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THE PUBLIC LIBRARY AND ITS COMMUNITY. A STUDY OF THE IMPACT OF LIBRARY SERVICES IN FIVE PENNSYLVANIA CITIES.

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This study analyzes the impact of library services in five medium-sized communities with differing geographic, economic, and social characteristics and determines the place of the public library within the pattern of city governmental services. Methods used for the study include interviews with community leaders, library trustees, librarians, and a cross section of residents and questionnaire mailed to library card holders It was found that the library's public still comes from the most literate and influential segment of the community; users are pleased with present services, opposition to library service is not apparent; the library is not yet regarded as part of the local public service system, there is movement toward the library system concept, the professional librarian is the main force for librar change, and none of the programs studied contain a full range of expanded library services. Recommendations for improvement emphasize: (1) regional library systems, (2) the librarian actively entering the political process and enlarging the community served by reaching non-users, and (3) the public library becoming an information center to serve public agencies, business, and industry. (JB)

PENNSYLVANIA STATE LIBRARY
MONOGRAPH SERIES No. 7

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THE INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY

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WILLIAM R. MONAT
Professor of Political Science and Public Administration

with the assistance of

LAWRENCE K. PETTIT
Associate Professor of Political Science

PHILIP M. CLARK
Research Assistant

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   Lowell A. Martin. 2 Volumes. 1958

2. *A Study and Recommendations of Library Districts for Pennsylvania.*
   Kenneth E. Beasley and Carl E. Robinson. Institute of Public Administration, The Pennsylvania State University. 1962

3. *A Statistical Reporting System for Local Public Libraries.*
   Kenneth E. Beasley. Institute of Public Administration, The Pennsylvania State University. 1964

4. *Southeastern Pennsylvania Processing Center Feasibility Study.*
   Sarah K. Vann. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania State Library. 1967

5. *Feasibility of Cooperation for Exchange of Resources Among Academic and Special Libraries in Pennsylvania.*
   Ralph Blasingame. Institute of Public Administration, The Pennsylvania State University. 1967.

6. *Progress and Problems of Pennsylvania Libraries, A Re-Survey.*
   Lowell A. Martin. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania State Library. 1967

7. *The Public Library and its Community: A Study of the Impact of Lib .y Services in Five Pennsylvania Cities.*
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PREFACE

This study was commissioned by the State Library in January 1965 for the purpose of determining the impact of public library services in five medium sized Pennsylvania cities. We wished to learn a number of things about library service through this study; particularly we hoped to collect information concerning these questions:

— Who uses the library, for what purposes and with what frequency?

— What attitudes do users and non-users hold about the local library and its financial support?

— What is the community environment for library services?

— How is the library governed and managed?

The study was conducted by persons skilled in the methods of research who are professionals in the field of public administration. By identifying the elements that affect a library's program and its impact, it is hoped that this report will assist boards and directors of libraries in formulating policies that will lead to improved library service for all the people.

The State library owes its gratitude to the five libraries which cooperated willingly with the research team in this candid and factual study.

ERNEST E. DOERSCHUCK, JR.
State Librarian
Pennsylvania State Library

FOREWORD

The information revolution, which we are now experiencing, places heavy demands upon mechanisms for classifying, storing and retrieving information. At the same time, recreation and entertainment patterns are changing as the result of more affluence and leisure. The local public library, a traditional resource for both information and recreation, is thus required to adjust to changing needs and demands, if it is to play a vital role in the community.

In 1961, the Pennsylvania General Assembly enacted legislation authorizing a state-wide integrated library system. Since then, the Institute of Public Administration of the Pennsylvania State University has conducted a series of studies under contract with the Pennsylvania State Library. The first two projects, "A Study and Recommendations of Library Districts for Pennsylvania" and "A Statistical Reporting System for Local Public Libraries", provided operational guides for establishing districts and a reporting system. The present study is an analysis of the impact of library services in five medium sized cities that differ in their geographic, economic and social characteristics.

To determine the library's community impact several methods were employed: interviews with community leaders, library board members and professional librarians; a mail questionnaire sent to a sample of library card holders in each city; and a personal interview survey of a cross-section of residents of one of the cities so that non-cardholders could be compared with cardholders. The findings reported herein provide a wealth of detail concerning the characteristics of the library user and non-user and his attitudes and opinions regarding the library and its administration. The study also includes an analysis of the library in the context of the larger governmental service system of which it is a part.

Dr. William R. Monat, Professor of Political Science and Public Administration and Associate Director of the Institute of Public Administration, was project director and is the senior author of this report. Dr. Lawrence K. Pettit, Associate Professor of Political Science, directed the Lycoming County Survey and is responsible for Chapter 6. Philip M. Clark, Research Assistant, Institute of Public Administration, assisted with all phases of the study and conducted the leadership interviews.

We wish to thank the several graduate students majoring in public administration and political science who provided valuable assistance in collecting data and preparing it for analysis. We are also grateful to the many citizens, community leaders and library personnel who provided the information that made the study possible. We are especially appreciative of the advice and counsel of Ernest E. Doerschuck, Jr., State Librarian, and members of his staff.

As a careful reading of this report will show, the public library, as represented in these five cities, still has many challenges facing it in order to meet the needs and demands of the future. But a first step to progress is a careful assessment of the current state of affairs. This study has aimed to provide such an assessment.

Robert J. Mowitz, Director
Institute of Public Administration
The Pennsylvania State University

CHAPTER 1 / THE LIBRARY'S URBAN ENVIRONMENT

> "So the public library began, with claims to a great democratic service but with a small select leadership, close ties with philanthropy, and few persons vitally interested. Although librarians have spoken of their institution as if it were as important as street lighting, sanitation, police and fire protection, public parks, and hospitals, the American people have not so considered it. The people, taken as a whole, have felt that it was a good thing to have around and have taken pride in it when possible, but they have not considered the library a *sine qua non* of their way of life."
>
> Oliver Garceau, *The Public Library and the Political Process*[1]

This is a study of five public libraries in five different Pennsylvania communities. The basic purpose of the inquiry was the collection and analysis of information concerning five major topics of continuing interest to library administrators, library boards, and students of library services. These were: (1) to determine who uses library services, with what frequency, and for what purposes; (2) to determine the attitudes of library users and non-users toward the public library; (3) to determine the degree and type of financial assistance received by the library and the attitudes of concerned individuals within the community about these financial arrangements; (4) to determine, in a general sense, how well the library meets the needs of its users and the community it purports to serve; and (5) to determine where the public library fits into the overall pattern of governmental services within each of the five cities studied. Such an inquiry, it was felt, would meet part of the research deficit that Conant and Blasingame pointed to at a recent Symposium on library Functions in the Changing Metropolis.[2]

The five libraries selected were: The Altoona Public Library, the Erie Public Library, the Pottsville Free Public Library, the Lancaster Free Public Library and the James V. Brown Library of Williamsport and Lycoming County. Each library exhibits different institutional characteristics; they are governed differentiy, they are financed dif-

1. Oliver Garceau, *The Public Library and the Political Process* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949), p. 35.

2. Ralph W. Conant and Ralph Blasingame, Jr., "Some Research Questions," in R. W. Conant (editor), *The Public Library and the City* (Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press, 1965), especially pp. 179-183.

ferently, and they have developed along different lines. All five, however, are District Library Centers within the Pennsylvania plan for state-wide integrated library services under the provisions of the Library Code of 1961.[3] Since the District Center is pivotal in the development plans for improved library services in the Commonwealth it was felt that an examination of the problems, clientele and agency-community relationships for these libraries would be of heightened value.

Designation as a District Center was based on several criteria. Among the most important were: relative stability of district and population growth; overall adequacy of the local library program in terms of book collection (both fiction and nonfiction), reference materials, periodicals, audio-visual services, etc.; general adequacy of the physical facilities housing the library; evidence of local willingness to finance an adequate library program; and a generally central location with respect to the opulation to be served.

Generally speaking, District Centers are the largest, most permanent, and best financed public libraries within a given area. The district concept is basically one of a "back-up" system for local libraries and theoretically opens up the entire spectrum of public library services in the Commonwealth to the individual citizen and library user. The standards for District Centers have been accorded sufficiently detailed discussion elsewhere to preclude extended analysis in this study.[4] However, since some of the factors, such as size, proximity, and staff complement, indicated the District Center's potential for area leadership, it is appropriate to summarize them.

Essentially, District Center libraries were to be within one hour's drive for anyone living within the district. The library was to be governed by a publicly appointed body responsible to some unit of local government (a city, a county, a school district). The minimum personnel complement should be fifteen staff persons, of whom at least seven should be professionally trained. Resources were to include at least 75,000 volumes with 5,000 volumes added annually. Periodicals were to number at least 250 along with sufficient back issues. The library

3. The Act of June 14, 1961, P. L. 324. Thirty District Centers were established in 1963.

4. See Kenneth E. Beasley and Carl E. Robinson, *A Study and Recommendations of Library Districts for Pennsylvania* (University Park, Pa.; Institute of Public Administration, The Pennsylvania State University, 1962), particularly pages 3-8, for an analysis of these criteria. It was largely on the basis of this study, which in turn was financed through a contract with the Pennsylvania State Library, that the 30 District Centers were selected. An earlier analysis and study, one providing the basis for the enactment of the Library Code of 1961, also contains an extended discussion: Lowell A. Martin, *Library Services in Pennsylvania: Present and Proposed, Volume I,* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania State Library, 1958).

was to be open at least 60 hours a week, including five evenings a week, and professional information or reference staff was to be available at all times the library was open. As for interior space, at least 15,000 square feet was desired exclusive of meeting rooms. The budget was to be a minimum of $100,000 annually. It was further suggested that the mission of the District Center was to coordinate, promote, and assist all libraries within the area served and to act as the source of supply for inter-library loans within the district. It should be marked well, however, that in practice these have not been operational standards; they have, instead, become developmental goals, even for the five libraries included in our study.

In a sense, therefore, the five libraries we have chosen, since they are by their designation as District Centers among the better facilities within the State, represent what by Pennsylvania standards is considered to be good library service. It is obvious, of course, that they cannot be compared with the level or quality of services provided by the major metropolitan libraries in Philadelphia or Pittsburgh. But located as they are in medium sized cities, these libraries probably do reflect the kind of library services available to most urban Pennsylvanians who do not inhabit the two major metropolitan regions. And since they are District Centers, it is likely that the quality of their product is of a higher order than that offered by libraries not so designated.

Four of the thirty District Centers are located in and serve the two major population concentrations in and around Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.[5] In a way any one of the other 26 libraries could have been drawn into our study. The five finally chosen were selected for a number of reasons. Beasley and Robinson observed:

> "Local libraries are often highly individualized institutions. Many of them in Pennsylvania have a long rich history as private associations which were nurtured for many years by the leaders in the communities. In these cases patrons are proud of their libraries and look upon them as one of the symbols of community solidarity. Some local libraries are financed generously by the local taxpayers while others have been restricted to rendering minimum service . . . Special note must be made of the fact that in a number of communities, the libraries are almost totally a product of librarians who have built up the facilities over a period of years of devoted service."[6]

5. The four are: The Philadelphia Free Library, serving Philadelphia and parts of Delaware, Montgomery, and Bucks Counties; the Bucks County Free Library and the Norristown Public Library (Montgomery County), which serves the remainder of the Philadelphia metropolitan area; and the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh, serving Pittsburgh, Allegheny County and portions of Westmoreland and Butler Counties.

6. Beasley and Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

Given this diversity we sought to focus our research on as varied a mix of libraries and cities as our resources permitted. Two of the libraries, therefore, are operated by the local Board of Education, two are private corporations which have increasingly relied upon public funds, and one is an old style "association library." One of the libraries, at the time we started the study, still had its original librarian at the helm. Another librarian had become almost a fixture in the community her tenure had been so prolonged. The other three libraries had experienced several periods of lengthy leadership.

We also looked for differing patterns of library-community linkages. These ranged from one library which has been largely locked within the local school system to another which has attempted to reach out into the community and seek support in a way that would indeed earn the plaudits of the Public Library Association. Various structures and channels for library funding and a mixed pattern of revenue sources were also drawn into the research design. At the time of selection, two libraries also functioned as county libraries.

Other considerations also contributed to the selection of libraries and cities. We felt that the cities should vary somewhat in size, in economic base, in geographical distribution throughout the state, and in general, constitute a fairly representative portrait of the accomplishments and failures of medium sized Pennsylvania cities. One city of slightly over 20,000 was selected because it exhibited many of the characteristics of a chronically depressed area. Another of over 100,000 was chosen because it was a true "city" and exhibited few of the small town attributes evident in smaller communities. One city was included precisely because of its viable economy and its proximity to the burgeoning megalopolis of the Eastern seaboard; it also boasted of a relatively new library building housing its sizeable collection. Woefully inadequate library facilities coupled with an economy that was striving to wean itself from a dominant but declining industry dictated the choice of another city. A fifth was selected for two reasons; it was a library under aggressive leadership that was reaching out to achieve the official standards for a District Center, and it was located in a city which was an area market center but which otherwise was relatively isolated from the main population centers and transportation arteries of the State.

All five libraries claimed one additional common element; each one was located in a medium sized city. The population range, based on 1960 Census findings, was from slightly over 20,000 to slightly under 140,000. The five cities, although medium sized in population, provide a rich diversity in governmental structures and political organization,

political and economic values, ethnic and religious composition, and the patterns of community organization and civic leadership.

THE LIBRARIES' URBAN ENVIRONMENT: PROFILES OF FIVE CITIES

No service agency, including a public library, can escape the influences of its environment. The environment provides most of its resources, tends to generate the demands to which the agency is expected to respond, opens up its opportunities and establishes its limits or constraints. The library, as a service institution, can seek to alter the environment and can attempt to guide, direct, and nurture that environment in a manner that protects, reinforces, and supports the agency and its programs. Exploit the environment if it can; but the library ignores that environment at its own peril.

Before turning to a narrative description of the five cities, we should review a comparative statistical profile. Table 1-1 summarizes population growth (and loss) for each of the cities. Each city except Erie experienced a population loss during the decade 1950-1960. Altoona's decline dates from the decade 1930-1940, while Pottsville's started during the decade 1940-1950. Population estimates (1963) for each city must be taken with some caution. They do show, however, a continued attrition; even Erie appeared to suffer some loss while Pottsville perhaps held its own or gained slightly.

The 1960 Census also tells us that this city population decline during the fifties was a phenomenon restricted generally to the central cities. While the City of Altoona lost over 10 percent of its population during the period, and even Blair County declined slightly (less than one percent), the Altoona urban area excluding the central city grew about 44 percent. Both the City and County of Erie gained in population, 5.8 percent and 14.3 percent respectively, but the significant growth again occurred in the urban fringe around the city, which increased by about 90 percent. The pattern was even more remarkable in Lancaster County, which gained by 18.6 percent while the city was losing 4.3 percent; but the suburban ring around the City of Lancaster leaped ahead by over 162 percent. Lycoming County expanded by 8 percent while the City of Williamsport lost 6.8 percent; the growth around the city during the period was about 36 percent. Pottsville stands out among our cities as the only one which exhibited generalized population loss — for the city, the area, and the county. The city lost over 11 percent of its people while Schuylkill County's loss was even higher — 13 percent. Schuylkill County had the greatest population loss among the 23 Pennsylvania counties which lost people during the

period. Even during the years since 1960 when estimates show Pottsville gaining very slightly the county's losses continued.

Of even greater interest are the estimates of net migration for these counties; that is, discounting births and deaths, the population shifts which have occurred by movement in and out. Only one of the counties, Lancaster, enjoyed a net migration increase; the other four suffered net migration losses, with the highest both absolutely (about 38,000 people) and relatively (about 22 percent) occuring in Schuylkill County. For Blair County the estimated net loss due to migration during the decade was about 11 percent, for Lycoming County about 4.5 percent, and for Erie only 2 percent. Lancaster County, on the other hand, was estimated to have enjoyed a net growth due to migration of about 2.4 percent.[7]

Erie is at the center of the most urbanized region among our cities (Erie County is 77 percent urbanized); Altoona is next (Blair County, 68 percent urbanized); and Williamsport follows (Lycoming County is 61 percent urbanized). Lancaster is situated in the least urbanized area (Lancaster County is about 50 percent urbanized). These descriptions must take into account the population distribution; three of the counties contain large mountain and forest areas, which means that the population tends to be more concentrated (Blair, Lycoming, and Schuylkill). Table 1-2 summarizes data concerning area, population density, and urbanism.

Population densities are highest in Erie and Lancaster Counties and, given the topographic features of the two areas, probably more evenly

TABLE 1-1

Population Growth, 1900-1963, By City

City	Population	Increase or Decrease N	Increase or Decrease %	Urbanized Area (Ex. Central City)
Altoona City				
1963 (Est.)*	69,081	— 325	— .5	N.A.
1960	69,407	—7,770	—10.1	13,651
1950	77,177	—3,037	— 3.8	9,437
1940	80,214	—1,840	— 2.2	
1930	82,054	21,723	36.0	
1920	60,331	21,358	54.8	
1900	38,973	8,636	28.5	
Erie City				
1963 (Est.)*	135,038	—3,000	— 2.2	N.A.
1960	138,440	7,637	5.8	38,993
1950	130,803	13,848	11.8	20,907
1940	116,955	988	0.9	
1930	115,967	22,595	24.2	
1920	93,372	40,039	77.1	
1900	52,733	12,099	29.8	

7. Percentages computed from *Pennsylvania Statistical Abstract 1961* (Harrisburg: Department of Internal Affairs, 1961), Table 9, p. 12.

TABLE 1-1 (Con't.)

City	Population	Increase or Decrease N	Increase or Decrease %	Urbanized Area (Ex Central City)
Lancaster City				
1963 (Est.)*	57,203	−3,852	− 6.3	N.A.
1960	61,055	−2,719	− 4.3	32,800
1950	63,774	2,429	4.0	12,506
1940	61,345	1,396	2.3	
1930	59,949	6,799	12.8	
1920	53,150	11,691	28.2	
1900	41,459	9,448	29.5	
Pottsville City				
1963 (Est.)*	21,920	261	1.2	N.A.
1960	21,659	−1,981	− 8.4	N.A.
1950	23,640	− 890	− 3.6	N.A.
1940	24,530	230	0.9	
1930	24,300	2,424	11.1	
1920	21,876	6,166	39.2	
1900	15,710	1,593	11.3	
Williamsport City				
1963 (Est.)*	39,839	−3,128	− 7.5	N.A.
1960	41,967	−3,080	− 6.8	30,088
1950	45,047	692	1.6	21,944
1940	44,355	−1,374	− 3.0	
1930	45,729	9,531	26.3	
1920	36,198	7,441	25.9	
1900	28,757	1,625	6.0	

U.S. Census of Population: 1960. Vol. I, Characteristics of the Population. Part 40, Pennsylvania. Table 5.

**Pennsylvania Statistical Abstract: 1964-65* (Harrisburg, Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1965) 7th Annual Edition. Table 5, p. 8.

TABLE 1-2

Selected Data on Area, Population Density, and Urbanism, By County.

County	Land Area	Persons per Square Mile	Percent Urban	Percent Rural
Blair (Altoona)	531 sq. mi.	258.5	68%	32%
Erie	812	308.7	77	23
Lancaster	944	294.9	50	50
Lycoming (Williamsport)	1214	90.1	61	40
Schuylkill (Pottsville)	783	221.0	54	46

distributed as well. Both counties contain relatively flat lands as contrasted to the mountainous terrain of the other three areas.

Equally interesting are the data summarized in Table 1-3 concerning the age distribution and median age for each of the cities. Relative to the State population these are largely cities inhabited by an aging population; only Erie had a population with a lower median age than that of the State as a whole. Again, except for Erie, each city had fewer people under 18 than for the State generally. Only in two of the cities did there appear to be significant non-white, probably Negro, minority. Erie is really a part of the Great Lakes industrial-commercial complex (running from western New York State across northern Ohio, all of Michigan, northern Illinois, eastern Wisconsin, and northeastern Minnesota). Almost 5 percent of its 1960 population was non-white. Lancaster, along the southern-most strip of the State, bordering on Maryland, had over 4 percent.

One concluding, and revealing, statistic is the fertility ratio. In only one city — Erie — was the ratio higher than that for the State. And in Altoona and Pottsville it was appreciably below the State ratio. With the exception of Erie, a predominantly Roman Catholic city, these cities were simply not reproducing themselves at a rate comparable to the state as a whole. This, of course, will mean that the median age gap will widen and the population of these cities, except for Erie, will increasingly be populated by older people.

These five cities, it is apparent, represent a variegated pattern of growth and decline. But what can the statistics tell us about the characteristics of their residents? Table 1-4 uncovers one group of characteristics, the relationship between native-born, foreign-born, and offspring of foreign stock. Erie obviously enjoyed the greatest ethnic diversity. The other four cities were all above the State average in their proportion of native-born residents and below the State proportionately in the number of residents born of foreign or mixed parentage. The dominant tone of the four cities, excluding Erie, appears to be one of ethnic homogeneity. As we shall see in each of the city profiles, however, dominant ethnic strains persist beyond the second generation. Lancaster, in particular, retains the strong German flavor which its Amish, Mennonite and Dunker settlers brought with them. Pott e, although with only three percent of its residents foreign-born, presents a richer ethnic diversity than Altoona. Fifteen percent of its residents come from immigrant stock which is heavily Eastern European in its origin.

Another facet of our urban environment which conceivably could be relevant for library services is the mobility of the population. Table 1-5 presents some revealing data concerning mobility. The extent of

TABLE 1-3

Age Distribution of Population and Selected Population Statistics, By City and For the State

Age Groups	Pennsylvania	Altoona	Erie	Pottsville	Lancaster	Williamsport
Under 5 years	10.5%	9.3%	11.5%	9.3%	10.2%	9.8%
5 - 9	9.7	9.0	10.4	8.7	8.2	8.9
10 - 14	8.9	8.9	8.9	8.3	7.6	8.2
15 - 19	7.1	7.0	6.9	6.7	7.3	7.2
20 - 24	5.4	4.8	5.3	4.5	6.9	6.1
25 - 29	5.7	4.7	5.5	5.0	6.2	5.4
30 - 34	6.8	5.7	6.6	6.2	6.3	5.8
35 - 39	7.3	6.5	7.1	7.5	6.5	6.2
40 - 44	7.0	6.5	6.9	6.8	6.1	6.3
45 - 49	6.5	6.3	6.2	7.2	5.8	6.0
50 - 54	5.8	6.0	5.3	6.7	5.7	6.0
55 - 59	5.1	6.0	4.7	6.0	[illegible]	5.4
60 - 64	4.4	5.6	4.3	5.5	5.0	5.2
65 and Over	10.0	13.6	10.2	11.7	12.5	13.6
Under 18	33.7%	32.0%	35.2%	30.1%	29.9%	31.2%
Non-white	7.6	1.2	4.9	1.5	4.3	2.5
Median Age	32 years	36 years	31 years	36 years	33 years	34 years
Fertility Ratio*	443	414	492	401	437	440

Percentages rounded off and may not add up to 100%

*Children under 5 years old per 1,000 women 15 to 49 years old; Reported in *Pennsylvania Statistical Abstract*, 1961, Table 4, pp. 5-7.

TABLE 1-4

Percentage Distribution of Native-Born, Native-Born of Foreign or Mixed Parentage, and Foreign-Born Residents, by City and for the State, 1960 Census Report

	Pennsylvania	Altoona	Erie	Pottsville	Lancaster	Williamsport
Native-Born	95%	96%	93%	97%	97%	97%
Native-Born of Foreign or Mixed Parentage	17	12	21	15	7	10
Foreign-Born	5	4	7	3	3	3

TABLE 1-5

Percentage Distribution of 1960 Residents (5 Years of Age and Over) Who Lived in the Same House in 1960 That They Inhabited in 1955 and Other Selected Patterns, By City and For the State; 1960 Census Report

	Pennsylvania	Altoona	Erie	Pottsville	Lancaster	Williamsport
Lived in Same House in 1960 as in 1955	60%	64%	59%	67%	54%	54%
Lived in Different House in 1960 but in Same County	28	29	33	27	35	34
Lived in Different House in 1960 but in Different County	12	7	8	6	11	12
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Lived in Same House in 1960 and 1950	34%	42%	29%	40%	31%	32%

in-migration was suggested earlier by comparing population growth or loss with death and birth rates; the resulting index was one of net population change due to migration. Table 1-5 attempts another measure, and one that uncovers another dimension of mobility. The in-migration can be estimated by identifying the percentage of persons resident in the city in 1960 who did not live (a) in the same house in 1955 and 1950 and (b) who did not live in the same county in 1955. What comes out of this analysis is a clear picture of Altoona and Pottsville as cities with a relatively static population. The other three cities exhibited much greater movement of residents, but only Lancaster and Williamsport seemed to reveal a significant movement into the

TABLE 1-6

Percentage Distribution of 1960 Native Residents Who Were Born in Pennsylvania, By City and For State

	Pennsylvania	Altoona	Erie	Pottsville	Lancaster	Williamsport
Pennsylvania Born	85%	91%	81%	92%	88%	88%
Born in Other State	12	5	13	5	9	8
Born Outside U.S. or no Appropriate Data	3	4	6	3	3	4

TABLE 1-7

Percentage Distribution of Years of Schools Completed and Median School Years Completed for Persons 25 Years of Age and Over, by City and for the State, 1960 Census

Educational Level	Pennsylvania	Altoona	Erie	Pottsville	Lancaster	Williamsport
Less than 8th Grade	22%	20%	19%	26%	21%	18%
8th Grade	20	22	17	17	25	21
Some High School	20	21	23	21	22	20
High School Graduates	26	28	28	26	22	27
Some College	6	5	7	5	5	7
College Graduates	6	4	6	5	5	7
Median Years of School Completed	10.2	10.1	10.9	10.0	9.6	10.6

city from outside the surrounding county. The mobility of most of Erie's residents appeared to be limited to the boundaries of Erie County.

One final measure of mobility is that provided by the proportion of the population that was born in Pennsylvania. Table 1-6 summarizes this information for each city and for the State. Erie, with only 81 percent of its native-born residents in 1960 also Pennsylvania born, had enjoyed the greatest out-of-state immigration. When this statistic is coupled with the information revealed in Table 1-4, that Erie also had the largest number of foreign-born residents. the portrait of Erie differs markedly from those of the other four cities. We noted earlier

that Erie County had suffered a slight net out-migration during the fifties; even so, this area appears to be one that has had over the years the greatest degree of resident mobility and certainly the one with the richest diversity.

Educational levels also tell us something about the people of a city, particularly those who are now or may be potential clients of the public library. Table 1-7 reports selected and revealing statistics concerning the educational characteristics of the residents of our five cities.

Only Lancaster had a smaller proportion of high school graduates than within the State generally, and well below the other four cities. Two cities, Erie and Williamsport, reached the State average for those who both attended and graduated from college. With the exception of Lancaster, then, the other four cities possessed a larger percentage of high school graduates than for the State generally. For three of the cities — Altoona, Pottsville, and Lancaster — those graduates tended either to go on to college and then moved away permanently from their hometowns or simply did not go to college at all.

The case of Lancaster is particularly interesting. In terms of personal income, Lancaster County, as the source county for personal income, was the sixth wealthiest county in Pennsylvania in 1960. It also provided a much steadier and full-time labor market than any of the other counties we are looking at in this study. It had a median family income well above the State average, and among the counties in this study only Erie County reported a slightly higher one. Despite these indices of affluence the city's population was less well educated than any of our other cities or the State generally.

The answer probably lies in two related features about the Lancaster area. It is the one genuinely agricultural area included in our study, and a wealthy one at that. Indeed, some studies report Lancaster County as one of the richest agricultural counties in the nation. The agricultural economy may have something to do with holding down the overall educational level. As Table 1-7 shows, a large percentage of Lancaster's residents left school at the 8th grade, although as many proportionately had some high school as in the other cities. The sharp decline occurred at the level of high school graduation. This suggests the second possible explanation. Lancaster County is a population center for the Amish; traditionally, Amish children are inclined to leave school when they reach the minimum mandatory school attendance age. Thus, many would leave at the 8th grade or shortly thereafter. Census data for 1960, for example, showed Lancaster with proportionately fewer residents enrolled in school than in the other four cities.

In general, however, these statistics seem to say one of two things:

either the residents of these cities tended to view the high school diploma as a natural terminal point for formal education, or these cities lacked the opportunities that would retain in the community those of its offspring who went off to college. We suspect that both explanations may be valid.

At this point it is possible to record several very general characteristics about the environment for library services afforded by these cities. The statistics have sketched, admittedly in broad strokes, a portrait that seems to hold up under analysis. The demographic environment provided by these cities is one of a population which is older than the State as a whole, produces relatively fewer children, has fewer school-aged children, is adequately but not well-educated, and is relatively absent of racial minorities. It is, in addition, a population which tends to enjoy a family income slightly but not dramatically above the State average (except for Erie and Lancaster, which are well above the State average). But enough of this macroscopic overview; we now turn to each community for a more microscopic description.

Altoona

Altoona, located in the south central part of the State, was a creature of the westward thrust of the railroad. As the tracks moved west the Allegheny Front loomed as a formidable barrier to expansion. Railroad officials debated about the best way to tackle the mountains barring the way to Pittsburgh and decided to cross over rather than tunnel through them. Thus, a need arose to station "helper" engines to pull the trains up the steep grade. As the railroad encouraged those manning and maintaining the "helper" engines to build their homes at the base of the Allegheny Front, the settlement which became Altoona was born.[8]

Altoona's location between Harrisburg and Pittsburgh was ideal for the railroad's manufacturing and maintenance shops, and as the railroad expanded so did the city. Altoona reached its peak in population around 1930 when more than 82,000 people called it home; since then the city's population has declined at an accelerated rate. A number of factors have contributed to this attrition. One overarching cause has been the generally fragile and erratic health of the State's economy, the exception being the southeastern corner. Pennsylvania's historic

8. Much of the data concerning the history and the economy of Altoona were taken from an excellent case study published by the Committee for Economic Development. See Jacob J. Kaufman and Halsey R. Jones, "Chronic Unemployment in Altoona, Pennsylvania," in *Community Economic Development Efforts: Five Case Studies* (New York: Committee for Economic Development, 1964), pp. 179-236.

industrial strength rested on four principal pillars: railroads, bituminous and anthracite coal mining, primary metals, and textiles. Each one of these has declined as a generator of wealth and employer of Pennsylvania men and women.

Its Economy: As a child of the railroad revolution Altoona's fate has been inextricably linked with that of the Pennsylvania Railroad. Dramatic changes in the structure of that Railroad merely compounded the difficulties the city confronted. The introduction of the diesel locomotive, which rapidly and completely replaced the old steam locomotive, caused a reduction in the employment at the Pennsy's Altoona shops. The new diesels were purchased from established manufacturers (many of the old steam locomotives were built, in part, at the Altoona Works); they required far less maintenance and much of this was done by the original builder, and far fewer locomotives were needed than during the heydey of the railroad industry (the Pennsy operated almost 2,000 fewer engines in 1959 than in 1939).

Unfortunately, Altoona's location, so strategic in its early growth, turned into one of its major liabilities as the city struggled to arrest its decline. Apart from its location on the Pennsy's Main Line it was served by poor highways and suffered from inadequate air service. It was, in short, not plugged into major transportation arteries other than rail.

During the past 15 years much effort has been expended in the cause of rebuilding and diversifying Altoona's economy. The Pennsylvania Railroad continues to be the largest single employer, with about 5,000 workers, but other enterprises have established operations in and around Altoona. Only two employ more than 1,000, one an electronics manufacturer and the other a textile firm. At the time this study was underway slightly over 6,000 people were employed by more than 70 different manufacturers but, significantly, almost half of them were women. To a considerable extent, the new industries which have come to Altoona have been attracted by the availability of relatively cheap female labor.

In many respects, Altoona is typical of the hard-pressed Appalachian city, unable to wean itself completely from its historical dependency on a dominant and declining industry, and short of the resources that spur economic growth (adequate modern transportation, natural resources, a modern physical plant, a reservoir of trained workers, and the less tangible but still desirable amenities of urban living). The population losses, noted previously, have largely occurred within the so-called "productive age" group — 20 to 39 years of age. As a consequence, the city has been exporting the one "natural resource" it can least afford to lose—its employable manpower.

Its People: Tables 1-2 and 1-7 have already revealed much about Altoona's people. Altoona has been losing people for thirty years, a fact that explains much about the composition of those who remain. Compared to the State as a whole, Altoona's population was older, with a median age four years above the State median, a smaller proportion of residents under 18 and a fertility ratio significantly lower than the State's. Although median family income was slightly above the State median, we also know that generally Altoona's residents of working age were more likely to be unemployed or underemployed than people generally in the State.

Altoona has relatively few foreign-born residents (Table 1-4), and those residents with their offspring reflected an ethnic variety much narrower than in Erie or Pottsville. Five nations were the major contributors to Altoona's ethnic mix — Italy, Germany, the United Kingdom, Poland and Norway, and in that order.

A broad description seems to fit the Altoona population — it is static, immobile, and generally more homogeneous ethnically, educationally, and materially than most of the State. As Table 1-5 showed more Altoona residents have lived in the same residence for a longer period of time than in any of our five cities, and for a period well above the State average. Significantly fewer residents have moved into Altoona from outside Blair County than is generally the case throughout the State. An unusually high percentage of its residents are Pennsylvania born. Its residents have been adequately but not well educated, as measured by the level of education attained. It has proportionately fewer residents who attended or graduated from college than the rest of the State, although it has relatively a greater number of high school graduates.

Income: The Pennsylvania Railroad, we have seen, looms large in the Altoona labor market; of those working nearly one-fifth were employed by the Pennsy. The Railroad and the 70 odd manufacturing establishments in the immediate area employed about one-half of the working labor force. Employment was not as stable as it has been in Lancaster, but was as stable as in the other cities. Median family income was slightly above the State median, but not as high as in Lancaster, Erie or Williamsport. A hypothetical "typical family" median income measure was also provided by the Census. The Altoona median was below every other city except Pottsville, and a smaller percentage of Altoona's families enjoyed that hypothetical median than in any of the other cities, including Pottsville. A smaller proportion of Altoona's families had incomes over $10,000 than among any of the five cities; generally compared to the other four communities Altoona's residents tended to fall into the low-middle income and low

income ranges. It had the smallest proportion of its families earning more than $7,000 annually (in 1960) than any of the other cities, including Pottsville.

Erie

Erie is the third largest city in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and is the county seat of Erie County. It is Pennsylvania's only Great Lakes' port, situated on the eastern shore of Lake Erie in the northwest corner of the State. The original settlement started as a lumbering center in the late 18th century; the first sawmill was erected in 1795. Its growth, however, had little to do with the lumbering business, which was only incidental to its development.

Erie was, and remains to this day, strategically situated at the junction of three important transportation systems. Not only is it one of the major eastern ports of the Great Lakes' system but it is blessed with a natural, protected harbor. Today that location puts Erie into the world trade system as a consequence of the St. Lawrence Seaway. Historically, though, this meant that Erie occupied a strategic location in the movement west since the Great Lakes provided the main avenue of transportation into the continental interior until the advent of the railroad. Erie's location also placed it at the head of the land overpass between the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence "Trail" and the Mississippi-Ohio River waterway. Even today, with the railroads, Erie provides Great Lakes and oceanic access for Pittsburgh, Youngstown, and other industrial centers along the Ohio River tributary system. Finally, the overland route from the East Coast to the midwest followed the Mohawk Valley in New York and then along the southern shore of Lake Erie. Today this route takes the form of a modern network of interstate highways with Interstate 90 passing right through the City of Erie.

Its Economy: The Port of Erie has grown into a modern inland waterways port, competing with ports from Buffalo to Toledo in serving a vast market hinterland. With the opening of the St. Lawrence Seaway in 1959 the world market also beckoned. But its history and economy have been more than its waterfront, although this has always been one of Erie's strategic advantages.

Historically the city has passed through three stages of economic growth. The first era opened with the first sawmill; by 1810 16 sawmills were operating in Erie County producing over a million and one-half feet of lumber annually. During the early 19th century Erie was also the site for 11 wheat mills that produced 33,000 bushels of

milled wheat. It was also an early center for textile manufacturing as small home shops produced cotton, woolen, and flax materials.

Erie's second phase started with the "iron age," ushered in symbolically when iron ore from a low grade bog was discovered in 1833 on nearby Presque Island. By 1860 Erie was producing iron castings, stoves, and other iron products. By 1880 the combined value of its iron products was greater than that of its wheat and lumber mills. During this phase of Erie's development the Erie Canal of ballad and commercial fame was opened. This opened up land east of Erie to the Great Lakes. This was also the time of the major oil strike at nearby Titusville and the westward expansion of the railroad.

Since the 1890's Erie's economy has gone through widespread diversification. Manufacturing now is the major underpinning of its economy. By 1964 over 40 percent of its employed labor force was engaged in manufacturing, the greatest proportion of any of our cities, and significantly above the state-wide average of about 33 percent and the national average of 25 percent. Unlike Altoona, where a large part of the manufacturing work force consisted of women, in Erie men dominated manufacturing employment. Among other consequences, as we shall see shortly, this has meant a manufacturing wage appreciably above Altoona's and that of the State as a whole.

Its People: Quick reference back to Table 1-3 provides an interesting contrast between Erie and Altoona. Erie has been, until the last year or two, experiencing continuing population growth. It is a younger city than Altoona; the median age of the residents is 31 years, contrasted with Altoona's 36 and the State's 32. Expectedly it has proportionately more residents under 18 years of age than the State or any of the other four cities. It has a higher fertility ratio than any of the other cities and the State as a whole. Proportionately Erie has slightly more "old people" than the State generally (residents 65 years and over), but significantly fewer than any of the other four cities.

In composition, Erie is by far the most cosmopolitan of any of our cities. It has fewer native-born residents proportionately than the State as a whole and of any of the other cities in the study. With a larger percentage of its people foreign-born or born of foreign stock, Erie presented a much more heterogeneous population ethnically than the State at large or the other cities. Its foreign-born residents and those born of foreign stock constituted an intricate pattern of nationalities; in order of their representation among Erie's residents the major contributing countries were Poland, Italy, Germany, the United Kingdom, Ireland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, the Soviet Union, Mexico and Hungary. In addition to this ethnic diversity, Erie also had the largest non-white population among the five cities, both absolutely and pro-

portionately. At the time of the 1960 Census it was set at about 5 percent; estimates now place it over 7 percent.

Erie differs markedly from Altoona and the other cities, and for that matter from the State generally, with respect to population mobility. A smaller percent of its native-born residents were also Pennsylvania born than was true of the State generally. Lancaster bested Erie in recent movement, but Erie was also below the State average in the proportion of its 1960 residents 5 years of age and over who lived in the same dwelling as they did in 1955 (Erie, 57 percent; State, 60 percent). Also, it had proportionately fewer people living in the same house in 1960 that they inhabited in 1950. Despite the fact that there had been more population movement within and into Erie than we have observed elsewhere, it appears that much of this was mobility *within* Erie County. In general, then, Erie's residents had been more mobile, but not by county in-migration. Indeed, as we observed earlier in this chapter, only Lancaster County among our study areas enjoyed a net population increase by in-migration. Erie County suffered a net loss of 2 percent, which was appreciably below that of the other three counties. Thus, Erie's population growth has been entirely a function of its relatively high birth rate, which in turn is the cause of its "young population."

Erie has more students proportionately than any of the other cities. But how does it rate in terms of overall education level? Referring back to Table 1-7 we see that Erie's residents exhibit the highest level of educational achievement among the five cities, and generally higher than the State as a whole. Proportionately more of its residents over 25 years of age have either attended or graduated from college than for the other cities except Williamsport and for the State itself. It also has the highest percentage of high school graduates (a distinction it shares with Altoona) and the fewest number proportionately with less than an 8th grade education. Of some significance, perhaps, is the fact that Erie also had the greatest percentage of professional and technical personnel in its labor force than any of the other four cities.

Income: Erie's median family income was the highest among the five cities and was well above the State median, as well. It also had the highest median individual income level. The good showing was probably attributable to the diversification of the city's economy, and the complementary fact that the economy was based on manufacturing to a greater degree than for the State generally and for any of the other four cities. In addition, its manufacturing complex, unlike that in Altoona, has been largely heavy industry—primary metals, machinery, transportation equipment, etc. The labor demand for these manufacturing concerns calls for male workers and high wages.

Pottsville

Pottsville, the county seat of Schuylkill County, is the smallest of the five cities included in this study; its 1960 population was slightly over 21,000 and has remained at about that level since then. It lies in the anthracite coal region of Pennsylvania and its fate has been, to a considerable degree, similar to that of hard coal.

Pottsville prospered and grew until about two decades ago when the demand for anthracite began to taper off. Pottsville, along with the rest of the hard coal region in the east-central section of Pennsylvania, has suffered ever since. But during its period of growth Pottsville was a major center of wealth. Indeed, it still retains much of the old wealth of the "coal barons."

Although it was not a factor in our selection of Pottsville for this study of public libraries, there is a certain symbolism in our choice. The area's two most famous sons, perhaps, are two of the nation's foremost novelists. The literary output of John O'Hara has been a fictional chronicle of Pottsville. The story of Pottsville can perhaps be captured in O'Hara's fictionalized accounts of "Gibbsville," its people and its expatriots. Still living near Pottsville is another major American novelist, Conrad Richter.

Its Economy: Even in its decline "King Coal" dominates the economy of Pottsville as it does the entire anthracite region. But it has been a perverse domination; nothing has really replaced the void left by the collapse of coal mining as the major source of employment and wealth. Fewer than 200 people were reported as employed in mining activities in the 1960 Census. Among our cities Pottsville has the highest percentage within the labor force without any income (11 percent). Pottsville does enjoy certain transportation advantages. Five railroads operate through the city, and it has easy access to an Interstate highway and to two primary highway networks.

In terms of employment, the Pottsville economy resembles comparable communities in the hard coal region. Slightly under 30 percent of its working labor forces were employed in manufacturing; in Erie and Lancaster about 40 percent were so employed, while in Altoona the combined employment offered by the Pennsylvania Railroad and manufacturing accounted for about 50 percent. Only three major manufacturing firms have significant payrolls—Alcoa, Aetna Steel Products, and Phillips-Van Heusen (textiles). Manufacturing, then, in Pottsville means textiles and to a lesser extent primary and fabricated metals, but almost half of the manufacturing employees are involved in textile and apparel manufacturing and well over half of them are women. The area has a large number of relatively small textile and apparel plants. Low

wages as measured in individual as well as family income has been the result.

Its People: We have seen that Pottsville and Schuylkill County, generally, have been losing population faster than most other parts of Pennsylvania and certainly faster than any of the communities included in this study. It shared with Altoona the highest median age of any of the five cities (36 years). Its fertility ratio, however, is the lowest. Pottsville has been losing population by a major out-migration and, perhaps as a function of this movement, it has not been reproducing itself. As we saw earlier in this chapter, Schuylkill County has the highest net population loss due to out-migration of any of the areas in the study.

Only 3 percent of Pottsville's 1960 residents were foreign-born; 15 percent were born of foreign stock, a proportion higher than in Altoona, Lancaster and Williamsport but below that of Erie and the State generally. The foreign roots come primarily, and in this order, from Yugoslavia, Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. Its "native" stock reflects a strong Anglo-Nordic strain, mostly from the United Kingdom and Germany. There are few non-whites among its residents; less than 2 percent in 1960.

Pottsville, like Altoona, has an immobile population. Of the native-born residents about 90 percent were also born in Pennsylvania (State average is 85 percent). Sixty-seven percent of Pottsville's 1960 residents of five years of age and over lived in the same house in 1960 as they had in 1955. This was a higher proportion than found in Altoona and well above the State average of 60 percent. Forty percent of its 1960 residents, in addition, lived in the same house they inhabited in 1950. Aggregate in-migration to Pottsville is half the State-wide average and the lowest of any of our five cities.

Only Lancaster's population had lower educational achievements than Pottsville, and the probable circumstances surrounding Lancaster's situation were suggested earlier. The median years of school completed, Table 1-7 shows, was ten years. Proportionately more of its residents attended or graduated from college than in Altoona, but a smaller proportion than for the State generally. Finally, more of its residents failed to finish the 8th grade (26 percent) than in any of the other cities, including Lancaster.

Income: The Pottsville income distribution is peculiar in some respects. It had the lowest median family income of any of the five cities and was the only one to fall below the State median. Yet, at the same time, it also showed the highest proportion of family incomes over $15,000. This pattern was also reflected in individual income statistics. It had the highest median individual income for self-employed persons

than in any of the other cities. Yet it also had the highest percentage of individuals in the labor force without any income. What emerges from these data is a community in which the income gap between wage earners and the business and professional community was greater than in the other four cities. There would appear to be wealth in Pottsville; it's just not spread around as much as it is in the other cities.

One feature of Pottsville also stands out and offers an interesting comparison with the other four cities. It has proportionately fewer new houses than any of the other cities. Yet, despite the low median family income and the very low new construction rate since 1929, Pottsville had the highest percentage of sound housing units (good structural condition and adequate plumbing). The median value of owner-occupied dwellings, however, was low, but considerably higher than that in Altoona.

Pottsville, therefore, emerges as an aging but well preserved city, one with pockets of affluence standing out amidst a generally depressed economic condition. Among our five cities, Pottsville more than any other has been a victim of its topography. The city crawls up the steep incline of its surrounding hills. Nearly all of the valley "flatland" is occupied by railyards. Also, Pottsville is "full." Little, if any, land is available within the city limits for expansion or development.

Lancaster

Lancaster is situated on the northwestern bank of the Conestoga River in southcentral Pennsylvania; it is the county seat for Lancaster County. The city and county are part of the prosperous metropolitan area triangle formed by Harrisburg, York and Lancaster. The Pennsylvania Railroad's Main Line passes through the city, as does the Reading Railroad. It is also well served by major primary highway systems.

Lancaster is by far the oldest of the five cities we are examining. Its origins date back a half century before the American Revolution. The rich soil of Lancaster County then, as now, was a continuing source of agricultural wealth; indeed, it is the sixth wealthiest county in Pennsylvania and one of the richest agricultural counties in America. The early settlers were German, Swiss and Irish. Tobacco was the mainstay of its agricultural economy well into the 19th century.

The area is well known for its conservative religious heritage. The county is heavily populated by the Amish, the Mennonites and the Dunkers (Bretheren); their influence persists to the present day.

Its Economy: Lancaster's early economic history was closely aligned with tobacco, which during the early 19th century was the major

cash crop. But as early as 1726 iron ore was discovered in the county, and the ore deposits continued until late in the 19th century to be a valuable resource and a mainstay of the region's economy. Lancaster, also, was located on one of the main routes westward and became one of the major outfitting centers for pioneers headed inland toward the West.

Although agriculture continued to dominate, by the end of the 18th century Lancaster was the site of tanneries, iron rolling mills, iron and brass foundries, forges, sawmills, leather goods fabricators, and textile mills. It was the home of the famous "Kentucky rifles" and the Conestoga wagon.

Shortly before the Civil War a major iron ore strike in the nearby Chestnut Hill range gave Lancaster's industrial economy a vigorous thrust forward. During the 1880's there were 25 primary metal establishments in the Lancaster area, and by the beginning of the 20th century Lancaster had emerged as a significant manufacturing and industrial center. By the end of World War I there were over 280 industrial establishments in and around the city. During and immediately after World War II, the Lancaster economy again "took off." The quarter of a century ending in 1965 witnessed a growth unequalled during the same period by any Pennsylvania region. Of the eleven industrial areas in the State which average 25,000 or more industrial employees, Lancaster ranked first in its rate of growth.[9]

By 1960, as we have seen, Lancaster had become the wealthiest of our five areas and the sixth richest county in the State (as measured by the source of income). Along with Erie it had the largest percentage of its working labor force engaged in manufacturing (40 percent for both cities). But unlike Erie, which specialized in primary metals, the fabrication of metals, and the manufacture of heavy machinery, Lancaster's strength grew out of the production of electrical machinery and other durable goods. But it also possessed a generalized manufacturing base in fabricated metal goods. Lancaster's manufacturing employers hire a good number of women, and the statistics suggest that they tend to be assembly-line workers of one kind or another. Unlike Pottsville, however, which also had a high percentage of women employed in manufacturing, primarily textiles, the Lancaster women are employed in electronics and other "hard goods" industries. The electrical machinery and electronics industry which has grown rapidly in Lancaster—R.C.A., Sperry-Rand, Shick, Hamilton watch—has been a heavy employer of women. It is likely, however, that the metal fabri-

9. For a fuller account of Lancaster's industrial development see William Shand and Dean Keller, "Twentieth Century Industrial Development in Lancaster," *Department of Internal Affairs Bulletin,* November 1966.

cating and equipment manufacturers such as Alcoa, Jones-Laughlin Steel, and Clark Equipment, rely primarily on the male labor force. Armstrong Cork is the largest single employer and most of its plants are located within the City boundaries.

The economic base of Lancaster is unquestionably more diversified and sounder than for any of our other cities. In addition, and this is probably its greatest source of economic strength, Lancaster is more and more tied into the vast market and the industrial complex of the Eastern seaboard megalopolis.

Its People: Lancaster's original settlers were conservative German and Swiss immigrants. Their influence continues to the present time. The Amish, the Mennonites and the Dunkers (Bretheren) lend a pervasive conservative bias to the area, and particularly to the so-called "locals" who dominate the professions, the financial institutions, the retail economy and the political system. One counterbalancing force has been provided by the Irish who also were early settlers in the area. Local lore reports that the Swiss and Germans took to the valleys and the Irish to the hills. In any event, Lancaster abounds in Irish as well as Germanic names; the current mayor, for example, bears an Irish name.

The area has enjoyed a steady population growth, although Lancaster, like most central cities, has declined somewhat. Tables 1-3 through 1-7 provide the basic statistical data that constitute Lancaster's population profile. It has few foreign-born residents or citizens born of foreign or mixed parentage (only 7 percent); Lancaster has proportionately the smallest number of immigrant and first generation Americans of any city in our study and appreciably fewer than the State as a whole. Those who do reside there come largely from Germany, although there are smaller representations from the United Kingdom, Italy, Greece, and Russia. In any event, ethnic variety, except for the inescapable presence of the Pennsylvania Dutch, has not come to Lancaster. It does have, however, a non-white population which is larger than any of our other cities except Erie. Again, Lancaster's thriving economy and its relatively "southern" location (within a few miles of Maryland) may account for that.

Lancaster shares with Erie the most mobile population; indeed, as we have seen earlier, in many respects Lancaster exhibits the greatest degree of population mobility in the sense that it enjoyed a net increase of residents due to migration rather than to an unusually high birthrate (which was Erie's source of population growth). The median age of its residents was slightly above the State median, but not as high as that of Altoona, Pottsville, or Williamsport. It did, however, have relatively fewer residents under 18 than any of the other cities, and

well below the State average. It also had a larger number of "senior citizens" than the other cities, except for Williamsport, and for the State generally. In view of the rapid growth of Lancaster's suburbs which we noted earlier, one is tempted to suggest that child-rearing families have probably moved out of the central city leaving behind the older residents and those with smaller families.

We have already commented about Lancaster's educational portrait; overall it exhibited the lowest level of educational achievement of any of the five cities and also well below the State average. In part this may be explained by the regional influence of the Amish and their values concerning education; partly by the fact that Lancaster County in 1960 still remained overall a "rural" county and finally, perhaps, to the suburban growth cited above which may have drained off both the school-going residents as well as those with higher educational attainments.

Income: Lancaster, it is now apparent, is affluent. It enjoyed the highest median income found in any of the cities and had the greatest percentage of families in the middle and upper-middle income groups. Of interest, however, is the fact that Pottsville, Williamsport, and Erie —in that order— had a larger percentage of families in the upper income range. Unlike the other five cities, Lancaster has a well developed system of suburbs which is where many of Lancaster's monied residents probably live. But since the Lancaster Free Public Library is also a County library, this should not pose serious problems to the library board and its administrators.

Williamsport

The City of Williamsport is located in the northcentral part of Pennsylvania in the foothills of the Allegheny Mountains. Its peculiar elongated configuration has been the result of expansion being confined to the narrow valley of the Susquehanna River's West Branch. As one observer noted: "Williamsport, confined to its narrow shelf of land, must strive to overcome the inefficiencies inherent to such a site."

The community was founded in 1756; it became a borough in 1806 and 50 years later, in 1856, a city. Until the 1870's Williamsport was primarily a lumbering center. Since then, however, the city has developed a much more diversified industrial economy; in addition, Williamsport functions as a major retail trade center for the region. Lycoming County, for which Williamsport serves as county seat, is the largest county in the State in land area.

Williamsport has good transportation access; it is close to Interstate 80 and a major primary highway running north-south from Canada

bisects the city. Three railroads serve the city: the Pennsylvania Railroad, the New York Central and the Reading.

Its Economy: One of the bulwarks of the Williamsport economy is its role as a regional retail trade center. It has relatively more people employed, and particularly women, as part of this economic activity than any of the other cities. Manufacturing, however, provides the greatest number of jobs. Manufacturing employment in Williamsport, although not as high proportionately as in Erie and Lancaster, is higher than the State average; over 38 percent of the working force is engaged in manufacturing enterprises. Manufacturing employment is dominated by aircraft engines (Avco), metal fabricating (Bethlehem Steel), textiles (Montgomery Mills and several smaller firms), electronics (Sylvania), and lumber products (Reed Company). Williamsport is also the home of *Grit*, one of the country's largest weekly newspapers.[10]

Its People: Williamsport, like so many other Pennsylvania cities, reached its peak population around 1950; it has been declining ever since. Much of the city loss, however, as in Lancaster has resulted in suburban gain. None the less, as with the other areas except for Lancaster, Lycoming County has suffered a net loss of population due to out-migration.

Williamsport residents tend to be older than the State average, but younger than those of either Altoona or Pottsville. There are fewer residents under the age of 18 than in either Lancaster or Pottsville, and fewer proportionately than in the State generally. Williamsport shares with Altoona the distinction of having the greatest percentage of residents who are over 65 years of age (13.6 percent compared to the State average of 10 percent). The biggest population loss suffered by Williamsport was among the 15-35 age group. Over 67 percent of its loss occurred within this group, a phenomenon we have observed in Altoona, as well.

Next to Lancaster, Williamsport has the least diversified ethnic mix; only 3 percent of its residents were foreign-born and only 10 percent born of foreign or mixed parentage. Italians and Germans, in that order, constitute the largest groups, accounting together for more than 50 percent of all Williamsport residents who were either foreign-born or offspring of foreign stock.

The statistics presented in Table 1-5 suggest that Williamsport has a fairly mobile population. Among our cities, Lancaster and Pottsville had the same proportion of 1960 residents (54 percent) who lived in

10. *Grit* is a nationally distributed newspaper published in Williamsport by the Grit Publishing Company. It is designed primarily for rural readers.

the same house then as they did in 1955; this was lower than in the other three cities and also appreciably below the State-wide average (60 percent). It also appeared to have enjoyed high in-migration; 12 percent of its 1960 residents had moved into Williamsport from outside of Lycoming County between 1955 and 1960. This movement in, however, appeared to have been limited to Pennsylvanians; 88 percent of its 1960 native-born residents were also Pennsylvania born.

Williamsport proportionately has more college educated residents than the other cities included in this study. Fourteen percent of its residents attended or graduated from college and only 18 percent had less than an 8th grade education. At both ends of the educational achievement spectrum Williamsport residents were ahead educationally; more college trained residents than for the State generally and fewer poorly educated than for the State at large.

Income: Williamsport had a median income above the State median, but well below that of both Erie and Lancaster. However, the mean income for self-employed individuals was almost as high as that observed in Pottsville. This may be explained by the high level of retail trade enjoyed by both cities; both are regional marketing centers. It also may reflect that shopping centers in the suburbs have not yet cut too deeply into the retail volume enjoyed by the central city. Generally, in addition, Williamsport had a proportionately greater number of residents in the upper income range than for any city except Pottsville, and like Pottsville, it had relatively fewer families in the middle income range. Family income clusters in both cities occurred within the lower income ranges, with relatively fewer middle income families as compared with the other three cities.

Williamsport stands out in contrast to the other four cities in one other way. It has a lower rate of home ownership than that prevailing in the other four cities. It also had the highest rate of "unsound housing"; 93 percent of its housing units were constructed before 1930 and less than 2 percent after 1955.

SUMMARY—THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT

The urban environment for library services is mixed. No two cities are entirely alike, although Altoona and Pottsville share many characteristics. Both are old and hemmed in by the topography; both have little, if any, room for growth within their present boundaries. The oldest city, Lancaster, is the most dynamic, in large part because of its strategic location as part of the prosperous northeast economic system. It is close to Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington, D.C. Erie in many respects is more middlewestern than eastern; it is part of the Great

Lakes industrial, commercial, and trade system; it is closer both geographically and economically to northern Ohio and western New York than it is to the major industrial and population centers of Pennsylvania. Williamsport is, in a way, an outpost in the forested hinterland of northcentral Pennsylvania, a role it played at its founding, a function it continues to perform today.

All five cities are physically old; only Erie most notably, and Lancaster to an extent, have maintained a fairly high pace of private renewal through residential construction. The flight to new housing from the ancient city core has been directed to suburbs more noticeably in Lancaster than in the other cities, and with that exodus the departure of some of the city's educated and affluent residents. But similar mobility patterns exist in all five cities, except that in the case of Pottsville the journey does not end at the suburbs. Those leaving Pottsville and, to a somewhat lesser extent, Altoona, are headed for points far removed from Schuylkill and Blair Counties.

It is difficult to obtain accurate data on religious affiliations, particularly on a city basis. The only available information has been collected by the Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs from various church organizations, but this is reported on a county rather than a city basis. Given this limitation, however, the data reveal marked differences among the five counties. Two of the counties, Erie and Schuylkill, conform to the general State-wide ratio between Protestant and Roman Catholic (56 percent of the State's churchmembers are Roman Catholics). Erie County, with about 66 percent of its churchmembers affiliated with the Catholic church, is well above Schuylkill County (Pottsville) with 54 percent. The other three counties are predominantly Protestant; Lancaster County has about 75 percent, Lycoming County (Williamsport) approximately 70 percent, and Blair County (Altoona) about 60 percent of churchmembers affiliated with one of the Protestant denominations. None of the five counties had large Jewish congregations, with Blair County proportionately having the largest membership.[11]

The Protestant dominance in Lancaster County does, of course, include the large Amish, Mennonite and Dunker settlements throughout the rich farming region of the county. As we noted, this also is most likely a major explanation for Lancaster's relatively low level of educa-

11. This data is reported in the *Pennsylvania Statistical Abstract, 1964-65* (Harrisburg: Department of Internal Affairs, 1965), Table 14, pp. 19-21. The data was compiled by the Department's Bureau of Statistics, from information supplied by the Pennsylvania Council of Churches, the Catholic Welfare Committee of Pennsylvania, the United Synagogue of America, New York and Philadelphia branches, and the Pennsylvania Council, Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

tional achievement. Of interest, also, is the contrast provided between Erie and Pottsville in terms of public school enrollments and religious affiliation. Despite its large Catholic population, Erie has proportionately fewer students enrolled in non-public schools than Pottsville; 27 percent in Erie and 35 percent in Pottsville.

One dimension of the urban environment has not been touched—its public services. Vigorous leadership by the governmental-political structure has not been a salient feature in any of these cities, except possibly Erie and Lancaster. But this does not mark these cities off significantly from other medium sized Pennsylvania cities. Municipal government has been traditionally caretaker or housekeeping in purpose. It has seldom gone beyond the maintenance of a modicum of civil order and civic amenities. Physical renewal has generally been viewed as properly within the sphere of private initiative, most dramatically evidenced in Lancaster and Altoona. Human renewal and the public happiness as functions of local government have been most noticeable by their absence.

The following chapter, in examining the world of the urban library, returns to some of these themes. Who pays the bill for library services and how? who runs the show and how? Chapters 3 through 6, in a sense, raise the question seldom posed: Who cares?

CHAPTER 2 / THE LIBRARY AS A SERVICE AGENCY

Deeply rooted in the American reform spirit, the community library as a "public" agency was, in Philip H. Ennis' words, "part of a loosely connected series of social movements ranging from the struggle for women's rights to vote and enter the work force to a general reformist and evangelical belief in education and uplift."[1] The library, which during the earlier part of the 19th century had been an institution created by and serving the educated and culturally engaged strata of the community, became during the latter 19th and early 20th centuries a vehicle for equalizing educational opportunities and assimilating the European immigrant. Traditionally, then, the community library has served as a "reservoir of culture—a storehouse of significant books," to use Gans' phrase, and as a very practical educational institution.[2] Whether serving purposes of cultural uplift or adult education, the library possessed a fairly distinct clientele and could direct its resources accordingly. And as it moved away from being essentially a creature of private philanthropy to a "public" institution with community-wide objectives, the library broadened its mission to that of serving the entire community.

Earlier studies of library use and non-use by the consumers of library services, what Berelson termed "the library's public," demonstrated that despite its community-wide rhetoric the public library was still serving a considerably more restricted clientele.[3] Our findings, reported in Chapters 3 through 6, generally confirm these earlier results, but with some interesting differences.

This chapter is concerned about the "public" nature of the public library. How is it run, by whom, responsible to whom? How is it paid for? What is being paid for; what are its services? How does it fit into the community and particularly the public services sector of the community?

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1. Philip H. Ennis, "The Library Consumer," in Conant, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
2. Herbert J. Gans, "The Public Library in Perspective," in Conant, *ibid.*, p. 68.
3. A number of studies of the library user have been conducted; the leading nationally-based inquiries are: Bernard Berelson, *The Library's Public* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949), and Angus Campbell and Charles E. Metzner, *Public Use of the Library and Other Sources of Information* (Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1950). The Enoch Pratt Library in Baltimore has also undertaken various studies of student use of the library in Baltimore.

HOW PUBLIC IS THE PUBLIC LIBRARY?

The five libraries included in this study are considered to be "public" agencies. The library profession, generally, accepts as "public" a library offering ". . . *free* services to everyone within some stipulated geographical area."[4] Our libraries fall within those boundaries. The emphasized word "free" merits several words. Operationally, free means that (a) there is no charge or fee for becoming registered or a cardholder; (b) there is no fee charged for using the standard services of the library, such as borrowing a book, using reference materials, periodicals, etc; and (c) the materials of the library are open to all users. While the services are free, the costs are extracted from the "library's public" as well as the larger public via taxation.

Public also connotes some kind of public control; there must be a procedure or arrangement assuring some degree of public accountability, some vehicle whereby politically responsible agencies and officials participate in decision-making and exercise some type of overseeing function. Public involvement of this sort can and does take several forms. Two of our libraries are operated by the local Board of Education and are, as a consequence, agencies of politically accountable systems. In both cases the Board of Education appoints the members of the Library Board, and the superintendent of schools and the Board of Education president serve in *ex officio* capacities. In the other three libraries, the Library Board consists of both public and private members; the public members, in one instance, consisting of the entire local Board of Education and in the two other cases include members appointed by the city and county governments and the local Board of Education. Private members on these boards are selected by the local library association, in one case, and by the library board itself in the other two.

Another characteristic of the "public" concept is beginning to emerge, at least in Pennsylvania and several other states. Increasingly, library administrators are thinking and planning within a systems context. The idea of a public library service system has become an accepted professional and institutional goal;[5] it has remained, however, largely that—a goal. Pennsylvania, however, as the previous chapter noted, has adopted as a fundamental framework the concept of a statewide system of public library services. The five libraries we are examining, furthermore, are major components of that system.

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4. David Palmer, "Statistics of Public Libraries," in *Library Statistics: A Handbook of Concepts, Definitions, and Terminology* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1966) p. 30; italics in the original.

5. For a recent statement of system characteristics see *Minimum Standards for Public Library Systems, 1966* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1967).

The Library Code of 1961 scored at least two major achievements. The first, and perhaps most obvious, was the program of financial assistance to local libraries. But that program, in turn, rests on the concept of a state-wide system of public library services. With the Pennsylvania State Library as the hub or center, the service system reaches out through four regional centers of which the state library is one, which in turn reach out through 30 district centers, which in turn reach out to more than 425 local and county libraries throughout the Commonwealth. Regional and district centers receive added financial assistance, in addition to what they receive as local libraries. We shall see the role that State aid plays in library financing shortly when we examine the funding arrangements for our five libraries.

Beasley and Robinson summarized the system goals succinctly:

> It is an economy move as well as the entrance of the Commonwealth into a major new program. The economy stems from the integrated system of regional and district centers which it creates to provide specialized services to local libraries. A local library can build its own program, as a result, with the assurance that it does not need to acquire every specialized or technical item in order to give the needed service to its patrons. In short, greater use will be made of books and coordination of community resources will result in larger collections than would otherwise be possible.
>
> The new Library Code is also preventive in its purpose in that it seeks to develop local library resources so that they keep pace with the expected growth in population, and corrective in the sense that aid is provided to build up rapidly the many poor facilities. One librarian has gone so far as to suggest that the Code on the one hand chastises local communities for their long neglect and on the other hand enourages them to assume more responsibility by offering to place some of the resources of the Commonwealth at their disposal.[6]

As district centers, our five libraries receive State funds to provide (a) services directly to consumers throughout the district, (b) services to the clients of local libraries through their local library, and (c) professional and technical guidance to the local library.

Each one of the libraries, then, plays several roles simultaneously. It is a local public library offering a variety of services directly to its clientele; three of them also function as county libraries. It is a resouice library for other libraries within its district. And it is part of a statewide system of libraries.

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6. Beasley and Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

IN THE BEGINNING

Four of the public libraries we are examining were founded around the turn of the century; the fifth became a public library in 1927 but had existed as a privately financed and operated library since 1860. The circumstances surrounding the founding of each one provide some insight into the nature of the library today.

Erie: The Erie Public Library is the oldest and the largest public institution among our five libraries. In 1897 the Erie Board of Education created a public library on the basis of special legislation enacted by the Pennsylvania General Assembly authorizing the Erie Board to appropriate funds for the establishment and maintenance of such an agency. In that year the new library moved into the quarters it still occupies, a then newly erected building in the central business district which it shared with the administrative offices of the Board of Education. From the outset the Erie library has been closely linked with the educational system, symbolically in a physical sense, operationally in its programs. The Erie Public Library to this day reflects what current officials described as the school district's responsibility to provide the community with library services. The library provides services to the schools, as do all other libraries in our study; in Erie, however, the educational system's concern for the library has historically gone beyond this limited service function. The library benefits children and students, according to one school official, and therefore it is natural that the school system be deeply concerned about library services, to the point of operating the library itself.

Some observers in Erie maintain that the library-school relationship, both natural and mutually beneficial, has tended over the years to inhibit the development of a broader range of adult and community services and activities. Until the appearance of State grants for library services, the Erie library was totally financed by the Board of Education. The library board also operates the Erie Museum and Planetarium, but it appears that these two responsibilities are administratively and financially separate.

Lancaster: The Lancaster Free Public Library was organized with the initial backing of a local woman's club around the turn of the century. For much of its history the library existed as a privately financed and controlled organization. The recent growth and development of library services offered by the library, however, can be traced to the allocation of public funds to support those services. The county and the public schools, for example, began to provide financial support as the library extended its services in response to the needs expressed by these jurisdictions. As we shall observe in a later section, public

funds now constitute the major source of revenues for the library's expenditures.

The Lancaster Free Public Library occupied the same quarters, in a renovated private residence constructed in 1854, from its founding in 1904 until 1954. Its original home and two adjoining structures were razed at that time for the construction of a new building which is generally acknowledged to be one of the finest library structures in the State. Significantly, all of the funds for its construction came from private sources.

The persistent theme of the Lancaster Free Public Library from the moment of its founding, as this brief history suggests, has been private philanthropy, private responsibility and, as we shall see, private policy-making by what is primarily a private board. No longer, however, are private funds adequate to the task of maintaining library services. As a consequence about 75 percent of the Lancaster Library's total income comes from public sources; over 45 percent of its total revenue is received from Lancaster County, the City of Lancaster and the school districts for which it provides general and specific services. State grants to support the library's triple role—as a local and county library and a district center—account for almost 30 percent of its total funds.

Williamsport: The James V. Brown Library was founded in 1904 and was also privately endowed originally. The library was a gift to the people of "Williamsport and vicinity," and originally was a bequest in the form of the library building and grounds supplemented by a $250,000 trust fund. Earnings from the trust were the initial source of all operating funds; last year the trust, which now stands at $265,000, earned $10,500. For many years only $8,000 of interest earnings from the trust could be spent each year on library operations; any remaining interest would have to be reinvested in the trust fund. The courts overturned this stipulation of the bequest several years ago.

The will also specified the manner in which the library board was to be selected. The superintendent of the Williamsport schools, the mayor of the City of Williamsport, and the rector of the Episcopal Church were made *ex officio* members of the board with voting privileges. A representative chosen by the city was to sit on the board for a five year term (the terms of all board members except the *ex officio* ones), and this has traditionally been the county judge. Private philanthropy, in this case the legacy of James V. Brown, both launched the library and maintained it for many years. The City of Williamsport began to contribute to its support, however; a special tax of three-quarters of a mill has been levied for many years to support the library, and this has subsequently been supplemented by appropriations from the City Council. A county library was established in 1939 and physically

housed in the Brown Library building, although until 1962 the programs and services of the two libraries were completely separate. Today the James V. Brown Library is both a local library and the Lycoming County Library; it is also a district center. State grants have been awarded to the library in support of all three functions.

The present library building was part of the initial Brown bequest. In 1938 a major addition to the original building was constructed.

Pottsville: Private philanthropy and public fund drives helped establish and maintain the Pottsville Free Public Library. The library was organized in 1911, but the first library board was not created until 1919. The building the library now occupies was constructed in 1921 as a result of a private gift of money and a Carnegie grant. The role played by the Board of Education has been shrouded in ambiguity; the entire Board serves on the library board in a voting *ex officio* capacity. There is evidence that legal title to the library is held by the Board of Education as a consequence of its financial support of the agency. The yearly fund drives and private gifts proved inadequate as a means of maintaining the library; successful appeals for financial support went out to the Board of Education and the City of Pottsville. The city now appropriates about 11 percent and the Board of Education about 7 percent of the library's total revenues; both jurisdictions have levied special library millages for this purpose, but neither was required to conduct referenda for approval.

The development of the Pottsville Free Public Library can best be summarized through the impact of its chief librarian. The library was largely the handiwork of the chief librarian, from its founding in 1911 until her retirement in 1951. She dominated and, indeed, *was* the library until she retired. At one time she operated an informal training school for librarians as an adjunct of the library. From her retirement in 1951 until the incumbent was appointed in 1964 the library suffered from passive and caretaker leadership. The rebirth of the library is directly attributable to two events, both occurring about the same time: the designation of the library as a district center and the consequent flow of State funds and the appointment of an imaginative, competent, and aggressive chief librarian who had formerly been Assistant State Librarian for Pennsylvania.

Altoona: The "public" character of the Altoona Public Library dates back to 1927. The library as an institution within the community, however, goes back to 1858 when the Pennsylvania Railroad, which at that time maintained its headquarters in Altoona, established the Altoona Mechanics Library primarily as a means of bringing cultural enlightenment to its own employees. Citizens of Altoona who were not

PRR employees could "join" the library for a fee of three dollars. "Mechanics libraries" of this kind were fairly common at the time. The Railroad maintained the library in Altoona although there did not appear to be much other support for it within the community.

The City of Altoona voted against a proposition to finance a public library in 1923, a proposal which seemingly was instigated by the Pennsylvania Railroad as a means of transferring the Mechanics Library from private to public support. When the Railroad moved its headquarters to Philadelphia, however, the decision was forced. It was at that time, in 1927, that the Altoona Board of Education took over and transformed the institution into the Altoona Public Library. The Board took the library over after the city government had refused to assume responsibility for it.

The library was housed from the beginning in the Roosevelt Junior High School, a location which originally was considered "temporary." A new library building had been contemplated, but the stock market crash of 1929 and the Great Depression scuttled plans; only in the middle 1960's have these plans been revised and almost half a century after its becoming a "public" library is it likely that the old Altoona Mechanics Library will be adequately housed.

The Altoona library, like the Pottsville library, has become what it is largely because of the influence of its original chief librarian, who retired in 1965. The Altoona superintendent of schools summed up her influence when he concluded: "Virginia, you are the library."

The Altoona library was exclusively a local public library until 1962. It was designated then as a district center, despite its inadequate quarters, in large part because the possibility of a new building was by that time seriously being investigated. In 1964 a Blair County Library board was formed, and the following year the County Commission agreed to support the Altoona Public Library financially. Thus, the Library receives state funds for its triple role—as a local and county library and as a district center.

WHO GOVERNS THE PUBLIC LIBRARY?

The patterns of management and the channels of control are varied and complex among the five libraries included in our study. Each library is "governed" by a board, but the boards differ greatly in terms of the manner in which they are appointed and the criteria used in determining their composition. To answer the question, "who governs," we propose to look first at the selection methods and the composition of the five boards. But the question cannot so easily be answered since each

board functions within a somewhat different institutional-political context. Hopefully we can thus provide a more sophisticated analysis of who governs and how.

Composition of the Library Board

Table 2-1 summarizes the composition of the five library boards. In one sense, only two libraries are clearly and unambiguously "public" in terms of appointment procedures. In Altoona and Erie all library board members are appointed by and, presumably, accountable to the Board of Education. They are, therefore, politically accountable, however obliquely, in a manner not similarly institutionalized in the other three cities. In addition to the Board of Education appointees, the superintendent of schools and president of the Board of Education in both Altoona and Erie serve as voting *ex officio* members of the library board, a fact which reinforces the "public" character of the library.

In Pottsville the entire Board of Education also serves on the library board. But, in addition, the library association appoints six members. The Board of Education members usually do not participate actively in library affairs, unless library board decisions are directly relevant to school policies. The Board of Education members rarely attend library board meetings, and for most purposes the general decision-making and oversight of library policies is exercised by the association members of

TABLE 2-1

Appointment Procedures for Library Boards, All Five Cities

Appointing Body	Altoona	Erie	Pottsville	Lancaster	Williamsport	Total
City				2	1	3
County				2		2
Board of Education	7	7	9	2		25
Library Association			6			6
Library Board				17	5	22
Ex Officio	2*	2*			3**	7
Total	9	9	15	23	9	65

* *Ex officio* members in Altoona and Erie are the local superintendent of schools and the president of the board of education.

** *Ex officio* members in Williamsport are the local superintendent of schools, the mayor of Williamsport, and the rector of the Episcopal Church.

the Board. The Board of Education has been known to intervene, however, when library policies affecting school programs and policies are involved. A later section will cite one recent example. The Board of

Education members, in addition, have on occasion used their weight of numbers to appoint officers of the library board (Board of Education members outnumber association members nine to six). Association board members, however, unlike Board of Education members, tend to be self-perpetuating; reappointment of association members is almost automatic. All checks processed by the library, on the other hand, must be signed by the secretary of the Board of Education as well as by the president and treasurer of the library board. The Pottsville library board, therefore, seems to be a genuinely "mixed" public-private board, both in structure and in some facets of its behavior.

The libraries of Lancaster and Williamsport are privately chartered corporations that legally can appoint their own members within the limits established by their charters. While each board has representation from governmental jurisdictions, these members are very much in the minority and, in general, board membership is considerably more self-perpetuating than in Pottsville. The bequest establishing the James V. Brown Library in Williamsport stipulates three *ex officio* members, as we have already observed. In addition to these three members—the mayor, the superintendent of schools and the Episcopal rector—the board has, by tradition, appointed a representative of the City of Williamsport. The city "representative" has, again by tradition, been the Lycoming County judge. The remaining five members of the board are selected by the board itself for five year terms; reappointment tends to be assured.

The Lancaster library board has no *ex officio* members of the kind in either Williamsport or Pottsville, but it does provide representation for the library's three major local public fund sources, the City and County of Lancaster and the Lancaster Board of Education. Each jurisdiction appoints two members who serve, as do all board members, for three year terms. The library's by-laws stipulate that representation from these jurisdictions is contingent upon their continued financial support. The "corporation members" exhibit long tenure; reappointment seems automatic. Apart from the jurisdictional representatives, then, the Lancaster library board appears to be self-perpetuating. It also tends to be the most "privately" controlled of the five boards included in this study.

Several comments are warranted concerning the appointment procedures followed for the two library boards falling under Board of Education jurisdiction. The Board of Education in Altoona appoints members to the library board largely on the basis of recommendations from the library board itself. Indeed, the president of the library board felt that there really was no legal requirement for Board of Education appointment. Except for the two *ex officio* members representing the Board of Education (the superintendent of schools and the president

of the Board of Education) it would be possible for the library board to function in a self-perpetuating manner. Custom, however, has confirmed the practice of Board of Education appointment, nominal as it may be. In Erie, on the other hand, the library board is not even consulted on appointments. The Board of Education takes its appointing function seriously. In both cases, however, the business manager for the Board of Education also serves as non-voting secretary of the library board. One appointive member of the Erie library board was formerly business manager for the schools until he was elected mayor of the city and subsequently named to the library board. The Altoona board, as we shall see below, appears to be more actively involved in library policy-making than its Erie counterpart (although neither is as active as the boards in Lancaster, Williamsport and Pottsville). Several members of the Altoona board have been actively engaged in civic endeavors, such as industrial development and city planning. Two bankers (one serving *ex officio* in his capacity as president of the Board of Education), a lawer and a physician are well-known movers on the civic front.

Each of the five boards is middle-class in composition, with a tendency toward upper-middle class characteristics. Since managerial, financial and professional members almost monopolize all five boards, class characteristics, as such, become blurred as strategic variables in determining or explaining board behavior. Membership has certain symbolic connotations, but more importantly, it also tends to have functional uses, too. The two "independent" libraries—Lancaster and Williamsport—had to rely much more heavily on the skills, experiences and influence of individual board members than did the Board of Education libraries. Since these independent libraries, by their very nature, had to "go it alone," particularly with respect to financial and legal responsibilities, their boards tended to appoint and retain members because of their expertise in one field or another. All five boards, quick reference to Table 2-2 suggests, contained community "notables," people who were considered desirable members because of their economic status, community influence and general prestige. The "independent" libraries had to go beyond these basic membership criteria and seek out members for both their symbolic and functional value.

The importance of this difference can best be seen by comparing the boards in Erie and Altoona, both falling under Board of Education jurisdiction, with those of Lancaster and Williamsport; the Pottsville library tends to be a "hybrid" in this instance because the Board of Education serves *ex officio* on the library board but does not "run" the library as in the former situations, nor is it independent of the schools as in the latter cases. In Lancaster and Williamsport, the library boards

rely more heavily for membership upon lawyers, bankers, and even former librarians (and an incumbent college librarian in Lancaster) than is true in either Erie or Altoona. The boards need the skills that these people can bring to their assignments. The libraries operated by Boards of Education, on the other hand, tend to use the administrative, legal, and financial capabilities of the school system in conducting library business.

Table 2-2 summarizes the occupational composition of the five boards. Professional and managerial types dominate the boards, as one would expect. Most of the boards have deliberately tapped into the city's "power structure." Industrialists, contractors, bankers, and educators are present in impressive numbers. The largest single employer in Lancaster, Armstrong Cork, is represented by the chairman of the corporation's board of directors. Even the "housewife" members are in every case women who have been active in civic affairs. Two of them are former librarians. One is married to a former library board member who resigned when he was elected to the Board of Education, which, in turn, is the parent body of the library board.

Public officials, while represented on the boards, are not numerous or, for that matter, particularly important in board activities. The mayors of two cities serve—in Erie and Williamsport. As we have seen, the library charter requires the *ex officio* membership of the mayor of Williamsport. The mayor of Erie was recently appointed to the board, but his membership was probably due as much to the fact that prior to his election as mayor he was business manager for the Board of Education as to the elective position he holds. The Lancaster board has two representatives each from the City and the County of Lancaster. A member of the Pottsville City Council was recently appointed to that board and in this instance probably for that reason as much as for the fact he is also a university professor. Pottsville possesses a commission-form of municipal government. The library board member functions, as a member of the city council (or commission), as Director of Finance for the City of Pottsville. Altoona's library board has no representation, directly or indirectly, from either the city or Blair County.

The Role of the Library Board

The general consensus of most students of management is that "boards" or "commissions" should limit themselves to broad matters of policy and oversight and turn administrative responsibilities over to professional administrators. Boards should not, it is argued, intrude into the details of daily operations. If boards become dissatisfied with the performance of the organization they should replace the administrator, not

TABLE 2-2

Occupations of Library Board Members: By City

Altoona	Erie	Pottsville	Lancaster	Williamsport
Physician	Physician	Physician	Physician	Physician
Lawyer	Merchant	Professor (City Councilman)	Industrialist (2)	Banker
Banker	Publisher	Accountant	Minister	County Judge
Housewife (2)	Medical Doctor	Housewife (2)	Lawyer (4)	Lawyer
Retired Railroad Official (2)	Construction Firm President	Plant Manager	Businessman (2)	Publisher
President, Board of Education*	President, Board of Education*	Lawyer**	Reporter	Housewife
Superintendent of Schools*	Superintendent of Schools*	County Investigator**	Broker	Mayor*
	Housewife	Engineer**	Dentist	Superintenednt of Schools*
	Mayor	Office Manager**	Banker	Minister*
		Board of Education Secretary**	Educator	
		Banker (2)**	Contractor	
		Educator**	Housewife (4)	
		Superintendent of Schools*	Superintendent of Schools	
			President, Board of Education	
			College Librarian	

* Ex Officio members, with voting rights
** Ex Officio members by virtue of being members of Board of Education, with full voting rights

try to do his job for him. In general, this management "principle" has been the basis for board-library relationships in our five libraries.

Our five library boards did not intervene in book selection decisions; did not attempt to substitute their judgment for that of the chief librarian in the hiring, supervision, and rewarding of professional and other personnel; and, except for several practices to be noted below, allowed the library administrator great discretion in operating the library agency. The boards did, however, take their policy-making function seriously. Even in this arena, however, the boards tended to lean heavily on the advice and judgment of the chief librarian.

Without entering an intellectual quagmire by attempting an *a priori* definition of the board's "policy-making and oversight" responsibilities and the "administrative" responsibilities of the chief librarian, we shall provide a fairly simple description of how, in fact, these two zones of action seemed to be divided in the libraries included in our study. We will forestall debate by admitting that there *is* a difference between policy and administration, but that that difference is likely not to be the same for every administrative situation for all similar administrative agencies, in our case, libraries. Many factors conspire to produce varying combinations of policy-administrative relationships—personalities of the major actors, environmental and institutional variables, and the particular stresses operating within and directed toward an agency at any given time.

Policy-making: The behavior and effectiveness of the boards as policy-making instruments varied considerably, ranging from a board which appeared to function as an "advisory board" to the library administrator and a Board of Education to boards which engaged much more deliberately and seriously as decision-making bodies. The Lancaster board's approval of the chief librarian's "six point program" in 1963 provides a good illustration of the latter policy-making approach.

Lancaster is a traditionally conservative community which, as we have observed, relied on private philanthropy and initiative to provide library services until private funds were not adequate to meet growing demands and needs. Despite this cautious attitude toward expansion of service, the Lancaster library board assumed wider responsibilities in return for public funding by the City and County of Lancaster and the local Board of Education. The ten years following its move into the new library building were years of program expansion and growing community awareness of the library. In 1963 the chief librarian prepared and recommended to the library board a "six point program designed to provide effective service throughout Lancaster County." The board, after deliberation, approved the program, which established six major goals for the library's future service expansion. The program,

in summary, cast the Lancaster library as the source of library services for the county and contemplated the establishment of library centers throughout the county. But the initiative for expansion of library services under the new program would be at the community level within the county. As the plan stated: "The effectiveness of such Centers will largely depend upon the interest generated on the local level. With assurance to us that the local area wants and will support a Center, action can be started to place one in the community."[7] The program was explicitly described as "evolution rather than revolution," and was entirely compatible with the underlying bias of the community it was designed to serve. As the librarian stated the philosophy of the program: "The community desiring an improved service . . . must take the initial steps. The initiative rests with the people in the local community and not with the Lancaster Public Library."

The Williamsport library board also supported the chief librarian in his vigorous program to link the library more intimately with the total community through special programs, services and projects. The policy initiative, however, was exercised by the chief librarian and was fully ratified and supported by the board.

Altoona presented an interesting contrast to the Erie situation with respect to board responsibility The Altoona library board possesses a more formal autonomy vis-à-vis the school system than that which exists in Erie; the Board of Education, as we have noted, makes appointments to the Altoona library board on the recommendation of the library board itself. The library board appears to take its responsibilities seriously, and board meetings are generally well attended. While the library board approves all financial decisions and is active in its oversight responsibility, the unusual feature in Altoona has been the leadership assumed by the superintendent of schools, who is an *ex officio* member of the library board. He tends to act as the Board of Education's agent on the library board; the Board of Education seldom involves itself in library matters and is content to let the superintendent act as its agent.

On the basis of quick observation one might conclude that the Altoona library has been completely submerged by the school system particularly in view of its location on the second floor of a junior high school. As a matter of fact, however, the chief librarian who just retired (and who was the original librarian) attempted and, in large part, succeeded in establishing a separate identity for the library despite many obstacles. She was able to accomplish this to a considerable degree because she enjoyed support of the superintendent of schools and

7. *Lancaster Free Public Library Annual Report for 1965* (Board Meeting: January 21, 1966).

the library board itself. With the driving force of an able assistant librarian, who succeeded her as chief librarian, and with the active support of the superintendent, she was able to assure the construction of a new library building.

The Altoona library board, on balance, is more involved with the library than is the Erie board. One reason, in our judgment, is the fact that it is more the master of its own destiny; it has a voice in its own composition. As a consequence, the board members are individuals with an interest in and sense of responsibility for library services. The active leadership role of the superintendent of schools may have enhanced the library board's formal effectiveness but may also have diluted its operational influence. He has, as we have suggested, assumed the garb of the library's agent with the Board of Education and the Board of Education's agent with the library board. Fortunately, he has played this delicately balanced intermediary role in a manner calculated to strengthen rather than further submerge the library vis-à-vis the educational system.[8]

In general, all five boards have exhibited similar behavioral patterns in policy-making. Members of the boards consistently described their function as one of policy-making and oversight. The board hires a professional to administer the library; if board members felt it necessary to intrude this would indicate a lack of confidence in the professional administrator. The proper action then would not be one of day-to-day interference; if the board felt it could no longer rely on the administrator it should replace him with one in whom it could have confidence. This relationship with the administrator was one that was congenial with the industrialists, businessmen and professionals on the various boards. Every board member expressed a commitment to the concept of professionalism in library administration; for the most part, the boards and their members practiced what they preached.

Different practices emerged from the various boards, despite this basic professional commitment. The divergent approaches of the boards, however, were due less to opposing philosophies concerning the way the library should be administered than to fundamental values with respect to library policy. The Lancaster board, for example, expressed great caution when it came to expanding services and moving aggressively into the community. But this was an attitude consistent

8. A dramatic illustration of the superintendent's role was provided in the new quarters for the library. He resisted suggestions to move the library to a vacant, but old structure, and held out for a new building. Some members of the library board, while agreeing with this strategy, were unhappy over the site selected—part of an educational complex contiguous to the high school. The new site, one of Altoona's urban renewal projects, will provide space for both the library and a new technical high school.

with the cultural norms of the community itself, and one which was shared by the librarian. Lancaster tends to play it safe and has selected library administrators who combine professional competence with administrative caution. Members of the Lancaster library board have actively participated in state-wide library activities and have been constant in their support of the Lancaster Library. The Williamsport board, by contrast, has been more tolerant of innovation. The board has also been fortunate in its leadership; the board president has taken an active part in state-wide library activities and is a past president of the state association of library trustees. The prevailing view of the board was summed up by one member who remarked that "the role of the board was to find and hire as good an administrator as possible who would run the library with only minimum overseeing by the board."

The Pottsville board verbalizes the same view of board-library relationships that is practiced in Lancaster and Williamsport. Indeed, that part of the board that serves *ex officio*—i.e., the entire Board of Education—seems to operate on this basis. There has been a tendency, however, for occasional intrusions into operations. Given the recent past of the library this behavior was explicable. The casual administrative practices provided by the previous librarian coupled with totally inadequate financial resources provoked some board members into periodic forays into operating responsibilities. From all evidence the board is now content to rely on the new library administrator and to disengage itself from operating involvements.

Board Oversight: The other side of the policy-making coin is the manner in which boards monitor or oversee the implementation of the policies they have approved. There were marked variations among the five boards in the way that this oversight responsibility was conducted. Even a board as disengaged as that in Erie when it came to making policy and innovation, exercised unusually tight controls over policy implementation. The control came in the form of board approval for every "major" expenditure made by the library. The Erie board did not interfere in administrative matters, but did emerge as a constant participant in expenditure decisions. All expenditures over $15 required specific approval by the library board, although on occasion the chief librarian would seek approval by the business manager for the Board of Education.

The chief librarian in Erie tends to consult with the business manager for the Board of Education more regularly than with the library board on administrative matters. The relationship is understandable, however; the library is an agency of the Board of Education, and both that Board and the superintendent of schools view the library as primarily an adjunct of the school system. Indeed, the superintendent felt

that it was basically the school district's responsibility to provide library services, and he viewed the chief librarian as comparable to a school principal. In addition to this close programmatic relationship, the fact that the library is physically housed in the same building as the administrative offices of the Board of Education makes regular consultation with the school district's business manager both convenient and inevitable.

It has been noted that the Pottsville Board of Education, which sits *ex officio* on the library board, has intervened on occasion when the library board considers and monitors library policies which directly affect programs of the school district. One recent example of the Board of Education's influence occurred when the new chief librarian wished to implement a position classification and salary plan for library employees. Most association members of the library board had approved the new program, but Board of Education members raised objections; as a result, the plan was never carried out. The primary reason for the Board of Education's opposition was the realization that the plan would elevate library staff salaries above those in effect for comparable employees within the school system. All checks processed by the library, in addition, must be signed by the secretary of the Board of Education as well as by the president and treasurer of the library board.

Several concluding observations concerning the policy-making and oversight responsibilities of the library boards are in order. As we have noted, in both Altoona and Erie the chief librarian has, perhaps of necessity, developed close administrative relationships with the superintendent of schools and the business manager for the Board of Education. In a sense, the superintendents, who serve in both cases as *ex officio* members of the library board, have become "first among equals" on their boards. The superintendent in Altoona was particularly strategic in the board's decisions concerning the new library building and its site. The independent library boards have been more inclined to defer to their presidents for policy leadership and, as a consequence, the chief librarians in Lancaster, Williamsport, and Pottsville have dealt on a continuing basis with the board president more than with other members of the board. The chairman of the board's finance committee in Lancaster also occupies a leadership position with respect to policy and oversight not enjoyed by other members. The Pottsville board presents a peculiar situation, as we have observed, since all nine members of the Board of Education are *ex officio* members of the library board. Although these members are not as faithful or active in library board responsibilities as the association members have generally been, they have occasionally used the weight of their majority to select library board officers.

Two factors seem most significant in determining board behavior both in policy-making and in administering library service. First, and most apparent, is the confidence that the board had in the professional competence of the chief librarian or library administrator. At the time of our survey, the boards expressed great confidence in the professional capabilities of the chief librarians in all five libraries. We found little, if any, intervention in the day-to-day operations of the library by the board either collectively or as individuals, except for unusual circumstances which will be examined in the following section. In one of the libraries, however, the new chief librarian had moved into a situation where for a number of years the board had lacked confidence in her predecessor and had, as a consequence, developed habits of regular participation in administering the library. Not only have the boards not become enmeshed in administrative operations when this relationship of confidence existed; they also have tended to rely heavily on the chief librarian's judgment and recommendations in performing the board's policy-making functions.

A second factor we felt was important in determining or explaining the differences among the various boards was the extent to which the library depended on *local* public funds to finance its operations and the nature of that dependency. Libraries whose local funding comes primarily through the school district and whose boards are appointed by the Board of Education are subject to a minimum of library board oversight. As we have noted, the chief librarian tends to defer to the school administration and not the library board for administrative direction and policy guidance. Although the Lancaster and Williamsport libraries receive general local public funding, in both cases the sources are primarily the city and the county. In either instance, however, city and county governments are less concerned with or affected by specific library policies and services than are school districts and, therefore, the *control* relationship so noticeable in the school supported libraries is absent in these independent ones.

ADMINISTERING LIBRARY SERVICES

The library is a service agency. The task of administering that agency is certainly not as complex as with a larger system such as the public schools. The library, however, is not a self-administering organization. On the basis of our analysis of the five libraries included in this study it is obvious that the chief librarian's role as administrative director of the library agency and its spokesman within the community has been strategic in the development of library service.

The Role of the Chief Librarian or Library Administrator

Each one of the five libraries bears the imprint of a competent chief librarian whose influence was exercised over a long period of time. The original librarian appointed when the Altoona Public Library was organized in 1927, for example, just retired in 1965. The Erie chief librarian, appointed in 1949, is only the second one to serve in the library's history. The organizing librarians of both the Williamsport and Pottsville libraries had unusually long tenure, and in effect, molded these institutions. Lancaster also has enjoyed the services of a number of competent library administrators: one, in particular, directed the library's transition from a poorly endowed and housed agency to its present status, symbolized in a way by the new building which was constructed during his tenure.

Four of the incumbent librarians have been appointed since 1963. They provide an interesting contrast to the Erie and the former Altoona librarian. The new librarians represent a different sort of professionalism. They are more than "librarians," although all are well-trained graduates of library schools. Their responsibilities force them into a role that has gone beyond the orderly maintenance of a book collection and the supervision of a small staff of semi-professional employees. The public library in each of the five cities has taken on new and still evolving responsibilities as a district center. Three of the libraries, in addition, serve as county libraries as well as community libraries. These multi-function agencies call for a different vision of library services and a broader professional preparation than was necessary in what was essentially a community-bound library.

But even within the community the library today provides opportunities that require a different type of administrator, one who can simultaneously maintain an adequate level of service, can respond to and anticipate new service demands, and cultivate broad-based support for the library within the community. In four of the cities the library and its administrator have been and are reaching out in various ways to bring the community and the library together in a more dynamic interaction of service and demand than existed before.

In Lancaster, for example, the chief librarian's "six point program" rests on the expectation that the community will seek from the library an array of services which the library, in turn, will provide. The librarian in Williamsport, and his immediate predecessor, have established extensive informational and publicity activities as one means of creating a community consciousness of the library's capacity to respond to a wide range of community needs. Telephone reference services, collections of films, records, and audio-visual materials, and eventually special reference collections are included in the battery of community-

oriented functions which the new librarians feel are an essential component of their overall offerings. The "new" librarian, we are saying, seems much more aware of and concerned with the information function of the library and considers his agency to have a mission broader than that of providing circulation and reference services for students and for fiction and best-seller reading adults. Federally financed projects in Altoona, Pottsville, and Williamsport have been in operation for too short a time for any kind of evaluation; but these projects are directed primarily at developing both a new awareness of the library's contribution to the community among present and potential users and an enriched capacity on the part of the library to respond to what that awareness might generate in new community needs.

The library administrator, under these circumstances, must possess a keen public relations sense, a capacity to experiment and take risks, and at least some skills as a community organizer. Two and possibly three of the incumbent librarians included within our study appear to possess these talents. One thing is certain, however; the imagination, professional knowledge, and leadership provided by the chief librarian will be the essential ingredients if these libraries develop in response to the evolving goals confronting them. The Pennsylvania plan for statewide library services will require, at a minimum, effective leadership in the 30 district centers. But more than this, the emerging functions of the community library as part of a state-wide information system and a center for information services within the community require resourceful and professionally competent library administrators. This is a commodity which is always in short supply.

One of the persistent and nagging problems which has confronted each of the chief librarians has been the absence of professional back-up support within the library. In only one of the libraries have the minimum desired professional complement standards been achieved; that is, a minimum of seven professionally trained, full-time staff members within an overall minimum staff of fifteen. All five libraries had total staffs equal to or greater than the recommended minimum, but only one library had the professional complement considered minimum by the state plan.[9] One of the chief librarians, and the only one to openly express this view, questioned the need for a cadre of *professionally trained* librarians; he preferred to fill his professional *positions* with non-professionals and then through in-service training provide them with what he considered an adequate professional knowledge. This situation was unique, however; the other four library administra-

9. Data obtained from the Annual Report of the Pennsylvania State Library Fiscal Year 1966.

tors recognized the desirability for professionally competent staff, but only the one library met the minimum requirement.

The administrative styles of the chief librarians varied, as one might expect. One chief librarian was a representative of the "old school," the library was departmentalized into traditional services—circulation, reference, children's, etc. Although some community information services had been developed, the overriding preoccupation of the professional staff was with the maintenance of a book collection. Another chief librarian, however, mounted a particularly aggressive campaign to make the community more library conscious and to identify and, indeed, cultivate new community needs. In the process, however, the librarian tended to ignore the internal supervision of the organization.

Overall one uniform impression emerged from our analysis of these five libraries. The chief librarian or library administrator really determined the level and quality of library service within the financial limits imposed by the nature of the revenue structure and the values established by the larger system within which the library functioned. The Erie library is a case in point. As we have indicated previously, the school system in Erie has maintained the public library as an agency concerned primarily with educational objectives. The librarian has understandably functioned in a manner compatible with this basic perception of the library's role, particularly since this role has been defined, in large part, by the library's only source of local funds, the Board of Education. The Erie Public Library has developed over the years in response to this underpinning and pervasive value concerning the role of the public library. The general attitude expressed by *all* officials—municipal, school and library—is simply that the library is essentially an educational agency, different from but naturally linked with the school. Its primary purpose is that of maintaining an adequate collection for circulation and reference needs; its clientele is anyone who wishes to come to use that collection. This is both commendable and necessary; certainly a first priority for any library must be an adequate, open and available book collection. But the library in Erie has not been perceived as a basic community resource that might serve a broader objective than the custody of a collection of books.

In the other four situations, however, there was in our judgment a greater awareness of the community environment as the legitimate service area for the library and a more ready willingness evidenced by the library and its staff to seek new ways of bringing library services to the community. Lancaster's "six point program," the Federally-financed demonstration projects in Williamsport and Pottsville, and the imaginative planning for a new library facility along with a Federal

demonstration project in Altoona, were visible efforts by these libraries to serve their communities better. Finally, and more intangibly, the leadership provided by the library boards and the professional librarians in these four libraries was more aggressive in seeking to develop a broad base of support within the urban community and to identify ways of responding to and, at times, even defining the library needs of that community.

The Library as an Administrative Agency

As an administrative agency the business of the library is providing specific services. As an organization, the library usually is structured along service or functional lines. The degree of internal organization within these five libraries varied, ranging from a fairly informal, small, almost intimate structure in Pottsville (the smallest of the five libraries) to more formally defined subdivisions and responsibilities in Lancaster, Erie, Williamsport, and Altoona. None of the five libraries had prepared organization charts. On the basis of our analysis, however, we have prepared tentative charts, tentative in the sense that these agencies are fairly small as organizations go and, therefore, intra-agency relationships tend to be fluid and ill-defined. Charts 1 through 5 represent our efforts to "map" the libraries and their services.

Staff services, such as financial, legal, and management, are provided differently in the libraries falling under Board of Education jurisdiction than in the independent libraries. As we have seen, the administrative staff of the Board of Education has been the source of these services in Altoona and Erie. To a considerable extent, the library boards in the other three cities have been deliberately constituted so that these specialized skills were available for library business. The five charts reveal other differences, particularly in the facilities provided for branch libraries and school services. Only the Pottsville library admits to having no branches, although branch libraries are not well developed or maintained in the other four cities. Altoona and Erie have the most extensive and fully-developed branch systems. The Erie library maintains five branches, all located in school buildings in the city. The branches are open only one day a week; their collections consist largely of duplicates of books in the main library. None of the branches has telephone service other than that available through the school switchboard. The Altoona library maintains three branches; these, too, are all located in elementary school buildings. These branches tend to cater to children's reading interests. They are open usually only one day a week and none of them maintained a card catalog at the time of our survey.

The Lancaster and Williamsport libraries maintain the appearance

CHART 1

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE ALTOONA PUBLIC LIBRARY

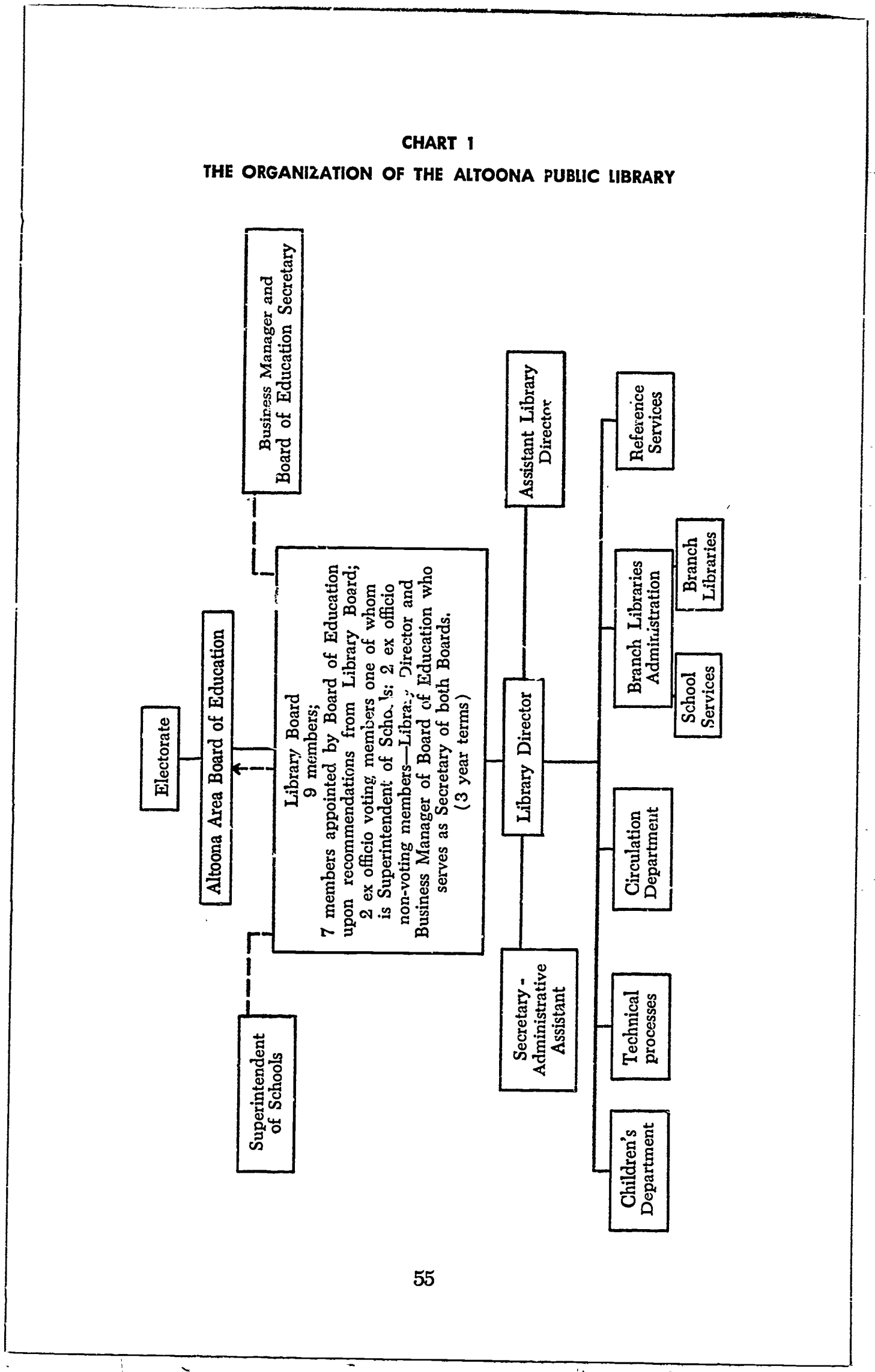


CHART 2
ORGANIZATION OF THE ERIE PUBLIC LIBRARY

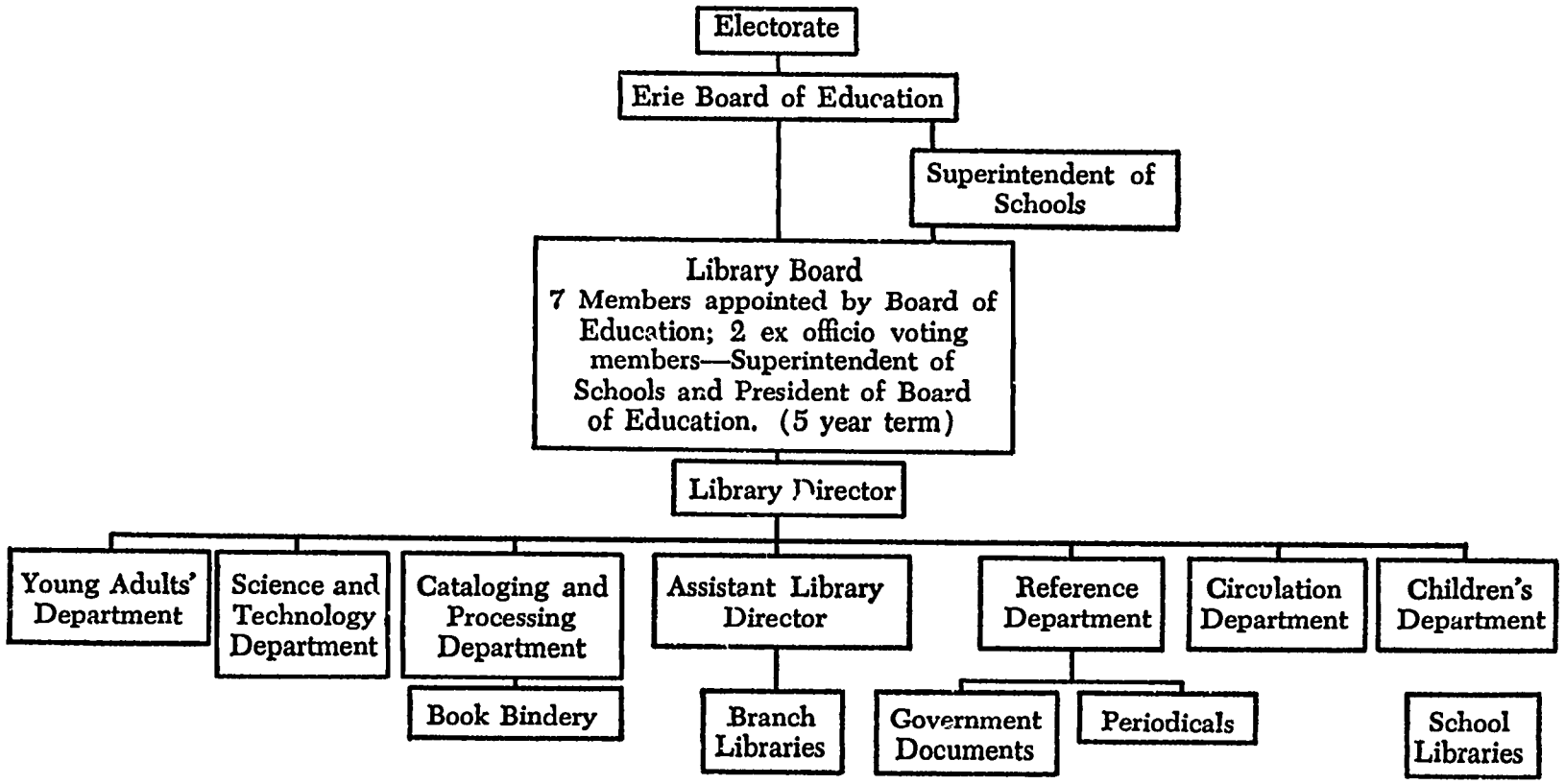


CHART 3

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE POTTSVILLE PUBLIC LIBRARY

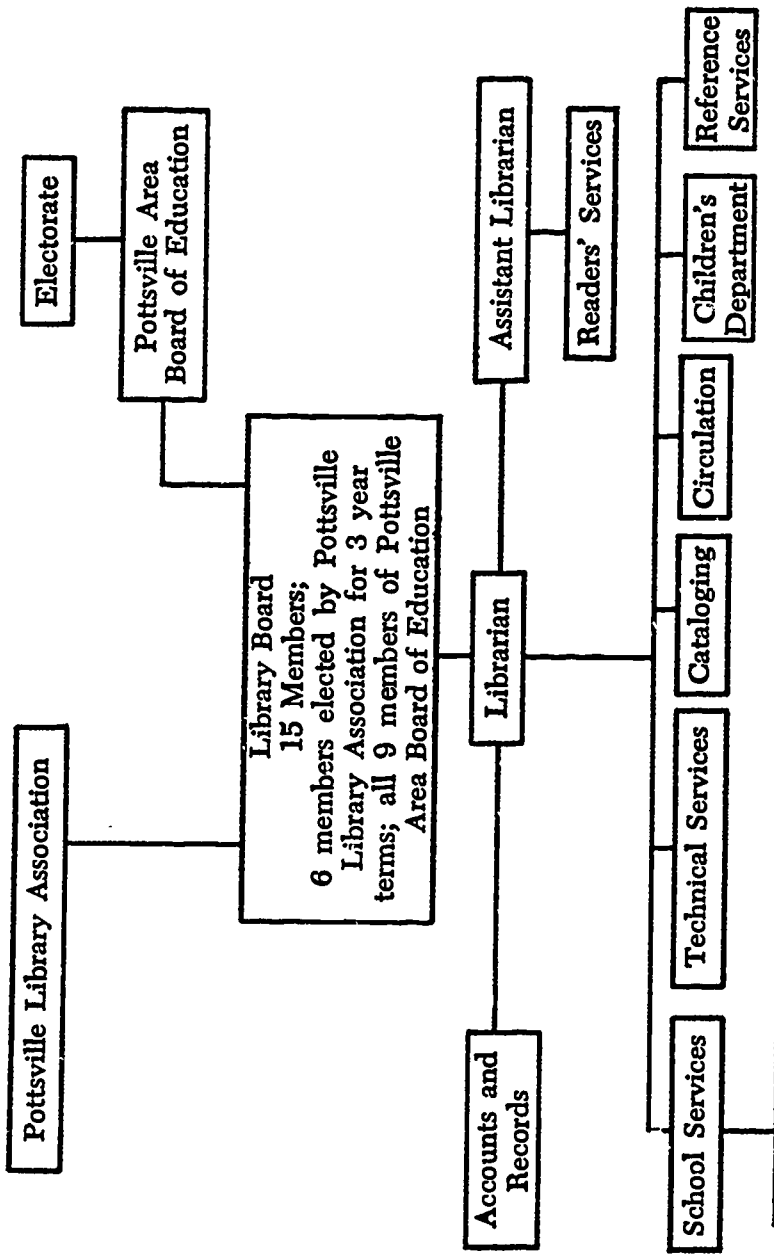


CHART 4
THE ORGANIZATION OF THE LANCASTER PUBLIC LIBRARY

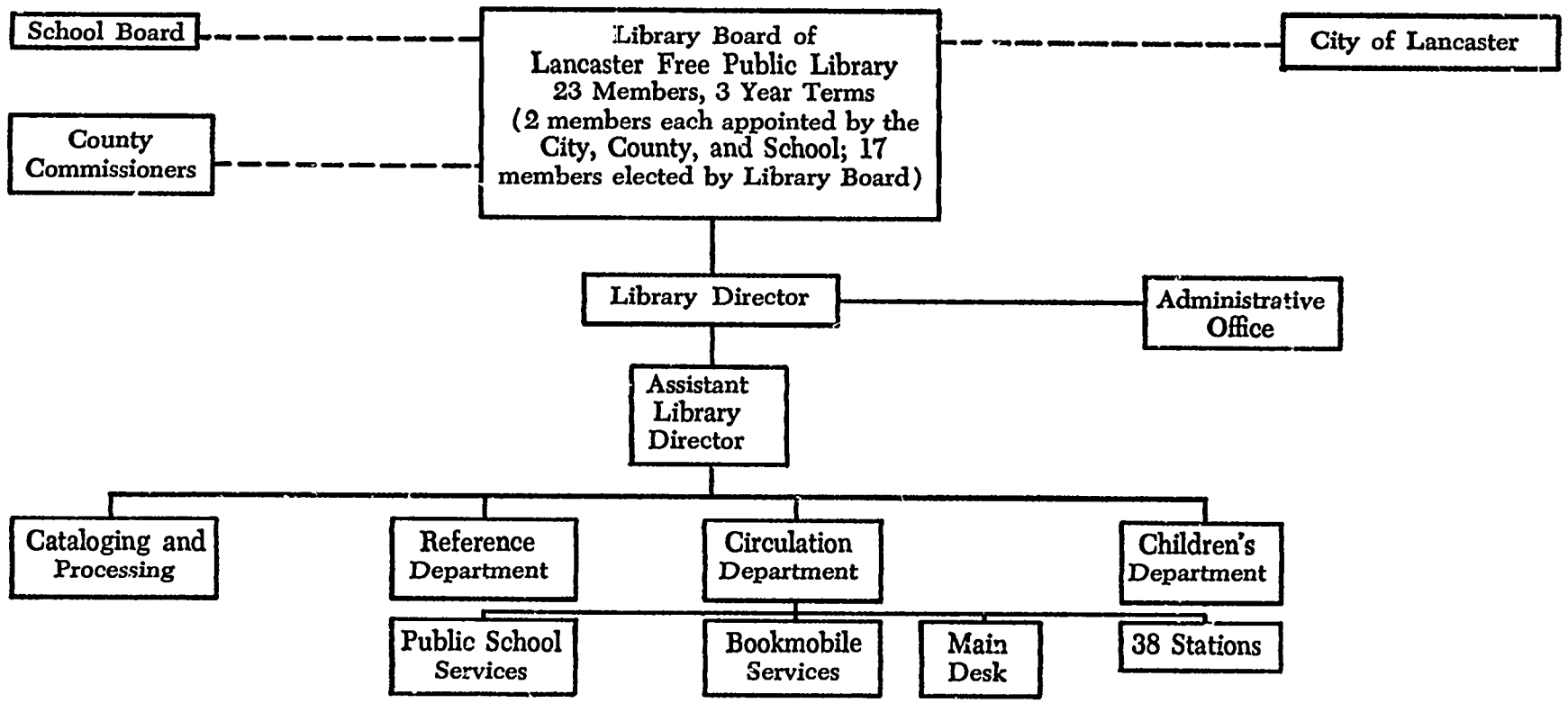
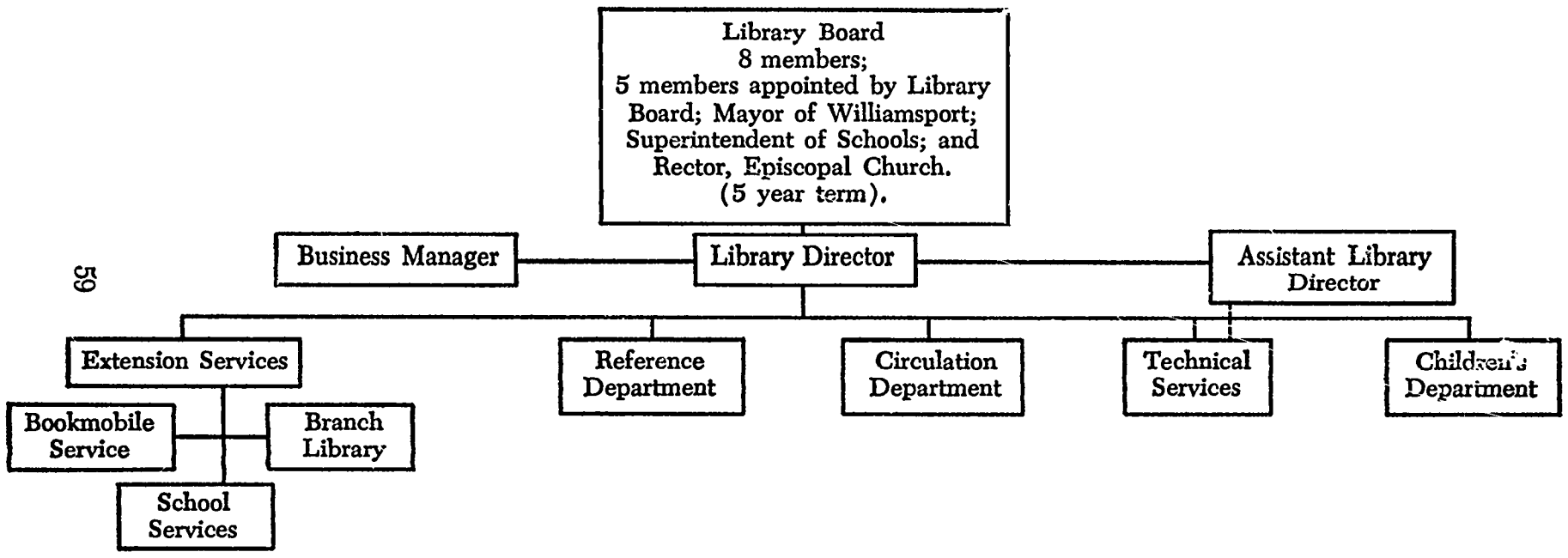


CHART 5

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE JAMES V. BROWN LIBRARY OF WILLIAMSPORT AND LYCOMING COUNTY



of operating branches. The James V. Brown Library does operate one branch, which is essentially a circulation outlet for fiction materials. In addition, however, as a county library it also maintains ten "bookaterias" throughout the county. These are limited collections, periodically changed, located in grocery stores, service stations, and other places which normally enjoy high patronage. The Lancaster library has no branch within the city, but does operate two centers and services another library in Lancaster County. As a county library, the Lancaster Free Public Library operates ten "deposit stations" in churches, hospitals, nursing homes, etc. It also services eleven other community libraries within the county, five of which maintain a common library card system with the Lancaster library. Both the Lancaster and Williamsport libraries maintain bookmobiles to service their county patrons.

School services are provided through all five libraries. The Erie Public Library serves both public and parochial schools and about 66,000 volumes are placed in 23 public and 17 parochial schools. The Public Library does not, however, operate the school libraries. The Altoona library maintains a similar relationship with the educational system. The Pottsville library operated deposit stations in seven public and three parochial elementary schools. It will continue to maintain these stations even after the school system begins to provide its own school services, as required by recent legislation. The Williamsport library's school services are directed to schools out in the county; the service has been limited to bookmobile visits to 26 county schools. The Lancaster library's school services are somewhat similar; it maintains deposit stations in 30 elementary schools in the county (no school services provided within the city) for which it is reimbursed on a per pupil served basis, as is the case in Williamsport.

No significant differences appeared to exist among the five libraries with respect to their other traditional services. One marked difference had little to do with specific library services but with the manner in which the librarian related those services to the community. At one extreme was the Erie library, which, as we have seen, tended to view its mission as largely limited to maintaining an adequate collection. While one or two library board members questioned this withdrawn posture the library has consistently maintained, the operating style has been one which views the library as primarily a collection of books available to all users. Priority has been given to this custodial function; few community services and little developmental and promotional efforts have been undertaken. At the other extreme was the policy and style maintained in Williamsport by the James V. Brown Library and its director at the time this study was launched. Aggressive and generally successful efforts were undertaken to make the community con-

scious of the library and to develop, wherever possible, programs in response to expressed or anticipated community desires. Three libraries—Williamsport, Altoona, and Pottsville—were conducting special Federally-financed projects designed to enrich their contributions to the community and to strengthen their service relationships.

THE FINANCING OF LIBRARY SERVICES

One of the hallmarks of the "public" library is its public funding. In each of the five cities under examination local tax revenues were used in support of the public library. But that is the only feature that the five shared; the sources of support and patterns of providing it varied markedly. As Chapter 5 reports, the library's consumers have little knowledge and apparently less interest in this rather crucial dimension of library services. One of the reasons, we suspect, at least in three of the five cities, is the complex revenue structure supporting the public library. The two "simple" funding arrangements are those financing the Altoona and Erie Libraries, both of which are supported locally primarily by the Board of Education. *All* local money for library services in Erie comes from the Board of Education, which, in turn, raises its funds from the normal package of taxes: the real property tax supplemented by the so-called Act 481 taxes, primarily the earned income or wage tax.[10] Until recently the same situation existed in Altoona, but Blair County now contributes to the support of the Altoona Public Library since it has taken on the responsibility of a county library. The Altoona library also receives a state grant as a county library, the amount of which in 1965-66 was well over double the size of the county appropriation.

The other three libraries possess a much more diversified revenue structure. In two of the cities, Pottsville and Williamsport, special library tax millages have been levied. The Williamsport millage, which has been levied by the city council for many years, amounts to three-quarters of a mill and was approved by referendum. An attempt to increase the millage to one and one-half mills was disapproved in a 1954 referendum. The Pottsville "library taxes" are levied by the city

10. Local jurisdictions, including school districts, are authorized under special Pennsylvania legislation to levy a relatively broad range of taxes. The original legislation, enacted by Act 481 of 1947, was known popularly as the "tax anything law." The general purpose of the legislation was that of permitting local jurisdictions to levy any tax not specifically prohibited to them or levied by State government. The basic legislation was completely revised by "The Local Tax Enabling Act of 1965," Act 511, which re-enacted and continued many of the provisions of the 1947 law. Most school districts have relied heavily on "Act 481" taxes, particularly the earned income or wage tax, to supplement their yield from the real property tax.

and the Board of Education. The city levies half a mill and the school district one mill specifically for library support. Both levies, however, fall within the maximum that these two taxing jurisdictions can enact without holding referendum elections; thus Pottsville voters have never been confronted with the issue directly.

In addition to its public funding by the City of Williamsport and Lycoming County, the James V. Brown Library, as we have seen, has a steady source of revenue from the earnings of its endowment (the bequest from James V. Brown which established the library). This source has, however, become less important as other funds have come to the library. Lancaster also has an endowment source for operating funds. Only one of the five libraries still conducts a fund drive; the Pottsville library continues to rely on this device, but it only provides a modest support in the total funding of the library. In general, reliance on fund drives as a means of financing library service has declined in importance throughout the country.

Table 2-3 summarizes the funding sources for all five libraries, and shows through a percentage distribution the relative importance of each source. Several words of explanation must be made for the data contained in the table. In the first place, the data are not entirely comparable since the five libraries do not operate on the same fiscal year basis. Thus the data for Lancaster, Williamsport, and Erie report a fiscal year ending December 31, 1965. The Pottsville and Altoona figures cover a fiscal year ending June 30, 1966. The second cautionary note concerns the federal funds reported in the table. Only Lancaster and Erie were not recipients of federal grants in support of special projects. As a proportion of total funds received during the fiscal year federal funds loom large in the other three libraries, ranging from slightly over 50 percent of all revenues in Altoona to over 16 percent in Pottsville. The Williamsport "miscellaneous" figure includes a one-shot windfall. The Brown Library was recipient of funds collected from the Sabin Oral Sunday project which were not needed and offered to support county library services. These funds were forthcoming only for the year covered by the report from which this table was prepared.

It is obvious from Table 2-3 that if these libraries were cut off from their State and Federal funds some would experience a severe shock. Only the Erie library relies on the traditional source of funds for most of its revenue. While it is true that the State funds in support of the library's district center responsibilities and most of the Federal money do not directly finance the normal local library activities, it is difficult in practice to separate within the overall set of library services those that are locally supported and those that are supported by State funds designed to assist local (and county) libraries, from the special Feder-

TABLE 2-3

Percentage Distribution of Library Revenues Reported by Major Source for All Five Cities, Fiscal 1965

	Altoona	Erie	Pottsville	Lancaster	Williamsport
Previous Year Balance:					
Local Funds	0.7%	1.7		3.7%	2.2%
State Aid	5.1	1.9	21.9%		0.1
Federal Funds			16.5		
Local Tax Income:					
City			11.0	13.7	19.4
School District	16.5	79.0	5.9	7.2	1.9
County	3.0			25.9	8.1
State Aid:					
As Local Library	7.9	6.5	3.4	4.5	8.0
As District Center	8.2	10.3	19.6	18.3	6.7
As County Library	7.4			4.6	2.7
Federal Funds:	50.1		16.5		28.4
Other Income:					
Contracts				1.9	
Endowments	0.01	0.1	1.7	3.4	4.7
Gifts	0.1	0.4		4.1	3.3
Non-Resident Fees			0.4		
Fines	1.0		1.2	5.1	2.1
Fund Drives			1.6		
Miscellaneous	0.1		0.3	7.7*	12.5**
Total Funds:	$273,583	$266,789	$151,435	$171,794	$240,907

*Includes state funds obtained from library centers in exchange for services rendered.

**One-time contribution not normally available or recurring.

ally financed projects and the district center functions. In total operational terms all of the activities become part of the library's service to consumers.

Any recommended yardstick for appraising financial support for library services suffers certain faults. One of the problems is determining for operating and financial purposes the real boundaries or limits of the library's service area. County libraries obviously have a larger and more populous service area, relative to resources, than libraries whose regular service boundaries coincide with either those of a school district or a municipality. Another difficulty arises when one attempts to develop some uniform measure of financial support. Despite all of its limitations, we have decided to fall back on the familiar per capita measure. Table 2-4 summarizes the relative contributions made locally and externally to support library services in the five communities. Granted the fact that this is a very crude measure, and that the sums will vary from year to year (particularly as Federal funds for

TABLE 2-4

Per Capita Funds Available for Expenditure in FY 1965, By Major Source and City

	Pennsylvania	Altoona*	Erie	Pottsville	Lancaster*	Williamsport*
Local Sources	$1.57	$ .43	$1.57	$1.52	$ .41	$1.19
State and Federal Sources	0.36	1.57	.36	5.39	.20	1.01
Total	$1.93	$2.00	$1.93	$6.91	$ .61	$2.20

*County library, per capita figures computed on the basis of available funds per county population.

specific projects terminate), several observations cannot be ignored. Lancaster, which as we noted in Chapter 1 is the wealthiest community in our study, provides the lowest level of financial support to its library. It is particularly interesting to contrast Lancaster with Williamsport and Pottsville. The Lancaster and Williamsport libraries have much in common; both are county libraries, both are "private" or independent libraries, both have a diversified revenue structure, and both maintain out-county services to deposit stations, schools, etc. The Williamsport per capita local support, however, is almost triple that provided in Lancaster. An even more dramatic contrast, of a different sort, is provided by Pottsville. It is th poorest of our five areas, and yet it provides almost four times the level of per capita local financial support to its library than does Lancaster. It is true that Pottsville has a smaller service area since it is not a county library; but the magnitude of difference between the two support levels could not be explained away on that basis alone.

The external funding relationships are also revealing. The Altoona, Pottsville, and Williamsport libraries have engaged in the most vigorous effort to obtain State and Federal funds, the latter for special non-recurring projects. By contrast, the Lancaster and Erie libraries have not sought Federal funds and both debated whether or not they should accept State funds, particularly whether they should become centers. In the case of the Erie library the issue did not grow out of any distaste for Federal and State funds, as it did in conservative Lancaster. The issue in Erie related to the fear that State-related responsibilities as a district center might detract from the library's primary commitment to the educational program.

Several final observations are appropriate concerning the financing of library services. The traditions of local autonomy are pervasive throughout Pennsylvania. Library services have been no exception. As a consequence, State grants require little advance planning or en-

forceable commitment from the local recipient library. This is an admirable gesture of financial generosity on the part of State government. But it does pose certain policy implications. Certain significant gaps exist in library services; services to special groups such as the aged, the handicapped, minority groups, and the business community were either negligible or just not offered by the five libraries studied. In none of the five libraries was there any evidence that municipal or county agencies viewed the library as a potential information resource. Similarly, the librarians were apparently unable to determine just what "informational needs" existed in the community and to design effective plans for meeting those needs.

State assistance for district centers is directed toward building the capacity of the library in its role as resource center for other libraries *and*, presumably, the individual consumer. Yet in none of the libraries could we conclude that much had been done in developing effective specialized or technical collections or services. Without programmatic "strings" tied to the receipt of State grants it is unlikely that much will develop along those lines. Excessive localism has been and remains a cherished value in Pennsylvania; the price paid to preserve that value appears to be high, however. It denies to the State the one sanction it could use effectively in exercising vigorous leadership in developing State-wide library services, "the power of the purse."

Some of the local librarians are less concerned about "centralization" than are State officials. Some suggest that the State is not exercising the potential for leadership that is available through the system of grants. This is a matter, we judge, for serious reconsideration if a genuine State-wide system of integrated library services is really what is anticipated as the output of the State grant program.

THE LIBRARY WITHIN THE COMMUNITY: A SUMMARY

It would be reassuring to report that in each of the five cities the public library is viewed as a major and indispensable institution. Unfortunately, our soundings of community and governmental leaders, including library board members, do not warrant this happy conclusion. No one openly opposed library services; everyone spoke well of the community library. However, in many ways these leaders were referring to the public library as an *institution*—as a civic ornament—and not as a service agency. Very few ever used the library themselves (although their children did) or felt that it occupied a particularly strategic spot among the various community public services. Those holding position of governmental responsibility at the municipal or

county level seemed quite emphatic that the library was getting about all it could expect from the public treasury.

Only one city official among all those interviewed in the five cities possessed a view of the public library which would approach that embraced by the Public Library Association's vision that "the public library should be an integral part of the community it serves, and that "the public library, no matter how small, should be an integral part of the general local government."[11] The mayor of Altoona felt that the public library should go beyond just maintaining a collection of books. He suggested that it could properly sponsor management seminars, audio-visual aid facilities for use by local governments and other organizations, and other specific services aimed at community development. In general, however, most public and civic leaders considered the library as a recreational resource or were inclined to link it with the needs of children and educational objectives. Ironically, it was the mayor of one of the two cities among our five which does not contribute anything to the support of the library services who expressed a broad range of community goals for the public library. Most professional employees of local jurisdictions tend to look to professional associations or organizations such as the Pennsylvania League of Cities as information repositories and not to the local library. In general, the governmental leadership in each of the five cities simply does not consider the local library as "part of the government." Given the nature of library financing, even in those cities where local jurisdictions do make contributions and even where that contribution comes from a special library tax millage, this view is understandable. The library is not regarded and is not treated as an agency of local government.

If public officials did not possess an image of the public library as serving a range of community needs and interests—an integral part of local public services—the same lack of vision was also exhibited by many library board members and library administrators. In Erie, as we have noted on several occasions, the library board, the library administrator, and the parent public school system see the library as a basic component of the educational system, and as a consequence of this pervasive value, the library has become precisely this. The library is not oblivious to the community; it merely perceives its relationship to the community as one contained within the educational system, and not as a relatively autonomous agency serving community-based and articulated needs. Of interest, on this point, is the somewhat different approach we felt existed in Altoona where the library is also an agency

11. Public Library Association, *Interim Standards for Small Public Libraries: Guidlines Toward Achieving the Goals of Public Library Service* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1962), p. 5 and p. 3.

of the Board of Education. The Altoona library seemed to be more receptive and responsive to a broader range of community needs than the Erie library despite its dependency relationship *vis-à-vis* the public schools. Indeed, the Altoona library was eager to become a district center while the Erie library somewhat reluctantly concluded that it must. The Altoona library has finally become a county library, as well; this evolution appears to be quite unlikely in Erie within the forseeable future.

Most library board members, when asked to assess the performance of their agency, concluded that it was doing a good job and was meeting community needs. In one sense, their assessment probably was accurate. As most users, and non-users, experienced library services in these communities, they were getting, or not getting, probably about what they expected. Chapter 5 shows that the consumers of these five libraries were, as a matter of fact, generally satisfied with the services provided. One might logically conclude, then, that these libraries were serving their communities well, or as well as their resources permitted. Our one caveat, however, is one we express not as professional librarians (which we are not) but as students of local government and community systems. The consumer of library services is not well-equipped to evaluate those services if he lacks standards or measures for rendering judgment. Not knowing what might or could be, the client is likely to conclude that whatever is, is good. Although four of the five libraries had undertaken various kinds of activities to build a more significant role for the library within its community, only one and possibly two of these were achieving any sort of success. Those who govern and those who manage the public library, at least in our five cities, have done little to identify a role for the library that goes beyond the traditional, albeit important, functions of assisting in the education of the young and affording some recreational resources to a small part of the adult population.

CHAPTER 3 / THE LIBRARY'S PUBLIC: ITS COMPOSITION

What is the library's public? Who belongs to it and how does that public use its library? Are those using the library's services the ones for whom the library was designed and its services established? Are the clients of the library aware of its place in the community; that is, do they know how it is managed, who pays its bills, and how decisions concerning library services are made? One of the purposes of this study was an examination of the library's public. By this we mean not some vague, undifferentiated conglomerate of citizens but quite specifically the users of the community library. In particular we wished to probe the "who, what, when, where, and why" questions of library use. In addition we sought to assess the visibility of the library and its services among those who actively partake of its offerings and to find out where these active users fit the library into the spectrum of community services.

To this end a questionnaire was sent to a sample of library cardholders in each of the five communities included in the study. The sample overall included over 3,500 names. Nearly 1,100 completed questionnaires were returned in usable condition, a usable response rate of 30.1 percent. Without a followup questionnaire, and given the length of the questionnaire (forty-one questions), this response was higher than had been anticipated.[1] While we agree with Campbell and

1. The sample of cardholders to whom the questionnaire was sent was selected through simple random sampling techniques. The interval of choice for the random selection of cardholders was established by dividing the desired sample size into the total number of "eligible" cardholders. We sought a sample of *at least* 500 cardholders in each of the five communities. Since the total number of cardholders varied from library to library, the interval of choice in making the random selection was different in each case.

Two complications developed in selecting the sample. One was the arbitrary limitation we set on our selection; since most other studies have analyzed "adult" users, we felt that each cardholder selected for our sample would be 16 years of age or over in that this is the most common definition of an "adult" library user. If the cardholder's age was not available we fell back on the occupational designation as the basis for selection. This method, however, was used only when students were involved. In these cases those students above the ninth grade were considered to be in high school and, therefore, approximately 16 years of age or over. Another problem occurred, particularly for one of the libraries. It was difficult to determine the "total number of cardholders" since library records were neither complete nor current. In this case we erred on the side of a large sample and deliberately selected a sample greater than the general range in the other cities of roughly be-

Metzner that ". . . 'library cardholder' is not a very accurate definition of 'library user'," especially in all its ramifications, the library cardholder does represent the vast majority of those people who use the library within a given time period.[2] We assume that people not registered or holding cards use the library; it is also our assumption, based on impressions, that these users constitute a decided minority of active library uses. They are likely to be transients, newspaper readers, and perhaps some students who use only reference materials. This group of unregistered users, while they must be considered in the library's allocation of resources, is not a strategic generator of demands or pressures upon decision-makers. Admittedly, then, the information reported in this and the following two chapters is skewed toward the "official" book borrower and does not fully represent the views of all those who use the books borrowed.

WHO USES THE PUBLIC LIBRARY?

Wheeler and Goldhor concluded several years ago that:

> ". . . Probably 30 percent of the population in any community are too young, too old, mentally underdeveloped, irresponsible, or lacking in ambition and intellectual curiosity ever to be candidates for any educational or cultural service whatsoever . . . But this still leaves a great segment, perhaps 25 to 40 percent of the population, especially among adults, which does not yet use the public library but could be encouraged to read, study and seek information on their multitudinous personal interests."[3]

While our study did not probe user and nonuser frequencies in all five communities studied, it did seek to determine patterns of library use

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tween 500 and 750 cardholders. The sample size for each city was as follows: Altoona - 724; Erie - 919; Pottsville - 530; Lancaster - 586; and Williamsport - 790.

The total sample was 3,549. Non-responses numbered 1,986 or 56 percent of the total sample. Non-usable returns constituted 13 percent of the sample; this left us 31 percent of the total number of questionnaires sent out as usable for the purposes of our analysis.

We conducted one check on the differences between respondents and non-respondents. We compared the listed occupations of the cardholders who returned the questionnaire and those who did not (since in each case the library card recorded occupation). No significant differences appeared between the two groups so that we concluded that our sample within a sample—that is, those who responded to the questionnaire—was a fairly faithful representation of the total sample in terms of the one piece of information we had available from library records, i.e., occupation.

2. Angus Campbell and Charles A. Metzner, *Public Use of the Library and Other Sources of Information* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan, Institute for Social Research, 1950), p. 17.

3. Joseph L. Wheeler and Herbert Goldhor, *Practical Administration of Public Libraries* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), p. 23.

and non-use in one community. We conducted a scientifically designed survey of a random sample of Lycoming County (Williamsport) households. These survey findings indicated that approximately 22 percent of the adults had library cards.[4] Campbell and Metzner came to a similar conclusion in their 1948 survey when they estimated that one-fifth of the nation's adults held library cards of one type or another.[5] About the same time Berelson reported that between 20 and 25 percent of the nation's adult population had library cards.[6] Our findings suggest that library patronage, as measured by cardholding, had not changed appreciably during the last two decades.

Given the assumption, therefore, that our sample of cardholders was drawn from approximately one-fifth to one-fourth of the population in each of the five cities, and assuming the fact that cardholders are not the only, but probably the primary, users of the library, what have our soundings revealed? The most obvious finding confirms the earlier conclusions of Berelson, Campbell and Metzner, and others that library patrons tend to be young, educated, female, and middleclass. More specifically, the composition of the publics of the five libraries exhibited the following characteristics.

Sex and Marriage

Women are more likely, by far, to hold library cards than men. The extent to which they use those cards will be examined in the next chapter. Table 3-1 shows the sex ratio among those cardholders who responded to our questionnaire for all five cities and by city. Of some interest are the ratios for the Altoona and Erie libraries, both of which are operated by the local Boards of Education. As shall be noted later, the median age of women respondents was slightly higher than for men respondents, 32.78 years and 31.37 years respectively. The difference can largely be attributed to the larger number of male than female college students among our respondents, a pattern which, in turn, probably is due to the presence of men's colleges in two of our cities—Franklin and Marshall in Lancaster and Gannon in Erie (at the time this study was conducted).

The Lycoming County survey revealed that 77 percent of the *cardholding* respondents were female, while only 56 percent of the *noncardholding respondents* were female. Interestingly, we had more male

4. See Chapter 6 for detailed findings of the survey of Lycoming County, Pennsylvania.

5. *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

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

TABLE 3-1

Percentage Distribution Among Respondents, by Sex, All Five Cities and by City

	Altoona	Erie	Pottsville	Lancaster	Williamsport	All Cities
Male	34%	34%	41%	44%	40%	38%
Female	66	66	59	56	60	62

questionnaire respondents (40 percent) than were uncovered as male cardholders (23 percent) among those interviewed in the randomly drawn Lycoming County survey sample.

The median number of persons in respondents households was 3.4 while the median number of cardholders in the families was 1.8. Among our respondents, therefore, slightly more than one-half of household members held library cards.

One discrepancy between our findings and those of Berelson and others emerged when we examined marital status. Previous studies revealed that library users tended to be single rather than married persons. Among our respondents 57 percent were married, 39 percent single, and widowed and divorced persons accounted for two percent in each category.

Age

The questionnaire responses revealed a relatively youthful library clientele. While ages varied considerably, 48 percent of the male and 45 percent of the female respondents were under 30 years of age. Persons over 60 accounted for only 5.2 percent of the total respondents. Table 3-2 provides the detailed age distribution by sex. The distribution, rather interestingly, is curvilinear, with the two largest groupings being the 16-20 and the 40-49 age groups. The median age of all respondents—32.9—underscores that either the library public tends to be young or that younger people are more likely to respond to questionnaires than are their elders. The curvilinear pattern of age distribution, however, suggests the former explanation is likely more descriptive of the age composition of the library public.

The relative youthfulness of the library clientele is more markedly revealed when the questionnaire responses are contrasted with the findings of the 1960 Census. Table 3-3 provides the age distribution and the median age for each of the five cities; these, in turn, are related in Table 3-4 to 1960 Census data. Two median age measures taken from the Census are reported for each city; one is the median age for

TABLE 3-2

Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Age and Sex: All Five Cities

	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
16 - 21	95	27	147	25	242	26
22 - 29	75	21	102	18	177	19
30 - 39	62	17	104	18	166	18
40 - 49	66	18	125	22	191	21
50 - 59	38	11	68	12	106	11
60+	22	6	28	5	50	5
	358	100%	574	100%	932	100%
Median	31.37 years		32.78 years		32.25 years	

TABLE 3-3

Age Distribution and Median Age of Respondents by City

	Altoona		Erie		Pottsville		Lancaster		Williamsport		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
16 - 20	67	27	37	16	24	19	26	17	88	48	242	26
21 - 29	50	20	44	19	25	20	35	23	24	13	178	19
30 - 39	46	19	51	23	24	19	27	17	18	10	166	18
40 - 49	44	18	60	27	21	17	42	27	26	14	193	21
50 - 59	24	10	22	10	24	19	17	11	20	11	107	11
60+	15	6	12	5	8	6	8	5	8	4	51	5
	246	100%	239	100%	126	100%	155	100%	184	100%	937	100%
Median Age	31.3		36.3		35.8		36.1		22.5		32.9	

TABLE 3-4

Divergence in Median Age Between Questionnaire Respondents (1966) and U. S. Census (1960): By City

	Altoona	Erie	Pottsville	Lancaster	Williamsport
A. 1960 Median Age: Census Report*	35.5 Yrs.	31.1 Yrs.	35.9 Yrs.	32.8 Yrs.	34.0 Yrs.
B. Computed Median Age for 16 Year Olds and Over (1960)	46.4	42.8	45.7	43.6	45.3
Median Age of Respondents (by definition, over 16)	31.3	36.3	35.8	36.1	22.5
Divergence (B — C)	—15.1	— 6.5	— 9.9	— 7.5	—22.8

*SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population: 1960,* Vol. 1, Characteristics of the Population, Part 40, Pa., TABLE 20.

the general population and the other is a computed median for persons 16 years of age and over. When the latter measure is contrasted to the median age of the respondents, which intentionally was limited to those 16 years and older, the divergence between the age of the library public and the general population becomes dramatic. At best, however, comparisons between questionnaire responses made in 1966 and 1960 Census findings are crude and are offered merely to suggest the age characteristics of the library publics in each of the cities.

The abnormally low median age of the Williamsport respondents suggests that the high school and college student population in that city is overly represented in relation to the other four cities. We know that the Altoona Library, because of its location in a junior high school, has many junior high school patrons. These are not reflected in our sample because we arbitrarily excluded all cardholders under the age of 16 years. Approximately 48 percent of the respondents in Williamsport are between the ages of 16 and 21. Each one of the cities studied, as has been noted in earlier chapters, has at least one college. It may be that the library in Williamsport is performing an unusually large role in servicing the students of Lycoming College and that the James V. Brown Library is used proportionately more by younger people than are the libraries in the other four cities.

Education

Our findings offer no startling departure from earlier studies. As Table 3-5 illustrates, questionnaire respondents tend to be fairly well educated. About 53 percent of them have had education beyond the high school and 19 percent have earned one or more college degrees. It is also apparent that education beyond the high school results in

TABLE 3-5

Educational Levels of Respondents by Sex: All Five Cities

	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Less than 8th Grade	6	2%	10	2%	16	2%
High School—No Diploma	54	15	91	15	145	15
High School Diploma	58	16	176	30	234	25
Post High School—Not College	29	8	87	15	116	12
Some College—No Degree	91	26	100	17	191	21
College Degree	73	21	78	13	151	16
Graduate Degree	40	11	30	5	70	7
Other	5	1	15	3	20	2
	356	100%	587	100%	943	100%

TABLE 3-6

Percentage Distribution of Educational Levels: Questionnaire Respondents Compared With Lycoming County Survey Sample

	Questionnaire Respondents	Cardholders in Lycoming County Sample
Less Than High School Diploma	17%	18%
High School Diploma Only	25	29
Post High School but no College Degree	33	35
College or Higher Diploma	23	17

a relatively greater use of the library by men as contrasted to women; over 65 percent of the men cardholders claimed post high school educations as compared to only about 50 percent among the women cardholders.

It might be argued, and properly so, that educated cardholders would be more likely to fill out a lengthy questionnaire than those with less education and that, as a consequence, the responses to the questionnaire might be somewhat unreliable. We admit this possibility. However, the community survey conducted in Lycoming County revealed that this weakness, while present, may not be of major significance. Table 3-6 compares the educational distribution of the questionnaire respondents from all five cities with the distribution found among the cardholders included in the Lycoming County survey sample. In only two groupings are there appreciable differences, and these are not of great magnitude. The questionnaire respondents tended to include a few more college graduates and somewhat fewer high school graduates with no additional education than were present in the Lycoming sample.

When the *Williamsport questionnaire respondents* are compared to the cardholding survey respondents an even closer fit emerges. The same percentage of each group (47 percent) indicated they had a high school education or less. Slight divergences appeared among those reporting post high school education and graduation from college. Thirty-three percent of the questionnaire respondents and 36 percent of those interviewed during the survey indicated some post high school education while 20 percent and 17 percent in each group respectively reported they had graduated from college.

A large number of the respondents reported themselves as "students" (25.4 percent). Most of these (51 percent) were high school students. Thirty-seven percent indicated they were either undergraduate or graduate college students and ten percent reported they were en-

gaged in various kinds of non-college post high school education. While the data do not permit any conclusive basis for generalization, interesting differences appeared between men and women student cardholders. Among male student respondents 49 percent listed themselves as college students while only 28 percent of the women student respondents indicated they were attending college. The ratio shifted dramatically among respondents who reported they were high school students. Only 41 percent of the males but 58 percent of the females indicated they were attending high school.

Closer examination of the individual five cities helps to explain the differences in cardholding patterns among male and female students. Erie and Lancaster have private men's colleges within their borders and in each city the library seems to have an unusually large number of college men cardholders.

Responses indicated, as one would expect, that education and occupation are closely related. Of those respondents identifying themselves as engaged in *professional* occupations 93 percent of the men and 83 percent of the women reported they were college graduates. Among white collar occupations generally, 66 percent of the men as contrasted with only 25 percent of the women respondents claimed some college training. Among retired persons, regardless of sex, about 57 percent of the respondents indicated they had attended college. Thirty-three percent of the housewife respondents reported some college training and 57 percent of those who did not attend college indicated they had completed high school. Of the 116 respondents who said they had post high school training other than college, 50 percent were housewives. Table 3-7 reveals that over 80 percent of the respondents who indicated their occupation were either students (28 percent) or were included in the groupings with this very high frequency of education beyond the high school (professional, white collar and housewives). It might be suggested, therefore, that the historic educational mission of the public library, discussed in an earlier chapter, seems now to be limited in these five cities to serving those who are already educated and who appear to be engaged in what has come to be termed "continuing education."

Occupation

Numerically women dominated the library's public in the five cities. This finding, of course, is hardly unexpected. Predictably, again, housewives and students were the largest groups responding to the questionnaire. Sixty-two percent of all respondents identified themselves as "female," with the ratio varying from 56 percent in Lancaster to 66

TABLE 3-7

Characteristics of Library Cardholder Respondents by Occupation and by Sex: All Five Cities

	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Professional	86	23.8	48	8.1	134	14
Business	58	16.2	44	7.4	102	11
Art, Theater, Music	1	0.2	0		1	—
Skilled Labor	44	12.3	9	1.5	53	6
Unskilled-Service Workers	18	5.0	5	0.9	23	2
Farmers	1	0.2	0		1	—
Unemployed	3	0.9	5	0.8	8	1
Retired	14	3.9	9	1.5	23	2
Housewives	NA		312	52.7	312	33
Students	121	33.6	150	25.4	271	28
Other & Misc.	6*	1.6	0		6	1
No Response	8	2.3	10	1.7	18	2
	360	100%	592	100%	952	100%

(*Includes 5 "male" housewives)

TABLE 3-8

Occupation of Heads of Households for Housewife Respondents: All Five Cities

	Number	Percent
Professional	68	21.7
Business	93	29.8
Writer-Reporter	1	0.3
Skilled Labor	70	22.5
Unskilled Labor	41	13.2
Farmer	2	0.6
Unemployed	1	0.3
Retired	8	2.6
Students	1	0.3
No Head of Household Listed	27	8.6
	312	100.0%

percent in Altoona and Erie. Table 3-7 reports the way in which respondents identified their occupations and sex. Over 78 percent of the female respondents were either students or housewives; among the male respondents over 33 percent were students. Over 10 percent of all respondents provided no occupational identification.

The middleclass bias of the library public, one which all studies have detected, comes through clearly. Among respondents almost 25 percent identified themselves as engaged in either professional or

TABLE 3-9

Occupation of Head of Household for Male and Female Student Respondents: All Five Cities

	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Professionals	23	19	23	15	46	17.0
Business	29	24	41	28	70	26
Writer-Reporter	1	1	0	0	1	—
Skilled Labor	31	25	49	33	80	30
Unskilled Labor	17	14	17	11	34	12
Farmer	1	1	2	1	3	1
Unemployed	1	1	1	1	2	1
Retired	1	1	1	1	2	1
Student	0	0	1	1	1	—
Other	1	1	2	1	3	1
No Head of Household Listed	16	13	13	9	29	11
	121	100%	150	100	271	100.0

TABLE 3-10

Family Income Distribution for Respondents by Sex: All Five Cities

	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Less than $3,000	16	5	30	6	46	5
$ 4,000 - $ 4,999	51	15	74	14	125	14
$ 5,000 - $ 6,999	91	27	161	31	252	29
$ 7,000 - $ 9,999	97	29	139	26	236	27
$10,000 - $14,999	61	18	81	15	142	17
$15,000 and Over	22	6	42	8	64	8
	338	100%	527	100%	865	100%

business occupations. Tables 3-8 and 3-9 reveal how solidly middle class that public really is. Over 50 percent of the housewife respondents are married to businessmen or professionals. However, the student group reflects a significant variation from this middleclass clientele. When students from skilled and unskilled family backgrounds are combined, they constituted about the same proportion of the total respondents as those from professional and business backgrounds—about 43 percent for each group.

Income

Data on family income as reported by the respondents and as deter-

TABLE 3-11

Percentage Distribution of Respondents' Family Income and of 1960 Census Family Income for the Five Cities by City.*

	ALTOONA		ERIE		POTTSVILLE		LANCASTER		WILLIAMSPORT	
	1966	1960	1966	1960	1966	1960	1966	1960	1966	1960
Less than $3,000	7%	21%	5%	16%	7%	21%	6%	15%	2%	20%
$3,000 - $4,999	19%	26%	10%	23%	19%	30%	7%	25%	19%	27%
$5,000 - $6,999	33%	28%	30%	28%	26%	24%	28%	28%	25%	24%
$7,000 - $9,999	27%	17%	28%	21%	25%	16%	29%	22%	26%	18%
$10,000 - $14,999	10%	6%	18%	9%	17%	5%	20%	7%	20%	7%
$15,000 and over	4%	2%	10%	3%	5%	4%	10%	2%	8%	4%

*All percentages are rounded off.

SOURCE: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960
Vol. 1, Characteristics of the Population, Part 40, Pa., TABLE 76

mined by the Census suggest that the median family income for library cardholders in the five cities is substantially above that for the city in general. Table 3-10 describes the distribution of family incomes as reported by questionnaire respondents. Over 50 percent list family incomes of over $7,000 annually while over a fifth report incomes of over $10,000. It is a hazardous comparison to contrast 1960 Census data with information collected in 1966. With this caveat in mind, however, we proceeded to do just that. Table 3-11 compares the percentage distributions in each of the cities between the family incomes reported by respondents early in 1966 and the distribution computed from data contained in the 1960 Census. Unquestionably, incomes have increased during this period, but in these communities it is inconceivable that such increase would erase the differences revealed by Table 3-11. Only Pottsville among the five cities had a median family income in 1960 below the state average, which was $5,041. In 1966, the median family income reported by respondents was over $7,000 for all five cities, but slightly less in Altoona and Pottsville. These two cities were in 1960 and remained in 1966 the most economically depressed of the five cities included in the study.

Overall, our responding users are more affluent than the general population in each community. One measure of the reliability of our data is available; comparison between the Williamsport questionnaire respondents and those cardholders interviewed during the Lycoming County survey. Our respondents, on the basis of this comparison, appear to have higher incomes than those cardholders interviewed during the survey, with 28 percent of questionnaire respondents reporting incomes over $10,000 as contrasted with 16 percent of the survey respondents who held cards.

Residency

In an increasingly mobile society, do the movers or transients constitute part of the library's public, or are the long-time residents the primary consumers of its services? This certainly has been a matter of concern to library administrators, particularly in the urban and metropolitan centers. Two of the five cities included in our study, Lancaster and Erie, are in areas which have evidenced the kind of economic base that has attracted an in-migration. Two of the other three cities have been population exporters; there is population movement, but it is outward. As a consequence, our data do not allow any generalizations that might satisfy the curiosity of those concerned about population mobility and library services.

Given the nature of our five cities, therefore, the responses to the

questionnaire are probably only descriptive of the residency or mobility patterns of the library's consumers in these communities. They tend to be "permanent residents." Eighty percent of the respondents stated they had lived in the county for more than ten years while only nine percent reported residence for three years or less. The Lycoming County survey, reported fully in Chapter 6, provides further information because the sample included both cardholders and non-cardholders. Its findings conform closely to the questionnaire responses; 84 percent of the cardholders in the sample had lived in the county for at least ten years and only five percent for less than four years. Of interest, however, is the fact that non-cardholders exhibited almost identical residency habits; 83 percent being at least ten year inhabitants and six percent less than four years. Despite the fact that the young tend to leave these areas and that newcomers are relatively rare, it is the younger residents, as we have seen, who tend to use the library more frequently than their elders.

Demographic Summary

The data obtained from our questionnaire sketch a profile of the library's public in these five cities. Library users are younger and better educated and have higher incomes than the rest of the community. They tend to be engaged in business or one of the professions or to come from families of businessmen or professionals. The profile is similar to the library's public described nearly 20 years ago by Bernard Berelson:

> "The young use the library more than the old, the better educated more than the lesser educated, and women a little more than, and differently from, men. The public library serves the middle class, defined either by occupation or by economic status, more than either the upper or the lower classes."[7]

THE READING PUBLIC'S READING

If our questionnaire respondents are any gauge of library users' reading habits, cardholders are as likely to obtain their reading materials from some other source as they are from the library. Although 87 percent of the respondents indicated they used the public library as a source for books, only 44 percent reported that library as being the primary source. Other sources of books were local stores, generous friends, libraries other than the local public library, and book clubs. None was as frequently cited as the primary source of reading materials, however, as was the public library.

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7. Berelson, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-50.

Book club membership apparently is not as widespread among library patrons as might be expected. Only 23 percent of the respondents acknowledged membership in a book club with the vast majority of them belonging to only one club (71 percent). There seemed to be no marked differences among the cities with respect to book club membership.

The paperback revolution apparently has struck the library's public with a greater impact than that achieved by book clubs. Fifty-four percent of the respondents bought "many" paperbacks, and it would appear that paperbacks are a major source for readers of fiction. Nearly 80 percent of the respondents reported that some of the fiction they read was in the form of paperbacks they bought; 25 percent indicated that the major source of their fiction was the paperback book.

Patrons' Preferences: The typical responding cardholder is not a specialized reader; his interests are general, his preferences anything but occult. Our questionnaire asked: "What kind of books or subjects are you most interested in reading about?" Over one-third of all responses to this open-ended query fit easily into a "general works and fiction" category which embraced novels, science fiction, any best-seller, humor, children's stories, mysteries, books on sports, etc. Almost a quarter of the responses, in addition, could be labeled as "history." As summarized in Table 3-12, therefore, over 60 percent of the responses fail into these two very broad subject areas.

If one of the obligations of the library and the librarian is that of satisfying consumer preferences, then one could tentatively conclude that most libraries are fulfilling that phase of their mission. The normal library collection in the middle-sized city is usually tailored to the

TABLE 3-12

Respondents' Reading Interests: All Five Cities

Subject Area:*	Percent	Number
General Works and Fiction	36%	1410
Philosophy	3	143
Religion	3	135
Social Science	7	264
Language	1	29
Pure Sciences	6	225
Technology	9	346
The Arts	5	203
Literature	5	196
History	25	974
	100%	3925

*Subject Areas are similar to the Dewey System of Library Classification.

fiction and general reader trade, including biography and popular history. But, as our respondents indicated, a large part of the fiction reader market is moving in the paperback direction. Does this mean that the libraries have not satisfied the fiction craving of the cardholder and he has, therefore, turned to paperbacks, or does it suggest that paperbacks have a lure—their ready availability, their low cost, their personal ownership—independent of what the library fiction collection contains? We can't begin to answer these questions but they certainly raise issues that library administrators are confronting and discussing.

Libraries are more than book collections; they are also information repositories. Periodical literature has traditionally been a major vehicle for storing and transmitting information, although electronic media are revolutionizing and, indeed, redefining our entire information system. The library serving the middle-sized city, and most individual library patrons, have yet to be caught up in the maelstrom of that revolution, and so it is not yet anachronistic to probe the periodical literature reading preferences of the library's public. Two questions were asked: 1) "What magazines, professional, trade or technical journals do you and your family normally read or receive?" (2) "Do you or your family read or receive any newspapers regularly? And if so, which ones?"

Magazines and journals: Our respondents tend to be major consumers of periodical literature. Although averages of this kind are often spurious, it is of interest to note that the respondents in total consumed almost 5,700 magazines or journals, or about 5 for each respondent. Most of the magazines were obtained by subscription, with over 60 percent of the readers for nearly all the listed periodicals indicating purchase by subscription. Table 3-13 summarizes the responses this question elicited. Again, the periodical literature preferences among the respondents were conventional, anything but exotic. The vast majority of the magazines and journals read or received were on a subscription basis. The only category of magazine with few subscriptions was what we blandly called "men's magazines," more often known as "girlie" or "skin" magazines. Only 19 percent of these were received by subscription.

So-called "political" or serious issue periodicals were not widely received or read, although of those reporting them, the "liberal-left" periodicals outnumbered the "conservative-rightist" journals by 12 to 1. Farm magazines, scientific and engineering journals, and fraternal organization organs were cited, but not with any significant frequency; none counted for more than one percent of the total.

Newspapers: Ninety-eight percent of the respondents read at least one newspaper daily; for the most part, these were local daily papers.

TABLE 3-13

Periodical Literature Received or Read by Respondent: All Five Cities

Magazine or Type of Periodical	% of Total Response	% of those Listing who Subscribe
Mass Pictorial Weeklies (Life, Look, Etc.)	16%	63%
Family Oriented	10	52
National News Weeklies (Time, Newsweek, etc.)	10	70
Reader's Digest	9	75
McCall's and Ladies Home Journal	9	72
Home and Garden	8	71
Hobby and Special Interest	6	64
Religious	5	84
Women's Fashion	3	53
Business and Financial	3	74
Large Literary Magazines (Harpers, Atlantic Monthly, etc.)	3	61
Scientific American and National Geographic	3	80
Education Journals	2	74
Trade Journals	2	74
Popular Fix-it Magazines	2	70
All Others (none account for more than 1% of total)	9	—

Regional and national dailies also enjoyed readers among this group with the *New York Times* and the *Philadelphia Inquirer* cited with greater frequency than other papers. Both the *Philadelphia Inquirer* and the *Bulletin* seemed to enjoy a regional audience; Erie respondents did not list the *Bulletin* at all and only three mentioned the *Inquirer*. By contrast, however, the *New York Times* enjoyed fairly consistent readership levels in all five cities. Also, although at a much lower level of frequency, the *Wall Street Journal* and the *National Observer* were among the national dailies listed by respondents.

SUMMARY PROFILE OF THE LIBRARY'S PUBLIC

At the outset of this chapter two major assumptions were stated; they are worth restating. First, for the purposes of this analysis we are equating library cardholders with library users, an assumption we think is justified. Secondly, we expressed awareness that a 31 percent response rate on a mailed questionnaire might not provide a reassuring basis for generalization. Despite this caution, we were fortified in

the soundness of the data obtained from that questionnaire when they were compared in critical areas with the data obtained from the scientifically constructed survey we undertook in one of the communities included in the questionnaire study, Lycoming County (Williamsport). There were, to be sure, minor discrepancies; but, by and large, an examination of these survey results (reported in Chapter 6) convinced us that the mailed questionnaire responses provided us a genuinely valid basis for generalization.

Given these assumptions, therefore, what can we say about those who constituted the visible and active library public? Very briefly, they consisted of:

—more women than men;

—a larger proportion of high school graduates, people who attended college, and graduates of colleges and professional schools than within the communities as a whole;

—people with a family income higher than the average within the communities;

—a significantly larger proportion of business and professional persons or cardholders from business and professional families than within the communities as a whole;
the major exception to this occupational-class basis occurred among students; among student respondents, for some reason, there were almost as many student cardholders coming from skilled and unskilled laborer's families as from professional and business families;

—people who read widely, owned books, imbibed frequently in the paperback book market, subscribed to a number of magazines and journals, read at least one newspaper a day, and whose preferences and tastes in reading tended to be unsophisticated, non-specialist, and probably—although this is at best a guess at this point—well-served by their local public library.

CHAPTER 4 / THE PUBLIC'S USE OF THE PUBLIC LIBRARY

Bernard Berelson in 1949, as we have seen, scrutinized the library's public. In general composition the publics of the five libraries we are examining differ little from the one Berelson perceived eighteen years ago. But there was then, and there remains today, a more fundamental issue: "How many people can be considered users of the public library?" Obviously cardholders are users, but in terms of planning library services administrators must identify their clients with greater precision. Berelson concluded that the "real users" of the public library were those who had some reason for using its services at least once a month. On this basis, he found "about 10 percent of the adults and about 33 percent of the children and young people" falling into this select group of "real users."[1]

A number of factors condition the extent to which a cardholder will actually use the library. Berelson established a number of major correlates with active library use, among them age, formal education, sex, occupation, income, marital status, and residence. These variables were related to "cardholding" in our five cities in the previous chapter; in this chapter some of them will be applied to "active use" of the library. Our immediate concern is for three questions. First, how much use of the library did the respondents report and were there any discernible relationships between patterns of use and variables such as those examined by Berelson? Secondly, what accounted for respondents' use of the library and, again, were there any relationships between different uses and the major variables? Finally, were library facilities other than those of the central or main library used and why?

Behind these three major questions, quite naturally, lurk many and perhaps unfathomable reasons why people use or don't use the library and influence the manner in which they do use it. Simple geographical propinquity to a library outlet may be strategic. In other instances, a person's perception, however valid it may be, of the library's utility to his need for information or recreation, regardless of distance or personal convenience, may be compelling. The so-called "convenience-mobility" range may for others determine whether or not he will use the library at all, regardless of his appetite for information or recreation, particularly as the library is placed in competition with other contenders for the potential user's time—television, paperback books,

1. Berelson, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

socializing, make-work, or just ordinary loafing. We make no pretense, as a consequence, of having tapped to the depths the dimensions of motivation which may or may not spur library use.

HOW OFTEN AND BY WHOM IS THE LIBRARY USED?

The questionnaire asked: "Generally speaking, about how often do you go to the public library for any reason whatsoever?" Respondents were given seven possible responses. Table 4-1 summarizes the results obtained from the entire body of respondents; Table 4-2 provides a city breakdown. These figures suggest that our respondents actively use their library facilities with well over 60 percent of the respondents reporting *at least* one library visit a month. For some reason, the smallest city, Pottsville, recorded the least active use pattern among respondents. The James V. Brown Library in Williamsport with an activist builder as library administrator exhibited the most active use by re-

TABLE 4-1

Rate of Library Attendance as Reported by Respondents: All Five Cities
All Five Cities

	Number	Percent
More than once a week	39	4%
About once a week	152	14%
About once very two weeks	203	19%
About once a month	313	29%
About once very three months	226	21%
About once a year	97	9%
Less than once a year	50	5%
No response	4	0%
	1084	100%

TABLE 4-2

Rate of Library Attendance as Reported by Respondents by City

	Altoona	Erie	Pottsville	Lancaster	Wmspt.	All Cities
Once a week or more	21%	17%	17%	12%	19%	18%
About once every 2 weeks	20%	19%	14%	12%	25%	19%
Once a month	28%	30%	20%	35%	29%	29%
About once very 3 months	19%	22%	23%	25%	17%	21%
About once a year or less	12%	11%	23%	16%	10%	14%
No response	0%	1%	3%	0%	0%	0%

spondents. Lancaster, blessed with the most impressive physical plant and a central location in the most middle-class, professional, and economically affluent of the five cities, enjoyed more intense use from respondents than did Pottsville but not at all the kind of patronage enjoyed by the Altoona and Erie libraries, both of which are run by the local Board of Education.

This pattern becomes clearer in Table 4-3 which reports the responses by city in terms of four major categories: very active use, active use, less active use, and no response. While Pottsville is the smallest of the five cities, both in population and in area, and its library until recently has not been a distinguished one either in service or in collection, it also has not been as well financed relatively as the other libraries and, until its incumbent librarian assumed her responsibilities two years ago, as effectively and imaginatively administered. Less explicable is the relatively inactive response from our questionnaire respondents for the Lancaster Free Library. It is handsomely housed and has enjoyed professional and effective leadership. The library board, as we observed in Chapter 2, has tapped the "influentials" of the city in a manner not achieved in the other cities and that board has exerted a leadership which has been as constant, if not more so, than in the other cities. It may well be that competing library facilities are more readily accessible in Lancaster than elsewhere; Franklin and Marshall College possesses an excellent library for a college of its size and the scientifically based industries in the Lancaster area undoubtedly provide specialized and technical library services on a level not available in the other four cities. We shall return to some of these questions at a later point in this chapter.

Occupation and Library Usage

Berelson found that occupation and library usage were positively correlated. He concluded that "Professional and managerial people, students, and white collar workers make greater use of the public library, relatively speaking, than do other occupational groups . . . . In every case, members of these groups become registrants or actual users more

TABLE 4-3

Rate of Active Library Use as Reported by Respondents, by City and All Cities

	Altoona	Erie	Pottsville	Lancaster	Wmspt.	All Cities
Very Active	41%	36%	31%	24%	44%	37%
Active	28%	30%	20%	35%	29%	29%
Less Active	31%	33%	46%	41%	27%	35%
No Response	0	1%	3%	0	0	0%

TABLE 4-4

Rate of Library Usage as Reported by Respondents By Occupational Groups: All Five Cities

	Very Active		Active		Less Active		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Professionals	43	32	46	34	47	34	136	100
White Collar	31	30	25	25	44	42	102	100
Skilled Labor	16	31	17	32	20	37	53	100
Unskilled Labor	10	44	6	26	7	30	23	100
Unemployed	6	75	2	25	0	0	8	100
Retired	13	57	4	17	6	26	23	100
Housewives	111	35	88	28	118	37	319	100
Students	107	40	83	31	79	29	269	100
Other	2	40	0	0	3	60	5	100
No Occupations Indicated	53	36	41	28	54	36	148	100
All Respondents	392	36	312	29	378	35	1086	100

frequently than do housewives or wage earners."[2] Table 4-4 records the way our respondents reported their use of the library, broken down by occupational groups. Although numerically housewives constituted the largest group of very active users, within the group there were proportionately fewer very active users than in other groups. Unskilled laborers, unemployed people, and retired individuals reported an exceptionally high use rate, but numerically they represented a very small number of the total respondents, Among those groups with a significant number of respondents, professional people and students appear to be the most active consumers of library services *as groups of individuals*. Sixty-eight percent of all professional and 71 percent of all student respondents indicated either "very active" or "active" library use. This showing by professionals, and to a lesser degree by white collar and skilled workers, is heightened by the pervasive use pattern at all of the libraries; cardholders rarely used library materials or library services for job-related interests. The relative inactivity of housewife respondents in terms of their numbers was consistent with Berelson's findings; he concluded that, "housewives actually make up a smaller proportion of the library clientele than they do of the population at large."[3] Of particular interest, finally, is the unusually high rate at which unskilled labor respondents reported their use of the library

2. Berelson, *ibid.*, p. 37.
3. *Ibid.*

(70 percent "very active" and "active"). Unfortunately the total number of respondents was so small that we hestitate to suggest any general conclusion. This behavior, however, is not consistent with the patterns established by earlier studies.

Education

The Berelson survey and that done by Campbell and Metzner underscore the positive correlation between formal education and library usage. The data obtained from our respondents certainly support this conclusion. About 73 percent reported that they were at least high school graduates, and the proportion is likely higher than that since about 10 percent failed to mark their educational achievement. Over 28 percent indicated they had attended college and about 20 percent were college graduates. But as Table 4-5 reveals, there is no clear pattern of active use in terms of educational level. The apparent activity of respondents without a high school diploma is deceptive; unquestionably a high number of high school students are reflected in these responses. Discounting those without the school diploma, then, there appeared to be no really significant differences among the groups in terms of active use of the library. It may well be that our questionnaire was not discriminating among *types* of active use; the question asked only for an indication of how many times the respondent visited the library rather than *why* he went.

Income

Previous studies of library use have revealed a positive relationship between income and use; the higher a person's income (up to a certain level, at which point people begin to maintain private libraries) the more likely he is to be an active library patron. An interesting and somewhat divergent pattern emerged when the rate of activity among our respondents was compared with income level. Table 4-6 presents these results. In the previous chapter we saw that numerically, at least, library use was related positively to income. About 40 percent of the respondents claimed family incomes of $7,000 and over. Table 4-6 shows, however, that the rate of "active use" was higher among these respondents reporting incomes of $3,000 or less than among those with incomes of $7,000 or more. We assume that this figure reflects to a considerable extent the relatively large number of student respondents and, therefore, that this apparent departure from other findings may be precisely that—more apparent than real. Less explicable, however, and even more divergent from the conclusion of earlier studies, was the relatively high use among respondents reporting incomes of be-

TABLE 4-5

Rate of Library Usage as Reported by Respondents by Educational Level: All Five Cities

	Very Active		Active		Less Active		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
No high school diploma	61	38	53	33	44	28	160	100
High school diploma	86	37	62	27	85	36	234	99
Post high school —not college	38	33	26	22	51	44	116	99
Some college— no degree	73	38	57	30	62	32	192	100
College diploma	53	35	43	28	57	37	153	100
Graduate degree	23	33	20	29	27	38	70	100
Other	7	35	7	35	6	30	20	100
No education listed	50	36	44	31	46	33	140	100
All respondents	391	36	312	29	378	35	1085	100

TABLE 4-6

Rate of Library Usage as Reported by Respondents by Income Group: All Five Cities

	Very Active		Active		Less Active		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Less than $3,000	18	37	11	23	19	40	48	100
$ 3,000 - $ 5,000	53	42	29	23	43	34	126	99
$ 5,000 - $ 7,000	87	34	69	27	95	38	253	99
$ 7,000 - $10,000	80	34	72	31	83	35	236	100
$10,000 - $15,000	49	35	47	33	46	32	142	100
$15,000 and over	21	33	19	30	24	37	64	100
All respondents	392	36	312	29	378	35	1086	100

tween $3,000 and $7,000. Forty-two percent of the respondents claiming incomes of between $3,000 and $5,000 and 34 percent of those between $5,000 and $7,000 indicated "very active" use of the library. Numerically there were more "very active" users among respondents reporting incomes of $7,000 and over, but their proportion *within* the income groups was overall not as high as for those within the $3,000 to $7,000 bracket.

This marked disagreement with other findings, all of which were based on *national* samples, may be explained in several ways. Median income in Pennsylvania was lower at the time than the national aver-

age, *but not that much lower*. The five Pennsylvania cities were genuinely medium sized cities whereas national samples would inevitably contain more respondents from major population centers which, in turn, would most likely exhibit higher income levels. It may be that library use in a medium sized city tends to be a more generally shared norm among all strata of the community than in a large city. Whatever the reasons or explanations, our findings constitute a signficant departure from those of Berelson and Campbell and Metzner.

Summary

In general, as we have stated previously, the conclusions reached by Berelson and Campbell and Metzner in 1949 and 1950 with respect to general library use could be restated in 1966 for the five libraries included in our study. There is one major qualification we would have to make. On the basis of what our respondents have reported concerning their *rate of use of the library*, there did not appear to be any significant positive relationship between the rate of use and either education or income. Very nearly the same proportion of active users appeared among all educational levels and income groups.

One caveat is extended as a possible, but not necessarily a probable, explanation. Those not responding to the questionnaire, one could conclude, were persons manifesting a less intense interest in library services than that maintained by respondents. Since we could assume that those with better educations, higher incomes, higher occupational and economic status—that is, the middle class—were more likely to respond than those less well educated, with lower incomes, and enjoying less status, it might follow that those not responding would probably be the *least* active users. If this *was* true, then our findings would not seriously challenge those of Berelson and others. Our one test is provided by the Lycoming County survey. In making comparisons between the characteristics exhibited by our respondents and those of the Lycoming County survey, we can only conclude that for Lycoming County and Williamsport, at least, the differences were not of sufficient magnitude to cause us to lose confidence in the results obtained from the questionnaire respondents.

THE CONVENIENCE-MOBILITY RANGE

All studies touching upon library use reach one common conclusion: the closer one lives to a library the more likely he is to use it. There tends to be, what Berelson called, a "natural service area;" patronage is concentrated within this area. In systems with branch libraries con-

sumers gravitate to the branch closest to them for their general requirements and depend upon the main library for specialized needs. In our judgment none of the libraries included in this study possessed a viable branch program and, as a consequence, the central library was the hub of all services, general and special.

In four of our five cities the central library was in or immediately adjacent to the business district; Altoona was the only exception. The Altoona main library is located in a junior high school somewhat removed from the central business district, and a new library will be constructed in the same location. Given the composition of the patrons, i.e., middleclass, middle and upper income, housewives, and students, the central location as part of the central business district means that the main library is unlikely to be a neighborhood institution. The data provided in Table 4-7 confirms this hunch. In every city an impressive majority of respondents indicated they lived more than ten blocks from the library, while in Williamsport nearly 40 percent and in Erie and Lancaster more than 50 percent of the respondents lived more than two miles from the library. Indeed, in Lancaster more than 40 percent reported a distance of over five miles from their residence to the main library.

When the central library is relatively remote from the areas where

TABLE 4-7

Distance of Respondents' Residence from Central Library and Population Density by City and for all Cities

	Altoona*	Erie	Pottsville	Lancaster	Williamsport	All Cities
1-5 blocks	12%	8%	16%	4%	9%	9%
6-9 blocks	11%	8%	27%	9%	15%	13%
10 blocks to 2 miles	50%	28%	52%	22%	38%	38%
2-5 miles	23%	45%	5%	24%	24%	26%
Over 5 miles	5%	12%	1%	41%	13%	14%
City land area in square miles (1960)	9.0	18.8	4.0	7.3	8.3	47.4
City population density (1960)	7,712	7,364	5,415	8,364	5,056	7,015
County land area in square miles	531	812	783	944	1,214	4,284
County population density (1960)	258.2	308.7	221.0	294.9	90.1	221.5

* At the time these data were collected only Lancaster and Williamsport could be called county libraries. Subsequently, the Altoona Library has begun to receive funds from the County Commissioners.

its public resides and where the branch library system is inadequate, it is tempting to conclude that usage will suffer. However, our respondents in Erie, Lancaster and Williamsport seem to dispute this conclusion. Both Lancaster and Williamsport also serve as County Libraries and this distribution system may explain the relatively high usage by those residing over two miles from the main library. Erie represents another interesting permutation; the Erie Public Library is an agency of the Board of Education and its five branch libraries are located in school buildings around the city. Rarely are they open in the evening, however, and they cater primarily to students and neighborhood housewives. Pottsville is small in area and consequently one would expect that 95 percent of its residents would live within two miles of the library which is located in the center of the city.

Distance from home to library, we are suggesting, is not the strategi consideration in calculating the "convenience-mobility range;" nor does it appear particularly significant in determining high rates of usage by the library's consumers. In none of the cities did branch libraries offer either the hours or breadth of service maintained by the central library. Indeed, as we shall observe shortly, for respondents reporting the use of libraries other than the central one, school rather than branch libraries experience more frequent patronage. Again, given the large numbers of students among the public libraries cardholders, this pattern is expected.

Housewives, the other large group numerically among our respondents, are primarily clients of the fiction collection. Either the branch library with all its inadequacies or the stopover at the central library during a shopping trip to the central business district undoubtedly account for a considerable volume of the housewife trade. The responses tabulated in Table 4-8 certainly suggest this behavior; over 40 percent

TABLE 4-8

Distance from Respondents' Home to Central Library, Percentage Distribution by Occupation Group: All Five Cities

	1 - 5 Blocks	6 - 9 Blocks	10 blocks to 2 miles	2 - 5 Miles	Over 5 Miles	N
Professionals	4%	11%	40%	30%	13%	136
White collar	12	16	34	22	17	102
Skilled	6	17	39	33	6	54
Unskilled	8	8	54	17	13	24
Unemployed	13	38	25	25	—	8
Retired	9	13	39	30	9	23
Housewives	11	9	38	28	14	319
Students	10	15	36	23	16	269

of the housewife respondents lived more than two miles from the central library.

Table 4-8 shows similar locational relationships for the other respondent groups. Of particular interest is the distance factor for professional, white collar, and skilled labor respondents; about 40 percent in each group reside at least two miles from the library. Given the character of other libraries available—either school libraries or branch libraries, neither of which is likely to be open during the evening—it is again interesting to refer back to the "rate of use" responses by occupational groups. Table 4-4 shows that two of the groups of respondents—professional and skilled laborers—exhibited high rates of use, combining "very active" and "active" use as a reasonable measure (at least one visit to the library a month, the same yardstick used by Berelson). It is likely that closer proximity would generate even more active use; but distance does not seem to stifle library patronage by these respondents. The findings uncovered in the Lycoming County survey, however, will prevent any quick conclusion that distance is irrelevant to library use. As reported in Chapter 6 and summarized in Table 6-40, distance does influence frequency of use. Once distance from the library went beyond ten miles, respondents increasingly stated that their use of the library was affected.

Distance may, however, influence the intensity of activity. The aggregate responses from respondents are presented in Table 4-9. Our respondents definitely indicated that "very active" as contrasted with "less active" use of the library is probably a function of distance. Those living within five blocks of the library unquestionably claimed more frequent use of the library than those living two or more miles away. Conversely, those living at least five miles from the library were significantly less frequent library visitors than those who lived within five blocks. What our probing may have missed, as we indicated earlier, was the purpose for each visit. Those who are near neighbors may drop into the library merely to pass time; those for whom a library visit is a trip are probably more motivated and more purposeful in their use of the facility.

USE OF OTHER LIBRARIES

Does the existence within the community of competing or complementary library facilities affect use patterns at the central public library? A majority of our respondents (56 percent) reported that they used another library as well as the public library. The rate of use of the public library by respondents had some relationship with use of other facilities; 59 percent of the "very active users" of the public library

TABLE 4-9

Relationship Between Distance of Respondents' Home From Central Library and Rate of Library Usage: All Five Cities

	1 - 5 Blocks		6 - 9 Blocks		10 blocks to 2 miles		2 - 5 Miles		Over 5 Miles	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very active	47	47	45	33	162	39	96	35	41	27
Active	27	27	41	30	120	29	81	29	44	29
Less Active	26	26	50	37	128	32	102	36	65	43
	100	100	136	100	410	100	279	100	150	99

TABLE 4-10

Respondents' Use of "Other Libraries" Contrasted with Their Rate of Public Library Use

Central Library Cardholders	"Other Library Users" N	Percent	Only Use Central Library N	Percent
Very active users of Central Library (N: 384)	226 (59%)	38%	158 (41%)	34% (100%)
Active users of Central Library (N: 306)	177 (58%)	30%	129 (42%)	28% (100%)
Less active users of Central Library (N:363)	187 (52%)	32%	176 (48%)	38% (100%)
	590	100%	463	100%

(visit at least once every two weeks) reported using other libraries, too, but only 52 percent of the "less active users" (less than one visit a month) claimed use of another library as well as the public library. Active library patrons, it would seem, consume *all* library services more than less active ones; they not only are the most frequent clients of the central library but are also most likely to be using other libraries (branches, school, technical, law, etc.). This pattern of usage is reinforced when the users of other libraries (as well as the central library) are analyzed. A significant number of the patrons of other libraries indicated they were either "very active" or "active" users of the central public library (at least one visit every two weeks, or more frequently). These complementary patterns are described in Table 4-10.

TABLE 4-11

Rate of Respondents' Usage of Other Libraries By Rate of Respondent's Usage of Public Libraries

	Very Active		Active		Least Active		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Uses other more than Public Library	106	46%	94	54%	127	68%	327	55%
Uses other about the Same	46	20	33	19	37	20	116	20
Uses other less than Public Library	78	34	47	27	22	12	147	25
	230	100	174	100	186	100	590	100

Among those using both the central as well as other libraries, we sought to determine what, if any, differential rates of use prevailed. We asked the respondents who acknowledged using more than one library whether they used the second library more or less than the main library. A majority indicating use of a second library—55 percent—also reported they used that library more often than the central library. In order to probe more deeply we compared these rates of use—those using the second library more or less than the main library—with those who indicated "very active," "active," or "less active" use patterns at the central library. Table 4-11 summarizes these relationships.

These responses seem to uncover two patterns of use. First, and perhaps expectedly, there appears to be an inverse relationship between the use of other libraries and rates of main library use by respondents; the cardholder who uses a second library more than the central library is an increasingly less active patron of the latter facility. But, among "very active users" of the main library there appears to be a high patronage of "other libraries" as well; 46 percent of the "very active" main library patrons reported they used the second facility more frequently than the central library. Again, this seems to suggest that "very active" public library users are avid consumers of all libraries.

WHAT "OTHER LIBRARIES"?

Throughout this analysis we have equated "public library" with the main or central library and have subsumed branch libraries within the designation "other libraries" along with school, law, special, and other library facilities. This distinction is warranted, given the nature of the public library system in these five cities. We did attempt, however, to elicit from respondents any discernible use patterns among these "other libraries." As Table 4-12 reveals, only two types of "other

TABLE 4-12

Percent of Respondents Who Use Some Other Library Service Than the Main Public Library; By City*

	Altoona	Erie	Pottsville	Lancaster	Williamsport	All Respondents
Branch Libraries	21%	17%	3%	7%	9%	13%
School Libraries	32%	38%	29%	39%	50%	38%
Law Libraries	—	1%	1%	1%	2%	1%
Company or Special	1%	4%	3%	5%	3%	3%
Religious	9%	6%	3%	10%	4%	7%
Other	10%	9%	4%	14%	9%	9%

* Computed on the basis of the number of persons who responded to each particular question as a percent of all those responding within their particular city.

libraries" found significant patronage—school libraries and branch libraries. Respondents were asked to indicate what other facilities they used, and could check more than one. As we have observed, 55 percent of all respondents reported use of a library in addition to the central facility. Again, among all respondents, 38 percent reported using school libraries and 13 percent branch libraries. Other uses were scattered at an insignificant level among other kinds of facilities. Only two cities—Altoona and Erie—have anything approaching a system of branch libraries within the city proper (and these are located in school buildings); this fact is reflected in the reported use of branch units.

The relatively heavy use of school libraries (including college and university libraries) could have been predicted on the basis of the proportion of students among our respondents. In one city alone, Williamsport, 40 percent of the original random sample of cardholders identified themselves as students and another five percent as "professional educators." Four of the cities have fairly large institutions of higher education within the library's service area; only Pottsville lacks a comparable facility.[4] Fewer respondents reported use of school or college libraries in Pottsville than in the other communities.

Looking more closely at the use of school and college libraries, our respondents not surprisingly indicate that of those who use such libraries more than the main public library, 59 percent are students,

4. Both Pottsville and Altoona lack independent colleges; both have Commonwealth Campuses of The Pennsylvania State University. The Altoona Campus, however, has an enrollment, a facility, and a curriculum much more analogous to that found at an "independent" college than are found at the Pottsville campus. Franklin and Marshall is located in Lancaster, Lycoming College (as well as a Community College) in Williamsport, and Gannon College (as well as a Commonwealth Campus of The Pennsylvania State Univesrity) in Erie.

TABLE 4-13

Use of School Libraries As Reported by Respondents By Major User Groups: All Five Cities

	Use School Libraries More Often Than Public Library		Use School Libraries About the Same as Public Library		Use School Libraries Less Often Than Public Library		
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	Total
Student	131	63%	35	17%	42	20%	208
Professional Educators	29	66%	8	18%	7	16%	44
Housewives	22	46%	9	19%	17	35%	48

13 percent professional educators, and 10 percent housewives. The remainder of the responses were scattered among other occupational groups. As would be expected, students dominate in the use of school and college libraries in all three categories—those who use them more, about the same, and less, than the public library—but of interest is the fact that among our respondents, housewives indicated a fairly consistent patronage of school and college libraries. Table 4-13 depicts the use pattern reported by respondents who indicated they were consumers of school libraries.

Use of branch libraries in addition to the main library among our respondents was concentrated among students and housewives. Among those respondents indicating use of branch libraries 39 percent were housewives and 28 percent were students. In both instances, a majority of housewives and student respondents reporting patronage of branch libraries indicated they used them more frequently than they did the main library. The distribution is shown in Table 4-14.

One possible note of explanation is entered concerning the use of "other libraries" by housewives. Housewives reported, as shown in Table 4-13, a relatively frequent use of school libraries. These responses may actually hide a wider use of branch libraries. The two libraries that maintained anything approaching a system of branch libraries within the city, Altoona and Erie, located those branches in school buildings. It is probable, therefore, that some respondents erred in identifying as "school libraries" those that actually were "branch libraries."

The general conclusion we can reach, on the basis of our respondents' reported behavior, is that for a majority of those using facilities in addition to the main public library the patronage of the additional library or libraries tends to be heavier than for the central facility. For these users the main library appears to be a secondary source of library services. As school and college libraries improve their collections and

TABLE 4-14

Use of Branch Libraries As Reported By Housewives And Student Respondents: All Five Cities

	Use Branch Libraries More Often Than Main Library		Use Branch Library About the Same		Use Branch Library Less Often		Total
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	
Housewives	26	58%	7	16%	12	26%	45
Students	19	51%	8	22%	10	27%	37

services, as they are increasingly doing with the assistance of Federal and State funds, these facilities will unquestionably cut into the public library's clientele. As we noted in the previous chapter, we assumed that men college students constitute the largest proportion of the total student group of public library cardholders. An unpublished study of student library use suggests that college students generally are likely to use their college library more than the public library if both are equally available and functional to their requirements.

THE "WHY" OF LIBRARY USE

Campbell and Metzner concluded, after analyzing a national survey of library use patterns, that "more people go to the library to take out books than for any other reason."[5] Berelson, on the basis of his own survey of library patrons, came to a similar conclusion: ". . . the public most frequently uses its library as a collection of books from which to borrow. Nearly half the books borrowed are juvenile, and nearly two thirds of the total circulation is fiction."[6] Again, the reasons cited by our questionnaire respondents for their use of the public library conforms with these earlier findings.

Two questions were directed at the "why" of library use. We first asked why the cardholder usually used the public library. We then asked what was the respondent's main reason for his last library visit. About 60 percent of the respondents indicated that they usually visited the library to borrow books; 36 percent reporting they usually went to get a novel and 24 percent claiming they borrow non-fiction books. Circulation of books, therefore, was by far the primary function of the library for most of its public. Again, our respondents appear to conform to the pattern of use detected by Campbell and Metzner; a good number, nonetheless, use the library for other than circulation pur-

5. Campbell and Metzner, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
6. Berelson, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

TABLE 4-15

Factors Reported by Respondents as Limitations On the Use of the Public Library: All Five Cities*

	Very Active		Active		Less Active		All Respondents	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Too Far Away	68	19%	56	19%	75	21%	199	19%
Someone else must bring	13	4	20	7	13	4	46	4
No Public Transportation	4	1	0		3	1	7	1
Lack of Adequate Parking	48	14	40	13	41	11	129	13
No Time for Reading	55	16	67	22	69	19	191	13
Not Interested	3	1	2	1	22	6	27	3
Too Noisy	8	2	3	1	1	0	12	1
Inadequate Collection	52	15	41	14	45	12	138	14
Other	101	29	71	24	95	26	267	26
	352		300		364		1016	

*Percentages are rounded off.

poses.[7] Among our respondents 23 percent reported they used the library to "find out about particular facts or events," or "to have questions answered;" 3 percent said they usually used the library to read magazines or newspapers. To put it another way, 26 percent reported using the library primarily for reference or information purposes. Given the size of the student cardholding respondents, relatively few reported they used the library primarily for doing homework (8 percent).

In response to the second question—the reason for the most recent library visit—our cardholding respondents answered in much the same manner as they did to the first query; 56 percent for circulation purposes, 23 percent for what we might call reference or information purposes, 8 percent to do homework, and the rest for a number of reasons, among them "to relax." The library with the most pleasant surroundings—comfortable chairs, adequate floor space, well-designed interior—was cited more frequently by its cardholding respondents than the other four libraries as a place they went "to read."

There is another side to the "why" coin of library use; the reasons which cause a person to limit his use of the library. Respondents most frequently indicated that the library was too far away from their homes or that they had too little time for reading. Table 4-15 both summarizes the distribution of the reasons cited by respondents as constraints on their more frequent use of the library and compares this distribution with the respondent's rate of library use. Transportation or parking, both functions of distance, constitute the reasons cited by

7. Campbell and Metzner, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

38 percent of the "very active users," 39 percent of the "active users," and 33 percent of the "less active users." An inadequate collection was cited by 15 percent of the "very active users" but by only 12 percent of the "less active users."

The distance question, which was raised earlier in this chapter, remains unresolved. Closer analysis of the responses revealed those who lived ten blocks or more from the library increasingly cited the "live to far away" reason as a major limiting factor on their use of the library. Similarly, the same kind of pattern emerges with respect to inadequate parking spaces. Parking falls off as a limiting factor, however, for respondents who reported living five miles or more from the library. Perhaps, for these respondents, once the decision to "go into town," for whatever purpose, has been made, parking difficulties are taken in stride and, therefore, are less consciously considered as limiting use of the library than the absolute limitation posed by the distance from the library itself.

SUMMARY

This chapter has considered the library public's use of its library. What emerges from this analysis of questionnaire responses, to a considerable extent, serves to confirm once again the generalizations arrived at nearly two decades ago by Berelson and Campbell and Metzner. In brief, our findings are:

—The "very active" and "active" users (those making at least one library visit a month) were numerically likely to be younger, better educated, more affluent, and more middleclass generally, and to live within a more reasonable distance of the library, than those who were less active in their use (less than one visit a month);

—While this pattern of use was generally observed, our respondents did not clearly conform to the findings uncovered by earlier studies; we found a surprisingly high rate of library use among lower middle-income groups ($3,000 to $7,000 in annual family income) and at all educational levels;

—Although housewives emerge as the largest numerical group among our respondents, their rate of usage as a group is not as high as among students, professionals, and skilled laborers.

—While there tends to be a distance factor, it is difficult to determine what its impact on usage actually is; other considerations

than distance seem to be as strategic in determining whether cardholders do or do not use the library frequently.

— A significant number of cardholder respondents reported using another library in addition to the main public library; the more frequently the cardholder uses the other facility the less frequently he patronizes the main library; but, finally, the "very active users" of the public library also emerge as among the most frequent clients of other facilities as well.

—School and college libraries, rather than branch public libraries (which exist for practical purposes in only two of the five cities), constitute the bulk of the "other libraries" cited by respondents, and that, not surprisingly, students and educators most frequently patronized those facilities, although housewives appeared to be fairly constant as well.

—The public libraries included in our study seem to serve two main functions for the respondents; a source of books for borrowing (a circulation function) and a source of information (a reference function); surprisingly little use seemed to be made of the libraries for "homework" purposes despite the fairly large group of student respondents.

CHAPTER 5 / THE PUBLIC'S VIEW OF THE PUBLIC LIBRARY

Morton Kroll, in his study of libraries in the Pacific Northwest, concluded that "in most communities in the Pacific Northwest the public library, if highly considered, is not vitally regarded as a public service agency."[1] Berelson in describing what he called a "typical" library in a "typical" town, oberved that:

> ". . . The public library of the 'typical' town is referred to with pride by many people who have not been in it since they left school. The residents do not know a great deal about the library, and not many of them use it directly; but they do approve of it, and they support it without much grudging . . . By and large, the people of the community think well of their public library."[2]

The observations of Kroll and Berelson provide an appropriate backdrop for our analysis of how respondents appraised their library and where they fit it into the total scheme of their community as they conceptualize that community.

SATISFACTION WITH THE LIBRARY'S PERFORMANCE

The active library publics in our five cities appear to be quite satisfied with the services they consumed at the local library, if the expressions of our questionnaire respondents are evidence for such a generalization. In all cities over 75 percent of the respondents expressed general satisfaction with the library materials available to them through the public library; dissatisfaction, where it was expressed, centered on the non-fiction collections and inadequate reference materials.

The measures of overall satisfaction or dissatisfaction assume a more discriminating meaning when they are compared with rates of library use. As analyzed in Table 5-1, the comparison shows that there was a high level of satisfaction expressed by all types of users — very active, active, and less active. There were more "very active" and "less active" users combined among those indicating satisfaction than "active" users. But among dissatisfied respondents there were an appreciably greater number of "very active" users (41 percent) than of

1. Morton Kroll (editor), *The Public Libraries of the Pacific Northwest,* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1960), p. 138.
2. Berelson, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

the other two groups. Also of interest is that among the "very active" users there was a slightly larger proportion expressing dissatisfaction (19 percent) than among the other two groups of users ("active users," 17 percent and "less active" users, 15 percent). Although the differences are not great in either case, there was still a tendency for those who use the library frequently to express overall dissatisfaction more often than for those who use it less frequently.

Our respondents' appraisal of the extent to which the library was meeting community as well as personal needs, what we might term the customers' reactions, is summarized in Table 5-2. Although 70 percent of all respondents expressed satisfaction with the library's meeting community needs and 77 percent similarly content with its meeting their personal needs, inter-city comparisons provide an inter-

TABLE 5-1

Have you generally been satisfied with the materials you have used while visiting the library?*

	Very Active		Active		Less Active		Total
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	
No	310	35	257	29	310	35	877
Yes	76	41	53	29	57	31	186
No Response	5	42	2	17	5	42	12
							1075

*Percentages are rounded off and do not add up to 100%.

TABLE 5-2

Percent Distribution of Responses to Questions Concerning Library Performance in Relation to Community and Personal Needs: By City

How satisfied are you with the job the public library is doing to meet the needs of your community?

	Altoona	Erie	Pottsville	Lancaster	Williamsport	All Cities
Satisfied	58%	60%	82%	83%	79%	70%
Undecided	22%	29%	14%	13%	19%	21%
Dissatisfied	20%	12%	4%	4%	2%	9%

How satisfied are you with the job the public library is doing to meet your own personal needs?

Satisfied	74%	68%	76%	86%	80%	77%
Undecided	6%	10%	11%	6%	8%	8%
Dissatisfied	18%	22%	12%	7%	12%	15%

esting and useful basis for evaluation. The two libraries falling under Board of Education jurisdiction, Altoona and Erie, elicited the lowest level of satisfaction, 58 percent and 60 percent respectively. The library which at the time this study was done was most inadequately housed, Altoona, provided among our respondents the highest level of dissatisfaction (20 percent). The Erie library, although an agency of the Board of Education, is physically located in a separate structure in the central business district, a building which also houses some Board of Education administrative offices but one that is not considered a "school building." The Altoona library, on the other hand, was crowded into a second floor location in a junior high school outside the central business district.[3] Ironically, the Altoona and Erie libraries also enjoyed the highest rate of active use, as we observed in Chapter 4.

The same two libraries score lower on the measure of meeting personal needs, but the differences at the satisfaction level between them and the other three libraries are not great. What does remain at a high level, and in the case of Erie at a significantly higher level, are the indicators of dissatisfaction (18 percent for Altoona and 22 percent for Erie). The satisfaction and dissatisfaction responses on personal needs for Pottsville appear initially perplexing, given its relatively high respondent appraisal in terms of meeting community needs.

A closer examination of specific causes for dissatisfaction tends to explain these differences. Erie, Pottsville, and Altoona—in that order —provoked, by a large margin over the other two libraries, the greatest number of generally dissatisfied responses; 24, 20, and 18 percent of *all* respondents from each city respectively. At several points in the questionnaire we asked respondents to indicate specifically any complaints or reasons for dissatisfaction they might harbor concerning their library and its services. Those respondents who seized the opportunity — and many did not — tended to echo similar themes. Erie and Altoona were cited for having "dreary" libraries; ironically, Williamsport was also cited on this score. For some reason Pottsville, which is also housed in an old structure, was not similarly chastized. The Altoona library was particularly singled out by its complaining respondents; 27 percent of the dissatisfied customers agreeing that "in general, the whole library collection is inadequate." Pottsville met its harshest judgment from critics for its non-fiction collection and Erie for its inadequate reference materials. Erie, in addition, provoked the largest proportion of critical observations concerning respondents'

3. The Altoona library will soon be housed in a new and rather striking structure, part of an educational urban renewal complex and contiguous to a new Technical Vocational High School and the present Central High School.

impressions of the library; 15 percent of *all* respondents felt that the library was "confusing," a much higher proportion expressing this reaction than for any of the other four libraries.

It is appropriate at this juncture to recall that the two libraries provoking the greatest expression of dissatisfaction have been agencies of the local Board of Education, both are inconveniently situated with respect to the bulk of their consumers (more so, it is our judgment, than the other three), and both have had to share quarters with elements of the local public school system. Perhaps overarching all other reasons, however, is the leadership these two libraries have experienced over the years. The chief librarians in both cases have been women, and were judged by their peers to be very competent as *librarians*. Neither librarian, however, up to the time of our study, had been able to establish a clear identity for the library, neither was able, in other words, completely to overcome being submerged within the school system.[4] By contrast, both the Lancaster and Williamsport Libraries have been headed by male library administrators for a number of years. Both libraries are independent of the school system and the library administrators have been professionally well-qualified and relatively aggressive in establishing a role for the library within the total community. The Pottsville Library had suffered from weak leadership for some time until several years ago when an able and agressive woman librarian assumed the helm. Although the Pottsville library board includes the entire Board of Education and is financed, in part by the Board of Education, there remains some question concerning the Board's jurisdiction over the library. The concluding chapter of this study will return to an overall appraisal of the impact of library services in each of the communities.

One should not cloud the generally high rating given by the library publics in each of the cities, however, by overemphasizing the complaints directed against specific facilities. The expressions of satisfaction are too resounding in volume to ignore or brush aside. If any cautionary reservations might be entered they would be of this kind. First, a comparison of responses to the two questions might lead to this conclusion. Since *both satisfaction and dissatisfaction* levels tend to increase as the respondent moved from appraising the library's contribution to the community to an assessment of its service to him, as a cardholder and user, we might assume that users were making more informed judgments in response to the second question dealing with personal needs. Users were more aware of what they needed or wanted

4. The Altoona library now has a new, male librarian. He is young but well qualified and he has been deeply immersed in planning the new Altoona library facility.

themselves from the library and could, therefore, make a more pointed appraisal of the library's performance, than they were able to render with respect to the library's meeting "community needs." It may also be revealing that overall there was a slightly greater increase in expressions of dissatisfaction than of satisfaction as the user moved from appraising the library's performance in meeting community needs to its meeting his personal needs.

Another caveat worth noting at this point concerns the nature of our respondents. As we observed in an earlier chapter, an overwhelming majority of respondents were what we might term "locals;" that is, long-time residents of the community, even if young in years. As such it is unlikely that they would have readily available in their "memory bank" any alternative models to use in appraising the local library's performance. Not knowing what "might be," the user's expression of satisfaction, or for that matter, of dissatisfaction, is likely to be an uninformed one.

Suggested Improvements

Even without a reliable measuring instrument, however, respondents could and did point to a number of changes which would, in their judgment, improve the quality of service. We asked respondents to rank in order of preference the changes they would like to see occur. Table 5-3 reports their responses, in order of stated preferences.

It is not surprising, given the location of all five libraries either in the central business district or an equally congested location (Altoona), that "better parking facilities" were most frequently supported. Given also, the generally old, although not necessarily inadequate, physical

TABLE 5-3

Changes Respondent Would Like to See Take Place In His Public Library*

Better Parking Facilities	41%
More Reference Books	30%
A New or Expanded Building	29%
More Non-Fiction Books	24%
More Fiction Books	19%
More Conveniently Located Branches	16%
Longer Hours	13%
No Changes Are Necessary	13%
More Films or Records	11%
More Children's Materials	9%
Quicker and Better Service by the Staff	7%
More Newspapers and Periodicals	7%
More Meeting Rooms for Groups	6%
Other	8%

*Percentages do not total 100 percent due to computation on the basis of the number of times the response was cited vs. total number of persons in the sample.

facilities of the libraries (except for Lancaster), we might anticipate a large number of respondents would urge "a new or expanded building," although as shall be noted in a later section of this chapter, only in one city would a plurality of the respondents support a tax levy to finance the public library. It is interesting, moreover, to note that a greater number of respondents recommended "more reference books" and "more non-fiction books" than suggested the need for "more fiction books." This may be one manifestation of the impact that paperbacks have had on book acquisition behavior. We observed in Chapter 3 that a significant number of respondents reported that they bought "many" paperbacks and that these were the source of much of the fiction read.

When these responses are broken out by city, as they are in Table 5-4, revealing but not unexpected comparisons emerge. The Altoona library, the most inadequately housed, had significant support among its respondent cardholders for a new or expanded facility (47 percent of the suggested changes from Altoona respondents). The need for more adequate housing was also expressed by Erie respondents (37 percent of the suggested changes). For some reason, however, Pottsville respondents did not perceive the need for new or expanded quarters for their library despite the fact that next to Altoona the Pottsville library is the most overcrowded and structurally unsatisfactory. Expectedly, only three percent of the suggestions from Lancaster respondents supported expanded quarters.

One apparently unusual, but explicable, twist emerged with respect to the Altoona library. Except for Altoona, the most frequently voiced suggestion was for better parking facilities. The answer probably lies in the fact that the Altoona library, located in a congested neighborhood and tucked away on the second floor of a junior high school, has been so woefully inadequate as to preclude any sort of acceptable

TABLE 5-4

Changes Desired by Respondents in the Public Library-Selected Suggestions: By City

	Altoona	Erie	Pottsville	Lancaster	Wmspt	Average
Better Parking Facilities	33%	47%	52%	39%	40%	41%
More Reference Books	33%	36%	29%	19%	28%	30%
New or Expanded Building	47%	37%	22%	3%	21%	29%
Non-Fiction Books	29%	22%	24%	23%	20%	24%
Fiction Books	24%	18%	22%	15%	16%	19%
More Branches	16%	21%	9%	24%	8%	16%
Longer Hours	10%	12%	6%	12%	22%	13%
No Changes Necessary	11%	7%	14%	22%	14%	13%

library service. In such circumstances, the problem is not one of inadequate parking at an adequate library. It is, rather, a reluctance even to patronize a facility which is so utterly devoid of the minimum conditions for library service; if cardholders are so repelled by the facility that use is discouraged, then parking really is no problem.

The two libraries located in the most congested surroundings (with the exception of Altoona) are Erie and Pottsville; both are in the central business district and there are no adequate off-street parking facilities nearby. Respondents from these two cities ranked the need for better parking facilities highest among their suggestions. Both Williamsport, with a municipal lot located behind the library building, and Lancaster with its own, but small parking lot, provide some relief to driving patrons. Even so, however, more accessible parking facilities ranked highest among the suggestions made by their respondent cardholders.

If these changes recommended by responding cardholders were implemented, would greater use of the library result? This is an "iffy" question, to be sure. But 66 percent of our respondents answered in the affirmative; 15 percent didn't know, and 16 percent concluded that the suggested changes probably wouldn't increase their patronage. Obviously library planners and policymakers cannot make investment decisions on such a tenuous basis. On the other hand, few knowledgeable observers of these libraries would dispute the need for these recommended changes. At least it seems to us reasonable to suggest that adequate, conveniently located, and well-publicized parking facilities would stimulate use, particularly in light of the composition and residential location of the library's public in each of the five cities.

Summary

The library's public in each of the five cities expressed overall satisfaction with the services offered. Even so, respondents in each city felt that desirable improvements would render that service even more satisfying. In particular, a number of recurring suggestions added up to a general agenda for improved service. They were: (1) more adequate parking facilities; (2) new or enlarged quarters; (3) improved and expanded reference services; and (4) an overall expansion of the entire collection maintained by the library. This does not constitute a revolutionary platform; indeed, it is one that with appropriate editing would fit practically all public library services in every Pennsylvania community or, for that matter, every American city.

Somewhat submerged, however, by the frequency with which these suggestions were made were a number of recommendations directed at a more selective enrichment of library services. The obvious need

for a more effective system of branch operations, or some alternative method for the distribution of services, was recognized by some respondents. A longer "library day" was suggested by others. A number of respondents felt a need for more films and records. Relatively few suggestions were offered to improve or expand the children's program, surprising in the light of the large segment of the library's public that is made up of women and housewives. But in our judgment this is one of the areas of service where each of the five libraries currently does its most imaginative and probably most effective job.

The questionnaire respondents were, as we have admitted, library cardholders. In only one of the five communities did we seek to unveil the attitudes of nonusers as well as users. The Lycoming County survey sample, which included both those who held and didn't hold library cards in the James V. Brown Library at Williamsport, revealed several interesting patterns of library support. Using an index of library support measure, the survey found that the greatest support for the library was among persons between the ages of 21 and 29 (45 percent) and gradually declined with each age group with the lowest index of support recorded for those over 60.

In terms of educational achievement, the greatest support for the library was found among those who had attended college, including those who attended but did not receive a degree. Indeed, this latter group evidenced a higher index of support than did those who held undergraduate degrees but not quite as high as those with graduate or professional degrees. Of interest, however, is that on a measure of library approval, the index of approval for those with graduate and professional degrees was lower than for any other group except those who held only a high school diploma.

Income variations did not reveal as marked differences in either approval or support as those detected among occupational groups. Even so, however, those with family incomes of over $10,000 scored much higher on the index of library support than did any other income group; but on the index of library approval, these groups again expressed less enthusiasm. Chapter 6 discusses these patterns at greater length.

As a parting observation, we feel, and there is some support for this among respondents, that with one and possibly two exceptions, a particularly vulnerable facet of library services lies in the absence of what we might label a combined publicity, information dispensing, and community relations program. This does not mean that we or our respondents feel that the library staffs are ineffectual, inattentive, or insensitive. Indeed, the vast majority of respondents indicated that they received assistance from the library staff whenever they sought it.

What we are pointing to, however, is the need for a deliberate effort to link the community and the library more closely. The community must be made much more aware than it now is not only that there is a public library but also and more concretely what the public library is doing and can do. Obviously, the library cannot and should not be expected to respond to or anticipate every stated or perceived need. It can, however, forge linkages of service with the community, its organizations, its official and unofficial government, and its future, so that the library as a service institution is more than a civic ornament.

COMMUNITY SUPPORT FOR THE LIBRARY

Support for institutions and their services can take various forms. The least tangible, but still essential, are the symbolic forms. These can range from lending one's name and reputation in support of a cause, what we might call nominal participation, to mere expressions of approval or satisfaction with an institution's services or product. We deal with this dimension of support in Chapters 2, 6, and in the preceding section of this chapter. Active use or patronage, examined in Chapter 4, is certainly another manifestation of support. Assuming a participatory responsibility in the conduct of an institution or provision of a service — serving on a Library Board, chairing action groups, sitting on an advisory committee — constitute another form of support, but one that at best can involve only a few of the library's public. This, also, was analyzed in Chapter 2. A final means of support, one that is often involuntary, is financial. Users, particularly, should most readily assent to participating in this form of support. We now put this assumption to the test.

Financing the Public Library

There is an expressive, and at this point most appropriate cliché — "put your money where your mouth is." It is one thing to express satisfaction with a product or service; it is a far different matter to agree to pay or to pay more for it. Consistency has not been one of the salient qualities of the citizen who is simultaneously a tax payer and a tax consumer. He may, and often does, want better schools or better library service; he may not, and often will not, agree to pay the cost.

Administrators of programs, such as library services, and those who make policy governing such programs — library boards, school boards, city councils — constantly function with what the economist calls "an economy of scarcity." Rarely are sufficient resources available, par-

ticularly money, to permit policy-makers and administrators to do all the worthwhile things they might wish to undertake. Priorities must be established, hard choices made among numerous, and given the scarcity of resources, competing objectives. The public is seldom plugged into this dimension of decision-making. These members of the active public, in our case the library user, who consume the service can influence those decisions in only indirect ways. But even indirect influence should, ideally, be exercised on the basis of an informed grasp of reality.

A reminder is in order at this point. Chapter 2 provided information concerning the sources and methods of library financing in the five cities. All five libraries received considerable State aid as both local libraries and district centers; in addition, Lancaster, Altoona, and Williamsport now receive State funds as county libraries. At the time these data were collected, three of the libraries were recipients of Federal grants—Pottsville, Altoona, and Williamsport. The State assistance at that time varied from 26 percent of total revenues for the Lancaster library to 17 percent for Erie.

In terms of purely local funding, however, the pattern of support varies considerably, although the local Board of Education participates in one way or another in each city. Two of the libraries, Altoona and Erie, depend on the local Board of Education for their local funds, although the county contributed a small sum to support the Altoona library. The Pottsville library receives more than two-thirds of its local revenue from the Board of Education and the remainder

TABLE 5-5

Percent Distribution of Responses to Question: "Which one of the following methods comes closest to describing how your public library is paid for out of local funds?"

	Altoona	Erie	Pottsville	Lancaster	Williamsport
Almost entirely from city government funds	2%	4%	12%	2%	11%
Combination of city and county funds	3	4	6	21	26
Combination of city and school board funds	18	11	19*	1	1
Almost entirely from school board	11*	16*	2		
City, county, and school funds	5	4	7	9*	8*
Don't know	62	60	53	67	54

*Indicates the method actually used for financing the Library.

from the City of Pottsville. Both Lancaster and Williamsport have a more complex financial basis, with funds coming locally from the county, the city government, the Board of Education and several other sources, including endowments.

Unfortunately, the library's public is not well informed about the ways in which the library is financed. At best the cardholder knows that tax revenues are involved but he possesses only a vague, and often an erroneous, awareness of the mechanisms that transform the tax dollar into library service. We asked whether or not cardholders knew the method by which their library was locally financed; the responses are summarized in Table 5-5. The correct response is starred for each city.

What leaps out from this summary is the extremely high level of ignorance. For all five cities approximately 60 percent of the respondents acknowledged they simply did not know how their library was financed, with the level ranging from a high of 67 percent among Lancaster respondents to a low of 53 percent among those from Pottsville.[5] This pervasive condition poses interesting problems of strategy for library boards and administrators, particularly when this is coupled with attitudes expressed by respondents concerning the adequacy of library financial support and the willingness to accept increased tax levies for that purpose. We return to this issue shortly.

Also of interest is the low frequency with which respondents identified the correct method by which their library was being supported. Only 12 percent of all respondents either knew or guessed the right sources of funds for their library. Pottsville respondents identified the correct sources with greater frequency than those from other cities (19 percent) but also scored the highest proportion of inaccurate responses, as well (27 percent). On the surface, it would appear that Altoona and Erie respondents tended overall to be more familiar with the financing of their libraries than those from the other cities. The funding arrangements for both are simple: these two libraries are, as we have noted, agencies of the local Board of Education and, therefore, both receive all of their *local* funds through the school system from education revenues of various kinds.

Lancaster and Williamsport respondents were probably more knowledgeable in general than the responses reported in Table 5-5 suggest. These two libraries have, as we have seen, the most diversified revenue structures. Both enjoy local financial support from the county, city and Board of Education. In neither instance, however, is the school

5. The "no responses" are deleted from Table 5-5 but are not significant. These "no response" frequencies were quite low—overall only 7 percent—and ranged from a high of 9 percent for Lancaster to a low of 5 percent for Pottsville.

contribution a major one—about two percent of total and 6 percent of local revenue in Williamsport, and about 7 percent of total and 15 percent of local revenue in Lancaster. Twenty-six percent of the respondents from Williamsport and 21 percent from Lancaster indicated that they thought local funding of the library came through a combination of city and county contributions. This response while technically inaccurate, is quite close to the prevailing arrangement for library financing. In this light, then, it would appear that Williamsport respondents, particularly, were better informed about library financing than those from the other cities. Only 54 percent admitted ignorance; of the remainder a majority were either right or nearly right in their identification—34 percent of all Williamsport respondents.

This response is of particular interest. The library administrator of the James V. Brown Library in Williamsport, at the time the questionnaire was answered, was an imaginative and aggressive professional who was in the midst of an intensive campaign to link the library more closely to the community. Weekly radio programs, special library exhibits and programs, and numerous other tactics were included in his arsenal. In addition, the Library received a sizable Federal grant to undertake a demonstration project. What these figures suggest, therefore, is that his campaign was indeed bearing fruit. But the data which follow raise a troubling question "What kind of fruit?"

Adequacy of Financing

Democrary assumes that an informed public is preferable to one which is ignorant. The Williamsport library had developed greater visibility as a consequence, in large part, of the library administrator's efforts at that time. The library's public had indeed become more informed, if our respondents' answers are any criteria, at least, more informed than the other cardholders were about their libraries. It may cause some discomfort, therefore, to the Williamsport library board and staff to learn that more of their cardholder respondents felt that the James V. Brown Library was receiving adequate financial support from the community than the respondents of any of the other cities. In response to the question "Do you feel the library receives adequate financial support from the community?" 25 percent of the Williamsport respondents answered "Yes." Table 5-6 presents the responses by city.

Apart from the Williamsport case, which may be unique, the data presented in Table 5-6 really constitutes a challenge for library policymakers and administrators. We noted in Table 5-5 that the level of acknowledged ignorance concerning the methods of library financing was high, averaging about 66 percent. In Table 5-6 we see that among

TABLE 5-6

Percent Distribution of Responses to the Question: "Do you Feel the Library Receives Adequate Financial Support From the Community?"

	Altoona	Erie	Pottsville	Lancaster	Williamsport	All Cities
Yes	11%	11%	9%	16%	25%	14%
No	38	29	48	17	21	31
Don't Know or No Response	51	60	43	67	54	55

cardholding respondents the vast majority in each city either felt their library was being inadequately financed locally or they didn't know. This means that library patrons, at least, are not frozen into attitudes which might prove hostile if issues of increased library funding were to emerge within their communities. A very small proportion felt that the library was already receiving its fair share. Each community, of course, funds its library differently and each community possesses a different set of political values. Lancaster, we know from other studies, is perhaps the most conservative of the five cities with respect to the role of government and the use of public funds; Erie, perhaps, is the least conservative in this regard. None of the cities approaches the level of "municipal socialism" that one encounters in many areas in the Midwest. Despite these constraints, however, there appears to be a *latent* source of support for library partisans among the library's public, but as our data suggest, it is support that must be cultivated, shaped, mobilized, directed and constantly reinforced.

We might assume that the more active a cardholder is in his use of the library the more likely he is to harbor favorable attitudes towards it. In general, as we noted in the first section of this chapter, this seems to be true. But when the responses summarized in Table 5-6 were broken down according to the rate of library use, a somewhat puzzling pattern emerged. As Table 5-7 indicates, "very active" library users were more likely to feel that the library was not receiving adequate local financial support than were "less active" users. Among "very active" user respondents 34 percent felt the library was inadequately supported while among "less active" users only 25 percent agreed. But slightly more "very active" users than "less active" users also felt that the library *was* adequately financed locally. The significance of these data lie, at least for library partisans, in the impressive *positive* relationship between library use and attitudes that the library was not being adequately supported by the community. Also of interest is the fact that as respondents' use declined they had a tendency to become confused or apathetic about the issue of adequacy

TABLE 5-7

Percent Distribution of Responses to Question: "Do you feel the library receives adequate financial support from the community?" by Rate of Library Use Reported by Respondents: All Cities

	Very Active Use		Active Use		Less Active Use	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	61	16	49	16	47	13
No	133	34	101	32	93	25
Don't Know or No Response	197	50	162	52	232	62

or inadequacy of local support rather than to conclude that the library was being adequately funded. The "don't know" or "no response" percentage increased significantly as patronage became less frequent. Earlier studies, at least as far back as 1946, have revealed that "less than a third of the people know anything about the sources or the adequacy of library revenues."[6] Our findings again demonstrate how little the world of the public library has changed in twenty years.

A Separate Library Tax?—Our respondents, what we have called the library's public, seemed amenable to a larger local financial contribution in support of the library. The Lycoming County survey data, presented in the next chapter, suggests that those not holding library cards might not echo this generous theme. And we need no reminder that non-users significantly outnumber users within every community. Among those who consume library services, though, how would this latent backing for increased support respond to a dramatic and unambiguous local financial effort, the enactment of a special tax levy for the public library?

This is not the forum for debating and analyzing the propriety of a separate library tax. Some communities have enacted special millage for library support; many have not. What we are interested in is the latent support or open hostility that exists for this kind of unambiguous and politically visible action, a kind of support that is simultaneously symbolic and tangible. If our Lycoming County survey provides a basis for generalization, as we think it does, more users and non-users would favor an increase of financial aid from general tax funds for the library than would agree to a separate, earmarked library tax (see Chapter 6, Tables 6-44 and 6-45). Among cardholders the affirmative response for general increases in library support from tax revenues (47 percent) drops significantly when that support takes

6. See Joseph L. Wheeler and Herbert Goldhor, *Practical Administration of Public Libraries* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), p. 114.

the form of a separate library tax (37 percent). The fall-off ominously did not result in an impressive growth in the ranks of the "don't knows" (11 percent and 16 percent respectively) but rather a larger expansion among those opposed (41 percent and 47 percent respectively). Among those not holding library cards a similar pattern occurred. Support for an increase from tax funds generally (32 percent) fell appreciably when the issue was stated as a separate library tax (24 percent). Again the defectors became opponents and not merely non-combatants.

The striking thing about the Lycoming County response, apart from the shifts cited above, was the relatively large reservoir of opinion among both users and non-users that could be used by library partisans to buttress strategies designed to increase the support of libraries from public treasuries, be they county, city or school. Among cardholders 58 percent were either favorably disposed towards increased tax support of library services (47 percent) or lacked a definite opinion (11 percent): among those not holding library cards, the comparable positions claimed 32 percent and 24 percent of the sample respectively, or a total of 59 percent of non-cardholders. When the question was refined to identifying the county government as the source of this increased contribution, only seven percent of cardholders and 18 percent of non-cardholders responded negatively. Favorable responses accounted for 40 percent of the cardholders and 28 percent of non-cardholders while those expressing no opinion constituted 53 percent of the cardholders and 54 percent of the non-cardholders. There was significant open and latent or potential support in Lycoming County, therefore, for increased public investment in library services, but that support tended to drop off appreciably as the source of the investment became identified as a "separate library tax." One parting caution must be entered concerning the Lycoming County data. This is the only community among the five included in this study which has been confronted with a library tax referendum; in 1954 voters in the City of Williamsport voted down an increase in the library tax. The tax itself had been approved originally by the voters a good number of years before 1954. As a consequence the issue of a separate library tax was not an academic or hypothetical question; many of those interviewed had gone this route before.

What attitudes do the libraries' public included in our five city study express concerning a separate library tax? Table 5-8 reports the reactions of our respondents. Overall 26 percent indicated support and 30 percent were undecided; 44 percent were opposed. In only one community, that served by the Williamsport library, did a plurality of respondents support such a tax. Combining the affirmative and un-

TABLE 5-8

Percent Distribution of Responses to Question: "Would you personally support a referendum for a separate library tax if it were placed on the ballot?" by City and for all Cities

	Altoona	Erie	Pottsville	Lancaster	Williamsport	All Cities
Yes	23%	25%	26%	18%	39%	26%
No	43	44	43	57	35	44
Undecided	34	31	29	25	26	30

decided responses among Williamsport respondents, we find that 65 percent at least did not express outright opposition. Again, recall that the tax issue had already been faced once in that community.

The level of opposition in all communities was high, although only in Lancaster did respondents opposing such a tax constitute an absolute majority of the respondents. The degree of opposition generally, however, does not provide much comfort to library partisans. If we assume that those who answered the questionnaire were those most interested in the library's fate, it is reasonable to assume also that the non-respondents might not express as high a level of support for a library tax as that reflected in Table 5-8.

In order to identify more clearly the patterns of support or opposition to a library tax, the responses from cardholders were examined in relationship to several characteristics. Table 5-9 related the responses to the library tax question to such correlates as education, income, occupation, and length of residence in county. In general, as education, income and occupational status rose, a respondent was more likely to favor the library tax referendum. There appeared to be an inverse relationship between length of residency and support for the referendum, a finding which was directly reinforced by the Lycoming County survey. General approval and support for the library was highest among those with the lowest "index of community satisfaction," and lower among those with the highest "index of objective stake in community." (See Chapter 6 and particularly Tables 6-4 through 6-9.)

Another refinement of responses is offered in Table 5-10 which compares respondents' attitudes toward a library tax to their rate of library use. Favorable responses to the tax issue were positively related to the rate of library use; the "very active" users were more likely to approve such a tax than "less active" users. Of interest is the relatively constant level of "don't know" or "no response" among all user groups; very active, active, and less active. Not only did a favorable response to a separate library tax increase as library use increased, but with the

TABLE 5-9

Attitudes Toward Library Tax By Personal Characteristics of Respondents: All Five Cities

	Yes	No	Dont Know or No Response	N
Education				
Less than high school diploma	24%	41%	35%	152
High School diploma	17%	48%	35%	223
Post high school but not college degree	27%	45%	28%	295
College or graduate degree	37%	37%	26%	215
Other	21%	58%	21%	19
Income				
Less than $3,000	29%	35%	35%	48
$3,000 - $4,999	18%	51%	32%	126
$5,000 - $6,999	21%	41%	38%	253
$7,000 - $9,999	26%	42%	31%	236
$10,000 - $14,999	36%	37%	28%	142
$15,000 and over	38%	42%	37%	219
Residence in county:				
Less than 5 years	33%	34%	34%	122
5 - 10 years	34%	31%	35%	61
Over 10 years	23%	44%	32%	761
NR to residence	23%	43%	33%	141
Occupational Group				
Professional	40%	38%	22%	136
White Collar	22%	47%	32%	101
Skilled Labor	34%	42%	25%	53
Unskilled Labor	26%	52%	21%	23
Unemployed	25%		75%	8
Retired	43%	17%	39%	23
Housewife	21%	44%	35%	318
Student	22%	43%	36%	269
Other		33%	66%	3
No response	24%	41%	35%	147

relatively constant "don't know" response, the opposition to such a tax tapered off appreciably as use increased. These rays of hope for library partisans cannot mask the fact that there was a high level of opposition, particularly among the "active" and "less active" users. Even among library consumers, we are forced to conclude, proponents for a separate library tax have their work cut out for them.

One final check was done on our respondents' expressed attitudes toward a separate library tax. Recognizing the relatively large number of students included within our group of respondents, we tabulated the responses of all students and non-students separately. The distribu-

TABLE 5-10

Response to Question: "Would you personally support a referendum for a separate library tax if it were placed on the ballot?" Compared to Rate of Library Use: All Cities

	Very Active Use	Active Use	Less Active Use
Yes	32%	24%	20%
No	34	45	48
Don't Know or No Response	34	31	32

TABLE 5-11

Percent Distribution of Responses to Question: "How should the public library be paid for?"

Source or Method	Percent of Respondents*
City Council	37%
School Board	29
County Commissioners	15
Library Fund Drives	23
United Fund, Community Chest, etc.	20
Library Tax	14
Membership Fees for Users	14
Others	5

*Distribution totals more than 100% since many respondents indicated more than one source or method.

tion of responses remained nearly identical with that of the overall group of respondents in both cases. In effect, the students reflected the general distribution of attitudes among our respondents.

Users' Preferences: As we have seen, libraries are paid for in a multitude of ways. We have also seen that most library users really don't know how the libraries are paid for, although they have more crystallized opinions concerning the adequacy or inadequacy of library financing. They also harbor fairly definite attitudes concerning specific general methods of tax support for library services. In order to tap the preferences users might have with respect to various methods for financing the library, however vague and uninformed those preferences might be, we asked our respondents to indicate the source or combination of sources that, in their judgment, would constitute the best approach. Their responses are summarized in Table 5-11 and are offered only to reveal the general community frame of reference that library boards, administrators, and partisans may have to contend with in devising strategies for increasing financial support for the library.

Of particular interest is the relatively low endorsement given to a library tax, only 14 percent of the recommended alternatives. Despite the responses recorded in the previous section concerning a separate library tax, cardholders tend to avoid such a tax when they are offered other options. This question, in part, tested the constancy of devotion to the library tax. Women were more constant than men; 47 percent of the women, who approved the tax referendum, as reported in Table 5-8, re-affirmed their support in the face of other methods while only 38 percent of the male respondents proved to be as committed. However, as Table 5-8 suggests, relatively fewer women approved the tax in the first place; among housewives, only 21 percent approved while 44 percent disapproved. Among professional and skilled laborers, but not white collar or student respondents, the approval rate was appreciably higher; 40 percent among professional and 34 percent among skilled laborer respondents.

THE LIBRARY IN COMPETITION WITH OTHER LOCAL SERVICES

Within the library's public, as we have used that term, how were the library and its needs assessed in relation to those of other local institutions and services? Our data do not permit any sweeping or intimidating rejoinders to this query, but they do suggest the library's public is faithful. We asked our respondents to appraise the relative needs of various local services; their responses are presented in Table 5-12. Among library consumers, at least, the needs of the library tend to be ranked on a higher priority than any other local activity, with the possible exception of the schools. Only the library and the schools impressed our respondents with the need for increased financial support; for libraries 67 percent of our respondents felt a greater investment was justified and for schools 64 percent.

Of general interest, and of background interest for library partisans, are some of the other responses indicated in Table 5-12. The assessment of public service needs is a function, as we would expect, of conditions which prevail in a given community at a given time. For example, industrial development was a major public issue in both Altoona and Pottsville at the time these responses were recorded. In both cities our respondents reflected this concern; 56 percent of the Altoona and 57 percent of the Pottsville respondents suggested that a greater local public investment was required for industrial development. In only two cities did respondents give libraries higher priority than the schools; again, Altoona and Pottsville respondents ranked libraries slightly higher than schools.

TABLE 5-12

Percent Distribution of Respondents' Attitudes Toward Financial Support of Selected Community Public Services: All Five Cities

	Need More	Just Right	Need Less	Don't Know
Police and Fire Protection	49%	33%		18%
Streets, Roads, Sewers, Water	42%	35%	3%	20%
Schools and Education	64%	24%	2%	11%
Libraries	67%	17%		16%
Parks and Recreation	46%	36%	4%	15%
Air Pollution	30%	24%	4%	41%
Welfare Services	32%	31%	9%	28%
Health and Hospitals	38%	35%	6%	21%
Urban Renewal	28%	29%	16%	28%
Industrial	40%	30%	7%	23%
Local Government Administration	16%	38%	18%	28%

In a sense, we could expect the library's public to view library investment with greater equanimity than investment in "local government administration" and "welfare services." We have a prejudiced jury and one which constituted no more than a fifth to a quarter of the total population within these communities. The responses reported in Table 5-12 do reveal one tendency, however, that library partisans should not ignore. Except for "local government administration," our respondents seemed to feel that none of these local services could get along on less than they received, and except for "air pollution control" the level of indifference or ignorance as indicated by a "don't know" response was relatively low. Our respondents, if they mirrored the attitudes of all library cardholders, leave the impression that on the whole the library's public tends to be a *pro-publica* public. It generally seemed to favor an enlargement or at least an enrichment of the local public sector. In this respect, we can conclude with some certainty, that our body of respondents could not and should not be mistaken for the elusive collectivity, "the general public."

SUMMARY

This chapter examined the various ways that the library's public viewed and appraised its libraries. The salient conclusions were:

—In general, there was a high level of stated satisfaction with library services in all five cities, with the level of satisfaction tending to decrease as the rate of library use increased;

—Respondents were more likely to express greater satisfaction

with the way libraries were meeting community needs than the way they were responding to personal needs;

—Dissatisfaction tended to focus upon inadequate book collections but also reflected reactions to inadequate physical quarters and poor parking facilities;

—Suggested improvements in library services included, in order of their frequency, improved parking facilities, more adequate reference services, new or expanded physical quarters, enlarged book collections, and more conveniently located branch libraries;

—In general, the degree to which respondents expressed satisfaction with a particular library's services seemed to reflect the kind of leadership that library had enjoyed over the years;

—The level of ignorance concerning the manner in which libraries are financed was extremely high;

—There appeared to be a general disposition among respondents to conclude either that their library was inadequately supported by local funds or that they didn't know enough about the question to express an opinion; there appeared to be a body of opinion that was either favorably disposed to increased local financial support or not frozen into a hostile attitude on the question and, therefore, open to persuasion;

—The more a person used the library the more likely he was to feel it was not being adequately financed from local sources;

—There was a greater tendency to support increased library financing locally from general tax revenues than from a separate library tax; the level of opposition to a separate library tax was high in all communities except Williamsport where the voters had previously voted such a levy; support for such a tax was positively related to rate of library use;

—When presented several alternatives, respondents tended to favor increased local financing of the library from sources other than a separate library tax; the greatest number of respondents favored funding of library services by the city government;

—Among the library's public the financial needs of the library and the schools tended to be ranked much higher than were all other local public services.

CHAPTER 6 / THE LIBRARY WITHIN THE TOTAL COMMUNITY: THE LYCOMING COUNTY SURVEY

As a public service that is supported by tax revenue, the public library, however apolitical its nature is intrinsically, becomes involved in the political process. It is a claimant in the process through which authoritative decisions are made regarding the distribution of public resources. It maximizes its chances for budgetary support as it can — whether consciously or unconsciously—forge a political base of support. A community's political system in part grows out of and is continually affected by the local social system, the nature of the local economy, and the dominant configuration of local values, beliefs and attitudes toward public services and the proper role of government. A political base of support for a library, or any other public agency, necessarily involves the existence of requisite social formations and cultural attitudes. Thus, it became apparent to us that in order to infer generalizations about the status of the public library in the political system, we had to study intensively the total context within which at least one library functioned.

With this purpose in mind, we conducted an opinion survey of Lycoming County during the summer months of 1965. The James V. Brown Library of Williamsport serves Lycoming County, as well as the city, since it also functions as the county library. A probability sample of 350 households was drawn on the basis of standard social survey techniques, and in an effort to ensure randomness, a series of eight probability tables was used to determine for the interviewers which adult within a household to interview. No deliberate effort was made to include library cardholders. Several carefully trained interviewers spent the months of July and August conducting interviews, which ranged in length from 45 minutes to an hour. After accounting for refusals and persons who fell within the sample but who were out of town (substitutions cannot be made, or randomness is no longer assured), and for subsequent coding and keypunching errors, the total sample number was reduced to 317 for purposes of analysis. On the basis of this sample, it is possible statistically to draw inferences for the adult population of Lycoming County with a reasonable level of confidence and a manageable margin of error.

It would be obvious to most observers that expenditures and policy regarding libraries do not engender the kind of political conflict that such factors do when they pertain to highways, the police department, welfare activities, land use, or the public schools. The political dimensions of the public library are not so obvious as they are for most other public services. Thus, one might question the utility or relevance of any effort that attempts to relate political factors to questions of library use and library support. At the very least, one might complain that most respondents would not be conscious of any connection between politics and the library, and that their replies to such questions might tend to be synthetic. Our response is that there are two levels of analysis involved, and that the absence of a set of crystallized opinions regarding politics and the library does not obviate the necessity of tapping latent attitudes toward the provision of public expenditures generally, or of assessing a constellation of basic predispositions and attitudes that serve to indicate how opinions would crystallize once a set of alternatives regarding increased support of libraries is formulated. Moreover, if the important factors are not apparent to the casual observer it is all the more important to study systematically the latent dimensions of these factors.

The latency of many of the factors with which we were dealing made this study essentially exploratory. The absence, within the last several years, of much significant scholarship of this kind regarding public libraries meant that there were little available data and no relevant theoretical frames of reference to employ. This is not an instance of carefully conducted incremental scholarship, where hypotheses are tested scientifically and the conclusions fitted into an existing body of theory. Our hypotheses perforce are implicit rather than explicit. The linkages that we establish between variables are suggestive rather than conclusive. In short, we opened the door for studies of the effects of political, social and economic factors on libary support and attitudes towards the library as a public service; we have not concluded with a definitive statement.

INITIAL ASSUMPTIONS AND EXPECTATIONS

Obviously at the outset we had some expectations regarding what we might find in Lycoming County. Studies conducted some years ago had concluded that middle-class housewives are numerically the greatest users of public library facilities. We suspected that persons with strong feelings of community loyalty might be more willing than others to increase public support of local libraries. It seemed logical to assume that persons of greater education would be greater users

and supporters of public libraries than persons of lower education. We expected that those persons who are active in community affairs would be more library-conscious than others. We had no clear expectation as to whether Democrats or Republicans, as such, would be more frequent users of the library, except that we associate with Republicans generally a higher level of education and income—characteristics that in turn seem to be related to greater library use. As for party identification and support of the library, in national terms one would expect Democrats to be more public service oriented—more willing to expand the role of government in providing services—than Republicans, but we know also that this pattern often reverses itself at the local level. Thus, our expectation was not clear in this regard. Finally, we expected that most persons would view the public library as something ancillary to the public schools—as a service for students in their efforts to complete school assignments—and that, therefore, respondents with school-age children would be among the strongest supporters of the public library.

The above expectations, which are only a sampling of all the implicit notions with which we undertook the study, are suggestive of the kinds of questions we posed, the kinds of relationships between variables that we sought to discover. The discussion to follow is based on data contained in 51 separate tables that appear as a separate section at the end of this chapter. The data are arranged in three categories: the relationships between attitudes toward the community and attitudes toward and use of the library (Tables 6-1 to 6-36); a miscellaneous category that tests the effects of such things as number of school-age children, distance one lives from the library, and personal reading habits (Tables 6-37 to 6-42); and finally a category that compares library cardholders and non-cardholders in terms of their willingness to support the library and their attitudes towards taxes and public services generally (Tables 6-43 to 6-51).

COMMUNITY ATTITUDE VARIABLES

We suggested above that community loyalty might be a positive factor in library use and support. We would consider as one dimension of community loyalty the length of time that one has been a resident. But when we tested length of residence as a determinant of whether one has a library card, we found no relationship (Table 6-1), a finding similar to that revealed from our questionnaire respondents in all five cities. Newcomers are just as apt as those who have lived all their lives in the community to have a library card; the highest incidence of cardholding is among those who have lived there from

10 to 24 years, and the lowest among those who have lived there from one to four years. But the range is so narrow as to make the differences insignificant. Moreover, as we continue our analysis, we find that the opposite of our expectation is the case (Tables 6-2, 6-3, and 6-4). Those *least* satisfied with the community are the most apt to be library users.

There is a wide variety of speculation that would be applicable here. Perhaps there is a general syndrome of which using the library is a part. This might include a high level of education, awareness of social and political issues, a knowledge and sophistication regarding other states and communities, consequently, a reluctance to accept passively conditions in the local community. In this case a low degree of community satisfaction would not be inconsistent with a high degree of library use. The relationship between community satisfaction and library support and library approval (Tables 6-5 and 6-6), although less profound, is in the same direction. The data relating objective stake in the community to library use and support are less clear (Tables 6-7, 6-8 and 6-9).

If community loyalty—as expressed in length of residence and degree of subjective satisfaction with the community—is related inversely to library use and support, does this mean that active community leaders are non-users and non-supporters of the library? Apparently not. In fact, the syndrome that we suggested above begins to take shape as we consider integration into the social and political life of the community, as measured by extent of organizational memberships. Here (Tables 6-10, 6-11 and 6-12) the relationship is clear. Those respondents who belong to more organizations are also more apt to be library cardholders, and they generally are higher on the index of library support. That these same people are relatively low on the index of library approval (Table 6-12) is neither inconsistent nor alarming. As active, aware people they are likely at the same time to comprehend the shortcomings in existing facilities but yet understand the need for their continuation and improvement. Thus it is possible, at least with a public service that does not engender severe political cleavage, that criticism and support come from the same elements within the population, and that they are counterpoised by those who simply are unaware or apathetic.

Tables 6-13 and 6-14 relate two dimensions of a cosmopolitan-local dichotomy to library use. We would consider as cosmopolitans those who agreed to the statements in the two tables—that the community would be better off if younger (or newer) people had a bigger voice, and that what goes on nationally within one's profession is of more importance than community affairs. Conversely, those who disagreed

would be locals. The data do not reveal any significant differences in library use between cosmopolitans and locals. Table 6-13 indicates however, that the higher the intensity of feeling about the statement—whatever the direction—the more likely one is to be a library cardholder. Perhaps this again reflects the sentiments of activists, who themselves may be divided between newcomers and oldtimers, and who, regardless of length of residence or feelings about who should have more influence, are greater users of the library than the more apathetic respondents who are distributed around the center in terms of direction of opinion, and are lower in intensity of feeling. This inference is congruent with the library clientele syndrome that is beginning to take shape as we continue our analysis. A further indication that this may be the case comes from the distribution in Table 6-15. It is difficult to ascertain whether the item used ("I don't think that public officials in this community care much what people like me think") taps feelings of cynicism or efficacy (or both). But in either case, those who disagree with the statement, and thus indicate low feelings of cynicism or high feelings of efficacy, would be more apt to be active in the social and political affairs of the community than would those at the other end of the scale. And, as the table demonstrates, these same persons are much more likely to be library cardholders.

DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

Income

As we examined community attitude variables above we began to infer the broad characteristics of a public library's clientele grouping or attentive public—the elements within the community that are most likely to be card-holders, to favor increased public support for the library, and, at the same time, to be critical of perceived shortcomings in library services. We found that these persons can be characterized as "actives" or "participants" for the most part. On the basis of previous empirical studies in political science and sociology, we would expect the library's clientele or public to be relatively high in education and income, insofar as they are comprised of community actives. We have less clear expectations regarding the effects of other demographic variables. Tables 6-16 and 6-17 confirm our expectations regarding education. Generally, the higher the level of education the greater the incidence of library card-holders, and the higher the proportion who score high on the index of library support. That the better educated do *not* score higher on the index of library approval (Table

6-18) also corresponds to our expectations. The data for income (Tables 6-19, 6-20, and 6-21) are more complicated. Persons in the highest income category have the highest proportion of card-holders, and those in the lowest income category have the lowest proportion of card-holders. But otherwise the pattern in Table 6-19 is curvilinear, so that the six income groups (with "1" the lowest and "6" the highest) rank as follows in terms of proportion of card-holders 6, 3, 2, 5, 4, 1. Multivariate analysis (with the inclusion of much more data than we have available to us) probably could explain the pattern of variations among the middle categories, but the extreme differences between those in categories one and six are at least a tentative confirmation of our expectation, that higher income people would be more frequent library users. Tables 6-20 and 6-21 suggest that higher income persons rank higher on the index of library support, but not significantly higher on the index of library approval.

Religion

The data for religion (Tables 6-22, 6-23 and 6-24) can be explained at least partially by the composite portrait of the library's clientele that we have begun to infer from our previous data. Among Protestants, we generally regard Reformation Era denominations as "high status" and pietistic and neo-fundamentalist denominations as "low status." Of course, when we do this we are stating modal group characteristics, and are not implying a standard description for all individual communicants of a given denomination. Members of Reformation Era denominations are more likely to be card-holders, to score high on the index of library support, and to score somewhat lower on the index of library approval than are members of lower status Protestant denominations. But the pattern for Catholics (Tables 6-22, 6-23 and 6-24) is more similar to that of the Reformation Era Protestants than that of any other Protestant grouping, even though in socio-economic terms Catholics generally would be more similar to the pietistic or neo-fundamentalist denominations.

There is a plausible explanation for this apparent deviation from our (tentative) pattern. In all our tables thus far we have been dealing with tendencies and with relative, rather than absolute, differences. For example, at every point in our analysis up to this point the data have shown that persons within one category (higher education, higher income, lower community satisfaction, etc.) are more apt to be library users and supporters than those in another category (lower education, lower income, higher community satisfaction, etc.). But the data have indicated also that within the latter categories there

were significant numbers who were library card-holders and library supporters. An important variable in our analysis up to this point has been degree of social and political integration--or community activity—as measured by organizational memberships. Again, we found that the more active were more apt to be library users and supporters. We then assumed, on the basis of data from other empirical studies with different samples and different populations, that community actives are apt to come essentially from the more affluent and better educated segments of the community. We found that when we divided the sample by education and income, that the better educated and wealthier generally were higher on library use and library support, just as the more organizationally active persons were. Our inference was that these were essentially the same people. But, as the tables indicate when examined singly, there must be a significant minority within the library's clientele grouping that does not manifest the entire cluster of characteristics that we have attributed to the grouping as a whole. Thus, there may be some who are high on income and education but low on organizational membership; there may be others who are high on organizational memberships but low on income or education. Religion might be an unintentional explanatory category for us here.

While we know from the relevant literature that higher socio-economic characteristics are associated with community activity and political participation in terms of proportions, we know also that in terms of absolute numbers there is likely to be as large a number of actives who are of lower socio-economic status. We would expect also that the relatively lower status actives, who represent lower socio-economic status groupings within the population (and this would include Democratic Party leadership), would have a higher percentage of Catholics than would actives within higher status groups. Thus, if our general portrait of the library's clientele is accurate, the correspondence of Catholic and Reformation Era patterns when we test for religion can be explained by the above discussion. That is, we are assuming more than a linkage between status and religion; we are assuming a linkage between activity and denomination that in one important respect (regarding Catholics) digresses from the linkage patterns between status and religion and status and community activity.

Age and Sex

Our remaining demographic variables are age and sex. While generally younger persons both use and support the library to a greater degree

than do older persons (Tables 6-25 and 6-26), the relation is not linear. Thus, while the highest incidence of use and support is among those from 21 to 29, and the lowest among those who are 60 and over, persons from 40 to 49 appear to be members of the library clientele in larger proportions than those persons from 30 to 39. Age does not seem to be related appreciably to relative position on the index of library approval (Table 6-27). As we would expect, women have a larger proportion of library cardholders than do men (Table 6-28), but there are no sex-related differences in terms of library support (Table 6-29) or library approval (Table 6-30).

POLITICAL VARIABLES

The data for political party identification reveal that for strong Democrats, weak Democrats and weak Republicans there is little difference in terms of library use and support. Those respondents who consider themselves to be strong Republicans, however, demonstrate a higher proportion of library cardholders than any of the other three goups (Table 6-31), and also are more apt to score high on the index of library support (Table 6-32). The data for library approval (Table 6-33) do not appear to reveal any significant partisan differences. Without further data on the individual cases, it is difficult to speculate about the reasons for this pattern. We know that generally Republicans are of higher socio-economic status than Democrats, and this would explain the greater likelihood of Republicans falling within the library clientele grouping in terms of the description of that grouping thus far in our analysis. But this does not explain the differences between weak and strong Republicans. It would be too simple—and empirically questionable--to assume gradations in ideology that are congruent with gradations in intensity of partisan identification. That is, we should not suppose that because Republicans generally are more conservative than Democrats, strong Republicans therefore would be even more conservative than weak Republicans. Nor should we assume that strong Republicans are of higher socio-economic status than weak Republicans. We can assume more safely, on the basis of empirical findings, that the more active a party member is, the more intense are his feelings of party identification and loyalty. If this is a valid assumption for our sample, the statements we have made relating activity to library use and support hold at least for Republicans when we divide the sample into party sub-samples.

Two measures of political participation are employed in Tables 6-34 and 6-35 to test their relationship to library use and support. Those respondents who have attended meetings of formal political bodies

(city council, county commissioners, school board) are only slightly more likely to be library cardholders than those who have not attended such meetings (Table 6-34). However, there is a marked difference (in the direction that we would expect) between those who have and those who have not attended spontaneous political meetings that are sponsored by non-governmental groups (Table 6-35). Those who have attended such meetings have a much higher proportion of cardholders than do those who have not. A possible explanation for the difference between the two tables—and one that comports with our findings above—is that, while most citizens sooner or later become aware of formal governmental agencies, and thus on occasion might attend their meetings, chances are that it is essentially those who are well integrated into the social and political life of the community, who are politically aware, and who have several lines of political communication, who become apprised of and participate in less formal political meetings. These same people, we would expect by now, are also apt to be within the library's attentive or active public. An additional—and corresponding—dimension of this attentive public is revealed by Table 6-35. We can suppose that those persons who disagreed with the statement that politics and government are so complicated that the average person cannot really understand what is going on are exhibiting a higher degree of political efficacy than are those who agreed with the statement. And, as the table reveals, those who have a higher sense of political efficacy have a much higher proportion of library cardholders. This relates to our preceding analysis if we assume that those who actually are active in community affairs would reveal a higher sense of efficacy than would those who are inactive.

DISTANCE AND BOOK OWNERSHIP

One interesting conclusion that we may draw on the basis of Tables 6-37, 6-38 and 6-39 is that there is no significant relationship between the number of school-age children a respondent has and the likelihood that he will fall within the library's clientele grouping. Moreover, as Table 6-40 indicates, the distance that one lives from the library does not have a profound effect on frequency of use. While generally the farther one lives from the library the more likely he is to say that the physical distance affects the frequency with which he uses the library, nevertheless, even among those who live five miles or more away, less than half say that the distance has an effect.

As we would expect, persons who buy books are also more apt to use the library than are those who do not buy books (Table 6-41).

Moreover, generally as the number of books in one's personal library increases, the more likely that he also will be a library cardholder (Table 6-42). There is an interesting deviation, however, in Table 6-42. As the number of books in one's personal library reaches 500 or more, there is a rapid decrease in the proportion of library cardholders. This obviously does not indicate a decrease in reading, or a decrease in an interest in books, but probably indicates a reduced dependence on the public library.

COMPARISONS BETWEEN CARD-HOLDERS AND NON-CARD-HOLDERS

Ae we would expect, library cardholders are more likely than non-cardholders to consider the library to be valuable in their work (Table 6-43); to indicate that they would support a referendum for a separate tax (Table 6-44); to favor generally increased tax support for the library (Table 6-45); to favor increased library support from the county government (Table 6-46); and to score slightly higher on the overall index of library support (Table 6-47). Moreover, while the differences are not profound, cardholders are more apt to disagree with the statement that the local government tries to provide too many services (Table 6-48). However, there seems to be agreement among majorities of both cardholders and non-cardholders that local taxes in Lycoming County are too high (Table 6-49). Finally, our remaining two tables indicate that cardholders score higher on the index of library approval (Table 6-50), and use the library reference materials with much greater frequency (Table 6-51).

CONCLUSION

In addition to discovering a predictable difference between library cardholders and non-cardholders regarding attitudes toward increased public efforts at library support, the most significant aspect of our Lycoming County survey is the finding that those who use and support the library on the one hand and those who are most critical of it on the other hand, are essentially the same persons. This general library attentive public is juxtaposed in the community to those to whom the public library is simply not very salient. The library's attentive public is composed primarily of activitists or community participants, mostly of higher socio-economic status, and more from the traditional Protestant denominations and Roman Catholicism than from the pietistic or fundamentalist denominations. The source of the

public library's strength in the political arena derives from the fact that it is relevant in the lives of those who, because of their community status and their propensity to participate in community affairs, exert the most influence politically. The library is to the middle class community both a symbol of respectability and a source of occasional leisure time diversion. The public library, therefore, can rely on a continual body of sentiment in favor of its own maintenance, at least insofar as the claims it makes on the public purse do not endanger other community priorities nor threaten a strain on public revenue.

TABLES FOR CHAPTER 6

The 51 tables in this section provide the data from which the preceding narrative was written. Reference to these tables, by number, was made at the appropriate points in the narrative. All the data contained in the tables were obtained from the survey described at the beginning of the chapter.

TABLE 6-1

Length of Residence:	All My Life %	25 Years + %	10-24 Years %	5-9 Years %	1-4 Years %	Less Than One Year %
Have Library Card: Yes	21	22	27	23	18	25
No	79	78	73	77	82	75
	100	100	100	100	100	100
	(158)	(67)	(41)	(30)	(17)	(4)

TABLE 6-2

"I could be just about as satisfied with life in another community as I am here"

	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Don't Know Uncertain %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree %
Card Holders	36	24	—	21	13
Non Card Holders	64	76	100	80	87
	100	100	100	101	100
	(14)	(157)	(6)	(117)	(23)

TABLE 6-3

"I can hardly imagine myself moving out of this community at anytime in the future"

	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Don't Know Uncertain %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree %
Card Holder	19	19	40	21	39
Non Card Holder	81	81	60	79	61
	100	100	100	100	100
	(58)	(121)	(5)	(97)	(36)

TABLE 6-4

Index of Community Satisfaction *

	0-Low %	1 %	2 %	3 %	4-High %
Card-Holders	63	25	26	19	18
Non Card-Holders	38	75	74	81	82
	101	100	100	100	100
	(8)	(52)	(65)	(91)	(100)

*The index of community satisfaction was constructed as follows: score 1 if agree (or strongly agree) to the following two statements—"This is a very good community to live in" and "I can hardly imagine myself moving out of this community at anytime in the future." Score 1 if disagree (or strongly disagree) to the statement, "I could be just about as satisfied with life in another community as I am here", and score 1 if answered "remain here" to the question, "If you could live anywhere you wanted to, would you prefer to remain in the area or go elsewhere?"

TABLE 6-5

Index of Community Satisfaction*

Index of Library Support:	0-Low %	1 %	2 %	3 %	4-High %
0-Low	13	35	42	39	40
1	50	29	20	26	23
2	25	25	20	14	15
3-High	—	6	11	12	14
	88	95	93	91	92
	(8)	(52)	(65)	(91)	(100)
9-unclass (%)	12	6	8	9	8

*Index of Library support calculated as follows: score 1 for each "yes" answer to the question; "Do you think the County Commissioners ought to increase the amount of county support for the City-County library?" "If it were necessary in order to maintain the present level of services, would you favor paying an extra .75 mills of assessed valuation in support of the local public library?" and "Would you personally support a referendum for a separate library tax if it were to be placed on the ballot?"

TABLE 6-6

Index of Community Satisfaction*

Index of Library		0-Low %	1 %	2 %	3 %	4-High %
Approval:	0-Low	13	6	2	8	6
	1	25	37	23	28	25
	2	25	37	51	42	53
	3	38	19	23	20	13
	4-High	—	—	—	2	2
		101	99	99	100	99
		(8)	(52)	(65)	(91)	(100)
	9-unclass (%)	—	2	2	—	1

*Index of library approval calculated as follows: Score 1 if answer is "no" to "Is there any group in the community that you feel the library does not benefit?" Score 1 if approve or strongly approve of the way the library is run. Score 1 if "library" is listed as one of the most important services that local government provides. Score 1 if library is regarded to be "as important" as other public services. Score 1 if "library" is a public service that ought to have priority for extra financial support.

TABLE 6-7

Index of Objective Stake in Community*

	1-Low %	2 %	3 %	4-High %
Card-Holders	25	27	19	17
Non Card-Holders	75	73	81	83
	100	100	100	100
	(24)	(109)	(155)	(23)

*Index of objective stake in the community calculated as follows: Score 1 if R. has relatives in the area:: Score 1 if one or more of R's "best friends" live in the community; score 1 if R owns or is buying his house: score 1 if R. owns other property in the community.

TABLE 6-8

Index of Objective Stake in Community

		1-Low %	2 %	3 %	4-High %
Index of Library Support:	0-Low	33	41	37	30
	1	42	27	21	26
	2	21	15	21	13
	3-High	—	13	10	17
		96	96	89	86
		(24)	(109)	(155)	(23)
	9-unclass (%)	4	4	10	13

TABLE 6-9

Index of Objective Stake in Community

Index of Library		1-Low %	2 %	3 %	4-High %
Approval	0-Low	4	10	4	—
	1	38	28	26	26
	3	25	21	16	17
	4-High	4	—	2	—
		96	99	100	100
		(24)	(109)	(155)	(23)
	9-unclass (%)	4	1	—	—

TABLE 6-10

Number of Organizations Member of

	None	One	Two	Three	Four	Five
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Card-Holders	18	19	21	24	29	36
Non Card-Holders	82	81	79	76	71	64
	100	100	100	100	100	100
	(55)	(85)	(89)	(46)	(21)	(14)

TABLE 6-11

Number of Organizations Member of

Index of Library Support.	None %	1 %	2 %	3 %	4 %	5 %
0. Low	40	39	42	39	24	36
1.	22	24	26	24	38	36
2.	16	17	23	13	19	7
3. High	6	8	8	20	14	21
	84	88	99	96	95	100
	(55)	(85)	(89)	(46)	(21)	(14)
9-unclass (%)	16	13	1	4	5	—

TABLE 6-12

Number of Organizations Member of

Index of Library Approval:	None %	1 %	2 %	3 %	4 %	5 %
0. Low	13	4	3	9	5	—
1.	40	28	18	20	24	57
2.	33	48	55	46	43	36
3.	9	19	23	24	24	7
4. High	—	—	1	2	5	—
	95	99	100	101	101	100
	(55)	(85)	(89)	(46)	(21)	(14)
9-unclass (%)	5	1	—	—	—	—

TABLE 6-13

"This community would be better off if people who have lived here all their lives would let the young people who have been around have a bigger voice in public affairs."

	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Don't Know Uncertain %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree %
Card Holders	33	19	13	24	26
Non-Card Holders	67	81	87	76	74
	100	100	100	100	100
	(18)	(113)	(23)	(144)	(79)

TABLE 6-14

"What happens nationally within my profession (Occupation) is much more important to me than anything that goes on in this town."

	Agree	Undecided	Disagree
Card Holders	24	23	21
Non-Card Holders	76	76	79
	100	99	100
	(71)	(138)	(101)

TABLE 6-15

"I don't think that public officials in this community care much what people like me think."

	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Don't Know Uncertain %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree %
Card Holders	21	13	14	32	30
Non-Card Holders	79	88	86	68	70
	100	101	100	100	100
	(42)	(128)	(7)	(120)	(20)

TABLE 6-16

	Level of Education						
	8th Grade	Some High School, No Diploma	High School Graduate	Post High School Not College	Some College No Degree	College Degree	Grad or Prof Degree
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Card Holders	8	11	20	50	33	50	57
Non-Card Holders	92	89	80	50	67	50	43
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	(64)	(72)	(99)	(32)	(27)	(16)	(7)

TABLE 6-17

	Education						
	8th Grade	Some High School, No Diploma	High School Graduate	Post High School Not College	Some College No Degree	College Degree	Grad or Prof Degree
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Index of Library Support:							
0. Low	50	56	31	31	15	19	14
1.	13	15	34	41	19	38	29
2.	13	15	19	16	37	13	29
3. High	11	6	8	13	19	31	29
	87	92	92	101	90	101	101
	(64)	(72)	(99)	(32)	(27)	(16)	(7)
9-unclass (%)	14	8	7	—	11	—	—

TABLE 6-18

	Education						
	8th Grade Or Less	Some High School, No Diploma	High School Graduate	Post High School Not College	Some College No Degree	College Degree	Grad or Prof Degree
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Index of Library Approval:							
0. Low	11	7	3	—	7	—	14
1.	31	26	23	25	30	31	43
2.	39	56	50	59	22	31	29
3.	16	11	20	13	37	38	14
4. High	—	—	2	3	4	—	—
	97	100	98	100	100	100	100
	(64)	(72)	(99)	(32)	(27)	(16)	(7)
9-unclass (%)	3	—	2				

TABLE 6-19

	Income					
	Under $3000	$3000-4999	$5000-6999	$7000-9999	$10,000-14,999	$15,000-+
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Card Holder	11	24	32	18	19	46
Non-Card Holder	89	76	68	82	81	54
	100	100	100	100	100	100
	(74)	(75)	(63)	(61)	(26)	(13)

TABLE 6-20

	Income					
	Under $3000 %	$3000-4999 %	$5000-6099 %	$7000-9999 %	$10,000-14,999 %	$15,000-+ %
Index of Library Support:						
0. Low	43	44	29	43	23	31
1.	23	20	32	25	23	23
2.	12	15	27	18	19	31
3. High	11	9	8	10	27	15
	89	88	96	96	92	100
	(74)	(75)	(63)	(61)	(26)	(13)
9-unclass (%)	11	12	4	4	8	—

TABLE 6-21

	Income					
	Under $3000 %	$3000-4999 %	$5000-6999 %	$7000-9999 %	$10,000-14,999 %	$15,000-+ %
Index of Approval: Approval:						
0. Low	10	5	5	3	4	8
1.	30	29	24	26	23	23
2.	46	44	46	48	46	46
3.	14	19	18	23	27	23
4. High	—	—	6	—	—	—
	100	97	99	100	100	100
	(74)	(75)	(63)	(61)	(26)	(13)
9-Unclass (%)	1	3	2	—	—	—

TABLE 6-22

	Religion				
	Catholic	Protestant (General)	Reformation Era	Pietistic	Neo-Fundamentalist
	%	%	%	%	%
Card Holders	28	33	27	16	13
Non-Card Holders	72	67	73	84	87
	100	100	100	100	100
	(67)	(9)	(94)	(126)	(15)

Reformation Era: Presbyterian, Lutheran, Episcopalian, Cong., Etc.
Pietistic: Methodist, Baptist, EUB, etc.
Neo-Fundamentalist: Church of God, Seventh Day Adventist, etc.

TABLE 6-23

	Religion			
	Catholic	Reformation Era	Pietistic	Neo-Fundamentalist
	%	%	%	%
Index of Library Support:				
0. Low	34	31	44	47
1.	25	27	23	27
2.	15	20	18	20
3. High	18	17	6	—
	92	95	91	94
	(67)	(94)	(126)	(15)
9-unclass (%)	8	5	9	7

TABLE 6-24

	Religion			
	Catholic	Reformation Era	Pietistic	Neo-Fundamentalist
	%	%	%	%
Index of Library Approval:				
0. Low	3	10	4	—
1.	21	27	29	27
2.	52	39	46	67
3.	19	22	18	7
4. High	2	—	2	—
	100	98	99	101
	(67)	(64)	(126)	(15)

TABLE 6-25

	Age				
	21 - 29 %	30 - 39 %	40 - 49 %	50 - 59 %	60+ %
Card Holders	35	19	33	18	12
Non-Card Holders	65	81	67	82	88
	100	100	100	100	100
	(40)	(57)	(66)	(51)	(98)

TABLE 6-26

	Age				
	21 - 29 %	30 - 39 %	40 - 49 %	50 - 59 %	60+ %
Index of Library Support:					
0. Low	20	37	35	43	45
1.	23	35	30	24	17
2.	35	25	18	12	10
3. High	10	4	12	14	14
	88	101	95	93	86
	(40)	(57)	(66)	(51)	(98)
9-unclass (%)	12	—	5	8	13

TABLE 6-27

	Age				
	21 - 29 %	30 - 39 %	40 - 49 %	50 - 59 %	60+ %
Index of Library Approval:					
0. Low	—	—	2	6	14
1.	43	28	21	24	26
2.	38	49	52	45	45
3.	20	19	21	24	13
4. High	—	4	3	—	—
	101	100	99	99	98
	(40)	(57)	(66)	(51)	(98)
9-unclass (%)	—	—	2	2	2

TABLE 6-28

	Sex	
	Male %	Female %
Card Holder	13	28
Non-Card Holder	87	72
	100	100
	(125)	(191)

TABLE 6-29

	Sex	
	Male %	Female %
Index of Library Support:		
0. Low	42	36
1.	22	27
2.	15	20
3. High	14	9
	93	92
	(125)	(191)
9-unclass (%)	7	8

TABLE 6-30

	Sex	
	Male %	Female %
Index of Library Approval:		
0. Low	8	4
1.	31	25
2.	40	50
3.	18	19
4. High	2	1
	99	99
	(125)	(191)
9-unclass (%)	2	1

TABLE 6-31

	Party Identification						
	Strong Dem.	Weak Dem.	Ind. Dem.	Ind.	Ind. Rep.	Weak Rep.	Strong Rep.
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Card Holders	19	19	31	44	33	18	31
Non-Card Holders	81	81	69	56	67	82	69
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	(52)	(78)	(16)	(9)	(6)	(101)	(52)

TABLE 6-32

	Party Identification						
	Strong Dem.	Weak Dem.	Ind. Dem.	Ind.	Ind. Rep.	Weak Rep.	Strong Rep.
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Index of Library Support:							
0. Low	42	40	26	33	33	43	29
1.	25	19	38	33	33	26	27
2.	14	24	19	11	17	17	15
3. High	15	9	13	—	—	7	21
	96	92	95	77	83	93	92
	(52)	(78)	(16)	(9)	(6)	(101)	(52)
9-unclass (%	4	8	6	22	17	7	8

TABLE 6-33

	Party Identification						
	Strong Dem.	Weak Dem.	Ind. Dem.	Ind.	Ind. Rep.	Weak Rep.	Strong Rep.
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Index of Library Approval:							
0. Low	8	6	—	—	17	6	4
1.	29	21	31	67	17	26	29
2.	23	19	13	—	—	19	21
4. High	2	3	—	—	—	1	—
	99	99	100	100	101	99	100
	(52)	(78)	(16)	(9)	(6)	(101)	(52)

TABLE 6-34

Attended any City Council, County Commissioners, a School Board Meeting in the last two years?

	Yes %	No %
Card Holders	28	21
Non-Card Holders	72	79
	100	100
	(39)	(277)

TABLE 6-35

Attended any political meetings in the last two years?

	Yes %	No %
Card Holders	39	19
Non-Card Holders	61	81
	100	100
	(49)	(267)

TABLE 6-36

"Government and Politics Are So Complicated that the Average Person Can't Really Understand What's Going On."

	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree %
Card Holders	21	15	30	40
Non-Card Holders	79	85	70	60
	100	100	100	100
	(34)	(149)	(127)	(5)

TABLE 6-37

Number of School Age Children

	None %	One %	Two %	Three %	Four %
Card Holders	20	25	34	19	25
Non-Card Holders	80	75	66	81	75
	100	100	100	100	100
	(183)	(52)	(41)	(21)	(12)

TABLE 6-38

	Number of School Age Children					
	None %	One %	Two %	Three %	Four %	More than four %
Index of Library Support:						
0. Low	42	37	22	33	50	75
1.	24	25	39	14	33	—
2.	13	23	27	29	17	25
3. High	12	12	7	14	—	—
	91	97	95	90	100	100
	(183)	(52)	(41)	(21)	(12)	(4)
9-unclass (%)	9	3	5	10	—	—

TABLE 6-39

	Number of School Age Children					
	None %	One %	Two %	Three %	Four %	More than four %
Index of Library Approval:						
0. Low	8	4	2	—	—	—
1.	27	29	32	33	8	—
2.	44	40	49	48	75	50
3.	19	21	15	19	17	25
4. High	—	6	2	—	—	—
	98	101	100	100	100	75
	(183)	(52)	(41)	(21)	(12)	(4)
9-unclass %	1	—	—	—	—	25

TABLE 6-40

How Far from the Library Do You Live?

	1-5 Blocks %	6-9 Block %	10 Blocks-2 miles %	2-5 miles %	5 miles %
Does Distance From The Library Affect Your Use:					
Yes:	9	5	11	21	39
No:	89	93	85	73	50
Don't Know:	2	2	4	6	11
	100	100	100	100	100
	(45)	(40)	(132)	(71)	(28)

TABLE 6-41

Do you ever buy books?

	Yes	No
	%	%
Card Holders	31	13
Non-Card Holders	69	87
	100	100
	(147)	(166)

TABLE 6-42

How many books do you own?

	1-25	26-50	51-100	101-500	500 +
	%	%	%	%	%
Card Holders	14	14	25	39	29
Non Card Holders	86	86	75	61	71
	100	100	100	100	100
	(110)	(63)	(67)	(59)	(14)

TABLE 6-43

		Card-Holders	Non-Card Holders
Is the Library Valuable		%	%
to you in your work:	Yes	30	7
	No	67	93
	DK	3	—
		100	100
		(70)	(247)

TABLE 6-44

Would you support a referendum for a separate library tax?

		Card-Holders	Non-Card Holders
Support referendum for		%	%
separate library tax:	Yes	37	24
	No	47	54
	DK	16	22
		100	100
		(70)	(247)

TABLE 6-45

		Card-Holders	Non-Card Holders
		%	%
Favor increased tax support for library:	Yes	47	32
	No	41	45
	DK	11	24
		99	101
		(70)	(247)

TABLE 6-46

		Card-Holders	Non-Card Holders
		%	%
Increase County Support of Library	Yes	40	28
	No	7	18
	DK	53	54
		100	100
		(70)	(247)

TABLE 6-47

		Card-Holders	Non-Card Holders
		%	%
Index of Library Support:	0. Low	20	43
	1.	41	20
	2.	19	18
	3. High	16	10
		96	91
		(70)	(247)
9 unclassifiable		4	9

TABLE 6-48

"Local Government Tries To Provide Too Many Services"

	Card-Holders	Non-Card Holders
Strongly agree	—	—
Agree	10	19
Don't Know	9	9
Disagree	71	64
Strongly disagree	10	8
	100	100
	(70)	(247)

TABLE 6-49

	Card-Holders	Non-Card Holders
Local Taxes Are:	%	%
Too High	63	60
About Right	34	39
Too Low	3	1
	100	100
	(70)	(247)

TABLE 6-50

		Card-Holders	Non-Card Holders
Index of Library Approval	0-Low	3	7
	1	24	28
	2	43	47
	3	27	16
	4-High	3	1
		100	99
		(70)	(247)
9 unclassifiable		—	1

TABLE 6-51

		Card-Holders	Non-Card Holders
		%	%
Use Reference Materials:	Yes	47	12
	No	53	88
		100	100
		(70)	(247)

CHAPTER 7 / SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The library profession has been profoundly aware of what we might call "its crisis of identity." Through its professional associations and journals and through various kinds of demonstration and pilot projects, mostly funded by Federal grants, the profession has been attempting to refine the role, the mission and the objectives of the public library and its services. Much of the recent literature concerning the community public library suggests that it is an organization in search of a more vital purpose. The Public Library Association, for example, has tried to define realistic and measurable standards for library services; State and local libraries have sought to provide operating programs based on similarly concrete and attainable goals. The Pennsylvania plan for state-wide library service is one result of this conceptual agitation; the Federally supported projects conducted by three of the libraries included in this study—Altoona, Pottsville and Williamsport—are also manifestations of this professional and institutional renewal process.

The five libraries examined in this study were responding in various ways to this developmental challenge, some more aggressively and effectively than others. None remained untouched by the impetus to improved library service provided by the Library Code of 1961. Too often, we must still conclude, the public library remains an unknown quantity for too many citizens. The library is still a financially undernourished facility when compared to other local public agencies, although one of the poorest communities included in our study was exerting an extraordinarily great local financial effort to support the library. There remains, in addition, a too widely shared image of the public library as a civic ornament whose primary function is that of providing backup educational services to students and children. In two of our communities, however, the chief librarians had undertaken active programs to change this perception and in one of the libraries these efforts had already achieved some success, as indicated by the responses to our questionnaire.

Earlier studies of library use referred to on several occasions in this inquiry tended to confirm the observation offered nearly twenty years ago by Oliver Garceau that public libraries "have scarcely commenced the transition to a public service institution actively sponsored by a

broad range of power groups in the community."[1] While we found a good deal of evidence to support this view, we also feel that this generalization is no longer as descriptive of the reality of library service, as we have perceived it in these five cities, as certain superficial indications might suggest. We will return to this theme at the conclusion of this chapter.

At the outset of this study we laid out five topics that would be covered. These topics we felt would be of interest to library administrators, library boards and students of library services. The topics, to recapitulate, were:

1. To determine who uses library services, with what frequency, and for what purposes;
2. To determine the attitudes of library users and non-users toward the public library;
3. To determine the degree and type of financial assistance received by the library and the attitudes of concerned individuals within the community about these financial arrangements;
4. To determine, in a general sense, how well the library meets the needs of its users and the community it purports to serve; and
5. To determine where the public library fits into the overall pattern of governmental services within each of the five cities studied.

The data were collected concerning five "public" libraries in five different medium sized Pennsylvania cities. The five libraries were district centers within the Pennsylvania plan for library development; all five received some local public financial support in addition to State funds; three of the five were, in addition, county libraries; and two of the five were operated by the local Board of Education.

The five cities ranged in size from slightly over 21,000 population to nearly 140,000 and were geographically distributed throughout the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Although there were significant differences among the five cities in terms of economic and industrial base, growth and decline patterns, ethnic and religious composition of populations, and arrangements for the support of library services, there were also a number of common characteristics that would permit us to generalize about them. They were old cities, efforts at physical re-

1. Garceau, *op. cit.*, p .104.

newal were sporadic, their population tended to be older than the State average, they had a relatively small non-white population, and municipal government was inclined to caretaker and housekeeping responsibilities rather than vigorous community development leadership.

Regardless of the institutional arrangements for the support and provision of library services, and these varied among the five cities, the governance of the public library tended to be quite similar. Library boards, composed in large part of civic notables or those on the fringes of the leadership core of the city, limited themselves to overall policy-making and administrative oversight responsibilities. There tended to be a dominant figure on each board; for the libraries run by the local Board of Education the superintendent of schools who serves on the library board *ex officio* appeared to exercise greatest influence and for the other libraries the library board president played a comparable role. In none of the cities did the municipal government take an active part in operating the public library except for financial contributions in three of the five; the funds in two of these were provided from a special tax millage levied for the support of library services. None of the five libraries was, however, an integral part of the local public service system nor was any so perceived by either library boards and administrators or municipal and county officials.

Although the five library boards approached the policy-making and oversight functions in roughly the same manner, there were significant differences among the libraries with respect to the allocation of responsibilities. The library administrators in the two institutions run by the local Board of Education relied largely upon the school system's administrative staff for budgetary, fiscal, legal, and management assistance. These functional responsibilities among the other three independent libraries were assumed by individual board members. Board membership for these libraries, therefore, tended to be functional as well as symbolic. The finance director for the City of Pottsville, for example, served on the library board and in the other two cities lawyers, bankers, and industrial and commercial managers contributed their talents to the libraries' management activities.

Not surprisingly the board relied on the chief librarian or library administrator for policy guidance and the administration of library services. Except for a few isolated instances, in none of the libraries studied did the board either collectively or as individuals intrude into administrative operations. The level and quality of library services depended, in the final analysis and within the financial constraints present in each situation, on the leadership exerted by the chief librarian. Gen-

erally this leadership was young and aggressive, and was eager to expand the boundaries of library service within the community.

It is generally recognized that the Pennsylvania plan for library development is now fully accepted by local libraries, including the district centers. This plan to date, however, has been directed primarily to the limited goal of building up collections and professional resources. Three of the five libraries included in our study had started seriously to develop the system of services within their district areas; two of these were also county libraries. The major impact of the statewide system of financial aid to district centers and local libraries (both community and county) has been in collection expansion and diversification, improved professional staffing, and the initial weaving of district center-local libraries patterns of cooperation. In addition, three of the five libraries have mounted special projects designed to enrich library services and to identify a larger role of the community library; these have been funded through Federal grants.

More specifically, the impact of the state system and outside funding can be observed in the way particular libraries have or have not responded to the opportunities provided. The Pottsville Free Public Library, the only association library within our study, is demonstrating what can be done when financial assistance coupled with imaginative and vigorous leadership attacks the problems of a small, financially undernourished, and neglected library. It would be no overstatement to conclude that without State support this library would not be able to maintain an adequate program of library services.

At the other extreme are the libraries in Erie and Lancaster. Both are located in larger and wealthier communities. State funds constitute a relatively smaller proportion of the funds available for library services in both cases and if these were to be withdrawn local library programs would not seriously be affected. In the case of the Erie library, which is operated by the Board of Education and which receives all of its local funds from the Board, the decision to become a district center and the basis for local participation in the state plan appeared to be a humanitarian gesture; the Erie library concluded that it had an obligation to assist smaller libraries within the district it serves.

The Lancaster library has a much more diversified revenue structure than that enjoyed by the Erie library; it receives funds from the City and County of Lancaster, the local Board of Education, and from an endowment. Despite this, however, it is the most "privately" operated of the five libraries and falls under the jurisdiction of a self-perpetuating library board. State funds constitute a relatively small part in the financing of library services in Lancaster but for reasons significantly

different than in Erie. The Lancaster library receives proportionately less State money than the other four libraries primarily because Lancaster makes an insufficient *local* financial effort in support of library services.

The library most directly benefiting from the availability of State *and Federal* funds has been the Altoona Public Library. Historically the Altoona library has been the most inadequately housed and it is through Federal funds from the Library Services and Construction Act and the Appalachian Regional Development Act that a new library building is being financed. In addition, a Federal demonstration project conducted by the Altoona library has stimulated the development of county library service and cooperation among Blair County's local public libraries.

Probably the most "active" library at the time this study was conducted was the James V. Brown Library of Williamsport and Lycoming County. Under vigorous leadership by two consecutive library administrators, this library has used both State and Federal funds to establish for itself a more visible and a broader role within the community it serves. The results of a Federally financed demonstration project designed to highlight the role of the library and to explore ways to expand that role were dramatically visible in the questionnaire responses. Library patrons were both much more aware of the library and its services in Williamsport than in the other four cities. Great strides have also been taken in Williamsport and Lycoming County to develop an interlocking system of cooperative library services. Finally, the James V. Brown Library has undertaken the most serious planning effort and has adopted the most rigorous management practices of any of the five libraries within the study.

Two overriding concerns, expressed by library boards and administrators and revealed in questionnaire responses, were the related problems of poor physical facilities and inadequate patron parking accommodations. Only in Lancaster does the library possess what might be called an "adequate" structure and parking arrangements; this asset was borne out by the questionnaire responses from Lancaster. Among the other four libraries, only Altoona now is assured of new and presumably adequate quarters and parking facilities. In Williamsport the library may be reaching a point, given the increasing patronage it has stimulated, where its present quarters will begin to pose a considerable constraint on future growth and patronage.

The cardholder questionnaire and the Lycoming County survey attempted to tap the attitudes about the library held by its users and non-users. We found that few people went to the library simply to read or for other recreational purposes. This, of course, is consistent

with previous studies of library use. The major "product" of the library remains its circulation function which, in turn, depends on the adequacy of its book collection. Only in Lancaster, with its attractive library building, were there a large number of consumers who used the library itself for leisure reading. Exceptionally high levels of satisfaction with the library services received were expressed by consumers. The major sources of dissatisfaction were, by and large, of a physical and spatial kind. Patrons felt that the library should have a better building, there should be more adequate parking facilities available near the library, the library was too distant from the patrons for easy accessibility, and reference collections should be improved.

The significance of these expressions of satisfaction and dissatisfaction lies as much in what they did not say as in what they did. The bases of dissatisfaction were the tangible characteristics of the services the library was then offering. Suggestions for improvement were largely directed at expanding or enriching what was already being done. Neither the questionnaire nor the survey revealed much awareness of or concern over what the library was *not* doing and perhaps should be doing. Only during our conversations with library administrators and the most deeply committed and knowledgeable board members did we encounter any proposals or ideas concerning an enlarged agenda of *new* and *untried* library services. Only among the professionals did we detect any uneasiness over the *failures* of the library or any intimation that there was an unmapped terrain for library services within these communities.

As students of community systems and public administration we were not at all surprised by this situation. In practically every area of public policy the most consistent sources of innovation are the professional administrator, the specialist, and the deeply committed and involved layman. The consumer is the least likely *initiating* change agent.

What about those consumers? The composition of the library's public—those who were cardholders and users of library services—has not changed appreciably since the last major national study was undertaken nearly twenty years ago. That public tends to be younger than the general population, better educated, wealthier and over-representative of the professional and managerial middle-class. Only about one-fifth to one-fourth of the population seems to make up that public and there were significantly more women than men among that group. Of interest, however, is the fact that relatively speaking men *use* the library more actively than do women.

Library consumers either don't know or are unconcerned about the way in which the library is financed or managed; ironically, the one

library which has been most successful in establishing its visibility within the community also had the largest proportion of its cardholder questionnaire respondents who felt it was being adequately financed. In general, however, the library's public is faithful and constant; it feels the library needs greater support and is much more willing than the rest of the community to contribute to that support through increased taxation.

A number of impressions were developed during the course of the study. Some have been related previously, others we have reserved until this final chapter. One of the most disturbing has to do with the failure, to date, of the state-wide plan to make a major impact on the planning of local libraries, including district centers. Only the Lancaster Free Public Library had a formal, written statement of objectives which serves as the basis for system development. Several other libraries had commenced the process of developing patterns of service and communication between the district center and other libraries within its area, but these seemed almost *ad hoc* in character and certainly did not represent the implementation of a deliberate development program. In only one library, in addition, did we find any awareness, much less implementation, of modern management techniques. This library had even begun to experiment with program budgeting, almost an indispensable component of any long-range development program. Ironically, this was *not* the library which had enunciated a long-range program.

Only one of the five libraries possessed a regular and concentrated publicity or public information program which went beyond National Library Week. Although all five libraries engaged in some public relations efforts, only this one had a continuing program of educating the community with respect to the materials and resources available through the library. The "message" of library service in the other four communities tended to be sporadic and disconnected.

The vast potential of servicing specialized groups while acknowledged in each library has been largely untapped. All five libraries had the traditional departmentalized library services but had not done much to formulate programs or develop services aimed at specific and clearly defined clientele groups, such as the business community, the education of the disadvantaged, remedial education for the undereducated, or information services for government, civic groups, etc. The linkages between the local public agencies and the public library were largely non-existent. The library usually did not include in its reference collection pertinent documents concerning local government, such as the local budget or annual reports of local jurisdictions. Ironically, the *local* library was more likely to have information available

about remote corners of the world than about its immediate service environment.

The general perception by local government officials and by most library board members was that the library existed primarily as an extension of the schools and that its main task was to enlarge and expand the educational resources available to the young. The emphasis in each library appeared to be on children and adolescents and the children's department appeared to be the most actively used and the most professionally manned. This was as true of the independent libraries as it was in those operated by the local Board of Education. The most common response obtained from local officials who were asked if they used the library was, "no, but my children do." Indeed, local officials justified the use of tax funds to support the community library more on the basis that it was assisting children than on the ground that a good public library was essential to a well-rounded system of public services.

In conclusion, then, what can we report that might be of value to library boards and administrators? We are not professional librarians, it is true, but as students of the political-governmental process and of community systems we feel that the data collected and analyzed in these pages are of potentially great significance to those concerned with library services. Before turning to an overall assessment of the implications these data contain, let us summarize briefly some of the most relevant "findings."

1. The size and composition of the library's active public—those who regularly consume its services—have not changed much since it was described nearly twenty years ago by Berelson and Campbell and Metzner. At least, as far as the medium sized city is concerned, the library's public seems to include the most literate, well-to-do, and influential strata of the community.

2. This consuming public is generally well-pleased with the services the library now provides. It also exhibits a deep commitment to the role of the public library within the community and tends to endow it with a higher priority in terms of increasing financial and other support than it gives to other local public services.

3. There does not appear to be an articulate, organized or even identifiable source of opposition to library services. Even when people don't use the library regularly they tend to view it with respect and pride. The mantle of "civic ornament" is, after all, infinitely preferable and strategically much more functional than the image of a "necessary evil" or a public nuisance. There appears to be a generalized favorable bias toward the library within the community. This gives library ad-

ministrators who wish to expand and enrich the library's role a decided advantage in their efforts to mobilize support behind these efforts.

4. While the library does not appear to be regarded yet as a part of the local public service system, even when it is operated by the local Board of Education, neither does there appear to be any frozen public attitude or rigid institutional barriers obstructing a movement in that direction. Indeed, if anything, the growing public support for library services at all levels of government—Federal, State and local—suggests that increasingly the public is accepting the library as precisely that.

Probably the major impact made by the Pennsylvania plan for library development to date has been the growing community awareness of the public library as a public service agency and a consequent wakening of interest in and support for library programs. Much remains to be done, of course; the efforts so far have been directed at enlarging and enriching both collections and professional staffs. But without either of these components there would be no library program.

5. There has been a discernible acceptance of and movement toward the concept of a "library system," which embraces not only the State Library and the four regional and 30 district centers, but also the hundreds of community, county and, hopefully, specialized libraries within the State. Three of the district centers within our study had already started to develop operationally the system concept in their relationships with the local libraries within their jurisdiction.

6. The source of innovation and the driving force for change must come from the professional librarian. The consumer, or the community, will not automatically generate an agenda of new and untried services. It rests with the professional to know his community, to identify and define its needs, and to start the process of change through the library board and the ranks of those who support the public library role. The library administrator cannot escape this responsibility if, indeed, it is also his ambition to provide the variety and quality of library service he feels his community needs and deserves.

7. The full range of opportunities for expanded library services was not contained within the operating programs in any of the five libraries we examined. They had started to reach out as district centers and expand their areal services, some more seriously and successfully than others. The broad implications of an area-wide library system, however, with the district center functioning as the source of specialized programs and collections, have largely remained unexplored. Special programs, such as lecture or symposia series, issue seminars, special films and art shows, organized reading and discussion programs—these are some of the ideas for expanded library service which do not

have to be restricted to the metropolitan area institution. But these are hardly "innovational" services; many large libraries sponsor activities and events such as these on a regular basis.

The "community" the library might serve should not be confused with the body of present library users. Geographically, the "community" of library service must become larger; regional library systems, perhaps with the present district centers as the service hub, will unquestionably emerge. As information now stored in books increasingly is stored electronically the "bold" idea of district centers will be a quaint but obsolete boundary concept. Ideas concerning "service areas" and inter-library cooperation will undergo major revision. The point of this discourse is really quite simple; the community which the library purports to serve is constantly changing. It is just not sufficient for the library administrator to sit back and wait for new demands to be pressed by his community; he must himself be engaged in anticipating, formulating and perhaps even creating those demands.

Our five cities are not large and three of them are relatively remote from today's major population centers. But these five and most of the other cities which will be the source of wealth and the good life will increasingly be engulfed by the evolving and sprawling megalopolises along the Eastern seaboard and the Great Lakes. Within these areas the residents will have greater leisure, they will be better educated, and they will seek educational and recreational outlets reflecting this emerging human condition.

But even today there are potential client groups within the population which could conceivably be better served. The growing population of retirees and "senior citizens," the undereducated, those afflicted by skill and occupational obsolescence, and the increasing number of para-professional and technically trained workers may have needs that the library could possibly satisfy, if those potential requirements were identified. Already we have observed that the expanding market in paperbound books, particularly works of fiction and other best-sellers, has had a significant impact on the active library user; we have no idea the extent to which it has deterred the non-user from becoming part of the library's public. It may be that the library's traditional posture of maintaining a general circulation collection may be less and less functional. Perhaps the strategy for expanding the library's public is not increasing its *general* collection but rather the development of more specialized and selective collections.

Finally, the idea of the community library as an *information center* and not merely a repository for books (valuable and important as that role may have been and may continue to be), a center designed to serve a broad range of interests and diverse local institutions, has

seldom been discussed, much less explored operationally. A great information void exists in most medium sized cities; public agencies lack proper information, there is no ready source of information for local merchants, financial institutions and industries and there is little done to publicize and exchange the information that is available within the community or the region. The local library and the district center possess the potential and already occupy the publicly accepted role that would support their development of this kind of information system.

These may appear to be "far out" suggestions; technology and demographic change, however, render them entirely reasonable and within reach. The extent to which the local library and the state-wide system capture these "dreams" and transform them into a vital new purpose for the community library will depend on the imagination, training and ability of the professional library administrator and planner. The community the individual library serves, and the larger community that the state-wide system might create, should not be equated with the library's contemporary active public. And the library administrator must not accept measures of high satisfaction with the traditional services the library provides to its present consumers as evidence that the library has fulfilled its purpose, or even that it has begun to define its role.

The library administrator, as a professional, should candidly admit that if the library is to fulfill its historic mission it will be his responsibility to assume active leadership in the effort. He must be willing to enter the maelstrom of community decision-making by making and defending the legitimate claims of his agency. He must recognize that he is best equipped by training and purpose to define the goals, develop the role and protect the interests of the community library. He must know his community, its organization, its leadership, its processes, its opportunities as well as its constraints. He must have the professional self-confidence to do more than respond to spontaneously expressed service demands from the community; he must be willing to take risks by telling the community what his professional judgment tells him that community needs. He should not withdraw from the task of mobilizing support for his programs and, when necessary, he should assist in creating demands for them.

Our data suggest to us that this model of a community library is entirely compatible with the mediun sized city we have examined. Indeed, in two of the cities the first awkward but brave steps in implementing that model have been taken. We really look forward to examining the impact of library services once that model has become an operating reality.