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The problem of biases within classification systems is well documented in the field of knowledge organization. To better understand this problem, this project analyzes historically the intersections of gender, sexuality, reading, and libraries using Library of Congress Subject Headings from 1948, 1957, and 1966. The research approach involved a content analysis of 18 terms. The results indicate that the problem of biases predates the periods most often examined by scholars and that while librarians took the professional stance of resisting censorship during the Cold War, cultural and political forces still influenced the way they represented materials during this period.

Headings:

Librarians—Political Activities
Sexism in language
Subject cataloging
Subject headings—Homosexuality
Subject headings—Women
Subject headings, Library of Congress—Evaluation

BETTER DEAD THAN READ? AN ANALYSIS OF LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
SUBJECT HEADINGS IN THE COLD WAR

by
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Introduction

The majority of contemporary literature concerning structural, linguistic, and cultural biases found in classification representations focus on these schemes' iterations since the 1970s. Much less attention has been paid to librarianship in general and classification modes in particular in the 1940s, 50s, and 60s. Librarians have examined, perhaps rather uncritically, the role of their profession in the United States during the Cold War, with groups like the International Federation of Library Associations (IFLA) noting the general resistance of the library profession to censorship. This focus on the resistance to censorship and the freedom to read means that scholars have largely neglected how librarians as professionals and employees were treated during this period. Further, it seems that while the library profession made strides toward resisting blatant censorship of materials during the Cold War period, it appears that more subtle cultural and political forces influenced the way that librarians and other information professionals *represented* these materials.

Literature Review

It is clear that the largest body of literature concerning librarianship during the Cold War comes from the 1998 IFLA conference entitled *Books, Libraries, Reading, and Publishing in the Cold War*. The conference began as a way for Russian scholars to express their opinions regarding the restriction of freedoms to read and write under

Soviet regimes.[1] Davis notes that the IFLA maintained its neutrality and professionalism

during this period and the American Library Association (ALA) adopted a strengthened

Bill of Rights in 1948 in response to censorship pressures. Indeed, Robbins states that

this stance against censorship gave librarians the high-profile title of "defenders of

intellectual freedom."

Librarians, however, were still not immune to social pressures. As Christine

Jenkins notes, youth services librarians were particularly targeted because of their focus

on intergroup and international cooperation. Because of their silence, librarians were

often considered dupes who, once enlightened to the pro-Communist propaganda within

their collections, would join in banishing these materials. But, as Jenkins notes, this

silence was part of a strategic vigilance against "procensorship vigilantes."[2]

In 1953, Senator Joseph McCarthy's zealous investigation into the State

Department led to an examination of the Department's overseas libraries, no doubt

leading the ALA in 1954 to offer to assist the State Department in carrying out its foreign

policy, particularly in the realm of cultural affairs.[3] Richards argues that US library

activities in support of foreign policy were limited to matters of influencing collections.

Public library collections were tailored in support of anti-Communist, anti-Soviet

agendas, due to pressures from the national and local levels. These pressures were

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[1] Poulain, Martine "Preface." *Libraries & Culture* 36, no. 1 (2001): vii-viii.
[2] Christine Jenkins, "International harmony: threat or menace? US Youth Services Librarians
   and Cold War censorship, 1946-1955." *Libraries & Culture* 36, no. 1 (2001): 120.
[3] Donald D. Davis, Jr. and Nathaniel Feis, "With malice toward none: IFLA and the Cold War," *Libraries
& Culture* 36, no. 1 (2001): 1-15; Louise S. Robbins, "The overseas libraries controversy and the freedom
to read: U.S. librarians and publishers confront Joseph McCarthy," *Libraries & Culture* 36, no. 1 (2001):
27-39.

evident in academia as well, with institutions as prestigious as Harvard cooperating openly with FBI investigations in the 1950s.[4]

Librarians as Workers during the Cold War

Librarians employed in public and academic environments were generally aware to the political and social pressures manifesting themselves most blatantly in the form of loyalty programs. Under intense pressure beginning in 1947, by 1950 the ALA adopted a wholesale criticism of loyalty programs as a threat to intellectual freedom. But, like many of their contemporaries, for librarians as employees, silence followed. As Robbins states, librarians were rather exceptional in their vocal and immediate opposition to loyalty programs, but did not officially include the resistance to these programs within the rubric of intellectual freedom. As Robbins argues, librarians' dependence on the public sector led to their collective aversion to open resistance. [5]

According to Intner, it was unsurprising that the reactionary culture of the Cold War, with values that embraced open mistrust and persecution of ethnic minorities or gays and lesbians seeking better treatment, trickled down into the realm of libraries. This mentality translated into distrust and sometimes outright censorship of suspect materials.[6]

Historian David K. Johnson takes these implications even further in his investigation of the plight of gays and lesbians in the federal government. What Johnson calls the "Lavender Scare," McCarthy deemed "the purge of the perverts," as the federal

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[4] Pamela Spence Richards, "Cold War librarianship: Soviet and American activities in support of national foreign policy, 1946-1991" *Libraries & Culture* 36, no. 1 (2001): 193, 198-199

[5] Louise S. Robbins, "After brave words, silence: American librarianship responds to Cold War loyalty programs, 1947-1957," *Libraries & Culture* 36, no. 1 (2001): 345-346.

[6] Sheila S. Intner, "Intellectual freedom revisited," *Technicalities* 22, no. 2 (2002).

government embarked on a campaign that led to the dismissal of thousands of employees from the late 1940s to the late 1960s. In fact, the federal government had in place a policy of termination for "immoral conduct" since the early twentieth century. Eisenhower made the connection between such conduct and sexual preference explicit in his executive order that banned the federal government from employing anyone guilty of "sexual perversion."[7] So, while professional organizations for librarians, especially the ALA, were actively voicing their opposition to loyalty oaths and censorship, these same professionals listed "homosexuality" under "sexual perversion" in LCSH up through the 1970s. Indeed, the specter of biases and the rigid adherence to the status quo is a well-documented problem within the information professions.

Biases

Sanford Berman has arguably become the most vocal and prolific opponent to such biases within classification schemes. In *Prejudices and Antipathies*, Berman challenges all types of subject headings in both the Library of Congress Subject Headings and Sears. Berman argues these headings are all based on the chauvinism of white, Western civilization. He cites Joan Marshall who argues that Haykin's "majority reader" is white, middle to higher income, jingoistic, loyal to the established order, arrogant toward both women and youth, and unfair to organized labor and the "sexually unorthodox."[8]

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[7] David K. Johnson, "'Homosexual citizens': Washington's gay community confronts the Civil Service," *Washington History* 6, no.2 (1994/1995): 48.
[8] Sanford Berman, *Prejudices and antipathies : A tract on the LC subject heads concerning people.* Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co. : 1993.

Hope Olson, in *The Power to Name* takes Berman's calls for reexamination of the underlying values of subject headings even further. Olson considers not just subject headings but the nature and importance of subject access. She argues that giving a phenomenon a name creates a certain reality and is in fact essential for human communication. She discovers the same biases as Berman in subject headings, but focuses on the most documented group—women. She argues that all groups outside of the "mainstream culture" are disproportionately affected by inaccurate or biased subject headings. She contends that this marginalization and exclusion violate the cataloger's ideal of "representation without bias." [9]

Foskett, too, examined the biases present in classification schemes, offering awareness instead of solutions. He argues that, in theory, catalogers avoid "critical" classification that would introduce their own prejudices. In practice, however, catalogers operate very much within cultural constraints which reflect the prejudices of their origins. In particular, schemes are a function of their temporal and human genesis. [10] Foskett also addresses Berman's arguments that certain subject headings would be embarrassing in an African Studies library, but Foskett sees little possibility for improvement. He states that some definitions could be altered, but it may prove impossible to trade in the current classification scheme for an improved one.

Thirteen years later, in 1984, Foskett returns to an analysis of LCSH and DDC in their new editions to determine what, if anything, had changed and whether hindrances to

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[9] Hope Olson, *The power to name : Locating the limits of subject representation in libraries.* Dordrecht [The Netherlands]: Kluwer Academic: 2002.

[10] A.C. Foskett, "Misogynists all: A study in critical classification," *Library Resources and Technical Services* 15, no.2 (1971): 117-121.

access had finally been addressed.[11] The author laments the tremendous opportunity

afforded to the Library of Congress to change their headings when they discontinued the

card catalog system. While both LCSH and DDC had improved, it was not hard to find

"peculiarities," and to determine that sex, religion, and politics still remained sensitive

subjects. Sadly, the singling out of girls and women persisted in LCSH9. Foskett

contends that LCSH's misanthropy is also directed at youth, a group often characterized

as orphans or delinquents. [12]

In 2008, Ben Christensen examined the aftermath of Ellen Greenblatt's 1990

study on LCC and GLBT terms. The author examines the tension in research in this area

between a "universalizing" view that vows to represent all without any special

distinguishing marks concerning certain groups, and the "minoritization" view, that

proposes that classification should represent and make visible marginalized groups at any

expense. He argues that librarians should make themselves aware of this tension and like

Berman, agrees that classification schemes should be respectful of a group's self-ascribed

terms. He further argues that the critical faculties that have been directed toward LCSH

have largely ignored LCC, a system that has remained much less visible than LCSH. [13]

Gender

According to James Carmichael, libraries suffer from a problem of image.[14]

Librarians still garner much respect and trust from the public (if little prestige) but

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[11] Foskett, "Better dead than read: further studies in critical classification," *Library Resources and Technical Services* 28, no. 4(1984): 346-359.

[12] Foskett, "Better dead than read," 352-3.

[13] Ben Christensen, "Minoritization vs. universalization: lesbianism and male homosexuality in LCSH and LCC" *Knowledge Organization* 35, no. 4 (2008): 229-238.

[14] James V. Carmichael, Jr., ed., *Daring to find our names: The search for lesbigay library history.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press: 1998, p.3.

librarians still felt it necessary to monitor their own image in a continuing column in *American Libraries.* As members of a largely feminized profession, librarians have struggled with low morale (perhaps related to low pay), a phenomenon reflected in all feminized professions. He further argues that the struggle for rights of women, lesbians, and gays, stems from American's obsession with sex, particularly how to get it and how to control it. And for the author, it would still be foolish to assume that any sort of gender parity was forthcoming at work or in the home.[15]

Concerning biases in subject representation, Olson finds many and argues that these prejudices to race, class, and gender, actually limit the ability of classification schemes to represent diversity and to provide effective library service to diverse populations. Olson turns most of her attention toward the representation of women, as they remain the most documented group. Olson supports Berman's claims that subject headings treat masculinity as the norm, denigrating and belittling women through the sin of omission. Olson takes this contention further, arguing that the standards for cataloging feminist materials, by treating women as the exception to the masculine norm, either ghettoize women's issues by completely segregating them or omitting them altogether.

Still, cultural influences do little to explain the historical treatment of women in classification schemes. Examining the Dewey Decimal Classification scheme, Foskett concludes the people who constructed the headings appear to be flagrant misogynists. He even offers the *inclusion* of women in certain subdivisions as proof, finding that Dewey must have considered educated women so rare that he included a special for them under heading of "education." The author finds other "peculiarities" within the DDC's index

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[15] Carmichael, Jr., *Daring to find our names.*

and other classification schemes. For instance, within the Library of Congress classification, "women" are situated near "societies, secret," and "social pathology."

Even by 2004, information specialists still find imbalances in both the language and structure of controlled vocabularies used in subject headings. Waterman examines Library of Congress subject headings from the years 1988, 1993, and 2003, to determine what changes had been made and whether these changes reflected recommendations from people like Sanford Berman.[16] Waterman argues that Olson's "faulty generalizations," that tend to add copious narrower terms under "women" while adding few for "men," has actually increased since the 1980s, but under the guise of equality by way of expansion. While this practice performs the obvious task of increasing visibility of women's issues, it still proffers the notion that women are the exception to the masculine norm.

Sexuality

Concerning women and sex, Foskett, among others, concludes that the assumptions and values underlying the DDC and Rider are best described as "Victorian."[17] These schemes arrange life cycles chronologically, allowing "sex customs" to appear only after "marriage customs." The DDC further includes "premarital relations" and "homosexuality" as "perversions." Rider is even more disturbing; under "treatment and care of mental deficiency and abnormality" one can find the suggestion of "sterilization." Even Ranganathan is complicit, listing together in his mnemonics "emotion, women, sex, and crime." Further, LCSH's depictions of human

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[16] Tracy Waterman, *Sex and gender in Library of Congress Subject Headings* (2004): 1-73.
[17] Foskett, "Better dead than read," 352-3.

life cycles and customs remained relatively unchanged, with "Relations between the sexes," still following "Courtship and marriage."[18]

Berman addresses the sexual Puritanism of classification schemes, arguing for a sex index to journals. He states that erotic, gay, and sexologic materials have traditionally embarrassed librarians but that 1960s produced an impetus to actively collect and accession these materials.[19] Like Foskett, Berman argues that subject headings are almost asexual and catalogers need a special thesaurus, like that of Joan Marshall's, to properly catalog sexual materials.[20] Like other instances of marginalization, LCSH omits references to sado-masochism or homophobia, but validates the punitive and the judgmental by including "Sexual Deviation" cross-referenced to "Sexual Perversion."

By the 1990s information specialists seem to have turned their collective attention to issues of gay and lesbian library service and materials. Gough and Greenblatt delineate two major problems with gay and lesbians in libraries: first, they represent a significant portion of the population but still remain marginalized when it comes to materials and service, and second, that gays and lesbians represent an even larger proportion of library staff yet have been afforded little attention or respect.[21]

Ellen Greenblatt traces the evolution of the concept of homosexuality in Library of Congress Subject Headings. She notes, like Berman, the glacial pace at which LC

[18] *Ibid.,* 352-3.

[19] Berman, *Prejudices and antipathies,* 18.

[20] Joan K. Marshall, *On equal terms: a thesaurus for nonsexist indexing and cataloging.* New York: Neal Schuman: 1977.

[21] Cal Gough and Ellen Greenblatt, eds., *Gay and lesbian library service.* Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland: 1990.

subject headings change to reflect currency and common usage. This point becomes

exacerbated as scarce resources are directed at tasks considered to have a higher priority.

Greenblatt argues that an examination of homosexuality within LCSH demonstrates the

biases and unwillingness to change which other information specialists have long

complained about.[22]

Greenblatt pursues a historical analysis of homosexuality as a term and a concept.

It was not until 1987, a full twenty years after the term gay had achieved widespread,

self-appointed usage, and after years of receiving petitions from prominent information

specialists, that the Library of Congress exchanged the term "gay" for "homosexual."

The term "homophobia" was not officially sanctioned by the Library of Congress until

1988. Still, problems persist with outmoded and even omitted terms, including the

exclusion of the term "lesbian," a concept subsumed under the term "gay." Greenblatt

points to the fact of self-identification in her calls for two, distinct terms to describe the

gay and lesbian community. Further, LCSH ignores the millions of other Nazi victims,

including gay men, in its specification of the single term: "Holocaust, Jewish."

Gay and lesbian issues are further ghettoized and delegitimized in the inclusion of

"homosexuality" within classification schemes, but no parallel entry for

"heterosexuality." As Olson argued was the case for the treatment of women, the

drawing of attention to homosexuality further confirms heterosexuality as the norm

against which other lifestyles are to be compared. As Greenblatt notes, once one is the

norm, one has the privilege of not being aware of what one is. LCSH further ignores

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[22] Ellen Greenblatt, "Homosexuality: the evolution of a concept in the Library of Congress Subject Headings," in *Gay and lesbian library service.* Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, pp. 75-101.

lesbian feminism, a powerful branch of feminist theory, which maintains all of sexuality is institutionalized. Most importantly, perhaps, the author urged for the establishment of the term "violence against gay men and lesbians," which would recognize and address a far-reaching problem.

Greenblatt suggests that the unresponsiveness of the Library of Congress to impose self-described and popular terms concerning homosexuality may reflect a lack of collecting strength in those areas, an excuse that would hardly work anymore. A more likely reason is that gays and lesbians are among marginalized communities. She argues that the use of outdated terminology or omitting terms altogether undermines the fundamental goal of descriptive cataloging—to provide access. Until the Library of Congress disembarks from its ethno and heterocentric campaign, it will fail to recognize and accession the rich diversity of human experience.

Structural Problems

Concerning the process of "naming," Olson exerts a great amount of verbiage. She argues that naming information not only identifies and represents it but also constructs information about it. Essential to naming as catalogers know the process is the construction of controlled vocabularies, which operate as a universal language that represents a certain knowledge domain. Controlled vocabularies must contain a structure that defines relationships between terms and also function to define the limits of a domain through inclusion and exclusion of terms. Controlled vocabularies cannot be conjured out of thin air but are selected by human beings. This selection process can introduce blatant prejudices toward a certain group or topic but often perform the more insidious work of subtle marginalization.

Since the fundamental principles underlying the process of subject cataloging remain largely unchanged, the problems of subject representation persist. After all, while classification schemes are meant to be universal, they are always culturally specific. Olson, however, does not propose a universal "fix" as the imposition of universalities is a huge part of the problem with subject representation. Instead, Olson proposes a set of techniques that would provide the conceptual basis for representation that could, and should, be adapted to local circumstances.

Foskett, too, finds that baffling inconsistencies persist that cannot be explained away by biases with "Reproduction of documents" a separate heading from "Maps—Reproduction."[23] As entertaining and ridiculous as some of these headings may be, their presence still matters to accessibility for readers, especially as large collections are meant to be manageable enough to be browsed on the shelf. Foskett contends that users will unlikely put up with the errors and oversights of subject headings much longer, even as he marvels that professional librarians put up with them for as long as they have.

Berman reexamines and expounds some of his major points from *Prejudices and Antipathies* in 1981's *The Joy of Cataloging* and proposes many questions and solutions in this compilation. He indicts classification schemes even beyond their biases and prejudices, arguing these schemes are confusing, insincere, and worst of all, unhelpful. He argues that each individual library must maintain a scheme that works for its users. Classification schemes should further be intelligible, use familiar language, and should be fair to the material and topical subjects it covers. By contrast, he argues, the current

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[23] Foskett, "Better dead than read," 352-3.

schemes "could well make the uninducted feel like stupid jerks."[24]   These schemes

peddle bad or outdated information and conceal relevant and current material under

remote or illogical topic headings.

Berman finds many problems with controlled vocabularies, arguing against their

tendency to construct awkward headings (like Beaches, nude). He states that schemes

should follow natural and modern language, even though he does not address the problem

of changing vernacular. Schemes should utilize unbiased and loaded terminology, such

as the word "deviance." Terms should further embody popular, not clinical or academic

language and should include self-declared group names, which would change

"homosexual" to "gay." Berman's main argument contends that materials should be made

easier, not harder, to find through classification systems. The language of catalogs

should be precise and non-judgmental as libraries are allowed to adopt local policies.

The "Chauvinistic headings" that apply to LCSH should be eliminated for standards that

are much less duplicitous and self-servingly euphemistic.

Solutions

Carmichael contends that the librarian's relationship to their materials and their

patrons can never truly be a neutral one. So, he calls for activism: librarians must take up

the mantle of equal rights regardless of sexual preference in the library, among the public,

and in the classroom. Carmichael acknowledges the change, at least in awareness,

effected by the works of Berman, Marshall, and Cough and Greenblatt, but like other

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[24] Sanford Berman, *The joy of cataloging : Essays, letters, and other explosions.* Phoenix, Ariz.: Oryx Press: 1981, p.3.

information specialists concerned with gender and sexual parity in librarianship, he admits much work remains to be done.

Berman argues that, faced with irrefutable evidence of the prejudices of subject headings, we must question not only the headings themselves but also the underlying assumptions and values from which they were constructed. This reexamination would undoubtedly present a monumental task, but it is one that catalogers must undertake to preserve their own professional integrity and the trust of the public.

Waterman, too, proffers suggestions for ensuring parity within LCSH. The easiest seems to be to establish equivalent subheadings under "men," and "women." Or, the subheadings that specify "women" specifically could be eliminated, allowing materials about men and women to be gathered together. Further, LCSH must also consider allocating space for gender and sexuality that do not fit with the binary of "man" and "woman."

Conclusion

Information professionals who have critically examined representations of classification such as LCSH have tended to examine the schemes' more recent iterations. Scholars who have undertaken critiques of previous editions of LCSH, like Waterman, have looked only as far back as the 1980s. Still, just because pernicious, offensive, or even confusing headings have been altered over the years does not erase the cultural, social, and historical influence these headings have exerted. This project will attempt to examine LCSH historically with the ultimate goal of understanding how historical

moments and social climates continue to shape the way that information professionals represent and accession documents.

While historians have begun discussing the gendered, sexual, and racial facets of the political and social atmosphere during the Cold War, and information professionals have attempted to elucidate the unique position of librarianship during this period, it seems scholars have not yet discussed these discoveries in tandem.[25] In order to understand the connections between gender, sexuality, and library practice and their implications for future library practice, it is necessary to study library classification and representation during the Cold War, a period where these elements affected each other most profoundly. This project presents research addressing this need through an analysis of the deep connections between gender and sexuality and Cold War censorship and persecution and classification representation by examining Library of Congress Subject Headings from the Cold War period.

Research Goals

A review of contemporary literature makes clear the need to conduct a critical examination of Library of Congress Subject Headings from 1948, 1955, and 1966 in order to uncover representations of key issues as cited by information scholars and historians of this period. The research reported on in this paper addresses this need by analyzing how issues of gender, sexuality, reading, and censorship were represented by information professionals and how these representations compare to the corpus of scholarship created by the IFLA's conference on books, libraries, reading, and publishing

[25] Cf. John D'Emilio, *Sexual politics, sexual communities: the making of the homosexual minority, 1940-1970*, Chicago: University of Chicago, 1983, and Lillian Faderman, *Odd girls and twilight lovers: A history of lesbian life in twentieth century America,* New York: Penguin Books: 1991.

in the Cold War. The more general goal of this study is to better understand the way

libraries were representing issues critical to their profession during the Cold War and

what implications these representations may have on future library practice.

Methodology

In order to investigate the intersections of gender, sexuality, censorship, and

libraries, a content analysis of Library of Congress Subject Headings was conducted.

The initial step was to identify terms within LCSH related to women, sex, and gender,

three sources were consulted—Dickstein's *Women in LC's terms: a thesaurus of Library*

of Congress Subject Headings related to women, Marshall's *On equal terms: a thesaurus*

for nonsexist indexing and cataloging, and Johnson's *Lavender Scare: The Cold War*

persecution of gays and lesbians in the federal government.[26] To understand how the

Library of Congress represented politically and socially charged terms during the Cold

War, this analysis also took into consideration terms set forth by scholars who have

written about librarianship during this period, specifically examining the body of

knowledge produced during the IFLA conference, *Books, Publishing, Reading, and*

Libraries during the Cold War. The following terms were tracked and compared in the

Library of Congress Subject Headings' fifth edition (1948), sixth edition (1957), and

seventh edition (1966):

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[26] See Ruth Dickstein, Victoria Mills, and Ellen J. Waite, *Women in LC's terms: A thesaurus of Library of Congress Subject Headings related to women*. Phoenix: Oryx Press: 1988 and Joan Marshall, *On equal terms.*

Gender and sexuality headings:

- Gender

- Sex

- Sex and Law

- Sex Crimes

- Sexual Ethics

- Sexual Perversion

- Homosexuality

- Woman

- Women, employment

- Rights of Women

- Women, Social and Moral Questions

- Women in Public Life

- Women in the U.S.

Libraries, reading, and censorship headings: [27]

- Books and Reading

- Prohibited Books

- Censorship

- Liberty of the Press

- Libraries and Readers

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[27] A note on the construction of these headings:
sa= see also
x= Refer from (see)
xx= Refer from (see also)

These terms are, of course, not exhaustive, as such a list would be prohibitively time-consuming. They do, however, represent the most important cross-sections of sex, gender, reading, and libraries. The fifth, sixth, and seventh editions of LCSH were chosen as they encompass the most fruitful time period for understanding librarians' representations of materials during a time when they were advocating most fervently for resistance to censorship and intellectual freedom. Once the print versions of the editions of LCSH were acquired, the aforementioned terms were located in each manual, which were created into photographic reproductions. These reproductions have been reproduced as the tables that follow. So, headings appear in the tables below in the order they exist within LCSH. The tables below are not arranged alphabetically, but rather thematically to facilitate critical analysis.

Analysis

Analysis of these subject headings will show how librarians represented the above terms, grouping analysis of books and reading with liberty of the press and censorship. Subject headings related to women will be covered next, followed by analysis of headings related to sex and sexuality. The representation of these concepts will then be compared to a selection of the scholarship presented at the IFLA's *Books, libraries, reading, and publishing in the Cold War* conference.

Evidence from Table 1 supports the claims made by information scholars who study the profession during the Cold War that librarians were proactive in representing their profession and in defense of reading. An analysis shows that headings for "books and reading" increased slightly from the fifth to the seventh editions. The sixth edition

was the first to include "group reading" as a "see" reference, as well "readability" as a "see also" reference."   And, by the seventh edition, LCSH included a reference to "reading habits," perhaps signaling and increase in interest in understanding users. Still, headings concerned with books and reading barely expanded in the twenty years between the publications of the fifth and sixth editions of LCSH. Further, LCSH maintained the punitive and ambiguous term "prohibited books" throughout.

Table 1: *Books and Reading*

	5th edition	6th edition	7th edition*
sa	Anthologies	Anthologies	Anthologies
	Authors and Readers	Authors and Readers	Authors and Readers
	Bibliography	Bibliography--Best Books	Best sellers
	Book Selection	Book Selection	Bibliography--Best Books
	Books--Reviews	Books--Reviews	Book Selection
	Children's Literature	Children's Literature	Books--Reviews
	Classification--Books	Classification--Books	Classification--Books
	Fiction in Libraries	Fiction in Libraries	Fiction in Libraries
	Libraries	Group Reading	Group Reading
	Literature	Libraries	Libraries
	Prohibited Books	Literature	Literature
	Reference Books	Prohibited Books	Prohibited Books
		Readability (Literary Style)	Readability (Literary Style)
		Reference Books	Reference Books
x	Appraisal of Books	Appraisal of Books	Appraisal of Books
	Bibliography, Critical	Bibliography, Critical	Bibliography, Critical
	Books--Appraisal	Books--Appraisal	Books--Appraisal
	Choice of Books	Choice of Books	Choice of Books
	Evaluation of Literature	Evaluation of Literature	Evaluation of Literature
	Literature--Evaluation	Literature--Evaluation	Literature--Evaluation
	Reading, Choice of	Reading, Choice of	Reading, Choice of
			Reading Habits

xx Authors and Readers	Authors and Readers	Authors and Readers
Bibliography	Bibliography	Bibliography
Book Selection	Book Selection	Book Selection
Books--Psychology	Books--Psychology	Books--Psychology
Education	Education	Education
Literature	Group Reading	Group Reading
Self-Culture	Literature	Literature
	Self-Culture	Self-Culture

*Here are entered works on the significance of books in a man's life, his attitude toward and interest in reading books.

Concerning "prohibited books," and "censorship," LCSH exerts a great deal of verbiage, as demonstrated by Table 2, though references increased only slightly from the fifth to the seventh editions, with the latter including a "see also" reference to "teaching office." Though librarians claimed to be champions of the freedom to read, LCSH represents a decidedly punitive bend concerning censorship, making "see also" references to "blasphemy," "Index Librorum Prohibitorum" and "condemned" and "expurgated" books. LCSH shows that librarians were cognizant of how politically and socially charged books and reading could be, but terms like "literature—immoral," and "literature and morals," implies that materials that were censored during the Cold War period were done so for good reason. By creating these punitive headings, including the bizarre "illegal libraries," while not including any reaction to or opposition of censorship by librarians or others, LCSH privileged the process and consequences of censorship over censored books. So, these editions of LCSH do support the claim that censorship was on the minds and lips of Cold War librarians, just not in the way that scholars have professed. LCSH does include "see also" references under the heading "censorship" for "liberty of the press." Here, the creators had an opportunity to represent an opposition to censorship or at the very least create headings that promoted intellectual freedom, the Bill of Rights, or the freedom to read. Indeed, scholars have contended that the ALA adopted

a strengthened Bill of Rights in 1948 specifically to counter censorship measures. Why then, does the heading "Liberty of the press," so closely resemble headings for both "Censorship" and "Books, Prohibited"?

Table 2: *Prohibited Books*

		5th edition	6th edition	7th edition
sa		Blasphemy	Blasphemy	Blasphemy
		Censorship	Censorship	Censorship
		Condemned Books	Condemned Books	Condemned Books
		Expurgated Books	Expurgated Books	Expurgated Books
		Index Librorum Prohibitorum	Index Librorum Prohibitorum	Illegal libraries
		Liberty of the press	Liberty of the press	Liberty of the press
x		Bibliography-- Prohibited Books	Bibliography--Prohibited Books	Bibliography-- Prohibited Books
		Books, Prohibited	Books, Prohibited	Books, Prohibited
		Censorship of the Press	Censorship of the Press	Censorship of the Press
xx		Blasphemy	Blasphemy	Blasphemy
		Books and reading	Books and reading	Books and reading
		Censorship	Censorship	Censorship
		Condemned Books	Condemned Books	Teaching office
		Expurgated Books	Expurgated Books	Condemned Books
		Liberty of the Press	Liberty of the Press	Expurgated Books
				Liberty of the Press
		Bibliography		

References to "censorship" largely replicate those to "prohibited books," as demonstrated by Table 3. LCSH further includes references to censorship in both the

secular and sacred realms, with inclusions of headings for approbations in Hebrew literature, and the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, maintained by the Catholic Church. References to types of censorship far outweigh those to any type of intellectual freedom, with "liberty of the press" standing as the lone reference. Further, it seems that while the ALA adopted their strengthened Bill of Rights before the publications of LCSH's sixth edition, the manual still ignores the freedom to read by explicitly equating "literature" with morality by including headings for "literature and morals" and "literature—immoral" in the fifth, sixth, and seventh editions.

Table 3: *Censorship*

		5th edition*	6th edition*	7th edition*
	sa	Approbations (Hebrew literature)	Approbations (Hebrew literature)	Approbations (Hebrew literature)
		Condemned Books	Condemned Books	Condemned Books
		Expurgated Books	Expurgated Books	Expurgated Books
		Index Librorum Prohibitorum	Index Librorum Prohibitorum	Index Librorum Prohibitorum
		Liberty of the press	Liberty of the press	Liberty of the press
		Prohibited Books	Prohibited Books	Prohibited Books
	x			Book censorship
				Books--Censorship
	xx	Condemned Books	Condemned Books	Church--Teaching office
		Expurgated Books	Expurgated Books	Condemned Books
		Index Librorum Prohibitorum	Index Librorum Prohibitorum	Expurgated Books
		Liberty of the press	Liberty of the press	Index Librorum Prohibitorum
		Literature--Immoral	Literature--Immoral	Liberty of the press
		Literature and morals	Literature and morals	Literature--Immoral
		Prohibited Books	Prohibited Books	Literature and morals

Prohibited Books

*Also subdivision Censorship under specific subjects, e.g. European War, 1914--1918 Censorship, Radio--Censorship, Theater—Censorship

Headings and references related to the liberty of the press seem to replicate those to censorship, as shown in Table 4. LCSH covers the freedom to read and create all sorts of knowledge with this heading, covering matters ranging from erotica to journalism. References within this section of LCSH did expand slightly overall, with the sixth and seventh edition even including references to the freedom of information.

Table 4: *Liberty of the Press*

	5th edition*	6th edition*	7th edition*
sa	Approbations (Hebrew literature)	Approbations (Hebrew literature)	Approbations (Hebrew literature)
	Censorship	Blasphemy	Blasphemy
	Condemned Books	Censorship	Censorship
	Erotic literature--History and criticism	Condemned Books	Condemned Books
	Expurgated Books	Erotic literature--History and criticism	Erotic literature--History and criticism
	Index Librorum Prohibitorum	Expurgated Books	Expurgated Books
	Libel and slander	Foreign correspondents	Foreign correspondents
	Postal service--Second-class matter	Index Librorum Prohibitorum	Freedom of information
	Press	Libel and slander	Index Librorum Prohibitorum
	Press law	Postal service--Second-class matter	Libel and slander
	Prohibited books	Press	Postal service--Second-class matter
	Public opinion	Press law	Press
	Stamp-duties--Newspapers	Prohibited books	Press law
	World War, 1939-1945--	Public opinion	Prohibited books

	Censorship		
		Stamp-duties--Newspapers	Public opinion
			Stamp-duties--Newspapers
x	Censorship of the press	Censorship of the press	Censorship of the press
	Freedom of the press	Freedom of the press	Freedom of the press
	Press censorship	Press censorship	Press censorship
xx	Advertising	Blasphemy	Blasphemy
	Blasphemy	Censorship	Censorship
	Censorship	Civil rights	Civil rights
	Civil rights	Condemned books	Condemned books
	Erotic literature	Erotic literature	Erotic literature
	Expurgated Books	Expurgated Books	Expurgated Books
	Journalism	Freedom of information	Freedom of information
	Libel and slander	Journalism	Journalism
	Liberty of speech	Libel and slander	Libel and slander
	Newspapers	Liberty of speech	Liberty of speech
	Periodicals	Newspapers	Newspapers
	Prohibited books	Periodicals	Periodicals
		Press	Press
		Prohibited books	Prohibited books

The conceptual group that seems to suffer even more than books or liberty of the press seems to be women. It seems that while librarians were loudly protesting threats to intellectual freedom they were also busy representing women in impossibly traditional and sometimes bizarre ways. References to woman did expand slightly in the sixth and seventh editions, though not in favor of feminism. Table 5 shows that all three editions contain "see also" references to "woman" that represent a traditional lifecycle, with women transitioning from "girls" to "mothers" to widows," unless, of course, they end up "spinsters." Happily, LCSH replaced the latter moniker with "single women" by the seventh edition. Strangely, women appear as "teacher's wives" even though teaching has been a profession where women could always find work. On the same

note, by the sixth edition of LCSH, we see the heading "women as librarians," as though women merely pretend to be librarians, ignoring the traditional dominance of women in the profession.

Table 5: *Woman*

	5th edition	6th edition	7th edition
sa	Family	Family	Charm
	Girls	Girls	Family
	Mothers	Mothers	Girls
	Spinsters	Postage stamps--Topics--Woman	Mothers
	Widows	Spinsters	Postage stamps--Topics--Woman
	Young women	Teachers' wives	Single women
		Widows	Teachers' wives
		Young women	Widows
			Young women
also	Artists [Authors, Musicians, etc.], Women	Artists [Authors, Musicians, etc.], Women	Artists [Authors, Musicians, etc.], Women
	Women as artists [authors, poets, etc.]	Women as artists [authors, poets, etc.]	Women as artists [authors, poets, etc.]
	Women in charitable work	Women in art	Women in art
	Women in literature and art, etc.	Women in charitable work	Women in charitable work
		Women in literature	Women in literature
x	Female	Female	Female
	Feminism	Feminism	Feminism
xx	Anthropology	Anthropology	Anthropology
	Family	Family	Family
	Girls	Girls	Girls
	Sociology	Sociology	Sociology
	Young women	Young women	Young women

Even more puzzling is the appearance in all three editions of "women—Social and moral questions," as shown in Table 6. While LCSH did include "see" references for "feminism" under the heading "woman," the guide goes on to present feminism as a social and moral question, linking the movement with prostitution, delinquency, and social problems. Even by the publication of the seventh edition, a full three years after Betty Freidan published *The Feminine Mystique,* LCSH still represented feminism with ambivalence, if not hostility. "Divorce," too, appears as a social and moral question, as does the presence of "women in public life."

Table 6: *Women—Social and Moral Questions*

	5th edition	6th edition	7th edition
sa	Divorce	Delinquent women	Delinquent women
	Prostitution	Divorce	Divorce
	Woman--Charities	Woman--Charities	Prostitution
	Woman--Crime	Woman--Societies and clubs	Woman--Charities
	Woman--Societies and clubs	Women in public life	Woman--Societies and clubs
	Women in public life		Women in public life
x	Feminism	Feminism	Feminism
xx	Ethics; Social problems	Ethics	Ethics
	Feminism	Social problems	Social problems

Concerning women in public life, LCSH retained very few references, but at least by 1966 added "Women in the civil service." Happily, however, LCSH did maintain a

section concerning the rights of women, not included within this paper, with references to

women in employment and the Suffrage Movement.

	Table 7: *Women in Public Life*		
	5th edition*	**6th edition***	**7th edition***
sa			Women in the civil service
xx	Woman--Social and moral questions	Woman--Social and moral questions	Woman--Social and moral questions
			Women in the civil service

The treatment of sexual matters by LCSH remains the most puritanical and bizarre,

with references to "birth control," linked with illegitimacy, prostitution, sex crimes, and sadly

the "sterilization of criminals and defectives." The heading "sex and law" seems to focus

most on relations between men and women, as seen in Table 8, with references to paternity,

abortion, and marriage. The only expansion between the three editions occurred with the

inclusion of "artificial insemination" as a "see also" reference.

	Table 8: *Sex and Law*		
	5th edition	**6th edition**	**7th edition**
sa	Abortion	Abortion	Abortion
	Bigamy	Artifical insemination, Human--Laws and legislation	Artifical insemination, Human--Laws and legislation
	Birth control	Bigamy	Bigamy
	Domestic relations	Birth control	Birth control
	Illegitimacy	Illegitimacy	Domestic relations
	Marriage law	Marriage law	Illegitimacy
	Paternity	Paternity	Marriage law

	5th edition	6th edition	7th edition
	Prostitution	Pimps	Paternity
	Sex crimes	Prostitution	Pimps
	Sterilization of criminals and defectives	Sex crimes	Prostitution
	Venereal diseases--Laws and legislation	Sterilization of criminals and defectives	Sex crimes
		Venereal diseases--Laws and legislation	Sterilization of criminals and defectives
			Venereal diseases--Laws and legislation
x	Law and sex	Law and sex	Law and sex
xx	Sex crimes	Sex crimes	Sex crimes

"Sex crimes" as a heading witnessed some expansion over the three editions, as shown in Table 9, though the heading largely mirrors the entry "sex and law." Adultery is represented as a crime, rather than willful behavior, as is seduction and sexual perversion, a heading long associated with homosexuality. LCSH still maintains its punitive bend toward sex, tacitly linking sexual behavior to "offenses against the person."

Table 9: *Sex Crimes*

	5th edition	6th edition	7th edition
sa	Adultery	Adultery	Adultery
	Bigamy	Bigamy	Bigamy
	Incest	Incest	Incest
	Indecent exposure	Indecent exposure	Indecent assault
	Prostitution	Pimps	Indecent exposure
	Rape	Prostitution	Pimps
	Seduction	Rape	Prostitution
	Sex and law	Seduction	Rape
	Sexual perversion	Sex and law	Seduction
	Sodomy	Sexual perversion	Sex and law
		Sodomy	Sexual perversion
			Sodomy

	5th edition	6th edition	7th edition
x	Crime and criminals, Sexual	Crime and criminals, Sexual	Crime and criminals, Sexual
	Sexual crimes	Sexual crimes	Sexual crimes
	Sexual delinquency	Sexual delinquency	Sexual delinquency
		Sexual offenses	Sexual offenses
xx	Crime and criminals	Criminal law	Criminal law
	Criminal anthropology	Criminal psychology	Criminal psychology
	Criminal law	Offenses against the person	Offenses against the person
	Criminal psychology	Prostitution	Prostitution
	Prostitution	Sex and law	Sex and law
	Sex and law	Sexual ethics	Sexual ethics
	Sexual ethics	Sexual perversion	Sexual perversion
	Sexual perversion		

The heading "sexual ethics" expands upon entries for "sex crimes," as shown in Table 10. References linked to this heading, while not nearly as judgmental as other references to sex within LCSH are still rather incoherent, with "free love" existing as a reference in the same intellectual space as "social purity." Still, LCSH did expand by the seventh edition to include a "see also" reference to "dating (social customs) perhaps signaling the recognition of reality of sexual relations by the manual's creators.

Table 10: *Sexual Ethics*

	5th edition	6th edition	7th edition
sa	Birth control	Birth control	Birth control
	Chastity	Chastity	Chastity
	Free love	Free love	Dating (Social customs)
	Hygiene, Sexual	Hygiene, Sexual	Free love
	Prostitution	Promiscuity	Hygiene, Sexual
	Sex and religion	Prostitution	Promiscuity
	Sex crimes	Sex and religion	Prostitution
		Sex crimes	Sex and religion
			Sex crimes

	5th edition	6th edition	7th edition
x	Ethics, Sexual	Ethics, Sexual	Ethics, Sexual
	Purity, Social	Purity, Social	Purity, Social
	Social Purity	Social Purity	Social Purity
xx	Conception--Prevention	Conception--Prevention	Conception--Prevention
	Ethics	Ethics	Ethics
	Hygiene, Sexual	Hygiene, Sexual	Hygiene, Sexual
	Marriage	Marriage	Marriage
	Prostitution	Prostitution	Prostitution
	Social ethics	Social ethics	Social ethics

The heading "sexual perversion" punishes no real sexual transgressions, at least not by today's standards, but rather targets the sexually and socially unorthodox, as seen in Table 11, linking gays and lesbians to sexual criminals. Women, too, are targeted, as nymphomaniacs, as are transvestites.

Table 11: *Sexual Perversion*

	5th edition	6th edition	7th edition
sa	Exhibitionism	Exhibitionism	Exhibitionism
	Homosexuality	Homosexuality	Homosexuality
	Masochism	Lesbianism	Lesbianism
	Nymphomania	Masochism	Masochism
	Sadism	Nymphomania	Nymphomania
	Sex crimes	Sadism	Sadism
	Transvestism	Sex crimes	Sex crimes
		Transvestism	Transvestism
x			Perversion, Sexual
			Sex perversion
xx	Sex crimes	Sex crimes	Sex crimes

Homosexuality as a term is demonized by LCSH, with no references to "gay," a commonly self-ascribed term. By 1966 LCSH expanded its "see also" references to homosexuality and lesbianism to include bisexuality but still linked the terms to "sexual perversion" and in all three editions links homosexuality to "Social pathology."

Table 12:
Homosexuality

	5th edition*	6th edition*	7th edition*
	Social pathology, HQ76, Medical jurisprudence, RA1411	*Medical jurisprudence, RA1411, Neuropsychiatry, RC558, Social pathology, HQ76*	*Medical jurisprudence, RA1411, Neuropsychiatry, RC558, Social pathology, HQ76*
sa	Sodomy	Lesbianism	Bisexuality
		Sodomy	Lesbianism
			Sodomy
xx	Sexual perversion	Sexual perversion	Sexual perversion

* Works on the criminal manifestation of homosexuality are entered under the heading Sodomy

Conclusion

This project attempted a content analysis of Library of Congress Subject Headings with the aim of eliciting a better understanding of the intersections of gender, sex, reading, and libraries during the Cold War. Headings were chosen for examination based on issues central to the scholarship of historians and information professionals who study the Cold War period.

This analysis uncovered several key findings. First, the sexism and heterocentrism that information professionals have longed complained about predates the

time period that most scholars have examined. Second, while LCSH is unfair in its treatment of the sexually unorthodox, the manual did make strides toward normalizing its treatment of sexual matters by the inclusion of headings for birth control and dating. Still, the inclusion of references to these terms was usually in conjunction with value judgments about social purity. Last, and perhaps most important, this study revealed that much work remains to be done concerning the role of librarians as workers and as information keepers during the Cold War. This project attempted to uncover the plight of librarians as workers often beholden to public funding, and therefore sensitive to the machinations of anti-communist and anti-gay movements during this period. It seems this connection will be best revealed through the analysis of primary historical documentation.

This project did not examine race relations, as it is a topic worthy of its own separate study. An examination of LCSH's stance toward the Civil Rights movement would be particularly prescient.

Over the course of the 20th century, librarians strove to maintain the professional objective image of their occupation, presenting the field as friendly to women, open to the non-traditional and unorthodox, and protective of intellectual freedom. Still, as an analysis of LCSH during the Cold War, a time that witnessed an almost defiant stance by the ALA against censorship, proves that the information professionals responsible for providing and standardizing subject access were still heavily influenced by the fear-mongering, misogyny, and homophobia that so characterized the period. As Olson notes in "Sameness and Difference," the Library of Congress has maintained a strong tradition

of classifying according to literary warrant, reflecting patterns of publication.[28] The

notion that the editors of LCSH were merely attempting to reflect the literature in their

collections does not suffice for three reasons: first, at least one prominent work, Donald

Webster Cory's *The Homosexual in America: A Subjective Approach*, was published

during the Cold War and treated homosexuality fairly and sympathetically, second, the

Library of Congress already possessed holdings related to the subject of homosexuality,

hence the inclusion of the term as a heading, the editors of LCSH in fact *chose* to

describe the term in language that is always unfair and is at times downright nasty. [29]

Lastly, even if the principle of literary warrant could explain, at least in part, the

treatment of sexuality, what then explains LCSH's abasement of women?

    This is not to imply that librarianship presently occupies a professional apex of

objectivity, nor to insist that we condescend to the past from the comfort of the present.

Cultural critic Susan Faludi argues that the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001

provoked a nearly hysterical popular cry to return to the traditional values of swaggering

manhood and feminine frailty.[30] This desire to live within the myth of simpler times

reached into the world of information management, giving us the USA PATRIOT Act,

which expanded the powers of the FBI and law enforcement to access all sorts of records,

including those from libraries. Only time will tell how our own cultural and social

climate will affect the way librarians and others represent, accession, and disseminate

information. Hopefully this study has shown that librarians, like everyone else, are

products of their environment, and that we should all be mindful of the cultural,

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[28] Hope Olson, "Sameness and difference: a cultural foundation of classification." *Library Resources. & Technical Services* 45, no. 3 (2001), 115-122.

[29] Cory, *The Homosexual in America: a subjective approach.* New York: Greenberg, 1951.

[30] Susan Faludi, *The terror dream: fear and fantasy in post-9/11 America.* New York: Metropolitan Books: 2007.

historical, and social nexus and that we operate within and how this web influences the

way that we represent and accession information.

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