, the Library School of the University of Wisconsin sponsored a meeting at the Wisconsin Center devoted to a discussion of aspects of comparative librarianship. This volume is a report of that meeting.

The planning for the one-day workshop served as a focus for the 1971 offering of a Seminar in Comparative Librarianship (Library Science 865). This Spring was the fourth successive year during which the seminar has been presented. During 1971, the members of the seminar agreed to read their papers at a public meeting rather than to limit their audience to their fellows alone. We also took advantage of the occasion to recruit two members of the University's faculty from outside the Library School to bring us insights from their disciplines.

Working on a tight schedule, we needed to announce the meeting as early as possible, with the result that the general title selected does not represent the content of the meeting as accurately as it might have done. Once the meeting was announced, however, we decided to keep the original title rather than to compound confusion by changing it. A second failing that arose from inadequate foresight is that we did not tape-record any of the meeting except for the two papers presented by the outside faculty members. Only later did I realize that we had thus missed recording the question periods following the four student papers. We found it impossible to reproduce adequately from our memories the lively discussions that did occur, but we do present in this volume the transcript of the question periods that was preserved.

These papers have been only slightly changed from the oral presentations of the day. For their contributions to the day and for their generous agreement to allow their informal words to be published virtually as they were spoken, I am grateful to the six speakers. Professor James Krikelas is also due my thanks for serving as moderator during the afternoon session and for joining the members of the seminar during most of our meetings of the semester. He made very considerable contributions that are inadequately credited in the proceedings that follow, in particular in helping us to understand the technical problems of scalogram analysis. Finally, my gratitude goes to those who attended the day's sessions and contributed to a lively and rewarding day.

August, 1971

W. L. Williamson

## INTRODUCTION

William Landram Williamson  
Professor of Library Science

Anyone who examines the recommendations of foreign advisers who have visited developing countries will reach a very interesting conclusion: there is a remarkable tendency for the recommended first priority in library development to coincide with the background of the visitor. If he is an American librarian, he is very likely to discover that the first thing the developing country should do is to adopt an American pattern of librarianship. If he is a public librarian, he seems usually to find that the developing country should put at the top of its list the establishment of a network of public libraries. If he is a university librarian, it seems magically to happen that the country needs, first of all, university libraries.

In these observations, I am making a point, rather than giving a complete assessment of needs or doing complete justice to the foreign advisers. Of course it is true that few, if any, have been so simplistic as to conclude that one kind of library development excludes other kinds of libraries as well. But the main point is nevertheless valid: that conclusions tend very strongly to reflect the background of the particular librarian making the recommendations.

Now if this point is valid, something is wrong. We have to assume that a particular nation with distinctive characteristics has its own distinctive needs for libraries. We have to assume further that, with limited amounts of money, there is indeed a particular combination of libraries that is best and most important. We must assume, in other words, that there is an order of priority for library development. And it is too much to believe that this order or priority invariably coincides with the background of the library adviser making the recommendations.

This point may be stated differently: what particular mix of librarianship is best suited to a nation with some particular mix of social characteristics? What kinds of nations need what kinds of libraries? We know almost nothing about this question. Most of us would agree that a society in which no one can read probably has little need for public libraries. But we ought to be able to begin to make our knowledge more precise than that. What level of literacy is required in a community before that community should allot some of its scarce resources to support a public library? What total economic capacity should a community have before it begins to spend money to establish a library? What other factors besides literacy and economic capacity are important in deciding what libraries are needed first?

In mentioning objective factors such as literacy and per capita annual income, I do not mean to overlook the importance of other matters such as the influence of vigorous leaders -- our own history shows that the energetic man of vision has often been decisive in the creation and survival of libraries. Other qualitative differences of this kind are undoubtedly important. For example, both in Latin America and in Africa, library schools have been established in the hope that they could serve whole regions, rather than just single countries. Very substantial amounts of money have been allotted by foundations on the basis of this assumption of regional service. But, is it not true that these schools have, to a large extent, served only the one country where they are located? Why, for example, must Nigeria have not only a school at Ibadan in the south but also a school at Zaria in the north? Among the reasons is a very strong tribal sense and a reluctance of a member of the Hausa tribe to leave the north. Why has the Inter-American Library School at Medellin had 150 Colombian students and only 28 students from all the other Latin American countries? Is there not a strong influence here of nationalist sentiments that makes students from other countries reluctant to go to Medellin? While we look at objective, quantitative factors, we must not forget qualitative matters such as nationalist and psychological barriers.

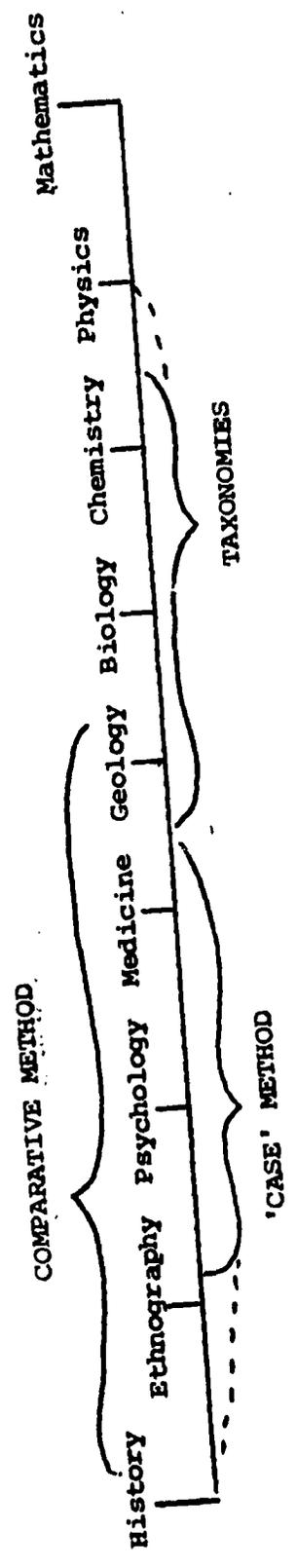
These questions are difficult to answer, but the answers can apply not just to developing countries but to us here in Wisconsin as well. If we knew with some precision the kinds of library service best associated with what social characteristics, we might be able to improve our own libraries. And this kind of knowledge can be useful in many different contexts. In our work in the Inner Cities, for example, we tend to accept, at least to the extent of lip service, the generalization that the people concerned must have a very large part in making plans and decisions. So far as I can see, this principle is often neglected in our foreign aid projects. And yet, I would suggest as the best hypothesis the statement that the permanence of Indonesian library development has been associated much more closely with the degree of Indonesian involvement in management than with any other single factor, not omitting the amount of money spent. The single most important factor is the presence of Indonesian librarians, not the number of dollars. If that hypothesis were proved, the conclusion would suggest an increase in the amount of money spent on educating librarians and, if necessary, a decrease in the amount spent on buying books, at least in the beginning. Ideas do have consequences and we must seek answers to questions like these.

For the past four years, the students in our seminar on comparative librarianship have been wrestling with questions of this sort. It is probably true that we have gotten rather more exercise than results, but the exercise has been good for us.

Today, we shall be considering some topics of this kind. Our two faculty guests will be responding to questions of general application. Professor Koehl this morning will discuss the kinds of evidence that scholars in comparative studies have used and how they have handled that evidence. Professor Elmendorf this afternoon will

speaking from the perspective of the applied anthropologist about the problems faced by a person of one culture who goes into another culture -- the problems of obtaining trust and access to information and the problems of divesting himself of the cultural biases that limit his vision. For the rest, several students in the seminar will present some of the fruits of this semester's study. Mr. Birdsall this morning will talk of the contrasting characteristics of librarianship in Gemeinschaft (or traditional) and in Gesellschaft (or modern industrial) societies. Mr. Johnson will report the results of a methodological experiment in measuring library development in Latin America. This afternoon, the two student papers will consider librarianship in specific societies, Miss Spear among the countries of West Africa, with particular attention to Ghana, where she has studied, and Mr. Whitmore in France as compared with the United States, with some observations about the usefulness of the two patterns of librarianship when applied in developing nations.

Figure 1



## METHODS AND EVIDENCE IN COMPARATIVE STUDIES

Robert L. Koshl

Professor of History and Educational Policy Studies

The current popularity of comparative studies seems to date back only to the early 1960's, merging with the older enthusiasm for interdisciplinary or cross-disciplinary studies -- the hallmark of the 1950's. Faddism in intellectual matters, especially where it concerns methodology, can be very dangerous. Fortunately, there is a great deal of sound tradition and effective criticism in the realm of comparative studies to help us sift and winnow the truth from the bulky chaff found in every social science bibliography. Perhaps a more serious caveat should head up these essentially favorable and optimistic remarks: Comparative studies are not really a new approach at all; in fact, the term is an elegant way to express a very simple common-sense approach to understanding -- that of collating apparently related "examples" of phenomena. Some purists might go so far as to claim that the so-called comparative method is really a prescientific, unmodern -- "Aristotelian" -- approach.

When we locate the various comparative methodologies on a sort of continuum (see figure 1), it is apparent that the familiar "case study" approach of clinical medicine is quite similar to the taxonomic approach of geologists and biologists. Yet on the continuum it is possible to travel much farther toward the limit of pure mathematics and stay within the range of rigorous taxonomy -- for example in organic chemistry and molecular biology. Somewhere in this range of disciplines -- and before we reach experimental physics -- we have probably left comparative methods behind. Moving toward history from clinical psychology on the other hand, ethnography is still clearly an approach dealing with classes of data: artifacts such as tools and weapons; kinship systems; languages. Indeed only the historian as chronicler can claim to fall beyond the pale of comparison. Much of history-writing has always been precisely that common-sense kind of collation and sampling that has recently been christened "comparative history". Indeed attention was drawn to parallels between Hippocratic medicine and Thucydides' handling of the Peloponnesian War in the nineteenth century long before the phrase "comparative history" was coined. My point here is that an enthusiasm for comparisons is not science, that comparison as an element of rational inquiry is extremely widespread if not ancient, and that when seen in the context of the so-called scientific revolution, in which abstract mathematical models of process are the chief tools of prediction, all comparative methods look immature and weak.

As aids to further refinement of predictive models, as descriptive shortcuts, as teaching devices, comparative methodologies seem to have taken a new lease on life in the sixties. Perhaps one reason for their popularity is their appeal to the inductive, systematizing drive which is so much a part of our ever-increasing industrialization of life. Without too much mathematics and often with virtually no statistical sophistication, comparative studies are now appearing in every conceivable field of inquiry. The kind of errors Aristotle used to make in his system-building from small evidence, the problems of distorted classification inherent in all simplifications of evidence because of quantity and secondary derivation, and lastly the biases implicit in schemes of classification -- all the foregoing are reasons for terming the methodology of comparative studies immature and unscientific.

Yet the comparative approach owes much to empiricism. Essentially inductive, the technique of comparing similar phenomena with real rigor and honesty dates back to the eighteenth century. While Montesquieu deserves some credit for improving on Aristotle's rigor in comparing constitutions, his didactic purpose got too much in the way, and the rationalistic bias of the Enlightenment swamped his empiricism. In Linnaeus, however, the Swedish biologist, we have a perfect example of genuine comparative method. Growing out of the Renaissance mania for collections, especially curios, anomalies and exotica, the late eighteenth century life sciences as well as geology were built up on close observation, careful discrimination, and open-mindedness. The gap between Baconian science, with its naive worship of observation, and nineteenth century positivist materialism, viewing classification and abstraction merely as convenient tools of prediction may be said to be bridged by the ~~classifying~~ trend in eighteenth century rationalism. From collecting biological and rock specimens out of enthusiasm for variety of searching for representative specimens based on some principle of arrangement, scientists and amateurs laid the foundations for a comparative anatomy as well as the applied sciences of animal breeding, agronomy, and geology. The lore of miners and metallurgists was similarly rationalized and subjected to experimental tests to open up the science of chemistry. We do not usually think of chemistry today as an example of the comparative method, but one has merely to glance at the periodic table of elements to recognize the pedigree of this laboratory science.

Two things are noteworthy here: 1. The comparative methodology of biology and geology evolved very considerably in a context of application by practical men working in association with intellectuals who were making comparisons for fun. 2. Much of the real "truth" to be laid bare by the comparative approach was only discovered when laboratory tools and especially the tools of measurement were perfected. Working from appearances, and subjected to the popular demand for "systems" and "explanations", late eighteenth and early nineteenth century scientists perpetrated some famous boo-boos, such as the phlogiston and caloric theories, the geological doctrines of inundationism, catastrophism, and Vulcanism, while nineteenth century life science blundered along with the Lamarckian error about the

inheritance of acquired characteristics. It was not merely more careful sorting and collecting which scotched these mistakes: it was the balance, the testtube, and the microscope. Honest efforts to get along without spurious and pretentious generalizations, over-reaching systems, and metaphysics paid off in the development of middle-range hypotheses which helped determine what to look for in geology, chemistry, anatomy, and microbiology.

The well known principle that appearances can be deceiving, that genuine similarities may be due to wholly different causes or processes, has been so thoroughly documented in geology, biology, and medicine that we tend to forget how hard previous generations fought against giving up easy and convenient systems of classification: which rested on honest observation, the comparative approach, and a certain logic. In fact even middle-range hypotheses in the comparative methodology of nineteenth century geology, chemistry, and medicine often had to rest on rough parallelism, analogy, mechanistic abstraction, and even anthropomorphic language. I am not poking fun at Goethe's "elective affinities", John Dalton's "invisible atom", Foucault's "ether-waves", or Darwin's "natural selection". Rather, I am drawing a parallel of my own: twentieth century social scientists are under immense pressure to come up with useful, applied sciences of behavior and society. We should help them shrug off the demand for pretentious generalization, recognize the likelihood that their applications of analogy and anthropomorphic models ("model" itself is a metaphor) may lead astray as often as not, and that tools of measurement are so vital that comparativists working with what usually passes for statistical data resemble eighteenth century chemists working on oxidation problems.

After a promising beginning in the eighteenth century, the comparative study of societies receded before the onslaught of two very powerful rival approaches. Nineteenth century historicism replaced the naive "universal history" of the Enlightenment with its pseudo-scientific cycles, stages, and "laws". Although comparison persisted in history, it often went underground, serving as a literary or didactic device. The shibboleth of uniqueness, never far from the critic's reach, was applied to all but the most cautious and rigorous searches for parallels. The injunction to "compare and contrast" -- still so familiar in the history preliminary examination -- always concealed a snare: no "comparison" was complete without "contrast;" no comparison was complete without a disquisition on the pitfalls of comparison. Yet of course, the comparative approach persisted in a slightly disguised fashion. Historians have traditionally been especially beguiled by continuity. Now the search for the continuous has certain similarities to the search for parallels. Indeed, the phenomenon of change necessitates a very good eye for hidden features that "indicate" the presence of what supposedly has vanished forever (vestiges of royal prerogative in the powers of a prime minister), or has not yet come into existence (the origins of feudalism in late Roman patronage.) In fact, the mid-nineteenth century's introduction of a multiplicity of abstractions to stand for supposedly "continuous" political and social institutions such as vassalage, fief, feudalism, dynasty, state, constitution, and common law, illustrates the results

of an irrepressible drive toward comparisons. The "unique event" survived, of course, in the footnotes, and there were plenty of them!

The other approach to the study of human behavior was classical economics. While vestiges of a comparative approach persist in the writings of Adam Smith, by mid-nineteenth century the economists had moved away from discussions of anomalies and historical processes (Marx would retain the historical process by erecting it into a principle). Instead, by rigorously excluding all but the specific kinds of human behavior which could be measured, collecting their data with great care and sophistication, and applying as much mathematical ingenuity as possible, Alfred Marshall as well as the "Austrian" school perfected a group of theoretical tools such as marginal utility. Although an institutional and historical movement in economic thought reappears before 1900, notably at this university, the chief consequence of this abstracting and mathematizing trend in economics was to reinforce the Newtonian ideal of science by "demonstrating" the applicability of its principles to social science. It is hardly surprising that nineteenth century sociology -- and, of course, experimental psychology -- aspired to similar clarity and universal applicability. Here too vestiges of comparison remained, and because sociology and psychology did not lend themselves as soon to sophisticated measurement as economics, the necessity to order empirical information somehow led inevitably to typologies, hierarchies, and classificatory schemes which were often mutually contradictory. There is little wonder that scholars and practitioners alike dreamed not of a better comparative methodology but of precise and universal tools of measurement, clear analytical concepts -- in short of sociometrics and psychometrics.

Nonetheless the comparative approach had its successes. Indeed, the careful study of historical documents made possible and popular by the historical enthusiasm and scholarship of the Romantic period gave rise to a comparative school of law and jurisprudence which sponsored journals, societies, and conferences throughout Europe by the 1870's. Again the study of ancient texts and of folklore and folksongs, prompted by the Romantic thirst for historical origins, readily gave rise to a successful and highly critical comparative science of philology -- not without, unfortunately, perpetrating the Aryan myth. Comparative literature and comparative folklore date back to the same generations, those historically conscious Europeans not yet overwhelmed by the machine age which insisted on interchangeability, uniformity, and quantification. Burdened by hierarchial theories about the superiority of Ancient Greece and the naive evolutionary conceptions of the Enlightenment, comparativists took until the very end of the Victorians' rule, before they dared to include "primitive" culture and patterns of social organization in a truly taxonomic system of human behavior. The civilizations of India and China, however, became popular subjects of comparison much earlier, and "comparative religion" also evolved earlier as a discipline than ethnography or anthropology. The study of eastern philosophies, too, became fashionable in the nineteenth century,

largely drawn from Indian and Chinese experience, with the result that both a comparative ethics and a comparative esthetics were attempted -- with practical effects on university curricula and on artistic criticism. Besides aiding the rise of a fuzzy-minded relativism, which is still with us, these efforts at constructing taxonomies of morals and values have not had much success of late, overborne as they are by the reductionist movement of logical positivism and the mathematizing scientism of symbolic logic. Imaginative works such as Susan Langer's have not multiplied.

It will be obvious that comparative studies in the aforementioned areas are of quite different character from either comparative endocrinology or comparative politics, two very current disciplines of the seventies. On the face of it, this would appear to be due to the contrast between ideas and values on the one hand, and either physical objects or behavior on the other. However, beneath the surface, there are more profound scientific distinctions in method, evidence, and results as well as a few remarkable similarities.

There appear to be three basic analytical methodologies in all comparative studies: 1. structural-functional analysis; 2. developmental or time-sequence analysis; 3. configurational or pattern analysis. The purpose of a systematic analytical approach is, of course, the "ordering" of the potential universe of data compared, the selection of a limited body of data for comparison, and implicitly the erection of a hypothesis concerning regularities in the subject-matter. As the formal varieties of comparative studies have evolved, the three methodologies have become explicit, and so have the systematizing purposes. No self-respecting comparativist would attempt to include all phenomena in a comparative scheme, or merely present a random collection of "case studies" for consideration, or, finally, ignore the problem of validation of his systematizing principle altogether. In order to validate a principle of selection, of course, an operation independent of the selection process itself must be employed; prediction is a familiar example of such an operation. Because prediction is not only difficult, but also inapplicable to many aspects of comparison, the commonest validating device is the application of configurational tests to either structural-functional analysis or to time-sequence or developmental data. As taxonomies evolved in anatomy, linguistics, and ethnography, for instance, the principle of "closeness of fit" also evolved independently in each discipline. Occasionally, quite elegant substitutions for the "predictability test" could be invented, such that unknown "cases" could be extrapolated from the schema, by combining the analytical model with configurational data. Examples might be the decipherment of ancient scripts by computer, using a variety of hypothetical language structures; the "description" of certain theoretical zoological and botanical species before their actual identification; and the well-known "prediction" of rare chemical elements and particles long before their isolation.

More often, of course, comparativists have been content to work out more or less effective pigeon-holing matrices, with the aid of which they sort out "causes" for further study. If the matrix is

"effective" the cases in the same or logically related pigeon-hole will offer at least some common characteristics which can be isolated and generalized by suitable tools. From a simple sorting box of two, three, or four compartments to a statistical matrix of so many dimensions that it is not capable of visual reproduction, matrix analysis can be and is applied to structural and functional data, developmental data, and to other collections of information even when such collections have no recognizable principle of selection. Taking the last point first, I am referring to the increasingly popular multiple regression analysis, an elaboration of the familiar use of covariancy whereby it is possible to "drop out" statistically unrelated phenomena from a universe of data and pin-point by successive approximations a pattern of covariancy of quite a number of independent variables. If there is a "rub" in this new technique, it lies in the tendency toward solipsism: all validating checks are internal, so that the more beautiful and elegant the pattern becomes, the "truer" it appears to be. Now that comparativists are leaping on the bandwagon of multiple regression analysis, they may add a corrective factor merely due to the fact that the very act of comparison implies checking one universe of data against another universe. However, the much heralded interdependency of the modern world introduces the other danger: covariance is becoming more and more likely between two cultures or civilizations, and even diseases are becoming universalized. The discovery of some "perfect" pattern or other among widely scattered societies or individuals may become less useful as it becomes more and more technically possible!

On a less global note, the newer adherents to the comparative approach, notably the behaviorist political scientists, the system theorists of all kinds, from economics to education and library science, usually combine the structural-functional model with a developmental one to form a "system" of rather precise limits and describability. Thus their use of configurational tests occurs at either end of their research, but does not replace the extensive preoccupation with "rounding-out" descriptive wholes, whether they be states, educational "systems", "library systems" or "marketing units". At the beginning of their work, comparative behavioral scientists use configurational studies to identify dynamic and forceful elements in the observed data. At the end of their work, they use patterning to check on and confirm "predictions" made from the model of behavior they have built up. In between, in the course of elaborating the hypothetical tools of comparative systems analysis however, the characteristic processes of analysis appear to be borrowed from the older methodologies of comparison, notably the tools of the institutional historian, the anthropologist, the clinician, and the engineer.

I believe that I detect five major problem areas in regard to the evidence used in current comparative studies. The first of these is that of comparability. Both structural-functional analysis and developmental theory offer a positive basis for attacks on this problem, while configurational tests offer very high reliability in negative application. The second problem area is that of sampling, by which I do not mean quantification. By sampling, I mean the efficient selection of information from a huge body of knowledge.

There is no substitute here for an effective theory of comparison. Quantification, the third problem area, since it is so intimately related to the study of patterns, must be tackled, even where it seems at first glance, quite antithetical to much of the "humane" and verbal-subjective material of interest to mankind and to humanistic scholars. Far more effort along the lines of imaginative item-analysis is required to make scientific comparison possible in many "case-study" fields such as social work, pedagogy, psychiatry, and the arts. Advertisers and political campaign management firms have just scratched the surface here, but they have scratched the surface. Probably their sampling is bad, based on naive theory. The fourth problem area is what I call the evidence-marshalling problem in comparative studies. It is not unrelated to the problem of data retrieval in library and archival work. Older styles of marshalling evidence based on a literary and rhetorical scheme, often supplemented by fairly crude chronological narrative style (a usage ranging far beyond the field of the historian proper), have given way to the no less bulky and often illogical reference work, the compendium, the computerized print-out of key-words from the titles of articles and research reports, the specialized journal, each issue of which is devoted to a different facet of the field, and the like. Lack of a widely accepted division of labor, a common scheme of analysis, and a canon of scientific inquiry has generated additional problems of sampling quite aside from the mere absence of data.

Last of all, I wish to close with the most intractable of evidential problems: the tendency to lose hidden variables in systematic comparison. It was the merit of historicism to preach completeness and insist on scholars sticking with their specialties through thick and thin, because there was always more to learn about x or y. While the open-endedness of the multivariate regression approach has some restorative powers here, in contradistinction to the rigors of comparative approaches limited to, say, demographic or economic indicators, there is still a very strong presumption in most studies of comparative politics, comparative development, and comparative education that selection of indicators for multivariate regression should be precisely the familiar and admittedly, at least slightly validated, economic and demographic indicators. Much more can be done, and certainly must be done to keep from throwing our baby out with the bath. Comparisons should bring out and not obscure differences at the level of motivation, insight, and creativity. Here I believe, the older comparative disciplines dealing with values and meaning may ultimately be of use.

As an example of the elusiveness of important traits I will describe an international research project which is still in the discussion stage in comparative education. It concerns the role of indigenous patterns of socialization in modifying "borrowed" educational institutions in former colonial areas. The hypothesis thus far is that educational institutions in former French colonies will differ from the nominal "model" of the same institution in France to some degree because of alternative indigenous patterns of socialization, and that the difference in institution will in some fashion

reflect the indigenous pattern of socialization. We need at least two sets of French colonial schools and preferably "controls" in the form of French institutions that served as models for the colonial examples. Above all, we need a pilot investigation of colon classroom culture from which to derive a narrower and more precise hypothesis, such as: Koranic school traditions of rote memorization and oral practice have deflected French classroom style. At least one set of cases would then ultimately have to be drawn from non-Muslim areas, e.g., the Malagasy Republic. How do we quantify the deflections? Does Koranic school tradition affect British school-room culture in the same fashion? What is it about the French classroom that remains the same in Indochina, New York City and Bamako? I believe that I have suggested one kind of agenda for the seventies in comparative studies that is capable of imaginative development, and is as full of the pitfalls I mentioned earlier as any you could name.

Thank you.

#### QUESTION PERIOD

KRIKELAS: I find it somewhat difficult to see the difference between the comparative method and what might be called the experimental method in the social milieu as opposed to the laboratory setting.

KOEHL: I really think they are not all that different. I view science as a sort of continuum on which the basic characteristics of all inductive reasoning is comparative and that what has actually happened in the development of many of the sciences is that when they were relatively un-mathematized and when there was a great deal of uncertainty as to what to look for, people tended to use a kind of case approach. This approach is often a crude, stylized way of making comparisons. Then, when they had a better understanding of the material they were working with, they were able to design some very nice experiments which had implicit in them a background of comparative approach but which, for all practical purposes, had ceased to be comparative. For example, about ten years ago, some organic chemists were merely running through the same experiments with a quite large number of organic compounds, taking each compound in succession rather like beads on a string. They were quite important experiments and produced some very significant findings, but the theoretical chemists criticized these experiments on the ground that, with sufficient understanding of the chemical mechanisms involved, one could design experiments with considerable predictive value that would eliminate what these theoretical chemists called "cooking chemistry." In defense of the organic chemists, it was argued that their approach was not unlike the work of Linnaeus or the early workers in other fields. Within the past ten years though, it appears that a great deal more theory has evolved in organic chemistry to the point that, while today a master's student might do the earlier kind of experiment, no professor would need to do one because he now has better tools. If I suggest therefore that comparative study is really an immature form of science I don't mean to sneer. I simply think that's where we are, and we are much better off

to acknowledge that these are things we don't understand very well and to use these kinds of approaches, always being very rigorous and wishing that we could design experiments that would be much more clean and neat. And we would hope to be able to do so after having done the earlier and less elegant studies.

BUNGE: You spoke of the desirability of hypotheses of the middle range. I had the impression that you were implying that these middle-range hypotheses might contradict the grand theory, but I find difficulty with this idea because it seems that the middle-range hypotheses are usually profoundly influenced by the grand theory. It is hard to conceive, for example, how hypotheses concerning biological phenomena can develop in contradiction to the evolutionary grand theory. In fact, this is a complaint of some religious groups. Can you give us some idea about how these contradictory hypotheses of the middle range have been developed, breaking through the pre-conceptions of the grand theory?

KOEHL: I have really the feeling that it is contradictions in the grand theory itself that often suggest contradictory hypotheses of the middle range. I confess that, much as I recognize the importance of "general systems" approaches, I feel rather strongly that it is important for the "intellectuals" -- that is, the people who think about problems like this -- to keep closely in touch with practitioners. Taking Darwin himself as an example, you will find that The Origin of Species, his statement of the grand theory, in fact contains a great deal about pigeons. In the field of agronomy, for example, questions of how plants grew were answered during the Eighteenth Century by the explanation that plants took food from the soil and that you could improve the plants by putting food in the soil, a rough description of fertilizer but one that misses the whole process of photosynthesis. The experience of gentlemen farmers with different kinds of soil and the damage done by too much fertilizer in many instances contributed a great deal to the theory of botany. I am suggesting, in other words, that a group of librarians trying to understand the differences between libraries in French Africa and in British Africa might very well gain a lot by making very concrete approaches to the actual situations and not trying to make a systems analysis of library science.

BUNGE: To what extent has your study of the History of Science showed a necessary progression of stages in the development of a science? Has it been possible for a new science to jump over some of the stages?

KOEHL: Oh, yes. I think this has been very much tied in with the rapidity of development of tools and mathematizing in the field. I am afraid, though, some of the current enthusiasm for computers has been motivated by an impatience to make some of these jumps. I have no objection to that step as long as it is kept close to reality. The problem comes when the scholars try to use the computers in terms of an overarching "grand theory" that may in fact be quite shaky. I have the impression that the computers could be put to best use in analyzing rather modest but quite solid quantitative data rather than seeking to answer very large questions. As for making the large jumps, it is probably true that some fields are more likely to be able to skip some steps than others. Demography, for example, because of the

nature of its subject matter, is in a much better position to move rapidly into mathematization and computers on a sound basis than political behavior -- and studies of political behavior in societies with voting information can move more quickly than studies in societies that do not hold elections.

WILLIAMSON: In the matter of evidence, you mentioned five particular problems. In our work with a scalogram of Latin American library development, we ran into some additional technical problems, particularly the matter of definition and the availability of accurate data. We found, for example, that changing the definition of what constituted a library school made a great deal of difference in our judgment that a particular country did indeed have a library school. And then, even with a reasonably good definition, we could not find, even for this rather well-documented area of the world, sufficient information to make a judgment that we could feel great confidence in.

KOEHL: I think this is a matter very similar to the problems of my students in history in finding information. I always try to persuade them to do studies in areas in which there is adequate information even at some sacrifice of the broad significance of the topic. It is much better to work with a subject for which the data are rich and easily understood and analyzed than to study a much grander subject for which it is necessary to depend upon published data that you cannot really analyze and get behind. All too frequently, studies in comparative political systems are very elaborate statistical investigations that may involve three or four tests of significance while the data are taken, perhaps, from a 1948 textbook. It would be much better to study, say, the computer runs of the characteristics of students at the University of Wisconsin than to do another, much grander study about students in various Asian countries. One of the problems here is that the social scientists is constantly being pushed to do a study that will enable him to make very "important" statements rather than, as they say, "to waste time" finding out about things that are perhaps more mundane but based on sound information. Of course, the studies that involve overarching projects are most likely to be the ones that are considered "promising" by those with the funds to grant for their support.

## SOCIAL CHANGE AND LIBRARY DEVELOPMENT

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A basic assumption of librarianship is that libraries have some role to play in society. While we can point to particular objectives such as the collection of scholarly material, popular education, and others, we cannot be absolutely sure whether these objectives are valid at this time for the developing nations. Yet, we seem sure that libraries have an important role in developing countries. For example, Carl White states that national library development is "part of that large task of social engineering which planning literature calls nation-building." [1]

Although the ~~perceptive~~ analyses of observers help us to understand problems of comparative librarianship, they are at a level of subjective evaluation and untested assumptions. One strategy that may help us to make our knowledge more objective is to examine gross differences and similarities among nations in order to develop more precise hypotheses for further testing. I would like to adopt this strategy by using the theories of Ferdinand Tönnies who put forth the concepts of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft as constructs by which to compare different societies and to examine social change over a period of time. [2] It is important to keep in mind that these were ideal types and, therefore, are not a description of the real world, but by using these concepts we can attempt to organize, understand, and possibly make generalizations about what appear to be unique historical facts and situations in the real world. This will be done by examining the historical development of the library movement in the United States during the nineteenth century as a possible analogous situation for comparison with present day developing countries. The concepts of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft will be used to show the transition from a rural, community society to an urban, rational society and to examine the possible implications of such a transition for library development.

Tönnies assumes that all social relationships are based upon human will of which he distinguishes two forms: natural will and rational will. Natural will in the individual person is inborn and inherent; action based upon it can be characterized as impulse. Societies dominated by natural will are Gemeinschaft associations. In Gemeinschaft the basic social organizations are the family, the rural village, and the town. Life is regulated by folkways, traditions, and mutual sympathies based upon intimate knowledge between individuals.

In contrast to natural will, rational will is purposeful thinking. Rational will is concerned with ends and with the efficient means of attaining these ends. Its general principle is, as Tönnies states it,

"to obtain the greatest possible result with the least possible expense of energy or labor" or as he put it another way, "the end should be attained in the most perfect possible way with the easiest and simplest possible means." [3] Societies dominated by rational will are Gesellschaft. Basic social organizations are the city and the nation. Individuals are isolated from each other and concerned only with their individual goals or ends. When they do unite in groups, it is for the purpose of attaining mutual ends. Because Gesellschaft is dominated by rational will, it is concerned with the efficient attainment of ends and requires scientific or rational thinking in order to develop the required techniques. [4] As Tönnies states: "Life is conceived and conducted as a business, that is, with the definite end or view of attaining an imaginary happiness as its ultimate purpose." [5]

Historically, a period of Gemeinschaft is followed by a period of Gesellschaft. Therefore, we see a transition from rural social organizations to urban social organizations, from natural social relationships between individuals to artificial relationships based on mutual objectives, from a rural communism to urban individualism, from an agricultural economy to an industrial economy, and a shift from religion to secularism. During the nineteenth century we can see just such transitions occurring in the United States, particularly in the New England area. Furthermore, it was during this period of social change, and in New England, that the modern library movement began.

The rise of urbanization, industrialization, and secularization has been well documented and their concurrence with the development of the public library movement has been described by Shera and Ditzion. [6] I will discuss these three phenomena briefly within the context of Tönnies' theories in order to illustrate the rise of a more rational society.

During the 1820's and 1830's the increase in population in American cities began to exceed that of the country as a whole. [7] In New England the urban population rose from 8.2 per cent in 1800 to 36.6 per cent in 1860. In Massachusetts alone, the urban population during the same period went from 13.5 per cent to 63.3 per cent. [8] This marked trend towards urbanization was bound to have effects which would in time bear upon the development of public libraries. As Shera states: "The intensification of human relationships that results from town and city life encouraged the substitution of complex patterns of group action for the simpler and more primitive forms." [9]

Industrialization is usually closely related to urbanization. According to Tönnies the city is basic to Gesellschaft -- particularly the city that is based on commerce and manufacturing. Tönnies viewed trade as the prime mover of change, and consequently he places much importance on the merchant. He sees the merchant as the first real Gesellschaft man. In the transition from Gemeinschaft to Gesellschaft the merchant accumulates the capital that provides the basis for the development of industry. Hence, the merchant turns industrialist, just as the merchant benefactors of libraries, such as Lenox and

Astor, gave way to the industrialist Andrew Carnegie.

The cities of New England were able to grow because they were centers of commerce, finance, and manufacturing. A basis for this growth was the merchant class, which had accumulated, through the European and East India trade, the capital necessary for the industrialization of New England. Shera supports this conclusion observing that in less than two generations "A primitive manufacturing system that had begun in the farm home emerged as a diversified industry demanding a high degree of occupational specialization." [10]

A third element in the transition from Gemeinschaft to Gesellschaft was the trend toward secularization. Religion is a basic characteristic of Gemeinschaft, it approves or disapproves the folkways, mores, and customs of the group. In Gesellschaft, however, society frees itself more and more from the traditions and customs of the past and replaces them with laws derived from the state. Science becomes important as a means to formulate rules for a rational social organization. Consequently the attitudes of the individual become more influenced by science and rational thinking, and less by religion. [11]

Looking at New England, we find such a secularization occurring. While respectable people regularly attended church, the old religious zeal was fading. [12] In public affairs the theologians were being replaced by the successful business men and within the institutions of religion itself the scientific outlook encouraged the growth of such secular movements as Unitarianism.

The changes that were occurring created needs for new social agencies. The transition from towns to cities demanded a more rational organization of all kinds of services that had previously been provided by voluntary associations. The municipalities had to assume responsibility for public utilities, fire and police protection, education, public health, welfare, and other services. [13] At the same time the technological advances in paper making and power printing [14] made possible the increase of book production that was encouraged by the needs of secular intellectuals and a literate public. The progress of an industrial economy encouraged the organization of sources of information for the benefit of the business and industrial firms themselves and as an aid to the advancement of workers and young clerks. Because it was no longer practical for most individuals to build up a private collection of books, it became necessary for individuals to come together in groups in order to acquire the materials they wanted. These groups formed themselves into various types of corporations [15] and to Tönnies "the corporation or stock company ... represents the perfect type of all legal forms for an association based on rational will." [16] These various types of libraries such as the social libraries, the mercantile and mechanics libraries, and the athenaeums, were typical Gesellschaft associations representing people coming together to attain a particular goal. The creation of these early libraries was a reflection of the trend towards a more rational society. They were experiments in an attempt to organize and to make available society's recorded knowledge. And the knowledge itself was valued less as a generalized contribution and more

as an implement for the achievement of society's rational goals.

Although a few of these early libraries still exist, most lasted only a short time, primarily because they were based upon the ability of their patrons to pay. With inadequate financial support, they often gave way to the public library. George Tickner stated in 1853, "Indeed, if we do not mistake the signs of the times, such efficient Public Libraries are soon to be generally substituted for the private corporations which have heretofore imperfectly satisfied the demands of the communities where they have existed..."[17] The proposed Massachusetts Law of 1851 to authorize the establishment of public libraries proclaimed the public library as an efficient means to meet the needs of the community.[18] In its preamble, it states the necessity for the diffusion of knowledge to protect the peoples' freedom, to equalize social advantage, to aid their industrial success, and to encourage physical, intellectual, and moral growth. It asserted the need to provide access to information for people beyond the school years, and concluded: "There is no way in which this can be done so efficiently, conveniently and economically as by the formation, increase and perpetuation of public libraries."

Just as the municipalities could no longer rely on private corporate groups to provide other services vital to an industrial, urban society, it became necessary to create an agency to organize its information resources. Consequently, it is at this time that we find libraries attempting to develop the various techniques for organizing their collections and for the administration of their libraries. These efforts would lead to the familiar events of 1876 and after, which we recognize as the beginning of the modern library movement.

And, characteristic of Gesellschaft, one of the major concerns of this movement was business-like efficiency. F. B. Perkins of the Boston Public Library, commenting in 1876 on "How to Make Town Libraries Successful" stated, "To begin with, businesslike management is the whole story. A public library for popular use should be managed not only as a literary institution, but also as a business concern."[19] A decade later, the historian Moses Coit Tyler, giving a speech at the opening of a new public library, remarked: "Libraries as well as saw-mills need be dealt with according to common sense and with efficiency."[20] By 1919, William Warner Bishop noted the passing of the scholar librarian and warned that "one of our greatest perils is the exaltation of executive ability over scholarly attainment."[21] He felt the need was to train scholarly executives who would not only be able to direct libraries but would also be in sympathetic touch with the world of letters. Without such sympathies he warned "our librarianship will surely degenerate into the common mold of 'big business!'"[22]

John Cotton Dana provides an excellent example of library thinking instilled with Gesellschaft attitudes. Writing in 1897 on "The Public and Its Public Library" he says:

"The public owns its public library. This fact sheds much light on the question of public library manage-

ment. It means that the public library must be fitted to public needs. It must suit its community. It must do the maximum of work at the minimum expense. It must be an economical educational machine. It must give pleasure, for only where pleasure is, is any profit taken." [23]

Here we have any number of examples of the Gesellschaft rational outlook: the library is characterized as a corporation in which everyone has a share; Tönnies' remarks on the greatest possible results with a minimum of expense in labor and energy are repeated almost verbatim. It also reflects the Gesellschaft idea of life conducted as a business to attain the maximum of pleasure.

What I have attempted to show, using Tönnies' concepts is that New England, during the nineteenth century, was going through a social change that led to a society that was dominated by a rational, scientific mode of thought. Because of the new social relationships that were emerging, the state had to provide numerous services that were formerly assumed by private groups. I think we may see the public library movement in the United States as one of the elements in the rationalization of American society, its primary objective being the development of efficient techniques for the rational organization of society's recorded knowledge. In the management of their libraries, librarians continued their efforts to rationalize their operations. They were, and still are, concerned with centralization, standardization, and scientific management.

It would be an oversimplification to try to characterize all developing nations as emerging Gesellschaft-like societies in the hope of being able to identify neat parallels between our experience and theirs. One can provide examples of urbanization, industrialization, and secularization that encourage such an approach, but the varieties of traditions, cultures, and social changes that are evident throughout the world would make such an interpretation difficult to defend. This does not mean, however, that we cannot use our concepts. If we examine the literature dealing with librarianship in developing countries, we are often struck by the characteristics that fit our analysis. Therefore, while we should not expect to see library development in the emerging nations go through the same series of experiences or stages that occurred in the United States, the basic objective is the same: the rationalization of society's recorded knowledge.

One indication of this rationalization may be a trait shared by librarianship here and in developing countries; an enthusiasm for technique. Carl White has written: "Foreign students have rightly recognized the importance of technical skills of advanced countries but have wrongly tended to treat them as all-important, while more than one library-school faculty has assumed that the biggest thing western library experience has to offer is technical methods and technical education." [24] Some have attributed the developing countries' admiration for library techniques to American library instruction itself, both here and abroad, [25] but keeping in mind that the development of efficient techniques is a characteristic of Gesellschaft, it is possible that the concern for techniques in developing countries

is a reflection of the social change that is occurring in those nations. Is it possible that the developing nations' preoccupation with techniques is not, as most American observers seem to think, simply a narrowness of view, but rather an appropriate and a necessary response to their particular stage of development?

Another example might be the development of special libraries in the emerging nations. It has been observed that it is often the special libraries that are the most sophisticated and modern while there is little concern for public and school libraries.[26] Furthermore, Asheim suggests, it is in the special libraries, both in the United States and in the developing countries, that the search for new techniques and concepts is going on, particularly in response to the needs of scientists and technologists. In other words, it is those libraries that are closest to a rational outlook and activity that are most concerned with efficient techniques. This seems to conform to the idea that the objective of the library is to rationalize the organization of recorded knowledge. Whereas, in the United States, the public library emerged initially to serve this need, in the developing countries the special library appears often to take first claim on resources available to support library development.

Although special libraries may be an indication of the emergence of Gesellschaft societies, Asheim has observed Gemeinschaft characteristics that have been hindrances to library development. For example, he notes that the primary loyalty is given to the family, clan, or tribe rather than to the nation. This orientation limits the co-operation that is essential to the establishment and functioning of social agencies in Gesellschaft. Another notable example is the Latin American's traditional lack of concern for exactness: what is known as the mas o menos (more or less) outlook. Asheim states: "Certainly it is true that where precision, accuracy, exact measurement are essential, the mas o menos philosophy can cause delays, errors, and losses that adversely affect the efficiency of the entire operation." [27]

Although these survivals remind us that Gemeinschaft features remain, a UNESCO sponsored conference and report on Latin America testifies that the rationalization of society continues as the primary goal for most developing nations. The report points to various factors, including "the rising tide of urbanization and industrialization," which "have brought about far reaching social changes," that require planning for economic, social, and cultural development. One of the factors in this development is education, including libraries. The report states, with a fine Gesellschaft flavor: "Thus, to insist on keeping [libraries] tied to obsolete patterns, structures and operational forms is to condemn them to inefficiency and to deprive education of an indispensable instrument which will sustain peoples' reading habits after they have left school, and enable them to educate themselves and so ensure their contribution to national development." [28] This utilitarian outlook is reminiscent of the remarks made by early and present-day North American librarians. In another parallel, the report places its

call for library planning in the context of its call for planning for other areas such as housing and health services. Just as in nineteenth century America, the state was assuming the responsibility for numerous areas of social services, so in the developing countries of Latin America and other areas of the world, societies are creating what Tönnies called Gesellschaft associations.

Using Tönnies' concepts, I have tried to show that the development of libraries in the United States was a result of the rationalization of our society. The library was only one of a number of social agencies that were created to meet the needs of a society that was experiencing social change. Furthermore, there is evidence that library growth in the developing countries reflects the rationalization of their societies. This may be an indication that a primary objective of libraries in all societies is the rationalization of the preservation, organization, and servicing of society's recorded knowledge. However, the development of special libraries in the emerging nations with their search for efficient techniques, suggests that each country will establish its own priorities based on which social or economic aspects it is attempting most quickly to rationalize.

#### FOOTNOTES

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[3] Ibid., p. 144.

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[6] Jesse H. Shera, Foundations of the Public Library (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1949); Sidney H. Ditzion, Arsenals of a Democratic Culture (Chicago: American Library Association, 1947).

[7] William B. Munro, "Cities, Growth of," Dictionary of American History, 1940, Vol. 1, p. 378.

[8] Shera, p. 5.

[9] Ibid., p. 245.

[10] Ibid., p. 13.

[11] Tönnies, p. 226.

- [12] Carl Bridenbaugh, Cities in the Wilderness (New York: Ronald Press, 1938), p. 423.
- [13] Shera, p. 65, 171; Gwladys Spencer, The Chicago Public Library, Origins and Backgrounds (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943), pp. 298-327.
- [14] Ditzion, p. 77.
- [15] Carleton B. Joeckel, The Government of the American Public Library (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935), p. 7.
- [16] Tönnies, p. 196.
- [17] Quoted in Shera, p. 124.
- [18] Reprinted in Shera, Table 19; see also Ditzion, p. 18-19.
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- [25] Lester E. Asheim, "University Libraries in Developing Countries," ALA Bulletin, CIX (Oct., 1965), p. 800.
- [26] Lester E. Asheim, Librarianship in Developing Countries (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1966); John F. Harvey, "Special Libraries and Information Centers in Southwest Asia," in Comparative and International Librarianship, ed. by Miles M. Jackson (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Corp., 1970); William V. Jackson, Aspects of Librarianship in Latin America (Champaign, Ill.: Distributed by the Illini Union Bookstore, 1962); Carlos Victor Penna, "Library Development in Latin America and the Caribbean: Achievements and Handicaps," Library Quarterly, XXIV (April, 1954), p. 171.
- [27] Asheim, Librarianship in Developing Countries, p. 48.
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## LIBRARY DEVELOPMENT IN LATIN AMERICA, A SCALOGRAM

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### I. INTRODUCTION

#### A. The Search for Possible Indicators of Library Development in Other Countries:

In order to understand and to compare the growth of librarianship and the role of libraries in national development in other countries, it is important to try to isolate any quantifiable variables which may be closely related to libraries in general. It should then be possible to measure these variables and use the measures to assess relationships among the variables. One approach to the study of foreign library development is to seek out and identify certain characteristics of librarianship in those countries which could serve as "indicators" of the level of library development.

Studies in other fields have identified similar characteristics which are used as indicators of political, social, and economic development. Among these studies are Bruce M. Russett's World Handbook of Political and Social Indicators, Theodore Caplow's A Matrix of Modernization, and Banks and Textor's Cross-Polity Survey. As Adams has shown:

... a list of noneconomic indicators of social development can be enumerated and these in turn correlated with various educational factors. While such efforts do not identify specific causal relationships they do help map the process of development and further suggest hypotheses for empirical or logical testing.[1]

There are two problems which complicate the notion of finding indicators of library development:

1. The actual selection of the development indicators to be studied is extremely difficult and requires a great deal of skill. "The selection may be guided either by a general theory of development or simply by the intuition and experience of the investigator." [2]

2. The identification of appropriate indices to possible indicators is hampered by the fact that data on librarianship in foreign countries, especially developing ones, are often non-existent or extremely difficult to acquire. Also, statistics are frequently of questionable reliability and are not available over many years.

The use of important indicators like, for instance, the number of years of schooling of practicing librarians, or the study of certain variables over a period of time, and comparisons of such data are often impossible.

An idea of potentially great value to comparative librarianship is the sociological concept of differentiation. Many theorists, like Parsons, Eisenstadt, Easton, Buckley, Young, Marsh, and Coleman have suggested the importance of differentiation in understanding change in social systems. It is perhaps the principal process through which social systems adapt to environmental changes. The level of differentiation at any point in time is a good index of the ability of a system to adapt further.[3] Measuring the extent of differentiation of librarianship in other countries should result in a fairly clear indication of the state of library development at a particular period.

How can differentiation be measured? One possible way is simply to count the number of separate specialized library or library-related entities in a country and to rank them according to the number they possess at a point in time. The biggest problem with this approach is that there is an enormous number of elements of all types that could be included in the same count. "What is needed, then," say Adams and Farrell:

...is a measurement technique which not only permits a sample of elements, but which assures unidimensionality, for example, that the items included are appropriately counted together and one, and only one, variable is being measured. Fortunately, a technique exists - Guttman scalogram analysis - which meets these criteria.[4]

#### B. The Scalogram as a Tool for Comparative Analysis:

The scalogram technique has been used by many psychologists, anthropologists, and sociologists for over twenty years. Although Louis Guttman developed it as a measure of attitudes, it is a technique which is also appropriate for other problems. Basically, it consists of presenting the results of analysis in the form of a scale that depicts the configuration of the qualitative data. "...it affords a procedure for ordering individuals or groups along a single dimension, at the same time testing the assumption that the several acts or items 'hang together' to represent a unitary concept." [5]

A matrix is formed ordering the societies and items under examination and rearranging the data until a pattern has been established and a scale produced which has two characteristics:

1. It is cumulative. That is, those societies or countries with a "higher" rank on the scale have all the items of societies with a "lower" rank plus some additional items.

2. It is unidimensional. In other words, the set of items have enough content in common to measure one, and only one, variable; (for

example, library development.) In regard to this characteristic, Guttman declares that:

For a given population of objects, the multivariate frequency distribution of a universe of attributes will be called a scale if it is possible to derive from the distribution a quantitative variable with which to characterize the objects such that each attribute is a simple function of that quantitative variable.[6]

A perfect scale is rarely if ever obtained. An example of one is shown in this illustration. A group of people is weighed and individuals fall into these categories:

1. More than 100 pounds.
2. More than 110 pounds.
3. More than 120 pounds.
4. More than 130 pounds.

All persons who respond positively to category 4 must also respond positively to categories 3, 2, and 1. Likewise, all those individuals who respond positively to category 3 must also do so for categories 2 and 1.[7] And so forth.

In order to construct a scalogram data are needed on:

1. A sample of societies.
2. A set of dichotomized factors, such as the presence or absence of a certain trait being studied.

The degree of error in the scalogram can be measured by two methods:

1. The Coefficient of Reproducibility[8] is the number of correct, or non-error responses, as a proportion of the total number of responses (items x individuals or countries.) It can be spuriously high if there are several items with high marginal totals. This problem can be eliminated, however, by using only items with less than 80 per cent of the responses in the modal category. The Coefficient of Reproducibility =  $1 - \frac{\text{number of errors}}{\text{no. of questions} \times \text{no. of respondents}}$ .

2. The Coefficient of Scalability[9] is intended to account for sources of distortion in the Coefficient of Reproducibility resulting from extremeness of items and extremeness of individuals (countries.) It is based on the fact that the reproducibility cannot be less than the highest number of responses made in a category. The Coefficient of Scalability =  $1 - \frac{\text{number of errors}}{\text{no. of maximum errors}}$ .

The scalogram presents many of the same problems as were encountered in identifying indicators of development:

1. Finding complete and accurate information about the items being studied is a difficult task.
2. The definitions used to describe the items are of crucial importance. It must be made clear what is being studied and that, in fact, two or more different items are not being studied as one.
3. The actual selection of the items to be studied is most important of all and probably the least objective. Farrell agrees that:

Perhaps the most difficult, and at the same time most important, single step in scalogram analysis is choosing the traits to test. This selection is often regarded as more nearly an art than a science. Generally, one starts with a concept and selects items which ought, on the basis of judgment and/or experience, to measure it - to form a scale. [10]

## II. SCALOGRAM OF LIBRARY DEVELOPMENT IN LATIN AMERICA

### A. Reasons for the Study:

As part of a Seminar in Comparative Librarianship, it was decided to attempt to identify possible indicators of library development in other countries. During the course of this investigation a study by Joseph P. Farrell entitled "The structural differentiation of developing educational systems: a Latin American comparison" was examined. In this study Farrell constructed a scalogram to show the extent of differentiation of various elements of formal education in Latin America. One of the elements used by Farrell was "University-Level School of Librarianship." [11] This created the impetus to develop a scalogram similar to Farrell's to show the state of library development in Latin America.

### B. Hypothesis:

The study was then begun with the hypothesis that the pattern of development of libraries in twenty countries of Latin America is sufficiently differentiated that it can be measured by the scalogram technique. Our purpose was essentially to experiment with scalogram analysis, not to measure library development so precisely as to be highly confident of the results and certainly not to seek to correlate library development with other societal characteristics. Ultimately, of course, the hope is to measure library development with a degree of precision that will permit such correlation studies.

### C. Items on the Scale:

The first step in constructing the scalogram was the selection of items to be included in the study. These items were selected on

the basis of the judgment and experience of the participants in the seminar. This list of items is simply representative and is not considered to be complete. The ten characteristics finally chosen were those which appeared to be most representative of all the possible factors that can be employed to characterize the state of library development in a particular country. Twenty countries of Latin America were included in the study. A comparison with the state of library development in the United States, while not expressly stated, is implicit.

These items are on the scale:

1. National Library - one library designated to assemble the country's publications and provide appropriate services.
2. Current National Bibliography - a list of books and other materials published currently, including the complete or nearly-complete publishing output of any one country.
3. University-Level School of Librarianship - a school or department which is concerned with conducting university-level teaching and research activities in the field of librarianship.
4. National Governmental Agency for Librarianship - an officially designated body of the national government set up to concern itself with the promotion of librarianship throughout the country.
5. National Library Association - a formally organized body of individuals established for the express purpose of disseminating information about libraries and advancing librarianship as a profession.
6. Legal Deposit Agency - a government agency or other body, such as a library, specified for the deposit of copies of newly published books or other materials under a national law.
7. General Enabling Act for Libraries, or National Library Legislation - legislation, national in scope, which is concerned with authorizing and specifying the characteristics of libraries.
8. Library Periodicals - serials appearing or intended to appear indefinitely at regular or stated intervals containing articles or items directed specifically to librarians.
9. Public Libraries in at Least Half of the Principal Cities - libraries which are acknowledged as being open to the general public and located in at least half of the cities of that country that are designated as "principal" by the Statesman's Yearbook.
10. Non-University Training Programs - courses below university-level designated to prepare people to work in libraries.

**D. Construction of the Matrix:**

The scalogram was constructed by ordering the countries and items of the scale, using an "x" to indicate the presence of a factor and an "o" to indicate the absence of a factor. Next, the data were visually rearranged roughly until a pattern was established. Finally, a line was drawn to indicate the general outline of the scalogram and any "o's" to the left of the line and any "x's" to the right of the line can be considered as observable "errors;" that is, items that would not have been predicted to be either present or absent given everything else that is known about the country.

LIBRARY DEVELOPMENT IN LATIN AMERICA, A SCALOGRAM

	HAITI	PARAGUAY	VENEZUELA	ECUADOR	NICARAGUA	HONDURAS	DOM. REPUBLIC	EL SALVADOR	URUGUAY	CUBA	BOLIVIA	COSTA RICA	CHILE	PANAMA	GUATEMALA	PERU	MEXICO	COLOMBIA	BRAZIL	ARGENTINA	
National Library Legisl.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	X	0	0	0	0	0	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Publ. Libs. in 1/4 of Prin. Cits.	0	0	0	X	0	0	0	0	X	0	X	X	X	X	0	X	X	X	X	X	X
Library Periodics.	0	0	X	0	0	X	0	0	0	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Univ. Level School of Librarian.	0	0	X	0	0	0	X	X	X	X	0	0	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Legal Deposit Agen.	0	0	0	0	0	0	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Current National Bibliogr.	0	0	0	0	0	X	0	X	X	X	X	X	X	0	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
National Govt. Agen. for Lib.	X	0	0	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	0	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
National Lib. Assoc.	0	X	X	X	X	X	0	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Non-Univ. Library Training	0	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	0	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
National Library	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

E. Scale of Library Development - by Item:

<u>Step Number</u>	<u>ITEM</u>	<u>Proportion Having Item</u>	<u>Error</u>
1	National Library	1.00	---
2	Non-University Library Training	0.90	1
3	National Library Association	0.90	1
4	National Govt. Agency for Librarianship	0.85	2
5	Current National Bibliography	0.65	2
6	Legal Deposit Agency	0.70	---
7	University-Level School of Librarianship	0.65	3
8	Library Periodicals	0.65	2
9	Public Library in 1/2 of Principal Cities	0.55	3
10	National Library Legislation	0.40	1

F. Measures of Validity:

1. Coefficient of Reproducibility (C.R.):

a. Number of respondents - 20

b. Number of questions - 10

c. Number of "errors" - 15

$$C.R. = 1 - \frac{\text{number of errors}}{\text{no. of questions} \times \text{no. of respondents}}$$

$$C.R. = 1 - \frac{15}{10 \times 20}$$

$$C.R. = 1 - \frac{15}{200}$$

$$C.R. = 1 - .08$$

$$C.R. = .92$$

This figure is well above the Coefficient of Reproducibility of .90 established by Guttman as an arbitrary standard.[12]

F. cont.

2. Coefficient of Reproducibility: calculated with only those items with fewer than 80 per cent of the responses.

a. Number of respondents - 20

b. Number of questions - 6

c. Number of "errors" - 11

$$\text{C.R.} = 1 - \frac{\text{number of errors}}{\text{no. of questions} \times \text{no. of respondents}}$$

$$\text{C.R.} = 1 - \frac{11}{6 \times 20}$$

$$\text{C.R.} = 1 - \frac{11}{120}$$

$$\text{C.R.} = 1 - .09$$

$$\text{C.R.} = .91$$

3. Coefficient of Scalability (C.S.): to calculate the Coefficient of Scalability, the number of Maximum Errors must first be calculated according to Menzel's procedure.[13] The Maximum Errors are the total response (items x countries) minus successful reproductions. They will be equal to the sum of the modal category frequencies for each country. The smaller of these is inserted into the Coefficient of Scalability. For the purposes of this paper, Menzel's procedure was recast as "presence/absence" and it was computed how frequently the observed presence/absence differed from the hypothetical presence/absence. Menzel's technique of calculating the number of Maximum Errors from the frequency of response for any except the modal category of an item was employed.[14]

a. I = number of items.

b. N = number of individuals (countries).

c.  $f_{\text{non-max}}$  = frequency of responses for any except the modal category of an item.

d.  $f_{\text{non-max}}$  = frequency of responses for any except the modal category of an individual (country:)

Maximum Errors by Items:

$$\text{ME (Items)} = IN - \sum f_{\text{non-max}}$$

$$\text{ME (Items)} = 44$$

Maximum Errors by Individuals:

$$ME \text{ (Individuals)} = IN - \sum \text{non-max}$$

$$ME \text{ (Individuals)} = 51$$

Maximum Errors = 44

$$\text{Coefficient of Scalability} = 1 - \frac{\text{number of errors}}{\text{maximum errors}}$$

$$\text{C.S.} = 1 - \frac{15}{44}$$

$$\text{C.S.} = 1 - .34$$

$$\text{C.S.} = .66$$

This figure is acceptable according to Menzel's arbitrary standard of .60 to .65.[15]

### III. THE UTILITY OF THE SCALOGRAM AS A TECHNIQUE OF COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

#### A. Validity of the Findings:

The results of this study indicate that the original hypothesis was essentially confirmed. It does appear that the pattern of development of libraries in Latin America is sufficiently differentiated to allow measurement by the technique of scalogram analysis. It was learned, not surprisingly, that Haiti is at the lowest level of library development in Latin America. Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, and Peru have the most developed state of librarianship, while Guatemala, Panama, and Chile are close behind with fairly well-developed systems of libraries.

The major question to be answered is: just how valid was the scalogram which was constructed? Others who have used this technique have pointed out that the scalogram is not a precise instrument of measurement. Farrell, for example, admits that "It is difficult to conclusively demonstrate the validity-reliability of a measure such as this." [16]

Can it be said that, taken together, the whole set of items on the scale has enough common content to be thought of as measuring a single variable; that is, library development in Latin America? The answer is: "probably yes," but the scalogram is really a relatively crude measure. It does not provide definite information on the variables under examination. It simply gives the investigator an indication, a "picture" which presents an approximation of the situation. The attempt to compare libraries by using the scalogram is, therefore, only a first step. Adams also concluded that:

Ordering the information which has been accumulated... concerning relations within educational systems and across system boundaries according to the level of differentiation

of the educational systems may be a particularly fruitful way to begin the task of generalizing and specifying propositions - - of systematizing our knowledge.[17]

B. Problems of the Scalogram:

It was indicated earlier that a major problem of scalogram construction is selecting and defining the attributes to be studied. The items on our scalogram were not the only ones that could be included and perhaps the ones that were included were not the most representative. No objective claim can be made for their representativeness nor for their selection by any scientific method. In the experience and judgment of those involved, the attributes are fairly useful measures of library development, but this is a value judgment which will always be open to criticism.

The information available to researchers on library development in developing countries is very scarce and often of doubtful value. Our experience with Latin America was no exception. Much of the information at hand was very general in nature and frequently out of date. Often the source materials contradicted each other or were somewhat vague. Statistical reports, government documents, census materials, and other similar data were very scarce. Obviously, having to rely on such general information does not lend particular strength to the study.

Another problem which occurred with our scalogram was that five countries clustered together at the "highest" end of the scale. This gives the impression that the countries are alike in library development. Thus, the scalogram is not sufficiently discriminating to describe differences between countries which are in a similar, or nearly similar, state of development.

C. Conclusions:

It was found in this study that the scalogram is a useful, albeit not precisely accurate, tool for evaluating and comparing library development across national lines. However, the problems which were encountered with the sources of information, the attributes chosen for study, and the pattern of the scalogram suggest that the applicability of the findings is strictly limited.

The scalogram is a beginning toward systematizing our knowledge of the international aspects of librarianship and improving our ability to compare those aspects from country to country. One of the important purposes of comparative studies is the generalization and specification of propositions between two variables[18] and the scalogram gives us a hint as to the possibilities. According to Adams, what is involved here is that:

The concepts, social development or even educational development, are too grand to easily lend themselves to scaling techniques. More appropriate are the derivative components of these concepts....Such scales not only afford

the social planner a picture of the degree of development of a nation or educational system with respect to a particular educational variable but also enable him to gain insight into the supporting agencies or skills needed.[19]

One great advantage of the scalogram is that it graphically displays for the researcher those areas of potential importance in further library development. The process of constructing a scalogram provides a view of areas that can be considered for aid or for potential emphasis. For example, the fact that Panama does not have a current national bibliography, when considered in light of everything else that is now known about that country, makes that particular item a definite candidate for future emphasis. Additionally, the picture provided by the scalogram makes it easier, theoretically, for an outside expert, such as a library consultant, to identify the areas which need to be concentrated on and those on which to build a base of knowledge. "It is clearly possible," Farrell points out:

...given the available data concerning educational systems and the current state of measurement technology, to measure at least one theoretically important dimension, educational structural differentiation. There is reason to expect that measures of other important dimensions can also be developed. With a collection of such measures in hand we can get to the important business of attempting to develop those verifiable... propositions which when logically organized, can make sense of the rapidly accumulating stock of cross-national data which may otherwise overwhelm us or simply be ignored.[20]

This conclusion also applies to measuring the state of library development in other countries. The scalogram technique need not be limited to comparing aspects of librarianship across national boundaries. It should be a useful and potentially important tool for any attempt at comparison, such as from one state to another, from one educational system to another, from one public library system to another, from one city to another, from one university to another, and so forth.

There is a definite need for further research on the scalogram technique in librarianship. One possibility might be the correlation of the scalogram with other indicators of political, social, and economic development, such as those reported in the Russett or the Banks and Textor studies, for instance. It is recommended for another Seminar on Comparative Librarianship to explore this possibility further and to make a more careful and detailed study of the individual items included on the scalogram to attempt to differentiate more clearly between the quantitative and the qualitative factors. It should be possible to break down the items on the scalogram into more precise descriptions. Some of the possibilities are:

1. National Library - number of staff (professional and non-professional,) number of books, rate of growth, date established, number of departments, and budget.
2. Current National Bibliography - date established, total book production listed, frequency, and number of languages.

3. University-Level School of Librarianship - number of faculty, number of students, rate of increase in each, date established, size of book collection, rate of growth, number of courses, budget, and number of degrees granted.

4. National Governmental Agency for Librarianship - number of staff (professional and non-professional,) number of departments, date established, number of steps of hierarchy to the top, and budget.

5. National Library Association - number of members, date established, number of sub-sections, number of publications.

6. Legal Deposit Agency - number of publications deposited, total number of publications published, date established, number of staff, and budget.

7. General Enabling Act for Libraries - date established, number of acts, number of chapters.

8. Library Periodicals - total number, frequency, date established, number of articles, number of pages, and circulation.

9. Public Libraries in at Least Half of Principal Cities - number of books, ratio to population, number of branch libraries, staff size and composition, patron attendance, circulation figures, hours of operation per week, and budget.

10. Non-University Training Programs - number of faculty, number of students, date established, book collection, number of courses, and budget.

#### FOOTNOTES

[1] Adams, Don, "The study of education and social development," Comparative Education Review, v. 9, October, 1965, p. 263.

[2] Ibid., p. 264.

[3] Adams, Don and Joseph P. Farrell, "Societal differentiation and educational differentiation," Comparative Education, v. 5, December, 1969, p. 250..

[4] Ibid., p. 254.

[5] Adams, "The study of education," p. 265.

[6] Guttman, Louis, "The basis for scalogram analysis," in: Samuel A. Stouffer, et al., Studies in Social Psychology in World War II, vol. 4: "Measurement and Prediction." Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1950, p. 64.

[7] Adams, "The study of education," p. 265.

- [8] Guttman, "The basis for scalogram analysis," p. 77.
- [9] Menzel, Herbert, "A new coefficient for scalogram analysis," Public Opinion Quarterly, v. 17, September, 1953, pp. 270-275.
- [10] Farrell, Joseph P., "The structural differentiation of developing educational systems: a Latin American comparison," Comparative Education Review, v. 13, October, 1969, p. 302.
- [11] Ibid., p. 300.
- [12] Guttman, "The basis for scalogram analysis," p. 77.
- [13] Menzel, "A new coefficient," pp. 272-273.
- [14] Ibid., p. 273.
- [15] Ibid., p. 279.
- [16] Farrell, "Structural differentiation," p. 302.
- [17] Adams and Farrell, "Societal differentiation," p. 258.
- [18] Marsh, Robert, "The bearing of comparative analysis on sociological theory," Social Forces, v. 43, December, 1964, p. 196.
- [19] Adams, "The study of education," pp. 266-267.
- [20] Farrell, "Structural differentiation," p. 311.

V. BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MATERIALS CONSULTED IN CONSTRUCTING THE SCALOGRAM

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## CROSS-CULTURAL ASPECTS OF ASSISTANCE TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

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During the past twenty to twenty-five years, since World War II, anthropologists have devoted a good deal of attention to what has now become almost a separate branch of applied anthropology; namely, the problem of a foreigner coming into a new culture with the purpose of inducing change.[1] I am a bit diffident about addressing an audience consisting largely of librarians on this subject, because I know very little about what must be rather complicated special problems connected with that kind of work. Perhaps, though, I can suggest a few points where anthropology has shed some light on general principles that have to do with situations facing persons, particularly Americans, who wish to initiate or aid or implement changes in foreign countries.

An anthropologist, Charles Erasmus, has made the point that foreign advisers who are attempting to implement innovations in so-called developing countries have to take account of at least two things: the reactions of the people themselves to these innovations, and whether the mode of introducing the innovations will provoke resistance or, on the other hand, encourage acceptance.[2]

Almost by definition, any adviser in this situation is attempting to start or direct culture change. Usually, in the present-day world, such changes consist of introducing features of advanced, modern, industrialized civilization which are regarded as improvements by the introducer of change, and usually also by the authorities supporting him. Nearly all members of our society would accept most of these changes as positive ones. It would be difficult to find persons in our cultural milieu who would argue that disease, poor nutrition, poverty, or a low level of schooling are good things in themselves. Therefore, to us, any ameliorative change in such conditions in any society is a desirable goal.

Furthermore, most members of any other society, regardless of its cultural background, would agree with such propositions in the abstract. It is difficult to imagine anyone wishing to be sick, or malnourished, or uninformed. Why is it, then, that a great many foreign aid programs, involving a great many kinds of cultural change goals, have encountered frustration and disappointment? Why, in a number of cases, has a program of assistance failed through resistance, passive or active, from the very people it was designed to benefit? And, most crucially, we may ask why such programs have sometimes succeeded when introduced a second time under different techniques of presentation?

Solving problems of this sort turns out to be a difficult and complicated matter, in which anthropology has sometimes been able to provide useful solutions. Please don't misunderstand me on this point. I am not saying that my discipline has all the answers to sticky questions such as these. But there are general viewpoints and specific techniques which anthropology has worked out through years of experience in becoming acquainted with and learning to understand other peoples, with other ways, other attitudes, and other systems of values than our own. Some of these viewpoints and techniques are, I think, of vital importance to anyone going into a foreign setting with the intention of bringing about any kind of presumably beneficial cultural change.

One of these basically important anthropological viewpoints is the notion of cross-cultural differences, and their meaning for behavior when persons from two different cultures come into contact. How a person from one cultural system A will behave toward someone from another system B is never a simple matter of how B behaves toward him; instead, this turns out to involve extremely complicated relations between what A has learned to expect in his system and what B has learned in his. Frequently, these expectations will be quite different, and this divergence can of course lead to frustration and annoyance on both sides, rather than to any kind of constructive relationship.

A pertinent point here, which has been established for a long time in theoretical anthropology, is that a great many of these expectations regarding the behavior of other persons are engrained so thoroughly, and often so early in life, that they are held quite unconsciously. So long as things go more or less according to these unconscious notions of what to expect--and this will generally be the case in the cultural setting in which they were acquired--we feel that all is well. People are behaving in a normal and approximately predictable fashion. But when unexpected and seemingly arbitrary and unpredictable reactions are encountered, the sensation is apt to be one of shock or dismay, or at the least of mild uneasiness. And often, because of the unconscious nature of these behavioral expectations, we will not be able to put our finger on the exact reason for our unpleasant sensation.

Edward T. Hall is an anthropologist who has been especially interested in situations of this sort.[3] In an article on the "anthropology of manners" he describes several fascinating situations where natives of the United States in Latin American countries misunderstand and are misunderstood because of such unconsciously internalized behaviors. Often the misunderstandings are of a kind to preclude any constructive interaction between the parties.

There is, for example, a situation for which Hall has devised the technical term "proxemics." Proxemics in his meaning involves all bodily gestures, positioning of the body, and sometimes movements of parts of the body in social situations. When one is interacting with other persons in a social setting, a good deal of information is conveyed by these proxemic patterns, quite apart from

any verbal communication that may also be going on. It turns out that patterns of proxemics are surprisingly different in different societies with different cultural traditions. To a large extent the expectations of how people will behave in a proxemic manner are of the deeply engrained and unconscious type that I have referred to.

Specifically, American proxemic patterns, which have been rather thoroughly worked out and which show slight variation for different parts of the United States, involve somewhat distant positioning of the body in relation to other persons with whom one is in social contact. The nature of this positioning, of course, is determined by the exact situation and the type of contact. In a casual conversation Americans normally prefer to stand and sit some distance apart. The distances will vary, depending upon whether the situation is more or less informal, or whether the conversation is held standing or sitting. However, in Latin American countries the proxemic conventions are characteristically different, and they involve what to natives of the United States seems an uncomfortably close approach of body to body or face to face. The result is situations, such as Hall describes in fascinating detail, of the American businessman in Latin America barricading himself behind his desk while his client or customer or fellow businessman literally tries to climb over the desk in order to attain a proxemic pattern which he regards as informal, comfortable, and where he can, so to speak, feel at home. The American, in the mean time, is literally driven up the wall by this kind of behavior. Neither one will later recall such incidents with any sort of pleasure or satisfaction.

Hall reports conversations with Americans abroad in Latin American countries, containing such phrases as: "They are so pushy. I don't know what it is about them that annoys me, but they breathe on you so." "They are always breathing down your neck." "They keep creeping up on me." Or, frequently: "I just don't know what it is; they're nice people, but they make me uneasy." To the Latin American, on the other hand, the reaction of the North American seems, as he would say, refrigido, cold and withdrawn. Of course, the mutual annoyance which can grow out of this sort of thing may preclude anything further being developed, whether it is a business deal or an attempt of one of the parties to influence the other in any way.

Other examples of differences in cross-cultural patterns of manners may have to do with other than proxemic behavior. For example, the great difference between what one does with respect to time, to appointments and the scheduling of affairs, in the United States and in Near Eastern Arab countries can lend to much mutual misunderstanding. In the United States there is a very clearly defined norm for the informal visit. Hall finds this norm to be just about 45 minutes, with rather little leeway one way or the other. One feels uncomfortable leaving much earlier than this, and most Americans likewise feel that things are getting pretty protracted if they drag out in this kind of situation for more than an hour. Now this is quite unacceptable behavior to an Arab host. He feels that anyone leaving in a half day, or even more, is being inexcusably abrupt.

And, no matter what protestations may be made of mutual good will, purely emotional but very strong and unpleasant impressions will persist.

The obvious anthropological moral is that influencing the behavior of persons in a foreign culture is going to depend, in part, on learning to operate within some of the basic rules of that culture.[4] However, successful assistance programs involve more than simply understanding and accommodating to the manners of another society, important as this may be.

One of these additional problems is well described by Don Adams, formerly an educational adviser in Korea.[5] Adams illustrates certain well-intentioned educational reforms, advocated by American assistance personnel, with the well-known Oriental fable of the Monkey and the Fish. It seems that a ferocious flood overtook the animals of the forest, and one of the few survivors was an agile monkey who found a tree to climb up on. However, as he was climbing to safety, he looked down into the swirling current below and noticed a poor fish, a large one, which seemed to be battering its head against the branches and struggling against the torrent. Being an extremely good-hearted monkey, he descended, hung precariously by one foot from the lowest limb, reached into the water, hauled out the fish, and took him up to a crotch of the tree where he wedged him securely, well above the flood. After an hour or so, the monkey was gratified to note that the fish, which obviously had been completely exhausted (he was trembling when put up in the tree), had gone to sleep and was resting soundly without stirring. Adams clearly had in mind an American monkey in retelling this ancient fable. If we translate this sad anecdote into anthropological terms, we would have to say that while the monkey was certainly a benevolently motivated character, his fatal error--fatal for the fish--was in overlooking the fact that the contexts in which monkeys and fish operate are not the same,

Modern anthropology sees cultures as systems, which implies that different aspects of behavior within a cultural system may be functionally linked or integrated with one another. Furthermore, it is clear that cultural systems differ in the ways in which they are internally linked or integrated. Thus, changing some feature of our system may have to us fairly clear and predictable effects, but changing a similar feature of another culture may bring about a quite different set of results, and this can be not only disconcerting, but fatal to the success of a change program.

The implication here seems clear: the expert abroad, assisting in any kind of development program, is obligated to learn as much as possible, not just about the matters of his primary concern, but about the total cultural context in which he intends to operate. Only when he understands something of the intricate interplay of values, attitudes, and overt behaviors in that system, is he capable of making really sound judgments concerning change and how to bring about change.

Adams himself sees the adviser's most productive role as what he calls a social catalyst, who never attempts to impose change directly, and never from a naive monkey-view that what's good for us must be good for them. Instead, the adviser who has learned to operate effectively in another system may provide alternatives from his special knowledge, but he will leave the final choices as to which alternatives are adopted to the people concerned. Personally, I think that this is sound anthropological advice, but I fear that many of my fellow Americans in foreign adviser roles have acted, and may continue to act, like that well-meaning monkey.

Charles Erasmus has raised still another aspect of directed change in foreign countries.[6] He observes that obvious empirical benefits of a change program will often be enough to assure the success of that program, provided that the people involved do indeed view the results as improvements over earlier conditions. This point is well illustrated in several agricultural betterment programs, where, without any drastic changes in cultivation techniques, new and more productive crop strains have been readily accepted. Such cases represent, on an abstract level, situations in which minor and desirable changes can be introduced into a system without requiring major changes in other features of the system. Often, however, the problems can be quite complicated and thus quite difficult for the adviser seeking to introduce a change.

One of a large number of examples of such complex problems is the famous case of IR-8, a new and very productive paddy rice developed in the Philippines. This new strain was expected to revolutionize agriculture and food production throughout the rice-growing areas of East and Southeast Asia. But the attempt was something of a flop, at least initially, although I am happy to add that the problem has been partly corrected by later developed strains. The problem was that, although IR-8 was superior in productivity to most native-grown strains of rice, it lacked other qualities of flavor, texture, and cooking characteristics that are highly valued. In order to appreciate the importance of these difficulties, one must recognize that rice occupies a central and, in a sense, exclusive place in the diet of that area of the world.

As an illustration of these deeply engrained attitudes, I recall an anecdote told me by a graduate student after returning from field work among the Gaddang, a marginal agricultural people of eastern Luzon. He was going up to a native village, high on a steep and muddy hillside, and he had hired a number of Gaddang to carry supplies and equipment for him. Before they set out, he fed them royally for breakfast on good old Arkansas hotcakes, smothered in sorghum. They ate an enormous quantity. My student told me that they ate so much that he wondered how, in fact, they were going to get up the hill at all, but they set off at a brisk pace. After an hour, however, there was a certain amount of slowing down and mumbling. Finally, they turned to him and explained that, delicious though the hotcakes had been, they were accustomed to eating twice a day, and they had not had a morning meal. They proceeded to sit down and cook and eat rice, after which they went ahead up

the hill.

Apparently the equation of rice with food, or rice with a proper meal, is prevalent in countries from Japan and China south through Indonesia, and on into parts of India. There, rice is an old and staple crop, and is regarded as the real staff of life. One finds, for example, linguistic evidence throughout this area that rice and food are commonly synonymous terms. The word for rice is often used to indicate a meal in general, even though the meal usually includes other foodstuffs as well, but these others are regarded as mere adjuncts. In a part of the world where rice occupies so large a place in the life of the people, a new strain must have more than simply a high yield to achieve acceptance.

As it happened, IR-8, although it certainly was a productive strain, had fatal disadvantages. Even Americans who were not particularly rice connoisseurs thought its taste peculiar, and the native rice-eaters of East Asia found it horrible; the texture wasn't right and the taste was like chalk. Here a massive set of attitudes involving rice and rice eating overbalanced the genuine desire of rice farmers to have a better yield and a larger harvest. The trouble has been partially corrected by later strains, but, knowing the special place that this food holds among most East Asians, I would suppose that a great deal of delicacy in preparing these new and more productive strains will be required before they attain complete acceptance.

Now, perhaps I can summarize some of these points with a quote from George Foster's book Applied Anthropology. Foster says, "When we understand the cultural premises of people who are the objects of directed change programs, we can then better plan the modes of presentation of new ideas, and identify the innovations most likely to be accepted." [7] This is, of course, a very general statement, but one which is in thorough accord with anthropological findings. Foster details a great many specific cases where techniques derived from anthropological study can be used to implement directed change, or to select those changes which are likely to be accepted or to be most smoothly accepted and integrated into another cultural system.

To me there is another and larger matter for concern than even these very complex and subtle technical problems of promoting acceptance. It is one thing to be concerned with questions of how best to implement a program that has been accepted as desirable; it is quite another to begin to ask whether the program itself is in fact desirable. Thinking back to that monkey-rescued fish of Adams, resting quietly in the tree crotch, I am sometimes tempted to wonder whether the whole idea of development is not something derived solely from our own cultural system, and whether sometimes supposed improvements are not in some sense forced on foreign countries.

I am not here talking of such problems as the more productive but repulsive rice, but rather of the very idea of getting others

to change. Almost always this problem joins with the fact that in most modern nations, and most particularly in the new nations of Indonesia and India and the countries of Africa, the cultural situations and the systems of authority are quite different from those in the United States. Very often, those in authority are more thoroughly in sympathy with American or Western European ideas than are the bulk of the people of those nations. In other words, the older and traditional value systems held by the majority of a country's people may be in conflict with the value systems held by the ruling sections of the society that is seeking foreign assistance, and hiring foreign experts, and directing culture change. In such cases, the anthropologist, if he is doing a purely anthropological job of research, can simply go about his business of looking for, appreciating, and analyzing these complexities of values, aims, and goals. The expert in another field, however, such as the agricultural specialist, is in quite a different position, because he has been called upon for advice or implementation of change programs. Such persons, unless they are sophisticated students of the country, may be unaware of the complexities of the situation. They may become familiar with a particular set of values and behaviors characteristic of a particular social level, but they may remain quite oblivious of differences between peasants and city-dwellers or between the common city-dweller and the upper-class urban elite. And frequently these differences among subcultures within a single nation may be considerably greater than any we would encounter even in our own fairly complicated society.

If a whole society really desires change, there would offhand seem no real reason not to help that society attain its goal. But what if part of a society desires some specific change, and another and perhaps larger part does not? This very usual situation is generally resolved in foreign aid programs by applying what we should perhaps now term the Benevolent Monkey Principle: namely, What's Good For Us Is Good For Anyone. Specifically, if the goal of change is something seen as desirable in our society, then we should attempt to implement that change. If lots of people do not see the change as desirable, that is fundamentally due to their ignorance, which will dissipate as development marches ahead along the path of progress.

These views and the difficulties connected with them can lead to severe problems of policy and ethics. During the twilight days of colonialism just before and after World War II, many British social anthropologists in Africa became uncomfortably aware that their strictly academic and scientific work was being utilized by government agencies as means of more effectively controlling subject populations. This kind of social control may possibly not be in effect in many foreign programs today--although there are recent and notorious exceptions. But any person working in a foreign scene should be alert to the full implications of his assignment.

It is not just in the late British Empire, but in other colonial systems as well, that these situations are customarily larded over with verbal salve. One has been given to understand that

Britain was only engaged in the betterment of native populations as she prepared them for enlightened, autonomous self-government. Now, with a few anachronistic exceptions, we have no more colonial powers in the world, but analogous situations may still persist into the present, and into the future. The ruling class may now be of the same nationality as the people being ruled, but the findings and the services of the academic man may still be used as a means of autocratic control.

Thus, the foreign adviser, whatever the area of his assignment, will do well to be aware not only of the culture of the country in which he is to operate, but of its general position in modern history as well. He will want to consider the full implications and the wide impact that his work may have for the whole society, and not simply in the particular area or topic involved in his assignment. He will wish to gain cultural insights, not simply as tools with which to achieve his specific goals, but also as ways of understanding the total impact of his contributions on the whole society in which he is working.

#### FOOTNOTES

[1] For a useful summary of such problems from a social-science viewpoint, see Conrad M. Arensberg and Arthur H. Niehoff, Introducing Social Change: a Manual for Americans Overseas. Chicago: Aldine, 1964 (paperback). Further, the applied anthropology journal Human Organization has devoted articles to this topic.

[2] Charles J. Erasmus, "An anthropologist looks at technical assistance," The Scientific Monthly, vol. 78, pp. 147-58 (1954). Reprinted in Morton H. Fried (ed.), Readings in Anthropology, vol. 2: cultural anthropology, pp. 565-82. Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 2nd edition, 1968.

[3] Hall's work of some years on proxemics is best summarized in his article, "Proxemics," in Current Anthropology, vol. 9, pp. 83-108 (1968). For a somewhat different approach, see R.J. Birdwhistell, Kinesics and Context: Essays on Body Motion Communication. U. of Pennsylvania Press, 1970. Hall's article, "The anthropology of manners," appeared originally in Scientific American, vol. 192, no. 4, pp. 84-90, 1955. It was reprinted in Alan Dundes (ed.), Every Man His Way: Readings in Cultural Anthropology, pp. 511-17. Prentice-Hall, 1968.

[4] How important this can be, even between closely related but subtly different cultures (American and English), is vividly demonstrated by Margaret Mead, "The application of anthropological techniques to cross-national communication," Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences, Series II, vol. 9, no. 4, pp. 133-52, 1947. (Reprinted in Dundes, op. cit., pp. 518-36.)

[5] Don Adams, "The monkey and the fish: cultural pitfalls

of an educational adviser," International Development Review, vol.2, pp. 22-24 (1960). Reprinted in Dundes, op. cit., pp. 504-10. The whole section entitled "Cultures in Contact" in Dundes' book (pp. 469-536) is pertinent reading.

[6] Erasmus, op. cit.

[7] George M. Foster, Applied Anthropology, p. 70. Little, Brown and Co., 1969.

#### QUESTION PERIOD

WALKER: Doesn't the very entrance of an adviser into a society introduce a new element in and of itself, with the effect that, once he has come in, there is really no turning back, at least in regard to the particular aspect that he has to concern himself with?

ELMENDORF: Of course it is true that he is there as a change factor, and some effect is inevitable. The direction and effectiveness of the change will depend, of course, upon the situation, the degree of cultural understanding that he brings to it, and the skill with which he operates, among other factors. In some cases even the best adviser is hamstrung or at least hampered by considerations that he himself has little to do with. For instance, an American going to Latin America today is always under suspicion of having all kinds of ties with American governmental agencies or the military, which may not exist at all. But the suspicion will be there anyway. I would agree that any adviser is likely to make ripples of one kind or another, and that all applied anthropology can do is to say that there are more and less effective ways of bringing about directed change. In this respect, applied anthropology is a neutral sort of tool. Whether or not directed change itself is justified or immoral--whether anyone has a right to go into another society to seek to persuade or compel it to accept transplanted values--is another question entirely, and there are widely differing opinions on it.

BIXLER: But entering such a society is clearly justified, isn't it, when the society itself has asked for the help?

ELMENDORF: There are certainly instances where such help is generally desired, and is directed toward goals that almost everyone would agree are desirable. There are other cases, however, that probably represent a rather small number of people's idea of a good thing.

WALKER: Isn't there also a sort of natural resistance to change, even though the results seem very clearly to be desired, and even without any cultural cross-over?

ELMENDORF: Exactly. One could find this in the United States, where the adviser is by no means from a different culture. People rather like to go on doing things in the same old way, as long as it is

reasonably satisfactory, rather than to go through the effort, including psychological effort, required to change. However, there are degrees of difference. Conservatism alone is not enough to explain why some projects have failed, others have succeeded only moderately, and others have been conspicuously successful. But surely conservatism is one constant barrier. This conservatism does not, however, always come from the society being acted upon. Margaret Mead, in her book New Lives for Old, reports a dramatic instance in the Admiralty Islands where the people mobilized under their own team and accomplished very desirable improvements, despite at first the conservative opposition of the colonial administration.

WALKER: I recall hearing that contour farming in Iowa was very difficult to introduce, despite its merits over traditional methods, simply because plowing a straight furrow was considered the mark of a good farmer.

ELMENDORF: Yes, the symbolic value of some practices is often overlooked. Then you wonder why the native is so "pig-headed" and "stubborn." There may be very cogent reasons for not changing that may not be at all obvious to the outsider.

MITCHELL: Isn't there also a problem of communicating adequately with people who do not have the background to understand what is being communicated? I remember, for example, the story of the woman in Bolivia who watched a film on the growth of a new strain of maize with apparent respect and interest, but who burst into delighted laughter at the end of the film: they knew perfectly well that maize did not grow in half an hour!

ELMENDORF: Yes, this reminds me of Laura Bohannon's story, "Shakespeare in the Bush," in which she tells of being asked to recount a story to the elders among the Tiv tribe in Nigeria. She decided to adapt Hamlet in its essentials for their entertainment. But she was not allowed to tell the story as Shakespeare had constructed it, because so many elements of it were contrary to Tiv traditions and values. The elders saw nothing amiss about Hamlet's uncle marrying his mother; Hamlet could not possibly have resented so proper an action. In fact, by the time the elders had finished correcting her story, it was Hamlet turned upside down and tied in knots. However, they assured her that it was a very good story, and urged her to ask the elders of her country to tell it to her again, for she had obviously misunderstood most of it the first time.

WILLIAMSON: Returning to the matter of the foreign country having asked for the aid, I want to suggest that it is not always a matter of local initiative. In Indonesia now, for example, although the United States speaks of responding only to needs expressed by the Indonesians themselves, it seemed rather clear to me last summer that Indonesian officials were very alert to signs of which sorts of requests might be viewed favorably by American officials, and which would not be favored. And they clearly were ready to ask for almost

any project that might be approved. Sometimes, it appeared, the suggestion had really originated with the American official who had subtly planted the seed of an idea with the Indonesians who then made the request.

ELMENDORF: And, Indonesians are great at accommodating to the moods and desires of others.

WILLIAMSON: One other thing that struck me in going back after a lapse of eight years was that the changes in Indonesian librarianship were very great, and that, paradoxically enough, the most effective single action for promoting change was the expulsion of foreign advisers for a period of several years. The result was that the corps of Indonesian librarians, many of whom had been trained abroad in the United States and elsewhere, had a period during which they were free to work on their own problems and operate on their own initiative without anyone breathing down their necks. The result was that they developed a kind of structure that really fits their own needs.

ELMENDORF: This sounds as if it fits somewhat into Adams' advice on education in Korea: that, for success, a certain amount of initiative must come from the society undergoing the change. Simply imposing it from the outside usually doesn't work. In Mexico, for example, there was an active program to encourage farmers to grow vegetables, which they had not traditionally used themselves. At the same time, they were for the most part too far from the markets to sell the produce. The farmers patiently grew the vegetables anyway, because it kept the government off their backs and, they said, the government like any bureaucracy would soon lose its enthusiasm, and they could then go back to their old ways without having stirred up any trouble for themselves.

WILLIAMSON: What is your reaction to the dilemma that all of us find ourselves in, growing out of the fact that in a limited time it is almost impossible to understand a culture so thoroughly as not to misunderstand or to make mistakes? Is it better to make the effort or, recognizing its essential impossibility, is it better to just be yourself in the hope that the people in the other culture will understand that you are a foreigner and will take your mistakes in good grace? I ask this, for one reason, because superficial understanding can lead people to make ludicrous mistakes, whereas the mistakes one makes by acting out of one's own culture are at least not ludicrous.

ELMENDORF: I think that there is no simple answer to that one, but I think you do the best you can to understand and not to make any more mistakes than you must. Obviously, really deep understanding of a culture is the work of years or a lifetime, but still I think I would not now make the mistake in a Latin or an Arab country of backing off from a man who was seeking to get to a comfortable distance from me. I don't recommend trying to go native, but I do recommend trying to understand the other's customs, and to respect and observe them as much as you can.

## PATTERNS OF LIBRARIANSHIP IN WEST AFRICA

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The countries of West Africa are said to stretch across the sweaty elbow of the continent.[1] While the peoples do have geographical proximity, they are not politically, economically, or culturally alike. Gambia, for instance, is only twenty miles wide and two hundred miles long, and subsists by growing peanuts.[2] The Ivory Coast, on the other hand, is about the size and shape of Illinois and Indiana combined, and has a thriving tourist industry. [3] It is not uncommon to find Moslem temples, Catholic cathedrals, and fetish shrines within the same city. One can go to an exclusive night club and order a five-dollar dinner or walk to the nearest corner and for ten cents buy a meal of rice wrapped in palm leaves. A great diversity is also shown in the institutions of West Africa. The institution I would like to consider is, of course, the library.

One librarian has said that "an attempt to find a trend in library services in a continent such as Africa is akin to the task of finding a pattern in a patchwork quilt." [4] It seems to me that there are two different quilts lying across West Africa. One was begun by France and the other by Great Britain. Libraries are not indigenous to West Africa, but were introduced by these two colonial powers in the twentieth century. Between 1880 and 1900 France colonized Gambia, Sierra Leone, Ghana, and Nigeria. [5] Today, all of these African nations are independent, but the philosophy and structure of their libraries still reflect the attitudes and policies of the colonizing countries.

During the colonial period France and Great Britain regarded their colonies in two very different ways. France considered her colonies to be territoires d'outre-mer, or overseas provinces. [6] These provinces were organized into the highly centralized and authoritarian federation of French West Africa, which had its capital at Dakar in Senegal. At the head of the federation was a Governor-General who took most of his orders from Paris. Until 1946, Africans had to become French citizens before they were granted any political rights. Traditional chiefs were deposed and replaced by an elite group of Africans who had been educated as Frenchmen.

In contrast to France, Britain regarded her colonies as separate entities and set up separate governmental machineries for

each country.[7] All Africans were given basic rights such as freedom of movement and freedom of press. Traditional chiefs were allowed to remain in power, and in most cases customary laws were used on the local level.

The educational policies implemented in French West Africa and British West Africa reflected the same kinds of assumptions as the political structures did. France provided only limited education for the masses. Even in Senegal, the colony which had the greatest percentage of Africans who were French citizens, only 12 percent of the school-age children were attending school in the 1940's.[8] In all of French West Africa, there were only two lycées that allowed easy transfer to universities in France.[9] An official "Statement of Educational Policy" issued by Governor-General Brévié in 1935 explained that "our great desire is the evolution of a real élite, marked by outstanding personality and impeccable dependability and bound to us by the realisation of the friendly nature of the motive by which we are actuated." [10] It was not until the founding of the University of Dakar in 1950 that the French made any provision for higher education within West Africa.[11]

Although the British did not provide universal education, they did do more for mass education than the French did. A British Government White Paper of 1925 states that native education should "encourage all that is sound and healthy in the indigenous social life of the people." [12] In the 1940's, when only 12 percent of the Senegalese children were in school, 21 percent of the Ghanaian children and 44 percent of the Nigerian children attended school.[13] By 1950, British West Africa had universities in three of its four colonies.[14]

The establishment of libraries in West Africa was in keeping with the political and educational structures. France had no special reason to establish public libraries for the masses.[15] Instead, each colony was provided with a library that was meant to serve the governing elite. These libraries were administered by the Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, the central offices of which were located in Dakar.[16] Great Britain, on the other hand, did take an active role in providing libraries for the masses. In Ghana, the motto of the national Library Board became "Books to the People." [17] Today, there are twice as many public libraries in English-speaking West Africa as there are in French-speaking West Africa.[18] English-speaking Sierra Leone, which is only half as wealthy as French-speaking Ivory Coast, spends three times more on libraries than does the Ivory Coast.[19]

The library legislation that has been enacted within the West African nations also seems to have French or British characteristics. Of the English-speaking countries, only tiny Gambia has no library law.[20] Ghana, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone have legislative acts that call for the establishment of national Library Boards.[21] The text of the Ghana Library Board Ordinance, which went into

effect in 1950, states:

It shall be the duty of the Board to establish, equip, manage and maintain libraries in Ghana, and to take all such steps as may be necessary to carry out such duty.[22]

Evelyn Evans, who served as the head of the Ghana Library Board for the first fifteen years of its existence, claims that the very simplicity of the Ordinance has proved its worth.[23] As she says, "The Library Board has not been hampered with what shall be done, how it is to be done, when, where and why. In effect it has been told to get on with the job, and it has done so without interference." [24]

In French West Africa there has been very little library legislation. When library laws are passed, they are more in the nature of "Rules and regulations" or "Statements of intention." As such they go into far more detail than the library laws in the English-speaking countries.[25]

To illustrate library development in West Africa, I would like to describe the libraries in Ghana, a representative English-speaking country, and in Senegal, a representative French-speaking country.

The development of public libraries in Ghana exemplifies the concern among the English-speaking Africans for library service to all citizens.[26] In Ghana's capital city of Accra, there has been established a central library, which serves as the administrative headquarters. All purchasing and processing is done there. The government has divided the country into eight political regions, and it is planned to have a regional library in each of these. A regional librarian is responsible for the library services throughout each region. The people living in small towns are served by branch libraries. If a town wants to have a branch library, its citizens must write a letter of request to the regional library. One of the typical letters from a town requesting a branch library reads as follows:

Dear sir,

Educated people in this town shall be grateful if you would put into consideration to open a branch of the library here....

Readers would welcome the Library as they find no other place of leisuring themselves after business hours. We shall enrol as members for the upkeep of the Library.

I hope you would give trial to this my humble suggestion.

Yours faithfully,  
Illiteracy Committee Office [27]

There are always more requests for branch libraries than the Library Board, because of shortages of staff and books, can fulfill. In areas which are too sparsely populated to justify the maintenance of branch libraries, country centers are set up. A selection of books is given to the local government, and a teacher or local government official is given the responsibility of issuing books to the public. If the demand for books grows sufficiently, a branch library may be set up in the area. For even more isolated areas, the Library Board initiated the Book Box Service. Strong wooden boxes with a capacity of fifty books each are transported to schools, communities, mines, hospitals, or to any group of individuals who do not live near a library. The Book Boxes are delivered to all parts of the country by bookmobiles. Evelyn Evans describes her bookmobile trips by saying:

It was rarely that a trek was completed without some excitement--a ferry blocked by a cement lorry which could not negotiate the rise; a tree felled across the road, involving a two-hour wait; the cook forgotten and left behind in a village market; a swinging vehicle and books falling out on to the road; the ginger beer liberally laced with gin (unknown to the drinker), which put the librarian to sleep for the rest of the day; flooded, impassable roads. But when one arrived back in Accra at the end of two or three weeks, tired and dusty with red, dusty hair which needed six washings before attaining its original colour, one was filled with the sense of satisfaction of a job well done.[28]

The other countries of English-speaking West Africa have similar, though less developed, library programs, which were initiated by the British Council.[29]

Senegal, the former head of the federation of French West Africa, does not have a comparable public library system. By far the largest and most used library in Senegal is the one at the University of Dakar.[30] This library is open to the public, but in fact is used only by students.[31] The next largest library is that of the Institut Français d'Afrique Noir, which is also located in Dakar. In St. Louis, a city of about 50,000 people, there is a public library of 15,000 volumes.[32] With the aid of UNESCO, the Senegalese government is attempting to increase public library service, but progress has been slow.[33]

During 1968-69 when I was a student at the University of Ghana, Legon, I traveled throughout Ghana and the surrounding French-speaking countries, and I did notice striking differences in attitudes towards libraries. In Ghana the regional and branch libraries are usually small and sometimes shabbily constructed, but they always seemed to be filled with people. I was most impressed when

I visited very remote villages where the people still live in mud huts with thatched roofs. After a ceremonial welcome from the chief, white visitors are often shown three things: drying cocoa beans (which are the people's livelihood), wooden carvings (which are a traditional form of art), and library books! Sometimes the books are moldy and insect-ridden, and I suspect that they are not read, but they are available and the people are seemingly proud of them.

Even though I probably visited more villages in the French-speaking countries than I did in Ghana, I was never once shown any library books. The only libraries I did see in French-speaking Africa were those of the French Culture Center and the United States Information Service, and these libraries seemed to be meeting places for Europeans and Americans.

And so I think that the libraries in West Africa do reflect the attitudes and policies of the former colonial powers. Now that the nations of French West Africa and British West Africa have become independent, they are attempting to develop libraries to serve the needs of West Africans rather than of French West Africans or British West Africans. Nevertheless, the countries are building upon what they inherited from the colonial powers, and the libraries reflect the structure and attitude of France and Great Britain.

#### FOOTNOTES

[1] Cf. Strickland, John T., "Patterns of Library Service in Africa," Library Trends, VIII, No. 2 (October, 1959), p. 166.

[2] Kurtz, Seymour (ed.), The New York Times Encyclopedic Almanac 1970 (New York: The New York Times Co., 1969), p. 786-87.

[3] Ibid., p. 810.

[4] Strickland, p. 186.

[5] Boahen, A. Adu, Topics in West African History (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1966), p. 134.

[6] French colonial policy is discussed in Boahen, pp. 134-38, and Crowder, Michael, West Africa Under Colonial Rule (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1968), pp. 163-97.

[7] British colonial policy is discussed in Boahen, pp. 134-38, and Crowder, pp. 198-238.

[8] Boahen, p. 142.

[9] Ibid.

- [10] Mumford, W. Bryant, Africans Learn To Be French; A Review of Educational Activities in the Seven Federated Colonies of French West Africa and Algiers Undertaken in 1835 (New York; Negro Universities Press, 1970), p. 95.
- [11] Boahen, p. 143.
- [12] Mumford, p. 54.
- [13] Boahen, p. 142.
- [14] Evans, Evelyn J. A., "Library Resources in English-Speaking Countries of West Africa," Unesco Bulletin for Libraries, XV, no. 5 (September-October, 1961), pp. 227-29.
- [15] Cf. Isnard, F. Lalande, "The Development of Libraries in Africa; Six Years After the Enugu Seminar," Unesco Bulletin for Libraries, XXII No. 5 (September-October, 1968), p. 242, and Strickland, p. 172.
- [16] Isnard, p. 243.
- [17] Evans, Evelyn J. A., "Library Services in Ghana" in Wallenius, Anna-Britta (ed.), Library Work in Africa (Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1966), p. 7.
- [18] French-speaking West Africa has 74 public libraries as compared to 141 public libraries in English-speaking West Africa. [These figures are compiled from Publishers' World 1969-70 (New York: R. R. Bowker Co., 1969), p. 90, and Unesco Statistical Yearbook 1969 (Paris: Unesco, 1970), pp. 493-95.]
- [19] Isnard, p. 243.
- [20] Evans, Evelyn J., "Library Legislation in the Developing Territories of Africa," Libri, XVIII, No. 1 (1968), p. 55.
- [21] Evans, "Library Resources in English-Speaking Countries of West Africa," pp. 227-31.
- [22] Evans, "Library Legislation in the Developing Territories of Africa," p. 59, and Evans, Evelyn J. A., A Tropical Library Service: The Story of Ghana's Libraries (London: Andre Deutsch, 1964), p. 38.
- [23] Evans, "Library Legislation in the Developing Territories of Africa," p. 61.
- [24] Ibid.
- [25] Ibid., pp. 54, 69, 74.
- [26] The organization of library services in Ghana is described in Evans, "Library Services in Ghana," and Evans, A

Tropical Library Service...

[27] Evans, A Tropical Library Service..., p. 90.

[28] Evans, "Library Services in Ghana," p. 5.

[29] Apparently no French agency comparable to the British Council has initiated library development in West Africa.

[30] World of Learning 1970-71, p. 1132

[31] Isnard, p. 243.

[32] World of Learning 1970-71, p. 1132

[33] See Gardner, Frank N., "Unesco and Library and Related Services in Africa," Unesco Bulletin for Libraries, XX, No. 5 (September-October, 1966), pp. 212-18 and "Regional Seminar on the Development of Public Libraries in Africa," Unesco Bulletin for Libraries, XVII, No. 2, Suppl. (March-April, 1963), pp. 106-22.

LIBRARIANSHIP IN FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES:  
A COMPARATIVE STUDY WITH SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR EMERGING NATIONS

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Librarianship in a given country is a direct reflection of that country's historical, cultural, social and economic traditions. Unless this very simple and obvious proposition is understood, any attempt on the part of the foreign adviser to assist in the development of libraries and related activities of another country is bound to fail. Indeed, to study the nature and development of librarianship in cultures even as close to our own as the French or German, the American student must put aside his own predispositions, biases, and ideas of "good," or "appropriate," and attempt to determine the sort of society those libraries are intended to serve. In the case of emerging nations this process will be especially difficult, since some of these countries are themselves ambivalent as to national identity, cultural traditions, language, and forms of social organization. These characteristics are especially true of African countries which gained their independence in the mid years of the twentieth century after a hundred years of domination by such powerful and confident European cultures as France and Great Britain.

Lester Asheim, in his wise and modest little book, Librarianship in the Developing Countries, has provided the central idea for this paper in an incident involving the University of Algiers library. According to Asheim, the University library was badly damaged by the French in the Algerian war, and, while this would have been an ideal time to introduce such American innovations as open stacks and classified shelf arrangement, the Algerians rebuilt along the lines--French lines--which in their view had served them well. [1]

Based on the assumption that there are fundamental differences between French and American patterns in librarianship, it will be the purpose of this paper to examine some of the characteristics of library development within the French cultural tradition and to compare these explicitly with the American. The two countries are comparable in that both are "developed" or "advanced," economically, industrially, and in other respects. In the areas of national libraries and national bibliographic services, the two nations are among the most advanced in the world. [2] After describing, comparing, and contrasting French and American patterns in librarianship, I shall seek to draw some inferences as to effective contributions each country might

offer to developing nations. "Librarianship" is defined as "...the collection, preservation, organization, and use of recorded communications." [3] The rubric will also include the education of librarians and such related activities as professional associations and government agencies concerned with library development.

To an American student, the most striking characteristic of libraries and librarianship in France is the high degree of centralization. This trait is common to most forms of public life in France, and is effectively illustrated by the position of La Direction des Bibliothèques et de la Lecture Publique, a division of La Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale. The Direction is responsible for the administration of the Bibliothèque Nationale and other important national libraries, the university libraries, a number of research libraries in subject fields, and the large municipal libraries known as bibliothèques municipales classées. These are old municipal libraries based on collections seized from church libraries and nobles during the Revolution and dispersed to different cities throughout the country. The Direction maintains the regional lending libraries (bibliothèques centrales de prêt), has the authority to inspect libraries under its jurisdiction, and imposes standards of operations on those libraries. [4] Finally, the Direction publishes a professional journal, Le Bulletin des Bibliothèques de France.

If a parallel situation existed in the United States, the Library of Congress, the National Library of Medicine, the National Agricultural Library, and a vastly expanded Division of Library Programs of the U.S. Office of Education would be under the same director. This combined administration would supervise our university libraries--budgets, standards, and planning--and would have a considerable amount of authority over such important municipal libraries as the New York Public Library and the Boston Public Library. It would administer large regional libraries and a number of specialized research institutions such as Huntington, Crerar, and Newberry. It would have the management of most of the library schools, and would assume the functions of the Committee on Accreditation of the American Library Association. And finally, it would publish one of the most influential library periodicals in the country.

The most immediate and visible symbol of a nation's library development is its national library. Functions, strengths, and specific activities of national libraries vary from country to country, and some--including the United States--do not have a formally designated national library, although most have assigned those functions generally associated with national libraries to at least one national institution. Sir Frank C. Francis, Director of the British Museum, sees the national library as "...the library which has the duty of collecting and preserving...the written production of that country." [5] To this generally accepted definition, David Mearns, editor of the Library Trends issue

on national libraries (July 1955), adds responsibility for compilation of the national bibliography, and characterizes the national library as a "...libraries' library." [6]

Of all national libraries of the world, the Bibliothèque Nationale exemplifies the idea of a single institution dominating virtually all of a nation's library effort. This institution is justly famous for its fonds anciens, those priceless and ancient collections known to scholars the world over. The mere presence of these great collections, however, has resulted in an inevitable emphasis on the conservation function (conservateur is a common word in French library circles). This emphasis on the conservation of materials has probably been at the expense of some of the more dynamic activities often associated with national libraries and implied by Mearns' phrase, "libraries' library." Such activities include research and experimentation in various areas of librarianship and sharing the results with other libraries. The MARC project at the Library of Congress is an example which has no direct counterpart in France. The Library of Congress, through the distribution of its printed catalog cards and the National Union Catalog in book form, and through the development of a widely accepted system of classification, has drawn the professional admiration of two powerful members of the French library establishment, André Masson, Inspecteur Général de Bibliothèques, and Paule Salvan, Conservateur en chef and Principal of the École Nationale Supérieure de Bibliothécaires. On the other hand, the Bibliothèque Nationale is now nearing completion of its own printed catalog. [6a]

The two catalogs--National Union Catalog and Catalogue Général des Livres Imprimés--point up not only differences in roles and positions of the two institutions, but also of the two cultures from which they arise. National Union Catalog employs a co-operative, voluntary approach, using the national government (Library of Congress) as a sponsor and clearing house, and represents the combined efforts and partial holdings of some 700 libraries in this country and Canada. These traits and functions correspond generally to the American traditions of decentralization, sharing of responsibility, and local initiative. The Catalogue Général..., by contrast, is an inventory of a single library's holdings, and effectively illustrates that library's immense--and unique--prestige in its own country.

Some of the differences noted above can be attributed to different forms of social and political organization, but others derive from historical moment. Masson and Salvan note, for example, that the national libraries of developing countries can assume an "educational" role, while those of European nations are likely to be much more conservative. [7] This generalization, however, must be qualified. For example, the National Library of Algiers has collections of Arab manuscripts dating from the XIth and XIIth centuries, and book collections reflecting much of the great Arab literary, historical, and cultural tradition.

This library, in effect, serves as a North African research center with some of the same characteristics and problems of the older European national libraries.[8] In addition, it has committed itself to the maintenance of popular circulating collections, regional centers, and travelling libraries.

In this comparison of the national libraries of France and the United States, there has been an emphasis common to both-- a concern with books, or at least with printed materials. If we turn to a country with little written heritage but a rich oral tradition, the institution concerned with the preservation and use of the national heritage must take on different forms and activities than those of the Bibliothèque Nationale or the Library of Congress. The national library of such a country would be concerned with collecting and preserving the oral and visual heritage through such media as tape, phonorecords, videotape, and moving pictures. The building which would house these collections and the personnel to organize and interpret them would differ radically from the traditional repository and librarian so familiar to American practitioners. In the collecting and selecting of such cultural expression as oral literature, songs, and dance, a trained African could be much more effective than a well-meaning European or American visitor. Thus, one Western contribution to the preservation of African culture might be the training of native media specialists and technicians. Such activities might require stretching our definitions of "national library" or "written production," but might be more effective in helping certain nations preserve their heritage than a transplanting of traditional Western forms of library organization and management. These remarks do not mean to imply that American and French practice has ignored other forms of graphic materials in favor of print, but that emphasis might be different in emerging countries. The Western adviser or consultant could find himself in the position of recommending against some of the methods he may regard very highly. For example, an American adviser, after careful analysis of a country's expressed library needs might recommend the formation of a strong central government agency--or the reorganization of an existing agency--that would direct the development of most library activities in the country. A French consultant, on the other hand, after a careful consideration of interlibrary relations in a particular country, could argue for the production and distribution of printed catalog cards, and for the compilation of a national union catalog in book form. The point is that this advice should be given only after a scrupulous examination of the host country's library needs. The foreign adviser may find himself not only suppressing some of his own preferred methods, but even arguing against the hasty adoption of some American or French practice which might work beautifully in Paris or New York, but which could have very little application in Mauritania, Libya, or Togo.

Responsibility for compilation of the national bibliography is one of the activities often associated with national libraries.

Precise definitions of national bibliography vary, but in this paper it is applied to works published within a given country (regardless of language), and works about a given country (regardless of place of publication.) [9]

Both France and the United States have outstanding national bibliographies. As with national libraries, national bibliographies have developed along differing lines in the two countries. Just as Bibliothèque Nationale has been noted as an outstanding example of a national library, so La Bibliographie de la France has been called "...a current national bibliography which has no rival." [10] This weekly list has been published continuously since 1811, and is massively comprehensive, including trade books, government publications, serials, music, theses, maps, and pictures. Bibliographie de la France is published by Le Cercle de la Librairie, an organization of publishers and booksellers, and is closely associated with the Bibliothèque Nationale. The latter institution provides the cataloging for the entries and operates the legal deposit office, which forms the legal and official base for the Bibliographie. Strong and explicit legal deposit laws are in effect in France, and help account for much of the success of La Bibliographie de la France as a current complete national bibliography. In a perceptive review of the legal deposit function, Marie-Thérèse Dougnac identifies three phases, or emphases--political, legal, and cultural [11]--which correspond generally to state control (including censorship), protection of literary property (copyright), and the building of collections of national literature. The third function includes national libraries and national bibliographies. At different periods in French history, different functions or emphases have predominated. The current age in general emphasizes the cultural. The United States, in contrast to France, has no compulsory legal deposit, but does have a copyright law that requires registration of literary material in the Copyright Office of the Library of Congress if copyright protection is desired. The United States does not rely on the legal deposit function for the considerable success of its national bibliographic effort, but on an aggressive acquisitions and cataloging policy of the Library of Congress, and on an impressive degree of cooperation from the book trade and from the participating members of the National Union Catalog. Although Unesco has urged the establishment of strong and enforceable legal deposit laws as a basis of national bibliography, and although France provides an excellent example of this combination, the United States has been able to make an impressive record in its national bibliographic activities without this legal basis. Roger Greer has pointed out that the United States has no single publication that can be called the national bibliography, but that a combination of the National Union Catalog and such trade bibliographies as Cumulative Book Index cover more than 90 percent of the American book trade. [12] The American approach to national bibliography is a multi-fingered, decentralized one, relying to a large extent on voluntary cooperation among libraries and between the library world and the

book trade.

In contrast to the high level of its bibliographical services, the development of public libraries in France has lagged behind that of many other advanced countries. Alfred Hessel acknowledged the benefits of centralization and uniformity, but saw most of the advantages accruing to the scholarly and research libraries.[12a] In France the distinction between library service to a grand public (mass public) and a scholarly elite became much more formally and rigidly separated than in the United States and Great Britain. This development came about partly because of the nature of the rich, scholarly collections confiscated and distributed during the Revolution. These stocks became the nuclei for research collections, which, though nominally public, became in fact preserves of a cultivated elite. A French scholar, Jean Hassenforder, has examined in an objective, analytical manner some of the reasons for the differences in the growth of public libraries in the United States, France, and Great Britain.[13] In addition to the factors described above, Hassenforder notes certain societal and historical traits of the French people which have worked against the sort of public library development that took place in the United States and Great Britain. Among these characteristics were relatively low interest in corporate undertakings and little opportunity to participate in the decision-making process.[14] The role of professional societies was less vital in France than in the two Anglo-Saxon countries.

In late 1966, Georges Pompidou, then Premier, set into motion a series of conferences on La Lecture Publique which considered, among other questions related to reading, France's comparatively weak showing in public library development. The study group, headed by Étienne Dennerly, Director of La Direction...and of the Bibliothèque Nationale, emphasized the need for a changing, dynamic program of public library services, and addressed itself particularly to the question of personnel and their training.[15] Some points of the group's analysis sound familiar to an American reader: a desire to stimulate local initiative; a higher level of national support for local libraries; and a recognition of the value of a broad range of public library services for the self-fulfillment of many French citizens. Recent American visitors to France have been favorably impressed by evidence of a new commitment to public library service as expressed by the conferences and subsequent developments. Richard K. Gardner reports, for example, that the operating budget for 1968 was 300 percent higher than that of 1967.[16] There are now regional libraries in two-thirds of the départements, and such municipal libraries as that of Tours would be considered modern and elegant in any country. It would appear that French library planners have now reached some of the same conclusions about the role of public library service in national life that American and British leaders reached many years ago. The French sources cited above show none of the cultural narrowness, defensiveness, and chauvinism often

ascribed to the French. On the contrary, these writings repeatedly draw on American, British, Scandinavian, and Soviet examples.

The differing courses which public library development has taken in France and the United States can be studied with profit by planners in emerging nations. These observers should note carefully the results of a rigid distinction between the popular and scholarly functions of public libraries which developed in France. If they determine that their emphasis should be on the scholarly and research phases, they will at least be aware of the implications for future developments of other functions. It is possible that with such data at hand, planners will be able to allocate resources in a balanced way that will avoid too sharp a choice. Finally, the point cannot be made too strongly that those responsible for library development in emerging countries must carefully consider the cultural and historical contexts of such nations as the United States and France before attempting to adopt their methods or practices.

In 1958 Pierre Lelièvre, writing on the professional training of librarians, complained that France had at that time no library schools.[17] This lacuna was filled in 1964 with the establishment of l'École Nationale Supérieure de Bibliothécaires. Although the prestigious École des Chartes had provided a limited number of librarians, most of these graduates went to important administrative or research posts in the great national libraries. Preparation for other levels and areas of librarianship was unsatisfactory, and Paule Salvan has admitted the anomaly of this lack of a school devoted exclusively to the preparation of librarians in a country as rich in library resources as France.[18]

To an American, the differences between the French and American approaches to library education seem great. First, the École Nationale Supérieure de Bibliothécaires is not a part of any established university, but a separate school maintained by La Direction... and working closely with the Bibliothèque Nationale. Next, students compete in national examinations for places in the school. Those who are successful receive state salaries and are exempted from tuition. They are then expected to work in libraries under the Direction's jurisdiction for ten years! Richard Gardner explains that this requirement is not as rigid as it seems, since there are many opportunities for transfer or re-assignment.[19] The American librarian would note immediately that the school offers two levels of education. The advanced leads to Le Diplôme Supérieur de Bibliothécaire, and requires the license, or rough equivalent of an American master's degree. The lower, Certificat, requires the baccalaureate--roughly two years of American university education--for admission. Both programs last one year. Candidates for the Diplôme are prepared for administrative and research posts in large libraries, those for the Certificat for lower level positions in large libraries or key posts in smaller ones. Although this sort of distinction has not been the pattern of library education in this country, the profession in the United States has considered the possibility of different levels of preparation for different levels of library

employment. For example, the growing use of subject bibliographers in large university libraries has emphasized the importance of advanced subject preparation for some American librarians. The increasingly specialized services offered by school, public, and special libraries are making severe demands on the traditional single-program approach in this country, which is characterized by a "core" of basic, usually required courses, supplemented by electives geared to the student's type-of-library or type-of-service career goals.

The French librarian would be amazed at the number of accredited library schools in the United States and Canada, now more than 50. He would probably be even more surprised to learn that "accredited" is not a government-decreed status, but a guild-like function of the American Library Association. Although programs vary considerably among the schools, our French visitor would find a basic similarity and certain common assumptions underlying the curricula of each. The shape of American library education has been determined by a number of factors, among them the efforts of outstanding individuals such as Dewey and Williamson (the latter backed by Carnegie money), and by close co-operation between the American Library Association and American universities and colleges. The French pattern, by contrast, is a direct result of a single national system of education and of a high degree of centralization of most library activities in a single national government agency. It is not surprising, therefore, that l'Association de Bibliothécaires Français, while expanding its influence notably in recent years [20], has played no role comparable to that of the American Library Association, or of the Library Association in Great Britain.

The older countries have much to offer the emerging ones in the training and education of librarians. The United States, with its large range of respected institutions and its wealth of resources, seems an obvious host. France, still sharing close cultural ties with many new nations, is an even stronger attraction to some students from these areas. One of the most common forms of assistance to librarianship in developing countries has been the education of foreign librarians in France, Great Britain, the United States, and Scandinavia. Sometimes the host countries have provided fellowships, sometimes students are subsidized by their own governments, sometimes they pay their own expenses.

In a conference on library education for developing countries, [21] both African and European participants agreed on certain essentials. It was generally agreed that the newer countries should develop their own training programs as rapidly as possible, especially at the lower levels of service. Such training would obviously be closer to local needs, and would require less adaptation than that gained abroad. It would also be far less expensive. Mlle. Salvan argued that training programs can be initiated before a formal school is established,

noting that existing libraries can be used as a base. She cited the example of the National Library of Algiers and a training program for assistant librarians and documentalists which it conducted from 1963-1966.[22] In these remarks, Mlle. Salvan distinguished between upper and lower levels of library service, and suggested that the mature, carefully selected student can gain much from a European training. Graduates of the École Nationale Supérieure de Bibliothécaires now head the National Library of Algiers and the Tanarive (Malagasy Republic) Municipal Library.[23]

Library leaders in developing countries should consider the very different forms of education developed in the United States and France before attempting to initiate library training programs based on either of these two great national models. A country with one or several universities already well established would probably choose to locate a university level of library training in the university. A country with a highly centralized and well developed national agency concerned with library development--and this could be the national library, as in the case of Algiers--might choose to place the library school or training program in that agency. Planners should consider the recommendations of the Unesco conference on library education and attempt to develop their own training programs, using assistance from the developed countries, and continuing to send some of their students abroad.

It has been the intent of this paper to describe some of the characteristics of librarianship in France, and to contrast these with American practice. I have attempted to suggest some elements of American or French practice that might be appropriate for emerging countries under certain conditions. Restraint is urged both to the foreign expert and to the library authorities in the countries seeking and receiving advice. It is the latter who will have to live with the decisions reached; it is the responsibility of both that those decisions be reached on a clear understanding of what is needed and of what is possible. It is a matter both of knowing one's self and knowing others.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Lester Asheim, Librarianship in Developing Countries (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois, 1966), p. 74-75.

[2] Bibliographical Services Throughout the World, 1950-1959. (Paris: Unesco, 1961), p. 66, 151-152.

[3] Thomas Landau, "Librarianship," Encyclopedia of Librarianship, 3rd ed. (London: Bowes & Bowes, 1966, c. 1958), p. 248-249.

[4] Paule Salvan, "The National School of Librarianship in Paris," Unesco Bulletin for Libraries, 19(1965) 202-206, 217.

[5] Frank C. Francis, "Organization of National Libraries," in Symposium on National Libraries in Europe, Vienna, 1958. National Libraries: Their Problems and Prospects (Paris: Unesco, 1960), p. 21.

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[6a] André Masson and Paule Salvan, Les Bibliothèques (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1961), p. 72-73.

[7] Ibid., p. 63.

[8] G. Lebele, "La Nouvelle Bibliothèque d'Alger," Bulletin des Bibliothèques de France, 3(1958), 690-706.

[9] Roy Stokes, Bibliographic Control (New York: London House and Maxwell, 1965), p. 29.

[10] Bibliographical Services, p. 68.

[11] Marie-Thérèse Dougnac and M. Guilbaud, "Le Dépôt Légal, son Sens et son Évolution," Bulletin des Bibliothèques de France, 5(1960), 283-291.

[12] Roger C. Greer, "National Bibliography," Library Trends, 15(1967), 376.

[12a] Alfred Hessel, A History of Libraries, trans. by Reuben Peiss (New Brunswick, N.J.: Scarecrow, 1955), p. 113.

[13] Jean Hassenforder, Développement Comparé de Bibliothèques Publiques en France, en Grande-Bretagne, et aux États-Unis dans la Seconde Moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle (1850-1914) (Paris: Cercle de la Librairie, 1967.)

[14] \_\_\_\_\_, "Comparative Studies and Development of Public Libraries," Unesco Bulletin for Libraries 22(1968), 17-18.

[15] "La Lecture Publique en France," Bulletin de Bibliothèques de France, 15(1970), 401-445.

[16] Richard K. Gardner, "The Current French Library Scene," Wilson Library Bulletin, 43(1969), 991.

[17] Pierre Lelièvre, "La Formation des Bibliothécaires en France," Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, Jg. 72(1958), 5.

[18] Salvan, "The National School of Librarianship," 202.

[19] Gardner, 988.

[20] "French Library Association Hears Call for Change," Library Journal, 94(1969), 3953-3954.

[21] "Library Education Policy for Developing Countries," Unesco Bulletin for Libraries, 22(1968), 172-188.

[22] Ibid., 181.

[23] Ibid., 180.

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