

1988

Overdue: A policy analysis of college library operation programs

Henry Dale Grunder

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Overdue: A policy analysis of college library operation programs

Grunder, Henry Dale, Ed.D.

The College of William and Mary, 1988

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OVERDUE:
A POLICY ANALYSIS
OF COLLEGE LIBRARY OPERATION PROGRAMS

A Dissertation
Presented to
The Faculty of the School of Education
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education

by
Henry Dale Grunder


May 1988


OVERDUE: A POLICY ANALYSIS OF
COLLEGE LIBRARY OPERATION PROGRAMS

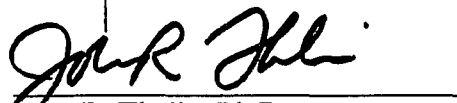
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Students of the academic career sometimes liken it to a calling, certainly more than a mere job. Something of that commitment was demonstrated by those to whom I owe much. Perhaps it is not a coincidence that "commitment" and "committee" share a root. I was on the docket of my committee longer than any of us expected or might have wished. Yet Dr. Herrmann, emeritus, came back to see things through. Dr. Sagaria dutifully responded to the voice from (as she rightly may have felt) the past, and across the miles, and in so doing at the very least saved me from some quite embarrassing errors of omission. Dr. William Losito and Dr. Roger Baldwin generously made time to augment the process at a critical juncture.

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If, notwithstanding what these others did, I have erred, it is not their fault. The final interpretations and emphases are, unless otherwise attributed, mine.

Finally, I would be ungrateful to not acknowledge the cheerful help of Carol Linton of the Earl Gregg Swem Library's Interlibrary Loans Office, and her too-few assistants. They always were able to find what I wanted, and to get it more quickly than I would have thought.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Although about college library operations, this policy analysis is really about higher education, its institutions and its ways. That is the guiding grand perspective, and college library operation programs are actually the lens through which higher education and its ways are scrutinized. The same intent could be carried out with the tool being any one of several more or less related operation programs of colleges. "Museums and Galleries" comes immediately to mind, although any of the "Academic Support" subcategories in the "Educational and General (E & G)" category of the standard account structure--whether included there illustratively as are "Libraries" and "Museums and Galleries," or added there by local practice--would be such operation programs.¹

The question of this study of college library operation programs is, put simply, Why do colleges have them? Admittedly a broad and ambitious undertaking, it came about because of a discovered need to cut through to first principles. This chapter looks at what this analysis started out to be, what it became, and why it became what it did. The discovered need for first principles steered the study, and a brief chronicle of the evolution is required in order to understand the eventual approach taken, and the conclusions reached.

The development of the main research question of this analysis went through three successive stages. Originally the analysis was conceptualized on a research question, How much should a college spend for its library operation program? As the work progressed, however, it became

increasingly apparent that this research question presumed having already an answer to a prior or antecedent question: Can we know how much a college should spend for its library operation program? But then that question is unanswerable without having answers to a still earlier prior question couplet: Why do colleges have their library operation programs?; and, Why should colleges have them? Framed in that way, the research question or questions of this analysis also have substantial interest beyond the narrow fiscal aspects of the original framework; because ostensibly the halves of the couplet, questions and answers, are all at unity. That is, supposedly the reasons why colleges do have library operation programs are also the very reasons why they should. Whether this is indeed the case and, in any event, what the relationships turn out to be, is ground rich with policy implication. This became the questioning, then, that guided this analysis.

Although other approaches and outlooks were used too, so that this is not, narrowly speaking, an "historical" study, the outlook of this analysis is historical to the extent that it is retrospective. The task was really that of understanding "the development," as Laurence Veysey put it, "of an institutional framework," of finding "the causes for a pattern of institutional arrangements and relationships."² To that end, the perspectives of historical research and "backward analysis" urged by John Thelin for attention to the "long term" issues of organizational behavior were used.³

To have a library operation program is, and has traditionally been, a matter of fundamental policy for colleges. We may take as evidence of its fundamentalness the obvious universality, indeed uniformity, of the

practice, over time. There has been none of the vaunted "diversity" of American higher education, or at least the uniformity of having a library operation program has overridden any other tendencies toward diversity in such matters that may have prevailed among institutions.

Because the questions are interrelated, answers to them are perforce interrelated, too. And by the same token, unfruitful approaches are also revealing across the research questions sequence. Take the sequentially first question--How much? It has conventionally been approached through the use of technical models, of varied sophistication, specifically "management science" or rational/economic models. It was their discovered inadequacies that led, as much as anything, to the evolution of research questions just detailed. These models are inadequate for at least three reasons. First, they are inadequate because it is basic to them to work by positing assumptions or taking those of others and then proceeding in a highly formalized way within the restrictions and constraints imposed by those assumptions. That is where they make or break. If the assumptions themselves are true to actual reality, then there may be some robustness for the explanations these models produce. But if the assumptions themselves are out of touch with reality, then the explanations may fail for infidelity to empirical fact. Such are the hazards of a priorism. Put differently, ontology determines epistemology.⁴ Second, the available data of the "management information system" are inadequate. This is taken up in the Appendix below. And third, while the insights supplied by "financial modeling," "forecasting," and so forth may be interesting, still in a best case situation the highest product that could possibly come from application of these models would

be to tell us a) what seems to have happened and seems to be happening, and b) what we may expect to continue to happen if what we think has happened and is happening continues unchanged; and contrariwise, what we may expect if this or that is changed. In other words, these models may be able to tell us how to tinker with the machine. They cannot tell us whether to tinker with it, or perhaps even to replace it and, if so, what with. And additionally, we have no cause for overconfidence in the ability of these models to proceed from a true fix on a), viz., has been and is happening. As a computer industry guru put it, "Predicting the future is easy: It's trying to figure out what's going on now that's hard."⁵ We need to try to know much more than such limited and questionable information in order to make responsible policy decisions. Hence, "trying to figure out what's going on now" is nothing less than a paraphrase of the ultimate research question couplet.

Why was this policy analysis undertaken? It was done for reasons both of intellectual curiosity and of intended pragmatic application. Intellectual curiosity was piqued because it soon became clear, in working on the first form of the research question, that no one had ever before asked such a question as the final form of the research question couplet. Put differently, responses to questions such as, How much?, have always been based on the presumption that a question such as, Why, has already been answered definitively. This was found tacitly throughout, in the very nature of the responses, and once in a while explicitly, as when Duke University president Douglas Knight peremptorily discouraged inquiry, having written not long ago that

a library, after all, is one of the neat symbols of continuity, order, even rigidity and confinement, in a disordered world. To question it is to play the child, if we do so negatively....⁶

If Knight meant that we should leave it alone, then he would merely be illustrating the aptness of Chester Finn's seventh count of indictment, the gist of which is, that there seem to be questions that are "taboo."⁷

The intended pragmatic application reason also ensues from the discovery of the novelty of the final question form. The policy of having a library operation program by a college entails its commitment of scarce resources, and yet the conventional and traditional nature of the policy seems to have resulted in treating the raison d'etre of the program as if self-evident and exempt from justification. At best, such entrenched or traditional programs and their provision become embedded, included as mere matter of course in the ongoing cycle of budgeting. This is demonstrated in David Hopkins and William Massey's influential treatise on planning models.⁸ Such programs get entered automatically into such things as formula approaches to allocation, into patterns of what Aaron Wildavsky has labelled "the politics of the budgetary process" in which their portion, albeit not absolutely inviolable, gets hedged and protected by such considerations as "incrementalism," "base and fair share," and so forth.⁹ That is to say, their place relative to the salt may fluctuate, but their place at table is guaranteed, taken for granted. With an eye on intended pragmatic application, this study did not take that place for granted.

And then at worst, embedded programs take on the character of what are called in the federal government budget "entitlement" programs, in which not only the slot in the budget schedule is guaranteed, but also

the portion of resources. This latter condition may be more hypothetical than real in college budgeting, but such would be the effect of adoption by institutions (whether by individual voluntarism or under such duress as accreditation rules) into their budget process of the most recent version of the Association of College and Research Libraries' (ACRL) "Standards for College Libraries," which attempt to prescribe 6 percent of the Educational and General (E & G) expenditure for the library operation program.¹⁰ This would be to "index" the resource commitment.

The effect of embedding programs is to constrain institutional budgeting, reduce flexibility, and limit options and choices. This may not be inherently bad. Some authorities point to benefits from factors making for reduction in the number of calculations and the burden of decision required in the budget cycle. According to that thought, the more decisions handled mechanically by an apparatus of decisions already made and in place --"routinized"-- the more energy is available for matters on which it has been agreed to reserve decision.¹¹

But the other side of the coin is reduction in the ability to respond to changing conditions. Foregone opportunity may turn out to be more than mere wistfulness over chances missed. The ability to be ready and able to respond to inevitable changes is favored by many observers with different points of view. At one level are those who study organizations as abstractions. At a more workaday level are the warnings of such as the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, and veteran observer Lewis Mayhew.¹² Their cautions are corroborated by common sense. All indications point in the direction of the continuing rejustification of cost center programs in order to be able to respond to

the certain change ahead. It is reasonable to predict that this will be essential to institutional health for the foreseeable future.¹³

This may be put more concretely. One change condition almost certain for many institutions in the study population here will be enrollment fluctuation. For many that will be decline. Where an enrollment driven approach to budgeting is used, "library" is almost always defined as a "fixed cost." Now fixed costs under growth and expansion can make the trip up the marginal cost curve heady, even lucrative. But these same fixed costs under decline and contraction can make the trip down the same marginal cost curve a harrowing and perilous juggernaut. They become an albatross hung around the neck.

Relatedly, a growing national public debate has become what some regard as inordinate and unwarranted increases in college "costs" (costs, that is to consumers, otherwise more clear when thought of as "prices" charged by colleges and by the undergraduate segment of universities). In this debate, the higher education industry creates the impression, and consumers perceive, that the portion of institution budgets spent on library operation improves the "quality" of education delivered, although this Gordian knot of assumptions and confusions disappears into the problematic topic of "quality/excellence," which is taken up in Chapter v.¹⁴

This policy analysis, then, was shaped by the novelty of its questions, and by the intended pragmatic application of its findings. On account of the former, this report of analysis is exploratory, diffuse, and discursive; because the area of investigation is diffuse and "messy." Related topics keep recurring in different combinations, like melodies

endlessly transposed. On account of the latter, decision applications of the findings provided the navigational bearings for the analysis.

Policy Analysis

What is a policy analysis? Many use the term, and policy analyses are frequently done, in considerable numbers. But few who do them have self-consciously described just exactly what they were doing or, when done, how they did it. Someone intent upon using this research genre looks longingly and in vain for such assists as guidebooks and manuals of technique and method. Even in such a useful work as his Public Policy Analysis: An Introduction. William Dunn was forced to conduct a conceptual discussion of differences among "methods," "methodology," and "technique," while subsuming the differences under an idea of policy analysis as "a process of inquiry, and not simply ... a collection of tools and techniques."¹⁵

Aaron Wildavsky clarified the matter. In his book Speaking Truth To Power: The Art and Craft of Policy Analysis he provided (better than a guidebook or manual), a set of principles. After humorously acknowledging that "those who can do policy analysis, still can't say how it was possible to do it," he went on to say that "there can be no one definition of policy analysis." With that caveat, he offered a definition and--following his emphasis that policy analysis is as much art as craft--his definition provided a basis for this investigation:

Policy analysis is an applied subfield whose content cannot be determined by disciplinary boundaries but by whatever appears appropriate to the circumstances of the time and nature of the problem.¹⁶

Colleges

Since this policy analysis focuses on the library operation programs of colleges, it is necessary to make clear what is meant by "college." This is not as cut and dried as might be thought. Havemann and West thought it "probably a little unfair of one of our contemporary wits to define college as 'any building with ivy on it.'"¹⁷

A higher degree of care in conceptualization and terminology has been sought here than is exercised in most of the literature making up the data of this analysis. With the broader "higher education" literature as well as with the literature specific to libraries, the terms "college" and "university" are bandied in the most offhand way, with a casual, even careless, interchangeability. Compounding that problem is a tendency, especially on the part of writers in what will be called here the "library literature" (meaning that it is about libraries, regardless of authorial profession) to collapse all institutional types into an amalgam under the rubric "academic"; as in "academic libraries." This is done while at the same time it is insistently but inconsistently pronounced elsewhere in the same literature that there are significant differences between "college" and "university" library operation programs.¹⁸ This becomes an issue especially in Chapter II, and again in Chapter VI.

Additionally, thrice confounding is the stubborn insistence of those writing in the literature mainly by professional librarians, to treat all possible library operation settings--"academic" as well as public libraries, prison libraries, and the rest of the varied landscape of library operation locations--as merely undifferentiated parts of a

field of uniform theory and practice, called "library science." This is a pervasive impediment encountered throughout this analysis, and will be remarked upon frequently, but which comes to the forefront in Chapter VI, and the Appendix.

And yet all the while as this conceptual and terminological non-chalance, defining just what a "college" is, has been one of the ever-green questions in higher education and its environment. It has occupied the efforts of leaders of the industry and others since before the turn of the century. These efforts have been subtly varied. One variation has been the defensive distinguishing of "colleges" from whatever other kinds of educational organizations it may have been felt necessary to distinguish them from at any time. This variant of defining "college" produced the whole convention of institutional accreditation, a topic in Chapter V. Another variation has been the classification of the whole spectrum of institutions by type, i.e., the making of typologies and taxonomies.

And yet even as basic a source as the International Encyclopedia of Higher Education as recently as 1975 admitted that "the diversification of types of institutions is such that there has never evolved a single standard for the classification of institutions."¹⁹ As though by way of substantiation, a search in that encyclopedia itself and elsewhere in similar authorities for a single common definition of "college" proved fruitless.

The making of institution classifications and typologies has been an active area in higher education for years. The earliest classification seems to have been the one devised by U.S. Commissioner of Education John

Eaton in 1870.²⁰ One of the most recent ones is that developed by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, first issued in 1973, revised in 1976, and again in 1987.²¹ The International Encyclopedia, in the article just quoted from, speaks of the Carnegie classification as approaching being "a nationally accepted system." Certainly it seems to have been widely adopted for use by the "academic" library community: It forms the framework, for instance, of the ACRL "Standards for College Libraries."²²

But there is conspicuous hole in the literature, concerning the making of institutional classifications and typologies. Their underlying premises seem not to have attracted research attention. And since the published typology or classification documents themselves seem to usually have been concerned with the immediate exigencies having prompted their creation as tools in other jobs, they seldom dwell on explaining either their own conceptual bases or their relationship with other typologies, current or past. We may be able to supply our own explanations, post facto, into what typologists were doing, with the lens provided by McKinney's discussions of "constructive typology." He advanced the ideas that type focuses upon uniformity, identification, and simplification, and the ordering of "concrete data so that they may be described in terms that make them comparable."²³

Thus, a constant basic fact in the various typologies or classifications over time has been the organizing on level of program as the definitive principle of comparability and uniformity. On that principle, a "college" has regularly and consistently been defined and differentiated as being a predominately undergraduate institution. A "college"

primarily does (or rather, its students are supposed to do, a distinction often lost sight of) "college work." A college offers undergraduate programs leading to baccalaureate degrees. A college deals in undergraduate education. This squares with Gordon Davies' commonsensical and empirical approach to reducing the mystery of the notion of institutional "mission": "An institution is what it does."²⁴ And the 1987 Carnegie classification for the first time enunciated explicitly its organizing principle: It "groups institutions into categories on the basis of the level of degree offered," which supports the definition used here.²⁵

For working purposes here, undergraduate education is the same as college education, and means largely what Clark Kerr said in the Carnegie Foundation's Missions of the College Curriculum, with one key reservation. Kerr wrote of "the intended consequences of the formal education offered by a college," a formal offering having a threefold structure. First is learning, the sought-after consequence of the program of instruction offered. Here the focus is on college students, to whom the instruction is delivered and by whom it is intended that the learning be done. Second is teaching or instruction, the means of delivery whereby the intended consequence of learning is to be accomplished. The focus here is on the instructors, professors, and on teaching methods or pedagogy. Third is curriculum, used as Kerr did elsewhere in the paragraph excerpted above, meaning "the body of ... courses" that are the content of the formal offering. Now in the higher education literature, separation of these three related topics is often blurred to the point of vanishing: For instance, teaching and curriculum can each be found treated as a subtopic of the other. But an ordering made from this model

of Kerr's may be superimposed upon the literature, regardless of laissez-faire usages by others: This study made such a superimposition, so that the threefold model served to track down and arrange the evidence in this study, where needed, and even if infrequently mentioned, it is present. The important reservation to Kerr's model taken here is to simply dismiss as an unproven, and even questionable, assumption his categorical lumping together of "the undergraduate programs of both freestanding colleges and undergraduate colleges within large universities."²⁶ This is the loose way the lay consumer thinks and talks when saying that the family teen is "going to college," regardless of where the institution may be on a quite diverse spectrum.

And this care in conceptualization and terminology is actually all the specificity that is required for the working purposes of this analysis. There is no need to know the actual population size or membership at any time. No statistical tests or manipulations are made, no probabilistic inferences or generalizations are made from samples, no hairsplitting over just how much of other, yet "higher" program levels (thus avoiding the intractable problem contained in John Silber's sardonic riddle "Higher than what?") are offered by this or that institution.²⁷ What is being studied is a type, a genre. It is one, moreover, that is generally recognized by the higher education community, and so has been its definitive principle. And the general type is very much a part of the panorama of higher education in America, its death, as some have objected, having been prematurely announced.²⁸ The most recent word seems to be that the type is holding its own, despite Carnegie president

Ernest Boyer's identification of an overall "upward drift" in program levels, which perhaps fulfills Silber's riddle.²⁹

There are at least two important reasons for trying hard to keep the analysis homed in on this population. One reason is pragmatic, and thus ties in with a reason for the study. This study group contains a high proportion of institutions predicted to be the most "vulnerable" for the foreseeable future.³⁰ A second reason is more conceptual; to sharpen focus by separating "colleges" from the other type of institution--"universities"--that overlap them on account of offering, as Kerr noted, programs of undergraduate instruction leading to baccalaureate degrees. That is because of the latter's greater organizational complexity, with their emphasis on graduate academic and professional programs and degrees. With "universities" there is greater likelihood of encountering, in trying to analyze their relationship with their library operation program, something economists call a "joint production function."³¹ The hazard there is the possibility of perhaps unwitting and uncritical acceptance of the confounding of arguments and evidence from dissimilar settings. As it turned out, much of the confusion in the literature encountered in this analysis stems from just this very confounding, as will be seen in later chapters.

Even the conceptual reason, however, potentially has a wider significance for application. It may be that the sharpened focus, by enabling the masking out of the "university" confounding influences (e.g., graduate work, research, and so on) will make it possible to consider reflexively whatever is decided about colleges, in application to the collegiate program or lower segment--or, to come at it from the

far side--the non-graduate, non-research, aspects of the more complex institutions. This would be the sort of thing Kerr should have done before simply assuming identity among undergraduate programs. The focus on "colleges" also tries to avoid the myopic and inverted inclination of librarians toward the defining and classifying of higher education institutions by the characteristics--usually size as measured by book collection--of the library operation programs they have.³²

If the separation of "college" and "university" along program level finds some authoritative support, the distinction between college, and university, library operations also accords with authoritative usage. For example, Guy Lyle in his standard treatise was careful to distinguish his topic, "college" libraries, from that of "universities," saying that "there is a significant distinction between college and university library service."³³ But a perfect and complete separation is, for the foregoing reasons, not possible here.

Libraries

"Libraries" tend to take on a whole overstory of symbolic, idealistic, nostalgic, even quasireligious and mystical, connotation. Libraries in general are often regarded as fundamental cultural institutions wherein, to borrow Matthew Arnold's famous phrase from the Preface to Culture and Anarchy; "the best which has been thought and said in the world" throughout all civilization is gathered and held. This reverence and romanticism has made it one of the surest ways for a conqueror--from Alexandria to Anschluss--to earn history's badge of infamy, to burn one. On a less sweeping scale, a college (or university) library building is often by design one of the very "iviest" on a whole campus, using "ivy"

in John Thelin's metaphorical sense; a showplace.³⁴ In fact in this mindset a connotative term, "edifice," signifying architectural presence, is better than mere "building," and monumentally more expressive than the neutral "facility."

As long ago as the late 1920s and early 1930s, the pioneering works on campus facilities planning were counseling as a truism that the library edifice was and/or ought to be centrally located on the campus and a "building of monumental character and having a considerable mass."³⁵ This sentiment endured: In 1962 John Allen, president of the then new University of South Florida, described how the campus planning process there determined both that the library edifice "should be located centrally, and it was decided to make it the tallest building on the campus."³⁶

In fact, as a symbol of legitimacy, propriety, probity, and sovereignty, a library edifice--a "library"--may be for a higher institution what a national flag airline is for a nation-state, or a domed stadium for a metroplex. It may fit into the pattern of complex preconceptions and reactions that Dwight Eisenhower is said to have expressed, upon viewing Dartmouth College for his first time: "This is the way I have always thought a college should look."³⁷ And finally, for generations of alumni, the meeting on the "lib steps," the "library date," has become a ritual part and cherished memory of salad days and the dating and mating game.

Likewise "books," the traditional contents of library edifices, have their own richly reverential and complex, partly independent, mystique. Several of the world's major religions are book-based. A substantial

portion of what is today called "scholarship" grew out of the exegesis of those religious books and others. Chaucer's Clerk, with his books, is an archetype of the "scholar." And then in a lay (and less exalted) setting there are booksellers who have made a living off the cultural cachet of books by selling leather bound ones, assorted by size and color, by the running yard to interior decorators and arrivistes. Perhaps the ultimate triumph of symbol over substance is those booksellers who have the leather spines removed and artfully affixed to boards which, when placed on bookshelves and viewed from a certain distance, make a convincing simulation and a smart appearance.

These attitudes toward "libraries" and books all go to make the frame of mind with which people, even those who are not laymen, hear discussions about such things as library role and function. It is for that reason the awkward formulation "college library operation program," or variants, has already been frequently used here, beginning with the title. The reason is to keep insisting upon a particular emphasis, and its use will continue, regardless of awkwardness. By doggedly repeating the phrasing "library operation program" and variants, the hope is to jettison, for working purposes, the connotative baggage and keep directing the terms of discussion back toward what it is; one in an array of programs supported by the budget, cost centers, and to concentrate everyone's mind. Only in that way can we think clearly about connections between it, and college education.

Viewed thus, as a program, of what does the college library operation consist? Let us factor it into component parts. For this purpose Guy Lyle's treatise again serves. According to Lyle's model, the library

operation program consists of physical quarters or "facilities" (the edifice), housing within it a potentially limitless variety and quantity of physical objects--"materials," as librarians call them collectively--which are mainly printed or in "media" forms; to which and with which things are done by a staff of personnel.³⁸ In other words, the conceptual model of the college library operation program consists of facilities, personnel, and materials.

This model translates into budget categories, as the institutional budget is structured by the generally accepted authorities.³⁹ But it is not an exact correspondence. "Personnel" unquestionably falls into Educational and General (E & G), along with a number of other recurring operation costs. The physical facilities "Operation and Maintenance of Plant" is accounted in E & G, while the construction and equipping fall into Capital Expenditures. But the translation into budget terms of the "materials," however, may be more problematic; see the discussion in the Appendix. Perhaps the most important thing is that the program costs are not consolidated, but are scattered around in the account structure.

In operation, materials are accumulated by the personnel in the facility. The historical pattern of this accumulation has been one of uninterrupted increase quantitatively, and this has driven consequent growth of the facilities, the staff of personnel, and miscellaneous ancillary costs such as supplies and purchased outside services.⁴⁰ It has been an endless interdependent upward spiral. This growth has been regarded ambivalently, by many. For example, on the one hand there is endemic friction over what administrators and providers of funds see as incessant demands from the librarians; and yet the growth is interpreted

positively (at least in the oratory) as an indication of the library program's dynamism and, by extension, the dynamism of the college itself. That interpretation shows up in the ongoing budget cycle as a basis for arguments for more and more provision, as the librarians scold Administration in a theme discussed in Chapter II below; and this matter is returned to in Chapter VI.

The foregoing schematic description--facilities, personnel, materials--is the conceptual model of the college library operation program used in this analysis. By now some readers, familiar with the round of life in college library operations, may have become aware that this model says nothing of the domestic routines that take place in them. These are the routines conventionally described, as by Lyle, done by the staff of personnel, to the materials, within the edifice. Indeed, they occupy the bulk of Lyle's attention, and the bulk of the library literature as well. That omission too is deliberate, because these conventional matters of library domestic economy are all matters of internal business, professional librarian practice and procedure, and interest.⁴¹ This is "library science." Whether it has an extramural relevance to college education in turn depends upon whether the program has any. And that is what is the very purpose of this analysis to investigate, although these routines all proceed from the assumption that this relevance has already been proven.

The College Library Doctrine

In the literature of professional librarianship, with some augmentation from beyond the ranks, there is a theory-appearing answer to the

couplet of research questions of this study, viz., Why do colleges ...; Why should colleges ..., that asserts that the college library operation program does have significance and relevance in college education. For purposes of discussion, a name has been coined here for this theory-appearing answer. We shall call it the College Library Doctrine, or CLD as it will often be called for brevity. The CLD is the cornerstone concept of this study.

Just as it was necessary to coin a name for this concept, it is necessary to construct a statement of the Doctrine. Such a construction is of necessity done through the interpretation and synthesis of parts from various places in the extensive literature. The working construct, with four parts, goes like this: A college's library operation program is

- * functional or instrumental
- * essential
- * systemic or organic
- * uniform

Restated, the Doctrine is that the library operation program is functional or instrumental, i.e., a means whereby the ends or objectives of the larger entity, the college, which are the delivery of college education, are achieved or performed. Second, in that role it is essential, a sine qua non; these ends or objectives could not be done without it. Third, it is systemic or organic, interpenetrating and pervasive throughout. And fourth, it is uniformly so, throughout the whole college enterprise: No portion of the learning, teaching, or curriculum, which together constitute college education, finds the

college library operation program less functional and so forth, than another. This is a literal interpretation and a strict construction, but it is one that is reasonable.

There is ample expression in the literature to corroborate the parts of this construction, authenticate it, and support its reasonableness. One place to look for the fundamentals of a subject is in encyclopedias. Specialties have their own specialist encyclopedias. Such is the American Library Association's ALA World Encyclopedia of Library and Information Science, wherein Beverly Lynch's article "Academic Libraries: Purposes, Goals, Objectives," reads

these libraries, integral parts of the institutions they serve, design their collections and services to meet the instructional programs of the particular institution.... The basic assumption governing the growth and development of all academic libraries is that the library plays a role of central importance in the instructional and scholarly life of the college or university.⁴²

This particular formulation is a good source because it supplies forthrightly one of the regularly recurring adjectives of the CLD--"central"--while implying the others, in an overall claim of direct link to the delivery of college education.

But however illuminating or authoritative, by their nature encyclopedia articles tend to be terse and compressed. Another genre of writing sharing with encyclopedias the standing of authority, one in which the author has more room for expansiveness, is the treatise. Treatises, generally speaking, aim at at the systematic and comprehensive exposition of a subject.

The literature of librarianship has a sort of historical chain of

treatises directly on point.⁴³ The earliest one (1921) is the American Library Association's A.L.A. Manual of Library Economy, where part IV was "The College and University Library" by James Wyer. Under "Function" Wyer wrote

the college library touches both faculty and students in every department of the institution.... It should supplement and enrich the formal process of instruction....

A little beyond, Wyer referred to "the college of which it [i.e., the library] is a part," thus repeating the notion of systemic or organic, and still later quoted approvingly William Bishop's dictum that "the college library exists as an instrument of instruction."⁴⁴

Next in the chain of treatises is William Randall and Francis Goodrich's Principles of College Library Administration. These authors referred to the program as "this educational tool" and again, "the library is an important tool in a new educational process...." It "now becomes the necessary haunt of the student--the source from which he obtains the materials on which his education is based." This has made

the library's function to furnish the interpretational apparatus ... which will lead the questing student to the information he seeks; and finally, to integrate all the activities of the library with the learning process of the college and with its objectives.

All in all, then,

the demands made upon the college library ... are the result of the aims and methods of the college itself, and, accordingly, are essential demands which cannot be neglected.... All things considered, it is difficult indeed to conceive how a modern college, attempting to maintain a modern curriculum, by modern methods of teaching, can hope for success unless it realizes in full its responsibility to the library ... this basic tool of modern education.

And in Chapter One, "The Aims of the College and the Functions of the Library," they echoed earlier statements of Randall's elsewhere to the effect that the library program is

an organic element in the educational system.... The college library is an operating unit within the greater whole of the college itself ... its functions will be determined in the end by the aims, objectives, and methods of the college.⁴⁵

The successor to Randall and Goodrich as the standard treatise in the field is Lyle's The Administration of the College Library, already introduced. It has been through several editions over more than thirty years, but it is not necessary to track ideas through the successive editions, because, although the expression may vary, the basic ideas important here remain largely constant. For that reason the fourth and most recent edition is the one used here. In the first chapter Lyle spoke in the form of a rhetorical question:

This brings us, then, to the cardinal question: What is the purpose, function, and role of the college library today?... There can be little question that library facilities are vital to the undergraduate college of arts and sciences, and only slightly less requisite for the sciences courses than for courses in the humanities and social sciences.... Most, if not all, functions of the college library are related to the major purposes of the college and to the detailed problems of the teaching process. To the extent that the college makes use of its library as an integral part of its curricular program the library becomes a teaching instrument in itself.⁴⁶

And reinforcing such voices as encyclopedia articles and treatises are other genres in the literature. There is the Carnegie Corporation's 1932 "College Library Standards," opening with "the college is an essential instrument in the educational program of the college."⁴⁷ "Standards" of one kind or another are usually that categorical, the 1983

accreditation "standards" of the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools reading

5.2 Library. Because the library is essential to the educational goals of students and faculty, each institution must have a library....⁴⁸

By finding the College Library Doctrine (CLD)--the theory--appearing answer offered in the literature to the question why colleges should have and do have library operation programs--so obligingly expressed in works of review, integration, and synthesis such as encyclopedias and treatises, we are assured that it is canonical. We are also thus spared the need for an extended hermeneutic on it, piecing together from scattered places the library literature. The parsimony and frugality with which the CLD could be constructed and authenticated leaves room to pursue at greater length some subthemes of the CLD which serve to enrich understanding of it.

The Cardiac Image

One such subtheme is in the form of metaphor. Metaphor is a dual function device. More than mere decorative figures of speech, metaphors both conceptualize and convey meaning. Giuseppa Saccaro-Battisti observed that

metaphors have a unique cognitive function quite different from the logical function of abstract concepts: used as rhetorical devices, metaphors operate through the associative powers of the imagination, and, in order to communicate ideas persuasively, they exploit the resources of conceptual development even with redundancy. Metaphors, whether old or new, are based on simple and familiar images associated with something well known or current in a given cultural milieu.

In her note on the same page she added

metaphors are often built on analogical images derived from recently developed knowledge; e.g., the history of organic metaphors ... is often linked to the history of medicine and biology.⁴⁹

Although in the present matter the principle of recency is doubtful (William Harvey's cardiovascular discoveries having been made long since), just such a physiological image has come to be an orthodox means by which authors try to capture and express--with an ardor and intensity greater than the mere adjectives and nouns which make up the literal expressions of the CLD--how deeply held is this theory--appearing answer of the "place" of the library operation program in a college. This image illustrates how, in Gareth Morgan's words,

members of an organization often have their own metaphors for understanding what they're doing or what their organization is like ... taken-for-granted images or metaphors shape understanding and action.... Our images or metaphors are theories or conceptual frameworks.⁵⁰

As this has been such a durable image, with no real development over time, perhaps as good a form of presentation as any is a medley; a medley of the "cardiac image," or physiological metaphor:

Time honored and true is the statement that the library is the heart of the university. (Robert Sproul, 1930)⁵¹

The president of Vassar once said to me: I consider the Library the very heart of the institution. (Lodilla Ambrose, 1893)⁵²

Today we speak of the college library as "the heart of the campus" and a good library is considered as important to good learning as good teaching. (Robert Brundin, 1975)⁵³

... a \$65 million enterprise to support the heart of our educational system. (Anthony Celebreze, 1965)⁵⁴

The frequent assertion that the Library is the heart and center of the College is the simple truth. (Chauncy Tinker, 1938)⁵⁵

Libraries ... are regarded as the heart of the collegiate campus. (Lewis Mayhew, 1969)⁵⁶

Since the turn of the century, the library has been acknowledged in almost every college and university by faculty, students, and administrators, as the "heart of the campus." (Carla Stoffle, Alan Guskin, and Joseph Boisse, 1984)⁵⁷

... that vital organ, the college library, often referred to by the educators as the heart of the institution. (Archie McNeal, 1965)⁵⁸

... as a college or university is one of the most permanent institutions in the land ... the library is and must continue to be the heart of such an institution. (Frank McVey and Raymond Hughes, 1952)⁵⁹

By the early twentieth century, libraries were increasingly recognized as essential to the academic enterprise. The phrase "heart of the university" came into vogue to describe the integral role libraries played in higher education. (Barbara Moran, 1984)⁶⁰

And finally:

Since the library is the heart of the educational institution it should be centrally located with reference to other buildings. (Edward Henry, 1931)⁶¹

This design by White, and McKim's plan for Columbia, with their monumental compositions of urban buildings culminating in the focal point of the library--the heart of a research institution (Paul Turner, 1984)⁶²

These last medley items bring us back around to the rationale of the campus planners noted earlier. Thus, University of South Florida president Allen's reason for having argued that the edifice should be central and tallest in his new campus was that "the library is the heart of the university."⁶³ All of this accord--and nothing is to be gained by piling it up--is the cardiac image.⁶⁴

Not that in the recitation of the cardiac metaphor accord, however--as in anything else under the sun--is there total unanimity. The

cardiac metaphor may be the predominant physiological image, but there are variants. Winslow Hatch's was one, when he wrote

while the library is typically discussed as the heart of the campus it is often more like its liver for it is often a large structure whose significance lies in the potential it may not be called upon to release.⁶⁵

Hatch's liverish and conditional reservation and his use of "potential"--a recurrent motif in the literature--were amplified in the 1984 Association of College and Research Libraries' (ACRL) national conference theme, "Academic Libraries: Myths and Realities." At this conference a couple of papers came close, although they did not anticipate the present investigation, to recanting the College Library Doctrine and its crystalizing cardiac image. Of those papers, Stanley Benson's was the most discordant, and therefore the most important, as this abstract of his paper shows:

This paper reviews the history of libraries in higher education and concludes that the library has never been the "heart" of undergraduate instruction. Early American colleges purposely kept the library on the periphery [sic]. The research universities brought tremendous growth to library collections but changed little the patterns of undergraduate library use. The Library's status today: "necessary but ancillary to the main business of the institution." To improve the status, the library must develop not only closer identification with the faculty and instructional process, but also a stronger relationship with the administration.⁶⁶

Benson's brief and mostly impressionistic dissent nevertheless supplied important points of departure to this analysis. For one, it provided the hunch that something was going on behind the facade of reiteration of the CLD: Dispute within ranks is often, however faint, a tipoff to something bigger, warranting a closer look, and Benson's clue is taken up again in Chapter IV. For another, Benson implies in his last sentence that if he

is describing reality, it is therefore something which librarians ought to undertake advocacy and creative promotion in order to change. This clue resonated with various themes taking shape from other quarters in the analysis. Incessant advocacy was one of those themes. Relatedly, the placement of his paper in the conference proceedings--it was one of a group under the topic heading "Bibliographic Instruction"--led into the particular advocacy and promotional behavior of that topic, which is developed in Chapter III. And finally, the wording of the conference theme itself reinforced the use as analytic tools of the deep and rich ideas of myth and symbol, recently greatly enlarged from their homes in anthropology and literature into the study of organization and organization behavior.

The First Research Design

As said, the College Library Doctrine (CLD) is offered in the literature (albeit not under that name) as a theory. That is, it is given as the explanation of why colleges do have, and ought to have, library operation programs. That, after all, is what theories are supposed to do in science: They are supposed to explain phenomena. Therefore it was decided to treat, for working purposes, the CLD as if it were explicitly and formally identified and offered as a theory.⁶⁷

Treating the CLD as a theory made the task, then, one of finding and weighing the direct evidence verifying it, the evidence reported in the literature in support of the Doctrine-as-theory. The task was to assess its veridicality. This called for assumptions and a research hypothesis. There were three assumptions.

First, it was assumed that the direct evidence being searched for would exist conformable to what might be called the classical tradition or positivism school of scientific research. This tradition is based on a world view, of the world as literal and discoverable, a cooperative and forthcoming place, even if a tightfisted and uncompromising one, in which everything is as it seems to be or is said to be. There, if the researcher has but the skill, imagination, and luck to ask the right questions in the right ways, plays by the rules, then the answers will be yielded. In this tradition the pattern of research and researchers over time is that of a chain, connected, progressive, and developmental; of continuity, building, of inevitable cumulative convergence upon a truth. It proceeds stepwise, each next step being, as Thomas Kuhn put it, a "further articulation and specification under new or more stringent conditions."⁶⁸ In quantitative studies in this tradition, if obtained numbers are untrustworthy it can only be because of faulty designs, instruments, measurements, and methods.

Second, it was assumed that if the CLD has the power of an explanatory answer, a theory, this would mean that the verifying evidence for it would exhibit a sort of "central tendency." It would not be necessary to read in obscure places for arcane interpretations, or between the lines. This assumption produced the working decision rule for search for and into the data, a rule that might be called the "main currents" rule (with apologies to Vernon Parrington).⁶⁹ Another, quite different, way of envisioning this decision rule is as an application of Ockham's Razor.⁷⁰ A rule of this kind is necessary to make possible closure in the search for evidence.

Third, it was assumed that these "main currents" would reside, if anywhere, prominent and building momentum, adding up to an accomplished scientific truth, in one or more bodies of literature constituting the data of this research design. These literature bodies require brief explanation, because of some differences. One is the body of literature of college education, a straightforward segment of the broader higher education literature. Where the college education literature deals with the college library operation program it is in a sense also library literature, and hence overlaps the second, other, literature body. This other one is the library literature in the narrower and stricter sense, the literature of professional librarianship. This specialist literature, however, extends well beyond--perhaps mostly beyond--higher education topics. It covers all manner of library operations in other spheres, this literature of "library science," a comprehensiveness tied to the problem of librarian treatment of librarianship as a field of uniform theory and practice, as already mentioned. It tends to have its own channels and organs. In the area of overlap--perhaps best compared to the overlap of circles in a Venn diagram--persons who are not librarians write about library operation programs in college education, and persons who are librarians write about college education. The balance of authorship is greatly unequal in favor of the latter group; that is to say, persons not librarians rarely have anything more than desultory remarks and casual dicta about library programs. This becomes a point later, in Chapter II. The one circle, and the area of overlap, are what are called the library literature here. The rest is college education or higher education literature.

It must be noted that the belief in the homogeneity of professional librarianship has caused its literature to be condemned from within. Michael Freeman was one such critic, who called it mainly "experiential" and said that in it

there are no scientific laws, few theories, and only a handful of useful models.... The field is not united by principles but is rooted in a common educational experience, a sharing of problems related to the custodianship of resources, agreement on a series of protocols on such diverse topics as cataloging and standards.⁷¹

The research hypothesis shaped to the Doctrine-as-theory research design was:

The College Library Doctrine is based upon and follows directly from a solid body of systematic, coherent, rigorous, published scientific research.

The search for the data followed conventional literature search techniques. The college education literature was searched through the indexing publications Current Index to Journals in Higher Education (CIJE), Research in Education (RIE), Education Index, and Dissertation Abstracts International (DAI). The specialist literature of professional librarianship was searched using the indexing publication Library Literature. (Surprisingly, there was only modest redundancy, suggesting that each of the two literatures has its own sphere of influence.)

In literature searches, once promising documents are located, citations in these lead in turn to other documents. In such a literature search strategy, typically at some point the pattern shifts from divergence, i.e., new documents being found, to convergence. Things eventually move to saturation, the point at which few or no new documents appear. At this point one may reasonably claim that the pertinent literature has been bounded, and that the patterns of findings therein have been reveal-

ed. In this instance the literature search, using conventional search strategies, may still not have succeeded in catching it all. Unlike the case with "problems" in academic discipline literature, the literature profile for the CLD showed a fragmentation and discontinuity, tending away from the center of major periodicals and monographs, toward the margin of local, esoteric, and parochial journals, and nearprint. An unknowable amount may have slipped over the edge into the obscurity of workaday writings prepared for inhouse use. But, then, these would scarcely be "main current" anyway.

This research design was informed by the spirit and purposes of what Gene Glass and others called "meta-analysis." Now meta-analysis in the purist sense in which they used the idea is limited to quantitative research:

The essential character of meta-analysis is that it is the statistical analysis of the summary of findings of many empirical studies.

But as "methods of integrating empirical research" it has wider implication, viz., the synthesis and organization into coherent patterns, of "the codified evidence of the archival journals," a search for consistency in the "scree of a hundred journals" and "the rubble of a million dissertations."

The analogy holds by taking what Glass and others said about

Primary analysis ... [which is] the original analysis of data in research study.... Secondary analysis ... the reanalysis of data for the purpose of ... answering new questions with old data.

Perhaps the most valuable aspect of the idea of meta-analysis is its difference from the narrative review methods decision rules, e.g., arbitrary or a priori selection and exclusion, calling as it does for the a

posteriori judging of all studies found.⁷² "Secondary analysis" well describes the approach of this research design, the attempt at "answering new questions with old data."

The First Finding

The execution of the First Research Design, just discussed, produced the first important finding of the analysis. Remarkably, despite the certitude of the CLD, there is actually no such body of research as the one hypothesized. This is not to say that a countervailing body of research was found. There is simply a void; no research exists, no direct evidence at all. To personify, the CLD fails to adduce sound or substantial evidence to back up its claims to be a theory, explanatory answer, anywhere along in the research question progression. In the few instances even reporting empirical findings such that they might serve as evidence verifying the CLD, closer examination of the circumstances showed that they reported special cases. The reasons varied. Some were "experiments" in name only, and short-lived; others were conducted in peripheral or idiosyncratic institutional settings. Some of these are presented below, particularly in Chapter III.

But there was no mainstream direct evidence, hence leading to the conclusion that there is simply no evidence at all. Beyond corroborating Patricia Cross's statement that "precious little of what we now do in education has ever been demonstrated through research,"⁷³ this finding was important as eliminating a potential source of confusion in what came to be the next--and final--stage of this policy analysis.

The Problem Reconceptualized

The finding of the first design left a puzzle. It left behind it the stubborn empirical policy fact that college library operation programs are universal, with the CLD given as the explanation. It may be a fallen argument, but an ideological and policy fact, a social fact, still. But if it was not based upon and following from such a foundation as that hypothesized, then upon what could it be based and follow from? The first finding brought things to a point of impasse. It was almost as though there was a missing research question: How are we to understand the College Library Doctrine?

The day was saved by finding Joanne Martin's disclosure that the process followed in arriving at this deadlock, the "rational model" of the research process, "does not attempt to provide an accurate description of the process whereby research actually is conducted." She said that it is illusory, an illusion kept up before the fact by the pat formulas of methodological textbooks, and after the fact by published research reports whose style of logical orderliness belies "the actual process of conducting research."⁷⁴ Because of the endless contingencies encountered, Martin and those writing with her argue, constant judgment calls have to be made, or else the research is stalemated.

The Second Research Design

Faced with an apparently seamless web of assurance, a fabric of interwoven arguments, opaque and refractory, the task became one of penetrating the surface, unraveling the fabric, finding meaning. The legal maxim about "piercing the corporate veil" came to mind. The finding of the First Design, ironically while it led to the impasse, also

showed the way out of it because it eliminated, as mentioned, a potential source of confusion. It opened the door to a different approach.

To unravel the fabric and get into the meaning, one of the judgment calls was the invocation of an alternative world view. This is a view of a world that is a yeasty ferment of individuals and groups working to maximize their own particular ends. They promote their own self-serving interests. Such interests and ends range all the way from bare survival, to power, ambition, expansion. Such a view finds multidisciplinary support, from the economics of 1986 Nobel laureate James Buchanan, to the social psychology of J. Haas and Thomas Drabek, who collapsed the behavior of working to maximize interests into what they called participants' seeking "to increase the autonomy, security, and prestige of their respective groups."⁷⁵

This view has competition as its central principle. Individuals and groups compete in a perceived world of win and loss, in which winners win at loser's expense. Such a view is also inherently one of conflict. Competing interests are conflicting interests. As Gareth Morgan aphoristically stated it, "conflict arises whenever interests collide."⁷⁶ It may not always be necessary to see this in the stark Hobbesian scenario suggested ("a war of all against all") by what Jack Douglas called the "conflict paradigm."⁷⁷ It is important to stress that most authorities, including especially students of organization such as Daniel Katz and Robert Kahn,⁷⁸ treat competition and conflict as the state of normality, simple facts of life, value-neutral.

Indeed, any work which describes its perspective as political operates from this world view. "Political" by definition means persons

and groups jockeying for position and maneuvering for advantage, power, and gain. Thus, when Aaron Wildavsky wrote about "the politics of the budgetary process," he was writing about competition and conflict.⁷⁹

Now some may feel that, whatever else may be said for it, this view is not applicable to the dignified and ordered world of academe, governed by enlightened collegiality. To believe that is to be tender-minded, and ignore reality. It is not so with such commentators as J. Baldrige, whose Power and Conflict in the University is an epitome of the view, in which "policy formulation" and "the type of conflict that develops when interest groups try to influence policy decisions"⁸⁰ are the commonplace.

In this world view, there simply is no such thing as pure or absolute truths and reality. Hence, it is not a matter of there being corrupt subversion of processes such as the research process, from the proper goal of seeking pure or absolute truths and reality. It is, rather, that the goal itself is illusory. And hence, the world of this view is a relativistic world of stances and positions, by which interest groups craft and offer their own best arguments, their depictions or presentations and representations of a reality that is the most favorable to their aims, edited and shaped to further their good. This sort of behavior has been called "constructed reality."⁸¹ All manner of things happen to "the facts" which these arguments and reality constructions use; suppression, distortion, selection, "cooking" and fudging of data, managing of information. Even ostensibly objective and identical "facts" are given different emphases and interpretations, or "spins." There are conflicts of arguments and data, but they simply mirror the conflicts of interest in whose support they are used.

In such a world, the arena of lawyers and lobbyists among others, a world of ambiguity and indeterminateness, the idea is to convince others, through craft, evasion, fronts, and stratagems. It is also frequently a purpose of such behavior to convince compatriots and self: Phrases such as "preaching to the choir, to the already converted" describe not superfluity as much as reinforcement. The crafting of organization stories is considered to be done as much as anything to help organization members to understand and believe in what they do.⁸²

There are classic studies of such behaviors. One that looked at efforts to convince others is Aaron Wildavsky and Ellen Tannenbaum's The Politics of Mistrust: Estimating American Oil and Gas Reserves, which they sardonically described as being about "the sensitive relationship between theories and facts, policies and data," a description neatly matching the present study.⁸³ Another study, closer to home, is David Owen's None of the Above: Behind the Myth of Scholastic Aptitude⁸⁴.

And there are familiar examples from everyday life as seen in the media; the stonewalling of the American Tobacco Institute or the asbestos industry over product health hazards, or the self-defenses of military contractors caught in the act, or the purchase of NBC by GE and the former's subsequent "news specials" favorable to nuclear power, which is a major GE product. In short, such creative behavior is a routine, standard operating procedure in the real world, with public relations employees, lawyers, government officials, the advertising industry, corporations, trade associations, and many more, all doing it in their efforts to "reduce uncertainty" for themselves or on behalf of clients,⁸⁵ and to alter the forces affecting them.⁸⁶

It became clear that the couplet of research questions was and had to be dealt with as part of this world--the real world, as many feel. And so, a sort of working rephrasing was made, to "What is really going on here?"; or, as the computer guru was earlier quoted as saying, "trying to figure out what is going on now." 87

To penetrate this problematic world in hopes of finding meaning beneath and behind surfaces called for--another judgment call--the devising of a new research design. In the search for models, spirit was more important than labels. Jack Douglas described a promising approach which he called an "investigative paradigm."⁸⁸ While he had in mind field research rather than documentary evidence, "investigative" is the spirit in which historians treat documents, in company with journalism at its best. As well, the adjudicative system revolves around investigation--and adjudication inherently deals with a contest of constructed realities--so that it was decided to call the new research design "forensic."

Forensic is an apt characterization for other reasons: Adjudication and debate are similar in that both forensic arenas work to clarify, define and delimit, issues in order to bring about their direct joinder for purposes of resolution. David Owen took essentially this approach in his probe of the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) and related proprietary standardized psychometric tests. Faced with seemingly unbreachable representations, he discovered that his confusion was the intended result of a constructed reality generated by a ploy resembling one which he correctly ascribed to a lawyers' practice, which he called the "kettle defense" and which is also called "arguing in the alternative," or

"alternative pleading."⁸⁹ The most usual form of the strategm is a series of mutually contradictory assertions, the taking of multiple positions:

A man is accused of borrowing and breaking his neighbor's kettle. His lawyer argues in his defense (1) my client didn't take the kettle; (2) it was already broken when he took it; (3) he returned it in perfect condition.⁹⁰

This strategm also broadly appears as an offensive tool when, as in the old debater's gambit called the "shotgun affirmative," the trick is to raise too many contradictory issues for the opposition to coherently sort out and rebut, a muddying of the waters. Something very like the kettle defense recurred frequently in the problematics encountered by this investigation.

In this new design the College Library Doctrine was now treated, not as a theory in the philosophy of science, but in the sense in which "theory" is used in describing the assembly of a legal case, a constructed reality, i.e., as the basic premise of argumentation. With the CLD redefined in a manner conformable with the forensic approach of the new research design, the related lenses of organization myth, organization fiction, and organization propaganda recommended themselves as also conformable. They greatly help to understand the CLD, and ultimately to answer the couplet question, Why do, and so forth.

Organization myth comes from a school of thought with such diverse representatives as students of organization, social psychologists, and higher education author Burton Clark, with his germinal paper introducing his notion of organization saga.⁹¹ Crossing, as it does, fields of inquiry as diverse as those mentioned, plus anthropology and literature, the concept of myth is far too rich and complex to discuss at length

here. It must suffice to note Harry Abravanel's definition, which may serve as a covering one: "The word myth designates a story about past, present, or future events. The truth of these events is asserted as dogma or taken for granted."⁹² William Safire called attention to reasonable minds having differed over whether myths, at base, are true or false, pointing out that John Kennedy and J. Fulbright chose to dichotomize "myth" and "reality."⁹³ The theme of the librarian conference at which Stanley Benson presented the paper noted earlier seems to have elected to follow such a course. The meaning of myth adopted here is that myth can be a mixture of fact and reality, of creative interpretations, and of wish; in short, a "constructed reality."

Organization fiction comes from Robert Dubin. By his definition,

a fiction is ... "the act of feigning or imagining that which does not exist or is not true." Organization fictions are those fictions that are necessary in order that action within the formal organization may proceed.⁹⁴

Myth, and fiction, both interrelated, both consisting of stories and sayings, seem to be well enough accepted and sufficiently respectable concepts as to provoke little cause for controversy.

Organization propaganda as an analytical lens, however, makes for a sticky situation. Some may readily accept myth or fiction but still find unacceptable the thought that propaganda, a term with a tradition of darkly accusatory connotation, is being alleged within the halls of ivy; this, even though in many ways such an allegation is no worse than or much different from, ones of myth and/or fiction. And this, despite the fact that David Altheide and John Johnson extended and enlarged the idea of propaganda from its onetime pejorative, limited application to (enemy)

governments, toward organizations of all kinds, when they defined "bureaucratic propaganda" as being

any report produced by an organization for evaluation and other practical purposes that is targeted for individuals, committees, or publics who are unaware of its promotive character and the editing processes that shaped the report.⁹⁵

In their reformulation of organization propaganda, just as in the concepts of organization fiction and organization myth, and of "political" it is essential to understand that these designations are value--neutral, making no judgment beyond a clinical one. Indeed, it is of the essence that fictionalizing, propagandizing, and mythologizing, as these concepts are developed, are treated as simply normal behaviors, and not dysfunctions or pathologies. Put differently, to identify some utterance as fiction, myth, or propaganda--as is frequently done in this report of analysis--is not to connect it with moral turpitude, or intellectual dishonesty. It is not related to the disturbing issues of fraud in research, such deviations as "drylabbing" and the like⁹⁶ or to such notorious cases as that of respected English psychometrician Cyril Burt, although it must be said that in a way, these too involve fictions, usually fictionalized data.⁹⁷

In fact, to quiet alarm--notwithstanding the value-free imports of these overlapping conceptual lenses--over the prospect of applying such identifications to Research, it is also essential to get two things clear. First, although to say this may be to commit a hat trick of fault (ad hominum, tu quoque, and harping), those who cannot accept the prospect of seeing academic writing (i.e., writing by academics) given such tags as myth, propaganda, or fiction may be laboring under an

impossibly glorified idea of "science," "scholarship," and "research," a visionary ideal of Pure Truth and Empyrean investigation. They would do well to remember "the Burt case" and others. To fail to do so is to forget such insights as Thomas Kuhn's, that followers of a paradigm, doing "normal science," are in their work in essence promoting a point of view; supporting a myth, propagating a fiction, dispensing propaganda, by tweaking facts, fiddling with and fudging anomalies, until the anomalists overturn the paradigm.⁹⁸ And, as Richard Whitley observed,

the discovery that physicists routinely invoke rhetorical devices and other resources to persuade colleagues of their views and results, and that what becomes accepted as correct is the outcome of social negotiations, does not imply the epistemological irrationality or falsity of these judgments.⁹⁹

Moreover, John Thelin has called it a "personality defect" of higher education research, a "persistent emulation and imitation of the natural and physical sciences," which could bring it well within this dynamic.¹⁰⁰

If truth is mutable, negotiable, and revisable, then there is room to admit that Research may be other than cold epistemological rationality. Research may be a social product, produced through social behavior, with its own kind of rationality, just like the products teased out in this analysis. Put differently, in Gary Gutting's wording,

the proposal is that science's authority ultimately resides not in a rule-governed method of inquiry whereby scientific results are obtained but in the scientific community that obtains the results.¹⁰¹

But in any event, the second thing needing clarity is that few if any of the writings making up the data of this analysis can really be called "research" anyway, even within the conveniently nebulous permissiveness of that term in its academic usage. While authors in the

interdisciplinary area of history, philosophy, and sociology of science have seized the initiative with definitions of research and the discussion ensuing therefrom, casting the definitions in terms of the science model and ignoring what "research" might mean in the "humanities"; still, even under the latter's ground rules, which at a minimum ought to involve critical interpretation, these writings are other than research. The model that the library profession chooses to, or at least wishes to, emulate, is the scientific one. But that model forces the touchstone to be a genuine research literature--which is made up of "reports [of] accurate measurements of actual experiments."¹⁰² And that is just what the First Design of this investigation found to be wanting, a void. Rather, the writings making up the data of this investigation are simply, broadly, writings. They usually bear the trappings of "scholarship," if that means repeating previous writings, with documentation.

This assessment is certainly no harsher than that of others, such as Michael Freeman and those whom he cited. The author of a citation count study remarked that "one of the characteristics of librarians is that not only are they the collectors of what other people write, but also they have produced a large body of literature in which they have expressed their own views."¹⁰³ And Philip Ennis's reference to the library literature's "tradition of polemical reassertion of library ideology" is not at all at odds with "propaganda, myth, and fiction."¹⁰⁴ Hence, the most accurate genre designation of the writings making up this literature may be one borrowed from the realms of politics and theology, and that is tracts.

Under the new, and final, design, the data continued to be documentary; pieces and bodies of literature. For example, there is an identifiable body of literature on college students, and one on teaching, just as there is one on the historical evolution of college libraries, and so on. That is where the evidence lies. Generally, the same body of literature once sifted for a different purpose in the First Design was the core. To it was added the rest--that is, the non-overlapping part--of the college education literature by way of context, with special attention to that dealing specifically with "college education" as defined by the simple three part working model. Although they overlap both conceptually and in usage, each of the three parts of the model--"teaching," "learning," "curriculum"--have fairly definite literatures. They are provided with such fingerposts as the review articles in Review of Educational Research, as well as with large scale compends ("meta-analyses," one might say) such as Kenneth Feldman and Thomas Newcomb's Impact of College on Students,¹⁰⁵ Astin's Four Critical Years,¹⁰⁶ and Arthur Levine's Handbook On Undergraduate Curriculum.

The including or contextual college education literature also consisted of such things as the periodic global overviews of American higher education; for example, the voluminous publications of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education and its successor Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education.¹⁰⁸ The addition of these global overviews was done in the spirit of Eugene Webb, David Campbell, and L. Sechrist's "unobtrusive measures, that is, nonreactive data."¹⁰⁹ The idea was to see what was said about the college library operation program in terms of college education, in the unguarded moments, when the

discussion was about what the authors considered the really important things. The assumption (or hypothesis, perhaps) was that if the claims distilled into the CLD were true, this should irresistably make for a "main currents" effect. Put differently, the college library operation program would keep floating to the top almost automatically. In dealing with all aspects of the expanded documentary evidence familiar literature search techniques again were applied.

The critical interpretive method applied to all the bodies of literature being unravelled was dialectical. It involved such operations as comparisons between ideas and arguments seldom otherwise brought into juxtaposition or confrontation. Like cross checking in investigative field research, it looked for agreement or disagreement between arguments and evidence, and between pieces of evidence. It looked for coherence and contradiction, harmony and discord.¹¹⁰ The whole process was circumstantial. But that was unavoidable given the very circumstance calling up the Second Design; which, it will be remembered, was that there was no direct hard evidence on the hypothesis for the Doctrine-as-theory, the First Design.

Because of the forensic nature of the analysis approach, and because of the circumstantial nature of the evidence and its dialectical interpretation, the grand test or litmus of this analysis was one borrowed from the adjudicative sphere. In adjudication, finders of fact are, just as in an investigation such as this one, confronted with problematics. To deal with such situations the law has evolved the proof-making concept of reasonable doubt. Reasonable doubt is, generally speaking, one of two juridical tests of the strength or goodness of proof. The other is

"preponderance of evidence." The latter is the weaker (or at least less demanding) and is found in disputes between, usually, private parties. Reasonable doubt, on the other hand, in legal contemplation is a more difficult proof to make, and is appropriately a test used in criminal law, typically in capital cases, imposed upon the State.¹¹¹ Its logic is that it requires the State's prosecutorial arguments and the evidence for them to be convincing beyond reasonable doubt. Looked at from the other side, if a reasonable doubt is raised, then the theory of the case fails.

Borrowing such a litmus as reasonable doubt is appropriate for the purposes of this study. When finders of fact in adjudication step off into the disorder of partial knowability, fragmentary information, conflicting dissertations, controverted interpretations, and confounding claims, the degree of knowledge that will be at their disposal for decision making is at the antipodes of the attainable knowledge assumed by the rational decision process models. And yet closure must be made out of the imperfect materials at hand.¹¹² The best meaning, a "satisfied" meaning, in Herbert Simon's classic term--one hammered together out of judgment calls rather than ideal resolution--is all that may be hoped for. Because policy analyses are similarly closure directed, with decisions and/or actions being the aim, here too the purpose is to make the best possible meaning. And the stricter of the two tests of proof is the appropriate one because under the CLD claim is made on scarce resources, resources often traceable back to a source in public monies.

Finally, the forensic or investigative approach is an openly skeptical one. In this it is consistent with the metatheory of scientific research of falsificationism, popularly attributed to Karl Popper and his fol-

lowers,¹¹³ which Walter Weimer has labelled critical fallibilism.¹¹⁴ "Skepticism" is at home in policy analysis. Aaron Wildavsky offered the epigram of policy analysis as "the tension between dogma and skepticism."¹¹⁵ If "skeptical" rings alarms of prejudice, then critical may be substituted. To clarify with aid from an unusual quarter, William Hazlitt in the 19th century wrote a famous literary criticism of William Shskespeare in which he used the phrase "willing suspension of disbelief." Here, to paraphrase Hazlitt, the approach was the "willing suspension of belief" in a conventional wisdom. Being a policy analysis employing a skeptical forensic, or investigative, approach, with a reasonable doubt test, has significant meanings for the whole tone of approach. It means that there is an intrinsically opposing, or at least arms length, relationship between the investigation and the arguments it encounters. It means that the burden of making the strongest possible case of reasonable doubt is upon the investigator. It is, after all, a status quo, a conventional wisdom, that is being questioned, and it enjoys a benefit of presumption. And questioning a status quo may be inherently controversial.

Summary

To review this introductory chapter, the study involved the successive refinement of possible research questions, as it became clear that questions of allocative or fiscal policy could not be touched until the underlying prior issues--indeed, so far as first principles--had been dealt with. That led to the couplet of research questions, Why do/Why should colleges have library operation programs in the first place? An examination of the literature, treated as data, produced what appears to

go forth as a theory--the College Library Doctrine--responding to such questions, thereby offering to explain the policy behavior. A research design was devised and executed to see if this apparent theory has a basis of verity. It was found that it does not. In other words, it was found to not be veridical.

This finding was treated as formative in the overall policy analysis. Inasmuch as the research questions, and the arguments of the College Library Doctrine, had been left unresolved and unanswered by that initial finding, a problematic situation existed. Hence, the approach was shifted to one better suited to deal with problematics, an investigative or forensic approach.

In the following chapters the results of the execution of the new approach are presented. In Chapter II, the historical argument which was found is presented and analyzed. Chapter IV teases out what amounts to an historical antiargument simultaneous with the historical argument, one that contradicts the historical argument. In Chapters III and V some loose ends from the dialectical process of Chapters II and IV are laid out, loose ends which might, until understood, provoke lingering doubts about the thrust of Chapters II and III; which is the casting of reasonable doubt upon the College Library Doctrine. Then, in Chapter VI, first an explanation alternative to that of the College Library Doctrine is presented to answer the first half of the research question couplet, Why do colleges have library operation programs? This is followed by an alternative answer to the second half of the couplet, Why should they do so? It will be seen that these alternative answers--though quite different from those posited by the College Library Doctrine--are at

unity with one another. These policy implicative answers contain policy recommendations for decision and action. Finally, in the Appendix is explained why the library profession's technical model, or management science and economic rationality attempts to answer the early question that led to this policy analysis, How much should a college spend for its library operation program? could not possibly do that, even absent the reasonable doubt about the explanatory power of the College Library Doctrine.

Notes to Chapter I

1. See National Association of College and University Business Officers, College and University Business Administration, 3rd ed., Washington: NACUBO, 1974, page 212.
2. Laurence Veysey, The Emergence of the American University, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967, page 297.
3. John Thelin, "The Search for Good Research: Looking for 'Science' in All the Wrong Places," Review of Higher Education 10 (1986) 151-158.
4. Such difficulties have especially vexed economists, and are behind the crisis of "epistemological doubt" found by Robert Kuttner ("The Poverty of Economics," Atlantic Monthly 255 (1985) 74-84). Kuttner was discussing macroeconomics while the economics of higher education may be closer to microeconomics, but his points nonetheless apply. See also Lester Thurow's Dangerous Currents: The State of Economics, New York: Random House, 1983, especially the Introduction at pages xvi-xvii.
5. This guru was Fritz Dressler, reported in a New York Times News Service Release of September 1987.
Not that, unfortunately, there is any encouraging likelihood of ever getting unflawed information from even this allegedly most rational of processes. In Gareth Morgan's commentary on an insightful paper by Ely Devons concerning the use of statistics as a basis for public policy decision--which Devons analogized to "magic and divination in tribal societies"--Morgan remarked that

in formal organizations techniques of quantitative analysis seem to perform a similar role. They are used to forecast the future and analyze the consequences of different courses of action in a way that lends decision making a semblance of rationality and substance. The use of such techniques does not, of course, reduce risks. The uncertainties surrounding a situation still exist, hidden in the assumptions underlying the technical analysis. Hence Devons's point that the function of such analysis is to increase the credibility of action in situations that would otherwise have to be managed through guesswork and hunch. Like the magician who consults entrails, many organization decision makers insist that the facts and figures be examined before a policy decision is made, even though the statistics provide unreliable guides as to what is likely to happen in the future (Images of Organization, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, Inc., 1986, page 134).

Perhaps, too, it is in the realm of credibility enhancement and mutual reassurance that such familiar assumption based organization

rituals as planning (as in Robert Cope, Strategic Planning, Management, and Decision Making, AAHE-ERIC/Higher Education Research Report No. 9, Washington: American Association for Higher Education, 1981), and evaluation (as in Charles Feasley, Program Evaluation, AAHE-ERIC/Higher Education Research Report No. 2, Washington: American Association for Higher Education, 1980) or accreditation and similar ceremonials and symbols, belong. The ceremonial of accreditation is returned to in Chapter V; the general topic of ritual, symbol, and myth comes up again in Chapter VI.

6. Douglas Knight, Preface in Douglas Knight and E. Nourse, eds., Libraries at Large. The Resource Book Based on the Materials of the National Advisory Commission on Libraries. New York: R.R. Bowker Co., 1969, page ix.
7. Chester Finn, "Trying Higher Education: An Eight Count Indictment," Change 16 (May/June 1984) 28-33; 47-51. However, it may simply be a case of taken-for-grantedness.
8. David Hopkins and William Massey, Planning Models for Colleges and Universities. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1981. See especially the passages referenced in the "Glossary-Index" under "Library costs." As a note of interest, Hopkins and Massey engaged in the common practice of fragmenting library costs by including only "library acquisition costs," i.e., expenditures for books and so forth. To do so results in a grossly incomplete expression of actual library cost to an institution by moving away, commingling, and thus obscuring other substantial operation costs, such as especially personnel, into a general whole institution "Wages, salaries, and benefits" category. To do this understates library program costs by perhaps as much as 50 percent. But whether it understates or overstates, while important, is not as important as that it misstates. However, Hopkins and Massey appear to have been following generally accepted practice; see the discussion in the Appendix.
9. Aaron Wildavsky, The Politics of the Budgetary Process, 3rd ed., Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1979.
10. ACRL, "Standards for College Libraries, 1986," College and Research Libraries News 47 (1986) 189-200. This figure is unchanged from that of the preceding version, "Standards for College Libraries," College and Research Libraries News 36 (1975) 277-301. The next earlier version had a lower figure, 5 percent. That is a story of its own, and is brought up in the Appendix here.
11. Such seems to be the rationale underlying such budget approaches as "formula budgeting"; see, among others, J. Caruthers and Melvin Orwig, Budgeting in Higher Education, AAHE-ERIC/Higher Education Report No. 3, Washington: American Association for Higher Education, 1979.

12. Carnegie Council, Three Thousand Futures, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1980; Mayhew, Surviving the Eighties, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1980.
13. The continuous rejustification of cost centers is, of course, the basis of Zero Base Budgeting, a one-time vogue, about which Aaron Wildavsky is convincingly dubious in various places. He thinks it cannot be done. His doubts, however, were directed to situations in which all programs are repeated simultaneously reevaluated, in each budget cycle. Such a clearly overload condition is not contemplated here.
14. See, for example, Newsweek, May 18, 1987, pages 66-71; and Peter Brimelow, "The Untouchables," Forbes, November 30, 1987, pages 140-142, 144, 148-150.
15. William Dunn, Public Policy Analysis, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1981, page 3.
16. Aaron Wildavsky, Speaking Truth to Power, Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1979, pages 2, 15. Pronouncement of the last word on policy analysis as a research genre is obviously beyond scope here. It must be sufficient to note that this analysis does not lean toward the clearly untenable position that policy analysis is some kind of undisciplined free-for-all. But, as G. Garson observed,

attempts to develop interdisciplinary policy sciences premised on the supposed unifying force of a common methodological core have led to fragmentation, not the integration of a new applied discipline,

which he saw as resulting in "eclecticism" ("From Policy Science to Policy Analysis: A Quarter Century of Progress," in William Dunn, ed., Policy Analysis: Perspectives, Concepts, and Methods, Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, Inc., 1986, pages 3-22, at 4). The uncertainty over exact nature extends to the most basic of matters, with Garson speaking of interdisciplinarity, while William Dunn speaks of policy analysis as "an applied social-science discipline" in its own right (Values, Ethics, and the Practice of Policy Analysis, Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 1983, page 1). Elsewhere Dunn seemed to prefer speaking of policy analysis as transdisciplinary (Public Policy Analysis, page ix). In Values, Ethics, and the Practice, John Forester asserted that "we still need a theory or characterization of what the practice of planning analysis is really all about" ("What Analysts Do," pages 47-62, at 47). And Denis Dresang argued that "the field of inquiry is too broad and varied to fit within a single theoretical set of methodologies. Policy inquiry is not considered a science." He said that the "primary concern of policy analysis is the soundness and acceptability of premises upon which policy decisions are made" (Foreward, in David Paris and James Reynolds, The Logic of Policy Inquiry, New York: Longman, 1983, pages ix-x, at ix); which also may serve as guidepost and characterization of

- the present inquiry. See also Alexander Mood, Introduction to Policy Analysis, New York: North-Holland, 1983.
17. Ernest Havemann and Patrica West, They Went to College: The College Graduate in America Today, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1952, page 6.
 18. See, for instance, William Miller and D. Rockwood, College Librarianship, Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1981.
 19. In "The United States of America," in International Encyclopedia, 10 vols., San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1975, page 4235.
 20. See Richard Lykes, Higher Education and the U.S. Office of Education, Washington: GPO, 1975, pages 11-12.
 21. Carnegie Commission, A Classification of Institutions of Higher Education, Berkeley, CA: Carnegie Commission, 1973; Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, A Classification of Institutions of Higher Education, Berkeley, CA: 1976; "Carnegie Foundation's Classification of More Than 3,300 Institutions of Higher Education," Chronicle of Higher Education, July 8, 1987, pages 22-26; 28-30.
 22. See page 189 of the 1975 "Standards," the footnote reading "Specifically these Standards address themselves to institutions defined by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education as Liberal Arts Colleges I and II, in A Classification of Institutions ... 1973."
 23. John McKinney, Constructive Typology and Social Theory, New York: Appleton, Century, Crofts, 1966, especially pages 5-6.
 24. Gordon Davies, "The Importance of Being General: Philosophy, Politics, and Institutional Mission Statements," in Higher Education: A Handbook of Theory and Research, vol. II, New York: Agathon Press, 1986, pages 85-102, at 99.
 25. "Carnegie Foundation's Classification," pages 22, 23.
 26. Clark Kerr, in Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, Missions, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1979, pages xii-xiv.
 27. John Silber, "The Rest Was History," in The Third Century, New Rochelle, NY: Change Magazine, 1977, pages 194-196, at 196.
 28. See, for instance, James Axtell, "The Death of the Liberal Arts College," History of Education Quarterly 11 (1971) 339-352.
 29. Boyer, quoted in "Carnegie Foundation's Classification," page 23.
 30. They are called "vulnerable" in the Carnegie Council's Three Thousand Futures. These institutions are in a subgroup of colleges

often called "less selective liberal arts colleges," which for working purposes is about equivalent to the Carnegie "Liberal Arts II" category in its classification.

31. This economics concept is explained and illustrated in, among other places, Hopkins and Massey, Planning Models.
32. See, for instance, William Moffett, "Reflections of a College Librarian: Looking for Life and Redemption This Side of ARL," College and Research Libraries 45 (1984) 338-349.
33. Guy Lyle, The Administration of the College Library, 4th ed., New York: H.W. Wilson Co., 1974, page vi. And see, as mentioned above, Miller and Rockwood, College Librarianship.

Up to this point, the discussion has tended to hinge the distinction between colleges and universities on degree program level, making what an institution's students do the critical variable. But there are also the respective faculties to consider. This gets into an area that has been an unending source of controversy and a rich inspiration for writing in the higher education literature for many decades; whether teachers are researchers. The issue has been, whether college teachers do "research"; and if, whether they do it or do not, it is expected of them; and whether, if it is expected of them, that is right; and so on. The stock account, repeated in every history of American higher education and elsewhere, is that the faculty career has been built upon the tripod of teaching, research, and public service. This has become almost a jingle. A good part of the controversy may be engendered by situational peculiarities and by the utterances of the hopes and wishes of organization myth and fiction. Here--as in so many other places probed in this analysis--the most frequent and certainly the most operative word seems to be the verb should, which is an expression of attitude, preference, and taste, not fact; despite the deference to the empirical methods of Science customarily made. Another good part of the controversy may be chargeable to endemic semantic laxity in the usage of "research" itself. ("Scholarly" and derivatives are even worse.) They are right up there with "mission" on the list of flexible words. "Research" is found applied to anything from an undergraduate's piecing together of encyclopedia articles and fraternity files into a term paper, to an unquestionable "pushing back of the frontiers of knowledge," all in a democratic equality.

This great unclarity has not been without advantages. For instance, continually shrinking teaching loads of the professoriate are often justified and defended against charges of featherbedding on the grounds of a parallel research load. Thus, so the argument goes, the appearance that professors are underworked is misleading. This is the charge by Chester Finn, in "Trying Higher Education: An Eight Count Indictment."

But, standing in the midst of all the loose talk are a few more concrete things, such as the revelations of the 1975 Ladd-Lipsett Survey ("How Professors Spend Their Time," Chronicle of Higher Education, Oct. 14, 1975, page 2), which, on the basis of self-reportage, found that most "research" is the product of "a small scholarly subgroup located disproportionately at a small number of research-oriented universities." That was the same as saying (as, in fact, they also did) that most professors even at universities, much less at colleges, did not--by their very own assessment--do "research." And this was on the heels of an era in higher education history when, for various reasons, "research" had become close to a secular religion. Further, lest the Ladd-Lipsett Survey's disclosures about "research" be thought aberrant or time bound, a recent Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching report stated, despite some waffling, that unlike faculties at other institutional types, college professors surveyed in 1984 did not see themselves as "researchers," again (Ernest Boyer, College: The Undergraduate Experience in America, New York: Harper & Row, 1987, pages 127-130).

However, it is enough for purposes here that external authorities--the taxonomists--have defined "colleges" as having minimal or no "research" mission, regardless of what the professoriate may believe (at times other than when, apparently, responding to surveys) that they do or are expected to do, or regardless of myth, fiction, or propaganda. Stated otherwise, by definition college teachers do not do "research": They deliver undergraduate instruction, college education. If there is ambiguity or disagreement in this matter, the cause and treatment both lie elsewhere, and cannot be resolved--nor do they need to be resolved--here. It is emphasized that the significance of this interpretation is that college library operation programs, unlike university library operation programs (perhaps), are defined as having no "research support" function, that is, no confounding "joint production" function, along with no function in terms of graduate academic or professional instruction.

Beyond the "research" issue, while on the one hand there is the folklore and conventional wisdom that college professors find their college library operation programs "functional," "instrumental," "essential," "of central importance," in the execution of their role of delivery of undergraduate instruction, by their use of it to "keep up" with their fields, on the other hand this seems to be an area with little formal investigation. While even though as long ago as 1928 William Bishop was arguing that "one of the soundest contributions of the college library to teaching is its aid to maintaining the vitality of the teaching done by the faculty," using the physiological metaphor "feed and nourish the teacher himself" ("The Contribution of the Library to College Teaching," Association of American Colleges Bulletin 14 (1928) 437-441, at 441), as pointed out elsewhere in this report of analysis, this does not come forward in either the literature of teaching research, or that of faculty

development research. Roger Baldwin said that there are "formal/structural" institutional "environmental characteristics," viz. "libraries, laboratories, and similar essential facilities necessary for faculty to conduct their work" ("Faculty As Human Resources: Reality and Potential," in Robert Blackburn and Roger Baldwin, eds., College Faculty: Versatile Human Resources in a Period of Constraint, New Directions for Institutional Research 40, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1983, pages 5-14, at 12). But he did not indicate whether he made any college/university distinction, nor what "necessary" entails, nor point to any empirical work on this point. Certainly empirical work is needed, and one direction indicated for further user study work--an area dealt with in Chapter IV--should be whether college teachers use their college's library operation programs and, if so, how?

34. John Thelin, The Cultivation of Ivy: A Saga of the College in America, Cambridge, MA: Schenkman, 1976.
35. Charles Klauder and Herbert Wise, College Architecture in America and its Part in the Development of the Campus, New York: Scribner's, 1926, page 36. See also John Larson and Archie Palmer, Architectural Planning of the American College, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1933. Larson and Palmer spoke (page 36) of "the library justly claim[ing] the dominant position on the college campus" and "merit[ing] a central location and architectural character both distinguished and beautiful." Charles Mierow, in "The Library Building for a Liberal Arts College" (Bulletin of the Association of American Colleges (1928) 198-215, at 202) observed that "it has well been said the library building should express 'the idea of dominance of our intellectual and spiritual ideals in education.'" Paul Turner attributed Jefferson's having made the Rotunda at the University of Virginia into the library as "clearly an expression of Jefferson's aspiration to create a true university, where research played a role it never had in the traditional American college. For the first time on an American campus, the central focus was the library" (Campus: An American Planning Tradition, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1984, page 83).

It is noted here for the record that both the Klauder and Wise, and Larson and Palmer books were published with major financial support from the Carnegie Foundation of New York, a fact that will be better appreciated after the discussion in Chapter V of the Carnegie campaign to promote college libraries.

36. John Allen, "Planning the University of South Florida," in John Rork and Leslie Robbins, eds., Casebook on Campus Planning and Institutional Development, Washington: GPO, 1962, pages 48-63, at 55. Other papers in this collection echo the idea.
37. Quoted in Thelin, Cultivation of Ivy, page 69.

38. Lyle, Administration, 4th ed.; see his Table of Contents.
39. See National Association of College and University Business Officers, College and University Business Administration, 3rd ed., Washington: NACUBO, 1974, §5.6, Chart of Accounts.
40. See Robert Molyneux, "Patterns, Processes of Growth, and Projections of Library Size: A Critical Review of the Literature on Academic Library Growth," Library and Information Science Research 8 (1986) 5-28.
41. A confrontation with the snakepit of issues raised by the term "professional" is deferred until Chapter VI. Until then, the term is intended here solely in one of its usual meanings, i.e., "an occupational group."
42. Beverly Lynch, "Academic Libraries," Chicago: American Library Association, 1980, page 1. A minor effort in the literature has been to wed the rationale for the library operation program to other goals and objectives. For example, Guy Lyle has a chapter (Chapter IX) titled "Encouraging the Reading Habit." Such an encouragement may be perfectly meritorious as a goal or objective in its own right: But little connection with the formal program of college education is proven by its proponents. The reading plank in the "library science" platform is a particularly good example of the homogenization of library ideas and principles (the American Library Association each year fields a reading campaign, chiefly through the public libraries), a matter taken up below in the conjectural alternative explanation of Chapter VI.
43. This chain is taken from pages 221-224 of David Kaser's "A Century of Academic Librarianship, As Reflected in its Literature," in Richard Johnson, ed., Libraries for Teaching, Libraries for Research, Chicago: American Library Association, 1977, pages 219-236.
44. James Wyer, "The College and University Library," 2nd ed., Chicago: American Library Association, 1921, page 1 and page 23. Elsewhere this same Bishop wrote "suffice it to say that the college library cannot and does not exist apart from the work of teaching" ("The Library in the American College," in College and Reference Library Yearbook, Number One, Chicago: American Library Association, 1929, pages 1-12, at 8. William Bishop was a prominent promoter of libraries in colleges, whose activities in that cause will be seen in Chapter V below.
45. Randall and Goodrich, 2nd ed., Chicago: American Library Association, and University of Chicago Press, 1941, pages 2,3,6,7,9-10.
46. Lyle, Administration, pages 8-10.

47. See Neil Radford, The Carnegie Corporation and the Development of College Libraries, 1928-1941, Chicago: American Library Association, 1984, page 213.
48. See Edward Holley, "New Accreditation Criteria Proposed," College and Research Libraries News 44 (1983) 71-74. "Standards" by their very nature present special problems; see Chapter V and Appendix.
49. Giuseppa Saccaro-Battisti, "Changing Metaphors of Political Structures," Journal of the History of Ideas 44 (1983) 31-54, at 31, and works there cited. See also Gareth Morgan's discussion in his Introduction to his Images of Organization, pages 12-13; and Michael Moch and W. Fields, "Developing a Content Analysis for Interpreting Language Use in Organizations," in Samuel Bacharach, ed., Research in the Sociology of Organizations, vol. 4, Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, Inc., 1985, pages 81-126, especially pages 95-97, where the authors speak of "ontological metaphors"; and Andrew Ortony, ed., Metaphor and Thought, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.
50. Gareth Morgan, Images of Organization, pages 329, 336.
51. Robert Sproul, "The Place of the Library in Higher Education," School and Society 32 (Sept. 13, 1930) 343-350, at 344.
52. Lodilla Ambrose, "A Study of College Libraries," Library Journal 18 (1893) 113-117, at 113.
53. Robert Brundin, "Justin Winsor of Harvard and the Liberalization of Librarianship," Journal of Library History 10 (1975) 57-70, at 69.
54. Anthony Celebreze, "Statement by Anthony Celebreze, Secretary of HEW," in Higher Education Act of 1965. Hearings on H.R. 3220 [etc.] Before the House Special Subcommittee on Education of the House Committee on Education and Labor. 89th Cong., 1st Sess. (Feb. 1-5 [etc.] 1965, page 26.
55. Chauncy Tinker, in On Going to College: A Symposium, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1938, page 294.
56. Lewis Mayhew, Colleges Today and Tomorrow, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1969, page 5.
57. Carla Stoffle, Alan Guskin, and Joseph Boisse, "Teaching, Research, and Service: The Academic Librarian's Role," in Thomas Kirk, ed., Increasing the Teaching Role of Academic Libraries, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1984, pages 3-15, at 3 (New Directions for Teaching and Learning no. 18).
58. Archie McNeal, Higher Education Act of 1965, page 345. Many of the others testifying, and those testifying at the counterpart Senate hearings as well, used the metaphor.

59. Frank McVey and Raymond Hughes, Problems of College and University Administration, Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1952, page 300.
60. Barbara Moran, Academic Libraries: The Changing Knowledge Centers of Colleges and Universities, ASHE-ERIC/Higher Education Research Report No. 8, Washington: Association for the Study of Higher Education, 1984, page 1.
61. Edward Henry, "Some Fundamentals in Planning a College Library Building," in College and Reference Library Yearbook Number 3, Chicago: American Library Association, 1931, pages 100-109, at 100.
62. Turner, Campus, page 177.
63. Allen, "Planning the University of South Florida," page 48.
64. The examples in the cardiac image are just that, examples. This image is used so frequently in the literature that it is cliché; which is, of course, the point. Less frequent on the part of cardiac imagists is specificity about what level or institutional type they have in mind when using the image, reflecting the underlying inexactitude problems with usage of "college" and "university." An exception was Allan Cartter's cardiac imaging in his Assessment of Quality in Graduate Education (1966). As an historical note, Arthur Hamlin claims that Harvard's Eliot "is probably the first university president to refer to the library, as 'the heart of the university (1873)'" (The University Library in the United States: Its Origins and Development, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981, page 50). This is irony in this, as will be seen below in Chapter II.
65. Hatch, The Experimental College, U.S. Office of Education, New Dimensions in Higher Education, no. 3, Washington: GPO, 1960, page 13.
66. Benson, "The Library's Status in Undergraduate Instruction: 'Far From the Heart of Things,'" in Academic Libraries: Myths and Realities, Chicago: Association of College and Research Libraries, 1984, pages 215-221. In the interest of completeness, the few other conference papers to have dealt with the issues of the level of this analysis were "Myths and Realities: The Academic Viewpoint [a symposium]," Evan Farber, moderator, pages 12-20, and John Caldwell, "Perceptions of the Academic Library; Midwestern College Libraries As They Have Been Depicted in College Histories," pages 301-307 (concluded that depiction in these conflicts with those histories' own use of the image).
67. If it were useful to go ahead and categorize the Doctrine-as-theory, it probably would be a "middle-range" theory, as well as a "substantive" or "empirical" theory, both notions as used by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, after Robert Merton, in The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research, Chicago:

Aldine, 1967. Another perspective on the CLD as a theory is the notion of "theory-in-use" or theories of professional practice, developed by Chris Argyris and Donald Schon, in Theory in Practice: Increasing Professional Effectiveness, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1974. Actually, the CLD turns out to be both more and less than that, and on empirical grounds ironically, and the finding of the First Research Design makes what kind of "theory" the CLD might be largely irrelevant.

68. Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, 2nd ed., Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970, page 23.
69. The phrase is from his Main Currents in American Thought.
70. "Ockham's Razor," named for medieval philosopher and theologian Will of Ockham (1287-1349) is a methodological "principle of parsimony" or "principle of economy in explanation." A usual expression of this decision rule goes "plurality is not to be assumed without necessity." See Ernest Moody, "William of Ockham," in Paul Edwards, ed., The Encyclopedia of Philosophy, New York: Macmillan, 1972. This was one of the rules of engagement used throughout this analysis.
71. Michael Freeman, "'The Simplicity of His Pragmatism': Librarians and Research," Library Journal 110 (1985) 27-29, at 29. While librarians seem to not very often be self-conscious or thoughtful about their own calling or its nature, there are occasional glimpses such as Freeman's. His criticisms receive perhaps unintended support from such diverse pieces as the revelation of the intensely parochial nature of the profession's publishing provided by David Kohl and Charles Davis, "Ratings of Journals by ARL Library Directors and Deans of Library and Information Science Schools" (College and Research Libraries 46 (1985) 40-47), the report of a survey of perceived prestige hierarchy of journals in which publication might have librarian employment consequences; and in which not a single "outside" journal appeared. See also Richard Johnson, "The Journal Literature of Librarianship," in Wesley Simonton, ed., Advances in Librarianship, New York: Academic Press, 1982, vol. 12, pages 127-150.

See also Philip Ennis who, while Dean of the University of Chicago Graduate Library School, suggested that "perhaps it is the tradition of polemical reassertion of library ideology mixed with a constricting pragmatism that prevents a cumulating body of theory" ("Use and Users of Recorded Knowledge," Library Quarterly 34 (1964) 305-314, at 308).

72. Gene Glass and others, Meta-Analysis in Social Research, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, Inc., 1981, pages 21, 9, 11, 21. As John Hunter and others point out (Meta-Analysis: Cumulating Research Findings Across Studies, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, Inc., 1982) such selective inclusion/exclusion may be on the basis of a

prejudgment as to what are the key or leading studies, rather than letting this emerge on its own; or of a priori ideas about which ones have "methodological deficiencies," and so on.

73. Patricia Cross, Accent on Learning, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1976, page xi.
74. Joan Martin, "A Garbage Can Model of the Research Process," in Joseph McGrath, Joanne Martin, and Richard Kulka, Judgment Calls in Research, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, Inc., 1982, pages 17-39, at 19.
75. J. Haas and Thomas Drabek, Complex Organizations, New York: Macmillan, 1973, page ix.
76. Morgan, Images of Organization, page 155.
77. Jack Douglas, Investigative Social Research, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, Inc. 1976. The term "paradigm," however attractive, has too many meanings to be useful in this case, and has generally been avoided in this analyses; see Gareth Morgan, "Response to Mintzberg," Administrative Science Quarterly 24 (1979) 137-139, and Margaret Masterman, "The Nature of a Paradigm," in Imre Lakatos and A. Musgrave, eds., Criticism and the Growth of Knowledge, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970, pages 54-89.

If one may instead invoke what Randall Collins called the "conflict tradition" (Three Sociological Traditions, New York: Oxford University Press, 1985; emphasis supplied) without being branded a Marxian and hence somewhat crankish in some eyes, then Collins' formulation is preferable. One could argue reasonably for being branded--if anything--a neo-Darwinian. In fact, this is no more than the "pluralist" frame of reference, as old as Aristotle, while Marxian views are more at home elsewhere; see Morgan, Images of Organization, pages 185 ff. James March both supplemented and clarified by bringing the organization dynamics of conflict, competition, and political behavior to a more micro level, in "Emerging Developments in the Study of Organizations," Review of Higher Education 6 (1982) 1-18, especially pages 2-3.

78. Daniel Katz and Robert Kahn, The Social Psychology of Organizations, 2nd ed., New York: Wiley, 1978.
79. See the particularly good treatment of the political perspective by Edward Lawler and Samuel Bacharach, "Political Action and Alignments in Organizations," in Samuel Bacharach, ed., Research in the Sociology of Organizations, vol. 2, Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, Inc., 1983, pages 83-107. Gareth Morgan argued that although the "idea that organizations are supposed to be rational enterprises in which their members seek common goals tends to discourage discussion or attribution of political nature," so that "politics, in short, is seen as a dirty word," nevertheless "organization is intrinsically political

... politics and politicking may be an essential aspect of organizational life, and not necessarily an optional and dysfunctional area" (Images of Organization, page 142).

80. J. Baldrige, Power and Conflict, New York: Wiley, 1971, page 3. Much of the best thought about fiscal politicking has been Aaron Wildavsky's. Jeffrey Pfeffer and William Moore quibbled over whether "the research about budget allocations to federal agencies," such as Wildavsky's, can be "directly comparable to that in organizations, since such budget allocations are made through legislative processes rather than through administrative decision making" ("Power in University Budgeting: A Replication and Extension," Administrative Science Quarterly 25 (1980) 637-653, at 637). Leaving aside the possibility that at particular colleges, depending upon their local governance traditions, budget allocations might be made through a process legitimately described as "quasi-legislative," Pfeffer and Moore mooted their own quibble by ratifying the application of the ideas of "power" and "political behavior" to higher education institution budgeting. It might be said that they distinguished Wildavsky, and then took him on board anyway. Others, such as Joan Tonn, never had a problem; see her "Political Behavior in Higher Education Budgeting," Journal of Higher Education 49 (1978) 575-587. For continuations of the views of Power and Conflict, see Gary Riley and J. Baldrige, Governing Academic Organizations, Berkeley, CA: McCutchan, 1977.
81. As phrased by Joseph Gusfield, in his Introduction to David Altheide and John Johnson, Bureaucratic Propaganda, Boston: Allyn and Unwin, 1980. The notion is related to what Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann talk about in The Social Construction of Reality, Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966.
82. See the literature of "organization myth," and "saga," cited elsewhere in these notes.
83. Aaron Wildavsky and Ellen Tennenbaum, The Politics of Mistrust, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, Inc., 1981, page 20.
84. David Owen, None of the Above, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1985.
85. Katz and Kahn, Social Psychology of Organizations, pages 130-131.
86. Jeffery Pfeffer, Power in Organizations, Marshfield, MA: Pitman, 1981; Jeffery Pfeffer and Gerald Salancik, The External Control of Organizations, New York: Harper & Row, 1978.
87. Such a question is very close to the one John Van Maanen identified with a fundamental of qualitative research on organizations when he wrote that

qualitative work involves ontological inquiry. This is a fancy way of saying merely that, at root, qualitative work

seeks a description for what is occurring in a given place and time (Introduction, in John Van Maanen and others, Varieties of Qualitative Research, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, Inc., 1982, pages 11-29, at 26).

88. Jack Douglas, Investigative Social Research.
89. See Black's Law Dictionary, 5th ed., 1979, s.v.
90. Owen, None of the Above, pages 16-17.
91. Burton Clark, "The Organizational Saga in Higher Education," Administrative Science Quarterly 17 (1972) 178-184. Organization myth, legend, stories, and so forth, are all part of the "symbolic" perspective on organization: See, for example, Chapter 5, "Creating Social Reality: Organizations as Cultures," in Gareth Morgan, Images of Organization; the papers in Research in the Sociology of Organizations ("The Social Psychological Process"), Samuel Bacharach and Edward Lawler, eds., Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, Inc., 1984, vol. 3; and Louis Pondy and others, eds., Organizational Symbolism, Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, Inc., 1983.
92. Harry Abravanel, "Mediatory Myths in the Service of Organizational Ideology," in Pondy and others, Organizational Symbolism, pages 273-293, at 286.
93. William Safire, "On Language," New York Times Magazine, May 17, 1987.
94. Robert Dubin, "Organization Fictions," in Robert Dubin, ed., Human Relations in Administration, 4th ed., Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1974, pages 557-562, at 558. See also Harrison Trice, "Rites and Ceremonials in Organizational Culture," in Samuel Bacharach and Stephen Mitchell, eds., Research in the Sociology of Organizations, Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, Inc., 1983, vol. 2, pages 83-107.
95. Altheide and Johnson, Bureaucratic Propaganda, page 5, emphasis supplied. As stressed, a central organizing principle in this analysis is that of organization. There is no difficulty, with the various groupings concerned, finding organization at any and/or all levels. It seems safe to say that there are not present any of the equivalency or transfer problems such as those of the "cross-level fallacy" (see Denise Rousseau, "Issues of Level in Organizational Research," in L. Cummings and Barry Staw, eds., Research in Organizational Behavior, Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, Inc., 1985, vol. 7, pages 1-37).

For professional librarians there are, in addition to such bonds as Freeman noticed in his condemnation of their literature and which are discussed more at length in Chapter VI below, and the relationships of their workplaces, formal national membership organizations.

The one of these with the widest boundaries is the American Library Association (ALA). It recently described itself as

founded in 1876 ... the oldest and largest national library organization in the world. Its concern spans all types of libraries: State, public, school and academic libraries, special libraries serving persons in government, commerce and industry, the arts, armed services, hospitals, prisons, and other institutions (ALA Handbook of Organization 1985/1986, Chicago: American Library Association, 1985).

ALA has elected officers, and a full time executive staff located at its national headquarters in Chicago, a high-rise office building owned by the Association. The very factors making for such a large, broad scale organization are also the ones making for librarian-ship's problem of the supposed unity and uniformity of practice. Thus, despite periodic chafing, the Association of College and Research Libraries (ACRL) is a constituent organization under the ALA umbrella. It, along with the unity/uniformity problem, are dealt with in Chapter VI.

There is also much organizing in higher education; as sufficiently demonstrated, if not by the structures of accreditation, regional compacts, or the building directory of the Mother Church of organizational higher education 1 Dupont Circle, then by the institutions themselves as corporate entities. It is sufficient, even if the librarian literature beyond the official publications may be the product of individuals and may not demonstrate tightly collaborative or preconcerted effort, enough "organization" can be found to make organization perspectives appropriate. There is little need to fall back to Lynn Zucker's argument that

organizations are the preeminent institutional form in modern society. They organize and structure the daily activities of most people. This pervasive quality of organizations has frequently been noted [citing, among others, the fountainhead of this view, Robert Presthuis' The Organizational Society]. Organizations are everywhere, involved in almost every possible sphere of human action ("Organizations as Institutions," in Samuel Bacharach, ed., Research in the Sociology of Organizations, Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, Inc., 1983, vol. 2, pages 1-47, at 1).

96. William Broad's article in the News and Comment section of Science ("Fraud and the Structure of Science," Science 212 (1981) 137-141), and Daniel Koshland's editorial ("Fraud in Science," Science 235 (1987) 141) serve to provide desensationalized versions; also see "Why Scientific Fact is Sometimes Fiction," Economist 302 (1987) 97-98.

97. See Leslie Hearnshaw, Cyril Burt, Psychologist, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1979, Chapter 12.
98. Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions.
99. Richard Whitley, "From the Sociology of Scientific Communities to the Study of Scientists' Negotiations and Beyond," Social Science Information 22 (1983) 681-720, at 695. Whitley a little later used as a section subheading the phrase "The Social Construction of Scientific Facts and Knowledge." Now if scientific facts can be social constructions, there seems no good reason why lesser entities cannot be too.
100. Thelin, "The Search for Good Research," page 152.
101. Gary Gutting, Introduction, in Gary Gutting, ed., Paradigms and Revolutions: Applications and Appraisals of Thomas Kuhn's Philosophy of Science, Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1980, page 1.
102. Koshland, "Fraud in Science." Jerome Ravetz went so far as to say that
- the completion of the work of investigating a scientific problem, even when the criteria of value and adequacy are satisfied, does not necessarily yield facts. For the product of a completed scientific investigation we should best use a term as neutral as "research report". As it stands, the report is literally not to be trusted; and in practice it is not ...
- and he went on to discuss the continuing "communal tests" applied to "research reports" by the relevant scientific community (Scientific Knowledge and Its Social Problems, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971, pages 182 ff.
103. Freeman, "'The Simplicity of his Pragmatism.'"
104. Ennis, see Note 71 above.
105. Kenneth Feldman and Thomas Newcomb, Impact, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1969, 2 vols.
106. Alexander Astin, Four Critical Years, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1978.
107. Arthur Levine, Handbook, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1978.
108. See Note 108 in Chapter II.

109. Eugene Webb, David Campbell, and L. Sechrist, Unobtrusive Measures: Nonreactive Research in the Social Sciences, Chicago: Rand-McNally, 1966.
110. See Douglas, Investigative Social Research. No big matter is made out of methodology here. In his review of Completing Dissertations in the Behavioral Sciences and Education, by Thomas Long and others (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1985), William Stallings presented an amusing set of jibes at doctoral dissertations, one being the moving from a discovered methodology or available data base, in search of a problem to which to apply them (in Educational Studies 17 (1986) 621-624). And apparently many of George Keller's barren trees involve "a preoccupation with research methods (usually referred to erroneously as methodology)" ("Trees Without Fruit: The Problem of Research About Education," Change 17 (7-10, at 7). Instead, refuge is taken in Gareth Morgan's reprise of economist Jacques Ellul, who

observed, we live in an age that celebrates technique. This is particularly evident in the social sciences, where concern for methodology predominates. While methodological sophistication provides an important basis for the technical conduct of research, this is insufficient to establish a social science that is substantially rational in the sense that its practitioners are able to observe and question what they are doing and why they are doing it, and thus to make informed choices about the means and consequences of their research (Preface, in Gareth Morgan, ed., Beyond Method: Strategies for Social Research, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, Inc., 1983).

The modest hope here is to have followed Morgan a little "beyond method," and thereby to have moved toward what Robert Barger and James Duncan were wishing in "Cultivating Creative Behavior in Doctoral Research" Journal of Higher Education 53 (1982) 1-31; see also William Dunn's perceptive discussion in Public Policy Analysis: An Introduction, pages 2-4.

111. 30 AmJur 2nd §§ 1163-1172; CJS §§ 1016-1050. The raising of reasonable doubt is essentially what Owen accomplished in None of the Above, introduced earlier.
112. George Keller repeats the anecdote of the Nobel laureate who was "reported to have said of his effort, we need to do our damndest with whatever is available" (Academic Strategy, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983, page x).
113. Karl Popper, The Logic of Scientific Discovery, New York: Harper & Row, 1959.

114. Walter Weimer, Notes on the Methodology of Scientific Research, Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1979, pages 194-207.
115. Wildavsky, Speaking Truth, pages 14-19. This is to say nothing more, actually, than that the investigative approach here is consistent with the logic of science, albeit not couched in the ways of the organized natural and physical sciences.

CHAPTER II

THE "HISTORICAL ARGUMENT" OF THE COLLEGE LIBRARY DOCTRINE

We saw in Chapter I that something called there the College Library Doctrine emerges from the literature as a theory-appearing answer to the research question of this investigation, Why do/Why should colleges have library operation programs? The College Library Doctrine (CLD), abstracted, say that a college's library operation program is uniformly functional or instrumental, essential, and systemic or organic to what it is that a college does, namely, the delivery of undergraduate education. This has been distilled in the popular metaphor of "the library as the heart of the college." The linchpin of the Doctrine's argument for the state of being it posits is an appeal to history. That state of being is a constructed reality; so that the CLD's version of reality is supposed to be the result of history--what has gone before, prior events. Indeed, Joan Burstyn states that "history" itself "is constructed reality."¹

But the CLD's history is questionable history. It is questionable history because it employs fallacious historiography. And, because it is questionable history, it is doubtful as proof of the CLD and its representations. Instead, it creates a romanticized picture ... not unlike the Victorian image of the chivalry of the Middle Ages. We might say that the CLD is to "academic" libraries what Tennyson or Scott are to social history. Hence, the historical argument is a case study of the way in which "constructed reality" is done, and organization myth and fiction are created, and used as organization propaganda. This may be

shown in a series of related topical sections, all broadly centered on the historical argument.

The Two Legs of the Historical Argument

Basically, the historical argument has been stood up on two legs, one the major, the other the decidedly minor. These two never appear together but both legs have commonalities. At the most general level of operation, both rely heavily on the power of suggestion, implication, and intimation. We are supposed to draw our own conclusions based on the suggestions we are given. A good example of this is the practice, elaborated upon later, of parading arguments that this or that happened at "all the 'best' schools," from which we are to conclude that it, therefore, must have been the mode.

However it is at a more particular level that their commonalities of questionable logic and fallacious argumentation are most readily planned down. To begin with, each leg is grounded upon the fallacy of anachronism in various shadings. More specifically, they both display the subspecies of anachronism which David Fischer called

the fallacy of presentism [which] is a complex anachronism, in which the antecedent in a narrative series is falsified by being defined and interpreted in light of the consequent. Sometimes called the fallacy of nunc pro tunc, it is the mistaken idea that the proper way to do history is to pare away the dead branches of the past, and to preserve the green buds and twigs which have grown into the dark forest of our contemporary world.²

This presentist fallacy in the CLD historiography, along with another that Fischer calls the static fallacy, account for a sort of "manifest destiny" tone. This is a tone of inevitability or historical determinism, with overtones of perfectabilism and progressism (captured

in the popular jingle "Every day, in every way, we are growing better and better"). Thus the narratives of the historical argument could be aptly called "The Growth and Development of the College Library," as they denigrate and belittle earlier days in terms of the more recent by setting up a "bad old days/ bright new days" dichotomy.

Fischer's example of the fallacy of presentism is "Christian historiography," which often represented past events in terms of a slow unfolding of a preordained plan.³ With the historical argument of the CLD the process is enriched, though not strengthened, by being done through "backward projection" (Fischer's phrase) from an assumed consequent, the constructed reality of the CLD itself; a case of apriorism shone back.⁴ That is, a fictional picture of the present is created, and then a supporting chronicle is written of how it came to be--much as a social arriviste might create a new personal genealogy more to his own taste.

This is about the same as to say that the CLD historiography is "Whig historiography," of whose failure in the conventional portrayal of the "old time college" James Axtell wrote

it is Whig historiography of the most blatant kind, written from the future where historical changes seem simply "inevitable" and the past teems with "revolutionary turning points," "watersheds," and "crises" all heralding the "dawning of new eras" and death's "transfiguration." It is short-cut history at its best, replete with winners, heroes, and historical firsts, and unencumbered with the complexities of change and continuity, flux and flow.⁵

For not only does the historical argument rely on Whig historiography for its larger historical framework, so that historian practitioners of the Whig fallacy are its authorities, but it also adopts the Whig viewpoint

and way in its own interpretations. Both the history by others, upon which it builds, as well as its own historiography, are doubtful.

Turning to the argument legs, the distinctly minor one is what might be impiously called the "Doxology" leg ("As it was in the beginning, is now ..."). A good example of this leg is found in an official publication of the major national "academic" librarian organization, the 1975 "Standards for College Libraries" of the Association of College and Research Libraries (ACRL). The first sentence reads

since the beginning of colleges libraries have been considered an essential part of advanced learning. Their role has ever been to provide access to the human records needed by members of the higher education community for the successful pursuit of academic programs.⁶

While this statement succeeds in being both a little grandiloquent and a little vague (for instance, we are entitled to ask if the "beginning of colleges" has been fixed with any exactness and if so, where?), a loose and permissive construction suggests that it seems to be pointing to 1636 for what is the present day United States. Possibly mixing symbolic notions together with literal ones, it clearly seems to be backward projection of an isomorph of the reality constructed and depicted by the CLD.

But even as avid an antiquarian as Louis Shores (whose presentism viewpoint is clearest in the beginning passages of Chapter IV of his Origins of the American College Library) refrained from going as far as this argument leg goes. Thus, in his pouncing on any surviving documentary mention of institutional ownership of--or even yearning after--books, by the early American colleges as evidence of "library" (which, in his defense it must be said, has resulted over the years in his being

widely and egregiously miscited) he nevertheless prefaced the whole business with the disclaimer that

modern librarianship generally dates from 1876. The present study is concerned with a period in American librarianship which closed nearly a century before. That there were libraries and a kind of library service in our colonial colleges has always been suspected; but that these libraries played even a minor role in early American higher education has rarely been recorded.⁷

Shores continued by lamenting the general scantiness of evidence of any kind; which, coupled with a disinclination of authors to carefully define their terms, makes it impossible to prove anything. Shores may be said to pretty well take care of the minor leg.

But before leaving it, the observation should be made that its attractiveness to writers is to be found in its having additionally its own particular fallacy, by running in the direction of the "fallacy of argument ad antiquitatem",⁸ a quirk of thought that attaches value to entities such as higher education institutions on a basis of rough equivalence according to how venerable they are (or can be made to seem to be). That is certainly a form of organization propaganda, or myth and fiction (if it is necessary to show how ubiquitous these are) practiced by the oldest and best schools and/or those who would be thought so, a constructed reality. As John Thelin showed in his Higher Education and Its Useful Past, this takes many forms.⁹ For instance, Thelin quoted journalist Edwin Slosson, writing in 1910, as sardonically commenting that

the University of Chicago does not look its age. It looks much older. This is because it has been put through an aging process, reminding one of the way furniture is given an "antique oak finish...."¹⁰

The other leg of the historical argument, the major leg, is the more generally accepted one. It takes some time in the more recent past-- 1876, or perhaps the period between then and the turn of the century, or perhaps the end of World War I--as the Beginning; the "watershed" or "dawning of a new era" in the Whig historiographic approach. In his article "Academic Libraries in 1876" Edward Holley asked rhetorically

what were academic libraries like in 1876? They were small but expanding. They were not yet a significant part of the educational process but were striving toward that goal.¹¹

To say that is to tacitly reject the other leg. Or consider the "cardiac image" statement from Chapter I by Stoffle, Guskin, and Boisse: "Since the turn of the century the library has been acknowledged ... as the 'heart'" and so forth. In fact, it is basic to the major leg to set up an "old library/new library" bisection in the best Whig manner. Thus, as Holley (another cardiac imagist) further said,

contrary to the bad old days of the nineteenth century, higher education has now reached the point of enlightenment where the library is the very heart [etc.]¹²

Samuel Capen pushed the date a little nearer to the present, writing that

since the beginning of the twentieth century American colleges and universities have undergone an essential transformation. It is obvious that ... these changes have completely altered the position of the university or college library. Demands are made upon it that twenty-five years ago were unknown.¹³

Therefore, considering the dominance of the major leg, from now on in this report when the term "historical argument" is used, the major leg is the one intended.

The German University

Whiggishness in the historical argument--watersheds, historical firsts, dawning of new eras, and heroes--figures into another basic questionability in the historiography, one that is a little difficult to categorize neatly. It concerns simplistic and superficial analysis, at least, but goes beyond that into a tendency toward the "fallacy of archetypes" in combination with a sort of "static fallacy" and "genetic fallacy," or "historicism."¹⁴

Perhaps the best way to explain how this comes about is to use the example provided by one of the archheros of the historical argument pantheon, which is not only romanticized itself, but whose supposed progeny are also. This is the German University.

Now the German University (or the idealized German University) is conventionally thrust out as a prime cause for the new American University's making of the library operation program a major item in the institutional organization.¹⁵ As the argument is crafted, this connects to the College Library Doctrine because, so it is said, the American University then in turn influenced the American College. "As went the University, so went the College," in library operation matters as in so many other things, such as discipline based department structure, triumph of the doctorate as the employment degree, professionalized athletics, and so on. This chain of influence is returned to in Chapter VI.

In the historical argument about library operation programs the invocation of the German University is usually done in a vague, generalized way, as though the romanticized hero enjoyed an existence unconnected to any specific embodiments--which may be true. Also, the

invocation is done at second hand, repeating borrowed cliches from what the standard general histories of American higher education have written about the influence of the German University model, a "me too" chorus. There is no independent investigation done.

But in fairness to the writers in this part of the historical argument they are probably no more questionable than their sources--the standard general histories of American higher education and what they have to say about the influence role of the German University--from which the library writers lift the idea; certainly no more questionable at the vague and generalized level. For the satisfactory sorting out of the German University's influence on the American University, has, despite the ink spilled, yet to be done.¹⁶ And in any event, the higher education historians have not been the ones who developed the arguments that the writers of the historical argument have: Those are the latter's own interpretations, although--for reasons we will see directly--they sometimes appear in the higher education histories.

The fallacies are in full swing when, to read the historical argument accounts in the library literature, is to be led to believe that the German University that so excited the admiration of George Ticknor, Edward Everett, and Joseph Cogwell in the years around 1820 when they took their Wanderjahren, was the same place that Abraham Flexner praised as being, just before World War I, "a jewel in the imperial crown."¹⁷ This simply is not right at all. We might even guess intuitively that changes might have happened, and they did. The intervening years saw not only the Humboldt reforms and their subsequent evolution (that is to say, the actual effects of the torturous intricacies of interplay among the

notions of Kultur, Bildung, and Wissenschaft), but also sweeping changes in university enrollments, demographics, finance, governance, relative prestige, the professoriate ... in short, in virtually everything.¹⁸ Put differently, when the German University is invoked by writers of the historical argument--by hearsay--it is as a static abstraction, an archetype; or, to borrow words from philosopher Gordon Davies, as "a general idea, or ideal form," a "kind of garden-variety philosophical idealism."²⁰

However, it is when they turn from vague generalization and get down to German University specifics that those who write the historical argument get into real trouble, trouble of a new and different kind. Here the illustration is what might be called, after legal style, In re Gottingen, in the matter of Gottingen. Consider Hendrik Edelman and George Tatum's paper "The Development of Collections in American University Libraries." In it they did, typically, a short historical introductory warmup, where the German University was trotted out as the model. They tell us that

like the German model Ph.D. the inspiration as well as the experience for the development of library collections came from Germany.... It was the university library of Gottingen more than any other, however, that provided the link between academic programs and research libraries.... The quality of the Gottingen library had a strong influence throughout Europe, and it became the standard for the new American university.²⁰

Yes, but we still ask, Why Gottingen? For Edelman and Tatum's glowing picture of it is at odds with a number of things we knew about Gottingen. One of these is that, whatever that university had been in its earlier heyday, during the bulk of the nineteenth century--which is the period

relevant to the influence argument--while it would be rash to say that it was eclipsed, it at least had been passed by in the status game as the cynosure and center of admiration and attention by the Humboldtian Prussian university in Berlin.²¹

At the American end, there is room for ceaseless Whiggish hair-splitting over which was the "first real American university to really be launched on the real German ideal." In making the argument that Gottingen was the "root" of "the modern university library," J. Danton said that Gottingen "influenced the founding of the first real university in America, beginning with the Johns Hopkins University in 1876" which "in many respects followed the German pattern."²² But, although Danton points at Gottingen for the pattern the whole business of influence now grows more than a little tenuous. Since Gottingen was not by a long reach the German University, then which "German pattern?" Because it was at Berlin, not at Gottingen, where Hopkins' own launcher, Daniel Gilman, had done his studies and had had the experiences that, according to Hugh Hawkins, made the decisive impression on him.²³ Are we being told that, even while at Berlin, Gilman nevertheless admired Gottingen from afar? Further, when Gilman later on made his Grand Tour of German universities, this time around the greatest impression on him was made by the new University of Strasburg.²⁴ No one comes forth with statements from Gilman himself acknowledging Gottingen, much less its library operation. That is all supplied by the surmise of the writers of the historical argument. They--not the historical record--are the ones who assert the unsupported link between Gottingen and Hopkins.

Why Gottingen? According to Edelman and Tatum the most admired aspect of the university library at Gottingen was "careful planning and continued support." They approvingly quoted Christian Heyne, "its celebrated librarian," who wrote in 1810 that "Proper selection rather than mere numbers of books is what marks real worth in a university library."²⁵ And yet the thing, we learn elsewhere, that distinguished the university library of Strasburg--which, and not Gottingen, was the latest and strongest impression on Gilman before he launched Hopkins--was the fact of its being "easily the largest university library in the world, a rank retained until World War I (when the honor passed to the library of Harvard University)."²⁶

But adding that fact opens a window on a logomachy in the library literature whether 'twere better to be small but good (could we but settle on what we mean by 'good'); or to be big; but not merely big, but big and therefore good, for goodness may be bigness, or include it, or be its moral equivalent; and so on. Why else is it that with the ink of Heyne's words figuratively barely dry, Edelman and Tatum forged ahead with a discussion devoted to size, and growth in size, with numbers everywhere, and with a five-and-one-half page chronological table for "Library Holdings (In Thousands of Volumes) Of ... Major American Public and Private Universities, 1876-1975," and a graph headed "Collection Growth of Seven University Libraries?" They don't talk about "proper selection." They waffle. But they do admit that "American libraries ... from an early date regarded almost all printed material as potentially useful for research and, therefore, favored its gathering and retention."²⁷ All is "selection?" In fact, in that section--minimal discus-

sion of "selection" as it is--they found themselves conceding that the only real limit of growth was nothing more than what we might call Bowen's Law, i.e., how far the money would go.²⁸ And in this they are typical of the historical argument writings: "Proper selection" gets lip service but what gets described is something more like a feeding frenzy than "selection," "proper" or otherwise.²⁹

So why Gottingen? The actual answer, although it never gets mentioned, seems to be that there is only one study of the library angle of the German University Ideal at anything below the most generalized, archetype, level; which is J. Danton's book, already noted. Thus it is the sole source to which all writers of the historical argument, such as Edelman and Tatum, inevitably--and uncritically and unoriginally--keep returning. Gottingen was the special emphasis of Danton's praise and admiration in his historical preliminaries. But it was not the only German university he talked about. And yet those others he selected instead of Berlin or Strasburg, Leipzig, or Munich--the universities which are usually credited with the image and mystique of the German University and which the higher education historians cite as general influences--were the lesser lights; lower status universities such as Kiel, Giessen, Rostock, and Konigsburg. These, even though during the years of supposed German University influence, American familiarity is doubtful since they tended to go not to them, but instead to the more prestigious ones, were Danton's subject.³⁰ The reason why Danton talked about these others was that he found in the archival records of their internal governance apparatus, statutes and regulations approving allocations to the purchase of library books, rationales for such

allocations, instructions for expenditure, and so on. In other words, the controlling reason for attention to any particular university was that this library historian, authority in turn for so many others, was working backward from a preconceived interest. He rotated his whole study on that. He made no attempt to interpret what he found in any wider context. The approach was more that of a genealogist, seeking family names from graveyard records; or of American college library antiquarians such as Louis Shores, already met.

Danton summed up his coverage of the German University as represented by Gottingen with the unchallengeable comment that

it must suffice to say here, by way of conclusion, that ... Gottingen strongly influenced the Astor Library [the seed of the New York Public Library], the Royal Library in Berlin, the British Museum ... and the university libraries of Breslau, Harvard, Jena,[etc.]. The full story of this influence has not been written; it deserves a comprehensive study.³¹

True enough, but Danton had not made it nor did he have its use, and that "comprehensive study" still has yet to be made, which is why Danton's remark is unchallengeable, why the whole business of "influences" is so vague and muddy. Danton was right, we still await such a study.

Relatedly, at once both more vague and more important, is the matter of--in Edelman's and Tatum's words--the "as well as the experience." The experiences of German universities: We would like to see more about this, a looking beneath the surface of borrowed cliches and recitations, at the actual practices. But we are never shown it. What was the role and function of German university libraries in the delivery of instruction to their equivalent of undergraduate students during the "model years?" Here we wait for hard evidence, perhaps such things as evidence

of student use, which could range widely from "college novels" depicting the round of life of college students, through autobiographical reminiscences, to formal user studies conducted by the authorities, and so on. But we are not shown such things, and are likely to wait in vain for them. This is a matter that has been tergiversated and dodged even in the American experience, as will be seen in Chapter IV.

And, if we allow ourselves to be beguiled by the romanticized images of the earnest intensity of model German University Students at the model German University, caught up in the heady pursuit of Lehrfreiheit as some sort of circumstantial evidence for the "as well as the experience," we should be ready to have our rosy expectations tempered by Charles McClelland's picture of German students. According to him,

most students in the empire were less interested in living for Wissenschaft than in passing through the traditional set of lecture courses leading to a career: Though the research ethic had permeated the professoriate, it had infected only a minority of the students.³²

We will see the "lecture" again shortly, as a perennial antagonist of the college library ambitions.

But as it turns out however, after all the laborious case-building, and the invisible link between Gottingen and Hopkins, the argument abruptly shifts to new and different ground, with an inexplicable discontinuity. After hearing repeatedly, as we do from Arthur Hamlin, about the German-inspired research ethic and about Johns Hopkins, about how

our institutions of higher education were all on the collegiate level until late in the nineteenth century, when the true university began to develop, and these collegiate institutions depended upon libraries which, for the most part, were limited to a few thousand poorly selected volumes and virtually no service programs. [But] libraries were increasingly emphasized in university

growth in the fifty years following the founding of Johns Hopkins in 1876.... It is only a slight exaggeration to say that growth of these research libraries which are the foundation of the modern university [etc.] ...

and

so that at just about the precise moment of birth of the university in America, the library movement also formed into bud. The magic year was 1876, the date of the founding of Johns Hopkins,

suddenly Hopkins is shelved, deemphasized. Hamlin's transition was to say that

while Johns Hopkins provided the dramatic leadership in breaking with tradition and emphasizing research as a principal university responsibility, it was not Hopkins under its librarian president, but rather Harvard and Columbia that pioneered the new role of the library. Change came first at Harvard under Justin Winsor, appointed librarian in 1877. Columbia's revolution came in 1883 when Melvil Dewey took control of that library. At Harvard it was evolution, at Columbia, revolution.³³

But it is the Gilman-Hopkins connection and its (notwithstanding) invisible link with Gottingen that is required to keep the whole business about the German University and its library from being other than an elaborate non sequitur, an exercise in post hoc logic and self-proving interpretation. Here the argument attenuates to the vanishing point.

Look at the new ground more closely: Melvil Dewey had no recorded connection with any German university. Dewey is sometimes said to have been influenced by Justin Winsor. Winsor withdrew from Harvard in his senior year and went to Europe. Paul Koda says that he went to "travel in France and Germany for two years of intensive language and literary study."³⁴ The Dictionary of American Biography article on Winsor adds "mainly in Paris and Heidelberg," which might be taken to mean the respective universities thereof, although this is not clear. And Robert

Brundin shortened the sojourn to "almost a year."³⁵ Thus it is questionable whether Winsor can be even counted as one of the "Germany--returned," like Gilman. Even less is there to connect him with any of the prestigious German universities--Berlin, Leipzig, and so on--or even with any of the unprestigious ones that Danton found so intriguing because they had what he was looking for. Least of all is there anything to connect him with Gottingen, that supposed fons et origo of American "academic" librarianship.

At the same time that this shift of ground is made, another shift in the argument occurs. Along with selectively skipping through one complex phenomenon in the history of American higher education--the emergence of the university--the historical argument also skips across, to tie itself in with another phenomenon in that history. With "Gottingen" the emphasis had been on those members of the academic community whose business was going to become "research," viz., the professoriate, and graduate students, and hence--by definition--on universities. Now the emphasis abruptly and awkwardly shifts over to undergraduate education, and hence--again by definition--to colleges, or at the most generous interpretation, to truncated universities. One ball is dropped, another picked up. Hamlin's way of making the bridge was to remark that

both the new elective system at Harvard and the ferment in higher education brought changes in instructional methods that encouraged students to consult authorities and compare them.

This is the "new instructional methods" thread of the historical argument, and it is taken up at length shortly.

In the mean time, at Harvard, Hamlin rhapsodized,

Winsor was fortunate to have a president who shared his views. As early as 1871 President Eliot had confirmed the centrality of the library to the university, not only physically, but for the goals of instruction. Eliot is probably the first university president to refer to the library as "the heart of the university" (1873).³⁶

No doubt he may have so referred, and we must be cautious in reading too much into Hamlin's relative emphasis on who shared whose views. But Eliot's unity of thought and action with Winsor may have been something less than Hamlin and others want to make from his possibly offhand remark. For this was the same Eliot who at another time, as Veysey noted,

as late as 1901 ... argued revealingly that it would be better to throw away many of the books in the Harvard library than to spend money on a larger building to house them.³⁷

Of course, had that been followed through, Harvard would have missed the chance to claim the laurels for largest library from Strasburg a few years later. This is a side of Eliot (who, ironically, was himself a Germany-returned) that doesn't get mentioned much in the library literature. Nor, for that matter, does Veysey. And yet Veysey managed to write nearly five hundred pages covering the very period of history and the same historical ground of the supposed "bud" years (as Hamlin so Whiggishly put it) of the "library movement," and yet even so found really very little to say about any involvement of the library operation, as cause or effect. Perhaps his approach to the study of history was different from (say) Danton's. Indeed, what he does suggest is that the university-building academic-entrepreneur presidents of that day may have seen libraries in the same symbolic light in which they saw any other

campus appurtenance; that is, as the stuff of empire, along with football stadiums and the like.

At any rate, the German University influence, brought on by writers of the historical argument with fanfare, gets left behind like a waif on a doorstep as the chain of weak argument moves on in more nativism directions. But that, of course, is not the main point. The point is, after all, the construction of reality, the creation of organization saga, the realm of myth and fiction, and propaganda. It helps to make a ringing good story, and is "literature" in the broadest sense of the term. Images are created and feelings stimulated. But can it be considered rigorous, objective, disinterested "research"--research fitting any disciplinary model--this winnowing of the past for materials in support of a belief? Reasonable minds may differ, and that is what removes it from the whole sensitive arena of fraud in research.

But if, as the writers of the historical argument themselves eventually come around to, it was really not Gilman's Hopkins after all, but instead Winsor's Harvard and Dewey's Columbia that were the "buds," then where, we are left wondering--the German University connection rejected--did their ideas, which the current state of policy uniformity suggests they were successful in pushing, originate? As will be suggested below in Chapter VI where Winsor and Dewey are rejoined as an alternative explanation is developed, Winsor's and Dewey's sources may have had little to do with higher education.

Change, Cause, and Instructional Methods

Another vantage from which to look broadly at the historical argument's weaknesses, its questionable history, is to look at its basic

principle of change. One widely accepted way of framing this change is Louis Wilson's three part model: Forces outside the college, changes within the college, and changes within the library.³⁸ Guy Lyle adopted this for the earlier editions of his treatise Administration of the College Library³⁹ but in later editions he subordinated the first and third parts in favor of the second one, changes within the college. In that he erred, for this subordination not only thereby failed to recognize the potency of forces outside the college--which, as will be shown in Chapter VI, may alone be sufficient to explain all of the change--but also seems to have failed to realize that the strength of the historical argument as proof of the College Library Doctrine stands or falls with the case it can make for the second part (changes within the college) of the model. Put differently, if the tight connection with college education is lost, the entire fabric comes unraveled. And that it does, because the tight connection is illusory; because the changes alleged for the college are doubtful. It is history of events which never happened.

Now as already noted, the historical argument looks at the contextual setting of the wider higher education history, as told by its historians, and plugs into it. It finds changes there, and then makes associations and interpretations, claims influences and, more strongly, claims to find in this larger change the cause of the purported effect, viz., the state of being or reality according to the College Library Doctrine.

This is an interesting venture in its own right because we are permitted to see the construction of a reality unfolded before our very eyes. It is different from Veysey's often-quoted passage about how

the development of an institutional framework presents particular problems for the historian who seeks to account for it. It is often easy to make general statements about the causes for a pattern of institutional arrangements and relationships [but that nevertheless].... The most fundamental assumptions were not being articulated.⁴⁰

Instead, unlike that "lack of self-consciousness," here we find a situation quite different from Veysey's, one in which "practically everyone [was] taking the fundamental choices for granted" and articulating their fundamental assumptions in print regularly, both at once. As a result, there is here little of the difficulty expressed by Veysey about trying to write "a history, or even a sociology, of silence."⁴¹ Quite to the contrary, there is a plethora of self-conscious explanation, both by those who were privy to the times as well as by those who retrospectively comment upon them.

It is just that articulation and explanation written using the principles of change and cause that is riddled with problems. In fact, the simple problems of presentist anachronism and Whig historiography already noted are merely the background for more intractable ones. Most confusing, these usually are found in combination. But it is possible to break some out and look at them in a way dovetailing with the conjectural alternative explanation in Chapter VI, as will be frequently noted.

First, the historical argument talks in the language of one way causation in change; simple, direct, and more or less concurrent. According to this thread, of which Hamlin's abrupt about face in the previous section is an example, changes in the larger higher education milieu caused changes in the college, thence the changes in the library operation, its "development." But this argument never deals with the

possibility that it might be merely the commission of the post hoc ergo propter hoc fallacy and the related cum hoc fallacy. The former, widely familiar, "is the mistaken idea that if event B happened after event A, it happened because of event A." The latter, a jinx of the social sciences when any of a number of statistical techniques is employed, "mistakes correlation for cause."⁴²

But that is relatively minor, compared to the second problem, which is that the causal pattern is represented as a largely internal, self-contained process within higher education, with any boundary transaction with the external environment occurring well away from the library operation. That is to say, the changes in the library are held out as having been endogenous, intrinsic to higher education. Yet they well may have come from somewhere else entirely, through the library's own transactions with the external environment; not by way of college education, or even higher education, at all, and certainly not as response to "needs" or "demands" made by college education. This is shown in Chapter VI.

Third, although by no means all of the writers are professional librarians, the exposition of the historical argument takes place entirely too much within the professional librarian literature. It is parochial, self-feeding, and open to reasonable suspicion of self-interest. It is all in the family. Michael Freeman and others in their strictures conveyed only a bare hint of the extent of the tendency on the part of authors to cite and quote from one another--all secondary material--as "evidence."⁴³ Consider Arthur Hamlin's The University Library in the United States: Its Origins and Development, quoted

earlier. In his Preface the author implies that this is the first work of its kind; and then cheerfully admits that "most of the source material [sic] used has been strictly the literature of librarianship."⁴⁴ This tendency is accompanied by an irreducible component of advocacy and special pleading, in word and tone, as well as in what gets chosen for citation and how it is handled. This cannot help but slant the writing.

Fourth, there is a chronic conceptual casualness by authors' moving in seemingly haphazard fashion around the institutional typology and its distinctions, differences, and diversity without explanation or comment; certainly without a bow to these distinctions and differences. Indeed, this skipping about goes outside higher education entirely, into such places as public libraries, which comes back with a vengeance in Chapter VI. Relatedly, distinctions between different higher education activities are disregarded, with those things specific to "research/scholarship" carelessly commingled into those things specific to "college education," such obvious things as delivery of undergraduate instruction, which it requires a disregard for facts to equate with graduate/professional instruction. In other words, the literature confounds arguments about different things, and confounds evidence for different things.

This tendency, which is quite serious, may in turn be partially attributable to the commissions of anachronism, and Whig fallacy, already mentioned. For, as James Axtell has pointed out,

the Whig historiography compares the colleges of one period with the universities of a later one.⁴⁵

And in a companion paper Hugh Hawkins observed that

American colleges during the half century after the Civil War--usually small, under strong religious influence and located away from cities--have been largely neglected by

historians of higher education, although used as foils to set off the merits of the new universities.⁴⁶

Thus we find a conception of the Modern University, or even Kerr's Multi-versity, projected back, the implication being that any failure of institutions to have met--or meet--the specifications of this model are somehow deficiencies. We get, for instance, library writer Samuel Rothstein seeming to apologize for the situation at mid-nineteenth century:

under these discouraging circumstances natural science studies could not aspire to high levels of scholarship. Where instruction was offered it was elementary in character; graduate work and laboratories were still all but unknown.⁴⁷

And it also may be partially attributable to the previously remarked librarian article of faith in a generic and universal practice stock-in-trade, in connection with the "university library syndrome," a topic returned to in Chapter VI.

What this casual confounding does, is affect the selection of evidentiary examples by authors in support of their assertions. Occurrences, innovations, trends, anecdotes, are taken from places which were actually in the process of becoming what we today would call, following the Carnegie taxonomy, "Research Universities," and never to be "colleges" again. Thus (in what is also the commission of the Fallacy of Irrelevant Proof⁴⁸ unless its relevance is shown) the writers of the historical argument keep telling us what was going on at the Harvards, Yales, Princetons, and emergent state flagship universities. Would it not be more to the point to look at the Eureka Colleges for the same period; the grassroots of Mainstream America?⁴⁹ Often we are even told of events at such places as the Library of Congress or the New York Public Library, although how these are supposed to relate to college

education is never explained. Such treatment of extraneous examples as though they were within the realm of college relevance is another matter returned to in Chapter VI. It may be that the resultant skewing or bias of examples is probably less due to what Axtell called "the Whig preoccupation with the unusual and the bizarre," than it is to the fact that the kinds of places that have been famous have therefore been most written about (thus illustrating the expression that "Celebrities are people who are famous for being well known"); in other words, the kind of documentation available. This selection of evidentiary examples may also be related to a bias which is part of what Ellen Lagemann has called "the politics of knowledge," a matter that will be returned to in Chapter V.⁵⁰ But whatever the reasons, we are never let in on the writers' selection rules, and it is doubtful that what they select may fairly be considered as "representative."

Fifth, very often when the writers do go outside the professional librarian literature and cite authorities beyond the suspicion of parochialism --such as Rudolph--it is on some subordinate point or obiter dictum, or some neutral and purely factual matter such as a statistic, upon which the outside authority made neither a finding nor an interpretation applicable to the library operation. Indeed, often it has nothing to do with it at all. And yet the appearance and impression created is that of consultation and corroboration.

Sixth, and also a matter of authorial documentation, in citation formats there is a practice of blanket, omnibus, reference. This, in fact, is done both by librarian authors as well as by authors from "outside." In this practice, previous writings being cited--often

lengthy and quite richly information-packed volumes hundreds of pages long--are referred to simply by author, title, and facts of publication. This makes it quite impossible to track back, determine exactly just where and what in the work cited is being referenced as authority, and to check it out. This is not only a breach of scholarly standards⁵¹ but also reduces these blanket, omnibus citations to the status of mere makeweights, and the color of "scholarship." However, looked at through propaganda, fiction, and myth lenses applied in this analysis, this may be purposeful. It makes the story more convincing. It may be likened to the "Gottingen" effect, seen in the preceding section. Such practices might be called "bootstrapping" of argument, evidence, and authority.

Seventh, something else that might be called "bootstrapping" is of a different sort. This is the pandemic use of arguments of the type called Q.E.D. arguments. Q.E.D. stands for Quod Erat Demonstrandum. It has variants, such as Quod Erat Probandum and others. The notation Q.E.D. is most usually found in mathematical proofs, and generally means that the writer is relying upon a proof made by someone else, published elsewhere. In a way, it is like the notation "By others" which is used on construction blueprints. But when we look closely at these other arguments, we discover that they have by no means at all been "proven" or "demonstrated" by the others, contrary to the impression given. Indeed, what we are in fact given would be better identified as hypotheses. But these are "bootstrapped" in as previously proven facts.

Along with "bootstrapping," the literature making the historical argument also reveals yet another practice in the handling of authority. This may be called "laundering" (or, another domestic metaphor, "cook-

ing") of authority. Essentially, it involves recycling, punching up, a weak or otherwise suspect or unconvincing authority somewhat in the way in which a hailstone builds as it revolves in the up- and down- drafts of a weather front. Perhaps the best way to illustrate this practice is to track such a citation through the process. This, it must be emphasized, does not take place in isolation, but occurs right along with the other practices already discussed and yet to be. Since Brubacher and Rudy did several of these things all together, they get to be the example.

Take their account in Chapter Nine of the 1968 edition of their book Higher Education in Transition. To begin with, they confounded institutional types, since this is "The Development of the Graduate School" (emphasis supplied). Under the section "New Instructional Techniques and Expanding Scholarly Activities" they tell us about "the development of great university libraries." In such a context as this obviously is, one clearly of research, and graduate education, it is a little difficult to understand just which of Brubacher and Rudy's numerous points go with which of the seven authorities who appear in their endnote, No. 100. But two of these, and most especially Guy Lyle's The Administration of the American College Library (1944 edition) are almost classically problematic in an account of the development of the graduate school. And both of these citations also illustrate other previously noted faults. Both are librarians' writings, and they are blanket, omnibus citations. On top of all that, none of the successive editions of Lyle's book have ever reported any original, primary, research by him: He merely repeats what others have written, so that his treatise is a "secondary" authority at best, and at worst, possibly more laundering and bootstrapping itself.

But in tracking the Brubacher and Rudy laundering, when we look at the next following (1974) edition of Lyle's book, who should we find cited (blanket and omnibus, of course) by reciprocal exchange of courtesies, as an "Additional Reference" for Lyle's historical introduction, but the same 1968 edition of Brubacher and Rudy. This creates the implication that there we will find support for, and expansion of, Lyle's version of history. Most readers would never suspect that he is actually citing something to the creation of which he himself contributed. But it lends a credible appearance of outside and independent weight and authority to Lyle's version of history, in a book disproportionately heavy enough with the writings of librarian authors.

In this way, through a circularity or revolving door of citation, authorities get passed back and forth, handed around, recycled, each citing the others, until neither citations nor the points they were supposed to back up ever get looked at again afresh. It becomes a matter of incantations, litanies, rather than the careful, reasoned marshalling of argument and evidence. The effect seems to be similar to what David Altheide and John Johnson discovered in field research on evangelism, that

what people regarded as the truth was a result of familiarity. Thus, the truth for all practical purposes could be established by repeating views of reality.⁵²

And this effect of repetitive familiarization has a wide recognition, and there are names for it. It seems to be a combination of two of David Fischer's "fallacies of substantive distribution," where in the one,

more common and subtle forms of argument ad verecundiam [appeal to authority] appear in appeals to all the paraphernalia of pedantry. Among them are ... appeals to references ...

Hence, in the literature of the historical argument we find all possible stages-of-being of change, and of cause and effect. The past is invoked, later denigrated. That which is said in one place to be in full swing, or fiat accompli in the 1920s is another place said to be at that very same stage in the 1970s, and in yet another place to be anticipated momentarily. Events are both completed and in process; potential and realized; possible and desired. We are given both then and now, or then or now, all at once. Unless and until the investigator grasps this achronicity, it is all most confusing.

This attitude toward time clumps together along with post hoc reasoning to create an effect called here "Yesterday's Tomorrows," a name and idea taken from the title and premise of a traveling exhibition the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History fielded in 1984-85.⁵⁶ The premise was utopian or futurist prognostications out of the past, often from science fiction, of what the Future would be. The interest is in seeing those prognostications from the hindsight vantage of the arrived Tomorrow about which the Yesterday had made them. There is, needless to say, frequent incongruence.

And finally, there is the plain, unvarnished misrepresentation of what others have found and said, in order to keep it from making trouble. More than co-optation, it is an egregious practice of appearing, by virtue of mentioning and citing them, to have included and dealt with contrary writings while actually conveying a quite false impression of their real thrust. Since this is at its most flagrant in the "user studies," which are a story of their own, this is dealt with at more length in a later chapter.

Having seen these generalized practices singled out for individual examination, let us look at a showpiece of the way in which many of these serious problems just enumerated combine in the literature of the historical argument. This is, as it happens, also a showpiece of the literature of professional librarians, a series of papers invited by the Association of Research Libraries (ACRL) for the purpose of being later collected as one of the ACRL's official contributions to the 1976 Bicentennial celebration under the title Libraries for Teaching, Libraries for Research: Essays for a Century. Edelman and Tatum's article, which we have already seen in conjunction with the Gottingen matter, is one of this collection. Here is the historical argument in full panoply. Let us look first at the editor's perception of what was being assembled, after which we will look at the papers individually.

The editor's Introduction proclaimed that

together these individual contributions depict the changes and growth in American higher education as reflected in the libraries serving the teaching and research needs of the nation's colleges and universities.⁵⁷

Now a strict but reasonable interpretation of both the volume's title as well as the editor's introductory remarks just quoted, raises the presumption and expectation of a clear recognition of two separate and equal topics, a recognition to be reflected in the ensuing papers. It would be consistent with accepted usage to see "teaching" as "college" and "research" as "university."

Instead, close examination reveals that disproportionately little is said about the "teaching" part. Much less is there any article actually confined to the college library operation, despite the fact that there is one limited explicitly to "Newcomer to the Academic Scene; The Two-Year

College library/Learning Center."⁵⁸ In reality, what we are given is a graphic (literally as well as figuratively) peek into the casual confounding of institutional types that goes into the covering term "academic" libraries and derivatives; for

interspersed among the preliminary pages are illustrations of six representative academic and research libraries, with descriptive text by W. L. Williamson. These illustrations were featured on the covers of College and Research Libraries in 1976,⁵⁹

wherein the articles first appeared. Of the six, three of the libraries pictured are prima facie problematic. One is the "University of Wisconsin Library and State Historical Society," which, even if they had not been housed in the same edifice, are--by being presented together--the "joint production function" thrice confounded. The second is the Newberry Library in Chicago, a "privately endowed research library" not structurally part of any higher education institution. The third is the New York Public Library, which is likewise a freestanding corporate entity. Only one of the three--Wisconsin--was in any way a part of an institution of higher education, and whether it may or may not be related to undergraduate instruction is one of the basic Q.E.D.s of this whole analysis.

Of the remaining three, two--while bona fide "academic" library operations in even the strictest possible sense--were during the period covered by the historical argument, like Wisconsin, part of emergent and now emerged, universities. That leaves only one of the six, Williams, which by any stretch can be considered a college, hence its library operation a college library operation. So, What, we have to ask, is the

relevance of the others to teaching, i.e., college education? Much less, the relevance of some of them to higher education at all?

Yet this small but revealing graphic glimpse of mindset is at once a frame to and microcosm of the ensuing papers of this centerpiece volume. It is carried throughout them, and makes them problematic on their own. Turning, then, to the papers, we find that one of them is about the "independent research library" or "privately endowed research library" as a type, of which the Newberry Library just mentioned is one.⁶¹ Edelman and Tatum's previously mentioned paper is by its own definition about graduate education and "research" entirely. But it is with some of the remaining papers in this volume that the flaws combine most interestingly, and the best way to illustrate that and to bridge over is to take the teaching methods aspect of undergraduate education as the pivot. This is what we were promised in the volume title, but which is conspicuous by its small part.

Requiems for Pedagogies

Quixotically, in the ACRL volume Libraries for Teaching, Libraries for Research, the lead paper at once gives the appearance of giving college teaching, and hence presumably college education, equal billing, and yet managing to really say very little at all about it. Edward Holley's "Academic Libraries in 1876" is a curious piece of work in which, at one place or another, every one of the flaws isolated earlier appears. The tone is set by introducing the backgrounding part about "Higher Education in 1876" (librarian writers of the historical argument usually seem somehow uncomfortable when doing this, since they are out of their metier and must borrow from others) with the statement "Higher

education in 1876 was in a major transitional phase," a watershed. From that intellectual fingerpost he filled pages with "mentions"--dropped names, the Harvard, Yale, Hopkins social register--but ignored the Eureka's, except in the Tables, which came from elsewhere. The Tables are a model for a pastiche of "data," that is to say, numbers, where numbers about undergraduate, and graduate, aspects are run together in democratic and uncritical equality. It followed that his narrative sketch of the population of institutions in 1876 was based on the U. S. Bureau of Education's tabular censuses. Consistent with his emphasis on the emergent universities whose names he dropped, the focus of his attention was on the size of their book collections, not their "careful selection." And he committed presentism toward his "data"; which would be presentist even if converted from current to constant dollars:

in 1876 the total income of all colleges and universities was approximately \$4.5 million. With such relatively small sums available for the total programs of the colleges, it is not surprising that college libraries were poorly supported.⁶²

And plentifully mixed throughout are accounts and quotations of the published hopes, opinions, and aspirations of the library enthusiasts of the era, which are useful for understanding the ideological climate, but not for illuminating factual practices.

Perhaps the most obvious flaw of his showpiece paper is its proclivity for Greenberg's "mentioning," so that we come away with a headful of names and numbers, but no interpretation of them by Holley--other than that they were fewer and smaller than today, and therefore lesser. Not only did he merely name-drop institutions, he produced a half-baked cultural history of American higher education in which topics likewise

were name-dropped. We hear, through gesture or mentioning--like a Hollywood bus tour of estates of the stars--of the decline of the classical curriculum, acceptance of scientific studies, electives, "change from an agrarian society to a complex industrial era," creation of land grant institutions, and so forth, totally without interpretation or analysis. He never opens the estate gates. In all, the depth of Holley's analysis makes his Summary, the opening words of which we saw earlier, consistent with his text:

What were academic libraries like in 1876? They were small, but expanding. They were not yet a significant part of the education process but were striving toward that goal.... The advance guard of the full-time librarians shared the general optimism of the age, and they expected libraries to become a vital part of college experience. If they were often confused about the place of the library in the curriculum, their confusion was no more unnatural than that of the parent institutions which often were confused about their role and mission.... Professional education and graduate study were about to become a major concern at many universities and extensive libraries and laboratories would be established to serve their needs.⁶³

But with all that, what in fact Holley never did was to say anything concrete and/or specific about college teaching in terms of the college library, or vice versa.

But suppose we give Holley the benefit of a doubt, and argue that the nature of his paper was predetermined by editorial plan to be limited to generalities superficially treated so as to set up the later papers? If so, that would leave only one other paper in the volume to have diverted some attention from graduate/university interests, to colleges, undergraduate teaching methods. And yet even there the history and narrative have the same flaws. Here the case study is Stanley McElder-ry's paper "Readers and Resources: Public Services in Academic and

Research Libraries, 1876-1976." Watch his leaps closely, keeping in mind the problematic practices of the narratives of the historical argument generalized earlier. After having invoked the obligatory "increasing emphasis on research" as an influence, he began the next paragraph by saying

of equal significance to academic libraries was a parallel revolution taking place in instructional philosophy and methods. Brubacher describes the pattern of instruction derived from the English college, which persisted in this country through much of the nineteenth century, in these terms: [lecture versus recitation, brief description of each as a pedagogical method, taken from B & R, 1958 edition, duly noted]. Curricular reform came in the form of expanded course offerings, an elective system of allowing free choice on the basis of interest, problem-oriented instruction, and other pedagogical techniques. The significance of these reforms to the library was that instruction was centered on student interests, the student assumed a larger place of responsibility in the instruction process, and problem-solving skills acquired an importance equal to or greater than the acquisition of information itself. The library as an instrument for instruction and research emerged as a sufficient body of information, in active use, required systematic acquisition, organization, and the guidance of a professional staff.⁶⁴

But are we informed about "the library as an instrument of instruction?" Not here, either. McElderry's reasoning back from his final sentence is a walk into darkness, and he never turns on a light. What he says is mere rhetoric, a reiteration of the College Library Doctrine, not a proof of it. And what precedes it is nothing more than non-sequitur. It does not explain: It, again, merely alludes, mentions a laundry list of borrowed platitudes themselves dubious. For instance, if there did in fact occur a shift to "student-centered instruction" and a "problem-solving" orientation, then why is it such a cause with some to try to bring it about today? And we will see about "active use" in Chapter IV. No,

for all its breezy certainty and plausibility, the passage offered as example, if read with care, reveals itself not simply flawed, with such faults as the post- and cum hoc fallacies among others; it is merely a succession of postulates. Like Holley, the writer passed through casually, some potentially heavy going of intellectual history merely pointing, "mentioning," but not touching, much less engaging any of it.

Nor did McElderry stop there. He went on to bootstrap some authority by declaring that

the status of the academic library in 1876 has been comprehensively treated by Holley [in the paper preceding his], Carleton, and others

which is erroneous because of their preoccupation with the proto-university and ignoring of the "college"; and

changes in educational philosophy and methods as related to libraries have been described by Brubacher and Rudolph⁶⁵

which evaporates when we check and discover that what these authors had to say was itself entirely bootstrapped and laundered citations trailing right back into the librarian literature. And yet it is precisely this relationship that we keep looking for from the writers of the historical argument themselves, and which they keep telling us that they are going to explicate, or else have done, or that someone else will or has--Quod erat demonstrandum.

Thus, in reality, this showpiece volume of the historical argument comes much closer to its editor's own introductory promise, of articles "tracing events in fields with which they [the authors] are intimately familiar," events in the internal practitionership of library routine, than to his other promise that "together these individual contributions

depict the changes and growth in higher education as reflected in the libraries."⁶⁶

And this volume is representative of the whole body of historical argument writings. But college education and its teaching methods are not, however, conspicuous by their neglect in all the accounts figuring into the historical argument, especially if we include those from the overlap area of literature, viz., outside the strictly librarian literature. One such account was that of Ernest Wilkins, whose 1927 book The Changing College illustrates the "Yesterdays' Tomorrows" thread in the historical argument, wherein McElderry's expression of the historical argument keystone of "parallel revolution ... in instructional philosophy and methods" actually gets specific, with old, repudiated, castoff and passé methods of teaching/learning on the one hand, foils for the new, approved, "modern" replacements on the other.

Wilkins was sure that "efficient" methods were overcoming "inefficient" ones. "Inefficient" methods were ones such as "the idea of one book per course. We are stressing collateral reading more and more," with "the habit of consulting books other than the text-book--as ... preferable to enslaved dependence on a single text." Out of this change and causation as he saw it, "the primary instrument of ... training is, of course, the college library." Elsewhere in the book Wilkins had hard words for that perennial whipping boy in the higher education literature, the lecture and lecturing; which he condemned as rendered obsolete by the invention of printing.⁶⁷

Now we are getting somewhere. Wilkins thus serves to identify two of the "old teaching methods"--the textbook and the lecture--which are

principals in the "Yesterday's Tomorrows" fallacy in the historical argument, unmourned victims of the "parallel revolution" making the college library "the heart." These two scapegoats are frequent travelling companions in the literature. They were blamed in a 1931 article by Floyd Reeves and John Russell in their conceding that the "lesson-hearing and textbook type of instruction which has prevailed in colleges" provided little reason for a library operation program of the type they were plugging because "under such instructional methods little use is made of the library."

However, they said, there were (as they headed the section) "Newer Educational Movements Affecting the Library" afoot:

There are now underway certain fundamental changes in the nature of higher education which will undoubtedly result in marked modifications in the relationship of the library to the academic work of the college. The whole center of the academic life of the institution seems to be shifting from the classroom to the library....⁶⁸

and these "fundamental changes" were, of course, the movement away from the lecture and the textbook.

Sometimes one or the other alone was the target. Just about the same time, in 1927, Samuel Capen was announcing categorically that

the single textbook has given way to a wide range of reference materials [so that] it is obvious these changes have completely altered the position of the university or college library.⁶⁹

And in 1933 Charles Judd scoffed at the textbook and proclaimed that its time was done, being displaced by such "Improved Methods of Teaching" as "the library method."⁷⁰

Actually, the deathwatch over the despised textbook had begun

earlier. Librarian Melvil Dewey reported in 1886 to his president at Columbia that

the colleges are waking to the fact that the work of every professor and department is necessarily based on the library; textbooks are constantly yielding their exalted places to wider and broader methods.⁷¹

And librarian James Wyer, writing in 1928, said that "years ago at Harvard ... instructors began to discard the textbook and require more reading by their students";⁷² at the library, it goes without saying. In that same year, 1928, we find William Bishop writing that

modern college teaching is based upon the laboratory method. Instruction merely through recitations, lectures, and single textbooks is generally obsolete.... The laboratory method has captured teaching of collegiate grade. The social sciences and the humanities find their laboratories in the library.⁷³

And yet there is the anachronism of temporal plasticity. Many years later, in 1952, which is in the Tomorrow predicted by those Yesterdays, we find Sidney Mattis speaking of events having "made the college library the center of the curriculum," but of the "heyday of the single textbook and the ipse dixit lecture" as "while ... not completely past...."⁷⁴ But then there was librarian Robert Downs who, in his congressional committee testimonial for the Higher Education Act of 1965, warned that the anticipated "flood" of students might force colleges to "return to the old single-textbook plan for undergraduates," which can only be construed as meaning that he was saying it had been discarded long since.⁷⁵

So, what has really gone on? Is this wishful thinking? If the demise of the textbook and of the lecture were conditions precedent and necessary causes for the realization of the version of reality portrayed

by the CLD, and if these demises, these consignments to the ashheap of history, were certainties a full century ago, and if not were (in "kettle defense" style) happening all along the way, how can it be less certain more recently. Indeed, has it really happened yet? And if not, where does that leave the CLD?

The lecture: Did it (after the manner of Marx's prediction for the State), "wither away?" Not according to Arthur Levine, who in his Handbook On Undergraduate Curriculum says that

live courses--which involve two or more students, usually an instructor, and face to face meeting--constitute by far the most common and certainly the most stereotypic form of collegiate instruction

and that, for "live courses," two teaching methods predominate, one of which is the lecture.⁷⁶ And Ernest Boyer, writing in 1987 from the information base of even more recent Carnegie surveys than did Levine, says "today, the lecture method is preferred by most professors."⁷⁷ Boyer's tone creates the impression that it is still more tolerated than loved. But at least if it gets no panegyrics, it seems to need no requiem.

And the temporal plasticity over the lecture is an interesting case, serving to remind us of the transience of Fortune's favor and the fickle inconstancy of academic fashion. More to the point, it reminds us of how imprecise and inexact the higher education community is in what it says. For, according to the historians, this community, or factions thereof, attacked the lecture despite its appearing to have been one of the bright young faces of the "new university" and its ways; one of the "three new instructional techniques," reforms imported from the German University according to Brubacher and Rudy. But that depends upon where in Bru-

bacher and Rudy one is reading; because on pages 88-89 and again on page 264 we are told that "by the middle of the nineteenth century"--and hence before the putative zenith of German University influence--"lecture" was one of the "dominant modes" of "instruction in undergraduate classrooms," with a heritage reaching back, it seems, to the "medieval university." And yet when they come to tell us about "The Development of the Graduate School" (Chapter 9) the lecture now becomes "one of the three new instructional methods." Perhaps writers of the historical argument should be excused if they are sometimes inconsistent along with the writers of general higher education history from whom they uncritically lift materials for their arguments.

At any rate, if the lecture is supposed to have been withering away in favor of methods based upon the library operation program in the world of Today according to the pundits of Yesterday, how is it that in the arrived Tomorrow of so many others--Levine's, Boyer's, to say nothing of that of the two landmark studies of teaching methods, Robert Dubin and Thomas Taveggia in 1968⁷⁸ and Wilbert McKeachie in 1963 and again in 1980⁷⁹--the lecture is alive and well, even thriving? Or that Clifton Conrad could say in 1982 "lecture remains the most widely used method of instruction ...?"⁸⁰ Or that Kenneth Eble in 1972 would speak of the lecture (or at least "lecture-discussion") as "pervasive?"⁸¹ And these were all major overviews. If the lecture had been driven out and superseded in college education by methods centering on the college library operation, it would surely show up here. But it does not.

Or to return to the other half of the disapproved duo, the textbook. If it is long since supplanted, fallen into desuetude as predicted, how is it that in 1958 we find Edgar Dale talking, in a paper "New Techniques for Teaching," about how the textbook is "the most widely used teaching media [sic] in college," and about efforts at improving it?⁸² Or indeed, what about--almost literally Yesterday--H. Hahn's complaint in the Chronicle of Higher Education that the textbook--"the old workhorse"--is taking over?⁸³

Part of the inconsistency in this thread of the historical argument may issue from the woolliness of definition and lack of uniform usage of "textbook." The American Library Association's own A.L.A. Glossary of Library Terms tells us in some detail what a "thumb index" is, but the closest it comes to "textbook" is "Textbook edition. An edition published for the use of students."⁸⁴ This is circular, but in the circularity may in fact be the explanation. Being a "textbook" is not an innate quality, but rather is defined by how any book is used. This would certainly come nearer to common observation and experience, and would explain the obvious fact--anomalous in the "twilight of the textbook" scenario--of the vigorous life of college bookstores. These features of the campus landscape are certainly as ubiquitous as the library edifice, though less shrouded in mystique. Somewhere in each bookstore considerable space will be found to be given over to the stocking for student purchase of the "textbooks" required for each of the courses which build the curriculum, intended by the teachers as the basic pedagogical tools. And recognition of the circularity would also square with another historical phenomenon, or "change," about which the his-

torical argument is mostly silent ... the so-called paperback revolution. Many of the "textbooks" required for and used in courses, thus stocking the bookstores, are paperback editions.⁸⁵

Indeed, the collapse of the twilight of the textbook scenario is very damaging to the historical argument. According to the argument, "demands" made by changes in college education, changes such as the demise of the lecture and textbook, have been the engine driving the changes within the library, leading to the depiction of reality of the CLD. Samuel Capen, as we saw, spoke of "demands," as do others. The historical argument comes off sounding as though the college library evolved some sort of supply-side monopoly on books and reading in colleges. But all of the flourishing "textbook" and college bookstore life takes place quite independent of the college library operation, and would seem to diminish the "demands" argument.

Another source of confusion in this part of the historical argument is revealed through understanding the terminological imprecision of "textbook " and "original source." One of the alleged improvements in college education characterizing the sweeping changes wrought by "scholarship" and the "new teaching methods" (or else engendered as part of them; the relationships are not always the same, depending upon whose account it is) was the turning to and use of "original source material," or "original treatises," rather than the pedestrian "textbooks." "Original source material" always is uttered sanctimoniously. But what it likely comes down to, in actual practice, as against the solemn accounts in the literature, is almost certainly the college student in her undergraduate work--even in one of the myriad kinds of advanced, ac-

celerated, enriched, and otherwise elevated courses or programs--reading "original" texts or documents from a paperback edition designated as a required textbook by the professor, and student-bought at the bookstore. It seems pretty unlikely that such a student would be reading (say) Magna Carta or the Gilgamesh Epic from the original manuscript in the college library. "Original" is a word with more than one meaning.

And yet that multiplicity of meanings gets authors into trouble when they write about use of "original source material," and in so doing sound as though they actually mean the unlikely Magna Carta/Gilgamesh scenario. It was thus with R. Arragon, a Reed College professor writing about "The Relationship Between the Library and College Objectives." He was writing in 1954 about Reed's humanities course, which took the students to "primary materials"--Homer, Cervantes, Lucretius--apparently without himself realizing that in the nature of things he was speaking of modern critical editions of these authors, not "original" manuscripts or early printed books although his account would lead belief that way. Actually, his main theme was an argument that librarians ought to have a role better than one of providing "Textbooks" for the students' use (a minor and passé controversy in the library literature was over whether libraries ought to provide multiple copies of assigned books, yet another nuance of the circularity and imprecision of "textbook").⁸⁶ But then Arragon cancelled out his own argument anyway, by acknowledging, if only barely, that "many members of the class buy a considerable proportion of the works assigned."⁸⁷ In other words, they were "textbooks." We are left to wonder what then, indeed, Arragon saw the "relationship" to be.

Thus, the demise of the textbook and the lecture are fictions, myths, or propaganda, a reality created out of plastic time by those who simply disliked them as teaching methods, and by those who were advancing their own interests. This segment of the historical argument is the grinding of axes. But if the causal agents of the demise scenario that is pointed at by the writers of the historical argument did not behave (or simply may not have behaved) in the way in which we are told, this is enough to cast a reasonable doubt on the historical argument built upon the demise scenario. And that, as announced in Chapter I, is the test used here.

In addition to the library-based "new teaching methods" which were supposed to have driven out the textbook and lecture and replaced them, writers of the historical argument point to other changes and innovations in college education, ones supposedly hitting stride a little later in this century, as also driving the CLD. But this tack has to be balanced against such assessments as Arthur Levine's, that "since the first decade of this century, new methods of teaching have not been developed."⁸⁸

Reeves and Russell confidently enumerated some of these other changes and innovations in their article already noted; survey courses, honors courses, independent study, and tutorial.⁸⁹ Others add to the list such things as general education. Allowing for some variation, the list has been pretty stable: Years later, Guy Lyle repeated a similar one in historically arguing the CLD.⁹⁰ And additionally, one of Reeves and Russell's "Newer Educational Movements Affecting the Library" was the abandonment of "the traditional 'major and minor' in favor of a broader and more interdisciplinary 'field of concentration' plan."⁹¹

How is it, then, that "general education" has recently been characterized as "an idea in distress" by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, a "disaster area. It has been on the defensive and losing ground for more than 100 years."⁹² Would this not have to include the very period when its takeover was "affecting the library," creating the reality of the CLD?

And at the same time, according to Levine the "major or concentration is the dominant feature of undergraduate education today and ... probably the most successful part." He called attention to the 1976 Carnegie Council study which found that, if anything, the discipline--based major was becoming narrower and more time demanding.⁹³ Boyer's more recent Carnegie study found nothing to contradict this, although his analysis mixed in other issues.⁹⁴ And in 1985 the Project on Redefining the Meaning and Purpose of Baccalaureate Degrees of the Association of American Colleges kemoaned that "the undergraduate major ... everywhere predominates...."⁹⁵

It would not greatly strengthen the case to sort out and find the real story about each trend, fad, movement, or utopian panacea in the higher education literature that is supposed to have made the library the heart of the college. No one can ever really prove or disprove any of the testimonials or dicta claiming that they, or any one of them, were involved in bringing change that caused the CLD's version of reality. But we can make some judgments about whether these changes themselves amount to the claims made about them. If they do not, then it is reasonable to decide that argument grounded upon them is subject to reasonable doubt.

The Invisible College Library

Thus it is striking that the orthodoxy of college education, undergraduate instruction, of Today is rather quiet, or at least ambivalent, on the matter of the college library operation program; because this orthodoxy is the blend of all the reforms and changes of Yesterday, in all their entangled self-critiques, permutations and combinations, changing names for and perennial rediscovery of the same things.

University of Chicago Library School Dean Herman Fussler's summation captured this quiet, and admirably delineated the bootstrapping, Q.E.D. skein of assumptions on the one hand, and how little, on the other hand, of solid bases there are for the assumptions. He wrote that

the objectives, content, and methodology of undergraduate institutions have been the subject of close scrutiny and general controversy since the late 1920's and early 1930's. There were, of course, searching appraisals and profound changes in college education prior to this period; yet it seems possible to date the appearance of the current rather general concern with these problems from about this period. While there is still anything but unanimity on the nature of the four-year college curriculum, several rather clear patterns have emerged and are now fairly commonly known. Since most educational authorities, regardless of the particular course of action urged, have tended to assert that the library--if the library was recognized at all--was important to the college program, it seemed reasonable to assume that changes relating to such basic questions as the objectives, content, and methodology of the college might also lead to important changes in the college library. The effects, if any, of these basic curricular changes upon the college library have not been too well defined in the professional literature.⁹⁶

Fussler's concluding sentence is a little ambiguous: By "professional literature" did he mean the literature of professional librarians, or did he mean the higher education literature? If the former, then he probably would agree that (assuming the existence of these changes themselves,

whether well defined or not) the putative effects have indeed been alleged repeatedly therein.

But if Fussler meant instead the higher education literature, then he has supplied us with a crosscheck, and a shorthand term: "If the library has been 'recognized' at all...." The higher education literature is a place where it would be reasonable to expect to find the "recognition" in question, if anywhere. But what in point of fact we do find when we go there is just how seldom in the literature of college education, undergraduate instruction, anything is said about the library program existence, much less any state of affairs matching a characterization like that of the CLD.

Take the major overviews and syntheses of college education written the Today that is the Tomorrow of the Yesterdays. Some of these we have already heard testifying to the survival of the lecture. Clifton Conrad's paper "Undergraduate Education" is quiet about the library operation program.⁹⁷ Wilbert McKeachie was able to write a review article covering six years of abundant research literature on college education without reporting a mention of it, and followups by him are of the same result.⁹⁸ Similarly, Robert Dubin and Thomas Taveggia's monograph ignores the library operation program, despite the rich literary heritage of the College Library Doctrine, and the cardiac image.⁹⁹

Further, although "liberal education" usually means undergraduate education (although the converse may not always be true), Conrad and Wyer's overview of liberal education, integrating over two hundred writings many of which are themselves reviews in their own right, still did not find the library program "recognized" enough in any of them to

make it worth mentioning. This, despite the fact that the "transition" time of their title, and that their sources covered, included the very time of the putative "changes" of the historical argument.¹⁰⁰

And the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching's Missions of the College Curriculum was able to cover its closely related ground without "recognizing" the library. Even the heir to Missions, Levine's Handbook, devoted--and this in a volume of over five hundred pages exclusive of glossary and appendices--less than two pages to the library operation. And even that "recognition" is problematic, as will be seen later, in Chapter III.

How can it be, in what may be regarded collectively as the canon of undergraduate instruction or college education literature, that what the CLD says about the library operation program of colleges is scarcely even mentioned? This is contradictory. It certainly does appear that, to recall Fussler, "the effects, if any, have not been too well defined," to say the least.

And when, to continue with Fussler, "if it is recognized at all," it is thin. Take such a work, a landmark in its time, as Luella Coles' The Background of College Teaching, in which there are occasional passing mentions of the library operation--it is sketchy, but these could, probably, be called "recognitions"--despite the fact that the index did not seem to think they were sufficiently important to warrant indexing. That is how hard such "recognitions" are to find. (Interestingly, Coles did not sound the knell for either textbook or lecture, either objectively or wishfully: She simply dealt with them as part of the territory.)¹⁰¹

All in all, in clinching the case for reasonable doubt of the CLD on its very own historical principles, it is worth risking vulnerability to the accusation of arguing from negative evidence to pursue and stress the figurative absence of the college library operation from so many places expected, on the basis of the CLD; places in which we hypothesize that it ought to be found, places of which we must surely say, Here if anywhere. It is worth the risk because this absence actually instead is a form of positive evidence. It is evidence that the library operation is not found by many--many, that is, who are not librarians--to be what the CLD alleges. What it amounts to is a sort of measure of residual or inherent salience, as opposed to the situational salience of such situations as writing or speaking to librarian audiences, or using the library operation program as a stalking horse for a hidden personal agenda (like the death to the textbook/lecture group), or even the dicta resulting from the bias of habit and convention.

Treating absence of or lack of "recognition" as positive evidence employs one variety of the logic of proof forming hypothetico-deductive analysis, as represented by falsifiability¹⁰² or disconfirmation.¹⁰³ And scrutinizing those places where the CLD would make us expect to find its own confirmation, is a form of unobtrusive measure,¹⁰⁴ all of which form part of the conceptual basis of the analysis, as discussed in Chapter I. In other words, what would be the locations, based on the CLD, where we would expect to find the college library operation program acting as described; where would we hypothesize that it would be found? There are further places. In addition to the canon of writing on college teaching, already scrutinized, there are also periodic major and sweeping studies

of higher education, and some of the topical literature already seen forms a part of these studies. But they also go well beyond such individual topics, and ostensibly cover all other aspects of higher education.

Perhaps the most prominent, certainly the most familiar, of these global panoramas of U.S. higher education, is the vast outpouring of attention begun in 1967 by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, a creation of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. Lewis Mayhew said that "it represents the most comprehensive organized attempt ever made to portray the condition of higher education, to analyze its components."¹⁰⁵ Ellen Lagemann reminds us that one of the two basic orientations of the Commission was "quality," a theme we shall recall in Chapter V.¹⁰⁶ And yet a reading of the entire corpus of literature generated by the Commission's work, backed up by Mayhew's incomplete overview,¹⁰⁷ and by the likewise incomplete overview provided by the three volume summary report done by the Commission itself,¹⁰⁸ turns up only a few scattered references to the college library program. This certainly does not delineate anything looking like a "heart of the college."

But since even a bare mention holds the potential to make the literature confusing, let us examine more closely the mentions not already examined. Even these few consist of three problematic kinds. First, is exhortation to give more money (the intended source usually the federal government) to library operations. Second, there is the confused treatment found in Howard Bowen and Gordon Douglass's Efficiency in Liberal Education: A Study of Comparative Instructional Costs for

Different Ways of Organizing Teaching In a Liberal Arts College,¹⁰⁹ an earlier stage of Bowen's leading work The Costs of Higher Education,¹¹⁰ a line of thinking on his part marred by uncritical, Q.E.D. acceptance of the CLD, including such parts as the controversial "Clapp-Jordan Formula." It is further marred by Bowen's misplaced confidence in the notion of "quality," which caused him to be one the victims of the "Gourman Reports," over all of which there are their own reasonable doubts (see Chapter V below).

Third, consider the short notice in Roger Levien, ed., The Emerging Technology: Instructional Uses of the Computer in Higher Education.¹¹¹ In the paper "Administrative and Library Uses of the Computer" by Levien and C. Mossman, the library was mentioned, of course. But the geewhiz technology talked about there was not in place at the time it was written. Hence, it was all speculative and suppositious. And, as was clear even then, if only speculatively, and has become clear in the event, the technology really has mostly to do with library routines, e.g., administration and management, practices and procedures internal to and of concern to the librarians, but with no demonstrated connection to college education. Except for a Q.E.D. process, what assurances can we have that we are not being handed more of the same; "Today's Tomorrow," in the tradition of "Yesterday's Tomorrow," full of "potential" and so on? Actually, although it is too large an issue to dispose of here, this query is addressable to the whole "interface" between "information technology," the current fad of the library literature, and college education. There are only questions, one of which is expressed by another Carnegie work, Anthony Oettinger and Nikki Zapol's "Will Information

Technologies Help Learning?"¹¹² It remains to be seen. Furthermore, the very nature of "information" itself is problematic: What is the distinction, if any, between "knowledge" or "information," and "entertainment," when the periodical Knowledge Industry Publications covers commercial videocassette players, or "VCRs," whose market is overwhelmingly geared to entertainment? Tips such as this suggest that the other side of the equation is an unknown, too. Additionally, for all of the technology speculation and excitement, what about all those books-- around which the library operation program has historically been revolved? If there is a new technological order aborning, where do all of those space consuming books fit in? And, it is to be remembered, all of the things just pointed out have to do with the only "recognitions" to be found in the entire body of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education work.

The successor to the Carnegie Commission was the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education. In Ellen Lagemann's estimation,

if one considers the work of the two groups as continuous [it was] what may have been the longest and broadest survey of higher education ever undertaken in the United States.¹¹³

The Council worked from 1974 to 1980. A similar reading of its 15 "policy reports" and 38 "sponsored and technical reports," backed up by The Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education: A Summary of Reports and Recommendations¹¹⁴ leads to the same conclusion as with its predecessor. In this corpus of work, too, except for a couple of nonce references, the college library operation program never really goes beyond being a mere economic actor on the higher education stage, which is a far cry from being the heart of college instruction. In this

minimal role, moreover, it is always on the input side, an object of expenditure. Its outputs (if any), which ought to be the same as saying its part in teaching/learning, are not mentioned (a lack noted elsewhere in this analysis, especially in the Appendix). This has to be said even though Howard Bowen's The Costs of Higher Education is in this corpus of publication.

There were earlier, lesser, global and panoramic studies of U.S. higher education, in their own way, such as the one by the Commission on Financing Higher Education in the United States.¹¹⁵ Here, again, we find the same combination of Q.E.D. logic, and absorption with the library program role as an economic player; no "recognition" of role in college education. Nor is the library operation any more than a passing thought in such other comprehensive studies as those of the Assembly on University Goals and Governance¹¹⁶ or the Newman Report.¹¹⁷

Or let us consider a different sort of panorama (which could as well have been included along with Conrad and other writers in the earlier discussion), that provided by Walter Eells and others, College Teachers and College Teaching: An Annotated Bibliography, consisting of the main volume plus supplements.¹¹⁸ This work covered the literature of the period 1945-1967, giving over 7,000 annotated and cross referenced entries. Of these, only 88 were classified by the compilers as direct entries under "V. Teaching Methods - General, J. Library," with an additional 91 cross references. But even the papers making up these small numbers turn out, upon checking, to have been merely hortatory and polemical, i.e., tracts. They are not "research," but are instead, more of the same thing we keep finding. Further, even the few that are at

least descriptive of actual conditions turn out to have been about some totally sui generis institution such as Stephens College (see Chapter III), rather than a place in the main stream. And similarly, monographs looking at the same topic as does the bibliography--such as Robert Wilson, Jerry Gaff, and others, College Professors and Their Impact on Students¹¹⁹--make no discoverable mention of a library operation involvement in professors' teaching.

Finally, the picture that emerges of "recognition" looks the same whether the orientation is that of the status quo of higher education done panoramically, or a panorama of recommendation for reform of the status quo. The Education Commission of the States assigned Carol Boyer to analyze the recommendations for change of "several national commissions, task forces, and study groups." Boyer summarized five of them; and nothing in her summary, no matter how stretched, might be interpreted as "recognition."¹²⁰

We may summarize by noting that even when we more closely examine even those very few instances in which any--of all this vast outpouring of work--"recognizes" the college library operation program, such "recognition" is, at best, still problematic.

Fictional Questions

This section rotates the historical argument for the College Library Doctrine a few more degrees, to take another viewpoint. Explaining this viewpoint serves two purposes. It serves to throw light upon an underlying tension in writer attitudes between what they sometimes appear to realize, deep down, is "true," and what they would prefer to be "true"; and it thereby serves to help clarify an inconsistency in the literature

that makes it, otherwise, confusing. In doing so, this viewpoint takes a little different fix on ground already covered, ground that makes it properly part of the historical argument discussion, because it has steadily, over time, been part of the historical argument.

In the writings, the historical argument is usually accompanied, in "kettle defense" fashion, by a line of argument that provides an escape clause, so to speak, for the fictional or mythical accounts, the ones upon which the CLD relies. In one variation or another, suited to the particular angle of the account, this line of argument is pervasive, and will be seen recurrently in the following chapters. It is reasonable to see this line of argument as the attempt to rationalize away--for both the occupational community's shared beliefs, and for the rest of the world--unpalatable contradiction. It looks like trying to have things both ways.

Teasing out this line of argument reveals it to be, as logicians put it, a "case on two stools." The argument is split between them in hopes of covering all contingencies. But when we put them together, the CLD falls between the two stools, as the expression goes.

In this line of argument, that which we have hitherto been presented with as incontrovertible truth--the College Library Doctrine--is shifted to a provisional or conditional stance. The argument becomes "the CLD is descriptive of reality, an historical outcome; but if not, then it should be."¹²¹ Here manifest destiny or historical determinism are transformed into outright advocacy. This is as clear a demonstration of propaganda, it seems, as anyone could possibly require, and should go some distance

toward relieving uneasiness some readers might feel over calling "scholarly" writing "propaganda." Here we get the notion of "proper role."¹²²

This line of argument is a special case of arguing in the alternative, or "kettle defense," what Fischer called the "fallacy of fictional questions."¹²³ It is the process of reasoning that will produce such arguments as, But for A, then B, and, If only A, then B; such arguments as, But for demographics, Andorra would be a superpower like China, or in a folk expression, "If only a frog had wings, he would soar like an eagle." This is the world of Catch 22. The fictional questions line of argument has at least two related facets.

First, it makes the "potential" argument, which is hypothetical and suppositious. For instance, in a preemptive seizure of moral high ground, assertions are made of better effects and impacts (along with jeremiads over current ones) upon college students, and outcomes of higher education; if only teaching or curricular modes and methods utilizing the library (as the CLD elsewhere keeps saying already is being done) were enacted, unleashing the potential of what the librarians know the library operation has to offer. This is a tack familiar in everyday life, from consumer advertising, to the debates attempting to mold public opinion over proposed legislation. It bears some resemblance to the claims bandied by representatives of various academic fields and disciplines as they compete in the arena of policy opinion for market share in the curriculum ("Mathematics maketh the full man"); or advertisements for deodorant. The good, the "benefit," will without fail ensue, if done; or, conversely, if not done this or that harm will result--even if the harm is only the continuance of the status quo. The

logic is reminiscent of the "mental discipline" argument of the 1828 Yale Report. It is nearly unassailable, since the only way in which it can be possible to test the claim would be to do the very thing those making the claim in fact want done. And even then, the assignments of cause and effect would be problematic and controversial.

An example of the operation of this facet is the group of letters to the editor of the Chronicle of Higher Education, rejoinders to an earlier op ed piece appearing there. These letters were under the heading "Critical Thinking and the Role of the Library." One of the writers claimed that "what libraries do ... is to enliven the minds of students...."¹²⁴ Or similarly, another author elsewhere titled an article "Library Use and the Development of Critical Thought."¹²⁵

Assertions of assumption such as these, about benefits and effects of college education conducted as librarians believe and prescribe that it ought to be done, often are unilaterally and voluntarily attached by their writers to large trends and movements. A typical argument, frequently repeated in various ways, attaches to Robert Hutchins' "learning society" or "lifelong learning" notion, and similar notions.¹²⁶ It goes something like this: The world, knowledge (frequently reified, as in Knowledge Explosion) are changing at an increasing rate, with today's substantive knowledge ever more quickly obsolete. Therefore, an essential behavior modification for college students by their colleges is to alter them to "learn to learn." This is done--so the argument goes--by hinging college education on the library operation program. Indeed, sometimes this is given out as the only possible way. That is the unspoken premise of the Chronicle letter writers. But for their part,

the persons talking about the larger trends and movements seldom make such an association or "recognition."¹²⁷ It tends to be one-way.

The second facet is the dark side of this line of argument, and it contributes to making the literature even more confusing. Related behavior is common enough in the world of academe, where adherents of one school of thought duel with opponents in "pamphlet wars" in the pages of their specialist journals and occasionally beyond. The behavior is not limited to particular disciplines, but becomes especially clamorous in fields such as art history or hominid evolution. And in some disciplines-- especially but not exclusively economics--the behavior routinely seeks to influence policy at various levels.

Here, if it is conceded that despite the representations the CLD is really not descriptive of nor explanatory of empirical reality, then someone is to blame. Not only should it be, so it goes, but it would be, but for the error of others. Here are the aspersions, recriminations, ad hominem comment, unflattering innuendo, and badgering of other segments of the academic collegiality for not having done as the librarian segment believes they ought to have done, and keeps telling them to. In this particular context, disparagement is cast upon the "quality" of any college and its education from which the potential benefits of the library operation program are withheld.

An example is an article by Ralph Ellsworth, a frequently published librarian. It has to be pointed out that it appeared first in a state library association periodical, then was picked up by Library Journal, an uncritical weekly of news, opinion, and advertising, and hence escaped the customary screening of "scholarly" writing. Under its title "The

Contribution of the Library to Improving Instruction," Ellsworth wrote "the essence of this article is that librarians can make an important contribution to the improvement of instruction if...."

Ellsworth made two conditions. First, "if we can get the money to do the work we librarians know we should be doing," and second, "if the university academic leaders will do satisfactory academic planning, if faculties will update their teaching methods...." Earlier he had been saying such unflattering things as "some universities like their libraries weak and some like them strong," and "in a university where the spirit of inquiry is lively, the faculty will have abandoned the old lecture-textbook system of learning";¹²⁸ which, it will be recalled, is just what everyone since Melvil Dewey in 1886 keeps telling us is just around the corner, or even in a forward state of completion. Similarly, Sidney Mattis wrote in a far different medium--Educational Record--that

one of the continuing problems in college library work is the failure of the teaching faculty to fully accept the role of the college librarian as a functional member of the instructional staff.... From this basic difficulty stems many concomitant frustrations.... Most important, the unrealized potential integration of the library's contribution with the rest of the college's instructional program

and further on, wrote of "faculty carelessness in making assignments."¹²⁹ In other words, if we must recant the literal thrust of the CLD, and admit lack of "recognition," there is at least the refuge of the self-righteous rationalizations of the unrequited or jilted.

As usual, the literature is a little more confused by the presence of supportive dicta from persons outside the librarian interest group boundaries. Colorado College president Gresham Riley, in a paper he read before a library conference about what he thought the library operation

should be and do, went through the drill of "if onlys" and "but fors," admitted that indeed, if faculty members persisted in their wrong attitudes and practices, then regrettably "the library is not the heart of the university."¹³⁰

This dark side of the "fictional questions" fallacy line of argument also reveals another serious flaw. It is also a blind side. It reveals considerable naivete over the implications of organizational dynamics and governance processes in higher education. It espouses a simplistic and outdated view of organization which does not go beyond a unidimensional conceptualization of organizations as "integrated rational enterprises pursuing a common goal."¹³¹ Even if this naivete is a rhetorical pose, we are still entitled to hold it to literalness and ask, Are the administrators who are supposed apparently to mandate "recognition" of the "proper role" and "potential" of library operation programs in their colleges by some decree or executive order to their recalcitrant faculties, the same ones who function in (for instance) a setting of Cohen and March's celebrated "organized anarchy," with its "garbage can model of decision making?"¹³² Or in Roy's "unstable, disintegrated conglomeration?"¹³³ Are the faculty members, for their part, who are expected to mend their errant pedagogical ways the same ones who have internalized the fiercely protective academic ethos which sees each member of the professorate as holder and wielder of sovereign prerogatives, one of which is dominion over teaching, teaching methods, and curriculum--the bundle of powers usually called "academic policy?"¹³⁴ Actually, it may be well to back off somewhat on literal interpretations and strict construction here. It may be little more than a reflection of felt

subordinate position in the status and power hierarchy producing what sociologists refer to as "shaming behavior," which will be elaborated in Chapter VI.

Summary

To review the historical argument and summarize this chapter, neither as a totality in its parts can the historical argument be relied upon as support for the College Library Doctrine, because the argument is flawed history, itself riddled with reasonable doubt. There are simply too many things wrong with it. It is inconsistent. Although sometimes crosschecking is needed to tease out latent ones, just as often the contradictions are patent. Advocates contradict one another. They contradict themselves. Again and again, that which is said to have happened turns out to not really have happened at all. It is wishful thinking.¹³⁵ The reasonable doubt over the historical argument comes home to roost on the CLD itself.

Disarmingly, the literature taken at first impression and literally, at face value as "research" and "scholarship," is so plausible and convincing. When its flaws are explicated, we must wonder, then, how such things could be written. But if we step to one side and contemplate the literature of the historical argument instead as tracts, propaganda, and as myth and fiction, it all falls into place and makes sense.

In the Chapter IV what we might call a parallel history, or "historical antiargument" from the same librarian literature is unfolded. In Chapter III and V, a residue from the historical argument is disposed of.

Notes to Chapter II

1. Joan Burstyn, "History as Image: Changing the Lens," History of Education Quarterly 27 (1987) 167-180, at 167.
2. David Fischer, Historians' Fallacies, New York: Harper & Row, 1970, page 135.
3. Fischer, Historians' Fallacies, page 135.
4. Certainly those whose discipline is history are not immune, as Fischer showed, to the fallacy of presentism. In the matter at hand, two historians, coauthors of a book often cited in the historical argument--John Brubacher and Willis Rudy--committed it. Writing of the early colleges, they said "college libraries long suffered from stunted growth" (Higher Education in Transition, 3rd ed., New York: Harper & Row, 1976, page 97). Such loaded wording, suggesting as it does repression and unnaturalness, has as its unvoiced premise the undoubted subsequent growth. Hence, it really ought to read "stunted growth when compared with today." The same logic they used would equally produce such an assertion as "college and university administrative bureaucracies long suffered from stunted growth."
5. James Axtell, "The Death of the Liberal Arts College," History of Education Quarterly 11 (1971) 339-352, at 341. For a particularly exemplary exercise in presentist historiography, see Howard Clayton, "The American College Library," Journal of Library History 3 (1968) 120-137.
6. ACRL, College and Research Libraries News 36 (1975) 277-301, at 277. The most recent, viz. 1985, version of these "standards" has backed off from this. The draft reads "Libraries have long been considered an integral and essential part of the educational programs offered by colleges" ("Standards for College Libraries, 1985," College and Research Libraries News 46 (1985) 241-252, at 242). Beyond the fact, of which note is taken, that here is yet another expression of the CLD, the ACRL "Standards," especially the 1975 version, figure centrally in the Appendix below.
7. Louis Shores, Nashville: Peabody College, 1934, page ix. In general accord is Kenneth Brough, Scholars' Workshop: Evolving Conceptions of Library Service, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1953. The year 1876 is a recurrent watershed in the historical literature of librarians, and a few words of explanation may be in order. Efforts to discover its special significance to librarians; within that general class, to "academic" librarians; and to the historical argument, yielded a mixed bag. The date was, of course, the U.S. Centennial and thus a sort of generalized epochal marker. The special significance to the library profession seems to be that the celebration of the Centennial saw the U.S. Commissioner

of Education have his Bureau of Education prepare and issue the "special report" Public Libraries in the United States of America: Their History, Condition, and Management (Washington: GPO, 1876. See Francis Miksa, "The Making of the 1876 Special Report," Journal of Library History 8 (1973) 30-40). According to Miksa, part of the Commissioner's impulse stemmed from his known appreciation and concern for the "educational role of the public library" (page 32; emphasis supplied) and he was encouraged in the effort by correspondence with a group of mainly public librarians, who were generic library boosters. Therein lies a tale of its own--the historical belief by professional librarians in the indivisibility of their occupation. This matter keeps weaving in and out, and plays a central role in Chapter VI below, where it will be returned to. Relatedly, and proudly noted by every library historian, 1876 was the founding year of the umbrella national organization, the American Library Association (see Note 95 in Chapter I). Finally, another event of 1876 sedulously noted by the argument historians was the "launching" of the Johns Hopkins University. The significance of that event is taken up in this chapter.

8. Fischer, Historians' Fallacies, page 279.
9. John Thelin, Cambridge, MA: Schenkman, 1982.
10. Quoted in John Thelin, "Alma Mater, Lost and Found: The American Campus Restored, 1880 to 1930," William and Mary Alumni Gazette Magazine 50 (1983) 9-13, at 10.
11. Edward Holley, in Richard Johnson, ed., Libraries for Teaching, Libraries for Research, Chicago: American Library Association, 1977, pages 1-33, at 29.
12. Holley, "Academic Libraries in 1876," page 2.
13. Samuel Capen, Introduction, in George Works, College and University Library Problems: A Study of a Selected Group of Institutions Prepared for the Association of American Universities, Chicago: American Library Association, 1927, page v. This volume, for the record, is as good as an example as any of the chronic imprecision and terminological inexactitude over institutional type designations complained of in Chapter I--as the auspices of the study indicate--an imprecision which contaminates everything it touches. In this particular case, we have to ask what was meant by "college" here, and what the idea of "selection" was, when the study group consisted of the Universities of California, Cincinnati, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, North Carolina, Oregon, Iowa State, Columbia, Cornell, Rutgers, Stanford, Syracuse, Tulane, Yale, and Vassar and Oberlin. Of this list only Vassar and Oberlin are classified as "colleges" today, and there surely must have been noticeable differences then. All the rest were emergent universities. There are tricky hazards of one's own presentism here, but today even Oberlin is problematic, having caused the Carnegie Council to have

to wrestle with it: See its Three Thousand Futures, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1980, page 205. As for Capen's "demands," we will have occasion to return to this in Chapter IV.

14. Fischer, Historians' Fallacies, pages 150-156.
15. See, for instance, Arthur Hamlin, The University Library in the United States: Its Origins and Development, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981, pages 47-48:

Now, under the influence of the German model, research became a primary university imperative.... Thus the library gained increased recognition as essential to the new academic role. The phrase "heart of the university" came into vogue even on campuses where there was reluctance to give it the financial support essential to a strong and steady heartbeat.

16. That is, of course, a personal judgment. But, while Alain Touraine and Fritz Ringer, for example, make interpretations, the historians preferred by the library argument writers--such as Brubacher and Rudy--do not. They are more like the medieval chroniclers.
17. Abraham Flexner, Universities: English, American, German, New York: Oxford University Press, 1930, page 345.
18. See Charles McClelland, State, Society, and University in Germany 1700-1914, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980, especially parts II, III, and IV. On the great enrollment fluctuations both in the aggregate and in particular fields, see Konrad Jarausch, Students, Society, and Politics in Imperial Germany, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982, Chapter Two. See also the first two chapters of Fritz Ringer, The Decline of the German Mandarins: The German Academic Community, 1890-1933, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969. Among other disconfirming suggestions Ringer makes is that the German University, rather than having been a temple to the pure ideals of "research" and "inquiry" so often painted, especially by Americans on flights of fancy, was in fact a way station to career in the government bureaucracy, and that this greatly shaped its academic program; see pages 34-35. Further, the suitability of the German model to the social realities of American purposes seems more diminished by the related fact that it was the domain of a tiny self-perpetuating elite, the "non-entrepreneurial middle class," (page 38) which never really had an American counterpart, and which industrialization made increasingly anachronistic even in Germany itself. That is, the German University may have been out joint with its own time in its own place. Perhaps the best that can be said is Brubacher and Rudy's uncharacteristic insight that "Nineteenth century Americans were inclined to see in the German university what they wanted to see" (Higher Education in Transition, page 287). See also John Thelin's devastating echo of

Mark Twain, "Innocents Abroad: Americans Observe the German University," in his Higher Education and Its Useful Past, page 77-ff.

We must also consider (despite a possible "Boschophobe" bias) Alain Touraine's often overlooked insight:

Harvard, under Eliot, was soon to institute graduate studies and by the end of the century all the big universities, especially Chicago, Wisconsin, and Columbia, were following the German model. But this brief historical review is misleading. Those universities that remained most faithful to the German model, Johns Hopkins, and especially Clark, were soon to experience failures and even serious crises. Paradoxically, if we attribute a central role in the evolution of American universities to the German influence, those institutions were the only ones not to maintain their relative rank on the prestige scale. In fact, it is inaccurate to speak of a German model, for the German universities were too dependent on national conditions for their organization and their spirit to be successfully transposed to a very different society. What did come to the United States was something more limited: the professionalization of the teachers. And even this encountered serious obstacles in the United States (The Academic System in American Society, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974, pages 33-34).

19. Gordon Davies, "The Importance of Being General: Philosophy, Politics, and Institutional Mission Statements," in Higher Education: Handbook of Theory and Research, Vol. II, New York: Agathon Press, 1986, pages 85-102, at 85.
20. Hendrik Edelman and George Tatum, in Johnson, ed., Libraries for Teaching, Libraries for Research, pages 34-57, at 35; emphasis supplied. It may also be pointed out that they may be more wrong than ambiguous in what they say about the Ph.D. degree; which in German universities was not the utility teaching degree, or union card, that it became in American practice; see Jencks and Riesman, The Academic Revolution, New York: Doubleday, 1968.
21. See McClelland, State, Society, and University, Part I. Ringer, too, says that "throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the internal organization of Berlin University came to serve as a model for all German institutions of higher learning. As new universities were founded and as older ones moved or changed their statutes, the example of Berlin exerted a tremendous influence" (Decline, page 25). Berlin, not Gottingen. In fact, Ringer suggests that by the third quarter of the nineteenth century Gottingen had not only slipped in relative standing but had, along

with Halle, seen its arts faculty become mixed up in a scandal over being what might be called a diploma mill (pages 51-52).

22. J. Danton, Book Selection and Collections: A Comparison of German and American University Libraries, New York: Columbia University Press, 1963, page xx.
23. Hugh Hawkins, Pioneer: A History of the Johns Hopkins University, 1874-1889, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1960, page 16.
24. John Craig, Scholarship and Nation Building: The Universities of Strasbourg and Alsatian Society, 1870-1939, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984, page 100.
25. Edelman and Tatum, "Development of Collections," page 35.
26. Craig, Scholarship and Nation Building, page 60.
27. Edelman and Tatum, "Development of Collections," page 38.
28. Bowen's Law is a coinage here for the contribution of economist Howard Bowen, whose conclusion regarding institutional expenditure in academe may be expressed as being, that institutions simply spend all the money they can get their hands on. See his seminal The Costs of Higher Education: How Much Do Colleges and Universities Spend Per Student and How Much Should They Spend? (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1980), a study sponsored by the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education.
29. See also the discussion of library size below, in Chapter V, Note 7, and Chapter VI, Note 76.
30. On this see, for instance, Joseph Ben-David and Abraham Zloczower, "University and Academic Systems in Modern Societies," European Journal of Sociology 3 (1962) 45-48.
31. Danton, Book Selection, page 18.
32. McClelland, State, Society, and University, page 287.
33. Hamlin, The University Library, pages 22; 3; 49.
34. Paul Koda, "Justin Winsor," in Bohdan Wynar, ed., Dictionary of American Library Biography, Littleton, CO: Libraries Unlimited, 1978.
35. Robert Brundin, "Justin Winsor," in Robert Wedgworth, ed., ALA World Encyclopedia of Library and Information Science, Chicago: American Library Association, 1980.
36. Hamlin, The University Library, page 50.

37. Veysey, Emergence of the American University, page 96.
38. Louis Wilson, "The Use of the Library in Instruction," in Proceedings of the Institute for Administrative Officers of Higher Institutions, 1941, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942, pages 115-127. See also Chapter VI, below.
39. Guy Lyle, Administration, New York: H.W. Wilson Co., 1945 et seq.
40. Veysey, Emergence, pages 267-268.
41. Veysey, Emergence, page 341.
42. Fischer, Historians' Fallacies, pages 166-172.
43. Michael Freeman, "'The Simplicity of His Pragmatism': Librarians and Research," Library Journal 110 (May 15, 1985) 27-29. And see Note 71 in Chapter I above.
44. Hamlin, University Library, page 4. Additionally, the verso of the title page of Hamlin's own book states "the publication of this title has been partially supported by funds from the Samuel Paley Endowment Fund, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia, in recognition of the directorship, 1968-1979, of the author." While it would be a rash thing to argue that any and every writing published with subvention is automatically suspect, still, how is this not at least possibly a "vanity publication" or "sweetheart deal?" Certainly we have to wonder what kind of rigorous prepublication editorial or peer review such publications undergo. "Peers" in such a case would be outsiders to the library profession, historians specializing in the history of U.S. higher education, persons like Veysey, Axtell, or Thelin. Indeed, is there not something of an inconsistency in the library profession's own self-professed keen interest in the structure and process of the production of "scholarly" literature, while being possibly uncritical, undemanding, and indulgent when it comes to its own literature and how it is produced?

Or consider Barbara Moran's recent Academic Libraries: The Changing Knowledge Centers of Colleges and Universities (ASHE-ERIC/Higher Education Research Report, No. 8, Washington: Association for the Study of Higher Education, 1984). The brief historical background introduction is orthodox CLD historical argument, and eminently presentist. But the main point is that, as Jonathan Fife noted in his editorial Foreword, the author "reviews and synthesizes more than 180 publications that examine academic libraries." We cannot tell whether Fife meant to suggest that that made the monograph better and more authoritative than had there been only 178 or 179. But a scan of the list fails to reveal a single title that is not from within the cloisters of the "librarian literature."

And, even beyond that, is the issue of, What is "source material?" Most of the librarians' literature is of a type which scholarly

purists and handbooks on doing research would insist on designating "secondary works."

45. Axtell, "The Death of the Liberal Arts College," page 342.
46. Hugh Hawkins, "The University-Builders Observe the Colleges," History of Education Quarterly 11 (1971) 353-362, at 353.
47. Samuel Rothstein, The Development of Reference Services Through Academic Traditions, Public Library Practice, and Special Librarianship, Chicago: Association of College and Research Libraries, 1955, page 6.
48. Fischer, Historians' Fallacies, pages 45-47.
49. See the depiction of Eureka College in Gary Wills, Reagan's America: Innocents at Home, New York: Doubleday, 1987.
50. Ellen Lagemann, "The Politics of Knowledge: The Carnegie Corporation and the Formulation of Public Policy," History of Education Quarterly 27 (1987) 205-220. Lagemann's thesis is taken from her book, The Politics of Knowledge: A History of the Carnegie Corporation of New York (Middleton, CT: Westleyan University Press, forthcoming Spring 1988) upon which the article was based; and her Private Power for the Public Good: A History of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1983.
51. Mary-Claire van Leunen expressed the standard this way:

Scholarly writing is distinguished from all other kinds by its punctilious acknowledgement of sources. This acknowledgement is not just an empty form. For the reader, citation opens the door to further information and to independent judgment.... He can also judge for himself the use you've put your sources to.... Citations keep you honest.... (A Handbook for Scholars, New York: Alfred Knopf, 1978, page 9).
52. David Altheide and John Johnson, Bureaucratic Propaganda, Boston: Allyn and Unwin, 1980, page 165.
53. Fischer, Historians' Fallacies, pages 283-285; 302.
54. Greenberg's column was distributed nationally the middle of June, 1987.
55. Raphael Patai, The Arab Mind, New York: Scribners, 1973, page 51.
56. See Bruce Adams, "Yesterday's Tomorrows," America 12 (1984) 72-75.

57. Johnson, ed., Libraries for Teaching, Libraries for Research, page vii.
58. This is by James Wallace, and in on pages 157-167.
59. Johnson, ed., Libraries for ..., page vii.
60. Of these six, only Williams was classified as a "college" in either of the two editions of the Carnegie Classification (Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, A Classification of Institutions of Higher Education, Berkeley, CA: The Commission, 1973; Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, A Classification of Institutions of Higher Education, Berkeley, CA: The Council, 1976). Indeed, Pennsylvania, Princeton, and Wisconsin are all part of the most "university" of the Classification categories, Research University I.
61. Viz., William Budington, "To Enlarge the Sphere of Human Knowledge: The Role of Independent Research Libraries," pages 168-184.
62. Holley, "Academic Libraries in 1876," page 8.
63. Holley, "Academic Libraries ...," pages 43-44.
64. McElderry, "Readers and Resources ...," pages 58-70, at 59; emphasis supplied.
65. McElderry, "Readers and Resources," page 59.
66. Johnson, ed., Libraries for ..., page ix. In the interest of completeness, the remaining papers were: Helen Tuttle, "From Cutter to Computer: Technical Services in Academic and Research Libraries, 1876-1976"; Connie Dunlap, "Organizational Patterns in Academic Libraries, 1876-1976"; Robert Downs, "The Role of the Academic Librarian, 1876-1976"; Jerrold Orne, "Academic Library Buildings: A Century in Review"; James Wallace, noted above, on "two-year colleges"; David Weber, "A Century of Cooperative Programs Among Academic Libraries"; and Robert Vosper, "A Century Abroad." Note that although the "two-year college" got special treatment, nowhere does the college really fit in, but is treated as a tag-along of the university. In none of the papers was editor Johnson's promise made good.
67. Ernest Wilkins, The Changing College, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927, pages 109; 112; 67. The "lecture system" actually was beset by academic antagonists on a much broader front, well beyond the library movement and its clique, and libraries may have been simply a peripheral issue, a pawn or counter in this contest. Laurence Veysey described the contest and concluded "the combined effect of these three quite different pressures in challenging the lecture system was considerable, though, as we are aware, it by no means sufficed to end the domination of the lecture

as a classroom form ..." ("Stability and Experiment in the American Undergraduate Curriculum," in Carl Kaysen, ed., Content and Context: Essays on College Education, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973, pages 1-63, at 30). It is an open question over what cause was coopting which. But it may at least be suggested that the arguments of the CLD show an inclination toward buddying up with larger and more prominent movements and forces outside librarian territory. This may be interpreted as a sort of reflected legitimation, or convoy effect. Indeed, one could trace a history of librarian rhetoric by fads, from fad to fad. In earlier decades in this century, especially from the founding of the Graduate Library School at the University of Chicago in 1926, and on into the 1930s, being "scientific" was a la mode, and this echoes throughout the literature, although we get a flavor of what it really amounted to with the North Central Association's review of accreditation, in Chapter V below. Current fads are "information" and "automation."

Another fad echoing around in the historical argument literature is "efficiency." Wilkins' use of "efficient" makes this a good place to touch on this. "Efficiency" was a trendy notion in his era, and he thus identified himself with that branch of Whig interpretation of American education history which historian Colin Burke, in extending Axtell's work, has pegged as representing the infiltration of American education by the ideologies of the Progressive Movement and of the business world, embodied in the philosophy of Teachers College at Columbia, and in classical management theory, industrial psychology, and "scientific management" (see Chapter 1 of his American Collegiate Populations: A Test of the Traditional View, New York: New York University Press, 1982; see also Raymond Callahan, Education and the Cult of Efficiency, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962, cited by Burke; and Donald Wren, The Evolution of Management Thought, New York: Ronald Press, 1972, especially Chapters 6 and 7; see as well Gibson Burrell and Gareth Morgan, Sociological Paradigms and Organizational Analysis, London: Heinemann, 1979, pages 126 ff.; and Gareth Morgan, Images of Organization, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1986, pages 29-33).

The notion of "efficiency" lives on in higher education--still pursuing its poorly defined result, "outcome"--in the work of such economists as Howard Bowen; see his "Can Higher Education Become More Efficient?" Educational Record 53 (1972) 191-200, and The Costs of Higher Education, cited earlier. "Efficiency" has always drifted into being (whatever else) a buzzword, like "quality" or "excellence," which are taken up below in Chapter V. Interestingly, Bowen is one who brings them all together.

68. Floyd Reeves and John Russell, "The Relation of the College Library to Recent Movements in Higher Education," Library Quarterly 1 (1931) 57-66, at 58-59.

69. Capen, Introduction, Works, College and University Library Problems, page v.
70. Charles Judd, Recent Social Trends in the United States: Report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends, 2 vols., New York: McGraw-Hill, 1933, I, page 355.
71. Melvil Dewey, quoted in Julie Virgo, "Association of College and Research Libraries," in Bowker Annual of Library and Book Trade Information, 1979, pages 87-88, at 88.
72. James Wyer, A.L.A. Manual of Library Economy, 3rd ed., Chicago: American Library Association, 1928, page 17.
73. William Bishop, "The Contribution of the Library to College Teaching," Association of American Colleges Bulletin 14 (1928) 437-441, at 437.
74. Sidney Mattis, "The College Library and the Teaching Process," Journal of Higher Education 23 (1952) 313-318, at 313.
75. Robert Downs, in Higher Education Act of 1965. Hearings on H.R. 3220; [etc.] Before the House Special Subcommittee on Education of the House Committee on Education and Labor. 89th Cong., 1st Sess. (Feb. 1-5; [etc.], pages 364-368, at 366. Emphasis supplied.
76. Arthur Levine, Handbook, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1980, page 174.
77. Ernest Boyer, College: The Undergraduate Experience in America, New York: Harper & Row, 1987, page 174.
78. Robert Dubin and Thomas Taveggia, The Teaching-Learning Paradox, Eugene, OR: University of Oregon, 1968.
79. Wilbert McKeachie, "Research on Teaching at the College and University Level," in Nathaniel Gage, ed., Handbook of Research on Teaching, Chicago: Rand-McNally, 1963, pages 1118-1172; McKeachie, ed., Learning, Cognition, and College Teaching (New Directions for Teaching and Learning No. 2) San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1980.
80. Clifton Conrad, "Undergraduate Instruction," in Harold Mitzel, ed., Encyclopedia of Educational Research, 5th ed., New York: Macmillan, 1982, pages 1963-1973.
81. Kenneth Eble, Professors as Teachers, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1972, pages 3-4. Taking a cue from Eble's viewpoint by looking at the professorate as teachers also provides a check. Examination of the literature of teachers repeats the result of examination of the other parts of the college education model. When, for example, we examine the overviews of faculty evaluation, we do not find that anything like having made the students use the library in their

learning work has been an evaluation factor. About the closest thing to it may be review of course reading lists prepared by a faculty member and issued to her students; see Sidney Benton, Rating College Teaching: Criterion Validity Studies of Student Evaluation-of-Instruction Instruments. AAHE-ERIC/Higher Education Research Report No. 1, Washington: American Association for Higher Education, 1982. See also Note 33 in Chapter I, and Chapter IV, of this analysis.

82. Edgar Dale, in Russell Cooper, ed., The Two Ends of the Log: Teaching and Learning in Today's Colleges, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1958, page 2.
83. H. Hahn, "As Textbooks Replace Original Treatises, An Academic Gresham's Law Is At Work," Chronicle of Higher Education, Oct. 30, 1985, page 84.
84. A.L.A. Glossary, Chicago: American Library Association, 1943; 1971.
85. Laurence Veysey suggested that if what the historical argument claims happened to the "textbook" did in fact happen, it was because of "the paperback revolution of the 1950s." He does not mention the library operation either as a cause or as a replacement, or at all. ("Stability and Experiment," page 61).
86. Reeves and Russell, "The Relation," talk about this at pages 58-59, for example.
87. R. Arragon, in Herman Fussler, ed., The Function of the Library in the Modern College, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954, pages 10-21, at 13.
88. Levine, Handbook, page 173.
89. Reeves and Russell, "The Relation...."
90. Lyle, Administration, page 2.
91. Reeves and Russell, "The Relation ...," page 63.
92. Carnegie Foundation of the Advancement of Teaching, Missions of the College Curriculum, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1979, pages 164 ff.
93. Levine, Handbook, pages 28 ff.
94. Boyer, College, pages 102 ff.
95. Association of American Colleges, Integrity in the College Curriculum: A Report to the Academic Community, Washington: Association of American Colleges, 1985.

96. Herman Fussler, Introduction, in Fussler, ed., Function of the Library, page iv; emphasis supplied. Ambiguous or not, this seems to have been a temporary lapse from the orthodoxy of the CLD because at the end of the volume, his summation "Some Problems in College Librarianship" (pages 108-117) is largely a stock CLD testimonial. Later in his Introduction Fussler expressed his assurance that the papers he had edited in the volume "strongly confirm the view that the college is vital to American higher education," which conflicts with the thrust of what he had said in the passage quoted. Whether the papers do or not is debatable, but it is hard to argue with his comment that "further definition and clarification of function is likely to be desirable for some time to come."
97. Conrad, see Note 80 above.
98. McKeachie, see Note 79 above. The continuation to McKeachie's article is James Trent and Arthur Cohen, "Research on Teaching in Higher Education," pages 997-1071 in Robert Travers, ed., Second Handbook of Research on Teaching, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1973. There, about a page and a half were devoted to "Independent Study and Tutorials," where "library ... work" was mentioned once as possible, along with "laboratory or field work" (page 1030). But the latest in that chain of review articles--Michael Dunkin and Jennifer Barnes, "Research on Teaching in Higher Education," pages 754-777 in Merlin Wittrock, ed., Handbook of Research on Teaching, 3rd ed., New York: Macmillan, 1986--reverts to the previous silence over, or lack of "recognition" of, the library operation.
99. Dubin and Taveggia, see Note 78 above.
100. Clifton Conrad and Jean Wyer, Liberal Education in Transition, AAHE-ERIC/Higher Education Research Report No. 1, Washington: American Association for Higher Education, 1982.
101. Luella Coles, New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1940.
102. Karl Popper, Conjectures and Refutations: The Growth of Scientific Knowledge, 2nd ed., New York: Harper & Row, 1968.
103. Jean Dyer, Understanding and Evaluating Educational Research, Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1979, pages 29-30.
104. Eugene Webb, David Campbell, and L. Sechrist, Unobtrusive Measures: Non-Reactive Research in the Social Sciences, Chicago: Rand-McNally, 1966.
105. Lewis Mayhew, The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1974, page 7.
106. Lagemann, Private Power, page 122.
107. See Mayhew's comments on page viii.

108. These were Priorities for Action: Final Report of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education; and A Digest of Reports of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education; and Sponsored Research of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975, 1974, and 1975, respectively; incomplete, despite Clark Kerr's description of them indicating completeness in his Foreword to The Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education: A Summary of Reports and Recommendations, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1980.
109. Howard Bowen and Gordon Douglass, Efficiency, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971.
110. Howard Bowen, The Costs of Higher Education, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1980.
111. Roger Levien, ed., Emerging Technology, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972.
112. Anthony Oettinger and Nikki Zapol, in Kaysen, ed., Content and Context, pages 293-358.
113. Lagemann, Private Power, page 122.
114. See Note 108 above.
115. Commission on Financing, published as John Millett, Financing Higher Education in the United States, New York: Columbia University Press, 1952.
116. Assembly, published as The Assembly on University Goals and Governance, Cambridge, MA: Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1971; nor in the "Second Report" of the Assembly--in which editor Stephen Graubard recalled that "the Assembly's prospectus spoke of the need to study higher educational problems in the largest possible context" ("Thoughts on Higher Educational Purposes and Goals: A Memorandum," Daedalus: Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences 103 (Fall 1974); (Winter 1975), pages 1-11, at 1 of the former). In fact, the visibility of the library operation program throughout these panoramic studies of higher education is so low from any viewpoint other than as something on which money is spent that--to borrow an image for the section heading from the title of one of the Carnegie Commission studies--it is all but an "invisible" component.
117. Newman, published as Report on Higher Education, Washington: GPO, 1971.
118. Walter Eells and others, Atlanta: Southern Regional Education Board, 1957; Supplement, 1959; Second Supplement, 1962; Third Supplement, 1967.

119. Robert Wilson, Jerry Gaff, and others, New York: Wiley, 1975. Accord, Neal Whitman and Elaine Weiss, Faculty Evaluation: The Use of Explicit Criteria for Promotion, Retention, and Tenure. AAHE-ERIC/Higher Education Research Report No. 2, 1982, Washington: American Association for Higher Education, 1982.
120. Carol Boyer, Five Reports: Summary of the Recommendations of Recent Commission Reports on Improving Undergraduate Education, Denver: Education Commission of the States, 1985.
121. Although the analogy has its weaknesses, this could be called the "Say It Ain't So, Joe" vocalization, after the Black Sox Scandal in the 1919 World Series when, according to the Encyclopedia Americana, "a boy who idolized ['Shoeless Joe' (Joseph Jefferson)] Jackson heard the charges against him, the boy tugged tearfully at the sleeve of his hero and exclaimed 'Say it ain't so, Joe.'"
122. See Robert Downs, Strengthening and Improving Library Resources for Southern Higher Education, Atlanta: Southern Regional Education Board (SREB Monograph No. 3) 1962, page 2. Downs is used here as the type, but the idea and phrase are widespread.
123. Fischer, Historian's Fallacies, pages 15-21.
124. Peter Wood, "To the Editor" (Nov. 16, 1983) 31.
125. Stephen Plum, in Thomas Kirk, ed., Increasing the Teaching Role of Academic Libraries, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1984 (New Directions for Teaching and Learning No. 18) 24-34. Likewise, in the same volume, John Tucker urged that since Ralph Waldo Emerson had defined the meaning of being liberally educated--for which on his infallible authority the college library was what the CLD says--therefore colleges by definition cannot produce "library educated" graduates without it. Pieces like this one are a part of one of the library profession's more recent self-issued calls, "Bibliographic Instruction." This is returned to in Chapter III below.
126. Robert Hutchins, The Learning Society, New York: Praeger, 1968.
127. This line of argument appears as a broad and diffuse form of occupational paranoia ("They are talking about us again") that goes along with such actions as laundering or cooking citations, or bootstrapping them. In this, librarian writers will take a paper in higher education literature such as Derek Bok's "On the Purposes of Undergraduate Education" in Daedalus (see Note 116 above) and refer to it and cite it in such a way as to make it appear that the author's use of phrases such as "Acquiring information and knowledge," "Acquiring Skills and Habits of Thought," "Learning How to Learn," "Developing Qualities of Mind," and so forth is referring to them somehow; when in fact the author was not saying anything at all about library operation programs, even in codes or winks and nods. This mode of thought--the attribution to an author of intent and

meaning he may not have had the slightest thought of--is simply putting words in the mouths of others. Perhaps the wish is father of the thought, the idea that the author should intended so and meant so, and would have said so, but for the fact that he did not.

128. Ralph Ellsworth, Library Journal, 94 (May 15, 1969) 1055-1057. Reeves and Russell, in the paper cited above, set up a discussion in which the colleges not doing as they advocated were "weak," or "weaker," while those of which they approved were "stronger," "better."
129. Sidney Mattis, "The College Library and the Teaching Process," pages 313; 317.
130. Gresham Riley, "Myths and Realities: The Academic Viewpoint II," College and Research Libraries 45 (1984) 367-369.
131. Gareth Morgan, Images of Organization, page 154.
132. Michael Cohen and James March, Leadership and Ambiguity: The American College President, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974; or perhaps even better, the "funny soccer game" metaphor of March and P. Romelaer cited by March in his "Emerging Developments in the Study of Organizations," Review of Higher Education 6 (1982) 1-18, at 5.
133. Robert Roy, The Cultures of Management, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1979, pages 88-89.
134. As in the classic treatment by Jencks and Riesman in The Academic Revolution. It is recent recognition of this very faculty hegemony over educational policy--"absolute authority over such matters as grading, teaching methods, graduation requirements ... matriculation requirements, curriculum, academic calendars," and so forth that formed the basis of a landmark National Labor Relations Board ruling, reaffirming its previous rulings on the same grounds; see Chronicle of Higher Education (Oct. 8, 1986) 13; 18; emphasis supplied. The point is that if "faculties" have ignored and ignore the eager importunities of librarians, that's the way it is. See also Chapter VI below.
135. And it may be no more than to discover that the librarian "occupational culture" produces

an unavoidable feature of organizational life--ethnocentrism--an assumption that those inside behave in the proper and desirable manner, that they can judge other cultures by their standards, that obviously they are right and proper. (Harrison Trice, "Rites and Ceremonials in Organizational Culture," in Samuel Bacharach and Stephen Mitchell, eds., Research in the Sociology of Organizations,

Greenwich, CT: Jai Press, Inc., 1985, vol. 4, pages
221-270, at 225).

Segmentation of organization structure leads to "bounded rationality."

CHAPTER III

CONTRARY CASES?

The previous chapter tried to show that, although an argument predicated upon a plausible account of historical developments and events forms a major part of the backing for the College Library Doctrine (CLD), the argument is subject to reasonable doubt because the historical account itself is doubtful. Its developments and events are fictional. And, when the core literature of colleges and college education is examined, "recognition" (to use Herman Fussler's convenient shorthand rubric from the previous chapter) of any such role played by the college library operation program as the one represented by the CLD is, despite the assurances of writers, curiously absent.

But there are loose ends left over from exposing the dubiousness of the historical argument in its various branches. A bundle of these loose ends is made up of appearances in the literature written by librarians, of descriptions of an interrelated grouping of model institutions and programs. These descriptions are made in such a way as to make it appear that, regardless of all else, the claims of the CLD are made good at least there. Hence, these appearances in the literature could cause a stranger to the literatures and arenas of this policy analysis, coming across one or more of them cold, at random, and without a clarifying context such as this policy analysis, to be misled. Such a stranger could read the arguments of Chapter II and yet still experience reservations, asking, Well and good, but what of this or that program of which one reads? Thus, even though these model institutions and programs are quite clearly not "main current" ones, as that test was set in Chapter I,

and even though upon closer examination they are largely curiosities and sometimes more clearly resemble cults than anything else, the fact that accounts of them turn up in the literature written by and for librarians, and thence out into the college education literature, requires that they be dealt with here. No claim is made that all of them are included.

The "Library-College"

The topical area going under this name will turn up if one applies to a search of the higher education literature the simple three part model of college education--students, teaching, curriculum--presented in Chapter I. Through one or more of these avenues, the searcher will be led to such writings as Arthur Levine's monumental Handbook on College Curriculum. Now in Chapter II it was noted that Levine made virtually no "recognition" at all of the college library operation, and that moreover a good portion of even the slight mention he did make is mainly an oddity. Specifically, that is his inclusion of the "library-college." What he wrote is that

John Hostrop (1971) believes that in the future institutions of higher education need to become "library-colleges," institutions that build instruction about the model of a library such that the faculty will act principally as resource guides and managers. In such a college, the library will serve as a computer center, media center, and an institutional research center. It will offer prepackaged courses students can use when they choose; instructional research media such as audio-tutorial laboratories, radio, television, computers, video tapes, microfilm and microfiche collections, and programmed materials; and specialists in information, learning and media.¹

There is a double oddity here; both that of the "Library-College Concept," as it is often called, itself, as well as Levine's introduction of it into his discussion. His choice of representative through which to do

so is not the least of the oddity. There are certainly more definitive statements and expositions of the "library-college" credo to be found than Richard (not John) Hostrop's, ones made by figures more central to the interest group. Indeed, Hostrop's rather low powered testimonial actually had as its main theme "self-paced independent study," which he thought could best be implemented by a merger of roles, "each teacher being a librarian and each librarian a teacher."² Hostrop's picture of the physical embodiment of all this was a heavily media-dominated one. In fact, people writing in and around library-college and related topics are often all-out media fans, denigrating what they disparagingly call "'print' traditionalists"; despite the reality that such holdings form the vast bulk of materials housed in the library facilities-in-being. This alone would raise a suspicion of the "library-college" insiders as an axe-grinding fringe group. So that, but for the fact that his paper appeared in the house organ of the "Library-College Concept," Library-College Journal, it is not significantly different from dozens or even hundreds of other pro-"educational technology" pieces in the ed tech lobby's own special interest press and elsewhere. Or, for that matter, is it different from the utterance of similar convictions in such journals of higher education opinion as Improving College and University Teaching.

What Levine says and the way he says it at least leave little room for doubt that Hostrop's article is a manifesto rather than a description of anything in existence; a speculative scenario. ("Yesterday's Tomorrows" current sequel "Today's Tomorrows?") Actually, it overrates it even to call it "futurist," since most of the individual pieces of Hostrop's

platform--computers, microforms, and so on--were old stuff one place or another even as he wrote. What is futurist about it is mainly the mixture and totality of synthesis of parts in the "library-college." We learn elsewhere in the literature about it that under its regime distinctions between library and classroom, librarian and professor would vanish, and this extreme may be said to be the distinguishing identifier of "library-college" tenets among the other, similar appearing commonplaces. It may also be said that there is good reason to suspect a large element of front work here related to the librarian status problem, which is enlarged upon in Chapter VI.

Toward the end of his "recognition," Levine suggested that if all the great potential offered by the "library college" never came to pass, or was slow to do so, the explanation could only be that economic factors obstructed it. This suggests that Levine may have unwittingly bought into a familiar refrain in writings by librarians which we have heard earlier, in Chapter II, the "fictional questions" matter. Surely Levine must have recognized, even if librarian writers do not, the naivete of disregarding the strength of existing power balances and entrenched power blocs ... such as a professoriate which might have its own ideas about homogenization with librarians.

And yet, Levine's treatment of such a minor paper as Hostrop's on such a fringe topic as "library-college" and inclusion of it in a work of such visibility and prominence, written as it was by one of the foremost authors in higher education, confers upon the topic an exposure and a seeming importance all out of proportion. "Library-college" is there, occupying space in the only three pages touching upon--"recognizing"--the

library operation in a book of over six hundred pages; a book venturing to cover the entire spectrum of the college curriculum and spilling over into teaching as well. This visibility and prominence thus provided, along with such things as the name's catchy ring, dictate that the "library-college movement" be looked at more closely.

The "Library-College Movement" has been a cause, in a profession inclined to the championing of causes, as seen elsewhere here. To appreciate to just what an extent it has been, and yet how little real substance there has been to it, it is necessary to turn (necessary because neither Levine nor Hostrop gave much depth) to the leading work, Gloria Terwilliger's 1975 dissertation "The Library-College: A Movement for Experimental and Innovative Learning Concepts; Applications and Innovations in Higher Education."³ In this definitive work Terwilliger appears in the roles of both interpreter and disciple, describer and apologist. Her skewed objectivity illuminates the subject from revealing angles. Terwilliger found the beginning where the

idea of library-college was first proposed at the 1934 annual meeting of the American Library Association by Louis Shores, who described a "library-arts college" ... at that time Shores predicted that the education of the future would be centered in the library.⁴

Shores followed up his proposal and prediction with an article the next year titled "The Library-Arts College, a Possibility in 1954?"⁵ His rhetorical question may have been answered by such later echoes as Helen Sheehan's 1969 article "Library-College Idea: Trend of the Future?"⁶ which invites comparison with the putative "inevitability" in Shore's diehard 1966 article "Library-College Idea: The Inevitable Culmination of the Independent Study Movement."⁷ The phenomenon introduced in

Chapter II, of temporal plasticity or achronism, would seem to be at work here too.

The term "library-college" itself Terwilliger credits to a paper delivered in 1963. This was at a meeting of representatives of small colleges, "nineteen participants, including administrators, faculty, and librarians with a common interest in experimentation toward an ideal college." The paper's author supposedly arrived independently at, and revived, Shores' old "library-arts college" idea.⁸

The flood tide of excitement over the "library-college concept" may well have been around 1965. That was the year of the Jamestown College Workshop in North Dakota. The college was planning a new library edifice, and its president invited to a conference persons who had appeared in the literature as "library-college" enthusiasts to "develop in moderate detail an ideal design for a library-college applicable to an independent four-year liberal arts college."⁹ The participants are reported as having departed inspired, although some of them grumbled about the low level of interest or involvement on the part of the Jamestown College faculty itself, and the resultant high proportion of librarians in attendance: "We have been holding conversations among the already converted...."¹⁰ The upshot was that nothing concrete seems to ever have come of the concept even at host Jamestown College itself, only an era of good feelings. As Terwilliger put it, "the dream of a library-college at Jamestown did not achieve fulfillment."¹¹

After that event, the movement's fortunes were mixed. It got bad news in the shape of an indifferent reception of its dream at a "Conference on Innovation in Higher Education" held at Magnolia, Mas-

sachusetts under the auspices of the Union for Research and Experimentation in Higher Education (later to be known as the Union for Experimenting Colleges and Universities). But there was good news in that the dream was generating still more meetings, gaining visibility, attracting new adherents. And it was being copiously written up by the adherents, a spate of paper activity culminating in the coalescence in 1967 of a formal interest group calling itself the "Library-College Associates," with a regular publication, the organ begun as Library-College Newsletter (1968), changed in title to Library-College Journal (as it was when Levine's hurried glance found Hostrop in it), finally called (by the rather misleading and overblown title) Learning Today.

"Where are they now" as the saying goes? The Encyclopedia of Associations indicates that as of just recently the Associates still were in existence. Learning Today is still being published. And a check of the indexing tool Library Literature under its heading "Library College Concept" for the period between 1975 (Terwilliger's dissertation) and the present reveals some publishing activity, albeit apparently dwindling. There were no entries for 1985. Most of the post-1975 entries were from Learning Today, or from such peripheral publications as state library association bulletins. Most of the papers were written by authors identifiable as movement regulars ... the "already converted."

If we step outside the librarian pale and look for a presence of "library-college" in the wider world of higher education, via the literature indexing tool CIJE for the same timespan, its heading "library-college concept" yields few entries. Even these are again overwhelmingly from Learning Today. And CIJE missed a couple that Library Literature

picked up, which might be either a comparative measure of indexing thoroughness, or of interest in the topic beyond library circles. Certainly the literature profile does not show "library-college" to be a "megatrend."

Not that everyone has ever thought that it was one. Fay Blake, in 1970, wrote that "although the Library-College idea has been in existence for over thirty years, it has not really taken hold," and spoke of the absence of implementation.¹² Even Terwilliger delicately conceded that

the lack of both a theoretical model and an operational definition of the term have presented difficulties ... in determining progress in implementation of the concept

and farther on wrote "to date no model of a library-college has been implemented and tested."¹³

What does it all amount to in concrete terms? Quite little. These are utopian dreams and schemes, and in such imaginings--fictions of a special kind--it is hard to grip and sort out influences. Occasionally the enthusiasts wax mystical and claim to find the "library-college" preternaturally omnipresent in spirit and prospect. This, in a way reminiscent of the egocentric inclination to suppose that whenever writers talk about such things as "lifelong learning" they really mean "libraries" seen in Chapter II, the enthusiasts appear to hear "library-college" when someone speaks of a wide array of topics. But these are topics having lives of their own: innovation, experimentation, instructional technology, educational media, independent study, student-centered education, improving college education, and the future in general. This has led to such embarrassments as Terwilliger's doubtless unintentional parody of Scripture, "in the Dallas Public Library the library is a

college. Wherever the resources are used in conjunction with learning, there is a library-college."¹⁴

Taken at whole face value, "library-college" seems to be a radical notion descriptive of nothing short of a total transfiguration of college organization. The reality, however, seems to be much closer to Terwilliger's rather enervated summation that "library-college has become an accepted theme in the literature, generally implying innovative practices related to libraries and academic learning."¹⁵ This is at once a great deal more and a great deal less than a literal interpretation of what the advocates of "library college" would lead us to expect from their writings. Indeed, it is hard to find anything more than the suspicion that it has "become an accepted theme in the literature" simply because its adherents have frequently written about it.

The "Wakulla Springs Conference"

Joseph Axelrod, in a 1966 paper "New Patterns of Organization" in Logan Wilson's Emerging Patterns in American Higher Education, talked about a 1964 conference on "the experimental college" sponsored by Florida State University, and held at Wakulla Springs, Florida. Ten other institutions were represented: Antioch, University of California/-Santa Cruz's Cowell College, Florida Presbyterian, University of Michigan's Dearborn Campus, Michigan State's Oakland Community College, New College at Sarasota, University of the Pacific's Raymond College, Parsons, Stephens and Monteith College of Wayne State University. Again, as with Levine and the "library-college," the prominence of place of mention warrants a closer look.

Axelrod said that the Wakulla Springs group found themselves to be kindred spirits on several counts, one of which was that they "gave the library a central and unusually important role in the educative process," although he never said just exactly how.¹⁶ One kinship he did not mention was that the Wakulla Springs Conference is linked with the "Library-College Concept." According to Terwilliger, some of the same players figured in both. Further, one of the chief proponents of "library-college" went so far as to identify the Conference, and not Shores in 1934, or the 1963 conference, or the Jamestown College Workshop as the spiritual origin, the epiphany, of the "library-college idea" as well.¹⁷

Unfortunately, the particular account of the Conference that caught Axelrod's eye as well as contemporary accounts of most of the individual institutions seem to have drifted off into the oblivion of unavailability that was the fate of so much marginal publication in those days before the ERIC system. Consequently, about all that we have to work with is a hypothesis that if, as Axelrod seemed to be implying, the library operation program role was very close to all those things that CLD says of it, at the Conference participant institutions around 1964, this condition may have withstood the test of time. It may have moved, there at least, from the status of "experimental" and unusual into the institutionalized and routine main stream. This, of course, is where the CLD says it has been all along, generally. It would be important to find this to be the case even if only at these institutions, because it would be evidence that the CLD state can be both natural and durable, even if in doing so it shows the CLD to have been premature and overstated.

Perhaps the best way to test this hypothesis is to look at each institution's current published descriptions of itself, the logic being that the institution should be self-conscious about having been different and breaking new ground then, which might have entered its saga ... a pride of having pioneered. (Stephens and Monteith, two of the number, are special cases and will be dealt with separately.)

For the remaining ones, resort to the standard reference works, namely Peterson's Guide to Four-Year Colleges (15th edition), the College Blue Book: Narrative Descriptions (12th edition), and the American Council on Education's American Universities and Colleges should tell us enough; sort of "unobtrusive measures." Some of these reference works have separate sections in which "special programs" as identified by the respondent institutions are elaborated at greater length.

What we find are, inevitably, changes. Even the institutions themselves had limited durability. There are new names for old units, new organization, and a disappearance. After all, five of these were, as Axelrod pointed out, "experimental entities within larger institutions," and at the Conference itself "there was a general recognition that the experimental college is and must be in a constant state of flux and change."¹⁸ But even in none of the descriptions of the surviving institutional entities, traceable as continuations of the Wakulla Springs Conference schools, was the library operation program described in such a way as to match up with Axelrod's "a central and unusually important role in the educative process." For example, New College was said (College Blue Book) to have "a unique educational philosophy," a "flexible contract system," and "independent study"; but there is no mention of a

part played by the library operation. University of California/Santa Cruz (its Cowell College seems to have been reabsorbed) was said (Peter-son's Guide) to have

besides traditional forms of instruction (lecture, seminar, studio, laboratory work, or field work) ... individual study designed by the student, seminars developed and taught by upper-division and graduate students under faculty guidance, credit by petition, and because of the relatively small number of graduate students, participation in faculty research.¹⁹

So at least some of the institutions like to think of themselves as being distinctive. Surely in such rundowns as these we would find mention of what we might call a "Wakulla Springs tradition" in terms of library operation program. But no. Not only is the library operation program not "recognized" as an innovation or a difference, it also not mentioned under conventional forms either, although its traditional alter ego the "laboratory" is. Rather, the only mentions of their library operations in those Wakulla Springs successors surviving in identifiable form are the stock descriptions of size, and so forth ... the old chestnuts of institutional sketches, a matter taken up in Chapter V.

It might be rejoined that the silence is due to the library operation program role simply having become, by virtue of having moved into the mainstream of these institutions, so unremarkable that no one remarks about it. If so, we would find ourselves ensnared by the convoluted logic of the nursery rhyme: "As I was going up the stair/I met a man who wasn't there./He wasn't there again today...."

The "Monteith College Library Experiment"

Monteith College of Wayne State University, an "experimental" unit itself, was one of the Wakulla Springs Conference participants, in the

person of its activist librarian Patricia Knapp, whose name also appears frequently in "library-college" affairs. The "library experiment" for which Monteith was the setting was thus--taken literally--an experiment within an experiment. The heading of this section is taken from Knapp's 1966 monograph about the "experiment."

The "Library Experiment," or "Monteith Library Project" as it was called alternatively, began in 1960 and ran for two years, supplied with U.S. Office of Education funding. It described itself as "a research project concerned with exploring methods of developing a more vital relationship between the library and college teaching" (apparently something like what the CLD says already existed) and the education background was "independent study" and "general education," so it was said.²⁰ Although Knapp's account is widely and frequently cited in the librarian literature, by itself, always as though it somehow proved something important about a connection between library operations and college education, in actuality the crux of the "project" was a structured sequence of library use instruction. This self-centered library instruction emphasis thus ties it in to the topic of "Bibliographic Instruction," dealt with below.

A lens through which to size up this happening is a sort of "internal/external validity" notion. The internal view can work because--unlike the case with so many of these projects about which the citers give us hints but which are seldom written up and consequently float about in the literature as disembodied allusions--here we have Knapp's monograph at which to look. What we look at are Knapp's descriptions at length of the "experiment's" purposes and assumptions, which provide our

working material. We work within the four corners of the document, as lawyers put it.

Applying the "internal validity" lens to what appears to be going forth as (if we are going to try to attempt categorization) clinical research, it is immediately evident that there are some serious flaws to it, obstacles to acceptance of it on those terms. Foremost is the fact that the starting point was not a research question at all, but instead a preconception. Here is yet another case of apriorism. Put differently, the CLD itself essentially was the point of departure. This is best seen in Knapp's own words:

The proposal for the study cited evidence in research literature to support the contention that:

Traditional college instruction fails to exploit fully the library resources available for it and that the average college student's experiences with the library constitute a limited and fairly insignificant part of his education.

We felt that this was a problem of special concern at the present time because of the "current emphasis upon independent study ... since it is certainly reasonable to assume that capacity for independent study implies competence in the use of books and other library resources."

The objectives of the project were stated as follows:

The ultimate purpose of the Monteith Library Program is to stimulate and guide students in developing sophisticated understanding of the library and increasing competence in its use. To achieve this end, it proposes to provide students with experiences which are functionally related to their course work. Planning such experiences will involve library instructional coordination on an unprecedented scale. The specific objectives of the first phase of the Program, the pilot project, therefore, are (1) an appraisal of the structure established for the purpose of attaining this coordination, (2) an exploration of new methods of relating the library to the instructional program, and (3) a preliminary assessment of the effectiveness of those methods.²¹

Translating this from the bureaucratese and giving it a strict and skeptical interpretation, it is clear that what Knapp was saying was a de facto admission that the CLD version of reality is erroneous, but that here was an attempt to change all that by hitching on to a currently fashionable catch phrase. It is simply one more variation of the kettle defense and the fictional question--from Chapter II--all over again.

Now it would be an exaggeration to call Monteith "research," in the usual acceptance of the term, despite some attempt in a passage later on from the quoted one, to create the form and appearance of a research design. Judgment on the results was not open. There was no suspense. Of course positive results were "found." The start and the finish were the same point: There was no objectivity. The "investigators" evaluated their own efforts, and this is one of the indictments leveled at the whole pretense of "research" in the literature of librarianship by Michael Freeman. His exact application was to "Bibliographic Instruction," (BI) about which more directly, but his charge that "those who determine the success or failure of programs are the evaluators, not researchers independent of the specific context," a manifestation of an inclination to prefer "glad tidings and testimony" over "research," which is applicable to cases such as this as well.²² There is a legal maxim: Nemo debet esse iudex in propria causa--"No one ought to be a judge in his own case."

Therefore, and actually, instead of being an experiment, even in a somewhat less rigorous "clinical" mode, the Monteith "experiment" comes closer to accuracy when it calls itself, here and there, a "program" or "project." It might as well have called itself a "demonstration;" in the

workings of federally sponsored activities the "demonstration project" is a standard type, where the idea is to develop a clientele such that the activity can be routinized, and this was such an activity. So it demonstrated success, of course, and lives on in the literature as a success. By its very own terms and upon its own admission, it demonstrated a belief, an assumption, it worked with position statements instead of hypotheses, and it found what it wanted.²³

Let us turn to the other lens, the "external validity" notion. Here we step outside the four corners of the report document itself, to do cross checking. This is a little hard to do directly, in the way done with some of the other Wakulla Springs Conference schools, in that Monteith itself has been reabsorbed into the parent entity, Wayne State, and carries on no individual identity. Fortunately, contemporaneously and retrospectively Monteith College attracted attention, and we turn to the documents generated by that attention to seek the "experiment" significance.

Leslie Hanawalt, an English professor at Wayne State connected with its library operation by virtue of committee work, wrote the centennial history of the university in 1968. He seems to suggest that Monteith had been still extant until just a year earlier. In his history Hanawalt--who we must assume was in a good position to have at the very least been aware of something like the "experiment"--never gives the slightest hint of its having existed in his account of the Monteith College episode of Wayne State's history.²⁴

Moreover, the presence of widely published documentation like Knapp's is not the only thing that sets Monteith apart from other Wakulla

Springs institutions. Along with Oakland University (not to be confused with the Oakland Community College of the Wakulla group), Monteith was the subject of a whole book by some of higher education's foremost analysts. David Riesman, Joseph Gusfield, and Zelda Gamson wrote about Monteith in 1970 in their Academic Values and Mass Education. In Chapter XII, "The Crucial Role of the Administration," she talked about how

the Dean's willingness to give educated and talented women their due, as heads of both the social sciences and humanities staffs, is an illustration of light rein.

There is a footnote to this comment there, viz.,

furthermore, in the early years a woman librarian with many ideas about educational innovation was a driving force at Monteith.²⁵

This surely must have been Knapp. If so, this brief and anonymous notice--and as a feminist matter rather than concerning the "ideas about educational innovation" themselves--does not attach any significance to anything she might have done, the "experiment" included. Indeed, that is ignored. We must assume that if these authors, one of whom is generally reckoned to be one of the keenest observers of educational institutions, or else their contacts and sources at Wayne State, had thought that the "experiment" was of any significance to the delivery of undergraduate education, this would have come out.

And again, when Aston Williams wrote his General Education in Higher Education in 1968, his treatment of Monteith contained no notice of either Knapp or the "Library Experiment."²⁶ Yet when we turn to Guy Lyle for an establishment position, we predictably find out that he saw much more to it than the non-librarians from the higher education world did.

Taking Knapp's tack of trying to make an association between library operations and "independent study," he said

more independent study by undergraduates would seem to be inevitable. What is perhaps not so apparent is in what way the new programs have assigned a more prominent role to the library or even markedly affected the method or extent of library use. Even the highly publicized Monteith College library experiment, which involved the use of library bibliographers in the planning of courses and in efforts to develop a program of teaching assignments that would require extensive use, "was never implemented because it appeared to call for too great expenditure of time and money."²⁷

Aside from the fact that these three sentences in their sequence do not quite make continuous sense, Lyle seems to have been using the fictional questions/kettle defense to create an inference or suggestion of something portentous but strangled to the crib. The matter of library use is taken up in the next chapter. Lyle must have seen something that others did not.

Stephens College

Stephens has long attracted attention to itself in one way or another. During the time when it was an object of interest for purposes here it was actually a two year college. For that reason it most often appears in the historical and other treatments of the two year or, in older terminology, "junior college," sector. If it was not a "college" at all according to such touchstones as the "standards" or "definition of a college" as developed by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and by the accreditation movement--which will be important topics in a later chapter--it has subsequently become more or less "standardized," according to Peterson's Guide to Four-Year Colleges (15th edition.) It is now considered a four-year institution, delivering

undergraduate instruction for baccalaureate degrees. Stephens is also prominent in the treatments of some other types of movements; women's education, nontraditional or unconventional undergraduate programs, and as part of the "general education" idea. At least, unlike some of the other Wakulla Springs conferees, Stephens is still around.

The reason for Stephens' identification with both the "general education" movement and with nontraditional or "innovative" education, such as Deweyian "utilitarian" or "life needs" ideas, was its program based on the thought of its president James Wood and of its dean--and subsequently "Director of Research"--Werrett Charters.²⁸ Not all of Stephens' wide publicity was flattering. Laurence Veysey characterizes its attempts at reform with such terms as "esoteric cult," "crankish affectations," and "dead end."²⁹

According to Byron Johnson, longtime jointly Stephens' librarian and dean of instruction, and co-editor Eloise Lindstrom, writing in 1948, "For the past fifteen years [i.e., since 1933] librarians and teachers at Stephens College have been working to make the library an integral part of the teaching process."³⁰ The goal was "to merge the library and teaching programs." These efforts are described at length by Johnson, first in his Vitalizing a College Library (1939), where he got the calendar a little off when he wrote that "for seven years [which would have to have been 1932] Stephens College has been engaged in a library program planned to increase the value of the library to the College and its students,"³¹ and then in The Librarian and the Teacher, quoted from above. With his descriptions available in both monographs there is no need to repeat them at length here. It is enough to say that they seem

to have consisted entirely of simple and low-powered things, such as including the library staff, or some of them (the numbers must have been rather small) in course and curriculum planning, and so forth. From Johnson's description, taken at face value, Stephens looks as though the participants (or Johnson, at least) must have envisioned themselves on the road to something like "library-college," although Stephens is not usually placed in that movement by insiders or others.

But it all begins to get thin the closer we look. First, the "internal validity lens." The confidently positive commentary, which has caused the Stephens literature to become an aging darling of those arguing the CLD is--like Monteith's--that made by the program's own people themselves, and not that of independent outside evaluators. It is more, as Freeman put it, of "glad tidings and testimony," and not research. Indeed, there apparently was not even such a check as a "library user study," a research genre about which more in a later chapter.

The only outside element was that the "vitalizing" force was outside funding. The Carnegie Corporation of New York, which was heavily involved in a national campaign to promote college library operation programs, helped finance the program at Stephens. This national campaign figures in a major way in the history of accreditation, and hence is dealt with more fully in a later chapter. And there were other Carnegie connections besides funding. According to Johnson, when he was hired on as joint librarian and dean of instruction he had had no previous experience with operating a library. So off he went to the University of Michigan Library School, placing himself under the tutelage and in-

doctrination of William Bishop, the sometime chief of Carnegie Corporation Advisory Groups. Bishop had attained the standing of a sort of general library maven and publicist, as will be seen in the Carnegie campaign discussion in Chapter V.

And again with Stephens, the "external validity lens" also applies. How is it, we ask, that if Byron Johnson's recap of the library "vitalization" (not "college education vitalization," it should be noted) had the recollection fresh in people's memories in 1948, that Roy Johnson's overall monograph on Stephens, Explorations in General Education; the Experiences of Stephens College published only one year earlier, and after the program had been up and running for 14 or 15 years, seems to have virtually nothing to say about it--despite Byron Johnson's bold linkage of the whole "general education" venture at Stephens to the library "vitalization?"³²

Or how is it that in his official college history of Stephens, John Crighton has nothing more to say than--in the chapter "Administrative Developments, 1921-1965," which was a curious placement, since this was supposed to have been an educational innovation--

the duties of the senior dean, whose official title was Librarian, were varied [this was Byron Johnson]. He inherited the responsibilities of the former Dean of the Faculty. In carrying out an important research project, he had the task of making the library the center of the whole educational program.

Crighton may have called it "important," but he did not venture an opinion as to whether it was locally felt to have worked and to have in fact made "the library the center of the whole educational program"; which makes his account rather more uncertain than Johnson's "glad tidings," which have become enshrined in the CLD pantheon. And this was

the most he had to say in a book running for some four hundred and twenty pages. And, despite his identification a few sentences later of Byron Johnson as this senior dean, the note on his "task" is cited not to either of Johnson's books, but instead to a squib in a local newspaper. Finally, Crighton's bibliography, with consistency, cites neither of Johnson's books at all, despite their apparent importance in the Stephens saga. We can only wonder over this on-the-scene attitude toward the "vitalized library" in undergraduate education at Stephens.³³

But further still, how is it that even when, as in Peterson's Guide, the college had the opportunity to boast of how "Stephens has introduced many innovative educational concepts into its programs," there is not the slightest mention of the "vitalized library" in the list? This, even though we are told there of other features which seem to be local sources of pride, such as the house plan, and various other curricular and learning innovations. To be sure, Stephens' library operation is conventionally described in the usual place in the Guide sketch. But when it says there that the library edifice is "the central building of a quadrangle," this is campus planner centrality--of the kind we saw in Chapter I--not the kind of centrality claimed by the CLD.

Nor do the anomalies end even there. In 1952 the American Council on Education published General Education in Action: A Report of the California Study of General Education. The same Byron Johnson directed the study and authored the report, in which he was identified as still being at Stephens. But he was identified only as dean of instruction, not as jointly librarian. The combination of portfolios was split, and we see which one Johnson took. More importantly, in this report, where

we might expect some reference however minimal, historical and comparative, to his having "vitalized" Stephens' library in the cause of general education there, Stephens, its library operation, and indeed his own two books about it--leading works in the library literature--scarcely rated a footnote from him.³⁴ Instead, the emphasis shifted into the very-much-reduced standing expressed by his chapter title; "The Library: An Opportunity," where Johnson went on at some length about his personal beliefs, but without so much as a mention of Stephens to support his points.³⁵ And finally, when Byron Johnson edited his recent review General Education in Two-Year Colleges--the original homeland of Stephens, the setting of "vitalization," where it all took place--none of the authors, not even Johnson himself, had a word about library operations.³⁶

"Bibliographic Instruction"

"Bibliographic Instruction," or simply "BI" as it has come to be known by insiders, threads back and forth through the movements and the model institutions and programs just discussed. That is, the literature of BI proper cites and references Knapp and Monteith and vice versa, and likewise with Johnson and Stephens, or with "library-college," although none of these seem to be regarded to have been pure BI. This is all sorted out well enough in Anne Roberts' textbook, Library Instruction for Librarians, where she counts these other bodies of literature as having been contributors to the BI ideological base:

Historically, library instruction draws from a rich heritage of literature from earlier periods. The works of B. Lamar Johnson, Louis Shores, and Harvie Branscomb can still be read with profit for defining and understanding many of the concepts upon which library instruction rests.

The library-college movement of the 1930s ... advocated well-developed library skills ... Patricia Knapp and her program at Wayne State University in Monteith College built upon the library-college idea, and spurred a new wave of interest in library skills and library instruction.³⁷

The only new name there is that of Harvie Branscomb. When we come to the "user studies" in the next chapter it will become clear how ironic it is that Roberts would mention him.

What is BI? Also called "library instruction," or "instruction in library use," this is a fairly simple current fad whose simplicity may be deceptive, in not immediately revealing what it means to librarians; because it seems to enjoy something of the status of star of hope to librarians who write about it. This may account for its similarity to its precursors in its scarcity of exact definition and precise conceptualization since--as with "library-college"--the insiders seem to have silent shared understandings. Roberts, constrained by the discipline of writing a textbook, defined it in this way:

"Library instruction" as we think of it today, refers to the use of buildings, locations, facilities, and materials in teaching users how to employ libraries to handle their information needs. In this broad sense, library instruction encompasses both "library orientation," the explanation of available library facilities and services, and "bibliographic instruction," the intensive process of teaching the efficient and effective use of the library by demonstrating library research methodology, search strategy, and the bibliographic structure of a given literature in a discipline.³⁸

This definition is consistent with what Charles Bunge wrote in the ALA World Encyclopedia of Library and Information Science but without an exact definition. To our information Bunge's article adds that, structurally, BI is placed in the major library organizational division "Reference Services" (that being the title of his article), and there are

"three major types: the separate course, course- or assignment-related instruction, and point-of-use or point-of-need instruction."³⁹ Throughout BI the rallying cry is "integration": BI should be "integrated" with what the "classroom teachers" do.

BI, then, is a notion descriptive of actual or desired librarian practices and/or procedures. These extend all the way across librarianship, from libraries in the public schools K-12 progression, to public libraries. In fact, Bunge went so far as to say that "instruction in library use has had its fullest development in school libraries."⁴⁰ What, then, is the explanation of BI's presence in colleges? In his treatise Lyle identified the underlying assumption in his chapter "The Educational Function of the Library" when he said

it is only too well known that college students often do not understand how to locate and use library resources even though librarians believe that such knowledge is basic to their studies and even though an enormous amount of time, money and experimentation have gone into trying to find a solution to the problem.⁴¹

Although some trace the BI idea back into the 19th century, and others look back to "library-college" and so on, the 1970s seem to have been the time of quickening tempo for it in the "academic library" community. One manifestation was in the internal dynamics of the profession, especially in the associations. An open-door "Library Instruction Round Table" was created in the umbrella American Library Association to accommodate the interests of joiners from any segment of its membership. And the Association of College and Research Libraries established a Bibliographic Instruction Section with its own substructure of committees, and issued proclamations, such as "Guidelines for Biblio-

graphic Instruction in Academic Libraries," "Academic Bibliographic Instruction: Model Statement of Objectives," and others.⁴² These and much else are also to be found in the Bibliographic Instruction Handbook, which ACRL also published. A regular column on BI began to appear in such organs as College and Research Libraries News, and Journal of Academic Librarianship. Directories of BI information clearing houses were published,⁴³ with a national BI clearing house running an information program with its own acronym.⁴⁴

And there was the money Lyle spoke of earlier. This was how he sorted things out:

Amidst the welter of comment and effort on how to make the library more nearly the front and center of liberal education two opposing philosophical approaches have significantly affected the thinking of college administrators and librarians. The first and older of these is the "library-college" idea.... The second approach to this problem rests on the assumption that the library is a "major part of the college" but not the whole. To give prominence and support to this idea, the Council on Library Resources, with joint support from the National Endowment for the Humanities, in 1969 initiated a program of matching grants to colleges and universities for the support of projects which would enable the library to play a more important role in the college.

This was the "Model Libraries" program, which started out with \$1.5 million, and is chronicled in the Council on Library Resources' Annual Report, beginning with the 14th (1970) installment. At least part of the "Model Libraries" grants were used to fund "bibliographic instruction" at some of the "models."⁴⁵

What with the official organization publications in addition to private ventures, there has grown up a whole BI literature. Thomas Kirk said

that bibliographic instruction is now an important and vital concern to the academic library profession can best be demonstrated by reviewing the current status of the literature, recent meetings on library instruction, and the work of ALA committees. The growth of the literature on library instruction has been phenomenal. As Table 1 indicates, the rate of publication from the founding of ALA up to 1921 was about eight articles per year while the period 1958-1971 produced an average of 35 articles per year, an increase of 440 percent.⁴⁶

Similarly, Arthur Young remarked that at the time of his review article,

if publication activity is a reliable indicator of professional interests, library instruction is generating considerable attention. In the six years from 1967 to 1972, 309 citations under the heading "instruction in library use" have appeared in Library Literature index.⁴⁷

And Young's sequel review article, with Exir Brennan, found that for the years between 1972 and 1977 there were another 491 citations.⁴⁸

Is all of this growth in a developmental sense, or only in bulk? If we can suspect that Terwilliger's assessment that "library-college" has become "an accepted term in the literature" on the strength of churning of the literature by adherents, what of Young's use of publication activity as a "measure of professional interest?" Young himself expressed reservations about it in the earlier of his review articles. And in the sequel he and Brennan wrote that "most of the literature is still of the testimonial variety," and that "much of the hortatory literature extols the virtue of integrated library instruction and close library-faculty cooperation." They found themselves having to agree with one of the papers they reviewed, in which the author "bemoans the fact that many projects have not been built upon past experiences and that a cumulative body of knowledge has not been codified and validated." It will be remembered that the "glad tidings" and "testimony," and self-evaluation charges made by Michael Freeman, seen earlier, were levelled specifically

at the BI literature. Indeed, Young and Brennan found that even such evaluation as there is, is sporadic, prompting their conclusion that

this situation remains relatively unchanged [between review articles]; and librarians, like Cervantes' redoubtable Quixote, continue to leap upon their steeds and dash off in every direction as they administer well-meant instruction.⁴⁹

Nor were they unusually harsh in their judgment. Anne Roberts' assessment of all of this publishing activity was that

while there has been an inordinate amount of literature about library instruction, little of it rests on solid research. Most of the articles describe particular programs in library instruction and are of the "how we do it here" type. Noticeably lacking are ... elements of good research....⁵⁰

Now Roberts' and Young and Brennan's observations reveal another interesting angle. In the latter's successive literature reviews they were selective and tried to narrow their attention to various facets of BI whose writings met their criteria for "research." But even these turned out to be problematic in terms of the CLD. One facet in the literature is that

for nearly fifty years librarians have attempted to document a positive correlation between library use and/or proficiency; and academic performance. Validation of this desirable relationship, an implicit motivation for providing library instruction programs, has proved elusive.⁵¹

However, they did not follow through on the implications of this.

Now while we may admire the gumption of those librarians who quested in isolation after the positive "correlation" Young and Brennan talked about, they may have been a little out of their territory. This is because, apparently unknown to them, others--with more suited specialties--were plowing that ground. Such workers as William Troutt, and Alexander

Austin, each coming from a different direction, were also finding "elusive" this "desirable relationship," indeed, finding elusive any relationship between use of their college's library by students, and their academic performance. This matter is taken up at greater length in the next chapter.

But even more generally troubling, something like an "internal validity lens" applied here shows that one of the fatal flaws of the entire BI concept, as reflected in the literature, is that it is self-contained. It seems never to look over into (as some might think absolutely basic) such areas as the psychology of learning, or measurement. This shows up in the attitude toward "correlation between library proficiency and academic performance" on the one hand, and the "evaluation" made of BI programs on the other. These tend to get treated as two very different things. Yet would not the former--call it "educational effect" of BI--be the only evaluative question that could arise? Or have any significance?

Seemingly not. BI is introverted and introspective. It is librarianship peering, with tunnel vision, into a mirror. And that is the quixotic blind spot. BI writers never couple the idea of BI with the actual delivery of college education. Instead, they are stubbornly a priori in the assumption that the latter flows from the former. This comes through forcefully in a reconnaissance of what Young and Brennan consider to be, at that, the best of the literature, the part of it acceptable to them as "research." Throughout the parade of papers about the pedagogy of library instruction; about attitudinal studies, about questionnaires soliciting opinion about libraries, library instruction, and so forth; about formulation of behavioral objectives, program goals

macro and micro, and on and on; the "student learning" is learning "Library," as though this is some kind of end in itself--and with BI indeed it is. That is what is "evaluated." There is little if any concern over the things the CLD alleges, such as the instrumentality of the library program in college education: That is merely assumed.⁵²

This point, which seems to have hitherto escaped notice, warrants emphasis. The outcomes and effects are library ability and proficiency, and the viewpoint is self-centered and self-referenced ... and self-serving. According to such rationale rhetoric as Lyle's from earlier, about how "the librarians believe that such knowledge is basic to their [students'] studies," the assumption is that those who do not use the library operation--the subject of the next chapter--are merely deficient, standing in the need of treatment or conversion. So the rationale goes, if only students knew how, they would use the library operation and it would thus come to take its "proper place." Indeed, it is the "demonstration program" all over again with often-stated program goals or objectives of bringing around those toward whom BI is aimed into agreement with what the librarians believe is best for them, convincing them. It is a librarian-created practice offered as a librarian solution to a librarian-identified and librarian-defined problem.

But even on its own terms and quite beyond issues of self-evaluation and self-referencing, the "evaluation" of outcomes and effects is off the mark in that it not only does not look at the right things, it looks at totally wrong things. In the writings there is a tendency to gauge rate of activity based on what the librarians involved in the BI activity were doing; how many personnel were assigned, how many person-hours were ex-

pended, and so on. This sort of classicly bureaucratic irrelevancy proceeds on the same logic as, for example, urban social services programs that report a 25 percent staff increase, and conclude that the delivery of social services in that city must therefore be 25 percent better. This, and the many "studies of library instruction" consisting of censuses of other institutions' library programs, asking whether they in their opinion have formal BI programs, and if so, for descriptive particulars, are typified by the surveys reported by Allen Dyson, and Jon Lindgren.⁵³

On top of all this, there is a special difficulty with Bunge's BI category the "separate course," an inherent dilemma. Patricia Knapp seemed to be arguing for a separate and equal place in the structure of college education when she wrote, from dubious logical ground, that

competence in the use of the library is one of the liberal arts. It deserves recognition and acceptance in the college curriculum.⁵⁴

But the "separate course" could lead in one direction only, and that is the becoming of just one more unit, one more slot, in the crowded and fragmented patchwork that is the curriculum; crowded and fragmented, to the lament of so many in higher education. But yet, as just one more course in the politically determined laundry list of courses--the product of negotiation, accommodation, and accretion--BI would be disadvantaged by lack of the power base of an academic discipline-based department.⁵⁵ It would probably end up being an elective without a major. That could scarcely be the result wished by the librarians.

If, on the other hand, the idea (which does not seem to be in the literature in just this shape) is that BI is a "tools" or "skills"

course, then how could it make any claim different from, or higher than (say) statistics, or composition? We could say with the same logic (as some are) that the computer center is "the heart of the college." But if the analogy is to composition, or its manifestation as "writing across the curriculum," there would have to be a showing far stronger than anything so far that BI is applied "across the curriculum."

Here, again, there is also a sort of "external validity lens." Perhaps BI's extremes and essentially parochial and introverted viewpoint have been felt intuitively by the higher education community. Because when we emerge from the BI literature of the librarian community into the larger context of higher education we find that--like so many of the librarian interests we have looked at--BI seems to have attracted little attention. Going again to CIJE yields a heading "Library Instruction," in which the entries are few, far fewer than in Library Literature for the corresponding period. And the entries are overwhelmingly from the librarian literature itself. There is, for instance, no mention of BI in such comprehensive works as the International Encyclopedia of Higher Education.

The pattern of unrequited unilateralism that we saw in terms of mainstream, conventional, traditional college education in Chapter II, the absence of "recognition," to recall Herman Fussler's term from that chapter, recurs here at the fringes of "innovative," "non-traditional," education as well, completing the circle.⁵⁶ Much effort has been expended by the librarians to join up with "innovative" college education, and wed the library operation program, in various dress, to "experiment" and "reform," pedagogical movements of one kind of another.

BI is one of those dresses. But--occasional slips such as Levine's and Axelrod's aside--the literature of higher education innovation, reform, and experiment, like the literature of the conventional center of higher education, has really very little to say about BI in particular or the library operation program in general. Not only did, for instance, Riesman, Gusfield and Gamson ignore Knapp and the Monteith business, they likewise had nothing CLD-supportive to say about college library operations in any way.⁵⁷ Likewise, when Gerald Grant and Riesman wrote what might be considered a sequel to the former book--The Perpetual Dream: Reform and Experiment in the American College--the library status of nonentity continued.⁵⁸ Indeed, while the literature of innovation, experiment, and reform in higher education is voluminous, it appears that college library operation programs are "invisible," to borrow again from Chapter II. For example, Arthur Levine and John Weingart wrote the whole of Reform of Undergraduate Education, a survey of 21 reformist college programs without, so far as can be determined, ever mentioning such a thing. This, even in conjunction with "general education" or "independent study," two supposed strongholds of library program importance.⁵⁹ Interestingly, one of Grant and Riesman's "telic reform" schools was the frequent nonconformist attention-getter St. John's College, a "neoclassical revival." The St. John's approach is the very antithesis of the CLD and all it stands for. Indeed, the descriptions of the St. John's library operation program reveal it to be both peripheral and minimal. Understandably, the literature of "academic" librarianship (about BI, the CLD claims, or anything else) does not talk about St. John's very much.

In short, all the publicity in the literature by librarians over such things as "library-college," make-work projects at places like the Wakulla Springs Conference colleges, Monteith, Stephens, and more, and "movements" like Bibliographic Instruction, actually amounts to nothing less than the silent admission that the College Library Doctrine residing in other locations in the same literature is a fiction. These things would not--even leaving aside questions of their own significance--have been necessary in the first place in a world according to the CLD.

The out, again, is the kettle defense, the "but for" gambit. Byron Johnson, the man who forgot Stephens in his report of the California general education study, complained that

while use of the library is obviously fundamental in the development of communication skills, only a few courses [of those surveyed] are reported as providing library training. In many ways the ability to use the library is ignored or at best slighted.⁶⁰

And in his paper on BI Bunge came clean with protest: For the "separate course" he said

some campuses are reluctant, however, to give academic credit for such courses (almost a necessity if students are to be motivated to take them), and students often have difficulty relating course content to their academic life and to their general educational needs and goals.

And when it comes down to it for his other type, the "course-or assignment-related type,"

gaining full cooperation of classroom faculty is a continuing problem in this instructional method.⁶¹

In fact, as one reads this literature it becomes a reasonable interpretation that a hidden agenda of these "movements" and "causes" extends beyond the struggle to create a market or clientele, to the struggle for the advancement of librarian status ambitions and the converting of the

power bloc. A recurring kind of phraseology in the literature is to speak, as Bunge did, of "classroom faculty," in order to create the implication that the librarians are "faculty" too, albeit in a different theater of practice. This matter is returned to in Chapter VI, as part of the "conjectural alternative explanation."

The real crux seems to be not education, but governance, and this caused Knapp to concede "the need for faculty involvement," saying

but it [BI] cannot be so integrated until the faculty as a whole is ready to recognize its claim and to implement this recognition through regularly established procedures of curriculum development.⁶²

Again, "recognition." Yet this rather obvious fact nonetheless seems hard for many to grasp, harder still to accept, making all the more unusual the insight and reasonableness of Beaubien, Hogan, and George, who wrote that

a continual preoccupation of BI librarians in colleges and universities is how to initiate and sustain faculty cooperation. This concern derives in part from librarians' desire to prove that they are peers of the teaching faculty, especially if they are in a common union and must undergo the same tenure and promotion screening as do teaching faculty. More important, however, since faculty are the most visible and influential members of the academic community, they are the people who can make or break a BI program.⁶³

Instead, this balanced and reasonable attitude toward governance realities and status yearnings often corrodes into the same tiresome philippic of the ugly side of the fictional questions fallacy seen in Chapter II in its more general expression. Arthur Young attributes obstacles to "role conflicts and incompatible perceptions regarding the library's instructional mission between librarians, faculty, and students."⁶⁴ And thus we have Guy Lyle writing insinuatingly about such obstacles to BI as

"professors wedded to the idea of using textbooks and reserve readings,"⁶⁵ which, as we saw in Chapter II, according to the CLD went to oblivion along with lecture, replaced by the CLD library operation program.

But at worst, library writers make no bones about coming right out and saying that "classroom faculty" are not interested in what the librarians want to do because these faculty members themselves are lacking in library proficiency. A pet abomination in this rebuke seems to be a study by one Ralph Perkins (The Prospective Teacher's Knowledge of Library Fundamentals, New York, 1956), a testing of teachers college students which found, as John Lubans put it darkly, "in short ... teachers do not know how to use libraries." Now to outsiders the Perkins study would appear to be of little relevance or importance. These were not prospective college professors. But it got Lubans going histrionically in his prefatory essay to his volume of collected papers about BI in all sectors. "There is," Lubans wrote, "upon rereading it [Perkins], a startling and even unnerving currency to his viewpoint," and

I suppose what worries me most is the overpowering suspicion that if we were to redo this study today the results would be the same. It is professionally distressing to continue contemplating such a landscape as that depicted in Perkins' research.⁶⁶

Hence, while Verna Beardsley felt only that "faculty too often are unaware of the services that the library and the librarians are prepared to give,"⁶⁷ and Anne Passarelli and Millicent Abell decided simply that "several of the undergraduate librarians surveyed identified faculty attitudes as one of the major obstacles in providing instruction in library use,"⁶⁸ Thomas Kirk's condescending comment was pregnant with

bitterness: "To change faculty attitudes toward the library is a much more difficult objective to achieve ... because people with Ph.D.s will have to be reeducated...."⁶⁹

Some, such as Knapp, attribute the librarians' problem to system factors, such as the perceived faculty value of placing "a high value on 'knowing one's subject' and ... a corresponding ... limited perception of what real understanding and skill in the use of library resources means...."⁷⁰ Lyle similarly blamed the system:

Far more attention should be focused in the graduate school upon training future college teachers more thoroughly in library uses and potentialities. Few young instructors have a really skilled command of the basic facts and techniques applicable in using the library or teaching others how to use it. The experience they have had in preparing dissertations is not really an adequate substitute for this vital information.⁷¹

But unfortunately some other writers are less temperate. In Lubans' volume Jon Lindgren wrote belligerently of

scholars and would-be scholars [who] assume that they can participate in the dialogue of educated persons ... without knowing how to consult the "memory of civilization," which is the library.... Students, faculty, and administrators embrace a myth, both actively and passively, that grievously wants exploding: that libraries are easy to use. That myth issues forth in a thousand expressions, all representing failure of the imagination. Two manifestations of the myth ... the faculty member who casually assumes that anything worth teaching about the library can surely be accomplished in an hour's time.... Hence an impasse to perceiving or understanding better the proper role of the library (and librarians) in the academic setting has bulked large among library users. Not only do they not know how to use libraries effectively, they do not know that they do not know.⁷²

As the preceding shows, it may be more a case of each embracing his own preferred myth.

Summary

Thomas Kirk was fortuitously accurate when he remarked, as we saw earlier, "that bibliographic instruction is now an important and vital concern to the academic library profession." But it seems to be the fact that beyond that, despite the furor generated by the library profession--the "enormous amount" of money, time, and heroic volunteer effort thrown at BI and the other ventures we have seen, in the effort to bring things around to better match the College Library Doctrine--few others in higher education are much interested. These ventures are tiny, transient tempests in peripheral teapots, paper phenomena, insofar as the rest of the academic world is concerned. At many of the model locations it looks as though few others cared at the time, and the memory fades. When outsiders such as Levine or Axelrod stumble across one of the cases, preserved in the literature like a fly in amber, for some reason--mistake, carelessness, bad luck--they end up being misleading because of having themselves been misled. Certainly we are entitled to conclude that it is reasonable to doubt whether such seeming bundles of loose ends have evidentiary power to verify the College Library Doctrine. Indeed, their very existence flatly contradicts it. Instead, they are more accurately viewed as fiction and myth as propaganda.

Notes to Chapter III

1. Arthur Levine, Handbook, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1978, pages 202-203. "Institutional research" is more usually given the meaning found in Paul Dressel and associates, Institutional Research in the University: A Handbook, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1972. But this does not seem to be what Levine meant here.
2. Richard Hostrop, "Learning and the Library-College," Library-College Journal 4 (1971) 35-43, at 37.
3. Gloria Terwilliger, "The Library-College," University of Maryland, 1975, DAI 36/10-A:6515.
4. Terwilliger, "The Library-College," page 1.
5. Louis Shores, "The Library-Arts College," School and Society 41 (1935) 110-114.
6. Helen Sheehan, "Library College Idea," Library Trends 18 (1969) 93-102.
7. Louis Shores, "Library-College Idea," Library Journal 91 (1966) 3871-3875.
8. Terwilliger, "Library-College," page 41.
9. Quoted in Terwilliger, "Library-College," page 50.
10. Quoted in Terwilliger, "Library-College," page 52.
11. Terwilliger, "Library-College," page 52.
12. Fay Blake, "The Library-College Movement: Dying of Old Age at Thirty, A Personal View," Wilson Library Bulletin 44 (1970) 557-560, at 560.
13. Terwilliger, pages 80, 132.
14. Terwilliger, page 128.
15. Terwilliger, page 66.
16. Joseph Axelrod, "New Patterns," in Logan Wilson, ed., Emerging Patterns, Washington: American Council on Education, 1966, pages 40-61, at 44.
17. Terwilliger, "Library-College," page 46.
18. Axelrod, "New Patterns," page 44.
19. Cowell was also included in Lloyd Ring, "Evaluation for Santa Cruz," in Paul Dressel, ed., The New Colleges: Toward an Appraisal (Iowa City, Iowa: American College Testing Program and American Association for

Higher Education, 1971, pages 185-228); and in Warren Martin, Conformity: Standards and Change in Higher Education (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1969) under the pseudonym "Westiversity," as part of something called the "Institutional Character Study." In neither paper was anything sounding like Axelrod's characterization of the Wakulla Springs Conference principles. The same is true of John Elmendorf's paper on New College in the Martin volume, "New College, Sarasota, Florida," pages 177-183.

20. Patricia Knapp, The Monteith College Library Experiment, New York: Scarecrow Press, 1966, page 11.
21. Knapp, Monteith College, page 11.
22. Michael Freeman, "'The Simplicity of His Pragmatism': Librarians and Research," Library Journal 110 (1985) 27-29, at 28; 27.
23. All self-evaluations, and even "sweetheart" evaluations by others, ought to be automatically suspect, if for no other reason than that we know what commonly goes on. One of the names this practice has been given comes from the rosily over-optimistic "combat readiness reports" in the career military world, where it is called by its Navy name, "Gundecking." This and other forms of bureaucratic propaganda are treated by David Altheide and John Johnson, Bureaucratic Propaganda, Boston: Allyn and Unwin, 1980. It cannot be overemphasized here that bureaucratic propaganda such as "gundecking" is not considered extraordinary, but a habitual practice--"Standard Operating Procedure (SOP)"--in organizations at all levels, in their reports up the chain. With its real world orientation, policy analysis must consider such things.
24. Leslie Hanawalt, A Place of Light, Detroit: Wayne State Press, 1966.
25. David Riesman, Joseph Gusfield, and Zelda Gamson, Academic Values, Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1970, pages 239-240.
26. Aston Williams, General Education, New York: Columbia University Press, 1968. Warren Martin said that one Sally Cassidy studied Monteith College "thoroughly and appropriately for several years" ("Thoughts on Evaluation Imagination," in Dressel, ed., The New Colleges, pages 309-320, at 315). Efforts to further identify this reference for use here were fruitless. The closest published manifestation found was Cassidy's coauthorship of the June, 1960, issue (volume 3, no. 5) of a Wayne State University periodical, Graduate Comment. This was a special topic issue, "The Monteith Experiment." Although Cassidy there said nothing about it, one of the other authors mentioned that, while dividing her energies between Wayne State's own library staff and being Monteith's "Executive Secretary," Knapp had hoped to realize "in Monteith certain long-cherished hopes for making the University library a more effective part of the process of undergraduate education" (page 12).
27. Guy Lyle, Administration of the College Library, 4th ed., New York: H.W. Wilson Co., 1974, page 107, quoting Knapp from another publication. Finally on Monteith, there is what looks like a little "data cooking" on

Knapp's part. In an article of hers in a collection of papers going forth under the banner of "climate" or "environment" studies (a topic taken up here in Chapter V) but which turn out to actually have been a "library-college" pitch ("Involving the Library in an Integrated Learning Environment," in Dan Bergen and E. Duryea, eds., Libraries and the College Climate of Learning, Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University, 1964, pages 21-35), on page 31 Knapp wrote that "the significance of the freshman year is underlined in Rauschenbush's recent book, The Student and His Studies [Esther Rauschenbush, Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1964] which refers to the special attention given to freshmen at Monteith and to the Harvard Freshman Seminar as examples of effective programs." That is certainly correct. But despite the erroneous impression Knapp thus created, this reference (to pages 163-166 of Rauschenbush's book) does not make any mention of the "Monteith Library Experiment."

28. See John Crighton, Stephens: A Story of Educational Innovation, Columbia, MO: American Press, 1970.
29. Laurence Veysey, "Stability and Experiment in the American Undergraduate Curriculum," in Carl Kaysen, ed., Content and Context: Essays on College Education, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973, pages 1-63, at 13.
30. Byron Johnson and Eloise Lindstrom, eds., The Librarian and the Teacher in General Education: A Report of Library-Instructional Activities at Stephens College, Chicago: American Library Association, 1948, page ix.
31. Byron Johnson, Vitalizing, Chicago: American Library Association, 1939, page vii.
32. Roy Johnson, ed., Explorations, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1939.
33. Crighton, Stephens, pages 213-214; 414-417.
34. Although we are told (pages 180-181) that "during the course of this Study a considerable number of literature instructors have expressed more than a passing interest in the individualized program of teaching literature in a junior college in another state--Stephens College, Columbia, Missouri," which he then described with a lengthy quotation from his Librarian and Teacher. But, in this curiously oblique and distant reference (as though he had heard of Stephens, but was never there) he did not mention the library operation.
35. Byron Johnson, General Education in Action, Washington: American Council on Education, 1952.
36. Byron Johnson, General Education in Two-Year Colleges, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1982 (New Directions for Community Colleges, Number 40).
37. Anne Roberts, Library Instruction, Littleton, CO: Libraries Unlimited, Inc., 1982, page 23.

38. Roberts, Library Instruction, page 15.
39. Charles Bunge, "Reference Services," ALA World Encyclopedia, Robert Wedgworth, ed., Chicago: American Library Association, page 470.
40. Bunge, "Reference Services," page 470.
41. Lyle, Administration, page 35.
42. These may be found conveniently reprinted together in the appendices of Roberts' Library Instruction.
43. Directories such as Barbara Wittkopf, comp., Library Instruction Clearinghouses: 1981--A Directory, Chicago: American Library Association, 1981.
44. This is "Project LOEX" (an acronym for "Library Orientation Instruction Exchange"), about which Roberts says more in Library Instruction, page 22. See also Thomas Kirk, "Problems in Library Instruction in Four-Year Colleges," in John Lubans, ed., Educating the Library User, New York: R.R. Bowker Co., 1974, pages 83-103, at 85. LOEX activities are also covered in each number of the Bowker Annual. The Exchange also has a newsletter, hosts conferences, and publishes the papers and proceedings of these latter. Recently some insiders began publication of a journal to serve as organ for BI. It offers interesting parallels with the career of the similar venture by the "library-college" insiders described earlier in this chapter. First, each was begun by a "cause." Second, and relatedly, both groups are to be labelled, or so label themselves (or both) as representing a "movement." Third, each group seems given to misleading and overblown titles for its organ. With the "library-college" group it is Learning Today. With the BI "movement" it is Research Strategies, only whose subtitle--A Journal of Library Concepts and Instruction--even hints at its true character. The editorial rationale is given in "Editorial," 1 (1983) 50-51.
45. Lyle, Administration, pages 110-112. In a way the Council is a successor to the Carnegie Corporation of New York, whose promotion of "academic" libraries we see in a later chapter. Like the Carnegie Corporation, one of the Council's manifold and varied projects was the preparation of "core collection booklists"; "books which represent the minimum body of titles essential in any adequate, well-balanced college library collection." (Fifteenth Annual Report, Washington: The Council, 1971, page 35). This is presumably regardless of any institutional diversity. According to Jane Rosenberg's sketch in the Bowker Annual 1985, page 265, under "Funding Programs and Grant-Making Agencies," the Council on Library Resources, Inc.,

was chartered in 1956 as an operating foundation to help libraries take advantage of emerging technologies in order to improve performance and expand services for an increasing number of users. From the beginning, the Council's program has concentrated on academic and research libraries because of their key role in collegiate instruction, their centrality to research and scholarship, and their

fundamental importance to society. Financial support for the Council during 1984 was provided by the National Endowment for the Humanities and a number of private foundations.

Among those other foundations were the Ford Foundation, and the perennial Carnegie Corporation. The Council was begun on an initial grant from the former of \$5 million.

46. Kirk, "Problems in Library Instruction," page 48.
47. Arthur Young, "Research in Library-User Education: A Review Essay," in John Lubans, ed., Educating the Library User, pages 1-15, at 1.
48. Arthur Young and Exir Brennan, "Bibliographic Instruction: A Review of the Research," in John Lubans, ed., Progress in Educating the Library User, New York: R.R. Bowker Co., 1978, pages 73-78, at 73.
49. Young and Brennan, "Bibliographic Instruction: A Review," pages 13; 16; 14; 19.
50. Roberts, Library Instruction, page 24.
51. Young and Brennan, "Bibliographic Instruction: A Review," page 15.
52. This quixotic blind spot is strikingly apparent in such works as Evaluating Library Instruction: A Handbook, Chicago: American Library Association, 1983, issued by the Bibliographic Instruction Section of the Association of College and Research Libraries. It is also in such places as Cerise Oberman and Katina Strauch's collection of papers, Theories of Bibliographic Education: Designs for Teaching (New York: R.R. Bowker Co., 1984). According to these editors, this is supposed to be the "theoretical foundation" companion volume to Beaubien, Hogan, and George, Learning the Library: Concepts and Methods for Effective Bibliographic Instruction, quoted elsewhere in this chapter, which was supposed to deal with "the basics of library instruction." Yet here, too, the "theoretical" papers are all about such things as "the theory and content of bibliographic structure," "computer assisted instruction in library education," and so forth. Nothing extends outward toward BI in terms of college education.
53. Allan Dyson, "Library Instruction in University Undergraduate Libraries"; Jon Lindgren, "Seeking a Useful Tradition for Library User Instruction in the College Library," pages 93-103, and 71-91, in Lubans, ed., Progress. A good analogy is Aaron Wildavsky's argument that "according to the Great Equation, Medical Care equals Health. But the Great Equation is wrong. More available medical care does not equal better health" ("Doing Better and Feeling Worse: The Political Pathology of Health Policy," in Daedalus (Winter 1977), issued as vol. 106, no. 1 of Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, pages 105-123, at 105). See also the general idea wryly presented in Jeffrey Pressman and Aaron Wildavsky, Implementation, 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973) to the effect that just because program bureaucrats are trying to do

something, and may even think that they are doing it, does not mean that it is happening.

54. Patricia Knapp, "A Suggested Program of College Instruction in the Use of the Library," Library Quarterly, 26 (1956) 224-231, at 230.
55. For a recent frank view of the undergraduate (i.e., college) curriculum as a pastiche of political compromises of the interests of the competing discipline-based departments, see Integrity in the College Curriculum: A Report to the Academic Community, Washington: Association of American Colleges, 1985.
56. See above, Chapter II.
57. Riesman, Gusfield, and Gamson, Academic Values.
58. Gerald Grant and David Riesman, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978.
59. Arthur Levine and John Weingart, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1976. This was before Levine had discovered Hostrop and "library-college," apparently.
60. Byron Johnson, General Education in Action, page 144. Later on, his Chapter XV was "The Library: An Opportunity."
61. Bunge, "Reference Services," page 470.
62. Knapp, "A Suggested Program," page 230.
63. Anne Beaubien, Sharon Hogan, and Kay George, Learning the Library, New York: R.R. Bowker Co., 1982, page 238.
64. Young, "Research on Library-User Education," page 3.
65. Guy Lyle, "Use and Misuse of the College Library," in Guy Lyle, The President, the Professor, and the College Library, New York: H.W. Wilson Co., 1963, pages 51-56, at 56.
66. John Lubans, "Introduction: Seeking a Partnership Between the Teacher and the Librarian," in John Lubans, ed., Progress, page 6.
67. Verna Beardsley, "Library Instruction in Colleges and Universities in the Seventies: A Viewpoint," in Lubans, ed., Educating, pages 111-114, at 113.
68. Anne Passarelli and Millicent Abell, "Programs of Undergraduate Libraries and Problems in Educating Library Users," in Lubans, ed., Educating, pages 115-131, at 119.
69. Thomas Kirk, "Problems in Library Instruction," page 88.

70. Patricia Knapp, "Guidelines for Bucking the System: A Strategy for Moving Toward the Ideal of the Undergraduate Library as Teaching Instrument," Drexel Library Quarterly 7 (1971) 217-221, at 219.
71. Lyle, Administration, pages 115-116.
72. Lindgren, "Seeking a Useful Tradition," pages 71-72. All of this bluster about professorial shortcomings is probably nothing more than the routine general behavior of "occupational communities" to solidify their position. As John Van Maanen and Stephen Barley described this sort of behavior,

in essence, occupational communities are premised upon the belief that only the membership possesses the proper knowledge, skills, and orientations necessary to make decisions as to how the work is to be performed and evaluated ("Occupational Communities: Culture and Control in Organizations," in Barry Staw and L. Cummings, eds., Research in Organizational Behavior, Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, Inc., vol. 6, 1984, pages 287-365, at 309).

The authors were talking about "self-control of occupational matters," which they saw as a core concept covering "professional" and other work groups equally, contrary to the conventional view of "a separate sociology of the professions" (page 316) and it ought to be noted here that in pushing BI, "academic" librarians may, paradoxically, be unwittingly doing their own undoing in the hierarchy of occupation status and prestige. Position in that hierarchy, that is, "self-control of occupational matters" by the community is often said (as by Van Maanen and Barley) to rest upon "a relative monopoly over its theory and procedures" (page 311). There is already on the move a deskilling, or at least a demystifying, of information acquisition brought about by the proliferation of personal computers, electronic data bases, and the technology to link up the two for virtually anyone, virtually anywhere she chooses, with no part played by librarians (or perforce their operations) at all. BI, insofar as it creates real or perceived alternatives for the performance of services thereby upsetting the established codification and standardization of jobs, could be a misguided demystification, at least from the angle of status and rewards and recognitions maintenance (see Van Maanen and Barley, especially page 330). It may be a deliberate surrender of proprietorship over job skills and knowledge and technique, tantamount to selling off occupational "autonomy, security, and prestige" at odds with the very use of the CLD to attain these. When all have access to the talismans, the power of the priesthood is diminished.

CHAPTER IV

WHO GOES THERE? (AND WHY?): THE USER STUDIES AND RELATED ANOMALIES

In Chapter II we saw the historical argument for the College Library Doctrine (CLD), the linchpin of the CLD's theory-appearing explanation of why colleges do, and ought to, have library operation programs. And we saw that it has serious weaknesses, rendering it open to reasonable doubt, the test established in Chapter I in the absence of the likelihood of any conclusive judgment on the CLD's veridicality as a theory. Next, in Chapter III, we saw that loose ends in the literature not only do not lift the reasonable doubt, but in actuality are highly problematic themselves, and hence go, rather, to reinforce reasonable doubt. They do so because the very existence of the special efforts described by this literature is itself prima facie evidence against the CLD's veridicality.

In this chapter we meet what might be thought of as the historical argument's alter ego; or, after the manner of Hegelian dialectic, its antithesis, a sort of "historical antiargument" coexisting with it in the very same literature. The writings in this vein have often been the provocation for writers of the historical argument to stray into the fallacy of fictional questions, and to become accusatory, as discussed in Chapter II. These writings containing the antiargument voice the claim that, but for the fault of others, the library operation program would take its proper "place." That is because here we have not merely the emptiness of negative or absent evidence, but instead real positive evidence that the CLD is erroneous. Hence, writers have developed approaches to minimize the antiargument--if they mention it at all. It

is either isolated, or rationalized away with the "kettle defense," or diffused or deflected in other ways.

This resolution of sorts seems to have resulted in a largely peaceful coexistence in the literature. But might that not be the result of the likelihood that probably those very experts really aware of the potential for inconsistency, on account of their professional familiarity with the literature, may be those whose profession has its status and prestige aspirations staked heavily upon the maintenance of the myth, fiction, and propaganda embodied in the College Library Doctrine, a matter elaborated in Chapter VI, the conjectural alternative explanation? At any rate, historical argument and historical antiargument seldom confront one another in the literature, as will especially be seen in Chapter V. And they do--are, figuratively speaking, allowed in the same arena together--the inconsistency is equivocated, the antiargument defused. This is what makes the literature so confusing.

What is involved, basically, is, first, a deceptively simple position and, second, a tangle. The deceptively simple proposition is that, for the CLD's claims to be an explanation of why colleges have and ought to have college library operations to have power, the following would have to be true: The students at colleges would have to have in the past had, and continue to have, some sort of contact with the library program. At least some significant portion of them would have to directly and personally encounter their college's library operation in one or more of the components represented by Lyle's three-part model of the library program from Chapter I: edifice or physical facilities, materials assembled therein, and personnel. Considering the emphasis

placed upon books in "library science" and custom and usage, the second of these would be absolute. Stated another way, while it may not necessarily follow that, if so encountered by the college's students the library operation would therefore ipso facto make a difference or contribution, have an educational impact or effect: Yet, contrariwise, it is quite inconceivable how the library operation program could do anything without such a direct encounter. Let us call, following accepted practice, this encounter use. As Ernest Boyer and the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching put this matter with unusual clarity, "having a large number of books on library shelves has little relevance to students who do not use them."¹ Thus, to restate, while the First Research Design reported in Chapter I, as well as findings introduced in the preceding chapter and in this one find a lack of relationship between student use of college libraries, and educational outcomes, it seems obvious that no such thing could possibly happen at all if students do not make use of the program. And yet--save for the group of studies making up the "historical antiargument" presented in this chapter and the reluctant confessions of the heroic efforts of the "projects" and "experiments" in the preceding chapter--the literature usually disregards the matter. Certainly to read the CLD writings we would never see it.

Yet, this is not to say that the notion of use has been historically undiscovered or suppressed in the literature. It seems to have entered librarian thinking early in what is regarded as the "modern" period of librarianship. Samuel Rothstein latterly coined the phrase "The Doctrine of Use" to describe an ideology that was abroad and discussed as long ago as the germinal 1876 library convention.² And for years a favorite image

among "academic" librarians has been Otis Robinson's glowing report from 1880, about how at the University of Rochester where he was librarian, "scarcely a Saturday passes but every department in the library is ransacked for its best materials on many subjects."³ Or there is Harvard, of which Edward Holley said that "before [the death of Justin Winsor in 1897] over 50 percent of the student body used the library regularly."⁴

The "Doctrine of Use" seems to have been internalized into the body of College Library Doctrine, or "library science," principles, thence into the higher education commons. While it seldom is a separate topic in the more recent literature, still in places like the survey by Oboler and others of regional accrediting "standards" in 1957, we learn that five of the six associations made explicit requirement that a college's library operation be in fact, used.⁵ And in 1940 H. Brown wrote "use has become the be-all and end-all of library service."⁶

It is with some surprise then, that we meet the body of literature produced mostly by the librarians themselves, dealing with the use of libraries by students. Not a strong research literature though it may be, what the studies in this literature have kept finding is that, contrary to the conventional wisdom, the students studied really have not made much use of the library operation programs provided for them. This state of affairs produced Stanley Benson's bold assertion, which we saw in Chapter I he advanced to support his demurrer from the CLD, that

for the past forty or more years, beginning with Branscomb's Teaching with Books, the literature has been saturated with studies that show that undergraduates typically make little use of college libraries.⁷

He gets some support in Lewis Mayhew's offhand comment about how "libraries--which if one were to judge them by actual use, could scarcely be justified...."⁸ Are these remarks then to be taken as the discovery of some sort of degeneration from a Golden Age nostalgically remembered by Holley and others?

Actually, Benson's somewhat hyperbolic and inaccurate (there are earlier publications than Branscomb's in the chain, and the literature is scarcely "saturated" with anything, as we shall presently see on both counts) outburst itself serves to put us on guard that this whole literature body needs to be handled with care. It is an untidy lot, and tricky to use with any due regard for accuracy. These characteristics have resulted both in its having been attacked, and handled inaccurately, in the past. Along with everything else, it is a conceptually and semantically unclear area. And yet it may be of considerable importance, despite its faults. It is, in short, a tangle; which we shall now work through by process of elimination.

The User Studies Delimited

To begin the process of elimination, we note that "problems," in many established academic discipline research topics, have a sharp delineation and clear definition, and developmental continuity. The best examples are mathematics and physics. That is not the case here. Consequently, not only the literature itself but also its indexing tools routinely scramble together at least three more or less related ideas; use, users, and (especially in the older literature) "reading," whether "reading" related to the formal instruction of college education or not. We may begin the elimination process with the "reading" studies, since

they are of minor importance and are not the real source of the unclarity. That source is the terminology "use" and "user," basic terms which are not employed consistently from one writer to another. Although his are not authoritative definitions, and few others are as careful, Robert Broadus helped cut through the unclarity with some definitions we may employ. His explanations were

use studies ... those that start with a group of library materials, then try to determine what use, or how much use, they receive. A user study, on the other hand, begins with people, and asks whether, or how much they use library materials.⁹

In other words, it is a matter of relative emphasis along a continuum. Use studies are "bibliocentric," while user studies look at human behavior. Unfortunately, some writings called by one name are actually the other, the mislabelling typically being the calling of use studies user studies; while other writings mix both notions together, consciously or not.¹⁰

Application of the Broadus terminology distinction not only helps better understand the nature of the use studies, but also why we eliminate them, too. The voluminous body of use literature is perhaps most familiar as containing widely-quoted announcements of findings that, on the average, a book in a large university "research library" (for that is the realm of these studies) is used only once in every so many years.¹¹ There is also a tendency to call this topic by other names, such as "bibliographic analysis," or "bibliometrics: the structure of published literature and its usage," to borrow the wording of a section heading from William Buckland's Library Services in Theory and Context. This is a monograph to which we can apply Broadus' distinction to categorize as

heavily tilted in the use direction, although wording in the monograph itself is not so clear about this.¹²

The reason why we eliminate the use studies is that they do not address the question of our interest, viz., whether or not college students are users of the library operations programs provided by their colleges. Instead, as Broadus explained, use studies look through bookish librarian spectacles rather than through educator's spectacles. Because of that, they have little bearing one way or the other upon the CLD's veracity. In Paul Mosher's phrase, the use study literature concerns itself with "the behavior of library materials." This focus results in such educationally irrelevant investigations as searches for relationships between independent schemae. As Mosher, again, put it, they attempt to

develop a translation or correspondence between the classification scheme used for library materials ... and the curriculum as set forth in the college or university catalog ... link the classification of books on the shelves to course offerings, and thus allow useful direct, quantitative studies of the relationship between acquisition and collection management programs and the mission of the library's parent institution.

Such relationships are intended as bases for library material buying policy. Even if possible, this is simplistic, and the simplism is extended by the dubious assumptions of related investigations into "the analysis of the behavior of academic disciplines and the subject literature supporting them," and "citation studies," all of which are supposed to reveal "patterns of user needs." Mosher said that the purpose of all this is to "study the behavioral characteristics of the collections themselves."¹³ It is restricted to interest in seeing which or what kinds

of specific books get used, not whether something intended as an educational program gets used.¹⁴

In other words, like Bibliographic Instruction (BI), which we saw in the preceding chapter, these are inward looking concerns. Books, not education. This bookish orientation is in keeping with one of the cardinal principles of "academic" librarianship, the honored tradition that above all, librarians must be "good bookmen." Seldom if ever is an emphasis put upon having an educator's perspective.

So that, despite the possible way of looking at the relationship between use and user studies as existing along a continuum, in practice a considerable gulf separates them, widened by the use study group's infrequent acknowledgement of the variable of interest to the user studies, but instead either assuming users or--worst of all--simply ignoring all who may not be users. As a result, even though one of the most touted products of the use studies is supposed to be determinations of "user needs," what they look at may be the activity of a small (but unknown) minority of a population.

This process of elimination, by differentiating the use studies, helps to reduce the trickiness of the user studies, by sharpening and more closely defining; but it does not eliminate the trickiness. In other words, although separating work with similar or even the same name helps trim the tangle, even the remaining core of user studies proper is tangle enough. It is still an untidy and erratic group. It was this group of research on "student use of libraries" that Philip Ennis specifically held up to exemplify "fragmentary" in his charges that

"library research" is "fragmentary, generally weak ... relentlessly oriented to immediate practice," and therefore

non-cumulative ... [lacking] an ongoing research tradition, that of empirical replication or challenge, extension or elaboration.¹⁵

The erratic and untidy nature of the literature on this subject--use versus non-use of college library operation programs by college students --produced by what Ennis spoke of, and exacerbated by the terminological confusion already discussed, means that a conventional literature search is doomed to confusion, too. It is futile to attempt to make the literature a bounded body and get an overall picture. We do not have available the reliable periodic review articles and other formative syntheses, familiar enough in other topics.

We cannot even be sure about the literature size. Some writers, such as Benson, give the misimpression that it is one of the more voluminous literatures. Actually, insofar as possible to tell, it seems not to be, although it is probably larger than Mendelsohn and Wingard thought when they said "relatively few studies have been made on the use of libraries." They found only eleven pertaining, but of these, examination reveals only about half of them actually dealt with "academic" libraries.¹⁶ Ironically, that is approximately the same number upon which Benson based his bold pronouncement quoted earlier, about a literature "saturated with studies."

For all the reasons already seen, it is also difficult to know when user studies as a separate genre began. The origin seems to have been in the 1920s. At least that seems to have been about how far back Branscomb went in his centerpiece book, at which we will look shortly. There may

be some overlap and inclusion of user study in another genre of literature, one much more popular if we are to judge by quantity, which seems also to have originated about that time; the "survey." A cursory look at the "surveys," however, finds that despite a frequent stated purpose of studying "library 'conditions,'" this seldom seems to have been thought of as including as a "condition," student use.¹⁷ At any rate, when one wishes--as here--to work with this body of studies, there is no recourse but to try to piece it together from scattered citations found in various places.

A flavor of what the adventure in plunging into the uncharted remainder of the college library user studies can encounter may be had from an example. An investigator on such an adventure, encountering such a citation would think it to be a "hit." But upon examination, it turns out to be something rather different. Student Use of Libraries is the "Papers of a Conference Within a Conference" held at a 1963 American Library Association Convention. The Foreward reads

the Conference within a Conference, having as its theme "An Inquiry into the Needs of Students, Libraries, and the Educational Process," grew out of the inadequacies of libraries to meet the needs of students which have arisen as the result of increased tempo and demand for quality in the exploding post war years ... the rush of students and their understandable insistence for services in school, college, university, and public libraries are certainly the evident and significant phenomena of our time. The Conference was designed to provide:

Information as to the nature and extent of the problem of student need and student use, and methods for its alleviation. The latest data on this subject, in an organized and informed manner.

There is a lot of platitude here, and two more myths--the "flood of students," and the "quality" myths," the first of which will be dealt with shortly, the other in a later chapter. Nevertheless, despite the

myths and puffery, we might reasonably expect from this introduction a genuine comprehensive, exhaustive overview, soundly prepared and presenting solid empirical research results amassed through the application of rigorous scientific methods. This kind of thing is regularly done with large public issues. One is surprised to be instead told that

in the following pages are distilled and synthesized the
opinions of nearly four thousand librarians¹⁸

without so much as a hint of how such a process was done. Survey research, of course, is an accepted mechanism for tapping opinion. But even that does not seem to be what was done here. Mercifully, as it turns out, the more than two hundred pages of "inquiry" contain the identified opinions of only twenty-three librarians--the authors whose papers are printed--and not the thousands promised.

But even after laboriously trimming away still more of the tangle by eliminating such false signals as the one just seen, and finally having gotten to the hard core of actual user studies, there are still further difficulties. One of these is the perverse insistence on the part of the researchers, reviewers, indexers, and synthesizers to lump together user studies concerning any and all types of library operations. They do not accommodate the needs of investigations with a higher education perspective, such as this policy analysis, with a cleancut limitation to college (or even college and university, "academic") library operations. Thus Ennis puzzlingly believed (unlike Benson) that the literature showed a "high rate of use by students," and yet in support of that belief he cited not a study from higher education, but of public libraries.

We saw in Chapter II how this disinclination to consider variety and differences among library operation contexts weakens and raises reasonable doubt about the soundness of the "historical argument." To briefly review, the refusal within the librarian profession to subdivide the conceptualization of their work by practice setting is both the result of, and evidence for, a fundamental article of faith and the organizing principle of "library science." This is the belief in an overarching corpus of common and universal principles and practices (there being, it appears that everyone agrees, no theory), a fungible and homogenized stock in trade. That leads to the positing of some sort of superordinate archetypical library operation program. This matter is taken up again in Chapter VI. But this insistence means that even after we are able to throw user studies into focus by eliminating distractions, our picture still gets knocked out of focus from other directions. The best that we can "satisfice" (to recall from Chapter I Herbert Simon's notion) is to try to eliminate all but proper "academic" library user studies, without attempting to more sharply discriminate between institutional types, into "college" and "university" categories, respectively.

The significance of this satisficed concession has to do with the organizing principle of the present analysis, announced in Chapter I, of trying to keep differentiated the institutional types in terms of library operation program, and confine attention to only those matters having to do with colleges. With the user studies we simply have no choice but to include user studies done at "universities," while recognizing this as possibly focus-upsetting. But this is not a deviation from principle. Rather, it is a pragmatic concession to the realities of the literature

itself, the data of the investigation: Most of the published work has been done at "universities." If we were to await the librarian profession to evolve a "college"-specific body of user study work, we likely would have to wait a long time, considering how long it has taken to produce even the meager and weak body of "academic" library work that has been produced so far. We must use what there is. However, using what we have available is mitigated somewhat by the fact that the studies themselves look as though they attempted to control for the potential confounding effect of the "joint production function" by having singled out undergraduate students as their study populations.

Yet another focus-upsetting problem with even the hard core of "academic" setting user studies reflects the Ennis criticism. Conceptualizations of research question and design are not consistent across the studies. It is no wonder that the authors of a major presidential commission report complained that

the research is confusing because none of the researchers appear to be aware of what other researchers are studying¹⁹

A lot of that inconsistency stems from researcher attempts to design and execute multivariate research, with each new attempt carving its own path with its own menu of variables. It is one thing to make the research more complex, as is done, by dividing the study populations along different variables, such as sex, GPA, class, resident versus commuting, and so forth. But some studies try to include others, idiosyncratic variables, often rather nebulous ones such as "satisfaction with program" reasons for use/nonuse, or comparisons between faculty and student perceptions of what students are doing and what faculty expect them to be

doing and believe they are doing. These are not unimportant questions, but they are not the main question. Similarly, some inject biases, such as loaded questions about student attitudes toward "reading." Other studies divide not the study population but instead the library operation, segmenting it by such variables as nature or genre of material, thus producing such prematurely specialized inquiries as "Who Borrows Maps from a University Map Collection and Why," or "Periodical Usage in an Educational-Psychological Library," studies which also stray back along the "use-user" continuum.²⁰ These and other idiosyncratic special features, inconsistent across studies, muddy the waters. Indeed, often the idiosyncratic special features--students attitudes, faculty perceptions--are the main variables of research interest, with the question of the deceptively simple proposition of whether students in gross do or do not use library operation programs subordinated. Perhaps for the very reason of its deceptive simplicity, the question of the simple proposition seldom gets raised. And in any event, the studies have not been designed (or at least not reported) in such a way as to make the relationships of the various issues clear.²¹

Along with user study conceptualization problems, and perhaps as a consequence of them--are methodological problems. While writers have been slow to recognize the former, a few have addressed themselves to the latter. And yet Charles Busha and Stephen Harter's section "Library User Studies" in their Research Methods in Librarianship: Techniques and Interpretations, is a sobering example of the limitations of even those few addresses. They wasted an opportunity by performing a fault identified in Chapter II with respect to historical work: They mentioned

studies, but did not critically analyze the methods, so that they gave little more than a listing, and not even complete one at that.²²

Robert Burns complained in 1978 that

one of the major factors that contribute to the clumsiness in conducting user studies and to the poor quality of these studies is the profession's lack of acceptance or adoption of rigorous methodologies such as those developed for other disciplines.

Ironically, though, Burns too confounded use and user studies, so that when he called for the creation of

valid, tested guidelines for the design of a generic instrument for discovering and measuring user response to a library or information system. This could involve the preparation of a handbook of methodologies in library usage similar to that called for by Mendelsohn and Wingard in 1967²³

and for other generic research tools, his conceptual mixtures leave it a little unclear exactly what he was calling for. It probably should be made clear that the Mendelsohn and Wingard call Burns mentioned had not only not yet at Burns' time been answered, but does not yet appear to have been.

By 1982 it had looked as though John Budd and Mike DiCarlo had finally perfected and were offering the soughtafter universal generic instrument. It was a questionnaire of multivariate design. They said that

we have adapted for use the model instrument developed by Steven Chwe (1978). Chwe's instrument is designed primarily for use by public libraries, but many of the questions asked are of a sufficiently general nature to apply to all libraries.

But even if we concede arguendo the assumption of this by-now-familiar premise of universal "library science," their study was flawed for other reasons, so that no one can know from their application whether the

instrument was good or not. What flawed the study was that their application of the student survey portion of their "measures" began with a too-small sample, whose relationship to the study population and whose randomizing were not specified. Then they got such a low response rate that--despite their statement that one purpose was to "attempt to incorporate non-users in the survey," nonetheless "from this information, it was not possible to determine what percentage of the student body could be classified as non-users," the very thing that an ideal user study would try to find out.²⁴

And while the Budd-Dicarlo lapse is not unique, it may differ from others chiefly in its having at least been realized by its authors. With others the gap between method design and execution is one of outright carelessness. One recent study looked at the previous literature and said that "a New York University study found that 57 percent of all students used the library at least once weekly."²⁵ Now that was not at all what the cited study said. Rather, it said that 57 percent of all responding--a voluntary and therefore unrandom sample of only 1748 students out of what we know had to have been a much larger (but not author specified) population--reported that frequency. This is an error of first instance made worse; both original researcher and citator were in the wrong. Another first instance error was that made in a recent user study in which the questionnaire response rate was a bare 6 percent of the total student body. Many would consider such a low response rate grossly insufficient; insufficient, certainly, to have been used to computer a chi square statistic.²⁶

The perception of methodological problems has been a chronic source of complaint in the literature about the user studies, and has been seized upon by some as an excuse to belittle them and minimize their significance. The two chief methodological approaches employed appear to have been the survey questionnaire, and unobtrusive measures using library operation records generated by operational routines. Whatever the general merits of the former, there are denunciations in the literature that in any event those librarians who have used the survey questionnaire approach did not know how to do it correctly, and have consequently come to grief.²⁷ And as for the latter, there is an undercurrent of argument--as early as Branscomb in his cornerstone 1940 book, that conclusions based on various operational records--his included--cannot really measure library "use," because no one seems to be really clear in their own minds over what they mean by "library user" anyway.²⁸

The User Studies Justified

By this point, while it is hoped that the reader may be getting a clearer appreciation of the user studies and the difficulties with this literature, the reader may also be thinking it peculiar, or even eccentric, that such pains should be taken to pick apart and level such a bill of indictments at a body of work that is supposed to be supporting a point. Is this not somewhat like a trial lawyer trying hard to impugn the credibility of her own star witness? Or like a salesman running down her own product? The answer is No. It is actually more on the order of preemptive disclosure. Most of what people say about, at second hand, these studies, is misleading. Benson's hyperbole with which this chapter began certainly is. Someone making that discovery the hard way, as this

writer did, might be disappointed into dismissing the user studies as useless on account of weakness. Indeed, many do, which only serves to further confuse the literature. That would be wrong. Benson and others are on to something; namely, the very important point that whatever their faults, the user studies--the only kind of "research" of any kind available on the matter, coming mostly from the librarian community itself, consistent in conclusions--are all to the same effect. They seem to be a clue to persistent and widespread perception, a tradition--or even apprehension--of the librarian profession about what is the "real" reality, as opposed to the constructed reality of the CLD, the myth, fiction, and propaganda. This perception is what drives the reiteration of the myth, fiction, and propaganda, and the "experiments," projects," and other heroic efforts to disprove the apprehension, such as those seen in the previous chapter; dogged attempts to make the "real" reality match the constructed one.

As said, the cornerstone of the librarian-made user studies is Harvie Branscomb's 1940 book Teaching With Books: A Study of College Libraries. This landmark monograph resulted from a joint project of the Association of American Colleges (AAC) and the American Library Association. In his Foreward AAC president Guy Snavelly wrote that

the officers of the Association of American Colleges have felt for some years that the college library needs to be coordinated more effectively with the educational and recreational programs of the college.... To come to some positive and constructive conclusions about this problem, the Association organized in the spring of 1937 a study known as The Library Project.

Branscomb's book was the report of the "Library Project." He announced in his Preface that

the task ... was ... a consideration of the extent to which the efforts of the college library are integrated with those of the institution as a whole. In other words, the project undertook to study the college library from the standpoint of its educational effectiveness rather than its administrative efficiency [sic].

What could possibly be more promising? Here, certainly, is the elusive joinder of the issues raised by the CLD's claims.

Branscomb seems to have had a clear head. His apologies for the user study as a type, mentioned earlier, suggest balance. And one of his first undertakings was to "review," in the chapter "Undergraduate Use of the Library," the extant literature of previous user studies. In order to study "educational effectiveness,"

local studies were set up. Some 60 college libraries visited, many librarians interviewed, and the immediate data thus secured supplemented by constant use of the published literature of the field.

But look closely at what Branscomb reported. Taking the "Library Project" on its face, Branscomb's judgment was that

from the data in this chapter it seems clear enough that undergraduates do not make much use of the college or library book collection [sic], not nearly so much as is ordinarily assumed.... Since the undergraduate use of the library is predominantly for curricular purposes, the above statement can be restated as follows: it seems evident that college faculties are making only a very limited use of the library in their teaching work. In a number of colleges there seem to be better libraries than are needed. This seems to demonstrate what was asserted in the previous chapter, that in spite of all its growth the library has not been fully integrated into the major program of the college.

He capped off his certainty by introducing the next chapter with the assertion that

the investigations reviewed in the previous chapter revealed the existence of a large number of undergraduates who make such slight use of the library that they would scarcely miss it if it ceased to exist.²⁹

Strong talk, and placed against the chorus of the CLD this is a shocking revelation. That was 1940 and before. What of the more recent times, the "past forty or more years" of Benson's "saturation" of the literature? In 1959 Patricia Knapp (who we met in the previous chapter at Monteith College and elsewhere) wrote up her Knox College study, another frequent citation in the writings of librarians. This was

a report of a study which attempted to discover what the college library contributes to the education of the college student. Typically the college catalog describes with considerable care the library facilities provided on the campus. Often it includes in its statement of general goals certain objectives which imply that the library is expected to play no small part in the educational enterprise. Yet we know very little about exactly what part the library actually does play [this, after at least a half century of CLD writings]. We know, from one investigation after another [sic] that most students use the library very little.... The obvious implication of all these studies is that the library's contribution to the educational program has been overstated. Use of the library is not an essential element, perhaps not even an important element, in the education of the education of the college student.

Moreover, she thought that her own findings, in general agreement with those of the earlier papers, made it reasonably certain that Knox was not an atypical institution and that patterns of student library usage at the typical liberal arts college had changed little in the preceding decade or two. Her conclusion was that

one obvious implication is that to call the library "the heart of the college" is to speak in hyperbole.³⁰

A little later, in one of the scarce instances of sustained work and chained citations, Patrick Barkey published "Patterns of Student Use of a College Library," where he reported that

in the spring of 1962 a thirty-day study was made to determine the broad pattern of student use of the library at Eastern Illinois University. The data collected were

so disturbing--indicating that 63 percent of the student body borrowed NO books during the period--that another similar survey was undertaken in the fall quarter of 1963. Both studies are reflected in this report....

He noted the similarity of his findings to Branscomb's and Knapp's and asked

do these findings represent a rather dismal trend in library use? Or, is this merely the statistical picture of a disappointing "normal?" We, of course, have no way of knowing.³¹

Then, in 1966, Gorham Lane combined the results of four studies at the University of Delaware into his paper "Assessing the Undergraduates' Use of the University Library," on the premise that "a measure of the library's effectiveness as an instrument of education" can "be obtained only by assessing the extent to which students use the library and the extent to which such use relates to academic growth." What he too found was essentially that "the results did not reveal extensive use of the library by undergraduates."³²

In 1983, Whitlach lamented over what she thought she saw in the literature as a chronic pattern of low usage. She decided the pattern was corroborated by her own study, and that it was doomed to exacerbated by new trends:

we can expect use of academic library collections and resources to decline because of (1) the trend toward part-time students and (2) majors in disciplines with low library use.³³

And the next year another study compared actual student usage of a college library with reported faculty expectation of such usage. While this study (and Whitlach's too) suffers from methodological and other problems as already noted, the authors concluded that within the bounds of their study the students "did not make even minimum use of this

resource even though faculty very strongly expected such usage," or at least so they had responded.³⁴

What can we say of the present time? Despite the fact that his treatment muddies the waters somewhat, because he clearly is not happy over what he has to report, even Earnest Boyer in his recent Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching book, College: The Undergraduate Experience in America, still was constrained to say things like "we found the library at most institutions in our study to be a neglected resource" and, acknowledging Branscomb anonymously, "this gap between the classroom and the library, reported almost half a century ago, still exists."³⁵ Ironically, here was one comprehensive study to give the library operation program "recognition," to echo Herman Fussler's lament from Chapter II. But none of this sounds much like Robinson's anecdotal "ransacking" from earlier in this chapter, or Randall and Goodrich's exclamation from Chapter I, that

the library ... now becomes the necessary haunt of the student--the source from which he obtains the materials on which his education is based.

So far we have been seeing mostly what the library community's own literature has to say. Boyer and the Carnegie Report give us an outside crosscheck, and we can do this further because a few user studies have been done by outsiders. In 1950 Ruth Eckert and others, institutional research office personnel, conducted a study "to evaluate the library's contribution to undergraduate education." Their paper began on an upbeat note, reminiscent of the Quod erat demonstrandum assumptions of a CLD rhapsody:

today the libraries of American universities are vast storehouses of human knowledge and culture, great strongholds of the western world ... Keenly aware of the central role of the library in an educational program, the University of Minnesota has consistently sought to improve its facilities and services in that field. Some changes have promoted the research activities of graduate students and faculty members; others have sought to make the library a better learning environment for undergraduate students.... The present study ... was to find out how much use undergraduate students made of various types of library materials and how satisfied they were with services rendered.

Here was a study that asked the user question even if it sound a little like a use study, and even if it typically mixed research questions. The team developed a research design and prepared questionnaires, which were administered to a student sample and a faculty sample. One of the key items was "to determine how extensively the university library was used for assigned course work," another was to make the same determination for "general education," a distinction arising from the nature of the undergraduate program at Minnesota at that time.³⁶

Their finding made ironic their opening words, and seemingly was a surprise to them (an inexplicable reaction in view of its consistency with another study by the principal investigator done in 1943, which for some reason they did not integrate with this one).³⁷ As they put it, "in view of the library's tremendous potential contribution to undergraduate instruction, these figures seem disquietingly low."³⁸

Who, then--to rephrase one of the questions of this chapter's title--does go there? Not the students very much, so it appears, on the authority of persons who disapprove of their absence, authority that may not be overwhelming or conclusive but which raises a reasonable doubt over contrary answers. Interestingly, one group on campus that does go

there seems to be librarians, the "staff of personnel" component of Lyle's library operation program model from Chapter I. Indeed, this component, expressed as a budget category, is said to account for "between 50 and 60 percent" of a college library operation program budget.³⁹ The matter of the college library operation as employer comes up again in Chapter VI.

The Uses Made By The Users

But by all accounts, some students do go there, do make use of the library. What about them? Why do they go there? For what purposes do they use it? Not, it seems, to improve their academic standing relative to their classmates; nor, conversely, because they do better academically than their classmates. There seems to be little association between variables, of any directionality. This is a difficult thing to pry loose from the user studies and related writings. They are rich with assumption, suggestion, implication, and innuendo that there is such an association between library use, and the best and brightest. Ernest Boyer's are the only latest of such wishful thinking, even though he grudgingly accepts Branscomb's explanation that the students

do not use library's books because in a great deal of their work they do not have to; they can do quite acceptable work, in some cases better work, without doing so.⁴⁰

It is the discrepancy between what research has found, and what writers clearly would prefer it had found, that contributes to making the user study literature a confusing tangle.

Indeed, Branscomb himself waxed oratorically expansive over the issue, asking

the facts so startlingly portrayed by the figures suggest that the subject be pursued one step further. Who are the undergraduates who do not use the library? Are they the misfits and failures, along with others who barely get by, but are retained by college authorities in the hope of some later blooming of talents heretofore unrevealed? Does this large percentage of students who are indifferent to the resources of the library indicate that students to that extent have been accepted for college enrolment who cannot use the opportunities which it offers, or is the explanation rather that under present methods of instruction these students do not find a use of the library necessary or essential? In other words, where lies the difficulty, with the student, the instructor, or the library?

Branscomb answered his own question with an exoneration of the students. Even though he cautioned that the exact questions as he put them did not seem to have been studied, there were some examinations of relationships between "library usage and scholastic standing." These were inconclusive results of various approaches but none of them showed strong positive relationship. This caused him to utter the words paralleling those quoted half-heartedly by Boyer:

From the student's standpoint one could say that these students neglected the library's resources, because they found that they did not need them in order to do acceptable work.⁴¹

Nothing in subsequent work--between Branscomb and Boyer--has disturbed Branscomb's summations. One author shortly after quibbled with him, but conceded that while

there have been several attempts to discover whether there is any relation between a student's use of the library, as measured by the number of books he borrows, and his course grades [, the] results seem to show a lack of correlation.⁴²

Patricia Knapp, in fact, noted that Branscomb's evidence was "corroborated in later studies, including the present one, which shows a low

correlation between scholastic standing and library use." She went on to agree that

we know, from one investigation after another, that some students apparently manage to do adequate college work without using it at all. Studies have shown, moreover, that the few who use the library a good deal are not necessarily the brightest nor the most successful on the campus.⁴³

Patrick Barkey (of "dismal trend" and "disappointing normal") was of two minds. On the one hand he found a low positive correlation between GPA and books borrowed, prompting his comment that "this seems to indicate that more of the better students use the library and that the lower grade point average the fewer library withdrawals." But then he apparently undercut himself by continuing that "conclusions drawn from the comparison of gradepoint averages and library withdrawals are not very reliable," for which he gave an example showing the GPA differences to be minimal.⁴⁴

Then there was Lane, who decided his studies revealed that

correlational relationships between scholastic standing in high school, or grade point average in college and the number of books withdrawn also failed to reach statistical significance.⁴⁵

And Whitlach announced

a finding that there is little relationship between academic achievement and library use. One study did find that as a student's grade point average rose, so did the repeated use of the library; however, data collected at San Jose did not confirm this thesis.⁴⁶

It seems pretty clear that the user studies boil down to no substantial connection between academic success and library use (or non-use) in the delivery of college education to undergraduates. This issue, too, is amenable to some crosschecking, by coming at it from another quarter.

Oscar Lenning and others published a sizeable literature review whose purpose was to include all of what they called "non-intellective" correlates of grades and other college achievement or "academic success" published between 1963 and 1969. That the compilers were sensitized to student library use as one such possible "non-intellective correlate" is demonstrated by their having caught Barkey's paper (they called him "Barkley") in their net. It is reasonable to assume they would have caught others, although their record is not perfect (they missed Lane although his paper fell within their time span). On the other hand, they also caught one that is seldom found cited by other writers in the user study tangle, v.z., L. Kramer and M. Kramer's "The College Library and the College Drop-Out," which found a positive but low relationship between grades and library use.⁴⁷

But the main thing about the Lenning et al review is that it ended up putting Barkey, and Kramer and Kramer, into a chapter called "Unique and MIscellaneous Correlates of Academic Achievement." This included

a number of variables [which] were examined by only one or a few studies.... Other studies were merely of variables in which littler research interest was evident. In some cases, the miscellaneous variables were studied only as an aside and the research focus was on other variables.⁴⁸

The point is, that while scarcity of evidence is, of course, akin to negative evidence, nonetheless that is the same as absence of positive evidence, just as in Chapter II; and that is sufficient to raise reasonable doubt that those students who do go there are either the better students, or made thereby the better students. We await objective and disinterested studies with findings otherwise.

Provokingly, there is also another sort of "user" literature, a back channel murmur, about "Who goes there? and for what?" There are other "uses," we learn, probably contrary to each other, certainly contrary to the College Library Doctrine.

One of these was mentioned by Boyer in his Carnegie book, but what he said suggests that he and his staff may not have thought very strenuously about what they were saying meant. In one paragraph Boyer was very emphatic about the low amount of time most undergraduates spend in the library, and backed this up with a tabular presentation headed "Hours Undergraduates Spend Studying in the Library in a Normal Week." In the next paragraph he began "We found that the library is viewed by most undergraduates as simply a quiet place to study."⁴⁹ What did not get asked there with sufficient sharpness is "Study what?" Had it been, had these two ideas been better linked in their thinking, Boyer et al might have come up with what could be called the "study hall" tradition.

This is an unloved and seldom mentioned understanding. Lyle reluctantly acknowledged it, with evident distaste:

To get right down to bedrock, there is the college library that serves largely as a central study hall for students reading their own textbooks. This level of library service was characteristic of most library use during the first quarter of the present century and still flourishes today in more colleges than one cares to think about.... However complacently the administration and faculty view the spectacle of students crowding the reading room of the library, the fact remains that most of them are studying their own textbooks and appear to have no incentive to use the library except as a refuge for study.

He went on to speak of a second level, higher on his scale of preference, which added "reserve" books, about which he thought that

without definite data one cannot speak too finally about such matters, but it is probably fair to say that this

level of use, combined with study hall use characterizes the patronage of most college libraries today.

Considering that this is in flat contradiction to what Lyle and everyone else has told us everywhere else, and considering that in this discussion Lyle omitted to make any reference to his own previous study in which he found just such extensive usage of the edifice as a "study hall" by students who had brought in their own textbooks and other materials, and little else, this may be as close to a clear glimpse of the matter as we may get.⁵⁰ By and large the CLD writings do not try to rationalize and legitimize this rendition of "heart of the college," although some authors in the user literature lean that way. Budd and DiCarlo said that "the library must provide a place conducive to study and research [sic]," and "since the libraries of NLU and SLU are centers of student activity, comfort is of prime importance." Likewise Lane, who wrote

since university libraries are often used not just as a source of library materials, but also as a place where students study their own books and notes, an analysis was made of the materials the students were using at the time of the survey. More than half of the freshmen were using only their own books but the number of students using the library as a place in which to study their own books decreased steadily from the freshman through the senior year.⁵²

But familiarity with the librarian literature leads to a sense that Lyle's low opinion of this kind of use is the majority opinion among the profession.

The other user tradition, even more shadowy and fainter than the "study hall" tradition, might be called the "student union annex" usage. It recalls Budd and DiCarlo's phrase "centers of student activity." If it has a source and locus, that would probably be Wilhelm Munthe's comments. In the mid-1930s the Carnegie Corporation commissioned Munthe,

a Norwegian observer apparently already familiar with "conditions" in American "academic libraries," to make a tour and report his impressions. These appeared in American Librarianship From A European Angle, where he disdainfully described the kind of student usage he found:

a chance visitor to the library will perhaps get the opposite impression [he had just mentioned the "low use" perceptions]. Due to the large enrollment at colleges he will as a rule find the reading room teeming with students in action. But he will be surprised to note what a small percentage of them really seem to be absorbed in their work. Most of them seem to take their reading as an assigned task[?]. Their attention follows everyone coming in or going out. The library has become the center of the college in a sense that it was not intended: it has become the one great meeting place on the campus. Here some come with their "dates," and still others just to visit. There is nothing left of anything like a serious atmosphere. The students have become "poised with that air of expectancy one sees in a railway waiting room."⁵³

There is a rich irony in Floyd Reeves and John Russell having written within a few years of Munthe a passage he (doubtless unawares) seems to have echoed, "the whole center of the academic life of the institution seems to be shifting from the classroom to the library."⁵⁴ Interestingly, although he made no explicit connections either with the user literature or with such previous writers as Munthe, in 1960 Winslow Hatch, as a consequence of his variant of the "cardiac image" seen in Chapter I, made it an "item" that "the plant of experimental colleges and programs be developed around a large library-student union building."⁵⁵

A great deal remains to be learned about student learning behavior, not the least in terms of student relationships with college library operation programs. Most of what exists so far is totally unsupported assumption. Indeed, some of it is flagrantly contradictory. For instance, there is, as we saw, the "study hall" tradition"--itself at

odds with the standard picture of students as avid users of the book collection, to the extent that it forms the basis of their undergraduate education; and yet as the result of an important outside study which took a hard look at the facilities "standard" of the ACRL "Standards for College Libraries," Lawrence Lieberfeld said "we [Peat, Marwick, Mitchell & Co., consultants] are convinced that the primary locus of study is the student's residence, in virtually all institutions." In other words, there is reasonable doubt about even that form of student use, distant as it is from the centerline of the CLD.

Lieberfeld had hard words for the situation resulting from the paucity of substantial hard data on just what college libraries are used for, and by whom:

a great many academic libraries have been built over the past twenty-five years, and a great deal has been written about their planning and construction. [Yet] what is curious is the inconsistency between what is written and built on the one hand, and the actual use of these buildings on the other. There is an abstract, almost mythic quality to the writings and to the widely utilized planning guidelines, as if there were no lessons to be learned by reviewing what happens after the buildings are occupied. The result of ignoring experience in the planning and designing of academic libraries has been a substantial waste of resources.⁵⁶

This all makes for a rather sticky and unanswered lot of questions. The point, of course, is not that there is anything necessarily wrong with such usage patterns (among those who are users) as the "study hall" and "student union annex" traditions, even though they clearly are not the current basis for policy. The librarians may abhor them, and they add to the reasonable doubt over the CLD itself, which may be why the librarians abhor them. But the questions are more like policy questions about whether such possibly real-world uses could not be accommodated at lower

cost. The stickiest question is, What about all those books, if what is really wanted is a study hall/activities room? Growth in their numbers has been the prime mover in the ceaseless edifice requirements. They are enshrined in the planning documents Lieberfeld castigated. By process of elimination, if even at "universities," a fortiori at "colleges," "research" by the professoriate is problematic, so that arguments for all those books based on faculty "needs" are problematic (as was seen in Chapter I); and if whatever use the students make of the program is mostly of the physical facilities rather than the books, what is left? What other purposes could there be?

Or, let us come at it from a different vantage. The distinction between use and user studies having by now served its purpose, let us recombine them as a tool. It is instructive to return to Broadus' paper, where he remarked about a number of benchmark bibliometric studies which have produced such "laws" of distribution as the "Bradford-Ziph Law." Another is "Trueswell's 80-20 Rule." These are said to predict that relatively few of a library's books account greatly disproportionately for the use of the books there. Trueswell's Rule states that "Eighty percent of circulation comes from 20 percent of the collection, with variations." Broadus was moved to remark on "the great percentage of disused and unused books that university libraries have."⁵⁷ This, of course, is related to the "Pittsburgh Study" mentioned earlier in Note 12. For some reason it and its issues have provoked a much greater controversy than the user issues of the "study hall" and "student union annex" threads, although as discussion below in Chapter VI suggests, perhaps that is because the publishing industry, which has been the chief

protestor, perceives the implications of the bibliometric studies to be a greater threat. But apparently no one until now has recognized how damaging--to the College Library Doctrine as an abstraction, to say nothing of all the policy built on its premises--is the synergistic meaning of the combination made here. Put differently, the faculty factored out by the research issue raised in Chapter I, if few students use the program, and if of these, the ones using it for books instead of something else nonetheless use only a few of the books, to what rational end is the endless engorgement of more and more buildings with more and more books?

The Rationalization of Anomalies

Let us try another tack on the anomaly theme. All of the discrepancies and contradictions presented in this analysis are sprinkled around quite openly in the canon of library literature itself. No magic is required to discover them, merely dogged sifting and sorting, trying to put it all in order for meaning. How have the writers in that canon who propound the CLD dealt with all of the discrepancy and contradiction? They have done so in a way that would itself be anomalous under a scientific community model, in which research tackles questions and problems disinterestedly, but is perfectly consistent with an interest group model, a trade association or occupation organization model: They have acted as though it is not there. They ignore it or rationalize it away, through subtle processes of disassociation, selective emphasis and rearrangement, infinite variations of the kettle defense, the fictional questions fallacy.

These processes are all at work in Guy Lyle's treatise. The very physical format of the book makes it hard to resist the suspicion of strategem. His Chapter I sets the stage. It is consistent with the College Library Doctrine and the traditions of the profession. The next six chapters all go into details of the routines of internal library practice, and not until Chapter VIII does he "get right down to bedrock," as he put it in the passage quoted above. But even then, he emphasizes preferences and ideals. Moreover, he does not mention the user studies (or, indeed, the use studies). He does mention and cite Branscomb and his book several times. But one would never know what Branscomb wrote about students as non-users of libraries from what Lyle wrote. That--the main thrust of Branscomb's book--is simply ignored.

The same processes may also be seen at work in the "Resource Book" issued by the National Commission on Libraries. In this volume a major section was headed "The Functions of Academic Libraries in Undergraduate Education." It is again, vintage CLD, a rehash of the historical argument. This is followed by two sections on library usage, in which the authors singled out and emphasized their own peculiar interpretation of Gorham Lane's then-recent paper, saying that

Lane's study indicates that few students use the library for recreational reading. If students do not use the library for recreation, and only a quarter of the courses stimulate the use of most library materials, the question might legitimately be asked whether or not the library really fulfills its classic [sic] role for the undergraduate public in the modern college setting.

Having thus thrown out the "recreational" red herring ("recreational" use is a negligible theme in both the CLD and in Lane's paper) they continued, acknowledging "limitations" in the user studies, that

even so, the results of the present research are suggestive and may have important implications for professional and academic libraries [sic]. That fewer than 30 percent of college students and fewer than 40 percent in any one class were found using library facilities during a given week, and that the majority of men sampled withdrew no books or materials from the general collection during a given semester have important implications for curriculum and library planning. That a library's general collection is not widely used by undergraduates, and that when it is used, such use does not seem to have any significant relationship to academic achievement, suggest that an evaluation of the usefulness of a university library in terms of the general collection alone would be in order.

And they imply that note is duly taken of all this: They say "these points are already perceived to some extent, and being used as bases for decision-making." Used where? They are not even used subsequently in the Commission "Resource book" itself. Everywhere else in the volume the writers behaved as though such "points" had never been made, and talked of other things. So that, in the rest of the 650-odd pages it was as though the Lane revelations had never been uttered. Indeed, in tone Chekovian the summative essay, beyond which some may not read, remarked that

it is at other levels within the formal educational system--the secondary school, college, and university levels--that library needs are most evident and least satisfied.⁵⁸

Simple ignoring has been the process of dealing with the problematics employed in such documents as the successive versions of the Association of College and Research Libraries' "Standards for College Libraries" and ancillary documents. There is no "already perceived to some extent and being used as bases for decision-making" here. Even if we allow the drafters of such presumptuous prescriptions issued under color of authority a most generous latitude, and assume that they did not

know about the user studies, and the heterodox usage traditions--although that would mean that they were shockingly uninformed in their own field of expertise--how could we believe that they did not know about the recent presidential commission "Resource Book?" It strains credulity. We are entitled to assume their constructive knowledge, and therefore, willful exclusion when the "Standards" are silent on this matter.

These processes of repressing the contradictions and anomalies result in even Ernest Boyer's quarrelling with his own findings, and recommending revision to bring things into line with preferences. What else are we to make of it when, scarcely three pages after having just gotten through acknowledging the longevity of the tradition of low use, he rationalizes that

the undergraduate library must be viewed as a vital part of the undergraduate experience and every college should establish a basic books library to serve the specific needs of the undergraduate program.⁵⁹

This, in virtually the next breath after having just told us that the undergraduate program had chronically shown that it has no such needs. And from there it was down the primrose path of speculation, unproven proposals and untested panaceas, such as "bibliographic instruction" (BI) which we saw in the preceding chapter; a virtual librarians' wish list. Boyer's treatment could have been written by a librarian publicist (and in all likelihood the substance of it was, since this Carnegie report had a librarian consultant). About the only cause missing was "faculty status for librarians," which will be taken up in Chapter VI.

Or what are we to make of Boyer's subsequent participation in a symposium on "Librarians and the Search for Academic Excellence," in which according to a published report, he "linked the Carnegie report

with the symposium theme?" The published report gives no indication of Boyer (or of any of the other higher education leaders present, such as Frank Newman of the Education Commission of the States) having even acknowledged, much less come to grips with, what Boyer said in College. Instead, the account reads like standard CLD fare; speculation, "potential," and special cases. Interestingly, this article reproduced without interpretative comment the College table, "Hours Undergraduates Spend Studying in the Library in a Normal Week." A close and careful reading of the account of symposium proceedings reveals that a great deal of what was said by educators there was in the form of abstract supportive statements of prescription and predeliction: Boyer, in direct quotation, spoke of "the model of the undergraduate experience that I would imagine for the future ..."⁶⁰ One of the special cases--Earlham College--frequently appears in the CLD literature. Its librarian and driving force Evan Farber is, in turn, a frequent author in the CLD literature. And he was the librarian consultant to the Boyer Carnegie report, College.

And dealing with the contradictions and anomalies through such processes enables the primary messengers of the bad news themselves to avoid apostasy, blame, and guilt. They mitigate. They use their reports as soap boxes, pulpits from which to shift blame and issue ringing calls. Thus Branscomb's disinclination to just simply report what he and the others before him had found moved him to restate himself in a way that is important because it is so widely misrepresented by others when they cite Branscomb's book, rather than simply ignoring it. He said

one does not need to debate these or other alternatives
[reasons for what he found]. The fact which confronts one

is that the library is not functioning in close and vital connection with the teaching program.⁶¹

Yet "debate the issue" he did, the lengthy remainder of his book being a turning of his findings and conclusions into a good example of the "dark side" of the fictional questions fallacy that was seen here earlier in Chapters II and III. He hectored others (the college president ought to exert "leadership" to change this distasteful condition). He gave approving descriptions of places where atypically, through special effort, it had been changed, he believed. It is this latter part of Branscomb's book--where he shows that, find what he may, his heart of the college is in the right place--which causes the book to so often surprisingly turn up being cited as though supporting the CLD. Thus also Knapp (who as we saw in the previous chapter went on to fight the good fight), with such heresy-avoiding dicta as "one obstacle is a cluster of faculty attitudes toward the library which add up to general inertia." She spoke in a significant inversion: "these library-use objectives were not effectively implemented by the curriculum," and in a statement that is likely to provoke argument in some quarters, "[the librarians] are in a better position than anyone except, perhaps, the dean, to see the student's academic career as a whole."⁶² Doubtless it would come as a surprise to many in higher education to learn that such assertions are made. But this is how the authors of user studies have managed to stay right with their peers. They have turned research into tracts. And this behavior is completely in line with the concepts of organization myth, fiction, and propaganda guiding this analysis.

The rationalization and rapprochement with the CLD by the user studies and other anomalies is one of the fascinations of the literature.

Another is the tone of naive wonder with which some of the writers about library nonuse rediscover that college students, for as long as it matters for purposes here, have done and continue to do just what they have to do, with remarkable adaptability. Syndicated columnist Paul Greenberg acted as though the Boyer/Carnegie Foundation report had announced discovery of a new epidemic pathogen in "obsession with grades," or "grade-grubbing," which he read about there in Chapter 9. Greenberg, Boyer, and the Foundation team all appear to have simply overlooked that as long ago as his own time, Branscomb decided that students could figure out what they had to do, and using the library according to the CLD's imagined model was not part of it. Apparently, even though they read the "how-to-study" manuals they learn what the real story is. That is the "hidden curriculum" of which some speak, whether it matches writer preferences or not. That college students rationally engage in a calculus of strategy was a finding of Howard Becker, Blanche Geer, and Everett Hughes in their famous study Making the Grade: The Academic Side of College Life, which made simplistic the cherished conceit of college students as academic acolytes, discipline disciples. Their interest may be less "the adventure of learning in college," and more the business of getting a degree.⁶³ This, indeed, is another collegiate tradition, according to some accounts. According to Laurence Veysey, speaking of times before Becker, Geer and Hughes, the "refusal of students to take up learning for its own sake," instead substituting "grade-grubbing" for "intellectual earnestness," happened.⁶⁴ Student motives of careerism, credentialism, and vocationalism--as old as the medieval university--are facts even the rose-colored glasses of the

latest Carnegie report cannot blink.⁶⁵ It looks like the failure of people to respond to what speakers and writers said these same people were demanding.

Demographics and Fictional Demands

Overshadowing all else is the covering anomaly that the decades of scant use are the very same decades during which and about which the librarian tracts, the CLD literature, tell a much different story. Guy Lyle tells that "during the first three decades of the twentieth century the use of the college library for reading and study increased greatly."⁶⁶ Consider a theme which fits better here than in Chapter II as a part of the "historical argument," now that the user studies have given it context. This theme, a fiction or myth that might be called the "liquidity" argument, and its imagined "demands," is a classic instance of post hoc fallacy and wishful thinking. Depending upon when written, it either predicted that a certain phenomenon would occur, or claimed that it did, impacting the college library operation. This energizing phenomenon was the demographic bulge and consequent record high college and university enrollments of the 1960s. The myth or fiction assumed this as perforce equating with "expanding user population." Perhaps here was a too-literal adaptation of the economists' adage about how all boats float higher in rising water.

We have already seen the assumption voiced, just above in the ALA's 1963 "Conference Within a Conference" as, to repeat,

the rush of students and their understandable insistence for services and materials ... are certainly the most evident and significant phenomena of our time.⁶⁷

And in 1969 the thick volume of staff writings called the "Resource Book," with which the National Advisory Commission on Libraries amidst fanfare accompanied its final report to the president, in its discussion of library economics said

the rise in the number of college and university students and the increase in the population generally means that more and more individuals will have to be served. All of this implies that library costs can be expected to grow even more rapidly than our basic analysis suggests.⁶⁸

This line of thinking was carried into the testimony presented at the congressional committee hearings on the Higher Education Act of 1965. There a blue ribbon delegation of library interest group lobbyists, and the Secretary of DHEW, said such things as

current national statistics show a decline in the number of college and university libraries per student. The reason is that enrollments are increasing faster than per-student expenditures for books. Today an estimated \$226 million is needed merely to stock the shelves of our universities with the books needed for the present student and faculty population. Meanwhile the rising college and university enrollments are expected to swell from today's 4.8 to 6.9 million by 1970 (Anthony Celebreze, Secretary DHEW).

The pressure comes from the user--the student and the faculty ... with the rapid increase in the student population, the needs of the students are continuing to outgrow the libraries (Archie McNeal, President ACRL).

A key question in the minds of the librarians ... is whether, under current educational and economic conditions, they can run fast enough to stand still. A basic factor in the situation, with which you are of course familiar, affects the whole world of higher education, and that factor is the mounting tide of student enrollment, constantly rising ... expanding demands on every front ... as huge student enrollments begin to swamp college and university campuses ... (Robert Downs, Dean of Library Administration, University of Illinois).⁶⁹

The "deluge" was a popular datum--or at least a popular source of figures of speech--of the period. Ronald Thompson called it The Impending Tidal

Wave in Higher Education.⁷¹ Clifton Brock wrote of "The Rising Tide: Some Implications for College and University Libraries." (Brock, incidentally, provides continuity and illustrates the interweaving of themes and motifs in the story line of the CLD; he was also sure that the "tendency away from textbook and lecture teaching has now assumed the proportions of a definite trend," a fiction explicated in Chapter II). He saw the "flood" positively:

in the future it looks as if they [librarians] will have an opportunity and a challenge to make the library as important a part of college and university instruction as they know it should be.⁷²

And Frederick Wagman, a university librarian (University of Michigan), was playing familiar tunes: "this paper is based on the assumption that current national trends are altering the problems of the college library and demanding 'new approaches and solutions!'" He warned that

the most significant current trends derive ... from the phenomenal growth of our population. The rate of increase of our college-age group has been statistically predictable and stridently predicted for at least a decade [one of the] recent developments affecting the college and its library [that] are so obvious that it seems banal to dwell upon them.⁷³

The heralded event--the "deluge"--of course took place, and is an indisputable demographic fact. It is thus unlike such "facts" as the demise of the lecture and the textbook. Afterward, temporally on the far side, stands Guy Lyle, for one, with his retrospective interpretation that

with ... the tremendous increase in student enrollment beginning in the fifties,⁷⁴ the college library took on heavy new responsibilities.

As we have seen, others such as Boyer, Benson, and the post-"deluge" user studies raise reasonable doubt about this.

We could let it go at that. But that would be to surrender an important point. The "deluge" motif is such a tempting target--if for no reason other than its frequent repetition coupled with the pervasiveness of its underlying logic--that it invites exposé of two crucial, fundamental errors. First, as said, it is a type of post hoc (and cum hoc) fallacy which is also demonstrated by such examples as the ACRL "Standards" formulaic attempts to base allocations to library operation programs upon the mere existence of gross institutional demographics such as FTEs. The error of logic common to both could just as well be used to argue that a magazine's readership is whatever the national population happens to be.

Second, the "deluge" is a mixed distortion of fact and logic. It is a distortion of fact, because as it is presented it always involves a truncating of the time line, which serves to exaggerate the appearance. It is not unlike the exaggerations done with graphs that students of beginning statistics are warned about. And it is also a "fallacy of narration." Because actually the basal pattern of growth and expansion was really over a much longer time than the "deluge" metaphor would have us believe. As the Carnegie Commission put it, "since 1870, enrollments in higher education have grown at a compound annual rate of 5 percent; ahead of the total population growth of 1.6 percent."⁷⁵ Eric Ashby expressed it as a straight line on a logarithmic scale.⁷⁶ Or, as Seymour Harris chose to express it, "over this period of 94 years [1869-70 to 1963-64] the number of institutions rose nearly four times, resident degree-credit enrollment 80 times; and bachelor's and first professional degrees 53 times"⁷⁷ Thus, while not for a moment gainsaying the enroll-

ment bulge of the post World War II "deluge" period, it was really only a relative part of a longer term historical growth pattern.

And this longer perspective on growth is necessary because, in one form or another, the "deluge" is such an old bromide in the CLD writings.

In 1937, for instance, George Works was writing

since the beginning of the twentieth century American colleges and universities have undergone an essential transformation. The enormous growth in the number of students [etc.]. It is obvious that these changes have completely altered the position of the university or college library⁷⁸

which collides with what Branscomb's student use retrospective said about the same period. It appears, actually, that everyone throughout the whole history of American higher education since the Civil War has felt a "deluge" (except for the "four short periods" accounted for by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching) and that what constitutes a "deluge" has been a myopic and situation-bound notion.⁷⁹ And at that, even if the rains did come, the predicted and/or reported outcomes are dubious.

Investigators of a succession of national scandals suffixed "--gate" have found that an unflinching trail through tangles of happenings is the audit trail. They applied the "Willie Sutton principle" and went where the money was. Taking a cue from them and a clue from something Lyle wrote, noted in the preceding chapter, we may do the same. He complained that college students do not know how to use the college library despite "an enormous amount ... of money" spent on trying to change that.⁸⁰ Pace Lyle, he got that a few spaces off. What the money has really gone for is the attempt to reshape empirical reality by promoting a "place" for

college libraries in the scheme of academic organization. Money has been lavished on this anomaly revision for about as long as the College Library Doctrine has been telling a different story, and yet the evidence says otherwise than the CLD's story.

As Lyle himself said, there was "no blinking the fact that the award [of a grant] has carried with it prestige for the library which has helped to impress the faculty and administration."⁸¹ Decades earlier Munthe wrote of "the Awakening of the College Library," which he chose to date "in the last decade," and which he ascribed to the (then) huge funding activities of the same Carnegie Corporation that commissioned his study (a matter pursued further in Chapter V):

undoubtedly of greater significance than the actual gift of a million dollars itself was the action as a tonic to college libraries. Presidents and trustees now had to give serious consideration to the condition of their libraries....⁸²

And then there are the staggering amounts of money showered down upon college library programs in order to stimulate their usage and "awaken" them, enhance their "recognition" (in Fussler's term from Chapter II) by such federal aid programs as the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963, the Higher Education Act of 1965, with amendments and continuations, and less obvious ones such as the National Endowment for the Humanities. This is in addition to greatly increased state and local funding, and the continued largess of charitable foundations and individuals, though the federal dollars dwarf the rest.

The point is that if there has been a true "deluge," it has been the deluge of dollars. Indeed, if we reassemble all of the diffuse materials of this policy analysis around the organizing principle of getting and

spending, a complete and coherent explanatory pattern falls into place. Whatever else the literature of the College Library Doctrine may or may not be, it is a literature about money. This principle may not always be so transparently obvious as in the case of the congressional committee hearings on proposed funding legislation, the "Resource Book" of the National Advisory Commission on Libraries, or the ACRL's "Standards for College Libraries." But this principle allows us to factor out the anomalies which make the literature contradictory and confusing; such unrelated matters as the delivery of college education. The principle itself is consistent and regular, describing normal organization behavior.

Summary

To review, then, the "user studies" and related anomalies, we find--although there is no decisive evidence--that it just may be that college students do not make much use of college library operation programs in getting their undergraduate educations and baccalaureate degrees, at least if we require that the library operation program be defined as that definition was set in Chapter I; that those who do use it are not clearly the better students either as a cause or effect; that they may use that portion they have been remarked upon using, for what some consider "wrong" purposes; and that, for other reasons as well, "demand" may have been illusory.

Notes to Chapter IV

1. Ernest Boyer, College: The Undergraduate Experience in America, New York: Harper & Row, 1987, page 24.
2. Samuel Rothstein, The Development of Reference Services Through Academic Tradition, Public Library Practice, and Special Librarianship, Chicago: Association of College and Research Libraries, 1955, page 21. Rothstein's chapter is titled "The College Library and the Doctrine of Use." Brubacher and Rudy also mention the idea. According to them, a key part of the "coming of age" of "American learning" was how "in the 1870s Melvil Dewey and Justin Winsor pioneered a new philosophy for college libraries claiming that 'a book is never so useful as when it is in use'" (Higher Education in Transition, 3rd ed., New York: Harper & Row, 1976, page 187). This, illustrating a writers' quirk discussed in Chapter II, is in their chapter "Development of the Graduate School," about the university. See also Kenneth Brough, Scholars' Workshop, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1953, pages 27-33; Brough called it "The Doctrine of Making Books Useful," and his account makes it sound more like Winsor's alone.
3. Otis Robinson, quoted in Edward Holley, "Academic Libraries in 1876," in Richard Johnson, ed., Libraries for Teaching, Libraries for Research, Chicago: American Library Association, 1977, pages 1-33, at 16.
4. Edward Holley, "Academic Libraries," page 17. Holley presented several pages of anecdotes all creating the impression that from roughly 1876 onward there was underway a burgeoning, ever-growing movement of student (even when not explicit, it would just about have had to have been student, as the idea of "research" by the professoriate was, by all accounts, still in infancy) usage of their "college" libraries. His implication was that this was the origin of a present state of being.
5. Eli Oboler, Ruth Walling, and David Webster, comps., College and University Library Accreditation Standards-1957, Chicago: American Library Association, 1958.
6. H. Brown, "College Librarians Are Not Teachers," Library Journal (1940) 910-911, at 910.
7. Stanley Benson, "The Library's Status in Undergraduate Instruction: 'Far From the Heart of Things,'" in Academic Libraries: Myths and Realities, Chicago: Association of College and Research Libraries, 1985, pages 215-221, at 216.
8. Lewis Mayhew, Colleges Today and Colleges Tomorrow, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1969, page 5.

9. Robert Broadus, "Use Studies of Library Collections," Library Resources and Technical Services 24 (1980) 317-324, at 317. His is a more careful and useful definition than that offered by Jane Tobin, viz., "A library 'use study,' defined, is any study which deals with the use of the library, in any or all of its aspects, by its patrons or its staff" ("A Study of 'Use Studies,'" Information Storage and Retrieval 10 (1974) 101-113, at 101). Tobin's "study" reflects most of the literature confusions discussed here, and a few not, one of which is the irrelevance of internationalism, the inclusion of a study at a Hungarian university. Her paper is not exactly a review article, as she does not list the studies studied. Surprisingly, of the fifteen areas she saw as needing further research, how or whether U.S. college students use college library programs was not one of them, despite the fact that she may (it is hard to tell) have found as few as six; see her Table 9. None of the foregoing observations seem changed by Susan Lazinger's "update" (it used a different search protocol) "Tobin's 'A Study of Library 'Use Studies': an ERIC Update of Neglected Areas of Research," Government Publications Review 11 (1984) 165-171.
10. Such mixtures seem to stem from as well as promote conceptual and semantic confusion. An example of such a confusing mixture is Robert Burns, "Library Use as Performance Measure: Its Background and Rationale," Journal of Academic Librarianship 4 (1978) 4-11.
11. For example, in addition to the works cited in following endnotes, see one of the pioneer use studies, Herman Fussler and Julian Simon, Patterns in The Use of Books in Large Research Libraries, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969.
12. William Buckland, New York: Pergamon Press, 1983, pages 166 ff. See also William Potter, ed., "Bibliometrics," Library Trends 30 (Summer 1981); and David Nicholas and Maureen Ritchie, Literature and Bibliometrics, London: Clive Bingley, 1978. Nicholas and Ritchie offered this borrowed definition: "The definition and purpose of bibliometrics is to shed light on the process of written communications and the nature and course of a discipline (in so far as this is displayed through written communication) by the means of counting and analyzing the various facets of written communication" (page 9). They added to this their own gloss that "expressed simply, 'bibliometrics' is the statistical or quantitative description of a literature--'literature' taken here to mean, simply, a group of related documents, "and the way in which individuals relate to one or more "literatures."

Also see Philip Ennis' integrative attempt, in which he became diverted by concerns over "information transfer," "communication," and "sociology of science" ("The Study of the Use and Users of Recorded Knowledge," Library Quarterly 34 (1964) 305-314). Thus with both relief (it is a topic with enough of its own confusions) and regret (it has generated in its own corner great interest and controversy, and certainly a higher profile than user

studies) we are for the time being directed away from an area which, by virtue of being an interface between libraries and "information science," is perhaps the closest thing to a "library science" going. Here we would have seen what has "come to be known as the 'Pittsburgh Study,' the 'Galvin-Kent Study,' or the 'Kent Study,'" as Borokowski, Brumble and MacCleod quote the University of Pittsburgh Faculty Library Committee having called it, in Library Journal 106 (April 1981) 710-713. The full history of this altercation has yet to be written because it is still being waged. But its gist may be sufficiently understood from the article just cited, or from Borokowski and MacCleod's related article in Scholarly Publishing 11 (1979) 3-24. For the same reasons we pass by such bibliometric works as Frederick Lancaster's Measurement and Evaluation of Library Services (Washington: Information Resources Press, 1979). And, ironically, we temporarily leave Broadus' article, which supplied our useful distinction, because it was a use paper, wherein he talked about, among other things, the "Pittsburgh Study." We will have reason to return later, after understanding what the user studies mean, and again in Chapter VI.

13. Paul Mosher, "Quality and Library Collections: New Directions in Research and Practice in Collection Evaluation," in Advances in Academic Librarianship, Orlando, FL: Academic Press, Inc., 1984, pages 211-238, at 214, 215, 217, 222, 230.
14. For example, Richard Davis and Catherine Bailey's Bibliography of Use Studies (Philadelphia: Drexel Institute of Technology, 1964) is a 98 page collection of citations consisting mostly of studies about the use of engineering literature by American engineers. It was supplemented by L. DeWeese's "A Bibliography of Library Use Studies," in A. Jain, Report of a Statistical Study of Book Use, Lafayette, IN: Purdue University, 1967.
15. Philip Ennis, "Commitment to Research," Wilson Library Bulletin 41 (1967), 899-901, at 899.
16. Harold Mendelsohn and Karen Wingard, The Use of Libraries and the Conditions That Promote Their Use, Washington: National Commission on Libraries, 1967, page 2.
17. See Ernest Erickson, College and University Library Surveys 1938-1952, Chicago: American Library Association, 1961. The earlier "surveys" are surveyed, along with all the rest of the survey literature on other topics, in Walter Eells, Surveys of American Higher Education, New York: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1937.
18. Student Use of Libraries: An Inquiry into the Needs of Students, Libraries, and the Educational Process, Chicago: American Library Association, 1964, page ix. Emphasis supplied.

19. Douglas Knight and E. Nourse, eds., Libraries at Large: Tradition, Innovation, and the National Interest, New York: R.R. Bowker, Co., 1969, page 105.
20. See J. Ray, "Who Borrows ...," Special Libraries 65 (1974) 104-109; 69 (1978) 13-20, and L. Perk and N. Van Pulis, "Periodical Usage ...," College and Research Libraries 38 (1977) 304-308. Other stray user studies are the "availability" or "frustration" subtypes, which fall somewhere nearer the middle of the continuum in that they look at both people and materials, with the organizing principle seeming to be "success or failure" of specific patrons to find a specific book, as in Rita Smith and Warner Granade, "User and Library Failures in an Undergraduate Library," College and Research Libraries 39 (1978) 467-473. The common deviation of all this subtype is the ignoring of all of that portion of a student body who never even go or make any attempt, success or not, to use the program, as well as ignoring those who may use the edifice for other purposes than the materials housed therein, a matter taken up below.
21. The Libraries at Large volume brings together many of the confusing approaches at pages 105 ff.
22. Charles Busha and Stephen Harter, Research Methods, New York: Academic Press, 1980, pages 154 ff.
23. Burns, "Library Use as a Performance Measure," pages 8, 10. The Mendelsohn and Wingard paper he cited was apparently the one cited there, too.
24. John Budd and Mike DiCarlo, "Measures of User Evaluation at Two Academic Libraries: Prolegomena," Library Research 4 (1982) 71-84, at 72, 79.
25. Jo Whitlach, "Library Use Patterns among Full- and Part-Time Faculty and Students," College and Research Libraries 44 (1983) 141-152, at 144.
26. Mary Sellen and Jo Jirouch, "Perceptions of Library Use by Faculty and Students: A Comparison," College and Research Libraries 45 (1984) 259-267, at 260. Such gaffes as this one and the one before are the sort of thing journal editors ought to catch.
27. See the remarks of Michael Freeman, in "'The Simplicity of His Pragmatism': Librarians and Research," Library Journal 110 (1985) 27-29; and especially see Abraham Bookstein, "Sources of Error in Library Questionnaires," Library Research 4 (1982) 85-94.
28. There are also criticisms such as Herbert White's "The Uses and Misuses of Library User Studies," Library Journal 110 (1985) 70-71 which are merely incomprehensible, and only clutter an already anarchic literature.

29. Harvie Branscomb, Teaching with Books, Chicago: Association of American Colleges and American Library Association, 1940, pages vii, ix, 37, 39. As a sidebar, Branscomb's study, and especially his retrospective, come from an interesting period in the history of scholarship. A center of a new and quite self-conscious school of sociology was the University of Chicago, and it turned its lenses inward upon itself. This was its renowned self-"survey," "embrac[ing] some forty or fifty projects, which are being grouped for purposes of publication into a series of volumes." One of these was Floyd Reeves, W. Peik, and John Russell's Instructional Problems in the University (The University of Chicago Survey, vol. IV, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933). There, in one of the few mentions of the library operation in terms of undergraduate instruction (another volume, VII, was exclusively "concerned with the library provisions of the university," which is not the same thing) the library operation was linked to student instruction by the assumption that the "method" of the "reorganized curriculum ... at the undergraduate level" created "a new freedom and flexibility." Now "the student ... becomes more largely responsible for his own education. With a syllabus in hand he judges for himself when ... to read in the library or his room" (page 115). This is ambiguous, especially in the light of the "study hall tradition" presented below. We cannot tell from Branscomb's information whether the University of Chicago was included in "The Library Project" he directed. But we can tell from Chicago's own "survey," basing conclusions on untested assumptions that, see themselves as rigorous social scientists of the new empirical model as much as the Chicagoans may have wanted, a user study of their own to empirically test the assumptions seems not to have occurred to them. A similar questionable deference to "science" is found with the contemporary and related campaign of the Carnegie Corporation, taken up in Chapter V.
30. Patricia Knapp, College Teaching and the College Library, Chicago: American Library Association, 1959, pages 1, 93.
31. Patrick Barkey, "Problems," College and Research Libraries 26 (1965) 115-118, at 115, 117.
32. Lane, "Assessing," College and Research Libraries 27 (1966) 277-282, at 279. Although he published in a library journal, Lane was a psychology professor. He cited no previous work.
33. Whitlach, "Library Use Patterns," page 148.
34. Sellen and Jirouch, "Perceptions," page 264. An interesting sidelight on the "perceptions and expectations" angle is that genre of literature made up of handbooks and manuals telling students "how to study." These commonly have a section, or even chapter, about library operations programs and how to use them ("Our Friend the Card Catalog"), thereby creating the impression that students are

expected to do so, and that such usage will be necessary to their college work.

35. Boyer, College, pages 160-161.
36. Ruth Eckert, E. Stanford, and Robert Kelly, "Survey of Library Services to Undergraduates," Chapter 9, pages 90-103, in Ruth Eckert and Robert Kelly, eds., A University Looks at its Program: The Report of the University of Minnesota Bureau of Institutional Research, 1942-1952, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954.
37. Ruth Eckert, Outcomes of General Education: An Appraisal of the General College Program, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1943. In this earlier work an hypothesis had been that "library 'inadequacy,'" (an often used counterargument, a sort of chicken-and-egg ploy in the CLD "kettle defense") hampers students. Eckert decided otherwise: "But when General College students were questioned concerning such problems, only an occasional individual mentioned a dearth of appropriate materials, a fact that suggests rather casual use of library materials" (page 170). Another note of particular interest is that the General Education Program at Minnesota was a somewhat special case, which may not have been as demanding and/or whose students may not have been as academically able, as in the other units there then. Nevertheless, Eckert farther along remarked that "unfortunately no comparative data exist for other colleges [of the University] to indicate whether liberal arts and professional school students were any more alert to these opportunities--if indeed they were as much so." It is also interesting to note that this was the same University of Minnesota that Holley, in the essay mentioned earlier, held up as an example of the early student use trend. He found in an early periodical an account of how, around 1877, "the revised course of study, adopted by the regents ... required the president to deliver a course of lectures to each incoming class in which 'the use of the library is to be particularly explained and encouraged'" (Holley, "Academic Libraries," page 20).
38. Eckert and others, "Survey of Library Services," page 93.
39. Association of College and Research Libraries, "Standards for College Libraries," College and Research Libraries News 36 (1975) 277-301; College and Research Libraries News 46 (1985) 241-252. Interest group "standards" are a type of fiction, myth, and propaganda that has largely escaped study. Until such time as someone else does that, a few preliminary comments will have to suffice here, directed at the ACRL "Standards," which were one of the earliest mystifications encountered in seeking answers to the earliest research question of "How much should a college spend for its library operation program?" In such cases, "standards" are statements, usually drafted by committees, presuming to answer such questions by fiat and appeal to authority. Their great attractive-

ness is that they offer to reduce or eliminate the burden of analysis in decision making. Proffered by their sponsors as a basis for decision, everyone prefers to maximize the convenience they offer by conveniently forgetting how "standards" are arrived at. "Standards" are thus illusions. They give and encourage the impression of being the product of objective science, but they have no discoverable scientific or empirical basis. Indeed, the very possibility of objectivity in their formulation is itself illusory when one realizes that they are politically contrived statements, agreements, fabricated out of opinion, preference, positions, hopes and wants.

Often enough, in fact, what the sponsoring interest groups are trying to promote and institutionalize as a status quo is a constructed reality itself, since real status quos are open to interpretation, and therefore cannot be measured but are instead negotiated. Interest group standards have a protective coloration: They emulate technological standards, which are a quite different thing entirely. Perhaps the best comparison is between accreditation "standards," which are touched upon in the following chapter, and the standard gauge for railroad tracks, settled upon by the U.S. railroad industry in the 19th century, a comparison encouraged by some in the early days of the accreditation movement themselves. In the latter case, a pretty exact uniformity was required in order for one system's rolling stock to be able to run on another's track. No one can seriously make the same claim for accreditation "standards."

Rather, it is as bargaining tools, arguments, and shortcuts that interest group "standards" exist. With the ACRL "Standards," librarians disregard the fact that the fundamental assumption, an exhibition of Q.E.D. logic, is the College Library Doctrine itself. Instead, the "Standards" are treated as though all possible previous debate had been closed and resolved. The "Standards" are trotted out as if Holy Writ. Thus, in one of the clearest examples of the "Standards" being used as intended, we find a librarian, Ray Carpenter, who actually undertook to apply the ACRL "Standards" as a litmus of "adequacy" (which, in the triumph of circularity, is itself defined in terms of the "Standards") of institutional support by colleges of their library operation programs ("College Libraries: A Comparative Analysis in Terms of the ACRL Standards," College and Research Libraries 42 (1981) 7-18). Since these are preferences, positions, hopes and wants, naturally Carpenter found that most fell short and were therefore automatically "inadequate," and in need of more resource allocation. The shakiness of Carpenter's application of Standard 8: Budget is pursued further below, in the Appendix, where it is shown doubtful that a lot of the things can be measured with adequacy sufficient to make any such judgments.

That the ACRL "Standards" have been largely successful in their intended purpose is evident from their citation or reproduction as authority in virtually every imaginable place. In a sort of "laundering" process, very much like that with the historical

argument for the CLD presented in Chapter II, they are cited back and forth across the spectrum from WICHE to HEGIS. Even when, as in the WICHE Manual Four: Academic Support Facilities in its Higher Education Facilities Planning and Management series (Boulder, CO: Western Interstate Commission on Higher Education, 1971) someone departs from the ACRL "Standards," it is in matters of detail, not the basic premises (page 4). (Ironic, in light of the user anomalies seen in this chapter, is the fact that one of the principles guiding the WICHE Manual thought was "use," "usage," and such measures as "Average Room Utilization Rate.")

Indeed, such an accepted part of the establishment apparatus has the "Standards" become--in premise if not always in exact detail--that rarely does anyone venture to question. That makes all the more notable what Lawrence Lieberfeld said. Lieberfeld, author of comments quoted in the text of this chapter, was a management consultant with Peat, Marwick, Mitchell & Co., a firm often employed to consult on "academic" library matters. He was speaking of the "Standards" practice of using formulas:

Reference has been made earlier to guidelines and formulas; these planning tools have had status and widespread use in library and academic circles for many years, at least thirty to this writer's knowledge. Yet I have never seen, despite many inquiries, any data or validation from either the state boards of regents, the ACRL, or any other library organizations. The regents' staff usually cite the ACRL as the source of their planning criteria.... What does it all mean? Are Formula C and the guidelines serious attempts to express functional requirements? Are they simply bargaining chips to be used in the endless game of capital budgeting? Do they express the values of the institution or only of the library? ("The Curious Case of the Library Building," College and Research Libraries 44 (1983) 277-282, at 280, 282).

When we move from considering the ACRL "Standards" as a generic type of document to attempting to grapple with its individual prescriptions, we find a special quirk which frustrates this attempt, raising the presumption of a purpose to make it difficult to enter the document into the decision process of other than as a whole. It is, that when we attempt to isolate any one provision, we find that although the document appears to be structured topic by topic, the dictum about staffing cited in the text of this chapter appears not in Standard 4: Staff, but in Standard 8: Budget. There is nothing like it in Standard 4. On top of that, it cannot be more than a dictum because it appears not in Standard 8 proper, but in the appended "Commentary." (Another such "Commentary" dictum from Standard 8: Budget is taken up in the Appendix.) The "Standards" drafters adopted a quasi-legislative format (and language as well, dictating the use of their formulas with "shall be"). Legislative drafting has its own conventions and rules, and these are applied in

the judicial interpretation of the product. But by putting crucial provisions not in the standard proper but instead in the Commentary, whether through artful craft or amateurish clumsiness the drafters, by flouting the conventions, arrived at the same result; confusion.

Less obvious anomalies of the ACRL "Standards" are that all the formulas it prescribes are built around variables of gross institutional demographics and program structure, the relevance of which is not demonstrated. And interestingly, for their program structure the drafters mysteriously turned not to any available, recognized or recognizable work in the higher education field, such as the WICHE Program Classification Structure, but instead apparently their own; ad hoc, and without accompanying explanation. At least they credit no source. But that is a story in itself.

40. Branscomb, Teaching with Books, quoted in Boyer, College, page 161.
41. Branscomb, Teaching with Books, pages 52-53.
42. Lewis Stieg, "Circulation Records and the Study of College-Library Use," Library Quarterly 12 (1942) 94-108, at 105.
43. Knapp, College Teaching and the College Library, 25, 1.
44. Barkey, "Patterns of Student Use," page 117 and Table 5.
45. Lane, "Assessing the Undergraduates' Use," page 280.
46. Whitlach, "Library Use Patterns," page 149. It should be noted for the record that the study she mentioned was conducted at a "technological library."
47. L. Kramer and M. Kramer, "The College Library," College and Research Libraries 29 (1968) 310-312.
48. Oscar Lenning, Leo Munday, O. Johnson, Allen Vanderwell, and Eldon Brue, Nonintellective Correlates of Grades, Persistence, and Academic Learning in College: The Published Literature Through the Decade of the Sixties, Iowa City: American College Testing Program, 1974, page 219. The "other half" of their project produced the larger monograph The Many Faces of College Success and Their Nonintellective Correlates: The Published Literature Through the Decade of the Sixties, Iowa City: American College Testing Program, 1974. This dealt with nonacademic college results, such as "intellectual outlook and attitudes," and so forth. The only connection, however remote, between these traits, traits which, as we saw in Chapter II, library advocates are fond of promising as the result of students' using libraries, and anything to do with libraries, is in the loose area of "climate" or "environment" studies. These warrant their own treatment, in Chapter V.
49. Boyer, College, page 160.

50. Lyle, Administration, page 106. We are free to draw our own conclusions from the fact that Lyle made no reference in this connection, to his own 1961 study, in which he found extensive usage of the edifice as a "study hall" by students who had brought in with them their own textbooks and other material. See his "Use and Misuse of the College Library" in Guy Lyle, ed., The President, The Professor, and the College Library, New York: H.W. Wilson Co., 1963, pages 51-57. See also A. Jain, "Sampling and Short-Period Usage in the Purdue Library," College and Research Libraries 27 (1966) 211-218.
51. Budd and DiCarlo, "Measures of User Evaluation," pages 71, 82.
52. Lane, "Assessing the Undergraduates' Use," page 278.
53. Wilhelm Munthe, American Librarianship, Chicago: American Library Association, 1939, page 103.
54. Floyd Reeves and John Russell, "The Relation of the College Library to Recent Events in Higher Education," Library Quarterly 1 (1931) 57-65, at 59.
55. Winslow Hatch, The Experimental College, Washington, GPO, 1968, page 13.
56. Lawrence Lieberfeld, "The Curious Case," pages 277-280.
57. Broadus, "Use Studies," page 318. While the use studies, especially those related to the "Pittsburgh study" vein, have tended to be a university library operation matter, there are a few parallel papers that looked specifically at colleges. One of these was Larry Hardesty, "Use of Library Materials at a Small Liberal Arts College," Library Research 3 (1981) 261-282, a "partial replication of the 'Pittsburgh Study.'" Acknowledging that "librarians already know that many students make very little, if any, use of the academic library," citing Branscomb, Knapp, and others accurately, Hardesty--albeit sounding a little as though reporting a user study--concluded that "if anything, the DePauw University books received less use than those at the University of Pittsburgh" (pages 278,277).
58. Knight and Nourse, eds., Libraries at Large, pages 109-110; 498; 508-509.
59. Boyer, College, page 167.
60. Boyer, in Patricia Breivik, "Making the Most of Libraries: In The Search for Academic Excellence," Change (July-August 1987) 44-52, at 44, 46.
61. Branscomb, Teaching with Books, pages 52-53.
62. Knapp, College Teaching, pages 94, 1, 96.

63. Howard Becker, Blanche Geer, and Everett Hughes, Making the Grade, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1968. Apologies to Roger Garrison, whose The Adventure of Learning in College: An Undergraduate Guide to Productive Study, New York: Harper & Row, 1959, supplied at least a phrase.
64. Laurence Veysey, The Emergence of the American University, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965, pages 273, 302.
65. See Boyer, College, Chapter 7.
66. Lyle, Administration, page 6.. Unless this was a cynical equivocation about the "study hall tradition" on Lyle's part, it is simply at odds. We should, however, take into account the authority Lyle cited for that assertion, a 1952 inspirational essay "The Heart of the College," published in a college magazine.
67. Student Use of Libraries: An Inquiry, page ix.
68. Knight and Nourse, eds., Libraries at Large, page 204.
69. Higher Education Act of 1965: Hearings on H.R. 3220; [etc.] Before the House Special Subcommittee on Education of the House Committee on Education and Labor. 89th Cong., 1st Sess., (Feb. 1-3; [etc.], pages 36; 346-354; 364-366. Congressman Gibbons put one of the testifying librarians momentarily on the spot by remonstrating that "it has been my observation that most of the libraries I have visited, the facilities are underused, not overused"; but he was grinding an axe over "access," not "use," and "access" was the direction in which the testimony went (page 356).
71. Ronald Thompson, Impending, [Columbus, OH?]: American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers, 1954.
72. Clifton Brock, "The Rising Tide," College and Research Libraries 19 (1958) 12-16, at 16.
73. Frederick Wagman, "Library Requirements of the Modern College," in Lester Asheim, ed., Persistent Issues in Modern Librarianship, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961, pages 33-44, at 33. Emphasis supplied.
74. Lyle, Administration, page 6.
75. Carnegie Commission, Three Thousand Futures, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1980, page 1.
76. Cited in Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, More Than Survival: Prospects for Higher Education in a Period of Uncertainty, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1975, page 25.

77. Seymour Harris, A Statistical Portrait of Higher Education: A Report to the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972, page 265.
78. George Works, College and University Library Problems: A Study of a Selected Group of Institutions Prepared for the Association of American Universities, Chicago: American Library Association, 1927, page v.
79. Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, More Than Survival, page 24. These were 1917-18, 1933-34, 1943-44, and 1949-1951. The first and third periods were during the disruption of global war, and the third during a global economic depression, it should not be necessary to point out. Less obvious, perhaps, is that the fourth period comes just when the "deluge" argument should be cresting.

It is possible to read the literatures of higher education, and of "academic" librarianship (they are not, as should be apparent by now, coterminous, or often even in agreement) in terms of an informal "catastrophe theory." Thus, in addition to tidal waves, floods, and deluges, we have "information 'explosions,'" "publishing 'explosions,'" "technological 'revolutions,'" "escalating library costs," and so on. These are real attention-grabbers, and they play well. But, at risk of being tedious, they beg the question. What is the relevance to anything (except growth, with its induced costs) if a college library operation finds itself able to buy a smaller proportion of the publishing industry output (which, it must be remembered, includes the memoirs of talkshow hostesses and checkout lane tabloids) if there is plausible reason to believe, as Boyer does, that students do not use the stuff anyway. And, if they do not, then what--if we raise the explosion into the higher level of abstraction of the "information 'explosion,'"--of the fact that the "information industry" overlaps the entertainment industry in ways never yet made clear, and therefore that the "information 'explosion'" could include rock music videos and colorized old movies? The "catastrophe theory" metaphors--which may be seen as well as anywhere in the first part of James Hyatt and Aurora Santiago, University Libraries in Transition (Washington: National Association of College and University Business Officers, 1987)--are, until the relationship of all this to the delivery of college education has been proven, merely non sequitur. The stake of the publishing industry is taken up again in Chapter VI. For the same reasons as above, the so-called "technology 'revolution'" or "library automation" for organizing all that "information" may--unless and until it is proven to be related to the delivery of undergraduate instruction--be merely a vast and costly boondoggle. All of this investigative work has yet to be done.

80. Lyle, Administration, page 35.

81. Lyle, Administration, pages 110-112.
82. Munthe, American Librarianship, page 103.

CHAPTER V

UNANSWERED QUESTIONS AND THE COLLEGE LIBRARY DOCTRINE

The questions to be dealt with in this chapter are far from being the only unanswered ones encountered or raised in this investigation; nor are they necessarily more significant than many of the others. They do, however, represent "outcroppings" in the literature which, like the outcroppings of seemingly contrary cases presented in the preceding chapter, make the literature confusing. Here the outcroppings are topics rather than cases: Here they are in the broad setting of higher education, rather than within the orbit of "academic" librarianship. The topics are "environment/climate-context," institutional accreditation, and "quality/excellence." Despite a seeming lack of connection on first impression, these topics are connected because each of them has what may be called, borrowing a term from the accreditation literature, a "library element."¹

The continuing unanswered question throughout is, How did each of these topics come to have a "library element" in the first place? Or, put differently, What is the reason these topics have a "library element"? Unless and until that question has been satisfactorily answered, the capacity of a "library element" presence in these topics to substantiate the College Library Doctrine (CLD) is problematic. In other words, no good argument could be made that what the CLD says must be true, or else there would not be a "library element" in (for instance) institutional accreditation since its very beginning. In fact, it appears that things run in a quite different direction, and that it has been the

presence of a "library element" that itself, through the influence of the presence, has been a reason why colleges have library programs, rather than the explanation offered by the CLD. This goes to a research question of this investigation. Put differently, instead of lending support to the CLD version of reality, these topics may instead support an alternative explanation, such as the one to be developed in the next chapter.

But the continuing question and others related to it and/or derivative from it are not--as the attempt will be made to show--satisfactorily answered in the topic literature. This failure necessitates a note of disclaimer here: It would be impossible to completely resolve the problematics within the scope of this report. All that can be, but also all that need be done, is to raise the problem. Raising the problem alone should be sufficient to create reasonable doubt.

One of the underlying questions stems from the fact that, beyond the commonality of their each having a "library element," these topics have substantive interrelationships, which are not clarified although the interrelationships are explicitly made in the literature when, in various ways and different combinations, each of them is made a component subtopic of one or both of the others. For example, "quality/excellence" is treated in terms of accreditation and vice versa; and "environment/climate-context" contains a "quality/excellence" strand.²

"Environment/Climate-Context"

This topic is represented by a body of studies which is a reasonably well-established category of research literature. It is sufficiently

identified and introduced by Warren Willingham's commentary preceding his annotated listing:

College Environments. The literature on college environments is mostly attributable to researchers in psychology and sociology. It is a new field that has seen intensive work since the late 1950s. This work started at Syracuse University with the work of Robert Pace and George Stern and also at National Merit Scholarship Corporation where much of the early work on the effect of different types of colleges on student aspirations first flourished.... There have been several interrelated problems in this research. One is how to characterize educational institutions for different pragmatic or research purposes. Astin ... has done a great deal of work on this question.... Both of these problems are central to the most immediate and practical question concerning college environment--the need for an improved means of describing colleges in the guidance and admission process....³

Willingham linked this body of literature to another, which he called "Educational Context."⁴ This closely related body of literature seems to be conceptualized as different, in encompassing "impact"; as represented by, for instance, Theodore Feldman and Kenneth Newcomb's monumental The Impact of Colleges on Students.⁵ Not all the writings in these bodies of literature contain a "library element" but many do, perhaps because some authors are represented in both groups. When present, the "library element" is usually a variable in a multivariate design, as in the form of one or more questions in the survey instrument; or as a factor in a schedule of factors.

A more recent restatement of some of this work is Leonard Baird, Rodney Hartnett, and others, Understanding Students and Faculty, especially Baird's Chapter 7 and Hartnett's Chapter 9. This volume is at once perplexing and revealing. It suggests that perhaps the conceptual bases of the work of this topic are not as well organized as at first might appear.⁶ It is perplexing in that it includes, as though related

to the "environment/climate-context" literature, the group of directories such as the American Council on Education's American Colleges and Universities, the College Entrance Examination Board's College Handbook, and so on. These too have a "library element," and in these directories it is merely descriptive, with the descriptive measure common to them being the size of the library operation program of the institution being described, expressed as number of volumes owned.⁷

Calling the directories "guides," Jon Nicholson divided this genre of publication into what he labelled "'primary' and 'secondary' sources." According to his classification,

primary sources are those which provide principally factual information, usually submitted by the colleges and universities themselves [by their "admissions officers," he said at another point], and simply compiled in some consistent form by the editor(s). Secondary sources are those which attempt to go beyond statistics and factual descriptions, adding subjective information and/or opinion and sometimes attempting to "rate" institutions.⁸

While that would explain why a "library element" was placed before editors for their consideration to include, does it explain--assuming editorial discretion--why they would so universally elect to do so? And does it explain why the institutional officials, for their part, would have selected to send a "library element" along? In the case of Lovejoy's College Guide, Nicholson said that

the information is presented in a uniform manner, consistent with a format suggested to admissions officers by the editors, and explained in some detail in a short introduction to Section Three....⁹

But does that not, for this directory or "guide," merely take the assignment of decision responsibility right back full circle? If so, what is there in the introduction to Section Three explaining the

rationale for the choice? It is merely an explanation of how to work the format: It is not an explanation of why it was decided to include the format elements.

In trying to sort all this out, the key seems to be Willingham's adjective "descriptive." The common denominator seems to be the wish to isolate and describe institutional characteristics thought to be important and to be therefore significant in differentiating specific institutions. That would appear to merely answer the continuing question of how the topic came have a library element in the first place, with yet another question: Why were library elements deemed meaningful to institutional description?

In all of these writings the principle seems to have been, to pick things to describe from the academic landscape and round of life either as observed by participants or independently observable. The phrase often is "objective information," "factual information." This principle of choice appears to have been coupled with a presumptive salience, a line of reasoning that these things would not be there at all, would they, if they were not important, significant, or meaningful? But this is a logically circular process, if the objective is to establish salience itself, is it not? If the circle is to broken, one way would be through--as in mathematical proofs--the Q.E.D. authority, noted frequently in this analysis: "As demonstrated by others." But has the salience of these things picked for description been demonstrated by others? By, for instance, the "environment/climate-context" research? Have these things been previously validated on their own merits?

This rhetorical question is, in fact, not among the unanswered questions. That is, it does have an answer, coming from within the literature itself, and that answer is negative; there seems not to have been previous, independent, theory based and experimentally validated basis for the inclusion of any particular piece of "objective information," including a "library element," in any of the descriptive work considered here. The only empirical result in these schemes is to establish the ubiquitous prevalence of library operations. But we already know that, in fact having used it as a point of departure in Chapter I, for the whole investigation. Being told that it is a state of being would not answer our question, Why that state of being. It would merely give us a concentric circle of larger circumference. On the other hand, if the inclusionary principle has been habit or custom, ought we not to be told that?

But instead, the writings seem to say little about their inclusion principles. With the directories, no discoverable reason for their now-conventional formulas has appeared internally, or in ancillary writings. In the more conceptually and statistically sophisticated studies, one of the clearest statements appears to be Alexander Astin's comment on his "stimulus" approach:

the "college environment" was considered to include anything about the institution that could be regarded as a potential "stimulus" to the student. A "stimulus" was defined as follows: Any behavior, event, or other observable characteristic of the institution capable of changing the student's sensory input, the existence of which can be defined by independent observation.¹⁰

How, we must ask and may reasonably ask, does this differ from the proverbial "laundry list?" Is it not possible to develop other lists of

frivolous, even satirical, "elements?" Is it not the point that we are not given a rationale for distinguishing?

Now the purpose is not to challenge the "climate/environment-context" studies in their own domain, on their own terms within their boundaries. That would be both presumptuous and beyond scope. However, can the fact that they selected "library elements" for inclusion be transferred or extended and made into a substantiation of the College Library Doctrine beyond reasonable doubt? Would not a routine background check of variables have made the same discovery made by the First Research Design and its Finding of the present investigation, presented in Chapter I? What is more, would not the routine background check have discovered the lack of "recognition" of a discernible connection between "library element" and undergraduate instruction, presented in Chapter II? that the array of seemingly contrary cases is misleading, as Chapter III tried to show? And would not this hypothetical effort at checking on previous, independent validation for the "library element" variables used surely have come upon and engaged the tradition that college students make diminished use of their college's library operations and that when they do use them, it is often for their own adapted purposes, purposes unpopular with many of the authorities; and that those students who do make use of them are not necessarily the "best" students nor do they necessarily become better students for the use (certainly a matter squarely with the "impact," or stimulus," arena) all of which was treated in Chapter IV? But the opportunity to mesh these rather significant and contradictory strands was not taken. ¹¹ Is it not, therefore, a matter of reasonable doubt whether, under the hypothetical scenario of prior

background check, this body of literature would have included a "library element" at all? that such elements would have been assumed necessary to institutional description? Until these questions are answered, the ability of this topic to lend support to the CLD in its claim to answer the research questions of this investigation remains problematic.¹²

There is another matter to consider in asking whether the fact that these writings contain a "library element" can be transferred or extended and made into a substantiation of the College Library Doctrine. The more sophisticated attempts at description of institutions use statistical manipulations to put their elements or factors into groups. These groupings (which are the purpose) are then treated as constructs and are given an identify of their own, with often imaginative names. These names are created by the researcher, as supposed to distill the essence of the meaning of the construct. Strictly on the terms and the logic of this type of research, can we--once this grouping has occurred--then assay the independent significance of any of the contributors to the construct, except in terms of the construct itself; which is, after all, an artificial creation? Do the parts not, having served the purpose, thereby lose all independent identity in the whole? Put another way, even if the construct should be judged to represent educational effect, can the respective parts of the construct be sorted back out through decomposition of the construct, to say the same for them? More work is needed to deal with the relationship of this body of studies to other topics, such as college education and college library operations.

"Quality/Excellence"

A "library element" is a frequent occurrence in this topic. As David Webster said of one portion of this topic's literature,

both old and recent academic quality ratings have very seldom been based upon what actually happens to students during their years in college.... They have measured the academic resources available to students on campus, such as the ratio of instructors to students and the number of volumes in the library. However, they have made very little effort to determine how much colleges and universities actually teach their students.¹³

An example of such an occurrence is in The Gourman Report: A Rating of Undergraduate Programs in American and International Universities, which has, in Part IV, A Rating of University Administrative Areas, a table titled "A Rating of Libraries: Leading Institutions."¹⁴

How are we to know how to understand the topic of "quality/excellence?" The terms themselves--"quality," "excellence," and synonyms--seem to be everywhere, used in almost every conceivable permutation and combination. There does not even seem to be a structure to the usage. Instead, the topic ranges in the widest imaginable way, from full dress studies such as George Kuh's Indices of Quality in the Undergraduate Experience,¹⁵ and "The Meaning and Measurement of Quality in the Undergraduate Experience,"¹⁶ Allan Cartter's An Assessment of Quality in Graduate Higher Education,¹⁷ Judith Lawrence and Kenneth Green's A Question of Quality: The Higher Education Ratings Game,¹⁸ L. Meeth's Quality Education for Less Money,¹⁹ and Harold Enarson's "Quality-Indefinable But Not Unattainable,"²⁰ through articles in the media,²¹ to name but a few examples. The great frequency with which these terms are used by writers and speakers to express beliefs and values, and establish bona fides, should be familiar enough to anyone acquainted with the

literature of higher education, as to obviate the need for a review essay, or a "key-word-in-context" index, or any such compilation of references.²²

But then, the literature of this topic simply has not been brought under control by anyone else, either. Unlike the "environment/climate-context" work which, as we just saw, has had some modicum of intellectual and bibliographical control imposed upon it, this topic has never been brought together in its entirety for analytical purposes. There is no comprehensive framework. In other words, the whole topic is one grand unanswered question. Stated differently, the whole of the literature in which the terms "quality" and/or "excellence" appear is problematic.

The crux of the difficulties with all of the literature of the topic--why it is both confused and confusing--seems to be the terminology itself. One large division seems to fall into those who appear to be attempting to use the terminology as terms of art, and others who seem to be making a more vernacular usage, both at the same time and with reference to the same subjects. Such a division is a common happening: This analysis itself found many instances in which, for example, "efficiency" was used in a sense other than that of physicists or engineers, for whom it is term of art. Similarly, "correlation" has been used to simply mean "related" rather than statistical correlation (although in both cases the vernacular users may have harbored thoughts of something of greater precision).

And not only have the key terms been words with a wide range of usage precision, but also those who have used the terms and write about the topic have not been clear about what they mean. The writers may have

been clear enough in their own minds about what they believe when they speak of "excellence" or "quality," and picture what they believe makes for it; in Webster's phrase, "some criterion or set of criteria which the compiler(s) of the list believed measured or reflected academic quality."²³ But these have been terms seldom operationalized. Moreover, even if an individual does operationalize her own meaning of the key terms, seldom if ever is this done in reference to a standardized meaning or commonly accepted formal definition. One can do little better than to apply to the literature of the topic of "quality/excellence" the words one sociologist applied to what he viewed as a "profound deficiency" of another literature:

First, the terms of analysis are often used so vaguely that it is almost impossible to determine precisely what people or activities they refer to. Key words are often undefined, or they are defined so loosely that one can never be sure what they mean. In much of the literature they are used as part of a colorful rhetoric that exercises the imagination by its connotations but that does not allow actual connection with concrete human events and experiences in the real world. Second, even when denotations are specified, key terms are usually not grounded in human activities.²⁴

This "profound deficiency" of the "quality/excellence" topic literature, if we many borrow the term and so call it, has been more or less recognized by the writers themselves. George Kuh, for example, wrote

often overlooked in the search for quality is what the concept essentially entails. That is, the meaning of quality is rarely discussed. Without considering what quality implies, efforts to adequately assess quality lack focus.²⁵

Kuh seems to be one of a small number of writers to have seriously wrestled with this problem, giving his attempts all the more weight. He may have come closer to the root of the problem when he spoke of "what

quality connotes," because one trap into which so many of the writers who use "quality" and "excellence" appear to fall, is to attempt to conscript these connotative words into forced labor as denotative ones. Kuh was close when he suggested that

one of the reasons greater specificity has not been attempted in the literature is that quality is a rather ambiguous entity particularly when applied to higher education. The more ambiguous an entity, the less agreement on what constitutes an entity.²⁶

But he seems to have missed his own point, that "quality" and "excellence," as these terms are used in this topic, have no "entity-ness" at all of their own, instead consisting of individual, personal value reactions brought in from outside by the writers and readers. As Gertrude Stein said of Oakland, "There's no there, there." So that when Kuh quoted an author of a popular book to the effect that "quality is comprised of an elusive set of properties," he only clinched the seemingly widespread error of illegitimate reification.²⁷ Are not "excellence" and "quality" and perhaps other terms used as synonyms, rather, aspects of social reality, constructions by individual observers, subjective phenomena which depend upon shared or consensual information--and not denotable or concrete features of physical reality?

Is it not the case, as Jonathan Fife remarked, that

defining and measuring quality in general and the quality of the student experience in particular has been elusive. This is true in part because quality is a relative term ... the process of precisely measuring quality is hindered by lack of a universally accepted definition²⁸

and as Kuh said,

both the meaning and measurement of quality are tied to local values; and therefore objective or "scientific" approaches to quality assurance are flawed from the start?²⁹

And do not these problems with the topic of "quality/excellence" render premature any effort to even consider the matter of the continuing question of this chapter; the presence of a "library element" in the literature and how it came to be there in the first place? It would seem that such a condition of arrested development of this topic stymies attempts to get beyond this "profound deficiency."

Attempts to grapple with this problem run the risk of bogging down with others who have gone unsuccessfully before. This much-needed task must be done elsewhere. But there is another problem in this topic commanding mention. A prominent piece in the "quality/excellence" literature--a whole series, actually--has been the "Gourman Reports." One of these, the Gourman report on undergraduate programs, was cited earlier in this section as an example of the presence of a "library element."

How are we to understand, then, the article about the "Gourman Reports" by David Webster, appearing in the November/December, 1984, issue of Change, and the ensuing letters in the issue of January/-February, 1985? Webster commented that

there is no question that Jack Gourman's books have had a substantial impact on higher education. The ratings they contain have been used as measures of college and university quality in many journals....³⁰

Put briefly, Webster, and the letters, made a credible attack on the "Gourman Reports." But how--and the question goes to the very crux of the matter--does the Gourman series differ from other such work, such as that surveyed by Lawrence and Green, and Webster, and such later appearances as Richard Moll's Public Ivys?³¹ Indeed, Moll disparaged

Gourman. Does not this controversy cast a shadow of reasonable doubt upon all such work, at the very least, until valid distinctions have been made? Until then, how are we to differentiate?

Accreditation

The importance of institutional accreditation as a force in higher education according to some may be on the wane. But it was a force during the period when the College Library Doctrine evolved, the period upon which the CLD bases much of its historical argument, as seen in Chapter II. And, as will be brought out directly, the careers of accreditation and of the CLD are not merely contemporaries, but are inextricably intertwined. We might say that, of the three topics of this chapter, the "climate/environment-context" studies have, by describing the products of policy, perhaps indirectly in turn influenced policy; the "quality/excellence" stream finds hierarchies of values and preferences on the basis of the products of policy; and accreditation has used values and preferences to overtly and directly influence policy.

Perhaps the discussion is best begun with the continuing question uniting the topics in this chapter, but interrupted by the unsettled nature of the preceding topic, "quality/excellence," viz., How did each come to have a "library element" in the first place? Accreditation's "library element" was summarized by Julie Virgo: "libraries in higher education are evaluated as part of the over all institutional accreditation process."³³ More specifically, the 1958 reproduction by Oboler and others of the "library element" in the rules of the six regional accrediting associations shows what these "library elements" have been:

Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, Characteristics of Excellence in Higher Education and Standards for Middle States Accreditation, 1955--placed the library operation program under "Resources" and spoke of "adequacy" in general nonquantitative rather than fixed quantitative terms, but "requested" quantitative data anyway

New England Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, Minimum Requirements for an Acceptable Senior College, University or Other Institutions of Higher Education Granting the Baccalaureate or Higher Degree, 1951--"LIBRARY - A senior college or university should have a professionally administered library ..." and specified a quantitative collection size minimum; while "Other institutions of higher education granting the baccalaureate or higher degree should have professionally administered libraries" but were allowed a lower quantitative collection size minimum

North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, Revised Manual of Accrediting, 1941, 1955--"V. The Library--The functions of the library should be defined by the educational program of the institution it serves," and seems to have been in transition between quantitative and nonquantitative requirements

Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools, Guide for Self-Evaluation and Accreditation of Higher Schools, 1955--"F. The library will be rated as to its adequacy in meeting the needs of students, faculty, and the program of the institution...."

Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, Constitution and Standards of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, circa 1955--"Standard Nine --THE LIBRARY [whose] book and periodical collections should be of such quality and size as to support effectively the instructional program of the institution...."

Western College Association, Statement of Standards, 1955 --"LIBRARY CRITERIA" in the form of a checklist of largely nonquantitative questions.³⁴

Each set of membership rules says more than that, but these brief excerpts serve to make the point that in each association, if not explicitly then implicitly, to be accredited each institution was expected to have a library operation program. One might therefore say

that, where the "environment/climate-context" writings were descriptive, the accreditation membership rules were prescriptive. Indeed, one way of answering the research question couplet, Why do (Why should) colleges have library operation programs? would be that they were required to do so in order to be accredited by the accrediting associations of their respective regions, and should continue to do so in order to remain accredited, for as long as that is a rule.

The 1950s snapshot offered by Oboler and others is updated by one of the working papers (the one that supplied the term "library element") of the committee drafting the Association of College and Research Libraries (ACRL) 1975 "Standards for College Libraries" where, again, all six of the regional accrediting associations had "library elements" in their rules for member institutions.³⁵ And a 1980 snapshot is given by the conference papers edited by Virgo and Yuro, where it is shown that "library elements" persisted in the regional association rules.³⁶ Dorothy Peterson's comprehensive survey of accreditation rules produced her observation that

regional agencies are consistent in their emphasis upon the library or learning resources center as a cultural element in evaluating educational quality. All standards speak to the need for adequate library resources although none quantify requirements

which, while not entirely accurate on the historical dimension of quantitative requirements (there have been quite specific quantitative requirements), may serve as summative.³⁷

But before leaving the particulars of the "library elements" in accreditation association membership rules, or "standards," there is another interesting question they raise to which there appears to be no

satisfactory answer. Returning, for convenience, to the compilation by Oboler and others, we find also a fairly uniform aspect of the "library element" across association promulgations. It may be presented thus:

Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools--"The effectiveness of the library is of paramount importance. Its collections should be appropriate and adequate to support the instructional program, and they should be widely used by both students and faculty."

New England Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools--"The extent to which the library is actually used by both students and faculty ... are among the factors which will be considered in judging the adequacy of the library."

North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools--"E. STUDENT USE--The effectiveness of the library is reflected in large part by the manner and extent to which it is used by students."

Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools--"The several criteria employed in such rating [of the library] will be concerned with ... actual extent of utilization."

Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools--"7. Library needs shall be fully met with ... a regular use of library materials in instruction...."³⁸

While this type of statement is occasionally ambiguous--it speaks of "evaluating" the library, rather than the institution, and yet it is institutional accreditation, and this may be what Virgo was talking about in the passage quoted above--still presumably what writers are trying to say is clear enough. But the point is to ask, Has this explicit requirement and concern ever been brought, in the accreditation process, into face-to-face engagement and confrontation with the tradition of this not happening, that is, tradition of low use, which was elaborated in Chapter IV, and recalled in the preceding section? If so, do we know of any institution--such as one of those at which a user study was conducted, with the results published--ever having had accreditation action taken

against it by its association on account of this? Indeed, has the tradition of diminished use ever entered into a reevaluation of the continuance of this element in accreditation "standards" themselves?

To return to the continuing question of, How did the topic of accreditation ever come to have a "library element" in the first place?: This is an historical question. Despite the fact that there seems to be a lack of a critical history of accreditation, the bare facts seem to be well-enough known.³⁹ According to Zook and Haggerty (whose historical account is not critical one) it all traces back to the first known set of "standards" or membership rules, those promulgated by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. Actually, the "library element" may even have preceded issuance of the "standards":

at the first general meeting of the Association in 1876 President Jesse intimated that some rather definite criteria were desirable, and in defining a college he foreshadowed the later standards. His definition included the following topics ... (4) library.⁴⁰

Whether by "foreshadowed" they really meant "anticipated," or "influenced," cannot be said. Zook and Haggerty's account sounded almost apologetic over President Jesse, but at the same time they must be said to have, to all intents and purposes, recognized him as the ultimate source of the "library element" in the North Central "standards." Knowing this, a job of a critical history would be to inquire whether President Jesse was working from the results of rigorous studies validating the "library element" in college pedagogy, or else merely from his own convictions. If the latter, there are parallels close at hand to such setting of a whole course of history virtually by a single individual. As will be seen in Chapter VI, a reasonable interpretation is

that "library science" created the college library operation of today, and a single individual--Melvil Dewey--is in turn often credited with inventing "library science."⁴¹

The North Central Association's finished membership rules came out in 1909. Standard 6 read

the college shall be provided with adequate books in the library and laboratory equipment to develop fully and illustrate each course taught.⁴²

Why did this document, the foundation of membership in the Association, contain the "library element"? Was it solely on the strength of the authority of President Jesse? Or did the drafters have access to research results? Unfortunately, no record for this inclusion decision, illuminating the rationale, appears in the published papers of the Association. A critical history might have to turn to unpublished staff and/or committee minutes and working papers, or else to the private papers of the principal parties, to pursue answers.

The North Central Association promulgation seems to have been in turn the point of origin for the inclusion of the "library element" in the "standards" of the other five regional accreditation associations as they evolved. On the one hand, there seems not to have been any independent validation research done by any of them. On the other hand, there are outright acknowledgements of the replication of the North central rules. One acknowledgement of their authority came when the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools in the Southern States (forerunner of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools) announced in 1922 that it wanted its "standards" to be "in general those in vogue among the best standardizing agencies in the nation." To that end,

out of the various instruments now in use by the North Central Association [etc.] we made up an instrument that seems to be in a sense the national requirements for colleges. Perhaps the requirements were not so high or so rigid as those of some of the other Associations, but they were the best we could get enacted.⁴³

This process of cultural diffusion, or "academic procession,"⁴⁴ may offer a provisional answer to the question of how a "library element" came to be included in the topic of institutional accreditation in terms of the regional accreditation association "standards."

But there seems to be a great deal more to the story than that, enough to provide ample scope to a critical history; added angles that cast light upon the research question of this investigation, viz., Why do colleges have library operation programs? These added angles involve accreditation as part of a wider historical sweep, which Ellen Lagemann called "The Politics of Knowledge," of which brief mention was made in Chapter II. The lack of a critical history makes the literature of accreditation history confusing, as players wander on and off stage, and the locus of action changes inexplicably. This literature also has, like the "historical argument" treated in Chapter II, a tone of inevitability or manifest destiny. In elucidating this, a critical history of accreditation would have to consider, as Lagemann put it,

a number of relationships between that politics and some of the early activities of one of the large, grant-making foundations established before the First World War--the Carnegie Corporation of New York ... the history of the Carnegie Corporation crosses and even merges with the history of many other institutions, including other foundations, and is inseparable from ideas, national trends, and both national and international events that have touched American society generally.⁴⁵

One of those other institutions it merges with is higher education, and other foundations include the General Education Board, and the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

As Lagemann describes this phenomenon, central to the involvement of philanthropic foundations in higher education--such as that of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (CFAT) in shaping accreditation--in the early days was the coopting or "transformation" of these corporate bodies, funded by private wealth, by their managers to promote reforms based upon their own beliefs, thinking, and agendas. In the case of CFAT, that direction was both set and embodied by its first president, Henry Pritchett. He is characterized as a Progressive of principled social philosophy and considered convictions who--with the support of others of like mind on his board--set about the social activist and reformist task of "standardizing" American education.⁴⁶ He is said to have been completely in step with his times; others have identified a general drive to make greater "uniformity" in American education, "social efficiency" in such matters as the relationship between schools and colleges.⁴⁷

Pritchett's CFAT board was comprised largely of presidents of universities, who shared his beliefs in such things as attack on problems by an organization of "experts" under elite sponsorship, in voluntary self-regulation as represented by accreditation, in the use of accreditation as a tool in "standardization" and "centralization," and in the tilt of accreditation toward a university model, as represented by "the nation's more established and prestigious privately endowed institutions of higher education."⁴⁸ They were imbued with admiration for what is

called, below in Chapter VI, the "German University myth" (see also Chapter II). Lagemann goes so far as to hint that CFAT was politicized to an extent that in

favoring the kinds of colleges its trustees represented, which were feeling something of a pinch from the growing state universities ... the Foundation was designed to give the nation's older, private, primarily Eastern colleges a boost in what was, in essence, a highly competitive and unregulated industry.⁴⁹

This interpretation dovetails with an angle on the early history of the North Central Association. Both it and CFAT wanted to "define 'college.'" Prior to its transformation into a higher education regional accrediting association, North Central had been a secondary school association. While at that time, in the last decade of the 19th century, according to Krug, "the term higher education was understood to include secondary schooling,"⁵⁰ a critical history of accreditation would have to deal with such things as the North Central transformation, including the fact that the contemporary literature strongly suggests that "standards" were addressed to the growing problems of articulation and admissions, and meant such things as admissions practices.⁵¹ Practices at issue were such as the scorned practice of "colleges" and others in allowing admission "on condition," and of colleges in maintaining their own "preparatory" departments. These practices were believed to blur the distinction between the secondary schools and colleges, which seems to have been behind the felt need to define "college." The friction between the respective establishments of the school men and college men was complex, but it was over competition between the sectors for clientele. Put differently, accreditation may have grown largely out of a political settlement, a negotiated accommodation, over market share and turf. In

other words, just as some have seen a powerful influence of the college in "the shaping of the American high school," as Edward Krug titled his book, the high school may have in turn been decisive in shaping accreditation. What that means in terms of an answer to the continuing question of how a "library element" came to be included in the accreditation rules is itself another unanswered question, which deserves its own inquiry, and is beyond scope here. All that can be done is to speculate that perhaps the college men and their allies saw in the having of a library operation--which, as we saw in Chapter II, colleges, especially the "older, private, primarily Eastern colleges" had long done--an infallible means of separating them from the new, publicly-supported high school.

Until a critical history of accreditation is written, taking into consideration the issues raised by Krug and by Lagemann and by others who have written insightfully on the history of the emergence of the "secondary" level in American education (an emergence that illuminates the sageness of Silber's riddle "higher than what?"), such questions can only be raised here. But until then we may consider such contemporary testimony as H.D. Campbell's statement that the later founding of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools in the Southern States, modeled on the North Central Association, was "to develop preparatory schools and cut off this work from the colleges."⁵²

Lagemann's political interpretation also dovetails with later events. There is reason to interpret that at least one purpose of the North Central Association's setting up in 1929 of a Committee on Revision of Standards, with

the dual responsibility of evaluating the old type of standards and accrediting procedures ... and of developing new criteria for the measurement of institutions

and which

in the opinion of the Committee ... is the most comprehensive and constructive study of this particular problem which has ever been made, and represents an advance, a new day ... the Committee engaged in a very careful and extensive program of research in which modern statistical methods played an important part⁵³

which produced the vaunted 1934 North Central "standards" revision, may have been front work for a political accommodation over internal Association faction and friction of the 1920s, over such matters as the endowment requirement "standard." These possibilities would have to be considered in a critical history of accreditation, in dealing with the "library element" and in questions of whether it actually survived rigorous test, or was merely in a paper chase and just went along for the ride.

In this overall sweep of the "politics of knowledge," there is some irony in the fact that CFAT's President Pritchett's and others' "faith in science" as a problem solving approach in social engineering--in Pritchett's case it was "a means to 'truth' ... essential to all aspects in his point of view"⁵⁴--seems to have played, if "science" means rigorous empirical testing, so little part in what they actually did in the prescription of policy. It certainly seems to have played little part relative to opinions, ideals, beliefs, vested interests, and values. Rather, in its work to influence policy, CFAT and others seem to have been dominated by these latter. The field of policy analysis had yet to coalesce at that time. It has generated ways of attempting to openly and explicitly deal with such factors, but a policy analysis viewpoint does

not appear to have guided the actors of that time in the "politics of knowledge" of their policy-influencing activities.⁵⁵ Instead, Pritchett and others similarly positioned appear to have been absolutely confident in the rightness and propriety of their own ideas and ideological leanings. In what Lagemann labels "the shortcomings of Pritchett's approach," he

believed in absolute, universal "truth," and could see the significance of consultation as fact gathering but not as interest and need identifying. He was intent upon making change and not upon clarifying.... His approach to reform ... was essentially autocratic.... Pritchett's approach reflected his very keen interest in assisting what he believed to be the better colleges, the better professionals, and the better high school students; and it also reflected his failure to be concerned with balancing these needs with the different needs of other colleges, other professionals, other high school students, and other less easily identifiable, less organized, less elite, "publics."⁵⁶

This supreme self-confidence is caught in one of Lagemann's chapters-- "Henry Smith Pritchett and the Gospel of Efficiency"--with CFAT President Pritchett depicted as "an advocate of organization and efficiency." A critical historical treatment of this "standardizing" aspect of accreditation might find a rich approach in considering this ideological dogmatism in terms of the "scientific management movement" and such facets of that contemporaneous social idea as Frederick Taylor's "the one best way," and what effect such mindsets might have had on accreditation "standards."⁵⁷

Zook and Haggerty seem to suggest that there was another major influence (beyond President Jesse) on the North Central "standards." They spoke of "data" gathered by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and the U.S. Commissioner of Education.⁵⁸ The litera-

ture of that time contains frequent weighty allusions to a corpus of "data," into which most of the various players seem to have been dipping and to which many of these same players were contributing. CFAT itself spoke of "a large mass of educational data concerning colleges and universities of the entire country," which had been collected by a sister foundation, the General Education Board; "these sources of information have generously been put at the disposition of the officers of the Carnegie Foundation."⁵⁹ Later, after the creation of its Division of Educational Enquiry, it spoke of "data" it had already gathered and intended to gather, through the conduct of "educational studies," or "surveys," a then-recent genre of undertaking.⁶⁰

But when one "surveys" the "data" and the "surveys," three things become apparent. First, much if not most of it was quite elementary in nature; a collection of opinion and impression, crude descriptive material, statements of institutional intentions, purposes and hopes; and a mixture of financial and other figures of indifferent completeness and accuracy, certainly of problematic comparability, all fitting loosely into what the terminology of the day called "college and university 'conditions.'" In fact, despite its positive references to the "data" in many places, CFAT itself was grumbling about their deficiencies at the same time, in the same Report. And in fact, complaints on these scores have dogged the descendent of this data pool ever since, a matter taken up in the Appendix. The "data" do not seem to have improved over time.

Not that the "data" deserve to be ridiculed out of hand; it is worth remembering that the "the word statistics still refers to a collection of data, although the discipline of statistics has moved beyond this

original and simple connotation."⁶¹ Whatever its limitations, the genre of "survey" became established, as attested by the size of the bibliography Walter Eells compiled in 1937, published by CFAT; although perhaps we would be well advised to consider such "data" though spectacles informed by an appreciation of what Lagemann called the "shortcomings" of approach of those behind the "data."⁶²

Second, though, it is hard to see that any of the "data" or uses to which it was in turn put, ever went above or beyond the elementary descriptive level, or even could have done so. And that brings us back to an inherent problem just like the problem with description in the "environment/climate-context" literature: How was what got described determined? To be sure, just as writers of the time said of that other literature, much of the "data" were "objective" and "empirical." But how could being that tell anything beyond what (from the benefit of hindsight) were obvious facts; in the business at hand, the fact that many institutions had library operation programs? Furthermore, even if the North Central Association's 1929 Committee on Revision work--of which Lotus Coffmann enthusiastically wrote the words quoted earlier including "modern statistical methods," and for which Zook and Haggerty identified the methodology as

rat[ing] these institutions in order of excellence both on a subjective basis and upon as many objective bases as might prove possible in each division of the study. By means of correlation it was hoped to determine the characteristic facts of an institution which are related to excellence⁶³

did attempt that, how could its results possibly have had any power if, as we saw in the preceding section, "correlation" may or may not be a term of art, and if for so many writers on the topics of "quality" and

"excellence" even into the present day, writers who try to home in on these terms specifically, it still is necessary to confess the absence of precision or even definition of what these terms mean? Can things have been better at the time of the Commission's work? If we take it all literally, what the Commission did was statistical correlation analysis. But can this be performed "where the variables" to be analyzed for relationship have not "been measured with a high degree of precision," since "excellence/quality" seem to be conceptualized as variables?⁶⁴ In other words, if it was simple linear correlation that they meant, could the Commission's methodology have been up to even that level of description? Could the "data" have supported it?

Third, this "data" seems to have been limited to institutions and institutional characteristics. It was (and is) institutions, after all, which form the province of regional accreditation. However, little work seems to have been done in this data-gathering on education, and for CFAT to have said that "a large mass of educational data" had been and was being collected was not accurate. And yet it is in these institutional characteristics that the topic of accreditation crosses the topic of "quality/excellence." We saw what Zook and Haggerty had to say, for instance, about the 1929 North Central Commission on Revision. Douglas Waples described the same project:

the North Central Association ... has two committees at work on the matter of library standards.... The other with standards for higher institutions. The task before the committee is not only to formulate standards whereby the regular inspectors of the Association may distinguish efficient from inefficient ones, but is also to present standards which serve the fundamental purpose of encouraging institutions to improve their libraries.... To that end the committee has specified six functions of the college or university library....⁶⁵

Whether it has been "efficiency/inefficiency" or "quality/excellence," later writers have frequently repeated what Lloyd Blauch wrote in 1959 in a book chapter titled "The Meaning of Accreditation":

a third purpose of accrediting is to inform those who employ graduates of an institution, or who examine its graduates for admission to professional practice, about the quality of training which the graduates have received. Employing firms like to know whether an applicant has had his education in an institution which is recognized for its quality.... Finally, accreditation serves the general public for its supplies to the layman some guidance on institutions he may wish to patronize. The published lists of accredited or approved colleges and universities assist a student in deciding which institution to attend and assure him that if he attends an accredited one he can obtain an education of good quality.⁶⁶

And in that same volume, then-U.S. Commissioner of Education Lawrence Derthick wrote

inclusion on the membership list of one or more [sic] of these [accrediting] organizations is usually accepted as one of the most significant available indicators of institutional quality.⁶⁷

But it appears that the institutional characteristics of "quality/excellence" or "efficiency/inefficiency"--such as the "library element"--in accreditation are in reality materialistic or economic matters. Alexander Astin pointed out that many of the "attributes of excellence" institutional characteristics--and he specifically included the library operation program--are simply surrogates or codes for institutional affluence.⁶⁸ Economist Lewis Solmon made the same equivalence.⁶⁹ And in the same volume with Solmon, Dael Wolfle added a dimension, arguing that "quality" is a code for how expensive a college is: The higher cost to the student, the higher the "quality."⁷⁰ And this notion is reflected in the comments of two rather different higher education observers quoted in

a recent Newsweek feature about a mounting national concern over rising college costs. Franklin and Marshall president James Powell "contends that the ratings of quality by the consumer--parents and students--correlate with a school's education and general expenditure very closely." While New York college consultant Jan Krukowski said "We've done surveys asking parents what they think they're paying for ... by and large they think they're paying for quality."⁷¹

How are we to understand, then, that such institutional characteristics as the things upon which the institutions spend money--the things of the "data," the things which were the historical concern of accreditation "standards," such as library operation programs--have been pronounced by some as unrelated to differences in college education? One direction from which this comes is, interestingly, the "environment/climate-context" corner. Astin concluded that, in the study noted just above,

these findings offer little support for ... our general hypothesis concerning the effects of institutional quality on student achievement [when controlled for student characteristics]⁷²

And in his later Four Critical Years--the report both of a broad scale and long term study and in a sense, summative of all his work to then--although there is some lack of clarity Astin largely omitted the "library element" institutional characteristic as a factor in college education.⁷³ Moreover, in an even more recent work of Astin's on the matter at the macro level, he moved (although returning to the use of "quality" and "excellence" as terms) even further from what he there called the "resources theory," in which he again specifically included the library operation program as irrelevant to college education.⁷⁴ And yet, in its concern over institutional characteristics, has not the "data" assembled

by the actors in accreditation historically seemed to have operated from just such a "resources theory?"

And from a very different knowledge paradigm, economist Howard Bowen arrived at largely the same conclusion. According to him, there has been little demonstrable relationship between the things colleges have spent money for--the things described in "data," such things as "library elements"--and "educational outcomes."⁷⁵ Perhaps the best that may be said is that the whole matter abounds with unanswered, indeed sometimes even yet-to-be-asked, questions.

A critical history of accreditation would have to take into account not only the involvement in the "politics of knowledge" on the part of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (CFAT), but also the involvement of "the last and largest of the various benevolent trusts established by ... Andrew Carnegie," the Carnegie Corporation of New York.⁷⁶ The Corporation's involvement in higher education and its influence upon such matters as accreditation and the "library element" may not be as well known in higher education circles as that of CFAT. Hence, some account of the relationships and of the Corporation's activities is desirable.

CFAT was begun in 1905 as a pension provider for college professors, and later transformed into an "active Educational agency," resulting in its contribution to "data" and hence its involvement with accreditation. It was the Corporation, established in 1911, whose gift of money to CFAT in 1913 for creation of the "active Educational agency" program that enabled that transformation. Henry Pritchett, president of CFAT, was also a trustee of the Corporation. Some of the same educational in-

stitutions studied by CFAT--such as the Johns Hopkins medical school--received money from the Corporation. A chief tool of CFAT in influencing the policies of higher education institutions, besides the "data," was money, the money of the pensions. Likewise, a chief tool of the Corporation was money, in the form of direct grants to institutions. And, while CFAT's publication activities are pointed to as a policy influence, the Corporation also had such a program. If there is an overarching theme to describe the agenda of both philanthropies during the pre-World War II years, it is "the standardizing [of] American education," a commonality Lagemann ascribes to Pritchett, and to Elihu Root at the Corporation.⁷⁷

During the time of CFAT's efforts at "standardization," the Corporation was active in its own projects. The name "Carnegie" has become "almost synonymous with the word 'library' and, specifically, with 'public library buildings.'"⁷⁸ But in addition, between its establishment in 1911 and World War II, the Corporation was deeply involved in the giving of money to college library operations. Continuing the giving begun by Carnegie personally around 1900, 108 colleges got just over \$4 million toward library buildings by about 1920. Then from 1920 onward, the Corporation's philanthropy was expanded to include "endowment grants, the income from which was to be applied to 'maintenance of library.'"⁷⁹

From these beginnings, over the following two decades a close network of persons whose words and actions reveal their ideological adherence to the principles of the College Library Doctrine applied the Corporation to a campaign to advance their own ideas and personal agendas for reform. It might be seen as an analog of the way in which Pritchett is said to have used both the Corporation and CFAT to advance his

"assumptions and aspirations," albeit what the library promoters did was only a small part of the Corporation's total program.⁸⁰ The network was made up of persons who fit, even if not all of them were ones for whom the phrase was intended, Guy Lyle's designation "missionary zealots" about libraries.⁸¹ These persons sounded CLD themes in their writings; persons such as Frederick Keppel, Corporation president from 1923 to 1941, and sometimes University of Michigan library director William Bishop. In fairness it must be acknowledged that their preferences, beliefs, and opinions were widely shared, their ideas and thinking in agreement with many of their contemporaries.

Consider this excerpt from a Bishop letter on the influencing of institutional policy:

I am concerned to see that libraries, particularly those in institutions of learning, receive proper recognition, and substantial monetary aid in their development.... It seems to me that the place of the library in colleges, and universities, is but barely recognized by boards of trustees, and its service is but dimly appreciated by even the best of our librarians. I believe that further studies should be published, and that a demonstration should be made.

Or take this portion of an agenda memo prepared by Bishop and others:

6. The College Library. A study should be made to determine what are reasonable standards of equipment and personnel which will enable the college library to do its part in giving a liberal education to undergraduates....⁸²

Does this look as though Bishop and the others were interested in, even thinking about, learning whether or not the college library did in empirical fact have a "part," a "place?"

The Carnegie Corporation library campaign was formally structured. The mechanism was a series of successive "Advisory Groups," one for each

particular segment of the universe of "higher institutions." There were the Advisory Group on College Libraries, which functioned between 1928 and 1932, and the Advisory Group on Teachers College Libraries, between 1938 and 1941, among others. Bishop headed these. The key to the whole program was the money spent for "stimulating the development of college libraries," that is to say, influencing policy. From the modest beginning in 1920, but especially between 1928 and 1941, the Corporation dispensed better than \$3 million. This was over and above the approximately \$4 million previously dispensed for library buildings. The distribution was done usually on the counsel and advice of the Advisory Groups, to 274 selected postsecondary institutions of the various types; selected on the basis of their demonstration of right thinking by having passed a test of already spending fairly generously in support of their library operation programs, and of having their book collections compare favorably against Carnegie "book lists," which may just be another side of the same thing.

President Keppel's idea was that

education institutions tended to try to emulate their more "prestigious neighbors," and that there was therefore an "excellent chance that any advance at a strategic point will be imitated elsewhere....⁸³

The "book lists" were a departure from Andrew Carnegie's famous principle of "bookless" public libraries, his idea having been that the local community should decide what books to put in the buildings he provided. But Carnegie was dead, and now others were using his money. The "book lists," as said, were adopted both as devices used in testing the library programs of institutions being considered for grants, and as models for colleges to follow in what is now called in library science,

"collection development." "Adequacy" was a prerequisite for funding, and "adequacy" of library holdings was to be defined and decided by checking them, title, against the lists. As Radford described the formulation of the book lists, the method was a mixture of frequency of occurrence of a title in the large library collections, often those of university libraries, selected as the referents; and of subjectivism. In the former method, the presence of any particular title was apparently ipso facto proof of its importance, somehow. In the latter method, the pet likes and dislikes of the principle compiler, of Bishop as reviewer, and of various influentials in the Carnegie establishment, ruled.⁸⁹

In brief, then, it was a case of a highly visible, even celebrity, philanthropy with openly stated motives and agenda, spreading its large benevolence for the purpose of directly intervening and influencing policy in a large number of colleges, and of indirectly influencing policy at the rest, through example and lesson. If accreditation was a stick, then this was a carrot.

There were also other ways in which the Carnegie Corporation library campaign related to accreditation, ways which, in turn, were further influences on institutional policy. First, it was decided from the very beginning to restrict grants to accredited institutions, giving the whole program a self-reinforcing twist. Second, and going far beyond even the direct grants of money, and the book lists, the Corporation followed the earlier lead of CFAT, by going into the business of "active Educational agency," through the creation of the Division of Educational Enquiry. Third, the Corporation dealt itself into the "standards" game: "The Advisory Group also prepared recommended standards for college libraries

...."⁸⁵ These "standards" may never have had the effect upon institutions that the "library element" of the "voluntary accrediting association 'standards'" did. How one "standards" may have influenced the other is a matter to be unravelled elsewhere. But they were given a form of their own authority by virtue of being used by the Corporation, along with the "book lists," to assist in identifying "those most deserving of Carnegie assistance."⁸⁶ Presumably they entered into the pool of "data" of that time. The preamble to the Corporation "standards" for libraries reads

the college library is an essential instrument in the educational program of the college.⁸⁷

Fourth, the Corporation, like CFAT, also had an active publication program which was of a kind likely to attract as much attention in academia and its environment as was the money. It

sponsored or encouraged the preparation of several landmark monographs and a large number of periodical articles on libraries and librarianship during the program's fifteen years.⁸⁸

These, and the Corporation "standards," reveal an interesting pattern of interconnection. One of the "landmark monographs" was William Randall's The College Library: A Descriptive Study of the Libraries of Four-Year Liberal Arts Colleges in the United States.⁸⁹ This ties back in with accreditation, the North Central Association, and North Central's 1929 Committee on Revision of Standards, through the farmout of the Committee's actual work. Randall was a University of Chicago Library School professor. The Library School had undergone a sort of rebirth, begun in 1926, with Carnegie Corporation money. Randall was also an official consultant to the Advisory Groups. And he was also eventually the chief

architect of that portion of the Committee on Revision work that concerned libraries. This had become a virtual fiefdom of the Library School early on, with Dean George Works (who also wrote a "landmark monograph"), and then Professor Douglas Waples, under those name appeared the library volume of the seven volume North Central report Evaluation of Higher Institutions, edited by Zook and Haggerty, with Waples as chair of the North Central Committee on Library Standards. Presumably "data," assumptions, beliefs, ideas, thinking, and conclusions passed freely back and forth among Randall's Carnegie-sponsored monograph, North Central "standards project," Carnegie Advisory groups and, very likely, CFAT as well. Randall later wrote, with Francis Goodrich, the treatise Principles of College Library Administration, which must similarly have commingled.⁹⁰

The publication program unfolds more connections. Other Carnegie personnel were involved in lesser ways. There was Erritt McDiarmid, Ph.D. from the reborn Library School and a Carnegie field man, who used his experiences for his dissertation, which was later published as another Carnegie-sponsored monograph, The Library Survey: Problems and Methods.⁹¹

And while the new North Central "standards" of 1936, fruits of the 1929 Committee on Revision "study," were brief, they were fleshed out by a supplementary Manual of Accrediting Procedures supplied to accreditation visitation teams. One of the Manual's provisions was use of the Carnegie Corporation book lists to check library book collection "adequacy." Interestingly, this was an accreditation use of something for which there is no indication that such a use was contemplated when these

lists were originally devised for Corporation grant-making purposes. There seems to be no surviving background material, no res gestae to any other this, so we cannot tell what the thinking was.

Turning to the related periodical literature under Corporation auspices, Radford's assessment was that

many of the articles were written by members of the Groups themselves in order to "spread the Gospel" and were therefore more the cause than the effect.

In other words, Radford is clear that influencing of policy was a purpose; which makes puzzling his remark that

no attempts were made to relate the articles to the work of the Group, and many doubtless would have been written and published even if no Carnegie program had been in existence

because they were all tied together by the purpose of the campaign, to "spread the Gospel." Indeed, he was sure that

of two matters, though, there can be little doubt. First, what Bishop called "a body of doctrine" on college libraries and librarianship was created by publication of these periodical articles and monographs.⁹²

That "body of doctrine" perhaps joined, perhaps augmented, perhaps restated a body of doctrine on college libraries that had been in creation from the time of Melvil Dewey in the last decades of the 19th century, even back to the "Librarians' Convention of 1858," with the contribution of the Carnegie campaign perhaps having been to further codify it, around the principle that having a college library operation program meeting the approval of librarians had its financial rewards. And was this "body of doctrine" not the College Library Doctrine itself?

The policy influence of the Carnegie Corporation "standards," the North Central "review" of its accreditation "standards," and the whole

intertwined structure of values, assumptions, beliefs, and preferences, was never clandestine at all. Quite the contrary, it was boasted about. Years later, Thomas Barcus, one of William Bishop's assistants, wrote in remembering the Corporation's accomplishments,

the Standards drawn up by the Advisory Group on college libraries ... have undoubtedly influenced accrediting agencies, such as the North Central Association and the Southern Association....⁹³

But can we see it as other than a large scale effort at influencing institutions to do that which they possibly otherwise have found much less reason for doing--as the librarians' indignation in their literature reminds us?

This small corner of "the politics of knowledge," to recall Lagemann's label, is rich with irony. Consider that Harvie Branscomb's Teaching With Books, the oft-misrepresented "user study" which flew in the face of the arguments for "place" for library operation programs in colleges, was not only concurrent with the Corporation campaign, but was itself one of the monographs, by virtue of a Corporation grant to the sponsoring Association of American Colleges. We might even see the entire campaign as an effort to alter the state of affairs Branscomb found. In fact, although Branscomb was not himself one of the North Central/University of Chicago Library School/Carnegie inner circle, and although the publication date of his book was later than the 1936 North Central rules revision, Branscomb was given use of the Advisory Group files, which were related to the Committee on Revision "data," and presumably to other "data" as well. This would be the same "data" from which the others had constructed a rather different reality, assuming

that they used it at all in the way in which we might expect "data" to be used.

And the ground irony lies in "recognition": Bishop called for it, years later Herman Fussler of the University of Chicago Library School doubted it (as we saw in Chapter II), and it was the vast outpouring of work by the very same Carnegie philanthropies, years later, that corroborated the "lack of recognition," as we saw also in Chapter II, with regard to their more recent "surveys of college conditions."

Summary

As said, a critical history of accreditation will have to take into consideration the ramifications of the "politics of knowledge." Other fruitful approaches would be to apply to accreditation the lens of propaganda, myth, and fiction.⁹⁴ Only then can a balanced appreciation of the presence of a "library element" in accreditation be within reach.

However, is there not as well--until we know more about the reason for the presence of a "library element" in the topics of "environment/climate-context," and in accreditation, and until some intellectual control is imposed upon the topic of "quality/excellence"--grounds for reasonable doubt, at least, over whether that presence can serve as support for the College Library Doctrine?

Notes to Chapter V

1. This term is borrowed from Herman Totten, Identification of Library Elements in Standards of Accrediting Agencies. A Review of the Literature. Working Paper, ACRL Ad Hoc Committee to Revise the 1959 "Standards for College Libraries," Chicago: Association of College and Research Libraries, 1974 (ERIC ED 121 350). For Totten to have called this a "review of the literature" was a considerable exaggeration.
2. As in, for instance, Richard Miller, The Assessment of College Performance, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1980; Lawrence Marcus, Anita Leone, and Edward Goldberg, The Path to Excellence: Quality Assurance in Higher Education, AAHE-ERIC/Higher Education Research Report No. 1, Washington: American Association for Higher Education, 1983; Kenneth Young, Foreword, in Dorothy Petersen, Accrediting Standards and Guidelines: A Study of the Evaluation Standards and Guidelines of 52 Accrediting Agencies Recognized by the Council on Postsecondary Accreditation, Washington: COPA, 1979, who wrote "in the United States quality in higher education is evaluated, maintained, and strengthened by a system of voluntary peer accreditation" (page ix); and as in Judith Lawrence and Kenneth Green, A Question of Quality: The Higher Education Ratings Game, AAHE-ERIC/Higher Education Research Report No. 5, Washington: American Association for Higher Education, 1980, wherein accreditation is made one of their "Other Dimensions and Concerns in Quality Assessment" (page 42 ff.); and as in David Webster, Academic Quality Rankings of American Colleges and Universities, Springfield, IL: Charles Thomas, 1986, where Chapter 12 is "The Work of the Six Regional Accrediting Agencies." Then there is Alexander Astin's "input-environment-output model," an approach for assessing "quality" (Four Critical Years, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1977).
3. Warren Willingham and others, The Source Book for Higher Education: A Critical Guide to Literature and Information on Access to Higher Education, New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1973, page 220. Willingham's association of this body of literature with psychologists and sociologists may be supplemented by noting economist William Blau's surmise that "the proportion of revenue spent on books for the library" is an indicator or index of "academic traditionalism," which seems to be an institutional "environment/climate-context" attribute. It should be noted that Blau's formulation, because it was limited to expenditures for materials, thereby omitting other substantial components of library operation program costs such as personnel, grossly underestimated total library operation program costs. It was problematic in other ways as well, ways discussed elsewhere in this report, especially in the Appendix: See Blau's Index, under "Library," and Item 34 in his Appendix B. Of course accurate expression of library operation program costs does not seem to have been his purpose (The Organization of Academic Work, New York: Wiley, 1973).

To Willingham's time frame and boundary delimits, however, should be added Lewis Mayhew and Paul Dressel's remark that "the characterization of 'campus climates' at different institutions is one of the oldest indoor sports of professors, alumni, and other fans of higher education," and they add to the list "illuminating essays on the subject ... written in recent years" by a rather different group of authors and approaches (General Education: Explorations in Evaluation, Washington: American Council on Education, 1954).

4. Willingham and others, Source Book, §5.2, pages 117 ff.
5. Theodore Feldman and Kenneth Newcomb, The Impact of College on Students, 2 vols., San Francisco: Jossey Bass, 1969.
6. Leonard Baird, Rodney Hartnett, and others, Understanding Students and Faculty, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1980. The volume suggests that there are more unanswered questions in the literature of this topic, making it confusing within its own domain, than the ones taken up for close attention in this analysis: for despite its title, this volume is mainly about "environment/climate-context work," includes little work on faculties, and seems to slight the extensive literature brought together by Willingham in his Part III, The Students.
7. Although to bring it into the discussion at this point is to somewhat anticipate the discussion of "quality" in the next section of the chapter, the issue of the significance--if any--of library size is sufficiently pervasive throughout this investigation to make this as good a place as any to touch upon it, reference also being made to Note 29 in Chapter II and Note 76 in Chapter VI for closely related discussion.

The deposition of many writers is to equate "quality" (a term which, as will be seen in the next section, suffers from severe lack of specificity) with the size of an institution's library collection. In a manner typical of other themes examined in this investigation, this theme of equivalence is found in virtually every conceivable permutation and combination; from the "quality" literature, where it is more explicit, to the folklore, where it is more implicit.

Some light on this matter may be shone down upon colleges from above in the institutional typology. The Association of Research Libraries (ARL; not to be confused with the ACRL or Association of College and Research Libraries, a personal membership professional association) is an association of institutional membership whose members are the one hundred or so largest "scholarly" library operations, both in and outside higher education, from both the U.S. and Canada. The higher education segment of its membership represents the larger, wealthier universities. The ARL from time to time has published its "ARL Library Index." In a letter in the June 11, 1986 Chronicle of Higher Education, page 51 (and again in the July 16 issue), an officer of ARL remonstrated, complaining that others were

guilty of "continuous misinterpretation"--as, for example, in making rank orderings--of the ARL Index, and reiterated what she represented as the ARL's official position that the Index "is a summary description of library size and in no way a qualitative assessment of individual libraries"; that it is simply based on ways "in which A.R.L. libraries most resembled one another"; and that it is merely that "in 1980, the index was approved as a quantitative criterion for membership." But such a demurrer is problematic. If there has been "misinterpretation," is not some of it, at least, chargeable to the library community itself, along with others? If not--if there has not been chronic ambivalence and endemic unclarity over whether there is belief in some linkage between size and "quality"--then why, quite beyond such special limited uses of size measures as ARL's claimed limited administrative intent, has there been such a traditional obsession over size? If "in no way a qualitative assessment" at least subconsciously, then why has everyone involved with institutional description, from the U.S. Office of Education in 1876, through the HEGIS data base, to the directories such as College Handbook, bothered to try to measure this characteristic (with questionable accuracy anyway, as discussed in the Appendix) and prominent publication of numbers? Why must ARL itself publish them in its "index"? Would this not seem a purely internal matter? Is size significant? If so, then it seems that an open and fertile field for tightly reasoned and rigorous inquiry lies awaiting. If not, why count at all?

And yet, notwithstanding such tardy and faint semiofficial demurrers as that regarding the "ARL Library Index," and occasional maverick criticisms of the notion, we find in the literature such ambiguous dicta as that of Princeton (an ARL member) University Librarian William Dix: "other things being equal, the larger a library is, the better it is" ("Teaching Methods and the Use of Libraries," in Part 3, Library Resources and Quality in Higher Education, Thomas Buckman and others, eds., University and Research Libraries in Japan and the United States, Chicago: American Library Association, 1971, pages 29-35, at 32).

8. Jon Nicholson, "Guide to the College Guides: Or, How to Find a College in 25 Easy Volumes," Change 15 (Jan./Feb. 1983) 16-21; 46-50, at 17.
9. Nicholson, "Guide," page 18.
10. Alexander Astin, Manual for the Inventory of College Activities, quoted in Baird, "Importance of Surveying Student and Faculty Views," in Baird, Hartnett, and others, Understanding, page 61; second emphasis supplied.
11. Curiously, in an early work in the "environment/climate-context" topic, one "stimulus item," an "environmental variable" on a questionnaire, was "use of the library"; see Alexander Astin and Robert Panos, The Educational and Vocational Development of College

Students, Washington: American Council on Education, 1969, page 8. But this has never been developed fully in the literature of the work.

12. It may be appropriate here, also to wonder why the "environment/climate-context" steam in the higher education literature seemingly pays so little attention to the (one would think) cognate "environment/climate" research that is a full and active area in organization study. It may be the thinner for this. See, for example, Denise Rousseau, "Issues of Level in Organizational Research," in L. Cummings and Berry Staw, eds., Research in Organizational Behavior, vol. 7, Greenwich, CT: JAI press, Inc., pages 1-37.
13. David Webster, Academic Quality Rankings of American Colleges and Universities, pages 14-15.
14. Jack Gourman, The Gourman Report: A Rating of Undergraduate Programs in American and International Universities, 6th ed., rev., Los Angeles: National Educational Standards, 1985, page 137.
15. George Kuh, Indices of Quality in the Undergraduate Experience, AAHE-ERIC/Higher Education Research Report No. 4, Washington: American Association for Higher Education, 1981.
16. George Kuh. "The Meaning and Measurement of Quality in the Undergraduate Experience," Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Education Research Association, New York, March 1982, ERIC ED 214 469.
17. Allan Cartter, An Assessment of Quality in Graduate Higher Education, Washington: American Council on Education, 1966.
18. Judith Lawrence and Kenneth Green, A Question of Quality: The Higher Education Ratings Game, AAHE-ERIC/Higher Education Research Report No. 5, Washington: American Association for Higher Education, 1980.
19. L. Meeth, Quality Education for Less Money, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1975.
20. Harold Enarson, "Quality-Indefinable But Not Unattainable," Educational Record 64 (1983) 7-9.
21. See, for instance, "Accreditors Urged to Gauge Quality, Not Just Compliance With Minimal Standards," Chronicle of Higher Education, Oct. 8, 1986, page 30.
22. An example at the extreme is one which, however, might escape even such a sweep as an electronic data base search: It was reported in The University of Chicago Magazine (Winter, 1987) at page 18, that

the donor of a quite large gift to the University said to the reporter, "I'm a sucker for excellence."

23. Webster, Academic Quality Rankings, page 5.
24. Eliot Friedson, Professional Powers: A Study of the Institutionalization of Formal Knowledge, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986, page ix.
25. Kuh, "Meaning and Measurement," page 1.
26. Ibid., page 2; emphasis supplied.
27. Ibid., page 3.
28. Jonathan Fife, Foreword, in George Kuh, Indices of Quality.
29. Kuh, "Meaning and Measurement," page 23.
30. David Webster, "Who Is Jack Gourman and Why Is He Saying All Those Things About My College?" Change 16 (Nov./Dec. 1984) 14-19; 45-56. Others had questioned the Gourman Reports earlier; see William Eshelman, [Review of Gourman Report], Personnel and Guidance Journal 46 (1968) 916-920; Emery Walker, "Recent College Ratings," ACAC Journal 13 (1968) 18-19; William Eshelman, "The Gourman Report," Chronicle of Higher Education, July 3, 1978, page 14; Jill Coughlin, "'The Gourman Report': A Mysterious Rating of Universities," Chronicle of Higher Education, May 16, 1978, page 15. For a chronological bibliography of the Gourman canon, see Webster, page 56.
31. Richard Moll, The Public Ivys: A Guide to America's Best State Colleges and Universities, New York: Viking, 1985.
32. Closely related to accreditation to all intents and purposes is what some call by the covering term "State Program Review." The term is Lawrence and Green's, who made it, along with accreditation, what they called "Other Dimensions and Concerns in Quality Assessment" (A Question of Quality, page 42-52). There is typically a "library element" in "State Program Review" too. How it got there and what it means will have to remain unprobed here, although it is reasonable to speculate that "State Program Review" has its intellectual and conceptual roots in its elder, accreditation; so that, up to a point, to speak of accreditation is to speak of "State Program Review" as well. For that reason, there is nothing to be gained in dealing with it separately.
33. Julie Virgo, Introduction, in Julie Virgo and David Yuro, eds., Libraries and Accreditation in Institutions of Higher Education, Chicago: American Library Association, 1980, page 1. Virgo's use of "evaluated" is a little unclear. "Evaluation" connotes a formal technical process, but on what that might be based is not evident.

She cannot have meant an "evaluation" on the basis of specifications promulgated by professional associations, such as the Association of College and Research Libraries (ACRL) "Standards for College Libraries" or derivatives therefrom; because, as noted below, these seem to never have been officially incorporated into any institutional, i.e., regional, accreditation rules.

34. Eli Oboler and others, comps., College and University Library Accreditation Standards - 1957, Chicago: Association of College and Research Libraries, 1958, pages 7 ff.
35. Herman Totten, Identification of Library Elements in Standards of Accrediting Agencies.
36. Virgo and Yuro, Libraries and Accreditation. See especially Patricia Thrash's "Evaluation of Libraries in the Accrediting Process from the Standpoint of the Accrediting Association," and her Appendix A, pages 47-56, and 89-100, respectively, in the Virgo and Yuro volume. It is important to eliminate a potential unclarity here, which is not always done in the literature, viz., that there are actually three kinds of library "standards" extant and talked about in the writings. First, there are the "library elements" in the accrediting association "standards." Second, there are the successive versions of the American Library Association's "Standards for Accreditation" used by the ALA's own Committee on Accreditation for the purpose of accrediting the profession's own "library schools" only. This is simply another specialized program accreditation, like that of veterinary or forestry schools. The third kind of "library 'standards'" is a class of one, also, the Association of College and Research Libraries (ACRL, a component or division under the ALA umbrella) document "Standards for College Libraries." These ACRL college library "Standards" are important pervasively in the present analysis; but not, it must be emphasized, in conjunction with institutional accreditation. Important to clarity is the fact that, as mentioned in Note 33 above, these ACRL "Standards" seem to have never been explicitly, formally, or officially incorporated, either textually or by reference, into, nor recognized otherwise, by any regional accrediting association's "standards," guidelines, or rules. Instead, despite a good bit of careless, loose, and misleading talk about the ACRL "Standards" in relationship to accreditation--as especially, for example, in papers in the Virgo and Yuro volume--a close reading even of it brings out such key admissions as George Bailey's that "as far as the regional associations are concerned the ACRL statements are not used in the accrediting process" ("Evaluation of Libraries in the Accrediting Process--From the Standpoint of the Library," pages 57-63, at 60). In other words, the ACRL "Standards" have not been a "library element" in regional accrediting rules, institutional accreditation. Whether they may have informally and tacitly influenced the thinking of librarians or others on visitation teams would be quite another matter; an unanswered question, perhaps. Another potential source of confusion, often mistaken for a "Standard," is a quantitative

formula for book collection size, the notorious "Clapp-Jordan Formula," which seems to have been used in "state program review." Its provisions appear to be merely arbitrary and ad hoc, as its eponymous creators never offered a rigorous conceptual or theoretical basis for them. What is more, there is rumor in the "academic" library community that its creators themselves have subsequently repudiated it; not, interestingly, for its lack of basis, but because they felt that it was being misapplied. Many unanswered questions surround the "Clapp-Jordan Formula." In any event, while it--like the ACRL "Standards"--appears not to have ever been incorporated into any regional accrediting rules, the "Formula" does appear to have influenced the ACRL "Standards" Formula A.

37. Dorothy Petersen, Accrediting Standards and Guidelines, page 42. Peterson's wording reflects the fact that her overview included some "agencies of regional accreditation for vocational, community, or junior colleges." "Learning center" tends to belong to the jargon of that segment, although there seems not to have been absolute precision of usage.

Her remark also seems to make a reference to another unanswered question in the topic of accreditation, namely, the debate over whether accreditation "standards," guidelines, or membership rules are chiefly "quantitative" or "qualitative," and which they ought to be (see also Dorothy Petersen, "Accrediting Standards and Guidelines: A Profile," Educational Record 59 (1978) 305-313). Why does this debate occupy any prominence? Would not a more significant concern be the origins and intellectual soundness of the "elements" comprising these requirements? Would not a more relevant debate be over the relationship of any accreditation "element" to teaching and learning? May we not paraphrase Petersen's own aphorism, that "uniformity," in itself, is no virtue, to ask, Is being either "qualitative," or "quantitative," in itself a virtue?

Another unanswered question in this topic is why some authors, such as Petersen, occasionally refer to entities doing accrediting as "agencies," a term conventionally reserved for government offices; as in "regulatory agency?" Is not accreditation a voluntary non-governmental self-regulation? Indeed, there is a thread in the literature voicing grave concern over governmental intervention. Fred Harcleroad spoke darkly of "government takeover" ("Effects of Regional Agencies and Voluntary Associations," in Paul Jedamus, Marvin Peterson, and associates, Improving Academic Management, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1980, pages 96-112). "Spectre" was the term used by Laurence Marcus, Anita Leone, and Edward Goldberg in a side note on page 31 in their The Path to Excellence--"the spectre of intervention by the state." And Harcleroad's terminology further confuses by using "agency" (as in "regional agency") to refer to the relatively recent creations, "regional interstate compacts," such as the Southern Regional Education Board; which are in fact governmental in character, at least insofar as having been created by governments. But as far as can be determined, these have not yet

had accreditation functions or powers, and their involvement, if any, in "state program review" is problematic.

38. Oboler and others, College and University Library Accreditation Standards - 1957, pages 7 ff.
39. Authors writing accreditation history generally seem to use it simply as obligatory material, prefatory to getting on with what they consider to be the business at hand, and of interest. For example, Fred Harcleroad devoted thirteen pages in all to the entire history, from 1787 (!) onward; The First Period, 1787-1914, he disposed of in a little more than two pages, the Second Period, 1914-1935, in just over a page. Yet these were the crucial times when the "library element" entered institutional accreditation, became entrenched, and during which the events relied upon by the "historical argument" of the CLD (see Chapter II) took place. And even his short account was mixed with material about other forms of accreditation, such as program accreditation (Accreditation: History, Process, Problems, AAHE-ERIC/Higher Education Report No. 6, Washington: American Association for Higher Education, 1980). The result often becomes a jumble of dates and names, much like one of the faults of "mentioning" noted in Chapter II. It is not critical history.
40. George Zook and M. Haggerty, Principles of Accrediting Higher Institutions, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936, page 18. This was the same Richard Jesse who later served on the National Education Association's "Committee of 10," headed by Harvard's Eliot, to look into the relationship between colleges and high schools on matters of admission requirements, a committee which enjoys a "role in pedagogical folklore as the group that fastened college domination on the secondary schools" (Edward Krug, The Shaping of the American High School, 2 vols., New York: Harper & Row, 1964, 1972, I, page 39). The relationship between colleges and high schools is a matter of great interest in the shaping of accreditation.
41. A link provided by the role of CFAT as a "standards" maker just a little later on raises a speculation that President Jesse's inclusion rationale might have been influenced by Melvil Dewey, library missionary and "zealot," indefatigable promoter of libraries. Dewey is a candidate because work being done and published at that time by the Regents of the University of the State of New York--specifically its "definition of a college"--was drawing national attention. CFAT acknowledged its use of that work. Dewey was the Regents' secretary (see Frank Abbott, Government Policy and Higher Education: A Study of the Regents of the University of the State of New York, 1784-1949, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1958, especially pages 70-73, "Elevating the Collegiate Standard," where Dewey is called "a man fervently committed to principle"). But as it turns out, the chain is broken: The wording of the document in

question, the Regents' Ordinances and Bylaws, is silent about libraries, has no "library element."

42. Reprinted in Zook and Haggerty, Principles, pages 28-29.
43. Proceedings of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools in the Southern States 27 (1922) 99-100.
44. The phrase is David Riesman's; see Note 82 in Chapter VI.
45. Ellen Lagemann, "The Politics of Knowledge: The Carnegie Corporation and the Formulation of Public Policy," History of Education Quarterly 27 (1987) 205-220, which was based on her larger study, The Politics of Knowledge: A History of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, forthcoming Spring 1988. Many of the same interpretations are woven into her earlier Private Power for the Public Good: A History of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1983.
46. Lagemann, Private Power, page 30.
47. This is a major theme in Krug's Shaping of the American High School, volume I.
48. Lagemann, Private Power, page 37.
49. Lagemann, Private Power, page 40.
50. Krug, Shaping, I, page 7.
51. See, for instance, Samuel Capen, Resources and Standards of Colleges of Arts and Sciences, Washington: GPO, 1918 (Bureau of education Bulletin, 1918, No. 30).
52. Proceedings of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools in the Southern States 27 (1922) 95.
53. Lotus Coffman, Foreword to Zook and Haggerty, Principles, pages v-vi; iv.
54. Lagemann, Private Power, page 23 et passim.
55. See, for example, such papers in William Dunn, ed., Policy Analysis: Perspectives, Concepts, and Methods (Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, Inc., 1986), as G. Garson, "From Policy Science to Policy Analysis: Quarter Century of Progress," pages 3-22, especially pages 14-17.
56. Lagemann, Private Power, pages 191-192.
57. See Daniel Wrenn, The Evolution of Management Thought, New York: Ronald Press, 1972, Chapters 6-8, and also see Note 67 in Chapter II

above, where the issues centering on the notion of "efficiency" as they relate to higher education are brought together.

58. Zook and Haggerty, Principles, page 27.
59. Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, Second Annual Report (1907), page 103.
60. Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, Eighth Annual Report (1913), pages 19, 24.
61. Dennis Palumbo, Statistics in Political and Behavioral Science, rev. ed., New York: Columbia University Press, 1977, page ix.
62. Walter Eells, Surveys of American Higher Education, New York, Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1937. The genre, and CFAT involvement in it, were not limited to higher education: CFAT in 1914 conducted a "study" of secondary education in Vermont, and between 1926 and 1932 conducted the famous "Pennsylvania Study," which--unlike the bulk of the "surveys"--actually performed empirical testing. See Krug, Shaping, I, pages 323-325.
63. Zook and Haggerty, Principles, page 85.
64. See the treatments of statistical correlation in most textbooks on statistics, such as Palumbo, Statistics in Political and Behavioral Science, page 100. Krug provides a background discussion of the term "correlation"--he says of the period around the turn of the century, "Correlation was becoming a popular term"--that raises the possibility that, far from being strictly a precisely delimited statistical term of art, it was becoming something of what later times call a buzzword. Perhaps a fruitful approach to other terms, such as "quality," and "excellence," would be to look at them as buzzwords ("efficiency," as indicated elsewhere in this report, has already received something of such a treatment); see Krug's discussion, beginning at I, page 98, in The Shaping. In any event, special meanings that words had had in the historical context of such events as the Committee on Revision work would have to be taken into account by a critical history of accreditation, would they not?
65. Douglas Waples, "The North Central Association's Study of College Libraries," College and Reference Library Yearbook Number 2, Chicago: American Library Association, 1930, pages 85-89, at 85. Waples authored the library volume, The Library, of the seven volume report of the Committee, which was issued under the collective title The Evaluation of Higher Institutions: A Series of Monographs Based on The Study Conducted for the Committee on Standards, Commission on Higher Institutions of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. Zook and Haggerty's Principles was the cover volume.

66. Lloyd Blauch, ed., Accreditation in Higher Education, Washington: GPO, 1959, page 4.
67. Lawrence Derthick, Foreword, in Blauch, ed., Accreditation.
68. Alexander Astin, "Undergraduate Achievement and Institutional Excellence," Science 161 (1968) 661-668.
69. Lewis Solmon, "The Definition and Impact of College Quality," in Lewis Solomon and Paul Taubman, Does College Matter? New York: Academic Press, 1973, pages 77-102.
70. Dael Wolfle, "To What Extent Do Monetary Returns to Education Vary With Family Background, Mental Ability, and School Quality?" in Solmon and Taubman, Does College Matter? pages 68-74.
71. "Fuming Over College Costs," Newsweek, May 18, 1987, pages 66-71, at 68, 67.
72. Alexander Astin, "Undergraduate Achievement and Institutional Excellence," page 67.
73. Alexander Astin, Four Critical Years, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1979.
74. Alexander Astin, Achieving Educational Excellence: A Critical Assessment of Priorities and Practices in Higher Education, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1985.
75. Howard Bowen, The Costs of Higher Education, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1980.
76. Lagemann, "Politics," page 209.
77. Lagemann, "Politics," page 210.
78. Neil Radford, The Carnegie Corporation and the Development of the American College Library, 1928-1941, Chicago: American Library Association, 1984, page 3. A standard work on the public library aspect of this philanthropy is George Bobinski's Carnegie Libraries: Their History and Impact on the American Library Movement, Chicago: American Library Association, 1969.
79. Radford, Carnegie Corporation, page 15.
80. The wording is Lagemann's, who, in "Politics," discusses the Corporation's entire program.
81. The phrase "missionary zealots" is Guy Lyle's characterization of the first generation of graduates of the "newer professional library schools" who, "if they had any special virtue, it was a missionary

- zeal to make libraries useful ..." (Administration of the College Library, 4th ed., New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1974, page 3).
82. Bishop, quoted in Radford, Carnegie Corporation, pages 81-82.
 83. Radford, Carnegie Corporation, pages 81-82.
 84. Radford describes the book lists in his Chapter 5.
 85. Radford, Carnegie Corporation, page 127.
 86. Ibid.
 87. Quoted in Radford, Carnegie Corporation, page 213.
 88. Radford, Carnegie Corporation, page 127.
 89. William Randall, The College Library: A Descriptive Study of the Libraries of Four-Year Liberal Arts Colleges in the United States, Chicago: American Library Association and University of Chicago Press, 1932.
 90. William Randall and Francis Goodrich, Principles of College Library Administration, Chicago: American Library Association and University of Chicago Press, 1936.
 91. Erritt McDiarmid, The Library Survey: Problems and Methods, Chicago: American Library Association, 1936. Among other monographs generated by the Corporation were--as noted in Chapter I, Note 26--the two books on campus planning, by Klauder and Wise, and Larson and Palmer, which seem to contribute to the College Library Doctrine.
 92. Radford, Carnegie Corporation, pages 147, 137.
 93. Thomas Barcus, Carnegie Corporation and College Libraries, 1938-1943, New York: The Corporation, page ix.
 94. See the discussion in Chapter I. Still other fruitful approaches might be those of the "center and periphery" notion; see Joseph Ben-David, The Scientists' Role in Society: A Comparative Study, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1971; and Edward Shils, ed., Center and Periphery: Essays in Sociology, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975.

CHAPTER VI

EXPLANATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

In this final chapter the evolution of the research questions introduced in Chapter I is reversed, taken backward through the chain of logical antecedents. The first part of the chapter is mainly devoted to the half of the research-guiding couplet, Why do colleges have library operation programs?; which is answered by the venture of a conjectural alternative explanation, a revisionist interpretation of history. It is ventured not only in place of or in competition with the College Library Doctrine (CLD) version (its historical explanation seen in Chapter II), but also as a diffident answer to Laurence Veysey's quandary over just how it was that such great uniformities of "internal structure," "institutional frameworks," made such "sudden appearance"--considering Michigan's Angell having said, in the quotation Veysey made famous, how "our rather multifarious usages ... have grown up without much system under peculiar exigencies."¹ The "growing up" of the college library operation as a part of the uniform "internal structures" and "institutional frameworks" sheds light on the global happening, and vice versa.

Then, in the latter part of the chapter, a corresponding answer is ventured to the other half of the research question couplet, Why should colleges undertake to have library operation programs? Here are found the policy implications. This answer is based upon all of the insights and interpretations preceding. It is quite different from what the CLD leads to. In the discussion of this answer a case is made that such an undertaking is, albeit for reasons different from the conventional wisdom built upon the CLD, justifiable; justifiable both in the technical

budgetary meaning and in the vernacular sense, although it calls for some modification in ways of policy thinking. Finally, this justification for most intents and purposes answers the initial prior question, can we know how much a college should spend on its library operation program? and hence the dependent fiscal policy question of how much that is.

A Conjectural Alternative Explanation

To review, in Chapter II the "historical argument" for the version of reality advanced by the CLD was developed and confronted with facts causing reasonable doubts about its truth. And in the following chapters, various ramifications were pursued, with their own reasonable doubt, and building the sum total of reasonable doubt over that version of reality. It was a laborious process, made so because of the apparently unquestioned and widespread acceptance of the CLD version.

This historical argument--the cornerstone of the CLD--was shown to talk in the language of change and causation. It takes the broad changes or transformations--which do not need to be reviewed here--moves to more questionable extrapolations and particulars of interpretation, and weaves it all together into attributions of causal agency leading to the state of being depicted by the CLD. According to the postulate, the causal process was mostly an internal one, endogenous and intrinsic to higher education, specifically college education. Put differently, according to the CLD argument, the reality portrayed by the CLD arose out of the course of college education.

The conjectural alternative explanation presented here encompasses, but sometimes reaches back earlier, the same historical period as does

the historical argument of the CLD. It likewise takes change as the governing principle. And it deals with many of the same events and occurrences. But since the ultimate purpose of this investigation was, after all, to examine policy and not to become absorbed in the writing (or rewriting) of history, the conjectural alternative explanation only sketches in the broad outlines of the evidence, leaving elaboration to the sources cited. This is especially true at those points where it collides with the historical argument, because the "facts" are largely the same. It is the emphases and interpretations that differ.

It must be said that at best the evidence for either side is weak, circumstantial, and suggestive. Because both sides use the same evidentiary raw materials, what the conjectural alternative explanation makes out of the materials is no less vulnerable to criticisms of various weaknesses than is the historical argument of the CLD, weaknesses brought out and highlighted in the previous chapters. But at the same time is no more so, and even the establishment of this rough parity--the demonstration that the same evidence will support two differing versions of reality--is itself a finding. It is a finding of reasonable doubt of the entire CLD. If two differing explanations are equally plausible, then neither--by definition--can be said to be the explanation. For that reason we are entitled, perhaps even required, to discredit the CLD from claim to the explanation of why colleges have, and ought to have, library operations programs; as the answer, that is, to the research question couplet, despite its having enjoyed the benefit of presumption. There is no requirement to absolutely or conclusively disprove it. Reasonable doubt has policy significance.

Proceeding to develop the conjectural alternative explanation, there is, as was seen in Chapter II, an accepted conceptual model used by the historical argument of the CLD; that developed by Louis Wilson, of change caused by 1) forces outside the college, 2) changes within the college, and 3) changes within the library.² Of these the most--and great--emphasis in the argument is upon the second of these, changes within the college. But as we saw in Chapters II through V, these changes within the college are quite problematic, to the extent that at least some of them seem not to have occurred. There is no need to go back through the contradictions, inconsistencies, and fallacies here. Sufficient that the link, crucial to the argument, with college education seems to be doubtful.

What the conjectural alternative explanation here contends is that, while it is risky to speak in absolutes, it was not "changes within," changes in the college, in college education--changes real or imagined--that caused the present ubiquitous and established state of the college library operation. Instead, this is the result of outside influences and forces, "forces outside the college," forces external and exogenous to college education, and having little to do with it. We have already seen, for example, in Chapter V the way in which such outside forces as accreditation and philanthropic foundations intervened to cause change. And we saw in Chapters III and IV how the stubborn intransigence of empirical reality kept squaring with the librarians' own occasional off-guard admissions that by their own accounts they have not been a discernible force in college education. Instead, they have carried on a reciprocal trade with the outside, and "changes within the library," the

first and third causal agents of Wilson's model, bypassing college education.

The Commons of Librarianship

A way of visualizing the dynamics of the conjectural alternative explanation externalities over time is to picture a grid, one of whose dimensions is comprised of the variety of different library types and their histories; with the college library being but one, and a distinct one at that, as the librarians emphasize.³ The crossing dimension consists of three functional internal library activities, practices, or routines. Sprinkled across this grid are personages who were opinion makers and leaders, at nodes where the opinions or ideas these persons espoused or championed regarding library activities, practices, and routines converge with the library type dimension. Not static over time, these dimensions, personages, and opinions or ideas have intermingled, bringing together library types with activities, practices, and routines in many ways. The picture that we get from this visualization is one of the historical convergence and codification of a sort of generalized professional librarian stock in trade of ideas and practices, mentioned frequently in this narrative. This stock in trade--"library science"--has been carried around into various workplaces as they coalesced, via a common training and acculturation process, the existence of a superordinate and unified professional association, and through crosstype movement of personnel and emulation, without any real questioning of or regard for appropriateness. This diffusion is like the old saw about the Law of the Tool: Having first the tool, the almost automatic assumption that it is just the thing for this or that application.

Guy Lyle opened this up, perhaps without fully appreciating its import, when, following Wilson, he turned to "outside forces":

Another factor that contributed to the development of the college library during this period was the example of the great public libraries of America. Nowhere else now or then could one get a more vivid impression of the educational and social significance of libraries in society. During the [nineteen] thirties and forties the great public libraries developed an enormous clientele which borrowed and read an increasing number of substantial [sic] books and demanded a greater volume and more intensive form of reference services. As seen by the public these libraries provided thousands of books on open shelves, reading and study rooms for specialists [sic] in science, history, and other subject fields, special services to school children, exhibition galleries for prints and drawings, leadership for adult education and civic group discussions, film and record loans, readers' advisory services, and the like. It is not too much to suppose that parents, teachers, and school students, accustomed to such services, would expect the college library to provide no less for its faculty and student body. The intangible benefits of such an example defy exact statement, but there can be no doubt of the practical contribution made by the large public libraries to college library administration and techniques.⁴

Lyle's stretched and rather glorified account is largely speculative, but probably close enough; both in that the "intangible benefits" to college students of something like "special services for school children ... defy exact statement," and also in his supposition about the general example of "large public libraries" upon college library programs. These library operations were clearly highly visible, and enviable, success stories at a time when the college type was receiving little "recognition," as we have seen in the previous chapters. But he misidentified motives and underestimated the magnitude and mechanics and (with an exception to mentioned directly), the antiquity of the public library "contribution." To appreciate this, let us place the public library type on the grid dimension of three fundamental ideas, generic library functions, ac-

tivities, or operating practices; the three pillars, as it were, in the stock in trade of generalized librarianship or "library science."

One pillar is the idea that persons may and will take books away from the edifice, presumably "home"; "home use" (as the older literature puts it) or circulation. The second pillar is reference, which as it turns out has been two ideas under the same name. The first of these "reference" notions is roughly the opposite of "circulation," i.e., the idea that persons will use the library's books on the premises exclusively, so that others, thanks to this restriction, will be reasonably assured not to be disappointed in finding what they are looking for because someone else has already taken it "home." The other meaning of "reference" is "aid to readers" or "personal assistance" by staff.⁵ The third pillar is what has come to be known in the trade collectively as technical processing, consisting of the acquiring, organizing, and deploying of the materials owned by the library and by other libraries through classification, cataloging, indexing, and other bibliographic techniques and tools.

Lyle discussed these three pillars of "library science" in the context of the college library operation, as being the whole structural/functional framework of the "administrative organization."⁶ Indeed, he compressed the entire dynamic of that organization, at a high level of abstraction, thus:

Once the college library has acquired and catalogued its books and other materials, its subsequent obligations are two fold: to lend these materials to the legitimate users of the library (circulation services); and to render full assistance to readers in using the library and its contents (reference services).⁷

These ideas, the pillars of "library science," have become so familiar that few would even think to wonder about their origins. Even laymen know about them. But what were their beginnings as distinct practices? Before some moment they seem not to have existed at all, much less in college library operation programs, as the library historians make quite clear when they denigrate and belittle earlier times.

The answer is that each of these pillars originated in librarian ideas and values outside the college library operation, in fact outside the college and college education, outside even of higher education itself. They were simply imitated, carried over into the college by librarians, in a pattern of cultural diffusion. Much of this took place prior to the 20th century, unevenly--depending upon which pillar--or at best prior to World War I, but most certainly prior to Lyle's "thirties and forties."

Putting this all together on the grid, recall that the other dimension of the grid is the array of different library types, one of which is the public library and its historical ancestors. In the 19th century, well before Lyle's "twenties and thirties," before even the watershed date of 1876 selected by proponents of the historical argument (see Chapter II) there was a great ferment of library ideas, ideas taking form as library types, all in full swing well in advance of the "modern" college library as a type. These early ideas and types had some sort of "education," religious or secular, as one of their fundamental organizing principles. There is an extensive literature of all this, treated as social and intellectual history.⁸

One of these germinal types was the "social library," whose roots are customarily traced back even further, to England in the early 18th century. This institutional type had an active 18th and 19th century existence in America in New England; which, perhaps not coincidentally, was also the center of colleges in America as that institutional type then stood. The "social library" is considered a stage in the evolution of the public library.⁹ An essential characteristic of the "social library" was "circulation." Oliver Garceau said that "in the service they gave, these institutions followed modern library practice ... they allowed [the books] to be circulated for a month or so," by which he doubtless intended "shaped."¹⁰ Significantly, this was at a time when--according to the library historians themselves--"circulation" was largely unheard of in "academic" libraries. Here, simply put, was the origin of the "library science" pillar of "circulation."

These "social libraries" also figure into the "reference" pillar, in the meaning of intramural reading. Garceau noted that "in their later development they even branched out into special libraries for mercantile clerks, mechanics, factory workers."¹¹ It was this subtype--the "clerks' and mechanics' library"--which was compared by library writers then and now with the "academic" libraries of the period, to the latter's disadvantage as they see it. Looking back at the situation revealed by an 1859 report, George Utley said that

the Harvard library, for example, was open only from 9 to 1 and 2 to 4; Yale 10 to 1 and 3 to 5; Brown 9 to 1; Princeton open only Mondays and Thursdays from 12 to 1. With such hours in force, reference service as we know it would not have been extensive or frequent. The college library was open chiefly for the occasional loan of a book to a professor or student or the occasional perusal of the recent periodicals. On the other hand, the hours of the

young men's institutions, mercantile and mechanics libraries, were long--for the most part all day and until 9 or 10 at night. The Boston Mercantile Library ... kept its reading room open "from 6 1/2 A.M. until 10 P.M.," although its library proper [sic] kept the more moderate hours of 1 to 10.¹²

It was for just about this date and a little after that Edward Holley assembled indications that "academic" library practice was changing in the direction of that of the mercantile and mechanics' library type in the matter of hours.¹³ It is worth risking the post hoc fallacy to suggest that something more than sheer coincidence was there. The risk is reduced because the literature of the period, especially that related to the 1856 "library conference" and the 1876 "special report," is replete with exhortation to the colleges, under such banners as "access," to move in that direction.¹⁴ Conversely, the risk of post hoc is also lessened because what Holley and others do not do is make a case showing specifically and concretely that the widened hours were a direct response to any changes taking place in college education then, at that time. Instead, with the temporal plasticity or achronicity of the historical argument, when they point to innovations in higher education such as "honors courses," "independent study," and so forth, what they point at were all in this period's future. It is as though writing about the tactical effects of the airplane on the Indian Wars. And even that is when they point at innovations whose very existence is not itself highly dubious, such as the demise of the textbook and the lecture.

When Holley and others talk about the expansion of hours by college libraries, they point to various supposed causes and effects having to do with increased "use" by the college students. Holley said that

in 1877 the proportion of college libraries not open daily was one out of seven. By 1893 this proportion had changed to one out of forty, while more than one-half were open as much as thirty hours per week.¹⁵

But as we saw in Chapter IV, this is contradicted by what the librarians themselves write in other places about "use." Hence, while there is no reason to question the basic facts, the interpretation of them is dubious. Instead, it is reasonable to conjecture that "circulation" and "reference" were both the result of outside, external, influence, having originated in other types of library operation, ones senior to college library operations in existence, experience, visibility ... and popularity. The outside models were being institutionalized into "library science" and thus imported into colleges as early as the last half of the 19th century. The introduction of them as part of the generic practices arose separate from the course of college education. And, as the evidence discussed in the previous chapters kept showing, "library science" took hold only indifferently at colleges, and still seems to have scant relationship with college education. "Use" was not a factor.

Or, getting onto even firmer ground in influence tracing, consider the other half of the "reference" pillar, "personal service/aid to readers." Here again we are sent by the library historians themselves back to the evolving public library type, picking it up at a later stage in its evolution. The Boston Public Library, founded in 1847, is usually held out as the archetype. Garceau said that it was "the pattern of library development from 1850 on."¹⁶

As with its ancestral society library type, in the development of the public library into this its mature phase, there were continuing

associations with coeval broad educational movements and ideas, such as compulsory elementary education. For instance, Horace Mann and Henry Barnard are credited with having promoted "the first free public library system in this country--that of the school district library."¹⁷ Many viewed the public library, at a high level of abstraction, as having some sort of omnibus, open-ended mission of

civic, vocational, and adult education. They were not so interested in conservation of the resources of scholarship as in disseminating information as widely as possible.¹⁸

It was to this public library notion that Samuel Rothstein traced the beginnings of the other half of the "reference" idea, by which he meant the "personal assistance/aid to readers" activity or practice, conducted by its own organizational subunit or "department," having its own staff. He said that while

one function which is common to nearly all [libraries] is the provision of reference service ... the history of American librarianship shows that reference service was not always an integral part of the library order but was once a "cause" to be propagandized for.¹⁹

In his tracework Rothstein also pursued the idea to what he called "reference libraries"--a confusing designation common in the literature, representing a mix of historical society, legislative, medical, technical and industrial, and federal executive branch libraries, also often called "special libraries" in the literature--and at a later date, to university libraries. But he was certain that, save for a problematic few, college libraries were not involved in this half of the "reference" idea for a long time.

Indeed, Rothstein went so far as to identify the first instance of the practice having been "propagandized" into an "academic" library as

having been at Columbia around 1885, when Melvil Dewey was librarian there. The clear model, as Rothstein saw it, was the public library:

Dewey had been in the very forefront of the public library movement and was indisputably well-acquainted with the pioneer efforts of the public librarians in developing the concept of reference work. There is some indirect evidence that he was consciously aiming at adapting the principles first enunciated by the public libraries.²⁰

But, in a curious quirk of perceptions, while the "reference" idea or "cause" took hold in "academic" libraries, it was in the public library type where--for the time being--it really flourished, as

more and more the reference service of the public library was coming to exemplify and justify its pretensions to serious educational influence in the community

and as the central locations of large urban public libraries were preening themselves as

the complete and well rounded reference library where the ripened scholar may continue his learned investigations.²¹

The "ripened scholar" business is hard to square with Arthur Bestor's thesis that crucial to the "transformation of scholarship" was its being brought within the walls of organized institutional higher education which--when coupled with "learned investigation" and so on--is usually taken to signify "university."²² If so, then what had public libraries to do with "scholars" and "scholarship," "learned investigation?" It could be that we are guilty of anachronism in imposing divisions of labor and function more clear now than then. Or it may be, as speculated in this alternative explanation, that the "commons" of ideas and principles of professional librarian practice--"library science"--has made for a sameness in thinking, a supply side open season on markets, in which niches are recognized and conceded only after the fact. It does make for

confusing statements in the librarian chronicles, as with Rothstein's puzzling observation that

the educational role which had, in a sense been imposed upon the college librarians by the new trends in higher education was eagerly assumed by the public librarians.²³

The business about the "ripened scholar" and locations for his "learned investigations" comes up again below, as part of the "scholars' workshop fantasy."

At any rate, Harvard in 1915 joined the "movement," and followed the Columbia model in the "reference idea," by reorganizing its library operation structure with a "reference department." And it was to the public library sector, specifically the Brooklyn Public Library, that Harvard turned, by hiring the administrator for this new unit from there. Interestingly, however, the main direction of the movement was elsewhere than old colleges, including those recreating themselves into universities. Instead, Rothstein decided that the real field for "propagandizing" of the reference "cause" into "academic" libraries was at the new state universities.²⁴

The "reference idea" marched across and into the broad front of extant and newly forming library operations of diverse types, becoming one of the generalized library functions; a pillar of "library science" and of college library organization. Curiously, in light of the "university library syndrome" which we will see shortly, neither Lyle nor others trace the path of any of the pillars of practice through the university library operation program nor suggest that college librarians copied from above. In his account of the reference idea and how it grew, Lyle is clear in identifying the public library as "the initial agent" and

"pattern." But Lyle added his own contribution to confusion by making the usual slip of simultaneously confounding the college and university library operation types, while asserting their difference. What he said was, oddly, "unfortunately the college lagged behind" in copying the reference idea. What could he have meant by such a value-laden statement when all along he had been saying how reference was such a basic organization unit and operating practice? The context suggests that his invidious if unspoken comparison was with university libraries. We learn from his discussion why he considered the "lag" to be "unfortunate";

because of widespread ignorance among students in using even simple reference books. In colleges which support the tradition of students working with reference sources and bibliography, however, the reference librarian is regarded as a true friend of scholarship. If colleges could staff their libraries with librarians in sufficient numbers to be continuously and readily available to students, one could reasonably expect a tremendous improvement in the standard of work done in the college.²⁵

But now that the preceding chapters have given us the means to interpret, we can see that Lyle tipped his hand that his "unfortunately" (in which he seems to suggest that undergraduates are "unripened scholars") is a mixture of the usual wishful thinking, fictitious questions fallacy, and Q.E.D. reasoning of the College Library Doctrine. Any "lag"--even if temporally true--is "unfortunate" simply because librarians would like to have it be otherwise. Lyle's "tremendous improvement" is pure speculation, discredited because, as seen in Chapter IV, the only applicable research shows little if any relationship between library usage and academic success. And Lyle's bias permits us to take his words and re-raise the question of the preceding chapters: If--by very typological definition as well as published report--college's faculties

are not active "researchers," and yet if the local pedagogical "tradition" has never created "needs" or "demands" on the part of the students, then what does it matter at all whether or not a college would borrow from the public library tradition, whether Lyle thinks it is (or should be) a generic pillar or not? Is it not simply that the librarians do it because it is what librarians do? They do it in all the other libraries; and besides, that is what they were taught in library school to do. There is additional reason to suggest this conjectural alternative because of what the writers on "reference" do not say or try not to say. Lyle's manifest destiny treatment of the "history of reference work" avoided mentioning that the philosophy of "reference work" has long had within it a minority opinion advocating a "policy" of minimum assistance "to college students," so as to conserve and ration personnel personal assistance for "scholars."²⁶ Perhaps the intention to subordinate unripened scholars was in hopes of winning away the ripened ones from the public libraries ... where they may not have gone anyway.

The last of the three pillars of generic library practice is "technical processing." In some ways the origins and conduits of influence here are perhaps the clearest of all, because tangible intellectual products are involved; cataloging and classification schema (i.e., schema for the organization of knowledge, or information, or book collections), indices, protocols, and so forth. As a result, origins are usually spoken of in the names of individuals and/or institutions, e.g., Dewey, National Library of Medicine. The production of such intellectual products greatly predates any American participation. For example, the classification of knowledge was a favorite activity of French and German

savants and librarians (a usual combination, of which Kant and Leibniz are examples) and one of the major products of German "academic" library operations, in lieu of undergraduate student use.²⁷

For the United States, Helen Tuttle's paper "From Cutter to Computer: Technical Services in Academic and Research Libraries, 1876-1976" serves to cover the framework of individuals and institutions producing the intellectual products.²⁸ For example, Charles Jewett of the Smithsonian Institution was an early figure, as was Lloyd Smith of the Library Company of Philadelphia. Later high spots were Charles Cutter of the Boston Athenaeum, and later still the anonymous corporate efforts at such places as the Library of Congress. But none of this creative activity was at colleges. The movement runs in the other direction, college library operations having borrowed and imported many of the products and their successors. In using them they were also copying the purposes for which their creators made them.

It is true that the early work of Melvil Dewey on his renowned Dewey Decimal Classification he did while employed at Amherst College. But this work there seems to have been self-motivated and on his own, rather than necessitated by his employment or connected with the college education delivered by Amherst. Indeed, the "technical 'pioneering'" of many of these early products, whether at colleges or elsewhere, seems to have been a volunteer, after hours pursuit. William Poole began his index to popular periodicals--the forerunner of many others--while a "student librarian" in one of Yale's extracurricular literary society libraries, and for the society's own purposes. Its later publication was a commercial venture.²⁹ A commercial venture too was the publishing of

Dewey's decimal classification, and in later years Dewey had a business called "Library Bureau," a supply house for public, later "academic," libraries.³⁰

Certainly neither the examples Tuttle points to, nor anything else adduced by her or found elsewhere, support her assertion that "academic and research librarians tended to dominate change and codification in this area of library work, as much in 1876 as in 1976"; although as noted in Chapter I, here and throughout the literature such terms as "academic" and especially "research," are used with no precision. Even so, her early examples, from the formative time, are--with the possible exception of Dewey--clearly persons from non-"academic," i.e., non-higher education, library types.³¹

Thus, as said, none of the three cardinal principles of college library administrative organization, the pillars of library practice, "library science," arose out of or in the course of college education. Instead, they were imported into the college and its library operation program, lifted from other settings, settings outside the sphere of higher education entirely, without a college education connection. And yet the CLD says that they are the result of what happened within college education.

Persons, Organization, and Interest

Moving, then, on to the sprinkling of persons on the grid of library practices and library types, the human dimension, we find the individuals who had the ideas and beliefs, who were influenced, and who influenced. The "academic" librarians themselves were the third agency of change in Wilson's model, i.e., "changes within the library." Take such an early

propagandizer as Brown University's Reuben Guild. It helps to understand how he was one of the original activists (1858)³² when we know that his boss, Brown's president until 1855, had been Francis Wayland, who is counted among the greats in the public library movement.³³ The individuals fall into an easy division between those who were thought of--and perhaps more important, thought of themselves--as being librarians by vocation, and those who were significant others; the "library-minded" in Lyle's term,³⁴ although Johns Hopkins' Gilman was both, at different times.

To look at the first group, the notions of cadre and of personal identification and group identity are useful. Howard Winger supplied the term "Self-Conscious Librarianship."³⁵ Prior to some time in the past, given what we can sort out from the kinds of historical data available, there must simply have been no college librarians, no cadre or nucleus of "'academic' librarians," persons employed in higher education whose primary self-identification would have been that. This occupational/professional group did not exist, and of course, no organization of such workers. Indeed, the first ever national library conference of 1853, according to Garceau, "was made up largely of persons interested in libraries, but not employed by them, that is by any kind of library."³⁶ For those who were so employed, Charles Jewett's expression in connection with that conference, "practicing librarians," serves well enough to define a time before formal certification, specialized training, "standards," gatekeeping, and "ports of entry."³⁷ John Comaromi's assessment sums it up:

Librarianship did not exist when Dewey set out on his self-assigned task. To be sure, there were libraries and

people who worked in them, but no unified body of purpose and practice (which we call librarianship) existed to guide them.³⁸

Holley thought that at most higher education institutions of that period, the "library" was overseen by some "full-time faculty member who was assigned the task as an additional duty."³⁹

But by and by, as part of the much larger process that Frederick Rudolph characterized as the "splintering" of "administrative responsibility," that situation began changing at some of those institutions we would now regard through the benefit of hindsight as proto-universities.⁴⁰ There arose a nucleus of workers who thought of themselves as, and who were thought of by others as, "librarians." The numbers of this fledgling cadre may have been small, but their visibility today, and presumably then as well in the academic world of that day, may have resulted from the prestige of their employing institutions. And they were vocal, generating a growing volume of writings proclaiming their ideas, especially--according to Kaser--after about 1890.⁴¹

A look at these founders or inventors of the "professional" librarianship of "library science" that colonized the academic sector shows from whence their ideas--which were to become the substance of librarianship--came. The later library writers lean toward sounding as though Revelation or the forces of cultural determinism were at work, and this leaning is supportive of the myth perspective of this analysis. But actually, as we have already begun to see, their ideas were formed out of their own experiences, beliefs, preferences, dreams, ambitions, and pretensions, and those of their counterparts, mutually reinforcing. "Library science" was their brainchild.

Two of these inventors are usually said to tower over the others and dominate up to the turn of the century, in a monopolistic personal hegemony rare in professional groups today. These were the omnipotent Melvil Dewey, and Justin Winsor of Harvard, both of whom have appeared earlier in this account. Both are remembered today less for their earlier connections with non-"academic" library types; Dewey for public libraries and for his later employment by the New York State Library, Winsor for his earlier employment at the Boston Public Library, the grand archetype. Among lesser figures was Frederick Vinton of Princeton, a prolific writer and proselytizer, who before Princeton was at the Boston PL.⁴² Holley talked about changes at Princeton during Vinton, but ignored the possibility of Vinton's having been merely importing ideas he picked up in his earlier work.⁴³ The invention and migration of librarianship through "library science" could certainly stand as an illustration of Joseph Schumpeter's classic thesis that much historical change has been caused by vigorous, dynamic, charismatic, and visionary individuals.⁴⁴

The coalescence of a cadre meant the emergence of a library establishment, a special interest bloc or core corps, which--in the nature of things--then came to be looked to for expertise in decision making because of its perceived possession of expert or specialist knowledge. In later years the control by the profession over the Carnegie Corporation's philanthropy serves well as an example. This seems to be a general phenomenon, in which--to use Alan Lerner's phraseology--"nominally apolitical experts in decision-making" in actuality work to get the right to define issues, frame questions, and then to answer their own

questions to further their purposes; to gain control over the setting of agendas in order to get power of policy decisions affecting their interests.⁴⁵

Students of organization advance various theoretical explanations of how and why organizations (cadre is an aspect of organization) persist and become permanent and self-sustaining.⁴⁶ The solidification of librarians into a persistent professional organization was enhanced by the introduction of separate and special, not merely specialist, training for the membership. That is, one of the things making librarianship "organization" for the conceptual purposes of this analysis is the cohesion provided by having its own inculcation process in the form of this separate training track under control of the profession itself, a "common educational experience," degree structure, and gatekeeping machinery, as Michael Freeman pointed out.⁴⁷ Melvil Dewey began a "School of Library Economy" at Columbia University in 1887, and it went with him to the New York State Library where it remained for many years before returning to Columbia's academic fold. Yet, notwithstanding the trend finally completed of having such "library schools" in universities, until at least the quarter point of this century the predominant path into the occupation was via "training classes" and in-service training conducted by the large urban public libraries.⁴⁸ Put differently, public library doctrine dominated the formal training. Ralph Parker went so far as to assert that "forty years ago," i.e., about 1922, although "there were a few schools, associated with universities, which had higher aspirations," yet "library schools were little more than trade schools run by larger libraries to train their own recruits."⁴⁹ And in fact

these same public libraries dominated the profession because they were the major labor market and economic opportunity for the output of new-minted librarians, even as the structure of training changed, which could not help but shape the orientation of the training program in the new university-based library schools as well. Indeed, at the very time that cohesion within the profession was being fostered by the solidifying of the commons of "library science," there were tensions within the organization reflected in a running dispute in the literature, over the suitability of "library school" products for "academic" library employment, as the cadre established beachheads there, and differentiated from the previous keepers of the books, the "library-minded" professor, by taking over the work.

But this coalescence and differentiation, part of the turn of events involved in Rudolph's "splintering of administrative responsibility," steered the new breed or cadre, librarians now in "academic" library employment, into a doubtless unanticipated consequence; that of being generally perceived as being components of the growing administrative bureaucracy rather than as members of the teaching caste, itself undergoing an "academic revolution." And this seems to be the source of continuing occupational status anxieties.

That such anxieties are prominent has long been recognized by those both outside and within the profession. And the point to this discussion is not to join in the librarian expression of these anxieties or its debate, but instead to describe it, with the emphasis that, whatever the substantive merits may be, this has been a vital reality to librarians, decisively shaping their thought and writing.

From outside, Robert Blackburn thought that "the librarian seems to have an inordinate passion for status."⁵⁰ From inside, Perry Morrison, in his Career of the Academic Librarian, quotes one respondent as lamenting over "academic librarians, for their lot is a peculiarly difficult one."⁵¹ And in fact, one of the most voluminous topics in the librarian literature has been the one variously called "academic status" or "faculty status."⁵² Indeed, if there can be said to have been a "problem" in the field of librarianship, in the way that some academic disciplines such as psychology have had its "nature/nurture" problem, or mathematics the "four-color" problem, "status" would be it. Not only have individuals written copiously on it, but also there have been official, organizational involvements. Over time, the Association of College and Research Libraries has had committees--standing, ad hoc, and blue ribbon--on "status." There have been "statements," "standards," position papers, symposia, and manifestoes on "status." Outsiders, such as the American Association of University Professors and the American Association of Colleges, have been coopted into that process. And "academic" or "faculty" status overlaps into another big issue area--tenure, or job security and right to continuous employment.⁵³ Moreover, more recently, perhaps inevitably, "status" has been overlapped with sex discrimination issues.⁵⁴ "Status" seems always to have been inextricably intertwined with problems of "professionalism."⁵⁵ The anxieties over just where they fit into the organizational scheme of things in the new order, the result of the drift of librarianship away from the professoriate, may have been the librarians' share in the incredibly complex phenomenon that Laurence Veysey called "The Price of Structure."⁵⁶

As early as 1878 a writer was proclaiming the height and dignity of the librarian calling and urging that college librarianship "ought not to be annexed to a professorship, but be itself a professorship." When, as the "splintering" was further along, former librarian Gilman write in 1898 in his capacity and vantage point as a president, that "the librarians' office should rank with that of a professor,"⁵⁷ may not the very fact that Gilman had to argue it be perhaps a tipoff that it was not ranking that way, but that things were going in a different direction? Interestingly, in his account of generic librarian beliefs, principles, and practices, Sidney Ditzion noted that in the 1870s Brown's librarian, Reuben Guild, ran counter to the majority opinion among the public librarians who were in favor of "Sunday opening," because "he was interested in keeping the status of the college librarian on a par with that of his colleagues on the faculty."⁵⁸

Confronted with a perception and a sense on their part--whether it amounts in any else's reality to what we just saw Morrison's respondent lament, that "academic librarians ... lot is a particularly difficult one," or not--this too may reasonably be viewed as part of the controlling professionally mythology of academic librarians. Hence, we may speculate upon the existence of an underlying inclination to view the professoriate--the teaching caste--as a reference group. This inclination then, speculatively, has created the effort to stake a merit claim to the same "status"--in such matters as "professional powers,"⁵⁹ "occupational prestige,"⁶⁰ and governance.⁶¹ In short, the goal has been to make good a claim that librarians are entitled to equality, if not membership, because librarians do what the professoriate does.

In other words, this merit claim turns on the principle of the professoriate as the teaching modality in higher education, necessitating the creation of an image of "academic" librarians as ones who do teaching, too. Hence, in 1929 we find William Bishop, in a perhaps unwitting exhibit of prescience, writing on facing pages

suffice it to say that the college library cannot and does not exist apart from the work of teaching

and

one of the most delicate and difficult questions confronting college and university librarians is that of their own professional status.⁶²

The purpose seems to have been that of convincing an obdurate world--and of making meaning for themselves--that librarians should get what "faculty" get because librarians do what "faculty" do. This seems to be a substantially different situation from that of other aspiring groups within the administrative bureaucracy, who may base upward mobility claims on other grounds, with perhaps other goal destinations, such as similarity of academic background and credentials (student counseling, computer center), or sheer indispensableness to overall operation (accountants in business office). Certainly we have not seen, it is clear, anything like the making of a major literature theme out of such a metaphor as "the registrar's office is the heart of the college."

May we not reasonably see, then, the workhorse of this merit claim to have been the College Library Doctrine? The exact connection is the linkage the CLD asserts between the college library operation program, and the delivery of college education, seen in Chapters I and II especially. As organization myth, fiction, and propaganda, has it not been the case-making vehicle? Does it not construct a favorable "constructed

reality?" Is that not perhaps why--and not because it is a veridical explanatory theory--it runs throughout the writings?

Such an interpretation seems consistent with several things. For one, it is consistent with the normal behaviors of groups seeking what we saw in Chapter I such students of organization as Haas and Drabek calling the seeking to maximize their group "autonomy, security, and prestige."⁶³ And it seems quite consistent with what some have identified and labeled--as Guy Lyle does, and in his own wording--"missionary zeal."

The beliefs of this "missionary zeal" have been called the "library faith," as Robert Leigh did. Leigh said

throughout the years librarians have transformed their concept of function [as conservators and disseminators of "the world's resources of recorded thought"] into a dynamic faith. This faith has sustained the men and women who have built and operated American public, as well as university, and research, libraries ... It consists of a belief in the virtue of the printed word, especially of the book, the reading of which is held to be good in itself or from its reading flows that which is good.⁶⁴

These beliefs seem to be the ideological "commons" of librarianship, a counterpart to the "commons" of practices and procedures constituting "library science." Such a belief can produce the moral certainty that the library--whose very name comes from the Latin for "book"--simply must be the "heart of the college." The "library faith" is, when it is not outright, the unspoken major premise underlying the literature, both when librarians talk about themselves as well as when others talk about them.⁶⁵

And that is what saves it from being mere cynical propaganda. It appears to be honest belief. Pauline Wilson linked the CLD as organization propaganda with the notion of "library faith" when she applied to

the forging of the professional identity Robert Dubin's notion of "organization fiction." Dubin defined this as "the act of feigning or imagining that which does not exist or is not true," in other words, pretense or illusion. According to Wilson, "librarians are teachers" is such a fiction.⁶⁶ Perhaps so, but in keeping with the notion of organization myth, they seem not to know that they are feigning. That is why, in the historical argument of the CLD and its adjuncts, it can even be considered irrelevant to draw attention to inconsistencies of mere historical details, when it the message that counts.

The literal thrust of the "library faith" has an ironic twist in it. For, while it is literally bibliocentric, a careful reading of the literature shows it to be a habit of thought for librarians to couch their interpretations of facts or events, real or imagined, in terms of what librarians are supposed to have done, and do; rather what libraries are supposed to have done and do. There is a distinction here, of course, but it seldom gets made. For instance, writers come off sounding as though the purported change-inducing innovations in pedagogy discussed in Chapter II resulted in the deep involvement of librarians in the delivery of undergraduate instruction. And this goes back a long way. When Samuel Green in the 1870s was "propagandizing the cause" (as others have put it) of the "personal assistance" half of reference in his writings he was, as Rothstein's discussion makes clear, advocating "access to librarians."⁶⁷ The irony exists in the paradox that the unquestionable unqualified success of the alleged "heart of the college" seems not to have conferred comparable status or primacy upon those who work in it. Put differently, even if, as a conjectural alternative

explanation of why colleges have library operation programs is, in no small part, the unremitting testimonials of the College Library Doctrine over the years, the triumph of the workplace has not seemed to transfer to those who have brought that triumph to pass, those who are one of the "changes within the library."

Along with the coalescence of a professional identity, another thing making librarians "organization" for conceptual purposes is the long existence of formal organization structures, viz. the librarian membership associations. This brings us once again to the outside influence of the public library on the college library, and now more like Lyle's time frame of the "twenties and thirties." Here we deal with seemingly minor clues. They tell us more than a passing glance would suggest.

The major organization is the American Library Association, founded in 1876, which was historically dominated by the public libraries despite the fact that "a section of ALA for college libraries" was organized as early as 1889. As Julie Virgo went on to point out,

in 1935, 45 years after the formation of the College Library Section, its membership had just reached the 100 mark.

This small representation was in an organization whose membership numbered in the thousands. "Yet," somehow, according to Virgo,

It was the public library emphasis within the ALA that provided the glue of coalescence to the college librarians' dissatisfaction with the emphasis that led to the formation of the Association of College and Research Libraries on June 16, 1938.⁶⁸

Virgo made a crucial slip here--she got the original name wrong--and her slip illuminates another aspect of the influence. A writer who got

things right was Augustus Kuhlman who, in the iniatory editorial in the newly formed ACRL's journal commented that

the movement started in 1936 to integrate the efforts of librarians devoted to higher education and research [which] culminated in the reorganization of College and Reference Section ... and the formation of the Association of College and Reference Libraries ... In this new association provision had been made for five sections: college librarians, junior college librarians, reference librarians, librarians of teacher training institutions, and university librarians ... The object of this reorganization is to bring about ... an organization ... within homogeneous groups possessing certain common problems and professional interests.⁶⁹

The significance of this alignment of affinity--"homogeneity"--as seen by a contemporary, is Kuhlman's setting up of "reference" as a separate category in addition to "college" and "university," singling out the reference operations of public libraries, whose history we looked at earlier, for association with the "academic" librarians. This company cannot have been careless or accidental to the organizers back then. And the significance of such an organizational alignment was clear to historian William Moffett just recently. He--correctly looking at it through librarian glasses as more a librarian matter than a library one, since both the ACRL membership, and the "commons" of practice and ideology are personal--saw it as part of a tendency "in recognition of the affinity with the reference specialists of the major public libraries."⁷⁰ Here, through the organizational patterning, is another clue to the outside influence, the commons of librarianship or "library science."

Harder to trace out in detail but percolating throughout this commons has been the outside influence of the "university library model" upon college librarians, an inclination to regard themselves as sisters under the skin with "university" librarians in the inclusive category

"academic." If the public library was one success story to emulate, here was another. The matter is thrown against the much broader background of "colleges" having been influenced by "universities," the general "university model." This is what Jencks and Riesman identified as the "national model" in academe, produced by the phenomenon they memorably named the "academic revolution." In this well-known explanation, "graduate schools"--which by the usages of makers of institutional typologies and taxonomies are at the "universities"--"shape undergraduate education" and collegiate practice, organization, and administration.⁷¹ The "university library model" is the library component of the "national model" in academe. The National Advisory Commission on Libraries recognized these linked influences in a section of its report headed "The Function of Libraries in Undergraduate Education," where it spoke in the tongues of the CLD historical argument, but ingenuously added that

the university libraries that share with some large municipal and highly specialized private libraries the designation "research libraries" ... are the models of excellence, the libraries with the high prestige image ...⁷²

Acknowledgement of this dominance over college library operation program thinking--that is to say, librarian thinking, which essentially determines institutional policy because the librarians have been ceded this expertise turf--was one of Moffett's points in his just-cited article, and of Evan Farber, who went so far as to title a paper "College Libraries and the University Library Syndrome."⁷³

The university model, the "national model" in higher education, also worked in another way to create a broadly receptive climate of assistance and support for librarian ideas, "library science." It created the

college library operation through pass-downs, crossovers, and send-up copying among professoriate and administrator ideas. This was external and exogenous to college education in a different way, with different players, "significant others." Bestor put it almost epigrammatically:

Young doctors of philosophy went forth from [their universities] imbued with a mission to build the library facilities for research in the colleges ... to which they received appointments.⁷⁴

Admittedly he was speaking of his "transformation" era, but it is a good question whether there has been much change over time. The university--doctoral work and acculturation into academe--which is where the professoriate have their most intense and certainly most recent, culminating, academic experiences prior to first appointment, has long tried to have as its library operation program something as close as resources will allow to Brough's "scholar's workshop" image. So that, whether their own degree work involved the newly minted doctorates with that particular library operation or not, and even if so, probably only with a limited and small part of it, this total image subliminally stamped their values and ideas of what is proper and requisite, at a general level, for an "academic" institution; any and all. They thus carry this perception to the colleges where they find employment to teach in undergraduate education, whether appropriate or not. There this perception enters the institutional politics and policies, synergistically and supportively combined with the librarians' enthusiasm. It is ironic that, notwithstanding the librarian jeremiads about "lack of recognition" by the administrators, and by the professoriate which produces the administrators, and the "misuse" by the students, it seems (to borrow an advertising slogan) "Nobody doesn't like a library." Indeed, the

perspective provided by the "university library syndrome" explains why Robert Downs, in his Foreward to Brough's Scholars' Workshop, may have said more than he realized in suggesting that

though ostensibly limited to developments in the university libraries of Chicago, Columbia, Harvard, and Yale, the broad sweep of the Brough study furnishes an understanding of the forces which have shaped virtually all American colleges and universities ...⁷⁵

Brough's "scholars' workshop" image itself also serves to pin down and name an idea which does much more than simply illuminate the copying of the "university model" by colleges. This is what we may skew slightly and call the "scholars' workshop fantasy." It too began, as everything seems to have done, in the ferment of the 19th century. John Cole, for one, repeats the stock account. As the tale goes, "on the eve of the Civil War there were few libraries in the United States that might be considered research institutions[sic]." However,

if the book collections of most American institutions were small and inadequate, the private libraries of many individuals were not. The enormous personal libraries of men such as George Bancroft, George Ticknor, and Francis Parkman were also the libraries that provided these historians with the resource materials of their books. In 1850 the librarian of the Smithsonian, Charles Coffin Jewett, pointed out that George Ticknor could not have written his monumental History of Spanish Literature (1849) without using his personal 13,000 volume collection Similar stories comparing the inadequacies of American library resources to the rich collections of Europe were common in mid-nineteenth century America. Perhaps the best known was the assertion that Gibbon could not have written The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire utilizing only materials available in the United States. Realization of such inadequacies stimulated a new nationalism among American intellectuals who eagerly promoted the development of an American culture that would be independent of European traditions and institutions. A primary goal was the preservation and accumulation of books and research materials in the United States for American use. Such patriotic appeals helped stimulate the American library movement; in fact, two of the founders of the

Boston Public Library, Edward Everett, and George Ticknor, were among the most prominent of these scholar-nationalists.⁷⁶

But the problem is that Cole was using his version of the stock account mainly to explain the public library as the corporate form taken by the "scholars' workshop." What makes it the "stock account" is that Garceau gave it about the same way, and leading to the public library too ... and yet for Bestor (who added William Prescott to the "scholar-nationalists") and others who repeat him, it all led unerringly to his joinder of "scholarship and teaching" within the university corporate form. Does a case have to be made that these two corporate forms are quite different? For Rothstein it led, topsy-turvey, to any and all of the modern library types. We simply take our choice.

Actually they may all be right, as far as that goes, about the direction the fantasy led. There has never been in the United States an imposed division or allocation of role by a higher authority, with the free market model prevailing. Hence, aspirations have never been held to strict accountability. One man's dream has always been as good as the next one's in America, just as long as he could line up support and pay for it. So the "scholars' workshop" niche was seen as wide open, and it may well have been that in the "scholars' workshop fantasy" the large urban public libraries fancied themselves as just the place for the "ripened scholar," despite Bestor's thesis that even at that moment they were all hiring on at the university. However, by the time of the Public Library Inquiry, "research," "scholars," and "scholarship" seem to have vanished from the scene.⁷⁷ At any rate, no one along the way seems to have seen any inconsistency with the "fantasy" fulfillment of "scholar-

nationalist" of the stock account George Ticknor's ultimately having given his "enormous" personal library not to his alma mater Dartmouth College, nor to his sometime employer, Harvard University, but instead to the Boston Public Library he helped found.

If the non-librarians, "significant others," who have crept into the discussion are in a slightly different plane from the visual aid of the grid, at a somewhat greater distance there is yet another array of significant others, outside forces in the formation of the college library operation program. Here is a network of mutual dependencies, symbiotic relationships between "academic" libraries and constituencies or interest groups having a stake, a vested interest in their fortunes. One such interest group, a major one, is the publishing industry. Their interest was economic. Can it be a coincidence that the work of the National Advisory Commission on Libraries and the resultant creation of the National Commission on Library and Information Science (NCLIS; a "continuing Federal planning agency") had as a key figure one Dan Lacey, Senior Vice-President of publishing giant McGraw-Hill?⁷⁸ Similarly, can it be coincidence that the National Enquiry Into Scholarly Communication, begun in 1973 at the instance of "several directors of university presses ... [concerning] what they felt to be increasingly serious problems with which scholarly publishers were faced," devoted in its published report considerable attention to "the nation's research libraries, largely affiliated [sic] with major universities?"⁷⁹ The reason for this solicitude is clear enough. Libraries in higher education--which means not merely the "research" libraries of "major universities," heritors to the "scholars' workshop fantasy," but also the "college" libraries trying

to mimic the "university" libraries to the extent their wealth will allow--are a crucial market for "scholarly publishers." Lewis Coser, Charles Kadushin, and Walter Powell found that this is an "important outlet," for which

a publishing house may have its own library sales forcelibrary sales for serious scholarly books provide a floor on which a second level of sales through bookstores or direct mailings may be safely built. Several editors at scholarly publishing houses told us that if they did their job right ... they could be assured of anywhere from one thousand to two thousand library-copy sales. For some books, this sale alone would put them into the black.⁸⁰

And of course these libraries buy from publishers many books in addition to the "scholarly" ones. Cross checking reveals that the "serious problems" faced by the scholarly publishers sparking the National Enquiry Into Scholarly Communication was in fact largely a sales slump brought on by the reduced buying power of "academic" libraries. This is a reasonable interpretation. Hence, the industry's interest in stimulating a major market is understandable: One man's "scholarly communication" is another man's profit-and-loss sheet. Thus, just as the National Enquiry report recommended (Recommendation 4.5) the reauthorization of Title II-C of the Higher Education Act of 1965, as amended, the publisher's lobby had previously turned out in common cause with the librarian lobby when the hearings on the original act had been held.⁸¹

Relatedly, some of the players who dealt themselves into the controversy over the "Pittsburgh Study" discussed in Chapter IV (which found that books even in university libraries were seldom used), were in the scholarly publishing business. One of the arenas of this controversy has been the pages of the industry organ, Scholarly Publishing.

It remains to be seen whether, now that so many, including librarians, have become enamored of electronic wizardry in the storage and transmission of "information," we will see the publishing industry interest group model replicated by the electronics industry; especially as both industries become more and more parts of huge corporate conglomerates.

Another relationship in the network of symbiotic mutual dependency of interest groups is that between "academic" libraries and the professoriate reward structure in academic careers, engendered by the "academic revolution." Rewards became contingent upon publication: Whether the contrarities of such findings as those of the Ladd-Lipsett and Boyer/Carnegie surveys--low research activity--are in conflict with that, is an issue for some other forum. The debate over "publish or perish" cannot be resolved here.

But the vehicles of such publication, books and periodicals, depend in turn upon "academic" libraries of the very institutions employing the publishing professoriate, as their principal market. Even the most ardent readers of academic writing must concede its limited popular appeal. Indeed, "popular" is usually an epithet. To further complicate this network many "universities," actual and would-be, are themselves publishers of "scholarly" books and periodicals, and consequently are on both the supply side as well the consumer side, with both "presses" and library operation programs. Loops within loops, wheels within wheels, it is almost a self-fueling process. Almost. It is like perpetual motion except that its entropy must be retarded by the infusion into the system of the fuel of outside money. A principle stoking point is the library

operation. As the National Enquiry Into Scholarly Communication summarized it,

we came to realize more clearly than any of us had earlier realized the truth of one axiom: the various constituencies involved in scholarly communication--the scholars themselves, the publishers of books and learned journals, the research librarians, the learned societies--are all parts of a single system and are thus fundamentally dependent upon each other. Moreover, we found that this single system in all its parts is highly sensitive to influence from two outside factors--the activities of the funding agencies ...⁸²

This self-stimulating system has correspondences. Part of the story given out by the College Library Doctrine is about how one of the causes of expansion of the college library operation program was the "demands" made by the "publication explosion," or "information explosion," or the same epiphenomenon under whatever rubric, an ongoing causation. Guy Lyle slipped into linking it with another postulated drive--two "floods" in confluence--when he said, under "The Expanding Role of The Library,"

with the acceleration of book production and the tremendous increase in student enrollment beginning in the fifties, the college library took on heavy new responsibilities. The number of volumes added annually increased swiftly and soon library buildings were bursting at the seams.⁸³

And yet, as we saw in Chapter IV, the "demand" upon the college library operation program by the unquestionable demographics is shown by the librarians themselves to have been illusory, a specious argument. Similarly, it may well be that the "demand" (for more space and so on) caused by the supply side of the publishing industry "flood" was genuine enough in the numbers at the library side (the imprecision of the numbers themselves at the library end is discussed in the Appendix); but that the whole business was more like "churning," a stock brokerage behavior which

consists in the making of a client's account excessively active in order to generate commissions.

Indeed, in her 1982 article titled "When It Comes to Journals, Is More Really Better?" Karen Winkler reminded everyone that it had been the National Enquiry Into Scholarly Communication itself that had stirred up controversy with its recommendation "that 'further growth in the number of scholarly journals be discouraged.'" She was writing about how the proliferation had continued regardless, despite the continuing complaints that the starting of new journals seemed to be as often done as a prestige item and as part of the perceived publish/perish phenomenon, without a comparable increase in "useful knowledge."⁸⁴ What it comes down to is that, although librarians sedulously point to an "explosion of knowledge," a correlate to the "publication" and "information" explosions, as having made the role or "place" of libraries (or librarians) more of all the things said by the CLD, it may instead simply have been a publishing population explosion.

Why, then, do colleges have library operation programs? The conclusion offered here is that the answer to this half of the research question couplet is, that this policy may be sufficiently explained by saying simply, Because they have come to have them. There is no need to resort to reasonably doubtful scenarios invoking college teaching or delivery of undergraduate instruction; the reasonably doubtful College Library Doctrine. By finding sufficiency and closure there--having eliminated the conventional competing explanations on account of their reasonable doubt--the conjectural alternative explanation satisfies

Ockham's Razor, the decision rule announced in Chapter I to test propositions of others. One must meet one's own rules.

To complete the picture, the forces of change just laid out, external to and barely related to college education, mingled with such larger steering currents as David Riesman's "academic procession,"⁸⁵ and a loose assemblage of related ideas such as "organizational slack," Cohen and March's "garbage can decision making," and so on, which come from a certain way of looking at organizations and how they invent themselves ad hoc as they go along.⁸⁶ The creation of the college library is a good example of how the larger steering currents and forces have worked in the present era. American higher education's genius has been its comfortable vagueness, convenient lack of specificity, ambiguity even, in its platitudinous expressions of purposes. This has allowed solutions to await applications, change to take place by addition rather than replacement, and by rewording instead of definition. Institutions of higher education have cultivated a congenial receptivity and commodious hospitality toward all manner of disparate functions and activities: Milton and milking parlors, athletics and ethics, "liberal arts colleges" populated mainly by business majors. The very history of the academic disciplines is a chronicle of higher education.

Far from a stern and militant defense of its intellectual purity and the high life of the mind, rejecting attempts by interest groups to point its directions and set its agenda, higher education has seldom said No. There is no substantive difference between (say) the Carnegie Corporation's benevolence on behalf of libraries, and the Morrill Act, the University of Wisconsin, the multitude of post World War II programs, or

today's militarization of academic science, or the proprietary ownership of the university business school by corporate big business. This adaptive genius may account for the willingness of institutions, stimulated by the prospect of government money and the need to keep up enrollments, to embark on "developmental" or remedial programs for students. Such programs seem indistinguishable from the despised practice of admitting students "on condition," a practice which--when spoken of on other occasions, at other times--was one of the putative reasons for the institution of accreditation, as we saw in Chapter V.

Despite the radicals' charges in the Sixties, higher education as an open system has possessed an extraordinary flexibility and capacity to create its own reality extemporaneously, in response to varied forces. It has grown--as in the metaphor of a photographic enlargement--with the main relationship between the parts being simply that they happen to be there together, and therefore all enlarging together, but with everything safely distanced from everything else, so as to avoid the necessity of choice. A place has been found for practically anything and everything anyone wanted to do and could find support for. Higher education has seldom met a program it did not like, if not repugnant to someone with influence, and without active opposition.⁸⁷ The adjectives "loosely coupled" and "unstable disintegrated conglomerations" aptly describe higher education institutions.⁸⁸ Ellen Lagemann caught the spirit when she said that higher education

has always been more directly and immediately subject to pressures for expansion, diversification, and disarticulation than to pressures for consolidation, standardization, and purposeful planned coherence in institutional design and relationship.⁸⁹

In this nutritive culture medium of organization academe, symbolism has always been reality. Why else is it that, although the lecture as a teaching method has, as we have seen, been regularly assailed--by the College Library Doctrine propagandists, among others--whenever an institution prepares a slick video promo to air at halftime of the big game network coverage, it invariably shows a professor lecturing a class? To paraphrase Faulkner's Mrs. Jode, "How else can we show it's us?"

Symbols embody values and preferences, and these are inseparable from policy, as Charles Lindblom argued.⁹⁰ Libraries are a traditional universal standard symbol of, if not teaching, at least Learning ... like the Lamp or Minerva and the Owl. This symbolism was imported from Europe along with all the other cultural baggage of the Frontier myth's "New World," despite the lack of evidence that libraries played much part in the first tier of higher education there in the Old World. The preamble to the Association of College and Research Libraries "Standards for College Libraries" is technically correct: "... libraries have been considered an essential part of advanced learning."⁹¹ That is exactly the mindset that this analysis began in Chapter I to look behind, in search of something more; and which we have found reason to doubt there is. The actuality never gets beyond the logic of Dwight Eisenhower's reaction: "This is the way I have always thought a college should look," or Richard Miller's self-answered rhetorical question, "How important is the library to the academic enterprise? A measure of its importance would be to try to imagine a residential campus without one."⁹²

College library operation programs--with their edifices of impressive appearance, their collections of number-driven size, and their staff

of interested librarians--have become uniform academic regalia, cliches of the standard American campus, entrenched in the folklore as combined symbols, expectations, and fictions, with totemic significance.⁹³ It is for that reason that, in an ultimate conceptual union, the answer to the other half of the couplet of research questions is contained in the conjectural alternative explanation of why they do. Colleges should have library operation programs simply because they do have them. It is either that, or else try to unscramble the omelette. It is a done deed, with sunk costs.

Policy Implications

In Chapter I it was stated that this policy analysis was undertaken both for reasons of intellectual curiosity and of intended pragmatic application. Whether the investigative or forensic approach followed in the analysis has satisfied intellectual curiosity is, of course, dependent. It depends upon whether or not the individual reader finds the argument of this analysis convincing, or at least plausible. In the nature of the matter, there can be no decisive or conclusive answers.

The same contingency holds for a relative byproduct of the analysis. If convincing, or at least plausible, then the weight of the argument in pursuit of intellectual curiosity indicates that the policies of the librarian community regarding its collective research and publication agenda--in which research should generate a much higher proportion of the publication than seems to have hitherto been the case--need redirection and refocusing. Consistent with strictures this community receives from within its own ranks, this analysis found it reasonable to conclude that far too much of the literature is special pleading. If so much is

written upon and around a fundamental premise--not an hypothesis--that is so vulnerable to reasonable doubt, its relevance and indeed, credibility, suffer. In the end, organization fiction, myth, and propaganda can become self-defeating. There are many questions about the "place" and "proper role" of college libraries in terms of college education, undergraduate instruction--the whole arena of usership and user studies comes to mind--where a great deal remains to be done and where legitimate, objective, and disinterested approaches are called for. But until such basic questions as these have better answers, work based on assumptions is premature.

But, as was said also in Chapter I, this is not a "library science" analysis. Of much greater consequence are the possible policy implications for colleges (and perhaps universities) at the institutional level. Here, again, this is a dependent matter. If the reader finds the argument and explanations of this analysis unconvincing or less than plausible, then clearly the policy implication is that continuance of the status quo is all right. But that, it is respectfully suggested, will result in just more talking of one thing while doing something else. Even if that prevails, however, at the very least institutional decision makers should be enabled by this analysis to penetrate appearances and form understandings of Veysey's development of an institutional framework and "the causes for a pattern of institutional arrangements and relationships" and hence better comprehend the Chapter I question "what's going on now" independent of the representations given them by interest groups and blocs of "nominally apolitical experts" who have seized and control the understanding through their organization fictions, myths, and

propaganda. It may help clarify policy choices. In this way this analysis may have a wider carryover application into other more or less related program areas. For instance, Why do/Why should colleges have museum operation programs? Some may have long since made such penetrations and formed such understandings, but on an intuitive basis. Another controlling contingency is also present here, and that is the actual sincerity of the frequent cries for greater rationality, clarity, and straightforwardness in decision making.

In any event, for those finding here at least plausibility, a major policy implication is that the paradoxical status quo of the college library operation situation (colleges should have them because they do have them, and are therefore expected to) is, rather than a constraint, encumbrance, or burden, an opportunity. The opportunity is to turn to advantage the myths, fictions, and propaganda surrounding the college library program, in the broader organization setting, that is, the college's own organization propaganda; opportunity made out of necessity.

In order to do this, a change of policy venue is required. The current policy venue is located--through the accidents of history--in the corner reflected by the technical financial procedures connected with the program, a corner called "Academic Support." This thinking is shown in such places as the account structure where, as part of the current funds expenditure accounts, libraries are accounted (and presumably budgeted and conceptualized) under "academic support."⁹⁴

But with opportunity change of venue under a college propaganda perspective, the program would be moved out of the glacial chambers of academic policy (with its turgid debates over such matters as curriculum,

so vividly depicted by Arthur Levine and John Weingart⁹⁵⁾ over into the gritty Realpolitik venue of the statecraft of institutional wellbeing. Whether a formal change in the standard account structure would be required is another contingent matter. It is hard to say exactly where the library program might be relocated, other than perhaps "Institutional Support," wherein are located such "detailed as needed" slots as "Public Relations."⁹⁶ "Institutional Advancement" is a popular current designation for a function very much like that contemplated here. Or it might be that actual formal changes in the account structure itself would be unnecessary. Such things as accounting systems and their categories are nothing more than generally accepted conventions of convenience anyway, often with purely arbitrary and Q.E.D. assignments of costs and related matters, as part of the mythology of technical rationality.⁹⁷ Policy makers probably are accustomed to making their own tacit conversions and transfers, using personal nomograms for their own policy decision calculus. Perhaps only a slight unvoiced adjustment might be required. To put the proposition another way, the policy implication is that the college library operation program relates to and properly belongs to, not academic policy--where, as we saw over and over again in Chapters II and III especially, it has chronically gone "unrecognized"--but to institutional policy. It is, as many have written, related to the aims and objectives, the goals and purposes of the college, albeit seemingly not in the way they thought and meant.

This new venue is so different from the "academic" venue that it sometimes seems to be a different enterprise; which, in many ways, it is. Here are found the cold and deadly serious strategies toward what some

who study organizations believe is the ultimate test of any and all organizations--survival. This, rather than particulars varying from one organization kind to another--in the case of academic institutions, matters of secondary, tertiary, and beyond wishes and intentions found in the prose of catalogs, self-studies, evaluation, and other rituals and ceremonials--is the "sovereign criterion of effectiveness" for organizations."⁹⁸ Nor is survival an automatic or guaranteed future for any institution: Higher education history is littered with corporate corpses, some fresh. Even though easily lost sight of, because all organizations are congeries of parochial concerns, this is--like food seeking behavior by organisms--the primal business. No matter how near or distant the attainment of expressed lofty goals and purposes, which make up so much of the higher education oratory, institutional continuance is the prime directive.

Organization or cultural myths and fictions, such as the College Library and its Doctrine, have, Janus-like, two faces in contributing to the function of the institutional myth, fiction, and propaganda in institutional continuance. One looks inward, and helps in the reassurances to the organization members themselves that all is right in their microcosm so that they may feel good about themselves and the enterprise.⁹⁹ This is important to organization internal health, and community, a sort of "maintenance function,"¹⁰⁰ like sabbaticals and shared governance. The outward looking face is shown to the college's external environment, the outside world, the peers, the market, the funders and regulators, and this is called image, here used in the sense of "image control" or "impression management," in the manipulation of perceived

identities and construction of preferred realities. It tries to be the best face forward.¹⁰¹ Intellectuals such as Daniel Boorstin may rail against a world determined by image, but if that is the real world, then those who would live in it must play by its rules.¹⁰² (They ought to remember that the shadows on the wall of Plato's cave were "images.")

Image control and impression management are essential in the inter-institutional competition for survival; if we had not quite believed before, we know that there is competition because Harvard's Henry Rosovsky has let it out, although he said "university," a garden variety terminological inexactitude we have seen frequently in this analysis. The competition is for attention, regard, respect and confidence, prestige and status, all of which are perceptions created and held in the environment. One of the big stakes in the competition is enrollments, sales--for which, according to Rosovsky, even Olympian Harvard and Stanford compete.¹⁰³

Image seems to work. And the payoff is not merely raw numbers, but in furtherance of "selectivity."¹⁰⁴ As so often the case in this analysis, formal data are scarce and the evidence anecdotal. Alan Andreasen picked up a Wall Street Journal article, which he said showed that

a case in point is Carleton College ... A survey had shown that target high school students saw Minnesota as cold and isolated, Carleton itself as too "cerebral," and the library as too small.

So, along with some other actions,

the standard brochure was updated to play down the cold weather, point out how easy it is to get to the attractive Twin Cities, and feature a new picture of the library that shows it is really quite large.... Since 1978, Carleton has seen its yearly applications increase from 1,470 to

1,875, while the response rate from mailings has jumped from 5.9 percent to more than 14 percent. It remains financially solvent and is protecting its reputation as academically selective.¹⁰⁵

Burton Clark, in his influential paper "College Image and Student Selection," argued that institutional image is critical in shaping applicant pools through self-selection, so that institutions may be able to use projected image in a way similar to the "self-fulfilling prophecy."¹⁰⁶ It pays off, too, with other environment segments: A college recently attributed a decisive role regarding its escalation to a higher peer grouping by the state coordinating board for purposes of determining faculty salaries at public institutions, to its favorable write-up in Richard Moll's The Public Ivys and Fiske's Selective Guide to Colleges.¹⁰⁷

Hence, "image" is a marketing tool. Stanley Grabowski defined a "market position" as, among other things, "the institution's image as perceived by its public."¹⁰⁸ The traditional good-natured desultory interinstitutional rivalry which has always figured into the "academic processions" has escalated into (or perhaps has just been revealed as) a serious business. Veysey puts an historical perspective on the tradition.¹⁰⁹ From now on, "marketing, usually eschewed by universities and colleges, will be imperative" according to George Keller, and therefore

it is ... important to know ... what image of your campus the market holds in its mind, in order to perform "perceptual mapping," [which] tries to build on widely held perceptions about your organization with the right audiences.¹¹⁰

That imperative finds increasing voice in a literature of its own, with such writings as Marketing Higher Education, Developing a Total Marketing Plan, and the "bible," Kotler's Marketing for Nonprofit Institutions.¹¹¹

There is a professional association for practitioners of the skill with its newsletter, a serial, and at least one higher education handbook.¹¹² The work is done in operations and by operatives which, though still called "public relations" or "PR," more recently prefer to be known as "institutional advancement" and to think of themselves as in the "communications" business, dispensing "public information." Bernadine Doritch called the notion "Extending the Campus."¹¹³ This all just goes to show that, as hinted earlier, there is a well-established venue to receive the transferred college library operation.

It is generally considered undignified to hustle in the media through outright advertising. This, even though Keller urges that "marketing, which has a sleazy ring to it for most academics, is not to be confused with selling or advertising,"¹¹⁴ and Using the Mass Media and "Selling the Small College" are in the literature.¹¹⁵ If the distinctions are a bit tenuous, the well-known artifice for avoiding the taint of outright advertising is the just mentioned "publicity;" for which the library operation program through ceremonies at dedications of edifice additions, releases about gifts of such things as the papers of public or literary figures, announcements of special exhibitions and the reaching of milestones, and so forth, is what Teddy Roosevelt might have called a "bully pulpit" for "impression management."

Viewed as a component of college marketing through the projection of a "quality" image (as Robert Topor phrased it, Institutional Image: How To Define, Improve, Market It)¹¹⁶ the college library operation program can be "justified" in both the vernacular as well as the budgetary meanings. What might be a boondoggle under a different "theory" (such as

the College Library Doctrine) has real solidity here. And it is in terms of this new venue and relationships, that any answer must be sought to the earliest research questions of this policy analysis, the ones that began the chain: "Can we know how much a college should spend on its library operation program"; and if we can, "How much" is that? It should be noted that a policy implication of the change of venue would be a relocation of college library program oversight from the campus offices and officers conventionally involved--those holding the "Academic Support" portfolio--to those holding the "Institutional Support" or "Advancement" portfolio, although there is no inherent magic in formal designations and such internal working arrangements in practice may be variable. Perhaps under such an oversight, "How much," i.e., resource allocation, would be premised on evaluations of efficiency and effectiveness in "quality" image projection.

"Image," used as a symbolic term for all its related facets, may be viewed conceptually as a sort of continuum, which, after the manner of Maslow's motivation hierarchy, shifts across its length. One end is a baseline, where basic necessity dwells, where all the dull prosaic businesses of propriety, legitimacy, acceptance and belonging, fit in. Here the library operation program's role is being there. This is, for example, the floor of accreditation and state approval, getting along by going along. It is where the environment's preconceptions, like Eisenhower's or Miller's, of what they think a college ought to look like, determine its reactions. As argued in the earlier part of this chapter, the library operation program, with its edifice, its collections of books and other things, its staff of personnel, have simply through custom and

usage, longevity, become part of the "Standard American College." We all have been habituated to simply expect it.

But at the other end of the continuum is the opportunity end. This end is wide open, and the sky is (more than just a figure of speech) the limit. Here is where the opportunity is to move away from the constraints of such drab and humdrum notions as "cost center," to the more positive and creative "prestige center." The ruling reality is glamour; for this is the realm of the status symbol. Here it is pure theater, the ceremonial and ritual of pomp and circumstance, where operations approximate the function of the English country house as "power house"--the dramaturgy of display, the keeping of state.¹¹⁷ Consider such an impressive (that is their purpose) array of powerful symbols as Nobel laureate, Merit Scholar, Olympic medalist, Heisman trophy, or Rhodes scholar counts; the Germanic museums and Russian choruses; the playoffs on network television, the bragging rights of national exposure, the cultivation of ivy.¹¹⁸

Closer to the present symbol, consider the competition over housing a former U.S. president's papers; or consider such bravura performances as the glowing translucence or soaring Gothic of Yale's Beineke or Sterling libraries. Or even better, Texas's Humanities Research Center, a megalith housing (along with whole trainload purchases of other rarities) three copies of the Gutenberg Bible. To regard this as nothing more than a case of duplication of holdings is to miss the whole point. Even the name--"Humanities Research Center"--transcends the mere appellation "library," and evokes prestige. Who could possibly doubt (if the fact that the marching band also had the world's largest bass drum had

previously failed to convince them) that here is a "top school?" Symbols are symbols. Perhaps, to the extent that such symbolism can be more or less duplicated on the other, competing, campuses, this identifies the long-debated "proper role" of the college library operation program in the policy of academic strategy.¹¹⁹

Notes to Chapter VI

1. Laurence Veysey, The Emergence of the American University, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965, pages 267-268.
2. Louis Wilson, "The Use of the Library in Instruction," Proceedings of the Institute for Administrative Officers of Higher Institutions, 1941, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942, pages 115-127.
3. As, for instance, Guy Lyle, in his Administration of the College Library, 4th ed., New York: H.W. Wilson Co., page vi. See also Chapter I above.
4. Lyle, Administration, page 6.
5. Samuel Rothstein, "The Development of the Concept of Reference Service in American Libraries, 1850-1950," Library Quarterly 23 (1953)1-15, at 8.
6. Lyle, Administration, Figure 2, page 42, captioned "Examples of Typical Functional Organization."
7. Lyle, Administration, page 68.
8. See Jesse Shera, Foundations of the Public Library: The Origins of the Public Library in New England, 1629-1855, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949; Sidney Ditzion, Arsenals of a Democratic Culture, Chicago: American Library Association, 1947; Charles Thompson, Evolution of the American Public Library, Washington, D.C.: Scarecrow Press, 1952; see also "A Note on Bibliography," Appendix I in Oliver Garceau, The Public Library in the Political Process, New York: Columbia University Press, 1949, pages 241-243.
9. See, for example, Garceau, Public Library, Chapter 1.
10. Garceau, Public Library, page 16.
11. Garceau, Public Library, page 16. The legal form of these library operations was typically either that of partnership, or public corporation. It is usually said that as the latter form of required government approval, legislatures both required and found a general purpose of propagation or diffusion of knowledge; that is, again, an educational purpose.
12. George Utley, The Librarians' Conference of 1853, Chicago: American Library Association, 1951, pages 61-62.
13. Edward Holley, "Academic Libraries in 1876," in Robert Johnson, ed., Libraries for Teaching, Libraries for Research, Chicago: American Library Association, 1976, pages 1-47, at 14-21.

14. See Utley, The Librarians' Conference, and also Chapter II, above, Note 7.
15. Holley, "Academic Libraries," page 20.
16. Garceau, Public Library, pages 38-39.
17. Garceau, Public Library, page 24.
18. Garceau, Public Library, page 39.
19. Rothstein, "The Development," page 1.
20. Samuel Rothstein, The Development of Reference Services Through Academic Tradition, Public Library Practice, and Special Librarianship, Chicago: Association of College and Research Libraries, 1955, page 21.
21. Rothstein, Development, page 33; 34, quoting the Detroit Public Library Forty-Fifth Annual Report ... 1909.
22. Arthur Bestor, "The Transformation of American Scholarship, 1875-1917," Library Quarterly 23 (1953) 164-179.
23. Rothstein, "The Development," page 8.
24. Rothstein, Development, page 35, and Chapter III.
25. Lyle, Administration, page 92.
26. See Charles McComb's essay "The Reference Department," in the American Library Association, A.L.A. Manual of Library Economy, 2nd ed., Chicago: American Library Association, 1921, pages 35-43; see also Rothstein, Development, pages 74-79.
27. See Alex Kunoff, The Foundations of the German Academic Library, Chicago: American Library Association, 1982, Chapter Six. This matter bears upon both the "German university model" in the CLD's historical argument, discussed earlier in Chapter II, and upon the "scholars' workshop fantasy," taken up below in this chapter. Making any generalized comparison between what German academic libraries were and what American "academic" libraries became (or are supposed to have become) is a minefield of hazards. If nothing else, great variation in Germany seems to have existed over place and time, so that examples of practically anything can be found. The least hazard is a simplism, and there are abounding examples at one time and place or another that--unfortunately if one wishes to use them to support a point--seem not to be part of any continuous trend or development. This also raises the hazard of temporal plasticity and anachronism, and Whig historiography; both commission of one's own, and buying into that of others, the librarian-historians who write on the topic. Hence, it seems that we cannot say

simply that neither German professors nor German students ever used their university libraries. That seems not to be true. However, it is safer to make generalizations about the writings, which do not make a convincing case that the German university libraries were "scholars' workshops" of the professors, or that they played any role or were believed should in the general delivery of their equivalent of undergraduate education; were, in other words, "students' workshops." Even Kunoff's learned account often sounds suspiciously like the CLD's historical argument relocated, and leaves clear that any "students' workshop" role applies to only one curriculum at one university at one time. Instead, the writings usually speak of a vague class called "readers." The writings tend to say little about the possibility of professorial private libraries having served as their "workshops," although the sale of these from time to time provided a fair share of the purchases chronicled by the historians of the growth of American academic libraries. Even less gets said about the separate, dispersed, and mostly autonomous seminar and institute collections which, rather than the central institutional library operation--the Hauptbibliothek--may in fact in their time and place have come to have been "workshop" for professor and student alike. (It is often conveniently omitted that Johns Hopkins, held forth as the Americanization of the German model, followed the fashion of the time in some of the German universities by beginning its life with no central, university library, at all, but with seminar or departmental collections instead, which seem to have further followed the German pattern by having been managed by the seminar and department personnel themselves. And likewise the University of Chicago headed in that same direction, although the American standard eventually became the centralized operation. German usage, on the other hand, long went the seminar/institute direction. See especially J. Danton, Book Selection and Collections: A Comparison of German and American University Libraries, New York: Columbia University Press, 1963, pages xx and 43 ff.) Indeed, what we are mainly given in the writings makes it look as though the German librarians of the central Hauptbibliothek chiefly occupied themselves in matters of interest mostly to themselves, rather than crucial to pedagogy, and when we contemplate the American "academic" library of today, with its intricacies of "library science"--especially since the advent of the electronic data processing--we may be witnessing a strand of the German tradition continued.

28. Tuttle, in Johnson, ed., Libraries for Teaching, pages 71-101.
29. See William Williamson, William Frederick Poole and the Modern Library Movement, New York: Columbia University Press, 1963.
30. Some write of the Library Bureau almost as though it was an altruistic public charity. But John Comaromi unequivocally called it a "firm," which generally means business entity, for profit ("Melvil Dewey," in Robert Wedgeworth, ed., ALA World Encyclopedia of Library and Information Sciences, Chicago: American Library Association,

1980). Howard Winger commented on the frequency with which the "technical processing" inventors did it "after hours instead of on the job," i.e., outside and not job related work, noting that one John Billings "carried publications home in a basket" to do his indexing ("Aspects of Librarianship: A Tracework of History," in Philip Ennis and Howard Winger, eds., Seven Questions About the Profession of Librarianship, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962, pages 23-37, at 31.

31. Tuttle, "From Cutter to Computer," page 71. At the same place she asserted, probably more accurately, that these workers of the formative years "were shaping the tools of cataloging and guiding decisions related to the technical services, at a time when decisions were being made which still guide us today."
32. See Holley, "Academic Libraries in 1876," pages 17-18.
33. See the article in Dictionary of American Biography.
34. Lyle, Administration, page 100.
35. Winger, "Aspects of Librarianship," page 31.
36. Garceau, Public Library, page 44.
37. The last term is borrowed from Ralph Parker, "Ports of Entry to Librarianship," in Ennis and Winger, eds., Seven Questions, a paper on how librarians become librarians.
38. Comaromi, "Melvil Dewey."
39. Holley, "Academic Libraries," page 21. In the same volume Robert Downs said that at one point in the 1870s "at the University of Minnesota the librarian served also as president," which is an interesting way of looking at it ("The Role of the Academic Librarian, 1876-1976," page 115). Downs' conclusion was that "generally, the library staff was a one-man operation--often not even assigned on a full-time basis. Faculty members assigned to supervise the library were also expected to teach courses in their fields of competence."
40. Frederick Rudolph, The American College and University: A History, New York: Random House, 1962, pages 434-435.
41. David Kaser, "A Century of Academic Librarianship, As Reflected in Its Literature," in Johnson, ed., Libraries for Teaching, pages 219-236, at 220.
42. Holley, "Academic Libraries," page 18. Cadre members were both influenced and influential. As Kenneth Brough put it, "Justin Winsor, Melvil Dewey, and their enthusiastic associates, laboring and writing zealously, started a swelling flood of ideas about what a

university library ought to be and do" (Scholars' Workshop: Evolving Concepts of Library Service, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1953, page xi). Such was their influence that Winsor was virtually president-for-life of the newly-fledged American Library Association, even though its membership was mostly public librarians and he had switched allegiances to the tiny "academic" cadre. And Dewey was called by Brubacher and Rudy "the energetic secretary" of the New York Board of Regents who, in that office, ramrodded legislation for minimum library size "standards." in New York, higher education institutions included; a crusade based solely on his own beliefs and preferences, since no other basis is documented (Higher Education in Transition, 3rd ed., New York: Harper and Row, 1976, page 356. And see Frank Abbott, Government Policy and Higher Education: A Study of the Regents of the University of the State of New York, 1784-1949, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1958, especially pages 70-73; and see also Chapter V above).

Indeed, in his own niche it may be that Dewey's role as originator and shaper through sheer force of will, personality, and aggrandizement may have been as great as that of the entrepreneurial presidents in their own niche of inventing the American university form. In his Dewey article Comaromi, while noting that "the book presenting the full impact of Dewey upon libraries has not been written," tells how his vision of libraries as "people's universities" gave him a driving mission such that "from 1873 to 1906 he was to devise and construct almost single-handedly the forms and substance of librarianship." Put another way, despite the known tendency of biographers to lionize their subjects, when we contemplate the "academic" library operation of today we may be seeing to a far greater extent than hitherto realized, that which is actually the product of just one charismatic and his followers. Dewey's messianic vision was "to inaugurate a higher education for the masses" (Sarah Vann, "Melvil Dewey," in Bodhan Wynar, ed., Dictionary of American Library Biography, Littleton, Co: Libraries Unlimited, 1978).

This may be a parallel to the case of John Marshall, who is said by some to have invented constitutional law. And yet the library historians are parochially and myopically absorbed with Dewey's impact on their own occupation, while overlooking the possibility that he may almost singlehandedly account for a large portion of one of Veysey's "uniformities of internal structure and institutional framework." This version would be very different from the College Library Doctrine version of why colleges have library operation programs.

43. See Francis Miksa, "Frederic Vinton," in Dictionary of American Library Biography.
44. Joseph Schumpeter, "The Creative Response in History," Journal of Economic History 7 (1947) 149-159.

45. Alan Lerner, The Politics of Decision-Making, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, Inc., 1976, page 15.
46. See J. Haas and Thomas Drabek, Complex Organizations: A Sociological Perspective, New York: Macmillan, 1973, pages 4-8, passim.
47. Michael Freeman, "'The Simplicity of His Pragmatism': Librarians and Research," Library Journal 110 (May 15, 1985) 27-29. Philip Ennis spoke of the librarians' "professional school" as one of the "two integrative institutions," the other being "professional associations," which are discussed just below ("Introduction," Seven Questions, pages 1-7, at 4. The essays in this volume, though aging, are nonetheless useful for their historical perspective). See also the discussion of "socialization" as "the process by which one becomes committed to a profession," in Robert Merton, George Reader, and Patricia Kendall, eds., The Student-Physician: Introductory Studies in the Sociology of Medical Education, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957, pages 287-293.
48. See generally Sarah Vann, Training for Librarianship Before 1923, Chicago: American Library Association, 1964.
49. Ralph Parker, "Ports of Entry," in Ennis and Winger, eds., Seven Questions, pages 46-57, at 46. The period 1922-1923 is a watershed in the history of education for librarianship for reasons not important here, because the changes that ensued did nothing to disturb the premise of training as an instrumentality of cohesion, and producer of the "commons" of "library science."
50. Robert Blackburn, quoted in Mary Biggs, "Sources of Tension Between Librarians and Faculty," Journal of Higher Education 52 (1981) 183-201, at 191.
51. Perry Morrison, The Career of the Academic Librarian: A Study of the Social Origins, Educational Attainments, Vocational Experience, and Personality Characteristics of American Academic Librarians, Chicago: American Library Association, 1969, page 97.
52. Stella Bentley has said that "there is no universally accepted definition of faculty status for librarians" ("Collective Bargaining and Faculty Status," Journal of Academic Librarianship 4 (1970) 75-81, at 76.
53. See, for instance, Nancy Davey and Theodora Andrews, "Implications of Faculty Status for Librarians, With Special Attention to Tenure," Journal of Academic Librarianship 4 (1978) 71-74.
54. See, for instance, Jody Newmeyer, "The Image Problem of the Librarian: Femininity and Social Control," Journal of Library History 11 (1976) 44-67. Historically, women have been disproportionately represented in the occupation.

55. The issue of "profession," touched upon in Chapter I and skirted since, must be faced up to here, because it bears directly upon the librarian status issue. William Reeves doubted, on balance, that librarians make it into the "professional" ranks (Librarians as Professionals, Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1980). That sort of thing can get authors into trouble. When L. Houser and Alvin Schrader expressed a similar conclusion (The Search for a Scientific Profession: Library Science Education in The U.S. and Canada, Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1977) they called down a strident diatribe from elder statesman Jesse Shera ("Education for Librarianship-An Assessment and Perspective: A Review Article," Library Quarterly 49 (1979) 310-316). The point in calling attention to this is to demonstrate what a touchy and emotionally sensitive issue this is with librarians. See also outsider Ralph Conant's The Conant Report: A Study of the Education of Librarians, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1980, and "The Conant Report: Reply to the Critics," American Libraries 13 (1982) 34-35; as well as sociologist William Goode's "The Librarian: From Occupation to Profession?" and Philip Ennis's Introduction, both in the Seven Questions volume.
56. Laurence Veysey, The Emergence of the American University, Part Two. Four good oversights of the topic of "status" and its literature are Lewis Branscomb, ed., The Case for Faculty Status for Academic Librarians, Chicago: American Library Association, 1970; Robert Downs, ed., The Status of American College and University Librarians, Chicago: American Library Association, 1958; Virgil Massmann, Faculty Status for Librarians, Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1972; and Harold Lancour, "The Librarian's Search for Status" in the Seven Questions volume, pages 71-18, along with the following discussion by Peter Rossi. Nancy Huling compiled and published "Faculty Status-A Comprehensive Bibliography," College and Research Libraries 34 (1973) 440-462. No particular more recent publications deserve singling out. Guy Lyle observed that "one cannot leaf through a pile of library journals in any month without encountering at least one article dealing with the status of academic librarians" (Administration, page 43). However, a 1983 number of College and Research Libraries contained two articles even though this was not a topic number.
57. H.A. Sawtelle, quoted in Downs, "The Role," page 116; Gilman quoted ibid., page 125.
58. Sidney Ditzion, Arsenals of a Democratic Culture, Chicago: American Library Association, 1947, page 80.
59. See, for instance, Eliot Friedson, Professional Powers, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986.
60. See, for instance, Anthony Coxon and Charles Jones, The Images of Occupational Prestige, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978.

61. See, for instance, Morris Keeton's discussion of "constituencies" in his "The Constituencies and Their Claims," in Gary Riley and J. Baldrige, eds., Governing Academic Institutions, Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Co., 1979, pages 194-210; or "Estates," as the editors put it. Interestingly, neither Keeton nor the editors seem to have considered the academic librarians as being a "constituency" or "estate." And yet Robert Scott made a category out of "academic deans, department chairmen, and librarians" (Lords, Squires, and Yeomen: Collegiate Middle Managers and Their Organizations, AAHE-ERIC/Higher Education Research Report No. 7, Washington: American Association for Higher Education, 1978, page 3). But Scott left unclear whether he intended only chief or head librarians, or both them and their subordinate staffs; it is quite rare to find even the smallest "academic" library with only one personnel.
62. William Bishop, "The Library in the American College," in College and Reference Library Yearbook, Number One, Chicago: American Library Association, 1929, pages 1-12, at 8,9.
63. Haas and Drabek, Complex Organizations, page ix.
64. Robert Leigh, The Public Library in the United States: The General Report of the Public Library Inquiry, New York: Columbia University Press, 1950. The quoted passage led off Chapter 2, "The Library Faith and Library Objectives," which elaborated.
65. Consider political scientist Garceau's similar assessment in The Public Library in the Political Process, pages 50-52.
66. Pauline Wilson, "Librarians as Teachers: The Study of an Organization Fiction," Library Quarterly 49 (1979) 146-162. Following Dubin, Wilson made an interesting elaboration of this perspective, in which fictions, and myths (in the literary sense) are closely related but different: "Myths are believed, while fictions are not; they are tacitly accepted." She categorized the "librarians are teachers" claim as not one of the "fictions that emphasize the false," but rather as one of the fictions "that disguise the truth." That generosity would be consistent with the denying behavior of the fictional questions gambit and other behaviors discussed in Chapters II and IV, especially. It may be clarifying, but it may err on the side of understatement. Given the ardor of the "library faith" and the steadfastness of the librarians in pursuit of status, the notion of "organization myth" from the Gareth Morgan school of organization studies seems far richer. Political scientist Garceau was moved to observe that "from the perspective of political science, librarians appear to have suffered from taking their own social myth, not too seriously, but too literally" (Public Library, page 147).
67. See Rothstein, "Development."
68. Julie Virgo, "Association of College and Research Libraries," in Bowker Annual 1979, pages 87-88 at 88; emphasis supplied.

69. Augustus Kulhman, "Introducing College and Research Libraries," College and Research Libraries 1 (1939) 7-9; emphasis supplied. To further confuse an already confusing name game, this organ of the Association of College and Reference Libraries (which, as pointed out earlier, is actually a personal membership organization) and which later changed its name to Association of College and Research Libraries, has always been called College and Research Libraries: The name of the association finally caught up with that of its journal, probably because "research library" has pretty generally replaced "reference library" in librarian jargon.

On the librarian associations there is surprisingly little substantial literature, even of a purely descriptive nature; see Garceau's Chapter 4, and Ralph Ellsworth, "Critique of Library Associations in America," and "Discussion" by David Clift, pages 84-102 in Seven Questions, where some of the internal politicking is aired. Wayne Wiegand's The Politics of An Emerging Profession: The American Library Association, 1876-1917 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1986) is greatly, and disappointingly, less than its title implies, but has some uses. A critical history is still needed.

The old College and Reference Section, precursor to the Association, had its own short-lived organ, College and Reference Library Yearbook, 1929-1931 (a victim of the Great Depression) in which the affinity between specialists regardless of workplace setting is revealed by such things as tables of combined "University, College, and Reference Library Statistics," and directories of "College and Reference Librarians," at first with the reference librarians of "Large Public Libraries" listed separately, then later merged. The wrestlings of the Committee recorded in the Foreword to Number Two (1930) reflect the thinking of the time.

70. William Moffett, "Reflections of a College Librarian: Looking for Life and Redemption This Side of ARL," College and Research Libraries 45 (1984) 338-349, at 340.
71. Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, The Academic Revolution, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977, pages xxiii, 515, in the latter place calling it "an essentially imperial relationship."
72. Douglas Knight and E. Nourse, eds., Libraries at Large: The Resource Book Based on the Materials of the National Commission on Libraries, New York: R.R. Bowker Co., 1969, page 101.
73. Evan Farber, in Evan Farber and Ruth Walling, eds., The Academic Library: Essays in Honor of Guy R. Lyle, Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1974, pages 12-23. Later, in another place, Farber continued this thought, saying "too many college librarians have been caught in the university-library syndrome and have thought of their libraries as small university libraries, conscious of only the superficial differences--fewer resources, less scholarly expertise, fewer relationships with other libraries and information centers,

and less availability of electronic technology" ("Limiting College Library Growth: Bane or Boon?" in Daniel Gore ed., Farewell to Alexandria: Solutions to Space, Growth, and Performance Problems of Libraries, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1976, pages 34-43, at 40).

74. Bestor, "Transformation," page 172.
75. Downs, in Brough, Scholars' Workshop, page vii.
76. John Cole, "Storehouses and Workshops: American Libraries and the Uses of Knowledge," in Alexandra Oleson and John Voss, eds., The Organization of Knowledge in Modern America, 1860-1920, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979, pages 364-385, at 365. To turn Brough's phrase into something far from his intention, and belittling, requires one to explain one's self. Briefly, the "scholars' workshop" notion has several broad weaknesses, but limitations of space rule out the full treatment of them all here. Some of them, fortunately, such as the demographics of the "scholars" for whom such workshops might be intended, are of less importance than others. Suffice to say that when the "scholars" ("ripened," presumably) at whose behest and upon whose behalf supposedly the various library types were vying to become "workshops" are considered, the picture the "fantasy" intends is one of an anthill, where legions of tireless workers were (in Otis Robinson's words) to be "ransacking the library of its best materials." And yet in the "scholars' workshop" literature, once beyond a dozen or so recurring names, they become a shadowy group of undeterminable makeup and uncertain numbers.

The "scholars' workshop fantasy" belongs in the general area of the "shaping of the American character" approach. There it is a piece of the grand American myth (an organization myth at large). In this myth, a core article of faith has been that America is the New World, clean and different, the "virgin Continent" or frontier, with no ties to the tired, corrupt, and mistaken Old World and a determination not to be a repetition of it. This frontier image of the American vision is one of clean break and blank slate, of beginning afresh, optimistic innovation. The "scholars' workshop fantasy" is a microcosm of the quixotic inconsistencies of the grand myth.

In Cole's version of the scenario, excerpted in the text, he said "there were few libraries in the United States that might be considered research institutions [sic]." He thus dismissed those of the historical societies then as "of antiquarian nature and rarely could their libraries be used for scholarly research." This is an assertion we are entitled to see better explained, if the study of "history"--American history at that--has anything to do with "scholarship." What, we would like to be told, does "antiquarian" mean, besides being a handy pejorative? Indeed, "research" in American history is being done today at these very libraries using the very materials they had at the time of which he spoke. Further,

he said, "the largest government library was the Library of Congress, but its collection was weak and unbalanced." If we cave in on "scholarly" and "research" ("scholarly research" being, we may hope, a redundancy and its antonym "unscholarly research" hence an oxymoron are we not at least entitled to exact definitions of "weak" and "unbalanced?" Yet "balance" is not a technical term in "library science" but rather a subjective makeweight of approbation, and "weak" evenmore so pejoratively. And Cole said that most of the libraries back then of the kind he was disparaging were "disproportionately stocked with books on theology," which makes no more sense when we remember that one of the glories of the so-much-admired 19th century German scholarship was the Biblical "higher criticism." Was that not "theology?"

We find what the real "workshop" game was about if we take the stock account on its face, learning that it makes much over how the "scholars" of 19th century America (on the eve of Bestor's "Transformation of American Scholarship," or Rothenberg's "Rise of the Research Library," as one of his section headings reads) lamented the perceived disparity of libraries between America and Europe. The stock expressions from the stock account are (as Rothenberg) "the general paucity of American library resources at this time" or (as Garceau) "immediately upon entering the company of [European, mainly German] scholars the Americans felt the poverty of their resources."

But the regular comparative measure of this "paucity" and "poverty" is revealed to have been mere crude numbers, size of book collections and not at all "balance," "adequacy," unantiquarianism, or some other such presumably qualitative index. The reality that the fantasy may be underpinned by nothing more than jingoistic boosterism, with the rhetoric as cover, rather than "service to scholarship" is tipped off by the extent to which it quickly became an obsessive concern with size. Despite perfunctory disclaimers in the literature by librarians (see above, Chapter V, Note 64), concern with and rivalry over size has been the main thing ever since. Indeed, the librarians seem to see no inconsistency here, and make no bones about it. According to Brough, while the invidious game of size comparison may not have been invented by the multifarious Melvil Dewey while at Columbia, he was into it as early as his 1885-1886 Annual Report. Even Rothstein's Whig historiography was conditioned by his grudging concession that

the scholars' emphasis on collections tended to lead the professional librarians themselves into equating excellence with extent to holdings, and brought on what amounted to a race for acquisitions. A commonplace in the reports of the university librarians was the request for larger book funds, a request often buttressed by statistics showing the more rapid growth of other universities' collections. Many of these exhortations were plainly no more than calculated tactics for securing interest and

more than calculated tactics for securing interest and support for the library, but there was undoubtedly a very real rivalry among various institutions, and it tended to focus attention on the area most susceptible to publicity and claims of superiority--the increase in accessions (Development, page 37).

Rothstein's attempt to shift the ultimate responsibility to the "scholars" is puzzling. Everyone has been in on it, the librarians themselves with gusto; see Brough's account in Scholars' Workshop, pages 87-90, especially.

Inspired by the institutional gamemanship and by special occasions such as accreditation visitations, and anniversaries, the fascination with numbers (the larger the better) has stimulated creative behavior. Doubtless many with longevity have their own anecdotes of the deployment of Quaker guns and Potemkin villages. But these seem to exist mainly in the oral folklore, making all the more valuable such an unwitting peek as Lawrence Powell's about how

I can remember once in the early 1940's Mr. Goodwin was eager to see UCLA reach 400,000 volumes by June 30, so that he could list that figure in his annual report. Our two accessioning machines were hot to the touch and we were still short. A call to Berkeley brought a shipment of Morrison duplicates. Still we didn't have enough. Whereupon I was sent to the lower depths to search for unprocessed volumes. I made my way back with a report of some old engineering texts. Back I was sent with empty trucks and up came the books, and were quickly accessioned. The goal was achieved ("John E. Goodwin, Founder of the UCLA Library," Journal of Library History 6 (1971) 265-274, at 271).

And despite all the rhetoric about supposed yearning for national cultural and intellectual independence, How, we might ask (seemingly for the first time) was developing a capability to do as a Gibbon had done, to write a history of the late Roman Empire or as a Ticknor had done, to write on the literature of a European country, imagined by even the most fervent patriot to be promoting "the development of an American culture that would be independent of European traditions and institutions," instead of just aping them? Indeed, much of the fantasy fulfillment that was brought off by the numbers game was done by stuffing the "workshops" with foreign books (see Hendrik Edelman and George Tatum, "The Development of Collections in American University Libraries," in Johnson, ed., Libraries for Teaching, pages 34-57). This was, recall, the Gilded Age when American tycoons were importing England and Europe, stone by numbered stone, in an apparent exercise of national cultural and intellectual independence.

Not that all the phantasms of libraries held by decision makers and policy setters have always had the sternly practical and utilitarian

shape of a "workshop." Writing in 1964, University of Iowa president Mason Gross confided

I must confess that the primary connotation of the word "library" for me is a medium sized room in a private house, lit by two or three rather inadequate lamps, with a fireplace, a desk, and some chairs, of which one or two are really comfortable, and then stacks of books on every wall, from floor to ceiling ... Now I am familiar with the connotations of the word "library," from the Library of Congress down through university libraries, public libraries, the whole list. But I still keep wistfully thinking of the atmosphere associated with my primary connotation, probably because the library stands out for me as the last bulwark of romanticism ("Facts, Values, and Libraries," in Student Use of Libraries, Chicago: American Library Association, 1964, pages 1-13, at 12).

77. Leigh, Public Library in the United States.
78. See Knight and Nourse, eds., Libraries at Large, page 515, *passim*.
79. Scholarly Communication: The Report of the National Enquiry, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979, pages ix, 131.
80. Lewis Coser, Charles Kadushin, and Walter Powell, Books: The Culture and Commerce of Publishing, New York: Basic Books, 1982, pages 342-343. See also Mary Biggs, ed., Publishers and Libraries: A Foundation for a Dialogue, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984. Can it be a coincidence that volume 1 of Fritz Machlup and Kenneth Leeson's Information Through the Printed Word (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1978, 3 volumes) is "Book Publishing" and volume 2 is "Journals"--i.e., the supply side of the relationship--while volume 3 is "Libraries," the demand (or at least market) side? The whole loop is accounted for.

Publisher interest in the fortunes of libraries goes back a long way. According to George Utley, the support and involvement of one Charles Norton, "bookseller and publisher of New York," was instrumental in bringing about "the librarians' conference of 1853" which is said to have been a crucial event in the coalescence of a "librarian" identity (The Librarians' Conference of 1853, pages 4-7). More recently the interest is disclosed in such things as the devolution of Library Journal, a major and influential periodical in the whole librarian community and which was begun in 1876 as the official organ of the new American Library Association itself, into the ownership of the R.R. Bowker Co., in turn owned by the corporate superpower Xerox. And, since 1955, the two interest groups have been joined together by the Bowker Annual of Library and Booktrade Information, from which this analysis has drawn data.

81. At the March 10, 1965 House Subcommittee hearing Raymond Harwood, president of the American Book Publishers Council and Jess Stern, vice president of the reference and college textbook sections of Random House and Alfred Knopf, on behalf of the American Textbook Publishers Institute; and at the May 20, 1965, Senate Subcommittee hearing, W. Wiley, president of John Wiley and Sons, on behalf of the American Textbook Publishers Institute, all testified expressing especial support for Title II of the proposed legislation, "relating to college and university libraries," a direct aid package with provision for book funds (Higher Education Act of 1965. Hearings on H.R. 3220 [etc.]. Before the House Special Subcommittee on Education and Labor. 89th Cong., 1st Sess., (Feb. 1-5 [etc.]) 1965; and Higher Education Act of 1965. Hearings on S. 600. Before the Senate Subcommittee on Education of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. 89th Cong., 1st Sess., (March 16-20 [etc.] 1965.
82. Scholarly Communication, page xi.
83. Guy Lyle, Administration, page 6. In Lyle's defense it must be acknowledged that he footnoted this observation with the remark that "it is difficult to assess the educational significance of the vast increase" in publishing. Its significance to publishers and libraries is clear enough.
84. Karen Winkler, Chronicle of Higher Education, April 14, 1982, 21.
85. David Riesman, Constraint and Variety in American Education, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1956. Riesman's idea contains, but transcends, such ideas as "national model," "university model," and other such syndromes of more or less conscious influence and emulation. It describes the same mental state that has accepted accreditation--the epitome of emulation. Riesman's later modification, calling his original "idea of a single procession ... a profound overgeneralization: there were not only discontinuities but different models at different locations in the academic division of labor" was no recantation of the premise, but actually an increase of its power (On Higher Education, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1980, page xix).
86. See Joseph March, "Emerging Developments in the Study of Organizations," Review of Higher Education 6 (1982) 1-18, and works there cited; Louis Pondy and others, eds., Organizational Symbolism, Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, Inc., 1983; and Leonard Greenhalgh, "Organizational Decline," in Samuel Bacharach, ed., Research in the Sociology of Organizations, Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, Inc., 1983, vol. 2, pages 231-276, at 237.
87. From time to time this protective separation has collapsed and opposition has happened, as in the case when Arab pressure group efforts to set up "Arab Studies" programs have been squelched by Jewish pressure group opposition. On the other hand, the innovation

of "Womens' Studies" represents business as usual. And the territoriality of programs is revealed by the militant insistence of various ethnic and minority group "studies" programs that no one but one of their own should administer the program. Perhaps there is no better term than "enclave." In the case of "academic" librarians, the effort has always been to control access to the employment.

88. Robert Roy, The Cultures of Management, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979, page 88.
89. Ellen Lagemann, Private Power for the Public Good: A History of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1983, page 123.
90. Charles Lindblom, "The Science of Muddling Through," Public Administration Review 19 (1959) 79-88; and "Still Muddling, Not Yet Through," Public Administration Review 39 (1979) 517-526.
91. Association of College and Research Libraries, College and Research Libraries News 36 (1975) 277-301.
92. Dwight Eisenhower, quoted in John Thelin, The Cultivation of Ivy: A Saga of The College in America, Cambridge, MA: Schenkman, 1976, page 69; Richard Miller, The Assessment of College Performance, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1980, page 132.
93. See George Keller's comments on the general mythology of academe in his Academic Strategy, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983, page 30.
94. See National Association of College and University Business Officers, College and University Business Administration, 3rd ed., Washington: NACUBO, 1974, page 212.
95. Arthur Levine and John Weingart, Reform of Undergraduate Education, San Francisco, Jossey-Bass, 1973, pages ix-x.
96. See College and University Business Administration, page 212.
97. Those finding fault with all or part of this assessment are challenged to read in its entirety, at one sitting, Carl Adams and others, A Study of Cost Analysis in Higher Education, Washington: American Council on Education, 1978, 4 vols., and come away with a clear and usable comprehension.
98. Daniel Katz and Robert Kahn, The Social Psychology of Organizations, 2nd ed., New York: Wiley, 1978, pages 244-245.
99. See Pandy and others, Organizational Symbolism.
100. Katz and Kahn, Social Psychology of Organizations, pages 52-54.

101. This widely recognized subject is found in such writings as Barry Schlenker, Impression Management, Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole Publishing Co., 1980; Al Ries and Jack Trout, Positioning: The Battle for Your Mind, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981; and James Tedeschi and Valerie Melburg, "Impression Management and Influence in the Organization," in Samuel Bacharach and Edward Lawler, eds., Research in the Sociology of Organizations, Greenwich, CT: JAI Press Inc., 1984, vol. 3, pages 31-58.
102. Daniel Boorstin, The Image: A Guide to Pseudoevents in America, New York: Harper & Row, 1964.
103. Henry Rosovsky, "Highest Education," New Republic 197 (July 13 & 20, 1987) 13-14.
104. See John Thelin, "Selecting America's Best and Brightest," Educational Studies 17 (1986) 325-333, where the author referred to "selectivity" itself as a sort of self-feeding image.
105. Alan Andreasen, "Nonprofits: Check Your Attention to Customers," Harvard Business Review 60 (1982) 105-110, at 109. Another college recently reported a "surge" in applications, ascribing it to its having been recipient of "favorable publicity" in recent popular books about higher education institutions; to which it added the further analysis, "There has been other helpful publicity. The appointment of retired Chief Justice Burger as ... chancellor drew national attention. A photograph of journalist Nicholas Daniloff, sporting a [college] sweatshirt as he jogged through Moscow, also attracted attention," although not mentioned were either the fact that at this college the post of Chancellor is an entirely honorary and ceremonial one (unlike the case at some places), or that Daniloff was not otherwise connected with the college in any way, that the shirt was borrowed. And in point of fact, that was not really important, because it was the impression, the image, that mattered ("W & M Applications Break Old Record," Virginia Gazette, Jan. 31, 1987; and "Wow! What a Year: As National Publicity Proliferates, Admissions Marks a Record Year," College of William and Mary Alumni Gazette 54 (May, 1987, 1).
106. Burton Clark, "College Image and Student Selection," in Kaoru Yamamoto, ed., The College Student and His Culture: An Analysis, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1968, pages 178-192.
107. "Revised List Boosts Faculty Pay," Virginia Gazette, Jan. 17, 1987.
108. Stanley Grabowski, Marketing in Higher Education, AAHE-ERIC/Higher Education Research Report No. 5, Washington: American Association for Higher Education, 1981, page 1.
109. Veysey, Emergence, page 381, and especially pages 317 ff.
110. Keller, Academic Strategy, pages 17, 159.

111. David Barton, ed., Marketing, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1978 (New Directions for Higher Education 21); John Lucas, ed., Developing, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1979 (New Directions for Institutional Research 21); Philip Kottler, Marketing, 2nd ed., Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1982.
112. Viz., the Council for the Advancement and Support of Education (CASE); CASE Currents; New Directions for Institutional Advancement; S. Kobre, Successful Public Relations For Colleges and Universities, New York: Hastings House, 1979.
113. Bernadine Doritch, in Howard Rowland, ed., Effective Community Relations, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1980 (New Directions for Institutional Advancement 10).
114. Keller, Academic Strategy, page 159.
115. Arthur Ciervo, ed., Using the Mass Media, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1979 (New Directions for Institutional Advancement 5); J. Buchanan, "Selling the Small College," in Wesley Wilmer, ed., Advancing the Small College, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1981 (New Directions for Institutional Advancement 13, pages 47-58).
116. Robert Topor, Washington: CASE, 1986.
117. See Tedeschi and Melburg, "Impression Management," page 13; and Mark Girouard, Life in the English Country House: A Social and Intellectual History, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978.
118. See John Thelin, The Cultivation of Ivy, Cambridge, MA: Schenckman, 1976. John Thelin is a pioneer in the social history of American Higher Education's manipulation of "Images, Icons, and Personalities of Institutions," as his Introduction is headed. See also his Higher Education and Its Useful Past, Cambridge, MA: Schenckman, 1982; "Alma Mater Lost and Found: The American Campus Restored, 1880-1930," William and Mary Alumni Gazette Magazine 50 (1983) 9-13; and (with Karen Schoenenberger) "The Oldest and Cheapest College in the South: How William and Mary Became a Selective University," William and Mary Alumni Gazette Magazine 54 (1985) 18-23.
119. In conversation, Normal Fiering, Director of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, once suggested the term "impresarioship."

APPENDIX

This Appendix deals with a position taken by, in a document promulgated by, the Association of College and Research Libraries (ACRL), and some things that have been done with that document's position. To review the organization structure involved, the Association of College and Research Libraries is a personal membership professional association under the umbrella American Library Association (ALA). The ALA is the principal national librarian organization, and the ACRL is the principal national "academic" library organization. The document is the ACRL's "Standards for College Libraries." It is revised periodically. One revision has already occurred, and at the time of this writing a second is in progress. Hence, the designation "Standards," unless modified, usually means the current, or 1975, version in force.¹

The generic "Standards" deals problematically with a wide variety of topics, some of which have been discussed at one place or another elsewhere in this report. Here the attention is directed to that part of the generic "Standards" which is the ACRL's numerical response to the proto-research question of this analysis, "How much" (that they even respond subsumes the question "Can we know"); a response cast in a mode of economic rationality.

The following discussion collects some deferred matters from the main text, such as the matter of "output" from Chapter I, the mysterious evolution of the "Standards" noted in Chapter V, and others. It picks up the argument from Chapter I that approaches to resource allocation for college library operation programs employing technical or rational/economic models--"management science" approaches²--cannot be done

because the data they require are inadequate, if for no other reason. The data are not sufficient to support such procedures.

The creation of a numerical response such as that made by the generic "Standards" requires an economic calculation process to arrive at the number(s). But most such processes, techniques, and formulations share a common requirement: They are equations, and therefore must have both sides. One side of the equation must be output. By whatever name they go--"benefits," "effectiveness," "utility," "performance," to name a few--one side of the equation must have measurable output factors. Leaving aside the questions over whether such processes are actually possible in the wide world, a matter over which skeptics such as Aaron Wildavsky raise reasonable doubt,³ to say nothing of the more limited general setting of higher education,⁴ the possibility has been effectively ruled out for "academic" libraries if Lynch is right in her revelation of the fundamental problem that

for the most part, satisfactory techniques have not yet been developed to achieve adequate measures of outputs....⁵

But if the "management science" calculation process is not possible because the data required to make one side of the equation are not sufficient, that does leave one other possibility; namely, a nonequation approach, a sort of trend line analysis of inputs, which are the other kind of data, and would comprise the other side of the equation if there could be one. Trend line analysis, too, is a kind of economic calculation process. It requires historical time series data, and there are a lot of historical data, some of it serial, around, as we shall see directly.

However, as argued in Chapter I, trend line analysis is a weak process at best for answering such questions as "How much?" At its most powerful it is only a predictive tool, not one that will support prescription. Even as a predictor, its underlying logic (assuming also the goodness of data) rests on the assumption that the future will be a recognizable extrapolation of the past. Stated differently, an analysis of historical inputs could still--as was pointed out in Chapter I--at the most tell us what the future might be, based on the past. But we ask too much if we expect it to do the hard work for us and tell us what the future ought to be, to the extent that we can control this.

Nevertheless, that was the course actually followed by the ACRL, through its committee of drafters, in the 1975 "Standards for College Libraries," where it presented its response to the "How much" question. Under Standard 8: Budget, section 8.1 reads

The amount of the library appropriation shall express a relationship to the total institutional budget for educational and general purposes.⁶

That is done therein as a ratio, and in the abstract the use of such a statistic is quite proper. Such a tool is part of an approach widely used in business and government, under the rubric "ratio analysis." Familiar examples are profit/loss, losers/gainers, price/yield, and so forth. Converted to a percentage, as the "Standard" elsewhere does, the idea has even more to commend it. Its superiority is that, by transforming figures whose magnitude, hence significance, is changeable over time--e.g., dollars, in a setting of historical inflation--a situation and time free relationship is expressed. Localism and transiency are

overcome and comparability across distance and time is rendered possible, other things equal.

Indeed, it is the flaw of dollar expression by many of the earlier writings on academic finance that negates their historical usefulness, even if nothing else about them would. These earlier writings instead expressed the same idea but in ratios of some dollar-referenced index, such as dollars/students.⁷ Therefore, even if in some particular instance we might think that enough data are preserved or can be retrieved to provide ingredients to latterly make conversions and reconstruct such an index into constant dollars for purposes of (say) plugging it into a time series, to do so would be to get into the re-cooking of someone else's old data, with all their possible faults unsuspected. Besides, a lot of the numbers in the older writings are of unclear origin: They may be simply ad hoc and arbitrary expressions of preferences rather than descriptions of actual empirical behavior.

And if numbers are not attempts to describe actual behavior, they are different from the ACRL "Standards" approach. Here was prescribed a figure of 6 percent of E&G expenditures. The way in which this was done is rather roundabout and requires interpretation.⁸ The Introduction to the "Standards" says that "they attempt to synthesize and articulate the aggregate experience of the library profession" and again, in the Commentary to Standard 8: Budget (where the 6 percent figure is presented) the phrasing is "Experience has shown...." And in the Introduction again, the "Standards" promise that "complete background considerations for these commentaries may be found in the literature of librarianship."⁹

Putting this all together, these "Standards" statements may reasonably be interpreted as appeal to, invocation of, history, in performing the economic calculation. In this way it is another branch of the historical argument, which occupied center stage in the main body of this report. History is precisely that record of "aggregate experience" and the "literature" referred to as containing the "complete background considerations" must therefore be the documentation of that record. Knowing what we learned about the overall library literature in the main body of this report, the only possible genre of the literature that is applicable is the ongoing compilation of descriptive statistics about colleges specifically, those figures pertaining to their spending behavior toward their library operation programs, expressed in the manner specified by the "Standards," namely the relationship to the E & G account. These figures, made and cumulated over time, become the historical time series. Hence, by studying this portion of the historical record documentation--which is the authority specified by the "Standards" drafters themselves--we are able, so we are told, to find out the actual empirical behavior over time; the "aggregate experience" of which they spoke. In other words, this trend line analysis is the economic calculation for the answers to "How much?" and "Can we know?" producing the "Standards" prescription.

But unfortunately, the fact is that the materials of the calculation, the data (which we may call for convenience of reference "library statistics") present most serious problems. As economists William Baumol and Mityahu Marcus incisively stated it,

the scope and reliability of an empirical study are determined in large measure by the quality and extent of

coverage of the available data.... There are two primary prerequisites for continuing research on developments and trends in library operations. First, appropriate data must be available....¹⁰

Whether the "library statistics" can be used to make such an economic calculation and have it have robustness, is a matter of reasonable doubt. It is problematic. It depends upon how much inexactness one is willing to accept.

Let us begin with a basic consideration. How far back extends the invoked historical record, the "aggregate experience?" The "Standards" Introduction speaks of the "beginning"--"Since the beginning of colleges libraries have been considered an essential part of advanced learning"--which in America would be 1636. But if that is what was intended, it would be inconsistent with the major leg of the library profession's own historical argument, under whose periodicity "modern" librarianship began in 1876 (see Chapter II).

So let us look for and at the library statistics from 1876 onward. There are, especially as we get nearer to the present, statistics abounding, from a wide variety of different compilers and issuers. Sandy Whiteley¹¹ and Mary Jo Lynch¹² have obliged with overviews for the more recent sources. In addition, usually not mentioned by librarians in their reviews, like those just cited, are some other sources of library statistics, in the form of broader scale studies of higher education finance and/or studies of even wider higher education matters containing financial statistics, such as the "Sixty College Study." All of this is a somewhat confused and confusing business. The writings sometimes develop their own original statistics, while others trade and borrow

"data" around pretty freely in a manner reminiscent of the 1920s and 1930s setting described in Chapter V. It all can get rather complicated, trying to figure who is ultimately responsible for some of the numbers, although increasingly "the federal government has been the major provider of descriptive statistics about libraries in this country."¹³ In fact, for all the industriousness in statistical activity--some of it forming time series of sorts, even some as long running as the "ARL statistics," reaching back to 1920--the numbers are, simply put, problematic.

Far and away the overarching problem with them is lack of comparability. Lynch reaffirmed the fundamental dimensions of the comparability problematics--across population, and across time--when she said

we recognize the problem of incompatibility noted by many others. Since terms and procedures are often not clearly defined, and since fiscal years differ, statistics often cannot be compared validly. In some cases even statistics from the same library are inconsistent from year to year or from source to source.¹⁴

And if figures are noncomparable or incompatible at any technical moment in time, they cannot be aggregated to represent even that single moment, much less across time.

Actually, the difficulties are, if anything, far greater than Lynch's dry comment indicated. Much needs to be done in the entire area, and the following analysis is only a very tentative one. The at least fourfold problem of noncomparability is something that goes far beyond the limited concerns over the narrow "library statistics," because of the complexities, varieties, and interrelationships of data gathering and compilation. The prime illustration of the problems is the data gather-

ing and processing under federal government action, in which library statistics are merely one component.

First, there is the matter of the technical standardization for higher education statistics of all kinds, including but not limited to fiscal figures. It seems safe to say that anything like an externally created, mandated, and monitored system of standard and uniform definitions and practices cannot be much older than the mid-1960s. This was when federal statistics activities were reorganized under the aegis of the National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES). The federal statistics are the closest thing ever to a coverage with national scope and inclusiveness. And yet the articles in the Bowker Annual as recently as the early 1970s describing the incomplete efforts to get such a system warned that technical standardization may be still long in coming.¹⁵ And there is also the factor that no matter what government agencies, such as the U.S. Office of Education, may have thought was going on out in the hinterland at the local, supply, end--the institutions themselves--there is no guarantee that even the best rules and guidelines would have made for uniformity of interpretation and application. Data have always been generated through self-reportage, so that we simply cannot assume that even hypothetically standard and uniform procedures would be standardly and uniformly followed by all. It is not a case like that of bank auditing, where an outside and arms length team independently and minutely checks the figures.¹⁶

The situation at the local level gets into the second noncomparability problem, with the financial accounting and reporting of institutions. The administration building is the ultimate source of

library operation financial figures, unlike the other ones--such as books added and so on--which are maintained and reported by the library operation itself. Here, recognition of the problem predates the uniform practices concerns of the federal statistics activities. Uniformity and standardization in this arena--"generally accepted accounting practices," as accountants call them--in college and university accounting trace back to only around 1930. That was when the American Council on Education created the National Committee on Standard Reports for Institutions of Higher Education. That Committee's Financial Reports for Colleges and Universities, issued in 1935 is, in fact, regarded as "the first set of 'standard' guidelines."¹⁷ And again, this does not even get into the question of whether they were quickly universally and uniformly followed thenceforward.

This seems, in fact, not to have been the case. A successor, the first volume of the first edition of College and University Business Administration, containing the principles of financial accounting and reporting, was only issued in 1952.¹⁸ An indication that even this later event did not yet result in universal adherence, which was the point of the whole thing, is found in the Forword to the "Sixty College Study" a few years later still where, after noting the recent publication of College and University Business Administration, the attainment of standard and uniform practices was still said to be desired.¹⁹ Even closer to the present, the Financial Analysis of Current Operations of Colleges and Universities Project reported in 1966 the conclusion that

visits to 110 institutions of higher learning across the nation demonstrated conclusively to the staff of this project that the diversity of local languages and practices in the collection of financial and related quantita-

tive data renders impossible any valid interinstitutional comparison of the information currently produced by these institutions and in many cases cast doubt upon the validity of historical and intrainstitutional comparisons derived therefrom as well.²⁰

That is clearly doubt about virtually any possible use. And can we feel reassured that things got immediately better after this revelation?

It is not hard to understand why adherence to uniform principles and practices has not been rushed into. It was not overseen by any external, superordinate, agency with enforcement powers (such as the Securities and Exchange Commission in the profit sector), and there was also no particular incentive to do it voluntarily in this laissez-faire circumstance; not until the massive entry of the federal government into direct institutional aid with its concomitant accounting requirements. The Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963, the Higher Education Act of 1965, and similar legislation, as amended, saw also the 1965 establishment of NCES.²¹ There was no stick, and the carrot is recent. We ought not be surprised to find a lag effect for such efforts as the opinion leaders in higher education business management had made and a strong tradition of local idiosyncrasy in institutional financial statistics. In this regard, it is worth remembering that the college segment contains and has contained numbers of institutions so small, isolated, and unsophisticated as to have earned the sobriquet "invisible." At such places the accounting and reporting--indeed, the handling of all statistics--might be closer to the trailing than to the leading edge of uniformity, necessary to comparability.

This raises the third aspect of the noncomparability issue, which is a mixed issue of data creation and data application. What is the exact

population being described at any time or times, or over time, by the descriptive statistics? To see the problem, we return to the ACRL 1975 "Standards." The drafters selected the first, i.e., 1973, version of the Carnegie Commission's Classification of Institutions of Higher Education to define what they intended by "college." The list of "colleges" there was the population to which they specified that the "Standards" were "intended to apply."²² That is unexceptionable. The Carnegie classification has been widely accepted. But it might be forgotten that the 1973 Carnegie classification was based upon each institution's state-of-being as of 1970; not as it was five years later, the "Standards" date. And in fact, a revised, that is to say, changed, version of the Carnegie classification was published in 1976, using the 1976 (or "real time") state-of-being of each of the institutions, which for some was perceived to be different. The population was in flux, and has been ever since Harvard ceased being a "college" in any meaningful sense. These two classifications merely froze slices of time. Put differently, while the existence of the generic type may be a continuing thing to all intents and purposes (including those of this analysis), despite the perennial predictions of the disappearance of the "college," and the wholesale terminological inexactitude of the term "college," the exact membership changes, through birth, mortality, and institutional change. Therefore the 1970 population of the relevant Carnegie categories was not the same as the 1976. And therefore, the only way that the "experience" or actual empirical expenditure behavior could be meaningfully compared would be at the highest level of aggregation of the total population data for each year: "All Colleges, 1970" and "All Colleges, 1976." And we saw that

such an aggregation may not be possible because of lower level noncomparability, an acknowledged problem only a few years earlier.

On top of that, the only data base with even a pretense to such completeness is the federal one. Yet the federal statistics have all along been compiled not by Carnegie categories anyway, but instead by a different scheme, which was eventually to become the NCES classification scheme. This proceeded right on through the 1977 cycle.²³ What this means is that the federal statistics might see a different population of "colleges" than the Carnegie classification, the basis for the "Standards." Let us stress that point; the two classifications do not exactly coincide (are not at identity) ever. Indeed, if they did, one or the other would simply have been redundant.

To illustrate, both classifications are unusual. Most classifications past and present stop at the conceptual level, and merely enunciate a set of classification principles. But these typologies actually go the final step, of making lists. They classify and list each and every institution nationally. They list institutions, and the lists differ. This means that one cannot simply overlay the Carnegie "college" list on the NCES "college" statistics mechanically for purposes of analysis, because they are incompatible. And there are no standard, uniform, or generally accepted conversion factors, no concordances, nomograms, algorithms, formulas, reconciliation programs, for merging population from one place and data from the other. This means that there is no way of relating the "Standards" and the data. The hugely attractive notion of crossing back and forth between 1970 and 1976 Carnegie populations and federal statistics by stripping the classification scheme from the

latter--despite the fact that that was how they were gathered--and simply attaching the government numbers to the Carnegie population is also foiled by the fact that the genuine differences between the two classifications are basic. They deal differently, for instance, with main and branch campuses. And it is further foiled by the fact that, even if there were no other problems, the frozen slices of time represented by the "moments" 1970 and 1976, forming the basis of the successive Carnegie classifications, have no corresponding NCES data sets.²⁴ The insurmountable obstacle to the attractive notion is that there is no way to move with precision and accuracy from one body to another, or to bring principles devised to go with one product to bear upon another one.

An applied objective of such a mechanical overlay would be to take some moment, probably a fiscal year, and compare its grand aggregate central tendency for colleges--the empirical expenditure behavior--with a "standards" figure arrived at from having performed the same exercise year after year for the historical time series, to see if for that moment colleges in the aggregate "measured up" to the "standard." Roy Carpenter attempted to do just that for the moment represented by the Fall 1977 NCES statistics.²⁵ Some of the pitfalls of that approach, a few of which have been noted here, were pointed out by Grunder.²⁶

And the discontinuities doom such plans even when it comes to modern times. The problems intensify as one goes back in time, into the pre-ACRL "Standards" era--or, better still, the "pre-Carnegie classification era," where the barriers between data and classification are multiplied not merely because of all the data problems, but also because of the passing onto and off the stage of still other classification schemes, all

of which are simply expressions of principles of classification, none of which were institutional lists made on those principles.

The fourth aspect of the noncomparability problem is related to the third one, in that both concern again, "the exact population being described at any time or times, or across time, by the descriptive statistics." Here the problem is "representativeness" of the statistics. This would not be an issue had we national statistics of proven completeness; "representativeness" is a sample issue, not a total population or "universe" issue. Do we have, have we had, such a data base? Not according to a warning for the set as recent as that of 1967. In the Forward there is the warning that

since the report is only a partial listing of all institutions, figures herein cannot be readily be used for estimating aggregated data for the universe, or for institutions of any particular type, size, or administrative control.²⁷

That is pretty forthright, and coupled with what the articles in the Bowker Annual had to say about the ongoing struggle to attain comprehensiveness as well as technical standardization, the burden is on anyone wishing to treat the federal data of any date as parameters, to establish that they are.

In the apparent absence of population data, it then does become a sampling issue. Over the years there have been different kinds of more temporally limited but topically wider studies involving the expenditure figure. Here we find what were often called "surveys," such as Works' College and University Library Problems,²⁸ Rosenloff's Library Facilities of Teacher-Training Institutions,²⁹ and Randall's The College Library.³⁰ These are still different from such studies as the "Sixty College Study,"

which examined the spectrum of institutional operation, while these looked only at the library operation program.

In addition to all the problems already dealt with, here is added the fact that, whether or not the authors were clear on the matter, what they had studied stood in relationship to the population of "colleges," as samples. Not one of them surveyed all "colleges." And yet if we were to attempt to retrospectively treat these as historical data for time series use, we run squarely into the fact that these were non-probabilistic samples, by definition biased in some way, and therefore not generalizable to the population of their time.³¹ This is what renders of such limited usefulness all such promising-looking sources as those just mentioned; the "Sixty College Study," its sequel, the "surveys," and so on. The Foreward in the "Sixty College Study" is quite clear about the nature of its bias:

Publicly supported institutions were not represented ... the sixty participants, except one, are privately supported liberal arts colleges.³²

But not even all "privately supported liberal arts colleges," and there was no explanation of how this sample related to the larger group or how selection was done.

Thus, the lack of comparability is, if anything, a much larger obstacle than Lynch gave any hint of. And there are still left some miscellaneous puzzles about the library statistics, the "Standards," and the attempts to join the two.

One of the miscellaneous puzzles is the matter that, for several issues of the biennial federal statistics something seems to have got out

of adjustment at NCES, with the result that for each institution the familiar expenditure ratio (library expenditures as percent of Educational and General expenditures) may--each figure would have to be painstakingly checked to be sure--have been expressed with the numerator from one year, the NCES report year, and the denominator from the year following, or "off" year in the data compilation and publishing program. This could have happened because, although the library set was compiled and published biennially, another NCES series, Financial Statistics of Institutions of Higher Education, (also arranged by NCES classification be it noted), was then published annually using annually gathered data, and thus could have supplied the gross institution E & G denominator for what were, to the library statistics, the intervening or "off" year. Indeed, during this period, the gross E & G figure for the "on" year too had to be obtained from the Financial Statistics questionnaire because it was not included on the biennial library survey questionnaire. This apparent phase slippage is an unresolved question. Attention was called to it by Grunder,³³ but no one, governmental or otherwise, has responded. As long as it remains so, it means that the numbers for one recent (and therefore of heightened interest) decade, are two-fifths under a cloud.

And then there is another puzzle, a matter of latent ambiguity so improbable that the first reaction to it is simple disbelief. The 1975 "Standards" talk of

the relationship of the library appropriation to the total educational and general budget ... library budgets, exclusive of capital costs and costs of physical maintenance....³⁴

in arriving at the 6 percent figure. But this cannot be done. Take maintenance: that is already part itself, another part, of E & G. To

exclude that is to have already altered E & G, just after having specified it as the benchmark. More importantly, take "capital costs." As College and University Business Administration states the generally accepted accounting principle, under the heading "Current Funds Expenditures and Transfers" (E & G being the major "current fund"),

current funds expenditures represent the costs incurred for goods and services used in the conduct of the institution's operations. They include the acquisition costs of capital assets, such as equipment and library books.... Capital expenditures therefore include funds expended for land, buildings, improvements and additions to buildings, equipment, and library books. Most institutional accounting systems provide for recording at least a portion of capital expenditures in the current fund expenditure accounts of the various operating units. Whether an expenditure is to be considered a capital expenditure is generally a matter for institutional determination, or in the case of some public institutions, is prescribed by state regulations.³⁵

So how can "the relationship of the library operation to the total educational and general budget" even be thought of, much less spoken of, as excluding "capital costs" if such costs can include library books? Or consider that expenditures are classified by College and University Business Administration's principles along several dimensions. One of these is what we have just been looking at, the "account structure" or "functional classification pattern," which contains the class Educational and General (E & G) and its subdivisions under "current funds." There is also the "'object' classification pattern,"

that is, according to materials or capital assets purchased or services received, such as personal services, ... food, fuel, utilities, ... and library books.³⁶

These two expenditure classifications are crosscutting. They form a matrix. How can it be other than a nullity to speak of one of them net

of the other? Was not what the "Standards" prescribed a logical non sequitur?

Or take another angle of this matter. Elsewhere in the "Standards" Commentary to Standard 8: Budget, we find the statement that

depending upon local factors, between 35 and 45 percent of the library's budget is normally allocated to the purchase of materials... .³⁷

As we just saw, "materials" are capital assets, purchased with capital expenditures, perhaps, depending upon local customs; things like books. Are we to understand that what the "Standards" are trying to get excluded from the calculation--as a literal interpretation bids us to understand--somewhere between one-third and one-half of the money they say is, or should be, spent on library operation program by a college? That, it seems clear enough, would be like free money, because the effect would be to make the real figure considerably higher than 6 percent. Yet such would be the effect if the library expenditure figure was to be calculated net of the "capital costs" of the "object" expenditures for books and other materials. What the "Standards" call for--"library budgets, exclusive of capital costs"--is at odds with generally accepted accounting practice, to say nothing of logic.

And this leads back to the issues of aggregation and comparability. Each individual institution's college library operation figure, it appears, contains or may contain a non-standardized and non-uniform component of local rules capital expenditure, which is essentially unknowable to aggregators. No assistance in clearing up this puzzle is to found in the "working papers" of the 1975 drafters, which is itself a

puzzle, since the "capital exclusion" itself is a feature new to this redaction.³⁸

In yet another unexplained anomaly, the librarian literature tradition out of which the notion of expressing the relationship between library expenditures and institutional expenditures grew, leading to the familiar ratio employing the E & G figure, once upon a time looked at instead what was called "total income."³⁹ This could be a very different thing indeed, and yet the literature seems to contain absolutely no discussion of the conceptual bases for either, much less regarding the transition from one to the other.

In short, there are many unanswered mysteries about the ACRL "Standards for College Libraries." A good history of the evolution of the "Standards" would single out the various components--facility prescription, personnel prescription, fiscal prescription and trace them back from their convergence in the "Standards." Historical accounts such as Helen Brown's "College Library Standards" only serve to confuse the matter because they jumble together all the various topics covered, and are generally conceptually lax.⁴⁰

It may be demurred that too severe a view is being taken of the weaknesses of the "Standards," and that their 6 percent figure is clearly intended as no more than a rough a rule of thumb. But, given the nature of things, there is the strong likelihood that others--state system financial analysts, legislative audit and review staffers, contributors to the professional literature, and so on--may come along later and be misled by the "Standards" into thinking that they are more precise than they really are. Carpenter (above) certainly did not approach the "Stan-

dards" and the 6 percent figure as being a mere rule of thumb. He called his study "a systematic and quantitative analysis," implying that as far as he was concerned there was a high level of precision across his methodology and the criterion; which he called "this critical budgetary standard."⁴¹ And there is also Richard Miller, one of two academic vice presidents at SUNY/Brockport, with a "Handbook of Techniques and Measures of Institutional Self-Evaluation" in which, in addition to ignoring the fact that the "Standards" defined themselves as being applicable specifically to a certain segment, seized upon them, using them to develop "a number of questions [which] can be used to assist in the assessment," regardless of Institutional type. "Question" Number 5 was "How closely does the library budget approach 5 percent of the educational and general budget?"⁴² Miller did not make a citation, but the 1975 "Standards" version, with its 6 percent, was long out when his book was published. This suggests what can happen when a dubious figure gets legitimized by careless usage, especially considering that the transition from 5 to 6 percent in the "Standards" between the 1975, and the previous (1959), versions, is nowhere discussed.

Indeed, the ACRL itself encourages just such an aggrandizement of the generic "Standards." By using the 1975 redaction as the point of departure, it constructed upon it a number of further products. One of these was its 1979 "An Evaluative Checklist for Reviewing a College Library Program."⁴³ This is intended to be "adopted as a supplement to 'Standards for College Libraries.'" It is supposed to "measure" the "quality" and "adequacy" of college library operations. The part coordinated with Standard 8: Budget calls for circling one of twelve

numbers, representing three possible responses each to questions of whether the library annual appropriation is from "at least 6 percent," down by increments of one, to "below 4 percent of the college's total educational and general expenditures [exclusive of capital and so on]." "Judgmental decisions are to be made of what most accurately represents conditions in the library you are evaluating," consisting of whether the rater thinks that expenditures are low, middle, or high within each level. In other words, it is a scale of twelve levels, all hinged on the 6 percent figure; which the very same "Standards" also describe as a "floor." This is all simply absurd. It is spurious precision.

But by donning the raiment of quantitative methods, with the implication of rigor and precision that this creates, the generic "Standards" cannot escape, indeed invite, being taken absolutely literally, and call upon themselves a strict construction. Thus, the criticisms made here are appropriate.

In summary, we have seen what may be taken to be the librarian profession's answer to the question raised in an early stage of this analysis, "How much?" It is in numerical form, and there are only two ways by which it could have been derived; ad hoc, or through calculation. Narrowing further, if we are to understand calculation, then there are only two calculation processes that could have been used, one an input/output equation, the other an input trend line. But the measures--measures of output--necessary for the first process are simply not extant. Therefore, we are forced to conclude that it was the other, input. That, in fact, does appear to have been the case. But here the data are not extant. What looks like data, indeed might even be data for

other purposes, are in disarray, a jumble of disparate and unlinkable pieces. The very literature itself is full of third party warnings about the data, and some of the data even carry cautionary messages from their own compilers. The 6 percent figure cannot have been derived in the manner by which the "Standards" would have us believe. And yet it could have come from nowhere else that merits being taken seriously. What the "Standards" offer is (as the recent phrase goes) "voodoo economics."

Placed in the context of the research questions of this analysis, if the stuff to answer "How much" is not there, that alone answers "Can we know" as well, quite independent of Chapters I through VI of this analysis.

NOTES TO APPENDIX

1. Since this was written, the new version has been approved and issued--ACRL, "Standards for College Libraries, 1986," College and Research Libraries News 47 (1986) 189-200. Since this new and latest version is nonetheless the intellectual heir and offspring of the 1975 version, the analysis presented here is still timely and significant. If the new version is importantly changed and/or improved substantively from its predecessor, such does not seem to have been made the subject of discussion either accompanying publication of the revision itself, or in related literature.
2. Or, to borrow the wording of the title of George Lawrence and Allan Service, eds., Quantitative Approaches to Higher Education Management, AAHE-ERIC/Higher Education Research Report No. 4, Washington: American Association for Higher Education, 1977.
3. As in Wildavsky's The Politics of the Budgetary Process, 3rd ed., Boston: Little, Brown, 1979. See also the discussion in J. Carruthers and Melvin Orwig, Budgeting in Higher Education, AAHE-ERIC/Higher Education Research Report No. 3, Washington: American Association for Higher Education, 1979, pages 22-23 and 35-39.
4. Outputs in higher education, and the derivative procedures that would by definition have to have output numbers in order to go forward, such as "cost/benefit analysis," are at once a problematic matter and a persistent part of the organization mythology of higher education. Like others, they live on tenaciously even though they carry their own contradiction with them. Consider the case of the four volume treatise by Carl Adams and others, A Study of Cost Analysis in Higher Education, Washington: American Council on Education, 1978. This was the product of a study conducted by the Council as a result of the major controversy over the recommendation in the earlier report of the National Commission on Financing Postsecondary Education, in 1973, for the determination of "unit costs"--that is, output related instructional costs--in higher education (Financing Postsecondary Education in the United States, Washington: GPO, 1973). On page 127 of volume 1 of the treatise, the authors owned up that

much has been said in this monograph and elsewhere about the need to make progress in measuring the outputs of higher education. To date much of the work identifies measures as surrogates for outcome measures ... our contact with outcome literature has been peripheral....

It could scarcely have been otherwise; for Morris Hamburg and others put things into the larger system context, although they tended to talk around the issue, when they confessed to the problematic nature of higher education institution outputs in general (Library Planning and Decision-Making Systems, Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1981,

at 65-66). Also at this level, Donald Verry and Bleddyn Davies commented on how

the hiatus between conceptually desirable measures and those actually adapted for ... empirical work is striking in some cases.... The problem of output measurement is ... not unique to higher education. There are many activities, particularly, but not exclusively, in what might be broadly regarded as the services sector of the economy, where there is as yet no clear agreement on the nature of the output let alone its measurement (University Costs and Outputs, Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1976, page 9).

5. Mary Jo Lynch, Sources of Library Statistics 1972-1982, Chicago: American Library Association, 1983, page 5. Lynch's assessment disagrees with that of such authors as F. Lancaster (The Measurement and Evaluation of Library Services, Washington: Information Resources Press, 1977) and Donald King and Edward Bryant (The Evaluation of Information Services (Washington: Information Resources Press, 1971) among others. But close examination of such works reveals that the difference is that they do not confine their assessments to higher education library operation programs. Here, again is the issue--call it the "commons" or "library science" issue--which we have seen to plague the entire librarian literature, which requires that we approach their assessments with caution. Indeed, close examination discovers that many of the output "measurement and evaluation" examples such authors give have to do, not with the delivery of college education, but rather with such things as narrowly bounded and convergent literature searches and/or document delivery for professionals in firms, e.g., corporate engineers. Another reason to approach with caution is that, overlaid upon the previous one, this literature has a tendency to atomize notions of output, even when dealing with an "academic" library setting. Thus there may very well be a place for knowing (say) whether persons who used the Yale card catalog were better served by author or title entries. But there is no grand or unified theory of output, from which to descend in level to such piecemeal particularism, or to which to return with the results in a developmental way.

Thus, Lynch's view is the more persuasive. Her carefully worded and reserved summation comes later in time than the treatises with the disagreeing view. And her's is not merely ex cathedra, as her position of Director of Research of the Association of College and Research Libraries makes it reasonable to believe that she knew the state of the art. Accord, Susan Lee, "A Modest Management Approach," in William Miller and D. Rockwood, eds., College Librarianship, Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1981, pages 65-78.

The conceptualization of library output has formidable problems. Thomas Waldhart and Thomas Marcum ingenuously observed that, all things considered, "the most appropriate measure of output for

libraries seems to be the number of units produced" ("Productivity Measurement in Academic Libraries," in Melvin Voight and Michael Harris, eds., Advances in Librarianship, New York: Academic Press, 1976, vol. 6, pages 53-78, at 66). Yes, but units of what? As we read on in the literature it becomes quite clear that what "output" means to most writers is all about internal library operational routines. Waldhart and Marcum's "hypothetical example" had to do with book cataloging, the numbers of books processed. Educational effects as outputs are simply not part of this conceptual scheme. While the topic of output/productivity is an impossibly large and involved one for resolution here, a couple of observations might be in order. First, it seems that most of those who speak with the most misplaced confidence and assurance about outputs in (or of) higher education are either economists or at least persons operating not far from economists models and assumptions. And yet it is a matter for philosophical dispute whether economic or quasi economic output is an output of higher education institutions that matters. Second, there is a general tendency to think of library operation program as somehow disassociated from education output. Ironically, the direction pointed in by this analysis suggests that may very well be true.

6. ACRL, "Standards for College Libraries," College and Research Libraries News 36 (1975) 277-301, at 298.
7. See, for instance, the recap by Carl Milam, "Suggestions for Minimum College Library Standards," in College and Reference Library Yearbook Number Two, Chicago: American Library Association, 1930, pages 90-94.
8. The "Standards" as a whole also have some notable peculiarities. This matter was touched upon in Note 39 of Chapter IV, where it was remarked that the "Standards" employed an odd drafting format, in which such central and crucial matters as staffing numbers were not merely seemingly misplaced from the staffing "standard" into the budget "standard," but, what is more, placed into the commentary to that "standard." Such location makes it, in the quasilegislativ drafting format of the document, not part of the "standard" itself, but instead, part of the res gestae. The same is true of the 6 percent figure itself. Technically, then, by virtue of its placement outside the "shall" or imperative language of the statements denominated "standards," it could reasonably be said that it is not a "standard" at all, despite its wide designation and reference across both the higher education literature and the librarian literature as such; see the comments of Carpenter, and of Miller, below in this Appendix.
9. ACRL, "Standards," pages 277, 298, 277.
10. William Baumol and Mityahu Marcus, Economics of Academic Libraries, Washington: American Council on Education, 1973, pages 64, 68.

11. Sandy Whiteley, "Sources of Statistics on Academic Libraries," College and Research Libraries News 44 (1983) 224-225.
12. Lynch, Sources of Library Statistics 1972-1982.
13. Lynch, Sources, page 7.
14. Lynch, Sources, page 6. Lynch's temporal scope is wider than her titles indicates, so that in lieu of discussion here, reference is made to her account of the evolution of the gathering and compiling of library statistics, especially the serial sets, and of the various players along the way. There is also a considerable literature about library statistics, covered by Lynch and the works she cites. The accuracy of library statistics has a long history of sharp criticism. The present discussion is concerned with the financial component of the library statistics array, but it is interesting that other measures in the array are so frequently assailed. Eli Oboler attacked collection holdings counts and related matters ("The Accuracy of Federal Library Statistics," College and Research Libraries 25 (1964) 494-496) for lack of comparability and for inaccuracy. Economist Fritz Machlup expressed astonishment and reproach over the same deficiencies (Fritz Machlup, Kenneth Leeson, and others, Information Through The Printed Word, New York: Praeger Publishers, 1978, 3 vols., vol. 3, "Libraries"; and "Our Libraries: Can We Measure Their Holdings and Acquisitions?" AAUP Bulletin 62 (1976) 303-307). In accord Arthur Hamlin, who noted but yet seemed unconcerned over his using of them, the unreliability of the figures. He sounded

a word of warning about the statistical tables. Data on size of libraries, their budgets, and other essential information varies enormously (The University Library in the United States: Its Origins and Development, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981, page xi).

Hamlin gave examples of categories of data in which such unreliability occurs.

One discontinuity affecting comparability of data across time that seems to have escaped wide notice occurs in the federal series. Compilers Bronson Price and Doris Holladay commented that

with regard to the library expenditure index, it is important to note that the 1968-69 E & G figures used as denominators were frequently lower than they should have been to be comparable with the data for previous years. This discrepancy happened because, as of 1968-69, the E & G category was redefined in accordance with recommendations of the National Association of College and University Business Officers. Of the changes made, the one of most importance in connection with library statistics was the deletion of federally sponsored organized research

from the new E & G category. In anticipation of the problem, the library questionnaire asked respondents to include organized research in the E & G figure reported for library purposes, since the libraries usually provide service to all organized research of their institutions. Also, in the hope of maintaining comparability with the 1967-68 data, the E & G figures reported on the library questionnaire were edited to include all organized research where there was indication that expenditures for federally funded organized research had been omitted. The attempt to maintain comparability did not succeed, however, and as a result the E & G figures used in this report were too low--and therefore the mean library expenditure figure of 4.3 percent is too high--for comparability with the data of previous years. The tables herein nevertheless include the data obtained regarding the library expenditure indexes for 1968-69, because the figures are useful for comparing groups of institutions within that year, even though the data are not comparable with those in previous years (U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Library Statistics of Colleges and Universities: Fall 1969 Analytic Report, Washington: GPO, 1971, DHEW Publication No. 72-24).

And this seems to be not the only such "adjustment." Seemingly independent of government statistical programs is another particular series, for which George Piternick issued another warning: "ARL Statistics--Handle With Care," College and Research Libraries 38 (1977) 419-423.

And the National Advisory Commission on Libraries, in the "Resource Book" with which it supplemented its final report to the president, complained that

there were those who expected the National Advisory Commission ... to develop specific dollars-and-cents recommendations.... Such an expectation was unrealistic, for it turned out to be impossible even to identify with any accuracy the costs of current services. This is due largely to the inadequacy of library statistics--their lack of comparability and questionable bases. Improvement in this situation and the encouragement of sophisticated research are very much a part of the job ahead (Douglas Knight and E. Nourse, eds., Libraries at Large: The Resource Book Based on the Materials of the National Advisory Commission on Libraries, New York: R. R. Bowker Co., 1969, page 168).

Nor do more recent statistical compilations seem to get better, despite the National Advisory Commission's call. The ACRL, whose college "Standards" are under scrutiny here, undertook a one time project:

In order to obtain data on non-ARL university libraries, the ACRL Board financed a pilot study to gather comparable data from the 103 university libraries not covered in the ARL Statistics for the year 1978-79. The resulting ACRL Statistics is compiled from the data submitted by ninety-eight of 103 libraries.

But the best that Julie Virgo could say for these numbers (whose possible relationship with other data, such as the NCES survey is--except for borrowed enrollment and Ph.D. fields--never dealt with) was that, "paraphrasing from the Introduction to the most recent ARL Statistics, 'the [ACRL] Statistics are weakest when used to compare one institution with another, for several reasons,'" which she later termed "discrepancies," and enumerated (Introduction, Julie Virgo and others, comps., ACRL University Library Statistics 1978-1979, Chicago: ACRL, 1980, page 1).

15. See Ruth Frame, "Plans for a Nationwide System of Library Statistics," Bowker Annual of Library and Book Trade Information 1973, pages 138-142; Boyd Ladd and Frank Schick, "The Emerging U.S. Library Statistics System," Bowker Annual 1974, pages 219-233; Barbara Slanker, "Developing LIBGIS With State Participation," Bowker Annual 1974, pages 235-238; Robert Frase, "Library Statistics Operations Handbook," Bowker Annual 1974, pages 228-231; Theodore Samore, "College and University Library Statistics," Bowker Annual 1974, pages 256-260; Ruth Boaz, "U.S. Office of Education Planning for Library Statistics in the 1970s," Bowker Annual 1971, pages 5-7; Dorothy Gilford and Frank Schick, "Statistics of Libraries for the 1970s," Bowker Annual 1972, pages 133-137.

As a consequence, Stella Bentley said that "it is important to consider whether the NCES data reveal any information which can be used in a statistically meaningful way to compare and evaluate academic libraries." Her conclusion was that "the analysis undertaken in this study indicates that in fact very little information which is useful in evaluating or comparing libraries is being gathered and disseminated by NCES" ("Academic Library Statistics: A Search for a Meaningful Evaluative Tool," Library Research 1 (1979) 143-152.

16. Samore ("College and University Library Statistics") confessed that this was a problem when he cautioned that a particular statistic was off because "a good many academic libraries" simply disregarded new instructions for reporting: "Hence, the large fluctuations in periodical titles are due almost solely to changes in how institutions reported data" (page 260).
17. National Association of College and University Business Officers, College and University Business Administration, 3rd ed., Washington: NACUBO, 1974, page x.

18. National Committee on the Preparation of a Manual on College and University Business Administration, College and University Business Administration, Washington: American Council on Education, 1952 (vol. 1), 1955 (vol. 2).
19. National Federation of College and University Business Officers Associations, A Study of Income and Expenditures in Sixty Colleges-1953-1954, n.p.,. 1955?, pages 3-4.
20. Homer Still, in John Swanson, Wesley Arden, and Homer Still, Financial Analysis of Current Operations of Colleges and Universities, Ann Arbor: Institute of Public Administration, 1966.
21. This, of course, is not to say that federal data gathering traveled hand-in-hand with federal funding. It is much older, going back into the 19th century.
22. ACRL, "Standards," 1975, page 278, footnote.
23. Richard Beazley, Library Statistics of Colleges and Universities, 1977 Institutional Data, Terre Haute, IN: Indiana State University Dept. of Library Science, 1980. This volume, produced under peculiar circumstances, carries the note "This report was prepared by the National Center for Educational Statistics, U.S. Department of Education, Washington, D.C."
24. See Henry Grunder, "Letters," College and Research Libraries 46 (1985) 81-83.
25. Roy Carpenter, "College Libraries: A Comparative Analysis in Terms of the ACRL Standards," College and Research Libraries 42 (1981) 7-18.
26. Grunder, "Letters."
27. NCES, Library Statistics of Colleges and Universities. Data for Institutions. Fall 1967, Washington: GPO, 1969 (OE15023-67).
28. George Works, College and University Library Problems: A Study of a Selected Group of Institutions Prepared for the Association of American Universities, Chicago: American Library Association, 1927.
29. George Rosenloff, Library Facilities of Teacher-Training Institutions, New York: Columbia University, Teachers College, 1929.
30. William Randall, The College Library: A Descriptive Study of the Libraries in Four-Year Liberal Arts College in the United States. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932. For others see Walter Eells, Surveys of American Higher Education, New York: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1937; Whiteley, "Sources"; and Lynch, Sources.

31. Notwithstanding, this limitation seems not to have bothered economists Baumol and Marcus who, in their descriptive Economics of Academic Libraries acted as though their arbitrary cross sectional "sample" of institutions (using the NCES data)--"almost 80 percent of all institutions falling in this category," as they cheerily put it--was beyond question, generalizable. But they also expressed unquestioning faith in the NCES data at large. They also seem to have proceeded from a Q.E.D. acceptance of the College Library Doctrine, along with other such assumptions, as "adequacy." They also used, without comment, it ought to be commented, the "ARL statistics," and their faith in these should be compared with Piternick's "ARL Statistics--Handle With Care."

There is no dearth of such "sample" studies. For example, see David Eyman, "Library Budgets in the Independent Liberal Arts College," Liberal Education 65 (1979) 371-382, where this author says he surveyed the literature of "the 5% norm." This is the ancestor of the 6 percent figure of the 1975 "Standards," before it was inflated, which will be taken up again below.

32. National Federation of College and University Business Officers Associations, A Study of Income, page 5.
33. Grunder, "Letters." Subsequent to publication of "Letter," someone pointed out that such a calculation might actually be valid and have a use. But that is not the point: We are talking about comparability across the time, and the same data series did it differently, both before and after, this period.
34. ACRL, "Standards," 1975, page 298.
35. College and University Business Administration, page 186, §5.2; emphasis supplied.

The National Advisory Commission on Libraries (1969) seems to have gotten similarly confused over the definition of "capital" costs: "In discussing library costs it is convenient to break them down into two major categories: capital (construction) costs and operating costs" (Libraries at Large, page 170; emphasis supplied). Perhaps that was because they were dealing with libraries of all types, the population of "library science," while the rule as codified by NACUBO applies, obviously, only to higher education institutions. They did hedge their bets later on, by remarking about "book purchases (which might for some purposes also be interpreted as a capital expenditure)" but never took notice of the potential for statistical chaos in shifting definitions around willy-nilly. The National Advisory Commission (its contractor, actually, whose principal investigator was economist William Baumol) tried to construct a short time series (1959-60 to 1966) tabular summary of "college and university statistics," in which Item 17 was the familiar expenditure ratio, using the Office of Education (later NCES) data; see its Table 5A-4, pages 178-179. As they calculated

it, the ratio ranged between 3.0 and 3.3 percent for all institutions and types covered.

36. NACUBO, College and University Business Administration, page 187; emphasis supplied.
37. ACRL, "Standards," 1975, page 299. The questionnaire sent out for the ACRL University Library Statistics 1978-1979, in its Note 12, even further confused things. It asked that respondents "exclude expenditures for buildings"--certainly an expenditure usually defined as "capital," and that may be what the "Standards" was trying to say--and also for "maintenance," although that is clearly usually an E & G account item, too; but then it asked as well that personnel "fringe benefits" be excluded. This would be to single out one isolated piece of the personnel compensation expenditure object classification, albeit not the largest or most significant one. Is this not one more example of the great confusion and unclarity of basic thought in the accounting and economic material that is supposed to support such products as time series calculations?

Actually, the impulse toward the exclusion of such things as buildings and grounds weaves in and out of the literature historically; see, for instance, Milam, "Suggestions," page 91.

38. The ACRL drafting committee for the 1975 "Standards" prepared and entered into the ERIC data base six documents it identified as its "working papers." These are

Working Papers Prepared by the Subcommittee to Revise the 1959 Standards for College Libraries, Chicago: ACRL, 1974, 4 pp. ERIC ED 121 344.

Toward a 1975 Revision of the College Library Standards: Final Working Paper, Prepared by the Ad Hoc Committee to Revise the 1959 Standards for College Libraries, Chicago: ACRL, 1974, 8pp. ERIC ED 121 345.

Kaser, David, Foreign Standards for College Libraries. Working Paper, ACRL Ad Hoc Committee to Revise the 1959 Standards for College Libraries, Chicago: ACRL, 1974, 6 pp. ERIC ED 121 346.

Monke, Arthur, Academic Libraries Into the Eighties, Working Paper, ACRL Ad Hoc Committee to Revise the 1959 Standards for College Libraries, Chicago: ACRL, 1974, 9 pp. ERIC ED 121 347.

Perkins, David, Possible Model Based on the Carnegie Commission Groupings. Working Paper, ACRL Ad Hoc Committee to Revise the 1959 Standards for College Libraries, Chicago: ACRL, 1974, 17 pp. ERIC ED 121 348.

Pirie, James, Typology of Institutions of Higher Education. Working Paper, ACRL Ad Hoc Committee to Revise the 1959 Standards for College Libraries, Chicago: ACRL, 1974, 17 pp. ERIC ED 121 349.

Beyond these, the matter of "working papers" gets murky. In the document "Toward a 1975 Revision" (second in the above listing) we find this:

Plan. It is planned that the 1975 Standards will comprise a numbered series of brief, direct statements, each of which will address a single requirement believed by the Committee to be essential to effective college library service. These brief Standards will be supported by logical argument to three depths: (1) succinct summary explanations of the bases for the Standards; (2) "working papers" developed for the Committee and minutes of its deliberations; and (3) the open literature of the profession. Argument representing the first depth will be appended or subscripted to the Standards themselves; documents representing the second depth may be obtained upon request from ACRL headquarters; ... (emphasis supplied).

Leaving aside the issue of whether something more than the Committees's "beliefs" might be required, something like hard evidence in support of "logical argument," an inquiry to the ACRL headquarters in Chicago for the promised "documents representing the second depth," to wit, "minutes of deliberations," was responded to with a bundle of photocopies of memos and trivia, whose two main categories seem to be travel and luncheon arrangements (and expense reimbursement concerns), and letters from practicing librarians airing their "beliefs" and opinions. No "minutes," no record of either substantive or procedural deliberations on such matters as the new way of approaching "capital expenditures," or the escalation of the expenditure ratio from 5 to 6 percent, is to be found; no envelope backs, no cocktail napkins bearing the equivalent of the Laffer Curve, no forgotten archival audio tapes, nothing. The trail of "support" peters out. To make the record complete, those interested in comparing the 1975 "Standards" with its predecessor document, the citation for the latter is "Standards for College Libraries," College and Research Libraries 20 (1959) 274-280. This document, in a narrative rather than quasilegislative format, should be read in concert with the editorial preceding it, "The Preparation of the Standards for College Libraries," in which the editor commented that the drafting committee "consulted" with, among others, "more than thirty outstanding college presidents [Query: was it the presidents who were outstanding, or their colleges?]." He also commented that the Committee's chairman had earlier written that "the committee's aim was to provide flexible standards." It should be read also with the chairman's (Felix Hirsch) article cited in the editorial,

"Facing the Future: On the Way to New College Library Standards," College and Research Libraries 19 (1958) 197-200, 262, in which he spoke cryptically of "an analysis of the annual statistics published in CRL," which is yet another time series, whose wholesomeness, too, has been accepted rather than investigated (see Whiteley, and Lynch), and warned that unless "standards" were arrived at and implemented soon, not "any real learning [can] be accomplished" (page 197).

Finally, Eyman ("Library Budgets"), used the term "norm" with reference to the generic "Standards," as have also many others. That is the way in which the analysis in this Appendix has interpreted what everyone has intended. However, in his prefatory remarks to one installment of the "CRL statistics," G. Purdy pugnaciously remonstrated that

the statistics annually compiled and presented on these pages have long been subjected to criticism which has varied widely in accuracy and in relevance to the purposes for which the tables are compiled and published. The most frequent criticism has been to the effect that the libraries listed are not typical and hence that the tables permit no generalization. This criticism, I submit, is partly true but almost wholly irrelevant. The primary purpose of the tables, although never to my knowledge officially defined, has always been to raise standards, not to describe typical practice. The medians and the data reported by individual libraries serve an invaluable purpose as perhaps the most defensible "standards" available, based upon creditable practice. They are not "norms." They never were intended to be ("College and University Library Statistics," ALA Bulletin 36 (1942) 112 ff.)

And so, it seems, we are right back looking at "organization propaganda," an analytical principle of this policy analysis, does it not?

39. See Milam, "Suggestions for Minimum College Library Standards," page 91.
40. Helen Brown, "College Library Standards," in Felix Hirsch, ed., "Standards for Libraries," Library Trends 21 (1972) 204-218.
41. Carpenter, "College Libraries," pages 7, 14.
42. Miller, The Assessment of College Performance, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1980, pages 134-135; emphasis supplied.
43. ACRL, "An Evaluative Checklist," College and Research Libraries 40 (1979) 305-316.

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ABSTRACT

OVERDUE: A POLICY ANALYSIS OF COLLEGE LIBRARY OPERATION PROGRAMS

Henry Dale Grunder, Ed. D.

The College of William and Mary in Virginia, May 1988

Chairman: Professor John R. Thelin

The problem was to identify and assess the policy basis for the universal policy of colleges to have library operation programs. Colleges are higher education institutions whose main business is the delivery of college education, undergraduate instruction, leading to baccalaureate degrees. The conventional wisdom--the explanation of policy basis given in the literature--is a construct here called the College Library Doctrine. According to it, there is a fundamental relationship between the library operation program and the delivery of college education, undergraduate instruction. This relationship is said to be the result of historical process.

The College Library Doctrine was analyzed using a forensic or investigative approach. This approach looked for consistency and/or contradiction, treating the literature as data or evidence.

As a result of the analysis it was found that the same data or evidence supports a quite different explanation of why colleges have library operation programs. This alternative explanation of policy basis has little to do with the delivery of college education, undergraduate instruction. The existence of this quite different alternative explanation raises a serious reasonable doubt over the existence of the fundamental relationship posited by the College Library Doctrine.

The unresolved doubt, along with the recurrence of the college library operation program in the arena of institutional reputation, in topics such as "quality," image, and prestige--through such phenomena as accreditation, ratings, rankings, and media coverage--suggest a policy relocation of the college library operation program from its usual but problematic placement in the broad area of "academic support," to a different venue, "institutional support." Enhancement of institutional reputation is an important part of institutional support. In this relocation there would be a better fit between policy basis and policy; and there, accordingly, the institutional support benefit and potential of the library operation program might be maximized.

The Appendix recalls an early question of the analysis conceptualization and demonstrates that, whether or not the results and conclusions of the analysis itself are accepted, there are decisive flaws in attempts to prescribe college library program resource allocation on the basis of historical data.