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INTERRELATING LIBRARY and BASIC EDUCATION SERVICES for DISADVANTAGED ADULTS:

A Demonstration of Four Alternative Working Models

Appalachian Adult Education Center

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Project No. 2-0810
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The Interrelating of Library and Basic Education Services for Disadvantaged Adults: A Demonstration of Four Alternative Working Models

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U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Office of Education
Bureau of Libraries and Learning Resources
(Higher Education Act, Title II b, Library Demonstration)

Title: **The Interrelating of Library and Basic Education Services for Disadvantaged Adults: A Demonstration of Four Alternative Working Models. Volume II**

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The purpose of Volume II was to outline the theoretical framework and the ecology of the AAEC demonstrations of the interagency linkages of public library and public school services for disadvantaged adults. The following subjects are considered: (1) workable definitions of services, (2) nature of disadvantaged adults and what those characteristics imply about service needs and delivery; (3) influence of geographic location on service needs; (4) goals of educational and library services in sociological and historical terms; (5) goal displacement; (6) differences in organization of public schools and public libraries, including policy setting, library specialization, adult services for the disadvantaged; (7) public school specialization, adult basic education; (8) usefulness of these specializations in terms of numbers of adults served and effects on their lives; (9) permanence of these specializations; (10) needed changes in specializations; (11) service and financial advantages of coordination to the two institutions; (12) differences in the funding patterns of ABE and libraries; (13) self-selection, role expectations, and personalities of professional staff in the two institutions; (14) effects of accreditation on the goals and services of the two institutions; (15) role of professional associations; (16) combined reasons that coordination does not occur spontaneously.

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office of Education

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(Higher Education Act, Title II b, Library Demonstration)

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THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

Successful demonstration projects in the field of education generally are aimed at a pragmatic and searching look at carefully designed innovative techniques for a carefully defined clientele. Occasionally, however, the AAEC finds that the testing of procedures at individual sites is running into successes and failures which are hard to explain based upon its methodology alone. At these times the AAEC turns to an examination of the ecology of the demonstrations, to a look at the larger communities in which its efforts are taking place. A theoretical overview seems necessary if the methodology which has been developed is to be of much use to the professional fields for which it is being designed. Such seemed to be the case in this demonstration of the coordination of public library and public school services to disadvantaged adults.

Consequently, in this year's project studying the coordination between public schools and public libraries of services for disadvantaged adults, the AAEC has studied the following areas, including the kinds of factors in each institution that seem to make large scale coordination advantageous and feasible, and the kinds of factors that hinder coordination. These factors, listed below, form the subject headings of this volume.

SUBJECT HEADINGS

(1) workable definitions of services

(2) the nature of disadvantaged adults and what those characteristics imply about service needs and delivery

(3) the influence of geographic location on service needs

(4) the goals of educational and library services in sociological and historical terms

(5) goal displacement

(6) the differences in organization of public schools and public libraries, including policy-setting

(7) the library specialization: adult services for the disadvantaged

(8) the public school specialization: adult basic education

(9) the usefulness of these specializations to disadvantaged adults and to other adults in terms of numbers served and the effects on their lives

(10) the permanence of these specializations

(11) needed changes in specializations

(12) the service and financial advantages to the two institutions from coordination

(13) the differences in the funding patterns of ABE and libraries

(14) the self-selection, the role expectations, and the personalities of professional staff in the two institutions

(15) the effects of accreditation on the goals and services of the two institutions

(16) the role of professional associations

(17) the combined reasons that coordination does not occur spontaneously

Workable Definitions of Services

AAEC DEFINITIONS

The AAEC has developed working definitions. These definitions have evolved, keeping in mind their usefulness both in theory and in practice, and are not necessarily widely accepted by practitioners in the library and adult education fields. The following are the AAEC working definitions of (1) *adult basic education,* (2) *public library,* and (3) *disadvantaged adults,* including four groupings within the total pool of potential clients.

ADULT BASIC EDUCATION

The AAEC defines adult basic education (ABE) as the educational services (in both academic and coping skills areas) needed by disadvantaged adults to achieve personal self-direction and independence. Although ABE is sometimes allied with vocational training, it addresses itself to facets and responsibilities of adults in addition to their economic functions. In the AAEC view one commonly held assumption—that personal independence and self-direction will result from vocational training alone—is overly simplistic. The AAEC finds that flexibility in the job market and in most other adult responsibilities requires high critical reading and computational skills—at least a 10.5 grade level on several nationally normed tests, the level also required to pass the GED or high school equivalency examination comfortably. Also, in addition to basic skills, the AAEC believes that usable ABE (in terms of encouraging upward mobility) includes coping skills content and materials to help the adult meet daily life problems.

PUBLIC LIBRARY

Through this study, the AAEC has come to a working definition of the public library as a service agency offering life survival skill information (including, but not limited to, use of leisure time). For this clientele, information can and should come in other forms in addition to print, including personal contact. The AAEC has not found a library building to be a necessity in extending library services to disadvantaged adults (indeed, sometimes it seems to be a limitation.). Provision of information is seen as one educational function, and the public library, therefore, as an education institution.

The Nature of Disadvantaged Adults and What Those Characteristics Imply about Service Needs

DISADVANTAGED ADULTS

Whenever one starts identifying or characterizing a group of people, terminology becomes a problem. Individual older persons, for example, seldom relish terms such as *old, elderly, aged, or senior citizen.* Many people, including the disadvantaged, don't like the term *disadvantaged,* and neither does the AAEC, but for lack of a better one it will be used in

this report to identify that large number of people who have certain common problems.

The AAEC defines disadvantaged adults simply as those over sixteen years of age, who are (1) out of school, with less than a high school diploma, and/or (2) with a family income below a poverty index.

THE USERS: FOUR GROUPS

Based upon seven years of intensive observation, the AAEC believes it has isolated four service groups within the at least fifty-seven million adults in the United States with less than a high school education. These groups are based upon individual characteristics, since members of different groups are often found in the same family. Individuals fluctuate between groups, usually moving from Group IV toward Group I.

GROUP I: SECURE, SELF-DIRECTED

Group I includes those individuals who are economically and personally secure and believe there is a beneficial return from involvement in education, library, and other services. This group is relatively easy to reach, to teach, and to serve. They can be recruited through the media—television, radio, and print such as newspapers, posters, and brochures. They can profit from group services such as lectures and class instruction, although their efficiency in learning may be greater from individualized instruction or service. Because they can be recruited and served in groups, they are economical to serve. Among disadvantaged adults, almost all library card holders are found in Group I.

GROUP II: TIME PROBLEMS

Group II includes those who have suffered some discomfort from undereducation, such as continuous underemployment or being unable to help their children with school work. This group is also relatively easy to reach and to serve. They are our star performers—showing large, quick achievement gains and/or dramatic changes in economic levels and life styles as the result of instruction and/or new information sources. They are also an important group to serve—the 1970 census shows that thirty-seven percent of those men who were actually employed had less than a high school diploma, yet they accounted for sixty-six percent of those with an annual income of less than $3,000. But Group II is second lowest among the four groups on an index of need. The chief adjustment needed in services for this group seems to be a time adjustment. This is the group that has swing shift, overtime, seasonal work, and large families. Any service which has rigid hours is virtually unusable to them. Daytime and weekday—only library and bookmobile hours conflict with work schedules. ABE classes held three hours twice a week will need to be missed too often because of work and family responsibilities to be profitable.

GROUP III: ONE-TO-ONE

Group III includes those who are a long way from mastery in terms of both (1) the critical reading and advanced computational skills required for high school equivalency, and (2) a living wage. If they have been employed, it has been sporadically, in low-paying, dead-end, and short-term jobs. However, they still believe there is a return to be had from involvement with public services.

The outstanding service need of Group III persons is for individualization. The AAEC studies have shown unequivocably that this group can be reached only through one-to-one recruitment (either door-to-door or agency referrals) and one-to-one services. In terms of

recruitment, however, it has been found that well-designed media campaigns do lend credibility to personal recruiters.

GROUP IV: THE STATIONARY POOR

Group IV is the smallest group, yet highest in priority on a need index. This group is often referred to as the "hard core." The AAEC prefers the more descriptive term "stationary poor." This group is so fatalistic that they do not believe that they can have any control over their own futures. Thinking it the only kind thing to do, they often exhort their children not to hope, or set a model of not hoping—thereby perpetuating the cycle of poverty. They are unemployed and unemployable.

HOME SERVICES

A review of literature concerning the delivery of health services, of food stamps, of services to the aged poor and to preschool, of library services and of ABE shows that almost all writers have come to the same conclusion: Group IV can only be served in their homes, at least initially. They use what little energy is available to them on survival, not on what they appear to consider futile attempts at changing the *status quo*. Yet AAEC studies have shown that individuals from this group can go from non-reader through high school completion in four years when approached through the proper delivery system—home instruction. Also, their children tend to do better in school when their parents read and study in their presence, i.e., when their parents act as models. They also will read library materials when approached on their own territory. This may mean a bookmobile librarian knocking on the door, however, rather than parking in the yard or down the road and waiting.

GROUPS III AND IV: SAMENESSES

Groups III and IV share several characteristics and service needs in common:

PEOPLE-ORIENTED

(1) Both Group III and Group IV tend to be people-oriented. Although, as Paolo Friere, the Brazilian philosopher of literacy movements, points out, they tend to accept the negative view of themselves held by the greater society, they do not accept the premises upon which that view is based. They tend not to hold a technicist world view in which individuals act as mechanisms or cogs within institutions or social machines. Therefore, service personnel seem to be more successful who represent themselves to members of these groups as individuals with names rather than as functionaries speaking for an institution.

FAR FROM MASTERY

(2) Because they are so far from mastery, members of both groups need clearly articulated subgoals towards which they can work in addition to the major goals of the elimination of poverty and the development of high level skills.

PROBLEMS ARE NOT SEEN AS INFORMATION NEEDS

(3) They are less likely to interpret their problems as information needs. Even when they do, they are less active in seeking answers than other adults.[2] Tom Childers refers to those times when members of Groups III and IV are more inclined to respond to information as *kinetic* situations rather than *potential* situations. *Kinetic* situations may be either *crisis* (Where can I get food for this weekend?) or *non-crisis* (Where is the nearest reading program?). *Potential* knowledge needs include such matters as disease prevention (How can I avoid contracting VD?) which require a

[2] Thomas Childers, *Knowledge/Information Needs of the Disadvantaged* (Final Report to the U.S. Office of Education, Bureau of Libraries and Learning Resources. October, 1973) p. 25.

future-time orientation often said to be lacking among the disadvantaged.[3] Furthermore, Groups III and IV are much more inclined than other adult to rely exclusively on informal information channels (family, friends, and neighbors) and therefore upon their ears for information. Non-print, since it employs the ears, is an easier step to use of impersonal, i.e., non-human information (which is hopefully more accurate, complete, and objective).

INFORMAL CHANNELS

(4) While they use mass media for recreation, they are less inclined than Groups I and II to use it for information as well. The delivery of media to these groups without human back-up has been found to be ineffective. Handing over even print such as books or pamphlets without pointing out headings and content is likewise ineffective.

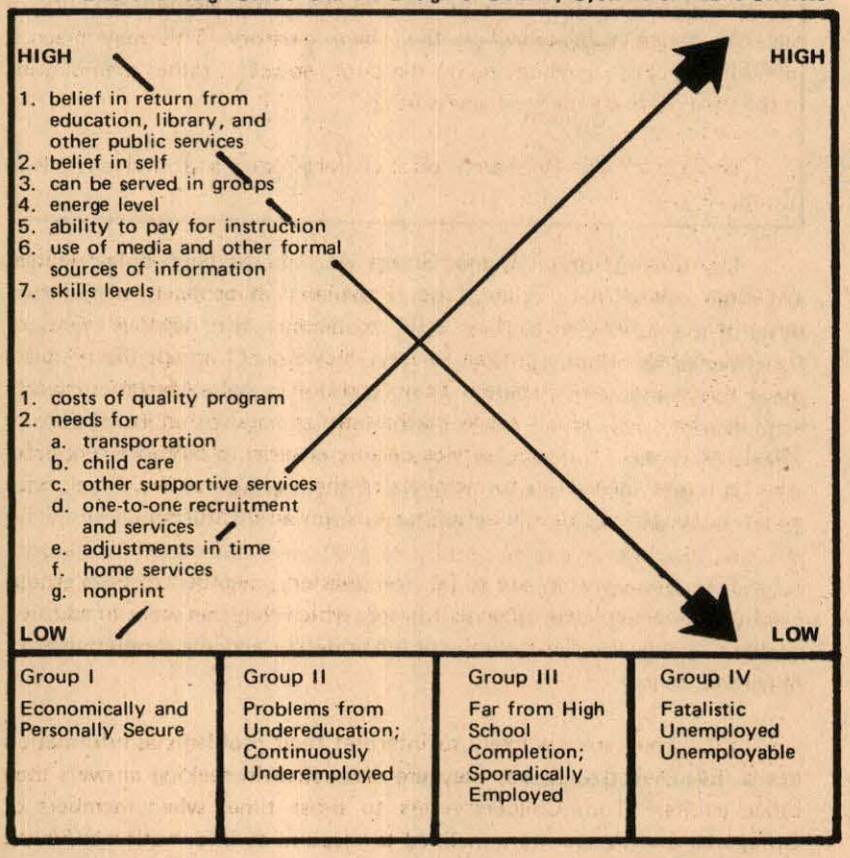
MASS MEDIA USED FOR RECREATION

The main differences between Groups III and IV are (1) where they can be served, and (2) their degree of fatalism and giving up.

GROUPS III AND IV: DIFFERENCES

Figure 1

Relationship Between Individual Characteristics of Adults with Less Than High School and the Design of Delivery Systems of Public Services



SUMMARY OF FOUR GROUPS

Figure 1 summarizes the four groups. It will be noticed that Group I is high in belief in themselves and a return from public services, are relatively easy to recruit, can be served in groups, have higher levels of academic skills and therefore can handle more difficult reading matter,

[3]Childers, *op.cit.* pp. 21-22.

rely more heavily on media and other formal information sources, and probably could afford to buy information and services, although this is not presently demanded of them. These characteristics decline with the group.

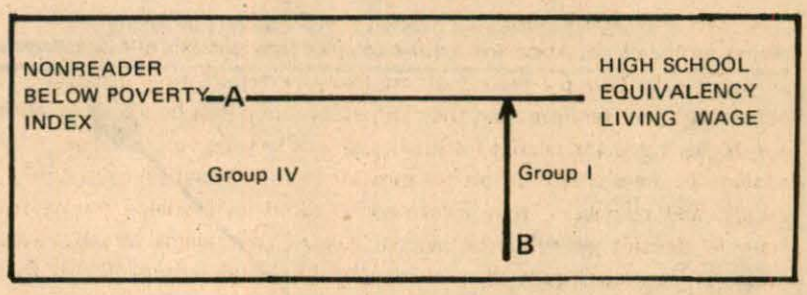
Group IV is high in needs for transportation, child care, other supportive services such as counseling and referral to other agencies, adjustments in time, one-to-one services, and home delivery of services. They are, therefore, relatively expensive to serve. These needs decline directly with the group. Group I has minimal supportive needs.

Figure 2 demonstrates that in allocating available monies to serve all four groups, the *quantity* of money spent on individuals must vary in order to provide an equal *quality* of service to all potential patrons.

Figure 2

FISCAL CONSIDERATIONS

Differentiated Costs in Providing the Same Quality of Services to Different Groups



The bulk of disadvantaged adults who approach proferred library and ABE services have skills at about the level of arrow B, higher than those of the nonreader, but less than, although close to, what is necessary for effective functioning in society. They are from Groups I and II. Their speed of achievement is faster than the speed of those who start at the left hand side of arrow A—nonreaders with poor coping skills. Their need for a variety of services is less, and they are in need of services for a shorter time. A much needed change in service institutions involves serving those at arrow B and above—those whose needs are less—as economically as possible, to conserve a large portion of available monies to offer the same quality of services to those at the left end of arrow A, or those whose needs are greatest. This is a radical departure from the common current practice of allocating or dividing available dollars strictly by the numbers of persons served.

The Influence of Geographic Location of Service Needs

GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION

In addition to studying individual characteristics and their influence on delivery system needs, the AAEC has studied the impact of geographic location on (1) people's needs, and (2) the possible kinds of responses to those needs.[4] The two rural locations, Floyd County in eastern Kentucky, and the rural parts of Cabell, Wayne, and Putnam Counties near

[4]Ann P. Hayes and Anne Shelby, *Library/Information Service Needs of the Geographically Remote.* A paper prepared for the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science. (Morehead, Kentucky: Appalachian Adult Education Center, Morehead State University, May, 1973).

Huntington, West Virginia, are both in Appalachia. The urban sites, Birmingham, Alabama, and Columbia, South Carolina, are in states which contain Appalachian counties.

DISTANCE RAISES COST

As past AAEC studies have indicated, both library and adult education services were found to be more expensive to deliver to isolated areas in both total and per capita cost. This was true whether that isolation was one of sheer distance from an urban area, or the result of rugged topography and bad roads, as in Appalachia. Studies by the Systems Development Corporation and by the AAEC estimate that the same service that costs $5.00 to deliver in an urban area costs $15.00 in a rural one—three times as much.[5] Reaching even an energetic self-generating Group I individual in an isolated area such as Appalachia, is more expensive than reaching a person with the same characteristics in an urban area, simply because of the distance that service has to travel, which limits the number of people one service dollar covers.

A TEAM: INFORMATION FINDER AND INFORMATION COMMUNICATOR

There is a problem beyond distance and bad roads, however. Physical isolation from sources of information has been found to result in a lack of facility in using information.[6] This lack of facility often results in a lack of belief in information—particularly in print—as a viable means for solving problems. In Appalachia, for example, although all four groups can be found, even Group I individuals are likely to require more personalized recruitment and services than their urban counterparts, hence, to require even higher costs for salaries for quality service in areas where the tax base is lower. In areas where people get most of their information from family, friends, and neighbors, new information—about an available service for example—doesn't get into the system easily. That seems to require an insider or communicator, often a member of the subculture. Either that communicator or a separate, often professional, information finder can locate information from "the outside" and pass it on. The key seems to be that the communicator be an insider. This can encourage a team approach, in which a paraprofessional (1) isolates individual information needs, (2) feeds them to the librarian, who (3) locates the information which (4) the paraprofessional then interprets to the patron. This need not—indeed, should not—be a lengthy process.

MASS MEDIA USED FOR RECREATION

Rural peoples often act like Groups III and IV in that they seem to use media, not for getting information, but rather for recreation. The media apparently is too impersonal, too "outside" to relate to the individual's life; for example, both the media's images of life outside Appalachia and the all-too-frequent stereotypes of life in Appalachia increase the actual geographic distance, discouraging Appalachians from thinking of the media as a source of information applicable to their lives.

Thomas Childers' comment on the use of information by the urban disadvantaged is true of the Appalachian, also:

CHILDER'S INFORMATION GHETTO

> . . . they are often locked into their own subculture. This removes them from the flow of popular information that exists in society at large. In effect they live in an information ghetto. Their information universe is a closed system,

[5] Reported at meeting at the National Reading Center, April 27, 1972.

[6] Henry W. Lamb, *The Broadcast Media—An Untapped Resource in Appalachia, North Carolina* (Raleigh, N.C.: Report of the State Planning Task Force, 1969).

harboring an inordinate amount of unawareness and misinformation (myth, rumor, folklore). While they do have informational contacts with the rest of society, these contacts are very often one-way information flows, via the mass media from the greater society. It can be expected, where the cultural uniqueness of the group is substantial, that the imported one-way communication runs the risk of being irrelevant or wrongly interpreted. Even more specifically, reliance on television as the primary mass medium—a one-way channel emphasizing entertainment rather than information—may result in an information void. While the group may be very rich in certain kinds of internally generated information, it is deficient in the information shared by the larger society.[7]

PROBLEMS OF RURAL AREAS

Rural areas, too, seem to be particularly laden with local constraints that hinder social change.

UNRESPONSIVENESS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

(1) Local commitments to serving the isolated and the disadvantaged may be weak. Many of those who hold decision-making power in rural areas are able to maintain that power because the people are scattered, unaware of their rights, and conditioned to believe that accepting help is an admission of failure and a disgrace. Local decision-makers are unlikely to encourage changes that alter the nature of their constituency.

SMALL COLLECTIONS, SHORT HOURS

(2) Most rural libraries have small collections, and those collections consist almost entirely of books. While most areas have some kind of library service, forty-three percent of Appalachian libraries fall below the American Library Association minimum standards for the size of collections by population size. Also, access to these minimal collections is limited because library open hours tend to be short.

MINIMALLY TRAINED STAFFS

(3) Many rural librarians—probably the majority—are not trained, even in traditional librarianship, and training in outreach services for the disadvantaged or information transfer by paraprofessionals is rare indeed. Salary schedules in rural libraries tend to be ridiculously low, which does not encourage career commitments to library work.

A question arises in the rural sites about which the AAEC is continually challenged. A majority of Appalachians of all four groups, treasure and defend the family, the land, and the church. While the time and money spent to persuade Group IV of the net benefits of information services would necessarily by more than those spent for Group I, of course, there is sometimes more than a lack of facility and belief in use of information—there is down-right hostility. Such information may be interpreted as threatening to cherished values.

WHY TRY?

The question is: So why do it? When rural residents seem resistant to change, to information from the outside, why go to the bother and the expense of giving them something they act as though they don't want in the first place?

[7]Childers, *op.cit.* p. 19.

TO COPE WITH CHANGE

If rural life were not being dramatically changed already, perhaps one could argue for leaving them alone, that is, for leaving rural residents with no alternatives but to continue to live independently in pretty much the same way their grandparents did. But that is impossible: the mountains and the ubiquitous televisions are dotted with advertisements, and super-highways are slowly but surely making their way through the hills, gas stations and hamburger stands springing up behind. Presently the disadvantaged rural residents suffer more from the changes than they benefit from them. Without information or knowledge to cope with these changes, they are worse off than before. The result is an identity crisis with the disadvantaged Appalachian getting the worst of both worlds, the best of neither. The values of urban life—such as material aspirations, commercialism, and impersonality—are impinging on rural residents without the antidote of urban education and services. They get the poverty, limitations, and isolation of Appalachian life, for example, stripped of its dignity, beauty, and personalized and slower pace. Coping skill information delivered in a personal and non-threatening fashion seems to give the disadvantaged Appalachian options for the best of both worlds, and helps him to cope with the worst of both.

The Goals of Educational and Library Services in Sociological and Historical Terms

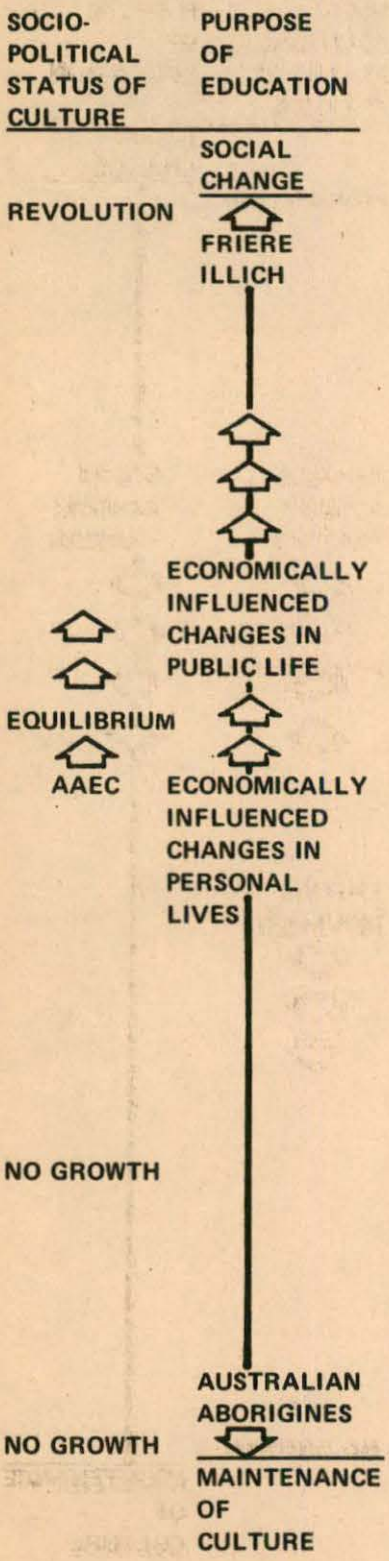
In theory public libraries and public schools in the United States are both concerned with serving a universal audience. Yet the large numbers of educationally disadvantaged and non-reading adults in this country attest to the fact that there is a disparity between theory and a full, effective delivery of services.

THE PURPOSES OF EDUCATION

Before an institution can render service, it must see itself as a service institution. Before an institution can be an agent for change, it usually must view its purpose as change. Historically there has been a philosophical debate about the purpose of educational institutions. (The reader is reminded that the AAEC takes the not-always popular position the the public library is an educational institution.) The age-old questions are asked: Is the purpose of these institutions to maintain stability through preserving knowledge and cultures by passing them down through the ages? Or are they instruments for social change? Or, if some combination of the two, in what proportions?

As on other occasions in history, today the philosophical debate has become a pressing practical need for decisions. With the growth since the 30's of technology, gaps have been growing between the Haves and Have-Nots in the United States. It would seem that we presently have a choice between (1) formalizing a class structure, or (2) using education as a medium for upward mobility in individual lives. Some of the antipoverty legislation for education is based upon the assumption that those decisions have been made in favor of education as an agent for personal change. However, the continued "special" status of these educational services at the local level in terms of funding and policies, indicates that either (1) there is not a grass-roots acceptance of the concept of education as an agent of change, or (2) the need for change is not acknowledged. For

Figure 3
Institutions' Degree of Orientation Toward Maintenance or Change



example, relatively few adult basic education programs exist which are supported by state or local funds. When federal funds cease or are interrupted, so do or are the services. Special public library program to the disadvnataged also are extremely vulnerable in times of economic crunch.

The AAEC has come up with a graphic method of plotting institutional goals. Coordination of the services of public libraries and schools to disadvantaged adults is an undertaking essentially dedicated to change. The goals of each institution can be located in position and direction of movement on a continuum ranging from an emphasis on maintenance of the *status quo* at one end to a commitment to effecting change at the other end. The tension between two opposing institutional orientations—(1) toward maintaining or transferring existing and past cultures or (2) toward promulgating social change—permeate almost everything the AAEC has examined in this project.

Plotting and comparing the philosophy and practice of the two institutions and of their individual personnel on a continuum such as that in Figure 3 aids in uncovering the problems of coordination between public libraries and schools.

To interpret this continuum, one would consider both (1) the stated *intent* of the service which determines the *direction* on the continuum, and (2) the *results* of the service which determines the *position* on the continuum.

For example, if organized attempts at changes in personal lives were being made, the *direction* on the continuum would be toward change. If no radical socio-political changes result from the educational programs being offered, the *position* would be at equilibrium or stability.

The AAEC's stance is that neither end of the continuum is desirable. The AAEC's position on the continuum could be placed in the middle, pointing toward private quality-of-life changes. These changes, aimed at making lives more comfortable and productive through access to conventional wisdom (often inaccessible to a large part of the disadvantaged adult population), would be accomplished without altering the greater socio-political order.

Some current writers would disagree with the AAEC's direction and position on the continuum. Paolo Friere, for example, believes the only proper goals of adult literacy instruction are at the extreme change end of the continuum resulting in revolution. Friere believes that illiterates have been deliberately subjugated and cannot break out of their depressed ways of life without overthrowing their subjugators. Other writers, such as Illich, also would stand at the extreme change end of the line, although Illich and many others talk about educational reform and life-long learning as though they were Good within themselves, not instruments to accomplish something else. In contrast, those who yearn for "the good old days" and peoples such as the Australian aborigines of the past would stand at the extreme maintenance end in position and direction. For many centuries the education that took place among the Aborigines passed on only enough skills to allow for survival, nothing new to allow for change.

When existing institutions are intransigent to the needs of a populace of any size, however, armed revolution may be seen as the only possible response. In developing this continuum, the AAEC found that when changes are not fast enough in the eyes of the disadvantaged and their champions, the arrow begins to move in position and direction toward the public life of armed or political revolution rather than toward changes in private lives. Obviously, changes in many private lives add up to dramatic social changes, but apparently not with the disruptiveness of total revolution. The consequent arduous rebuilding of institutions caused by war usually does not seem to succeed any better at alleviating discomfort in private lives than the discarded institutions.

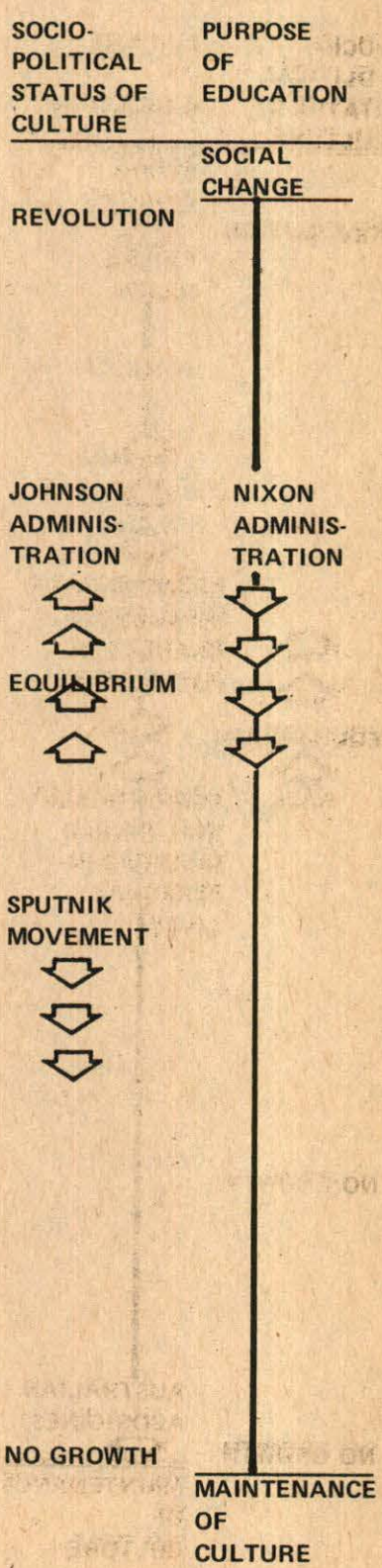
Extreme economic deprivation, when viewed as such and as being capable of remediation by the deprived, always seems to result in a view of education as an instrument of social change—whether in a developing country or in a developed country in troubled financial times, such as the Great Depression of the 30's and the burning of the cities as a reaction to poverty in the '60's.

Oddly enough, movements to change intellectual status seem to locate lower on a social change index than do movements to change the economic status of groups or in individuals. For example, the Sputnik movement of the 50's had nowhere near the social impact (or disruptiveness) of the economic remedies attempted in the 60's. The goal of Sputnik was to maintain national supremacy through scientific growth. Whenever the learned become socially important, the knowledge, i.e., the culture, of the past becomes desirable. Possession of such knowledge does not seem in itself to facilitate upward mobility, perhaps because it does not lend readily to everyday problem solving. However, one result of the Sputnik movement, which identified bright youngsters and attempted to develop their scienfitic abilities, was an illumination of the gaps which had been growing since the 30's between the Haves and Have Nots.

In comparing the Johnson and Nixon administrations on this continuum, one finds that their *positions* are the same—both administrations have, after all, offered approximately the same services. Their *directions*, however, are opposite. The Johnson administration, in espousing a determination to close the gap between the Haves and Have Nots adopted reasonably radical means such as handing the control of some of the antipoverty efforts (i.e., part of the government) over to the disadvantaged and out of the hands of elected officials. While the Nixon administration has continued almost all of the services developed under the Johnson administration for the disadvantaged—often under the direction of Congress and of the Supreme Count—it has fought to discontinue many of them (i.e., to go back to things as ghey were) and to maintain or to reinstate forms of state, local, and federal government by restoring all control into the hands of those traditionally in control of government.

Fiscal considerations often influence direction on the maintenance-change continuum. The Nixon administration, for example, defends attempts at closing programs on fiscal grounds—the need to more nearly balance the budget. Richardson, when still Secretary of HEW, said:

Figure 3
Institutions' Degree of Orientation Toward Maintenance or Change



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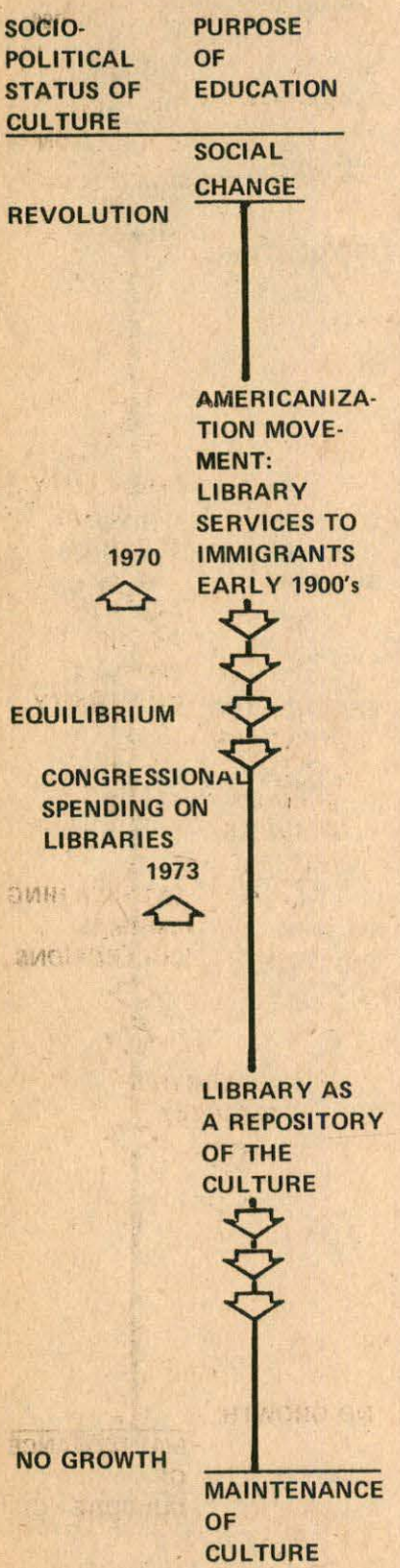


> In our own time, great though the growth in our resources, the growth in our expectations has been even greater . . . There is a fallacy abroad in the land—and rampant in the Congress—to the effect that passing legislation solves problems that cannot be solved without new legislation. But all too often—and increasingly so—new legislation merely publicizes a need without creating either the means or the resources for meeting it. If this kind of legislation is implemented at all, it is at the cost of spreading resources still more thinly over existing programs.[8]

Richardson pointed out that the Congressional HEW appropriations bill exceeded the administration's request by $200,000 in Kennedy's first full year and by $6 billion in 1972. He then listed many kinds of programs or services offered through HEW—significantly excluding library services—and remarked that some hard choices must be made. The question, of course, is whether the assumption is valid that the proportion of the federal income to be applied to quality of life by HEW has found its proper level so that all choices must be made *within* that level. It is disheartening to consider that the entire federal appropriations for libraries of all kinds would buy one nuclear submarine; that the whole appropriation for the Adult Education Act would buy two jets.

Before Richardson espoused the position quoted here, which seems to be in keeping with the Republican fiscal stance, he had already started recommending zero funding of libraries by the federal government. His reasoning and policy—which survives his departure from HEW—seemed to be that compared to services such as welfare, health, transportation, and the national security, libraries have less direct bearing on the national welfare and should be left to the state and local governments that want them and can afford them. The end result, or course, is that areas that are rich—in funds and in information—can continue at least modified library services, while poorer areas—again in information as well as in available monies—cannot afford to continue. While a Democratic Congress has not followed the Administration's lead in eliminating federal assistance to libraries, neither has it maintained, let alone expanded, this support. Federal spending for libraries goes down every year.

Adult education, too, has come under attack under the present administration, although not as severely as libraries. For adult education the attack has been more in the nature of holding the line or diminishment of appropriations at the federal level, rather than a complete wipe-out.

Against this background of tenuous federal commitment, the AAEC has examined the position and direction on this maintenance-change continuum of some of the national programs of libraries and adult education in the twentieth century.

Libraries

The obvious reason for the existence of libraries over the ages has been as a repository of cultures. It can be argued that whether a repository

[8] Elliot Richardson "HEW's Richardson Deplores America's Expectations Gap." *The Courier-Journal & Times,* (Louisville, Kentucky, February 13, 1972).

is in the hands of the rich or the poor is of no great consequence as long as the record is preserved. As a repository, the position and direction of libraries is at the maintenance end of the continuum. In terms of the AAEC study, however, the questions are: What other purposes can libraries appropriately and effectively serve? Are libraries, and have they been, viable instruments of social action? The answer to the latter question is, of course, yes.

For example, during the great influx of immigrants in the early 1900's, the library acted as an instrument of acculturation for people of certain migrant streams, giving them access to information about the "American way." Over half of the U.S. population was foreign-born and therefore seen by those who arrived before them as in need of homogenization both culturally and economically. The *position* of library Americanization services, then, started on the continuum well up into the area of social action, and ranged to the maintenance end of the continuum. The *direction* of services also was moving away from social change—as speedily as possible—to lessen the possibility of revolution being promulgated by "foreigners."

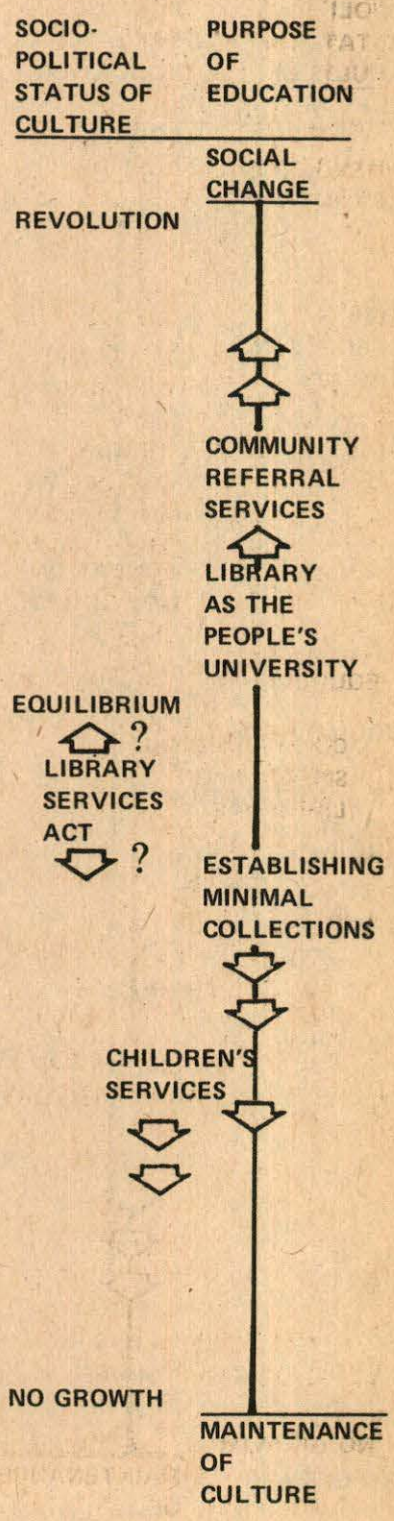
Another example of public libraries' serving as social change agents includes the People's University view which started early in the 1800's with the Mercantile Association and the Apprentice's Library Association, and reappeared during the Great Depression of the 30's. Although the term "university" suggests a broad humanistic thrust, the People's University effort was aimed mostly at relieving economic deprivation through learning. The position and direction was toward individual change.[9]

The move to alleviate rural poverty in the 50's, initiated with WPA money in the late 30's, culminated in part in the Library Services Act. The resulting move to establish rural libraries can be interpreted in conflicting ways: (1) as a movement to allow for personal change by alleviating poverty through the provision of access to the conventional wisdom of the culture; or (2) as a chance on the part of librarians to transfer the culture as an end in itself, simple taking advantage of the available monies of the moment—the beginnings of one national antipoverty movement. The minimal size of the collections and the kinds of titles acquired seem to favor the latter interpretation.

On the face of it, it would seem that the national antipoverty movement of the 1960's also was interpreted somewhat narrowly in the public library world. The bulk of the early Library Services and Construction Act (LSCA) monies was used to establish minimal collections widely. The end result is that narrowly defined "library services," are almost universally available—a point often made by the present administration in defense of its position on zero funding of libraries, i.e., that the intent of the legislation has been fulfilled. While these ubiquitous small collections do provide access to print where none was available before, they too often do not even serve as adequate repositories of the culture, let alone serving much purpose in social change.

[9]See Michael Harris, "The Purpose of the American Library: A Revisionist Interpretation of History," *Library Journal*, Vol. 98 (September 15, 1973), pp. 2509-14, for an historical discussion of changes of public library philosophy of service to "the common man."

Figure 3
Institutions' Degree of Orientation Toward Maintenance or Change



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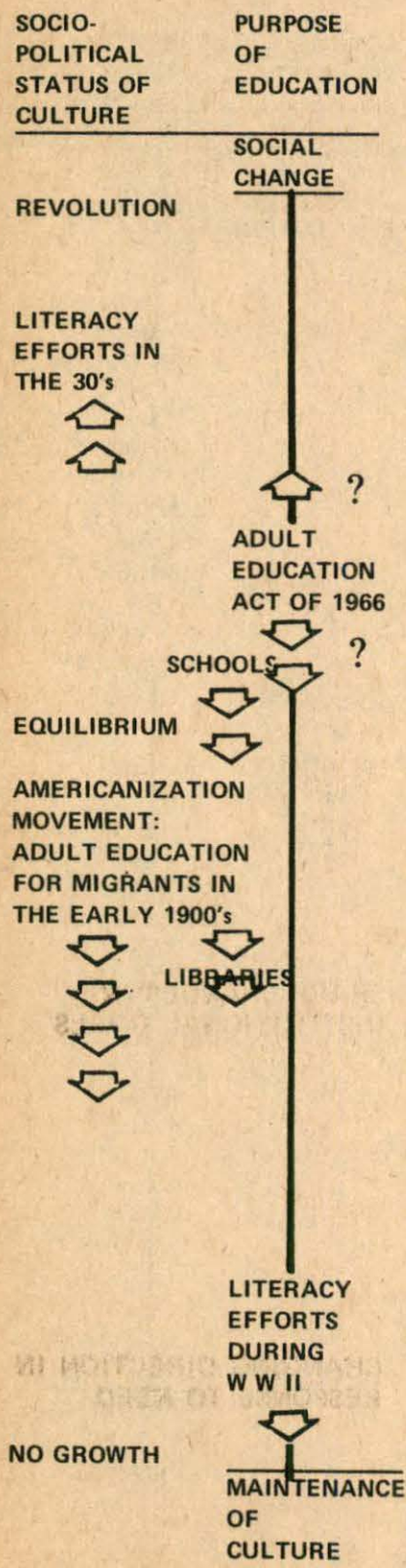


The specialization for children which began in the late 20's is interpreted by the AAEC as an attempt at transferring, thereby preserving, the culture rather than as an attempt at social change.

In the last decade there was a growing movement in the library world to interpret the public library as a social change agent. During the entire 60's some of the leaders of the library world worked to re-orient library services toward serious social needs. But it was not until 1971, when the latest antipoverty effort had somewhat spent itself, that the LSCA priorities included services to the disadvantaged. Even today that priority seems to be held more firmly at the federal level than at the local level. It has been interpreted differently around the country. For example, while community or neighborhood information and referral services are obviously aimed at upgrading the quality of individual lives, services to disadvantaged children are aimed more at acculturating those outside of the larger culture, probably encouraged by the same motivations as the Americanization movement.

This review of examples of library service over the century, seems to indicate that while the majority of those who select themselves into library work hold the repository function of the library dear, they—as well as their more socially active colleagues—are not necessarily opposed to or unable to function in change agent roles.

Schools

The history of education, particularly adult education, parallels the history of libraries. In the early 1900's the adult education Americanization movement was also aimed at acculturation through the teaching of English and, again, of the "American way." Americanism was interpreted, at least in part, as economic or vocational independence, so part of the intent was personal change. However, the main thrust was away from social change toward the restoration of the culture of the pre-immigrant-deluge days. This thrust began to take over with the advent of World War I, when new immigrants were viewed by many as threatening aliens.

The vast literacy efforts of the 30's both within and without the CCC camps were aimed at changing the economic levels of a large portion of American society. They would place at the change end of the continuum in position and direction.

The literacy movement of the 40's was aimed at making soldiers out of low-achieving men and therefore was aimed at maintaining the United States as a nation—a maintenance function of a slightly different order!

While adult education is often vaunted to be especially and explicitly designed for encouraging personal growth, its character historically throws its change agent role into some question. Each massive literacy effort of this century has developed in response to a national crisis, i.e., each effort has been designed to alleviate a problem which interfered with the maintenance of tradition. The burning of the cities in the early 60's gave

rise to the antipoverty package which includes the Adult Education Act, the fourth major literacy campaign in the 20th century in the U. S. The wording of the law leaves no doubt that the Adult Education Act is meant to change the lives of individuals. Yet when this latest movement started in 1965, the first curricula leaned heavily toward traditional day-school, child-oriented methods—generally methods for culture-transfer rather than for social change. As the purpose of the early LSCA was interpreted somewhat narrowly, so was (and too often is) the Adult Education Act interpreted too narrowly to accomplish the goals for which it is intended. Adult basic education (ABE) programs which stress the teaching of reading, writing, and arithmetic without teaching the application of those skills to the print and nonprint information sources that encourage upward mobility accomplish the transmittal of culture directly, but social change accidentally. One could make a strong argument that only when educational institutions actively teach the application of basic skills to problem-solving do they promote social change.

In summary, an historical review of the position and direction of the two institutions on this maintenance-change continuum indicates that a large part of the reason for the gap between educational preparation and life needs in this technological age is that educational institutions (whether schools or libraries, but particularly the latter) view their *raison d'etre* as the transfer and/or repository of cultures, rather than as the change agent for those cultures. Although the *direction* of the two institutions seems to be largely toward maintenance, the *position* of adult education is probably nearer change. Nevertheless, both institutions have engaged successfully in essential social change agent work. Nobody who studies the needs of the Have Nots in this country can seriously suggest that continuation of the change agent function of these institutions is not essential to individuals and to this nation.

Goal Displacement

SHARP CHANGES IN INSTITUTIONAL GOALS

Occasionally, however, a phenomenon occurs in the nature of goals in individual library or adult education agencies which can be somewhat mischievous. This phenomenon probably accounts for the lack of continuation of some federally-funded demonstrations past the funding period. As examples, an ABE program may begin to give a great deal of time and energy to the development of a supplementary reading collection of free time and coping skills materials. Or a public library may employ teachers of, or expect its librarians to teach, reading. The effect of these activities, which really represent an alteration in institutional goals, is to move the agency dramatically—almost precipitously—in direction and position on the continuum.

CHANGING DIRECTION IN RESPONSE TO NEED

While such change in direction is obviously designed to encourage individual client change of growth, the speed of that change in institutional goals often sets up an opposite and equal reaction to the change among some part of the staff. Or this alteration of goals may be a real—even necessary—service to the institution's clients and accepted as such by the staff, yet the alteration causes a severe wrenching of institutional goals. It is difficult in the latter case to institutionalize the new services firmly, particularly past the tenure of those who inaugurated the change in direction.

STAFF RESISTANCE

There seems to be one of two results when libraries stray too far up the continuum and/or ABE strays too far down: (1) the personnel responsible are fired or forced out by their own frustrated reaction to passive resistance from their colleagues, or, a less emphatic happening, (2) the goal change is simply short-lived in the history of the institution—which may be just fine. It may have served the necessary service purposes in the community or encouraged the development of a community institution more directly designed to offer the service involved. Occasionally, of course, institutions change direction in a way that sets them up in direct competition with an already existing similar specialization. In these instances those responsible are likely to bring public wrath down upon their heads.

SHORT-TERM SERVICES

Changes in the direction and position of institutional goals seem to be accomplished more comfortably and lastingly when they occur over time (hard to do with fiscal year funding) and are seen by both the larger professional community and by that individual staff as both: (1) fit endeavors for that profession, and (2) obviously within the goals of that institution.

COOPERATION IS MORE FEASIBLE

Therefore, the expansion of library services to disadvantaged adults in cooperation with community ABE and other concerned agencies would seem more feasible than the development of library-run ABE. The development of ABE which stresses: (1) the definition of everyday problems as information needs, and (2) the application of new reading skills to materials available through community libraries, rather than the development of an ABE-run, library would seem to have a better chance of long-term success. However, the development of these services may be necessary—at least for a while—if the supporting or sister service is not available in the community.

Libraries, particularly, because they are knit into the local tax-structure and therefore are on-going, seem to be able to pick up or fill in needed services in the community somewhat outside of their institutional goals, but seldom for very long, be the activity tutoring in reading or food-stamp distribution. It has been pointed out to the AAEC, however, that unfortunately sometimes filling a community service need even marginally and on a short-term basis relieves the tension caused by the need and delays the development of an institution in the community with direct goals in the needed service area. One could argue, however, that giving the community a taste of a needed service might encourage rather than hinder the growth of that service.

Differences in Organization of Public Schools and Public Libraries

If the two institutions do indeed share some similar goals, and—as seems likely—if they might increase their impact by working in tandem, what other factors besides differences in orientation operate for and against cooperative delivery of services?

One factor that makes coordination somewhat difficult is the dissimilar organizational structure of the two institutions. While library

and school organization varies widely between states, the largest general difference in organization between the two is the strength and degree of involvement in local programs of their state agencies. At the local level both have a head person (a superintendent of schools or head librarian or director); a policy-making board (board of education or board of trustees) frequently with the power to hire or fire the head person; quite often some kind of regional federation (perhaps more commonly with libraries); and a state agency. Even when state public library agencies exist on paper as part of the state educational agency, they are largely independent and self-directing—at least in the states in which the AAEC has worked. Quite separate, say, from school library functions and policy-making.

DIFFERENCE IN BUDGETS

The size of budgets makes quite a bit of difference in the organizational structures and in the status in the community of the two institutions. For example, because of the generally much larger budget of the local school system than of the local library system, the school superintendent usually holds a more prominent place in the public eye—useful for getting things done but demoralizing if one happens to be a head librarian attempting to coordinate school and library services. On an organizational chart, the two positions of head librarian and superintendent are comparable. In practical terms within the community, however, this is usually not the case. For one thing, the superintendent of schools has more clout because s/he has more jobs to offer than does the director of libraries.

BOARDS

The relationship of school superintendents and head librarians to their boards varies enormously from community to community. Often, however, the bigger the local library budget, the more central to policy-making are the board of trustees. Under the laws of most states, the nonelective library trustees have the final authority in policy, budget, and staffing matters. However, in overall practice school boards seem to yield more actual authority.

FUNDING FROM LOCAL SOURCES

The main influence of budget on organizational differences, however, is on the state library. About eighty percent of the income of public libraries comes from local sources, however meager that income may be. Even federal money administered by the state library (such as LSCA funds) is free under law from some of the obligations for accountability to the state agency which are built into other pieces of current legislation administered by state government, such as the Adult Education Act. The result seems to be that many state librarians interpret their role as chiefly advisory. They tend to be exceedingly low-key in their dealings with local library staffs and boards of trustees. State departments of education, on the other hand, even in the Southeast where there is strong county control of the schools, hold a regulatory capacity which includes the certification of personnel, the setting of minimum standards for school services, and requirements that federal monies dispensed be spent in sharply circumscribed fashions.

ADVISORY FUNCTIONS OF STATE LIBRARIANS

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS

Likewise, the regional school federations tend to act as decentralized agents of the state department of education and to hold more sharply defined regulatory powers than most regional library federations. In contrast, regional librarians, where they exist, vary in their functions from a completely advisory capacity to responsibility for the recommending and the training of personnel within their regions. Where the latter level of

SCHOOL SERVICES
ADULT BASIC EDUCATION

Figure 3
Institutions' Degree of Orientation
Toward Maintenance or Change

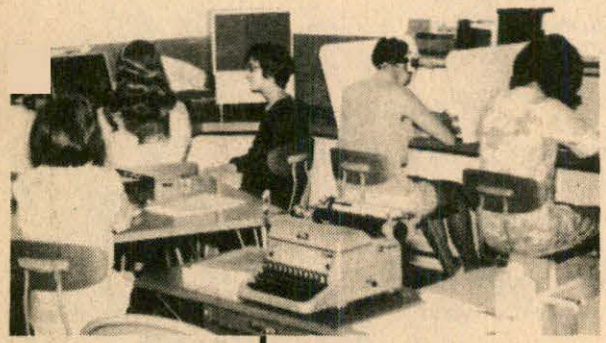
SOCIO-POLITICAL STATUS OF CULTURE

PURPOSE OF EDUCATION

REVOLUTION

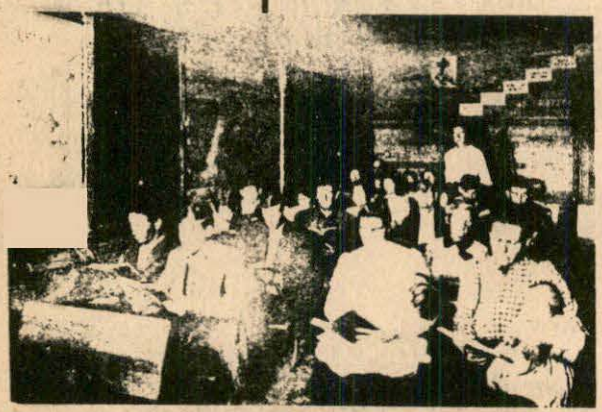
SOCIAL CHANGE

Adult Home Instruction



Adult Learning Center

Traditional Adult Classroom



They came carrying babes in arms

NO GROWTH

MAINTENANCE OF CULTURE

The Cora Wilson Stewart Moonlight School
Painting by Douglas Adams, MSU

Figure 3
Institutions' Degree of Orientation Toward Maintenance or Change

SOCIO-POLITICAL STATUS OF CULTURE

PURPOSE OF EDUCATION

SOCIAL CHANGE

REVOLUTION

Books by Phone

EQUILIBRIUM

Bookmobile

NO GROWTH

MAINTENANCE OF CULTURE

Carnegie Library

LIBRARY SERVICES

Home Delivery

Store Front Library

authority exists, such as in West Virginia, the regional librarian seems to have a relationship to existing local boards of trustees analogous to that of a regional superintendent of schools to local boards of education. In Kentucky, on the other hand, regional librarians hold a much more ambiguous position in relationship to local libraries. They do dispense state and federal aid, but the nature of the librarian almost governs the nature of the job.

LOCAL UNITS

At the local level, schools are almost inevitably subdivided into units (i.e., elementary and secondary schools, perhaps vocational schools, etc.) This is less true of libraries, particularly in rural areas. The AAEC's Kentucky site, for example, consists of one central library out of which extensive bookmobile service is offered, but there are no branch libraries. When the number of units in any organization is large as is the case with public schools, both the status of the head person and the complexity of interrelating services with other agencies increase.

POLITICAL INFLUENCES

Another difference between the two institutions in many states is the politics of organization. Superintendents of schools or school board members often hold elective offices—virtually never the case with libraries. Even when these positions are appointed rather than elected, school positions are more of a political plum and therefore more of a political football. The politics of libraries tend to revolve more around appropriations levels than around issues concerning the regulation of services—the latter currently a hot political issue for many schools. In chart form the differences in organization of the two institutions look something like figure 4.

Figure 4.

Organization of Public Schools and Public Libraries Compared

Aspect of Organization	Schools	Libraries
Local autonomy	Strong	Strong
State requirements	Minimum foundation physical facilities, etc.	Varies by state, usually concerns tax levies and composition and duties of trustees
Regional federations	Varies by state in existence and/or strength	Varies by state in existence and/or strength, usually weaker than schools
Local units	Many	Varies, often fewer
Federal regulations	Many, connected with the expenditure of federal funds	Few and weak
State agency head	Policy maker	Varies by state, usually advisor
State boards	Strong political affiliation	Appointed, often by political party in power
State certification	Always	Seldom

APPROACHING THE PROPER LEVEL IN THE HIERARCHY

In the AAEC experience, one result of these differences in organization and community status is a problem in approaching the proper level of administrator in each institution to effect coordination without being offensive, i.e., with (1) going over the head of the appropriate

person, or (2) trying to combine forces between a lower echelon school person and a high echelon library person, or (3) approaching the wrong functionary and raising territorial hostilities.

ABE (A SPECIALTY) COMPARED WITH LIBRARIES

For example, for convenience sake adult basic education and public libraries will be compared in the rest of this report as if they were hierarchically analogous institutions. Yet it is understood that actually ABE is a specialized service of public schools and other agencies, comparable to the adult services or services to disadvantaged adults of public libraries. Strictly speaking, ABE programs and libraries cannot be compared. In this report, *library* should be understood to mean public library adult services for the disadvantaged. The reason for comparing institutions in this fashion is that ABE as a specialty is a much more strongly institutionalized—and separated entity—in the public schools than the adult services specialty is in the public libraries. But to continue to compare public school and public library services to disadvantaged adults directly, because of the convenience of comparing dissimilar organizations, is to suggest a degree of commitment on the part of public schools to the education of adults, which in fact usually does not exist. In the AAEC model centers school superintendents, particularly in the urban sites, have taken only a fleeting interest in the combining of school and library services to disadvantaged adults. The local director of adult education can usually be stimulated to a major interest. The state librarian, in this project, has worked with the state director of adult education, not the state superintendent of schools. In one case, these differences in hierarchies came close to wrecking an AAEC model center's efforts at both the state and local levels.

The Library Specialization: Adult Services for the Disadvantaged

FEW ADULT SERVICES LIBRARIANS FOR THE DISADVANTAGED

The broad differences in organization necessarily impinge upon the degree and kinds of specializations that each institution can develop and sustain. The review above of twentieth century programs touched upon several instances of the specialization of public library services to meet the needs of the disadvantaged, as well as other publics such as children. Actually the specialization for children has progressed much further into the fabric of the library world than has either adult services or services specifically designed for the disadvantaged of whatever age. Wherever fiscal limitations allow, there seems to be a children's librarian. Not only are librarians trained and hired to specialize in adult services much rarer, but librarians hired to deal exclusively with the problems of library services to the disadvantaged are rare birds indeed, even at the state library level. Where the latter do exist, their tenure usually relies upon the existence of federal, or at least non-local, funds at least eighty percent of the time.[10] Since few specialists exist, the development of a specialty for disadvantaged adults in public libraries requires a realignment by the whole staff of service priorities and time allocations, which is difficult but possible in the AAEC experience.

[10]Henry T. Drennan, "Information and Information Centers" in ***Libraries and Neighborhood Information Centers*** edited by Carol L. Kronus and Linda Crows. (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois, Graduate School of Library Science, 1972) p. 94.

SLOW GROWTH OF SPECIALIZATION

The reasons for the slow growth of specialization for disadvantaged adults in public libraries seem to be several:

USAGE

(1) Usage: Thirty-three percent of all children in the United States purportedly use public library services as compared to a mere ten percent of all adults.[11] (These widely cited statistics, however, are somewhat at variance with the several studies of the "typical" user which have found that person to be white, middle-class, female, and young-adult-to-middle-aged.)[12]

UNIVERSALITY

(2) Universality: There is a commonly voiced resistance in the library community, at least at the philosophical level, to implementing services for special groups. The argument runs that public library services are universal, that they serve "all of the people," and that to design special services necessarily drains resources from programs for those already being served. One could argue defensibly that library services are not universal but generally do represent a specialization—for the middle class. A counter argument that universality implies a series of publics rather than The Public does not seem to be widely accepted in the library community.

SERVICES FOR THE DISADVANTAGED ARE DESIRABLE TO ALL

One odd but useful characteristic of library programs especially designed for disadvantaged adults is that they are equally usable by and desirable to all adults. This characteristic does fit into the library world's desire for universality. As pointed out in the section above concerning the four client groups, the drawback is that the most disadvantaged need fairly expensive delivery systems if they are to take advantage of and benefit from services. Although these expensive systems are just as desirable to more affluent and self-directed adults, the latter group can profit from more economical services. One answer seems to be to offer the expensive systems in those service areas which house a large number of the disadvantaged knowing that all adults in the area will take advantage of them, and design less costly systems for advantaged service areas—a proposition which is a flip-flop from much current practice. At least one large urban library, however, the Philadelphia Free Library, reports that it has adopted just such a policy.

CHILDREN'S SERVICES

(3) Children's Services: The orientation of many librarians toward a repository or custodial function, as outlined at some length above, makes the transfer of culture inherent in children's services a more comfortable process.

RESISTANCE TO PROGRAMS

(4) Services or Programs: The very concept of library *services* or *programs* is uncomfortable to truly conservative librarians. One librarian, holding an MLS from an ALA accredited school known for its services to minorities, said to an AAEC representative, "Why do you keep talking about library *services*? Libraries don't perform services. They keep books, and people come and serve themselves."

NEED FOR OUTREACH IS NOT UNDERSTOOD

(5) Unfamiliarity with Clientele: Often even in those libraries where there is no active resistance to serving the needs of disadvantaged adults, the nature of these potential patrons, which makes requirements for

[11] Bernard Berelson, *The Library's Public* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949) p. 10.

[12] M. L. Bundy, *Metropolitan Public Library Users: A Report of a Survey of Adult Library Use in the Maryland-Washington Metropolitan Area.* (University of Maryland School of Library and Information Sciences, 1968).

outreach services that actively seek out new clients important, does not seem to be widely understood or accepted. The library seems to be seen in a passive role, serving those who come.

OUTREACH RESISTED

(6) Limited Definition: Or distressingly commonly, *library* is defined as a building within which all endeavors must take place, rather than as an administation or staff operating out of a building as they offer services and programs. (This thinking is not limited to the library world. One of the chief blocks to true community education within the community school movement is the tendency to limit the definition of *school* to whatever is enclosed within four walls.)

NO SPECIAL PRIORITY FOR BASIC NEEDS

(7) Resistance to Making Value Judgments: Either because of the maintenance-of-culture orientation of many librarians, or a market-place supply-and-demand orientation, there sometimes seems to be a curious refusal to place values or priorities on different kinds of information. Basic human needs occasionally seem to get jumbled with human desires. The comment is heard, "Baseball scores or Emily Loring is as important to one person as consumer economics or birth control information is to someone else." Where it exists, such a position seems questionable.[13]

LACK OF RESPONSIVENESS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

(8) Local Control: The local funding and therefore local control of libraries make it difficult for librarians to be responsive to disenfranchised groups. The lack of responsiveness of local government was lcearly demonstrated in the field of education in the March, 1973, Congressional hearings in Louisville, Kentucky. Gathering information on the continuance of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), the House Education and Labor Committee asked several metropolitan and rural school superintendents what they predicted would happen to services to migrant children if such services were to be administered under discretionary funds through special revenue sharing. The prediction in each case, based upon past examples in each superintendent's community, was that community decision-makers could be expected to favor needs such as new boilers, band uniforms, and football equipment over services to children whose parents neither voted not paid taxes in that area.

While this type of oversight is more clearly evident for groups such as the foreign-born, migrant workers, and reservation Indians, local government historically has discriminated in subtle ways against the poor also. It was this tradition that prompted the Kennedy-Johnson designs against poverty, giving the direction of antipoverty measures out of the hands of local elected officials into the hands of the poor. The tradition of local government non-responsiveness makes responsiveness to the needs of disadvantaged adults an uphill struggle for even the most socially conscious librarians, since they must justify their spending policies to local decision-makers.

LIBRARY PROGRAMS FOR THE DISADVANTAGED

Despite these problems, about a third of the libraries responding in a 1969 ALA study claimed to have some kind of program designed for the poor.[14] This is not terribly encouraging, since 1969 probably marked the height of the antipoverty effort. The good news from that study is that

[13]Harris, *op.cit.*

[14]Drennan, *op.cit.* p. 94.

ninety-nine percent of all large urban libraries claimed to have special programs for the disadvantaged.[15]

FUTURE ADULT SERVICES

Another piece of good news—at least to those concerned with the expansion of public library services to adults, if not to all quarters of the library community—is the results of a 1972 Booz, Allen, Hamilton study. As Figure 5 shows, library personnel are reporting an increasing emphasis on adults services on the part of their agencies.[16]

Figure 5

PAST AND FUTURE RELATIVE PRIORITIES AMONG AGE GROUPS FOR PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

December, 1972		
Age Group Served	Percentage of Library Agencies Reporting as First Priority Five Years Ago	Percentage of Library Agencies Predicting as First Priority Five Years Hence
Preschool (1-5 yrs)	14%	9%
Children (6-12 yrs)	30%	8%
Young People (13-20 yrs)	8%	9%
Adults (21-64 yrs)	48%	66%
Aging (65+ yrs)	0%	8%
	100%	100%

In summary, the following tend to hinder the growth of the library specialization of adult services for the disadvantaged:

(1) a orientation towards children's services

(2) a tendency to define a specialization of services as antithetical to, rather than complementary to, universal service

(3) a repository orientation

(4) fear of a service orientation

(5) a difficulty in understanding the need on the part of potential clientele for outreach services

(6) the definition of a library as a building

(7) a tendency to consider those programs which serve people's play activities as more or equally desirable to those which serve information needs for survival, and

(8) a lack of responsiveness to the poor on the part of local government.

In spite of these problems, however, the specialization is slowly growing.

[15] Drennan, *op.cit.* p. 94.

[16] Extrapolated from Cleveland Public Library, *National Survey of Library Services to the Aging*, [Final Report, Phase II] (Chicago, Illinois: Booz, Allen, Hamilton Foundation, December, 1972), Exhibits 18 and 19, following p. 23.

ABE WAS ESTABLISHED BY CONGRESS

In response to a very specific Congressional mandate, the public schools have been developing a specialization for disadvantaged adults since 1965—adult basic education, or ABE. The funding for ABE through public schools falls under Title III of ESEA, i.e., the Adult Education Act of 1966. (It should be noted, although it is outside the purview of this report, several pieces of legislation in addition to the Adult Education Act mandate the development of ABE. Most of this legislation is administered through the U.S. Department of Labor rather than the U.S. Office of Education, but much of it is subcontracted to school systems at the local level. Also, some other institutions such as community colleges and volunteer groups are engaged in offering ABE as a part or a whole of their services.)

STATE DIRECTORS

The Adult Education Act has promoted the development of a state plan for adult basic education in every state and the appointment of at least one person in the state department of education (known as the state director).[17] However, Congressional appropriations have been low, less than one dollar annually for each known potential ABE client in the country, and ABE is far from being universally available in every school district. Furthermore, state—and more particularly local—fiscal authorities for education have been very slow to allocate or to vote additional funds for ABE. While a few states with large metropolitan areas had started funding ABE before the advent of federal funds (e.g., California, New York, and Michigan), this hesitation on the part of other states to follow suit keeps the national ABE program in a constant state of peril—with resulting low morale on the part of many of the professionals engaged in ABE and an equivalent hesitation to make a full-fledged professional commitment to the field. Consequently, the bulk of ABE is offered part-time, usually in the evening, by moonlighting teachers whose primary professional commitment is to childhood education.

LOW FEDERAL FUNDING

FEW STATE OR LOCAL FUNDS

MOONLIGHTING TEACHERS

COMMITMENT TO ABE VARIABLE

Part of the reason that ABE is not universally available is that the education of adults is not seen by many local (and even some state) superintendents as a part of his or her responsibilities. Childhood education is seen as their only trust. Many, indeed, see adult education as a net loss in their community, despite growing evidence to the contrary. Since the state plan in many states calls upon the local school superintendent to apply for these state-administered federal funds, s/he can deprive the community of ABE simply by failing to make this application. In a few states, local areas must come up with the matching funds (which are supplied by most states as their total input into ABE). When Local areas must provide matching funds, the areas with the highest incidence of illiteracy and poverty are the most likely to be without ABE for lack of sufficient resources.

ABE SEEN AS A CRITICISM OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS

There has been an unfortunate tendency in some quarters to define ABE as a remedial program rather than as a developmental program. At first blush this might not seem to be too important, but the view of ABE as a "janitor program which cleans up the messes of the public schools" increases resistance to it on the local level by those with a vested interest in public school education. Their only possible response to such a view of

[17] In a very few states, ABE is administered through higher education, i.e., community colleges or universities, rather than through the state department of education.

ABE is to assume that nonreading adults are unteachable since they didn't profit from earlier education, and therefore, to try to teach them is a waste of tax money.

BROADENING OF ABE CURRICULA

The term *adult basic education* reflects an evolution in thinking on the part of the adult education community. In the early 60's it became evident that a number of unemployed persons who had been placed in newly funded manpower development programs could not benefit from training due to low literacy skills. Academic or literacy programs were funded then to cope with this problem. The experience of a few years demonstrated that the problems of these individuals were a good deal deeper than a straightforward lack of reading skills. It began to appear that the culture that grows up in a nonprint and a relatively orally nonverbal environment promotes other lacks which make it difficult for individuals to lead comfortable and productive lives. These skills which are sometimes lacking are referred to as *coping, survival,* or *life* skills. ABE, particularly its full-time programs, is developing more and more offerings in coping skills instruction in addition to academic skills instruction. As was mentioned above, those programs which rely heavily on moonlighting teachers with scanty training in adult education also rely heavily on day school childhood education techniques, techniques which tend to promote the transfer of culture fairly effectively but do not effect the dramatic changes in individual lives so badly needed. Stressing application of new skills in daily problem-solving in addition to development of those skills does seem to result in such dramatic changes.

ABE SERVICES ARE NOT UNIVERSALLY DESIRABLE

Unlike the services of the public library which are specialized for disadvantaged adults, ABE is of little use to the general population. Oftentimes ABE is incorporated into general adult education or community offerings, however, to remove some of the onus of a "you-are-different" label. The fact that ABE is not universally desirable has imbued it with a strong economic orientation; that is, getting people off welfare and gainfully employed is probably too often used as a defense for the existence of ABE programs. While this is an appealing argument for support of the programs to literate taxpayers, it doesn't speak to the needs of many actual and potential ABE students who may be too old, too handicapped, or have too many small children to be employed.

ABE IS A FACT

Nevertheless, despite its several problems, such as (1) minimal funding, (2) mostly part-time and minimally trained staff, (3) lack of commitment on the part of many local school administrators, and (4) inappropriate traditionalism in the course offerings, there is in ABE a very specific and widespread specialization for disadvantaged adults nationally through public schools. While the history of literacy efforts in the United States does not give rise to any great optimism about the future of ABE, the strong specialization that presently does exist should be strengthened and augmented as intensively as possible.

The Usefulness of the Two Specializations in Terms of Numbers Served and of Effects on Lives

A review of the specialization of services of both libraries and schools indicates that both institutions have been very slow to serve the

twenty-five to fifty percent of the adult population who can be defined as "disadvantaged" on educational or economic grounds—and later yet in numbers in public libraries than in public schools.

DOES ABE MAKE A DIFFERENCE?

One would suspect this state of affairs is the result of some mutual if implicit understanding on the part of these institutions and their nonusers. A pertinent question, therefore, is whether specialization of services in the two institutions promotes the desired differences (upward mobility) in the lives of disadvantaged adults. The recently concluded national longitudinal study by the System Development Corporation for USOE's Office of Planning, Budgeting, and Evaluation, clearly shows the desired impact on adult lives with involvement in ABE.[18] On the other hand, not very many people are exposed to ABE, since it is only serving about five percent of its target population annually, or about 850,000 persons a year.

YES—FOR THOSE SERVED

DO SPECIALIZED LIBRARY SERVICES MAKE A DIFFERENCE?

Since ABE is in closer client contact, and is therefore able to ask the necessary questions and to keep more complete records, cause and effect are much easier to infer in life style changes concurrent with the provision of ABE than concurrent with the provision of library services.Most studies that the AAEC has been able to locate which look at the impact of public library services treat reading as an end in itself rather than as an instrumental skill. The questions asked are usually of the order, "Do you read more? Visit the library more often? Own more reading materials?" One study by Barss and Reitzel of exemplary reading and reading-related programs did develop a questionnaire which recognized the instrumental qualities of reading. This questionnaire, which in 1970 was really ahead of its time, asked questions about program impact on such coping skills as voting, driver's licenses, banking, taxes, home and child care, and employment.[19] However, the AAEC has not been able to locate any data collected using this questionnaire.

PROBABLY DATA IS SCARCE

It should be pointed out that the ubiquitous paucity of data on the impact of public libraries on quality of life has made it difficult in Congressional hearings for librarians to defend the need for continued appropriations at the national level. Since Congress does continue to espouse a social change position when allocating funds, that kind of evidence is needed. Vignettes repeated to AAEC representatives indicate that this impact does exist even though not documented.

As is the case with ABE, not very many disadvantaged adults are exposed to libraries. While most estimates of library usage indicate that ten percent of all of the nation's adults, or ten million people, are using libraries, few of those library patrons can be classified as disadvantaged.

LARGER NUMBERS NEED TO BE SERVED

The conclusion seems to be that properly designed programs in both libraries and adult education do accomplish their goals of effecting the upward mobility of formerly disadvantaged adults. But nowhere near enough adults are exposed to any specialized services let alone the well-designed programs which have proven effective.

[18]William P. Kent, *A Longitudinal Evaluation of the Adult Basic Education Program* (Falls Church, Virginia: Systems Development Corporation, November, 1973), especially pp. 2-16 to 2-29.

[19]Barss, Reitzel & Associates, Inc., *A Study of Exemplary Public Library Reading and Reading Related Programs for Children, Youth, and and Adults* (Cambridge, Mass.: Barss, Reitzel & Associates, Inc., July, 1972), pp. C-6-7 and C-6-8.

The Permanence of Library and School Specializations for Disadvantaged Adults

Part of the lack of spread of these specializations seems to be accounted for by their precarious hold on the capricious federal dollar. A perceived lack of permanence does not encourage long-term planning and increases the timidity of professionals to spread their meager funding thinner, i.e., over more programs. Such a spread has not proven often enough to be an investment which reaps additional funding.

BOTH SPECIALIZATIONS ARE MARGINAL

The marginal status of both ABE and adult services in their parent institutions leads to a high attrition rate in staff and in programs. It sometimes seems to a discouraging degree that the slightest excuse in sufficient impetus to press many host institutions into sloughing off specialized services to disadvantaged adults.

ABE IS INSTITUTIONALIZED FOR THE PRESENT

The permanence of adult basic education has been dealt with at some length. In review, it seems that several states have thoroughly institutionalized a responsibility to the education of educationally disadvantaged adults. Some full-time professionals do exist. All fifty states have programs—although of varying strength and effectiveness. However, the history of literacy movements in the United States gives some rise to pessimism about the future of ABE.

THE LIBRARY SPECIALIZATION IS PRESENTLY WEAK

Library adult services for the disadvantaged are less strongly institutionalized. The strongest institutionalization is in the LSCA priorities at the federal level, but LSCA appropriations seem to be in yearly peril. Even under the LSCA priority for the disadvantaged, the term is frequently interpreted as *children and youth,* and in some states no LSCA-funded adult services for the disadvantaged exist. The Booz, Allen, Hamilton study of future library priorities outlined above casts some hope on future library commitments to services to adults. Whether advantaged adults are included in those plans is not known.

LOW JOB STABILITY FOR PARAPROFESSIONALS THREATENS SPECIALIZATIONS

One idiosyncrasy of services to disadvantaged adults which discourages institutionalization in both institutions is the success of paraprofessionals. In both ABE and libraries indigenous personnel who have conquered problems similar to those of the institution's clientele seem to be able to offer the most effective service as communicators—at least under the supervision and with the help of professionals. But these staff members generally are not accredited and are subject to less job security than professional personnel. When they go, so does the program.

THE ANTIPOVERTY WAR IS WANING

The most discouraging trend of all, however, is that there seems no doubt that the intensity of federal antipoverty efforts is dimming. In this time of inflation and higher taxes, the Haves seemingly both have less and are less willing to share what they do have with the Have Nots. Also, it cannot be denied that the antipoverty was was not an instant success. This is not surprising, since techniques for changing people's lives around had to be invented quickly with the advent of federal funding, and not all good ideas or traditional techniques were successful when applied to the problem. The combination of less money and usually unjustified accusations of poorly managed programs does not insure a rosy future for either specialization.

The last-acquired, first-deleted syndrome in times of economic cutbacks also afflicts the two specializations. The library, at least, may continue to be considered a place for adults, while in times of financial squeeze, local adult education may be abolished entirely.

Needed Changes in Specializations

While it seems clear that both library and school specializations for disadvantaged adults need expanding, the AAEC has found that there are some needs for change within already existing specializations. These needs include (1) limiting place-boundness; (2) increasing time flexibility; and (3) increasing attention to coping skills.

HOME SERVICES AND OTHER DELIVERY SYSTEMS NEEDED

Both public school and public library specializations for disadvantaged adults suffer from being place-bound, i.e., programs are identified in relation to a building. The library bookmobile and books by mail responses to the needs of Group IV clients for home service are more emphatic than most ABE delivery systems. Unfortunately, in many places these library home services are not available in urban areas. In one state, for example, bookmobile service and even branch libraries are not offered within three miles of a central library. Since inner city public transportation tends to be inadequate, as well as expensive for thin pocketbooks, this and similar policies tend to rule out library services to the most deprived.

Based upon its observations, the AAEC beleives that library outreach may be even more important in encouraging use of libraries by the disadvantaged than ABE outreach is in encouraging use of ABE. One might speculate that ABE has slightly less of a recruiting problem than libraries because it is closer in structure to the known phenomenon of day school—which the majority of ABE learners attended at least for a while. On the other hand, the AAEC experience is that while most ABE students know where a public library is, they have never been in one. Too often, the library seems to be thought of as that monstrous swanky edifice on the other side of town, although with the changes in the inner city, it may actually be nearby.

TIME ADJUSTMENTS NEEDED

Although ABE programs are offered in diverse neighborhood areas such as local elementary schools, churches, union halls, job sites, and even public libraries, time is a problem. Unless the adult can arrange his job, travel, and family pressures to fit the few hours weekly that most ABE is offered, he has to do without. Libraries in small towns and rural areas also suffer from time problems. They tend to close at night and on weekends when working people are free to use the services and when nonworking women in one-car families have transportation and someone to watch the children. In many small libraries, it seems to be more useful to dispense with morning hours when the library has low usage, and concentrate staff hours in afternoons and evenings. Not only is the lack of flexibility in time a problem, but—particularly in the case of ABE—what time is available becomes a premium, and nontraditional approaches are seen as a waste of time rather than as a needed service. Helping ABE students to define their problems as information needs and then to locate the needed information may be seen as threatening to skills development in a four or six hour per

week program. The staffs of libraries that are open only a few hours a week may feel they have less time than they need to perform custodial functions, e.g., ordering, cataloging, shelving, weeking stacks, let alone expanding outreach and other personalized services. Usually, both ABE teachers and librarians need to review and realign their priorities for their use of time in order to effect (1) specializationof services to specific publics such as disadvantaged adults and (2) coordination of those specializations with sister institutions.

MINIMAL TIME AFFECTS SERVICES

MOONLIGHTING AFFECTS COORDINATION

The limited time available to moonlighting teachers becomes a problem in coordinating ABE and public library programs. Since ABE teachers are very seldom paid for time spent in either preparation for teaching or in needed interagency contacts, these activities, so crucial to their students, fall by the wayside. Full-time ABE administrators, where they exist, can work at coordination, but this doesn't meet the need for practitioner-to-practitioner contact, i.e., teachers to library staff.

COPING SKILLS NEEDED

Both specializations suffer from a lack of emphasis on coping skills. ABE tends to offer traditional preparation in skills without utilizing the daily-contact print which teaches the transfer of knowledge to everyday tasks. The AAEC has found that only a minority of libraries stress the materials which deal with coping skills. This material tends to be pamphlet-type and library-collected community information for referrals. Those librarians who are repository-minded are likely to feel that pamphlets are of no consequence—not to mention bothersome—and that community information is outside the service limits of the library. Unfortunately, adults cannot concentrate on upgrading while pressing everyday problems interfere. Readily available information for the relief of pressures and knowledge of how to use it looses the adult to proceed toward his or her goals.

THE SPECIALIZATIONS RELY UPON EACH OTHER

Obviously, before skills can be applied to either cultural content or problem solving, information must exist in the community. Just as obviously, unless a library has the funds for a great deal of nonprint, people must be able to read—and have the particular skills involved in reading for information—before they can benefit from the library.

One measure to meet the needs of adults who were not sufficiently well served as children, is, of course, the specialization of information and education services for them. Coordinating those specialities across institutions is a second measure. The success of both measures depends upon why the institutions exist in the eyes of their workers and of the general public.

The Service and Financial Advantages to the Two Institutions from Coordination

WHY COORDINATE?

If the two institutions seem to be creating the desired results, at least through their better programs, without coordinating, (and there has been rather a small amount of documented coordination in this country) why should cooperation be studied and encouraged? The answer lies in at least four factors: (1) the quantity, or numbers served, can be increased through cooperation between the two institutions; (2) such an increase in

enrollment and in circulation figures is frequently hailed as a sign of effective programs; (3) the quality of services which can be offered by either institution alone is generally only sufficient to meet the needs of the most self-directed clients, i.e., the least needy; and (4) since there are obviously not unlimited resources available to either institution, piggy-backing funding makes good sense.

INCREASE IN NUMBERS SERVED

Coordination can lead to an immediate increase in the number of adults served by public libraries. In two AAEC sites, one urban and one rural, there has been a large growth in ABE enrollment. At all of the AAEC model centers the quality of service to adults from both libraries and ABE has conspicuously improved. As a result, satisfied customers have served as informal recruiters, leading through word-of-mouth to even higher ABE enrollment and higher library usage.

ACCOUNTABILITY

Improvement of services creates "success" for both institutions in the eyes of the community. In this age of accountability and administrative and legislative challenges, demonstrable success is no mean benefit. Continuation of federal input into both institutions probably relies on just such demonstratons.

QUALITY OF SERVICES IMPROVE

Quality of service, of course, assumes more than surface numbers. Salutary outcomes in human lives do not respond to attempts at quantification as easily as do enrollment and circulation figures. Using a case study method, the AAEC has studied the impact of combined library and ABE services on the disadvantaged, and has found emphatic changes in the lives of program participants in many areas of adult responsibility. (A casebook of forty-one examples of impact has been published separately by the AAEC.) In a cooperative arrangement needs isolated by one service can be met with alacrity by the other. For example, information needs of ABE students can be met immediately: skills problems uncovered in library usage define clearcut subgoals which can be dealt with in the educational program. Furthermore, the special needs of Groups III and IV—particularly for one-to-one and home delivery of services—have a greater possibility of being met as the numbers of staff increase who are dealing with this public.

FISCAL ADVANTAGES

From a monetary point of view both public libraries and ABE are helped by coordination. Neither schools nor libraries have much money for specialization. With coordination, ABE no longer must spend large amounts of staff time or money in locating or buying supplementary adult-relevant reading materials. Mobile facilities owned by either institution going to disadvantaged areas can deliver the services of the other institution. Two examples exist in Alabama: (1) a mobile learning center checks out library books; (2) a bookmobile carries a paraprofessional teacher. In addition to cost-sharing, it seems likely that, in the long run, libraries will become more widely known (as they reportedly have in New York) as educational institutions rather than as dispensable "cultural frills," increasing the likelihood of their requests for bond issues and raises in millage being received favorably by the electorate.

The Differences in Funding Patterns Between ABE and Libraries

ABE–FEDERAL

Differences in funding patterns, however, tend to obscure the financial advantages of coordination. Since at least seventy percent of all ABE funding is generated from federal sources, ABE is reasonably responsive to a national mandate (somewhat diluted recently) to combat poverty and functional illiteracy. Researchers' estimates of the proportions of federal, other nonlocal, and local funding spent on specialized services to disadvantaged adults and children are inconclusive, but it seems likely that with most of the overall public library funding being generated locally, the lack of responsiveness of local government to the needs of the disadvantaged becomes a problem. A lesson for libraries—and their fiscal authorities—can be learned from the community school movement, however. School administrators have found that involvement in an institution brings the community face-to-face with both its problems and its potential benefits, increasing the likelihood of financial support in the future.

LIBRARIES–LOCAL

Selection, Self-Selection, and Role Expectation of Personnel

Although a host of staff selection patterns exist in the two institutions, the marginality of their specializations for disadvantaged adults affects the tenure and therefore the professional commitment of those employed. However, professional librarians, i.e., those with Master's degrees, may transfer within the library if funding of adult services for the disadvantaged dissipates, while adult education specialists, especailly if they are full-time, may need to change fields.

THE ABE JOB MARKET IS UNSTABLE

ABE staffs are all too often paid only for client contact. Fringe ABE benefits are rare even for full-time personnel and tenured jobs in ABE are virtually unheard-of. For the majority of teachers with family responsibilities, full-time ABE work is, therefore, an unmanageable luxury. The bulk of ABE programs are manned completely by moonlighting teachers in rural areas, and to a large extent in urban areas too. Consequently, in many states the annual drop-out rate of ABE staff is a disastrous fifty percent—far exceeding the very considerable ABE student drop-out rate. The costs in new training and in loss of learning caused by inexperienced teachers is incalculable.

ABE SELECTION CRITERIA

While selection criteria for ABE staff do exist—particularly in larger and better established programs—the self-selection of personnel into ABE too often has less to do with the goals and clientele of the program than with the need for an additional source of income. Some states, Vermont, for example, has had a policy of not hiring staff who have a primary commitment to another paying job, e.g., moonlighting teachers. However, if a teaching background is a criterion for employment, available personnel are limited to housewives and retirees who, again, often desire to supplement the family income rather than to make a career commitment. Lack of such a commitment does not necessarily render a teacher ineffective, but it tends to limit the time and attention s/he can or does pay to ABE.

TEACHER'S UNIONS

In urban areas occasionally teachers unions exist which represent ABE. Unfortunately, strong unions sometimes unintentionally preclude quality ABE programs. In those few instances where tenured ABE jobs do exist, it is usually as the result of these unions. Apparently the unions view both moonlighting and full-time ABE jobs solely as fringe benefits or income sources rather than as educational tasks, because they often demand that ABE administrators hire those with the greatest seniority—whether or not those people are prepared in attitude and by training to be effective with disadvantaged adults. As can be pointed out on the maintenance-change continuum, professional legitimacy does not guarantee the necessary goals and insights to promote upward mobility in one's clientele—in fact it may indicate a traditionalism quite antithetical to the needed flexibility.

On the other hand, a sizable minority of staff either chose ABE because of a desire to be socially useful, or find it a challenging endeavor after selecting themselves into ABE work for other personal, non-ABE reasons. Prominent in this minority are many full-time and part-time paraprofessionals.

PARAPROFESSIONALS ARE SOMETIMES CONSIDERED JOB THREATS

That paraprofessionals are often highly successful in offering public services to disadvantaged populations is well known. Why they are successful is not sufficiently explained. Well-trained and supervised paraprofessional and/or indigenous personnel seem to act as models for upward mobility as well as communicators with whom their clients can identify. However, paraprofessionals are sometimes seen as a job threat to professionals, particularly in low-income areas where there is marginal, barely institutionalized employment. (The term *paraprofessional* in ABE means (1) no or (2) little training in education.) In the library world it is differentiated from the *nonprofessional* who has no training in library science. The library paraprofessional usually has at least two years of preparation. For purposes of comparison, the term *paraprofessional* should be read to mean *nonprofessional* in libraries. The term *nonprofessional* is not widely used in ABE circles.

LIBRARY MANPOWER STUDIES: NONPROFESSIONALS TWO-TO-ONE

The U. S. Department of Labor study of library manpower needs into the next decade, found 26,450 professional public librarians and 45,600 nonprofessional (or in ABE parlance, paraprofessional) public library staff members.[20] The DOL study also predicted an increasing tendency toward the hiring of nonprofessionals in public libraries. The preceding (early 60's) library manpower study had already shown an increase in nonprofessional clerical positions.[21] Therefore, the job threat is real, although the reason for hiring nonprofessionals is usually economy rather than an interest in increased service through the employment of indigenous personnel. The smaller the library budget, the more likely the entire library staff is to be made up entirely of paraprofessionals. Since under these circumstances, the nonprofessionals do not have the needed professional back-up resource people as information-getters, possible increases in quality of service often do not occur concurrent with

[20]Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, *Library Manpower: A Study of Requirements and Supply* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, 1966.

[21]Henry T. Drennan and Richard L. Darling, *Library Manpower, Occupational Characteristics of Public and School Librarians,* (Washington, DC: Bureau of Adult and Vocational Education, Division of Library Services, 1966).

employing indigenous staff. Paraprofessionals in ABE probably are seen more as a service necessity than the economy they tend to be in libraries. Since nonprofessionals seem to be essential to top quality library services to disadvantaged adults, their ambiguous place in the library organization is a danger to such specializations.[22]

PROFESSIONALS MAY OPT OUT

When tensions exist between professional and nonprofessional staff members, obviously program effectiveness is decreased in both ABE and libraries. Rather than "competing" many professional librarians tend to vacate the field, i.e., interpret the library programs for the disadvantaged as something that nonprofessionals so rather than as a team effort. This interpretation lowers the prestige of such programs in the library world and ensures their early demise.

The pool of librarians trained and hired exclusively to develop and run programs for disadvantaged adults is too meager to compare with the pool of ABE personnel on any variable. Their number is apparently even smaller nationwide than that of full-time practitioners in ABE. It is easier to compare the selection patterns of ABE personnel with the selection of adult services and public service librarians, although it is understood that these librarians may not have any deliberate involvement in services to the disadvantaged as a group.

ABE STAFF SELF-SELECTION AND JOB-GETTING PROCEDURES

ABE staff seem to pursue the following general pattern in their self-selection and job-getting procedures:

1. They make a career commitment to the elementary or secondary education of children.

2. They study for a Bachelor's or Master's degree.

3. After teaching for several years they either (a) apply for, or (b) are recruited for teaching in an ABE class.

4. Depending upon the ABE training available in that particular state or DHEW region and upon the commitment of their local supervisors, they may receive short-term training.

5. If they are successful and become involved in teaching this particular clientele, they may enroll in the nearest graduate program in adult and continuing education. While more young people are making a career commitment to ABE immediately post-Bachelor's before they gain teaching experience, this is by no means the norm. Only three undergraduate programs are offered in the country in ABE to these authors' knowledge.

6. The present uncertainty in funding—ABE funds have been subject to impoundment and sudden release—and the future uncertainties of the locus of control of ABE funds, has caused a constriction in the hiring of ABE personnel.

LIBRARY STAFF SELF-SELECTION AND JOB-GETTING PROCEDURES

Professional librarians seem to pursue the following general pattern in their self-selection and job-getting procedures:

[22] *An Evaluation of State Supported Library Programs for the Disadvantaged in Illinois* (Silver Springs, Maryland: Social, Educational, Research, and Development, Inc., August, 1970).

1. They appear, largely, to opt for a maintenance-type object-important career (as opposed to a service orientation).

2. They often have made a subject-area decision prior to library school rather than deciding upon a client-group concentration. The obvious exceptions are children, young-adult, and special services librarians. However, within these client specialities no discrete publics seem to be delineated.

   It might be speculated, however, that those who opt for a client-centered career might prove to be more comfortably retreaded into adult-services-for-disadvantaged librarians than content specialists—as elementary school teachers have seemed generally easier to retread for ABE than have high school subject area teachers.

3. Librarians choose between public, school, academic, or special libraries.

4. Librarians then plan to move to existing jobs, again unlike ABE staff, who, except for a tiny minority of highly trained specialists, rise from the ranks of the local school system. This means that librarians often have less knowledge of—and possibly, therefore, less commitment to—the area in which they serve.

5. In recent years LSA and then LSCA have fostered many new libraries as well as the expansion of library staffs, offering newly trained librarians a large choice of offerings. The 1973 classes, however, discovered what the DOL library manpower study found: the library market is constricting. The constriction in the ABE market is more ambiguous, less certain, and harder to interpret than the library constriction. How this constriction will affect library specializations is open to question. If the library world should respond to the threat to its funds by developing a change orientation, it might become desirable to select oneself into client-centered specialties. On the other hand, this constriction in the library job market may breed generalists afraid to put all their eggs into any specialty basket.

The one service specialty which seems particularly close to adult services to disadvantaged adults is reference services. However, training for reference librarians emphasizes printed tools usually, rather than community information sources. Harris says that since about the time of World War II, librarians

> . . . were obligated to remain generally *uninvolved* in the patron's efforts to make a decision . . . the responsibility for library use [was] on the patron, not the librarian. The librarian need only provide access to the information: The user was responsible for coming to the library to acquire it. The emphasis was on the library as guardian of the information; very little attention was devoted to the dissemination of the information once acquired by the library.[23]

[23] Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 2514.

ROLE EXPECTATIONS

There appears to be some general differences in role expectations between the two groups of professionals which may be related to the personality types who select themselves into the professions. While ABE teachers seem to be service-oriented, they appear to define their jobs only in relation to their students. They do not seem to seem themselves as having a supportive function with other professionals who are less familiar with their clients.

The personality type of successful ABE staff (if there is such an entity) seems to be outgoing, egalitarian, empathetic, energetic, somewhat service-oriented, but private. They seem to think largely in terms of "my students in my classroom." As a generalization with many exceptions, teachers, including ABE teachers, are isolated from other social services.

LIBRARIANS

Librarians, on the other hand, in the AAEC experience seem to handle supporting other professionals easily, but often appear uncomfortable in certain kinds of client contact—particularly with people of a different social class. There are obviously many librarians who are outgoing, insightful, and at ease with all patrons, but librarians seem to be shyer persons, generally, than ABE teachers, and many need help in relating to a disadvantaged adult group. They seem to be less convinced of their abilities as social change agents. However, in these AAEC centers where ABE teachers were encouraged to be and were supportive of librarians, those librarians with doubts about disadvantaged adults or their own relationships to them found themselves to be extremely effective (sometimes, it seemed, to their surprise) in drawing information needs from ABE learners and meeting those needs.

ABE STAFF

In review, ABE teachers as a group have less professional commitment to adult education than librarians have to library work. However, the commitment to the library specialization analogous to ABE—adult services to the disadvantaged—really is too small to be assessed. ABE teachers are plagued with little time, with uncertain job tenure, lack of a deep career commitment, and with uncertain criteria for job holding. They are often aided by the relative strength of the ABE specialization within the public schools, by their own service orientation, and by their stability in their communities.

Librarians are often hindered in their services to disadvantaged adults by their own timidity, by the uncertain status of nonprofessionals, by correspondingly little time, and by their lack of familiarity with community needs because of their geographic mobility. They are aided by their relative job stability, and can be successfully supported by agency personnel such as ABE teachers in expanding services to disadvantaged adults.

The Effects of Accreditation on the Goals and Services of the Two Institutions

THE STRUGGLE FOR PROFESSIONALISM

Librarians are still engaged in the fight for professional legitimacy that teachers faced in the 20's and 30's. At one time it was as common to describe oneself as a "professional teacher" as it is now to describe oneself as a "professional librarian." Accreditation is a more pressing (and

emotional) issue today in the library world than in the teaching world. While accreditation is a fact for most teaching staffs, (other than paraprofessionals), it is not a fact among library workers. Small libraries are lucky to employ one professional librarian. Several states have passed laws for accrediting librarians, laws which they have been unable to implement because salaries are too low—particularly in rural areas—to attract trained librarians. Library specialists in adult services to the disadvantaged have not yet become numerous enough to warrant state regulation in most states.

ABE STAFF ACCREDITATION: THE STATE

ABE has advanced beyond a specialization to an independent institution in many states to the point of state teacher certification or accreditation. However, those states which established accreditation earliest seem to have had the most traditional culture-transfer-like requirements. These requirements may not include any mention of adults or the disadvantaged, i.e., all that is required to teach ABE is a teaching certificate. Newer accreditation often stresses teacher preparation that is designed to lead to social change for their students.

LIBRARY STAFF ACCREDITATION: THE SCHOOL

The prestige of accreditation in the library world encourages greater exclusivity and restrictiveness in terms of the requirements for certification. Consequently, library science offerings in higher education are slow to change for fear of losing accredited status. Only recently has there been a move to devote any real time in the library curriculum to the service areas which promote social change in terms of upward mobility by differentiating services for different publics. Even yet, in most library science curricula these courses are offered late in the curriculum as electives. That is to say, library curricula have developed along traditional, custodial, rather mechanistic lines which further the view of the library as a repository rather than as a dispersal or service agency. Some of the most innovative library science curricula seem to be in non-ALA accredited schools. This lack of accreditation, however, affects the job opportunities of their graduates, especially as the labor market constricts. Many library agencies will only hire graduates from ALA-accredited schools.

THE GROWTH OF GRADUATE STUDY IN ABE

In 1965, when the bulk of federal funds for ABE became available, few graduate departments of adult education existed. Those that did exist were devoted mostly to forms of adult education which do not seem to be particularly well suited to the needs of disadvantaged adults. As these and the first new departments of adult education developed a sequence for graduate preparation in ABE, the curricula were exceedingly traditional—of a culture-transfer variety. However, adult education research and demonstration funds went to the same persons who began to build graduate departments, since there were so few professionals engaged in ABE-like endeavors when federal monies became available. This historical accident has developed increasingly innovative and change-oriented curricula, especially in the newer graduate departments of adult education. Consequently, new ABE professionals, where they exist, tend to have quite a different orientation from new library professionals, both because of the curricula offered to them, and because to be graduate students in ABE in the first place requires a prior career commitment to a client group (disadvantaged adults) and to the specialization of adult basic education. However, there are few new ABE professionals, relatively speaking (although infinitely more than five years ago). The majority of ABE staff have had no university training. In fact, in too many cases there

has been no training at all, or, at the most, a few days of pre- or in-service training. With the advent of the USOE regional staff development policies and practices in 1971-72, however, more and more graduate courses and intensive training in methodology are being offered where ABE teachers have access to them.[24]

The Role of the Professional Associations

ADULT EDUCATION ASSOCIATIONS

NAPCAE AND AEA

Over the years public school adult education has developed its own national, state, and local professional associations, under the auspices of the National Association for Public and Continuing Education (NAPCAE). Adult education sponsored by other institutions, such as universities, have developed their own professional associations also. One reasonably strong umbrella association exists—the Adult Education Association of the U.S.A. (AEA). NAPCAE and AEA have developed active units devoted to ABE, known respectively as the ABE Committee and the Commission on ABE. NAPCAE in particular acts as an advocate and lobbyist for its membership.

No certification of graduate departments of adult education exists outside of normal college accreditation procedures. The North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools has developed minimum accreditation levels for separately administered adult high schools similar to those it has developed for high schools devoted to the education of teenagers. In those states with ABE certification requirements which include adult education course work or training, the emphasis is on *what* the potential employee has studied, not *where* more university faculty members and consequently appears to strive more toward professional legitimacy (with all its accompanying traditionalism).

AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION

The libraries have their own, stronger, professional association, although many librarians belong to AEA. The American Library Association (ALA) has a grip on the library world, however, outside of the experience of the adult education associations. While NAPCAE, AEA, and some of the other adult education associations publish journals regularly and monographs occasionally, ALA is a major publisher in the library field. Moreover, in addition to professional lobbying, ALA is the official accrediting agency of graduate departments of library science. ALA also runs a placement service. Consequently, this professional association has the two somewhat contrary functions of keeping people *in* the library profession through lobbying, placement, and other advocacy activities and *out* through rigorous accreditation procedures. ALA has among its semi-autonomous divisions the Reference and Adult Services Division (RASD), which considers the specialization of library services to adult "special publics" according to the ALA Handbook. ALA also has an administrative office, Library Service to the Disadvantaged (LPD) which acts in an advocacy relationship to the divisions. LPD does not have a membership as do the divisions, however, which probably softens its impact.

ALA is in a better position to initiate change through sheer numbers. It has ten thousand members—almost twice the combined membership of

[24]The regions conform to the ten DHEW regions.

NAPCAE and AEA. Yet the tension between its functions somewhat neutralizes its effectiveness as a change agent in its professional field.

When attempting coordination between public libraries and adult basic education, the differences in orientation of the two sets of staff members needs to be understood. Striving for professional legitimacy through accreditation is more central to library workers. Probably this is because in the public eye all library staff members are librarians, regardless of training or the lack of it, while most ABE staff are actually certified teachers. By historical accident graduate curricula in adult education are generally considerably freer to change and more service-oriented than library curricula so newly trained ABE staff should be, at least theoretically, more open to and able to design services to effect change. Adult education associations are probably also much freer to initiate change in their fields than is the American Library Association. Whether they have the ear of their members so they can act on this freedom is debatable.

The Combined Reasons that Coordination Does Not Occur Spontaneously

In reviewing this kaleidoscope of institutions, people, roles, needs, resources, and resistances—all of the pressures for and against coordination of public libraries and public schools in the common aim of alleviating poverty and undereducation in the adult American population—the chief pressures *for* coordination seem to revolve around need; the chief pressures *against* coordination seem to center around traditionalism.

This summary section outlines this volume. Discussions of items in the summary figures are discussed in more depth in the text. Figures 6, 7, and 8 review needs. Figures 9, 10, 11, and 12 review obstacles to service.

NEEDS OF DISADVANTAGED ADULTS

Figure 6

Needs of 57,000,000 Adults

Personal Independence or Self-Direction

New Coping Skills

ABE	LIBRARIES
1. Instruction in Reading	1. Library as an Information Agency
2. Instruction in the Application of Reading	Interagency Linkages
Interagency Linkages	Including Community Referral
3. Outreach	2. Special Materials
Including Home Services	3. Outreach
	Including Home Services

NEEDS OF ABE AND LIBRARIES

Figure 7

Needs of the Two Institutions That Can Be Met Through Coordination

1. To Serve Larger Public
2. Interagency Professional Help
3. Data for Accountability
4. To Tap Other Sources of Funds
5. Public Relations

STIMULATION TO COORDINATION

Figure 8

Movements in the Two Institutions Toward Services Which Encourage Coordination

SERENDIPITY	LIBRARIES	ABE
Some Full-time specialists	X	X
Interest of Professional Associations	X	X
Institutionalization of Services for the Disadvantaged:		
Nationally		X
Urban Areas	X (Adults?)	X
Information Agency Concept	X	
Peoples University Tradition	X	
LSCA Priority	X	
Adult Education Act		X
Coping Skills Concept		X

POSITIVE RESPONSE FROM THE PUBLIC

In addition to the movement toward services on the part of the two institutions, the target audience and the general public also respond in ways that encourage coordination:

1. Some members of Groups I and II already use both ABE and public library services.

2. Library services for disadvantaged adults are universally desirable to adults and young adults.

The urgency to action that might seem to be engendered by the needs of half of the adult American population, not to mention the needs of the institutions themselves, is off-set by long lists of pressures against (1) any type of new service or the specialization of existing services for disadvantaged adults; or (2) coordination of existing specializations. In reviewing this list, the most important question must be whether the needs outlined above are important enough to this country for it to muster the energy needed to overcome the obstacles. It is startling to contemplate the number of Americans who are Have Nots by any standard—starving is the same in an underdeveloped or a developed country—and the number of other Americans who refuse or choose not to accept the fact that those numbers of deprived exist in their midst.

OBSTRUCTIONS TO COORDINATION

ABE STUDENTS

Figure 9

PASSIVE RESISTANCE FROM THE TARGET GROUP

PROBLEMS NOT SEEN AS INFORMATION NEEDS	
RESIST ABE	RESIST LIBRARIES

LIBRARIES

Figure 10

LIBRARY TRENDS DISCOURAGING SPECIALIZATION FOR THE DISADVANTAGED AND THEREFORE COORDINATION WITH ABE

1. Repository function, i.e., anti-service or program concept.
2. Interpretation of the concept of universality.
3. Small collections.
4. Minimally trained staffs (especially in rural areas) (a) in library science (b) in specialty.
5. Advisory capacity of state agencies.
6. Few adult services librarians.
7. Few librarians with primary duties to the disadvantaged.
8. Thrust towards children's services
9. Resistance to disadvantaged adults
10. Place-boundness
11. View of reading as an end in itself.
12. Hours open not concurrent with ABE.
13. Success of paraprofessionals
14. Pamphlets held in low esteem
15. Problems of professionalization

ABE

Figure 11

ABE TRENDS DISCOURAGING COORDINATION WITH PUBLIC LIBRARIES

1. Culture-transfer aspects
2. Part-time staffs
3. Marginal status
4. Success of paraprofessionals
5. Not offered concurrently with library hours.
6. Minimally trained staffs
7. My-student-my-classroom syndrome, i.e., lack of support to other professionals
8. Place-boundness

NATION

Figure 12

NATIONAL TRENDS AND CONDITIONS DISCOURAGING COORDINATION OF THE TWO INSTITUTIONS IN SERVICE TO DISADVANTAGED ADULTS

1. Waning federal antipoverty war
2. Low or zero funding of both agencies
3. Differences in funding patterns of the two agencies
4. Weak local government commitment to the needs of the disadvantaged
5. Sheer distance in rural areas
6. Dissimilar organizational structures, i.e., unequal hierarchies
7. Political nature of schools
8. Large number of units in schools
9. Lack of compulsary accountability for LSCA priorities, including one for the disadvantaged
10. ABE is not universally desirable to adults.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the AAEC experiences have convinced its staff that:

1. There are enormous needs to expand educational services to adults in the United States, both in terms of instructional and library services

2. Despite the traditionalism rampant in both institutions, there is a swelling urgency to meet these needs.

3. Both institutions can overcome all obstacles to services to disadvantaged adults.

4. Both institutions can overcome all obstacles to coordinating those services.

5. The presence of a middleman or catalyst such as the AAEC project directors in the growth of specialized services and coordinated services speeds and eases the process.

Hundreds of times the AAEC staff have heard librarians say most soberly, "Teachers don't read," and have heard teachers say, "Librarians don't want to check out books." The AAEC hopes it has not been guilty of the kind of stereotyping these pervasive statements imply. Each ABE student is different, each librarian is different, each ABE teacher is different. Similarities have been pointed out in the interests of action—the coordinated action the Appalachian Adult Education Center has come to feel is so necessary, valuable, and feasible.

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