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A STUDY OF FOUR LIBRARY PROGRAMS FOR DISADVANTAGED PERSONS.

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This is a study of four projects in New York City which were established with federal grants to offer library service to the disadvantaged in the area. The four programs studied are the Preschool Project of the Brooklyn Public Library, the Community Coordinator Project of the Brooklyn Public Library, the North Manhattan Project of the New York Public Library, and Operation Head Start of the Queens Borough Public Library. The study was undertaken to determine (1) the effect of the projects on the communities served and on the library staff, (2) modifications of the projects which could improve service to the disadvantaged and, (3) the impact and relevance of training auxiliary personnel to work in the projects. (CC)

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**CONDUCTED BY
BANK STREET COLLEGE OF EDUCATION**

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**The University of the State of New York
THE STATE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
Division of Library Development**

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**A STUDY OF FOUR LIBRARY PROGRAMS
FOR DISADVANTAGED PERSONS**

For the

**DIVISION OF LIBRARY DEVELOPMENT
The New York State Library
State Education Department
University of the State of New York**

Conducted by

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The man of much business or affairs must study every problem in its manifold relations -- i.e. must clarify and make charts of his results. Without these he is like a sailor in strange waters, sooner or later shipwrecked unless he uses charts to find safe channels as well as to avoid rocks and shoals.

Decimal Classification and Relative Index
Melvil Dewey (First Edition 1876)

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

Four projects in three New York City library systems have been operating under Library Services and Construction Act Title I grants to offer library services particularly to disadvantaged residents of the city.

These projects are:

1. Preschool Project - Brooklyn Public Library
2. Community Coordinator Project - Brooklyn Public Library
3. North Manhattan Project - The New York Public Library
4. Operation Head Start - Queens Borough Public Library

Bank Street College of Education was awarded a contract by the Division of Library Development The New York State Library, State Education Department, University of the State of New York to study these projects to determine:

1. The impact of the projects on the populations to be served, and on the library staffs.
2. To further developments which might be made by these projects, any modifications which might facilitate their operation, or other suggestions appropriate to serving this population.
3. The impact and relevance of training auxiliary personnel to work in these projects.

METHODOLOGY

The study was designed to develop qualitative data since the projects' progress reports have dealt with the quantitative aspects of this work very fully. Data were gathered through 1) conferences, 2) interviews, and 3) observations. These techniques permit exploration of the content of programs, the processes used in programs, and the attitudes of the program participants (users) and staffs.

Conferences were conducted with the library administrators in each system responsible for the operation of each project, and with senior-level project staff members. The purpose was to determine points of view of the institutional hierarchy about the projects, problems faced by the institution in initiating and carrying out such projects, and the degree of commitment of the institution to the project. These conferences were conducted by senior members of the study staff.

Interviews were conducted with the "action" staff of each project, with participants in the programs, with leaders in the communities served by the projects, with persons in other institutions and agencies affected by the projects, and with persons in the disadvantaged communities selected on a random basis. The purpose of these interviews was to determine how the staffs and participants perceived these projects in operation, the impact of the programs on other institutions and agencies, and the degree to which the projects had penetrated the disadvantaged community at large. These interviews were conducted both by field staff and

senior members of the study staff.

Observations of each project were conducted in several ways. Field staff visited and observed programs conducted outside the library branches. In situations where the programs had been curtailed during the month of June, those programs still in operation were observed, and staff sought out persons who had participated in programs held previously and interviewed them. Programs based in branch libraries were also observed. Field staff also visited in and observed branch libraries when programs were not scheduled in order to familiarize themselves with library procedure, normal library use, and the "tone" of the branches involved in the projects. Interviews with other library staff and library users often resulted from such observations.

The study staff met weekly in conference to share experiences, cross-check perceptions, test the validity of instruments, and modify them when necessary. For example, it became apparent to the study staff that the interview schedules which had been prepared for use with disadvantaged children were not appropriate to the kinds of interview situations which field staff encountered. These schedules were modified so that the material in them could be covered in a more informal manner.

As data were collected, the senior study staff examined the material and determined areas needing further exploration. Project staff members were extremely helpful in working with study staff in developing further leads for interviews and in assisting field staff to work out schedules for site observations.

Treatment of Data

After all data were collected, the body of data was reviewed by the study staff, organized, and projected upon the objectives of the individual projects. The findings from these data constitute the body of this report.

In this report specific quotations or instances from the data incorporated in each section by way of amplification or example. In instances where such inclusion would be too lengthy, reference is made to relevant data in the appendices.

All data, observations and interviews, are reproduced in appendices. This process was agreed upon for several reasons. First, the projects are highly idiosyncratic, both because of institutional factors and situational factors. For this reason it seemed inappropriate to select only some data for inclusion. Secondly, the material collected, particularly in the interviews, is rich in elements which do not directly lie within the scope of this study, but which may prove of value to other areas of library operation. Finally, the data provide insights into disadvantaged persons and those staff charged with working with this population which resist codification.

Limitations of the Study

It was hoped by the administrator in one system that the study would undertake to determine the long-term effects of the project upon participants and their families, in particular, the effects of the preschool program on those children who had attended the storytelling hours and were now in school in comparison with

their older siblings and classmates who had not been exposed to the program. The aim was to have been to see if project children had learned to love and value books and if their school achievement was significantly different from children who had not had such early opportunities.

This study had neither the time nor facilities to design and carry out such an elaborate investigation, if, indeed, such an exploration were possible. The variables for both groups of children -- those in the project and those without project experience -- appeared to be enormous. Furthermore, it seemed to the study staff that such an elaborate undertaking was not necessary since the question could be studied directly through the participants now in the project and projections made as to effectiveness of the project in terms of what is already known about young children and their patterns of learning and growth.

DESCRIPTIONS OF PROJECTS

PRESCHOOL PROJECTS

The Preschool Project of the Brooklyn Public Library has been in operation two and a half years, using a professional librarian to make contact with community preschool centers for disadvantaged children, to train and supervise library aides in the presentation of storybook hours, and to coordinate storybook programs held in preschool centers on a weekly basis. In addition to service to these centers by providing storybook programs for young children, some programs are held with parents of the children on selection of age-appropriate books, techniques of reading stories to children,

and other relevant subjects.

The aides actually conduct the storybook programs, selecting books from the Preschool Project collection. They carry with them to the centers a selection of these books for children to browse through after the storytelling part of the program. The professional librarian conducts the parents' programs and supervises the aides in the field.

In the Queens Borough Public Library Operation Head Start children three to five years of age and their mothers are served by a picture-book program for the children and a concurrent program of interest to mothers. The programs take place either in the QBPL branches located in neighborhoods having a high proportion of disadvantaged persons, or in public parks, playgrounds, housing developments, and Project Head Start centers. The project is administered and supervised by two professional librarians and approximately 40 library aides. These aides, who have a minimum of two years of college education, are trained by the project supervisors and the branch librarians in the ten branches composing the region.

Services provided include presenting picture-book programs for children, giving paperback books to children who attend programs regularly, conducting parent programs with printed materials and audiovisual aids. Booklists are also provided to parents.

COMMUNITY ORIENTED PROJECTS

The Brooklyn Public Library Community Coordinator Project

uses four professional librarians detached from regular branch duties and schedules to make contact with community institutions, organizations, and individuals. By taking an active part in many organizations, the coordinator interprets the library to the community and the community to the library. Service to institutions includes work with churches, schools, and housing projects; service to organizations includes work with Youth In Action (OE0), and with block and neighborhood organizations. Librarian aides assist the community coordinators.

Coordinators provide booklists, exhibits, film programs, radio and television appearances, conduct tours of branches, and actively participate in community organizations. The Sidewalk Service Van takes books, films, and storyhours into unorganized areas to publicize library services and programs, exhibit materials, and register borrowers. Another service is the placement of small collections of paperback books in bars, beauty and barber shops. These books are for public use. The display package publicizes the library.

The New York Public Library North Manhattan Project involves the strengthening of staff, collection, and services in the Countee Cullen Regional Branch and the Schomburg Collection of Negro Literature and History located in adjoining buildings in central Harlem. The regular branch staff has been strengthened with the addition of a director of the project, specialists in reference, adult,

young adult, and children's work.

Programs presented include storyhours, school classes, films, art exhibitions, concerts, and discussion groups. Augmented staff allows quick response to group needs. Full use is being made of all library materials including films and records. Collections of literacy materials are being made available to other community agencies and projects such as HARYOU-Act, Head Start, and others. Paperback collections have been built up for the use of teenagers, and the Negro history materials have been heavily duplicated. 1

1. The descriptions of the Queens Borough Public Library Operation Head Start, Brooklyn Public Library Community Coordinator, and The New York Public Library North Manhattan Projects were adapted from Neighborhood Library Centers and Services. A Study by the National Book Committee for the Office of Economic Opportunity, 1967.

OBJECTIVES OF EACH OF THE FOUR PROJECTS

PRESCHOOL PROJECTS

Two of the projects studied, the Brooklyn Public Library Preschool Project and the Queens Borough Public Library Operation Head Start, were mainly concerned with populations of disadvantaged preschool children.

Brooklyn Public Library Preschool Project

The 1966-67 proposal for the Brooklyn Preschool Project states that the purpose of this program is:

To orient and acquaint preschool children with books and reading for their personal pleasure and enrichment.

However, a subsidiary purpose is revealed in the sentence describing the project:

Programs are given in day-care centers, public and parochial schools, housing projects, community centers, churches, and libraries. Concurrent with this program is the provision for book discussion groups and film programs for the parents of these children.

By inference, then, a subsidiary purpose could be said to be to provide parents programs relating to books and films.

In listing results expected, both short and long term, the library states:

It is expected that the children will be better prepared for their introduction to formal school education and will be better prepared for the learning process because of their early introduction to, and acquaintance with books and reading. They will develop a positive attitude toward reading, learning, and education at an early age which will be carried into preparation for a fuller and more gainful life.

The need for the project was described:

Prior to this program there was little available to preschool children to introduce them to book and reading, either in their families or in community organizations. This program was devised to fill a yawning gap with wholesome fare. There is no substitute other than the library in the community that is as well prepared or more willing to make the children in deprived areas aware of books and reading.

It is to be noted that there is no stated objective to bring children or their parents into the library, although in discussing the project with members of the central library staff, this point was always the first one mentioned as an actual objective of the program. However, staff actually involved in the program operation -- supervisors and aides -- described the project objectives in the same way that the proposal states them.

Because the stated objectives have the purpose of affecting the children's future lives, as well as giving them immediate satisfactions from books, it is impossible to determine the extent to which this far reaching objective may one day be realized. That the children were, in fact, receiving pleasurable experiences with books and persons connected in their minds with books is supported in the observations made of the storytelling programs. (See Reports of Observations, Appendix A-5, A-15, A-21, A-27)

Queens Borough Public Library Operation Head Start

The main purposes of this project are:

1. To reach three-to five-year-olds in culturally disadvantaged areas;

2. To introduce them to the joys and pleasures of books;
3. To encourage a later readiness for reading when entering school.

The expected long-term results of this project are:

1. To develop parental awareness of the value of books and reading in the continuing process of educating their children and themselves;
2. To develop awareness of the services of their public library.

From these expected results, a similar inference can be made: that the purpose of the project is to reach disadvantaged parents as well as preschool children.

The methods listed to achieve these ends include:

1. To continue preschool picture book programs;
2. To intensify canvassing for the hard-core deprived and accordingly to extend the number and location of programs;
3. To continue concurrent programs for parents designed to inform and involve them in the overall purpose of Operation Head Start;
4. To educate and inform them in subjects of practical use;
5. To continue to motivate the development of home libraries through gifts of paperbacks to participating children.

The stated objectives appeared to be in the process of being fulfilled. Observational material is appended to support this finding. (See Appendix A-70, A-91.) However, these observations lead one to assume that the "methods" listed above, number 2, 3, and 4, are not being implemented to their fullest extent with the present staff and schedule. Issues related to this finding will be elaborated in this report.

In both projects the objectives appeared to change slightly over the three year period they have been in operation. The Brooklyn Public Library originally listed direct involvement of parents in concurrent adult programs as an objective. Experience by the project staff with preschool programs as they presently exist in schools, preschool centers, and day-care centers, proved that an approach to parents was not practical in many cases. The reason given was that in many programs the parents were not available. Therefore, in later proposals, this purpose became a secondary objective, and in some parts of the project operation, disappeared entirely.

In the Queens Borough Public Library Operation Head Start, the objective related to canvassing for the hard-core disadvantaged, and through this method extending the number and location of programs, seems to have disappeared, with the exception of the program conducted in one branch, "C.". The data supporting these findings will be presented under Services, the third section of this report.

COMMUNITY ORIENTED PROGRAMS

Two of the programs studied, The New York Public Library North Manhattan Project and the Brooklyn Public Library Community Coordinator Project, were community oriented projects which spanned all age levels.

The New York Public Library North Manhattan Project

The New York Public Library listed the following objectives in its proposal for the North Manhattan Project:

1. To acquaint people with the library system and library services to all age groups;
2. To test and demonstrate library skills and techniques that can effectively bring the underprivileged citizens (many of whom have limited reading abilities) into the library;
3. To train non-librarians and study how effective they can be:
 - a) college graduates who worked in another discipline than library science
 - b) college students
 - c) high school students headed for public service jobs.
4. To set up a variety of programs to enrich the cultural experiences of the community;
5. To work with community organizations (non-library groups)
 - a) to aid them in their efforts to reach the same group of people, and
 - b) to help effect changes in the groups educational, vocational, and social patterns;
6. To test materials chosen for their interest to the community; to consider the reading levels of the people involved in relationship to the materials chosen.

During an interview, the director of the project reported that a major objective of the project was to change the image of the library in the community. This emerging objective appears to be of prime importance in permitting the other objectives to be met.

The only objective which has begun to lose its importance is the training of nonlibrarians. This work was done at the beginning of stages of the project but as funds have been curtailed, and the project has begun to be phased out, staff has begun to be cut and training, therefore, suspended.

Brooklyn Public Library Community Coordinator Project

This project had as its stated objectives:

1. To publicize the library to those who do not know about its many services;
2. To break down barriers which may arise against the use of a public institution;

3. To make the library and staff an important part of the community and family life;
4. To provide special materials needed for training and retraining job skills.

In addition to these overall objectives for the Community Coordinator project, there were specific objectives for the Sidewalk Service Van program. They are: to point up the informational services of the library system, particularly local branches; to advertise programs in branches as co-sponsored by the library; to exhibit general and special materials for programs.

Insofar as it was possible to observe, it appeared that the Community Coordinator Project was accomplishing its stated objectives, with the possible exception of number four. This objective is ambiguously stated. If it relates to providing materials needed in training and retraining job skills for the disadvantaged community in order to make them more productive members of the community, it may have been accomplished, but the observers did not have the opportunity to observe this phase of the program. If this objective refers to materials for training and retraining non-professional library staff, this part of the program was not clarified for the study.

Similarly, the objectives for the Sidewalk Service Van appear to have been accomplished insofar as it was possible to observe. However, there still appears to be a "communications gap" between the major portion of the disadvantaged community and the library branches, particularly in relation to the publicizing of special programs.

SERVICE

DESCRIPTION OF SERVICES

The descriptions here are necessarily brief. Each project has been described with much fullness and depth in the annual project reports to each library system.

The services provided by the two preschool projects differed considerably. The BPL Preschool Project essentially consisted of providing storytelling programs for preschool children at various preschool centers located outside the library. Appropriate books were taken to these storytelling hours so that each child could browse through books after the main part of the program.

The QBPL Operation Head Start had two distinct services: providing a storytelling hour (in most cases in a library branch) for preschool children, after which they could browse and borrow books from the branch collections; and providing a parents' program concurrently with the storytelling hour which involved the use of printed or audiovisual materials and followed by a group discussion. Parents were also encouraged to borrow books after these sessions.

The NYPL North Manhattan Project provided a number of services: complete upgrading and expansion of the collections at Countee Cullen branch; arranging inbranch programs for the three age levels served; meeting with community groups to interpret how the library could be of service to the participants of these groups; expanding the services of the Schomburg Collection through

xeroxing of materials; arranging for tours for school groups through Countee Cullen and Schomburg; providing record-listening and television viewing facilities in the branch; providing intensive reader assistance service to borrowers.

The BPL Community Coordinator Project made available the following services; providing a staff of professional librarians to contact community groups to learn of their needs and to interpret the library services; delivering book talks to groups; providing a Sidewalk Service Van which visits disadvantaged neighborhoods to display materials available in branch libraries; making it possible for neighborhood residents to register for a library card and borrow their first books outside the branch; publicizing branch programs; placing displays of paperback books in public places (bars, beauty shops, barber shops, housing development offices, industrial cafeterias.)

Tables One and Two compare the services offered by these projects.

TABLE ONE**SERVICES RENDERED BY THE TWO PRESCHOOL PROJECTS**To Young ChildrenBPL PPOBPL OHS

Telling of stories
 Presenting finger plays, seated
 games
 Singing
 Browsing
 Reading stories individually
 Leaving books to be read in
 interval between programs
 Encouraging books to be taken home
 Giving child paperback book as gift

X

 X
 X
 X
 occasionally
 X

 X
 X

To Teachers in Preschool Centers

Acting as models for good
 storytelling
 Planning book selection according
 to current curriculum of class

X

 X
 Does
 not
 apply

To Parents of Preschool Children

Acting as models for good
 storytelling
 Talking with parents about
 books for children
 Providing separate programs for
 parents
 Encouraging parents to
 borrow books for their
 own use

occasionally
 occasionally
 occasionally
 occasionally

 X
 X
 X

TABLE TWO**SERVICES RENDERED BY THE TWO COMMUNITY ORIENTED PROJECTS**

<u>To School Children</u>	<u>NYPL NMP</u>	<u>BPL CCP</u>
Providing tours through children's section of branch	x	
Improving children's collection	x	
Providing children's programs (films, book talks, meet-the-author programs, etc.)	x	x
Providing storytelling for young children while adult program is in progress		x
<u>To Teenagers and Young Adults</u>		
Providing out-agency programs specifically designed for that group (Scouts, College and Career Club, JOIN, HARYOU-Act, Youth in Action, Harlem Teams for Self Help, Unwed Mothers Group)	x	x
Providing facilities for listening to records, watching television	x	
Providing in-branch programs (films, poetry reading, art exhibits, etc.)	x	x
Interpreting to group special services library can perform relative to needs of group members	x	x
<u>To Adults</u>		
Providing out-agency programs specifically designed for that group (Businessmen's Associations, Hebrew Society, Parents Associations of schools and Head Start Centers, etc.)	x	x
Providing facilities for listening to records, watching television	x	
Providing in-branch programs (films, poetry readings, art exhibitions, etc.)	x	x
Providing in-branch programs in response to community needs (Investment counseling course, Negro history programs, etc.)	x	x
Interpreting to groups special services library can perform relative to the needs of the group served	x	x
Providing registration services outside the branches	x	x

To Students and Scholars

Providing increased services
(xeroxing materials, etc.)

Schomburg only

POPULATIONS SERVED

The target population for all projects was the disadvantaged members of certain specified communities.

TABLE THREE

COMMUNITIES SERVED BY ALL FOUR PROJECTS

Brooklyn Public Library
Preschool Project
Community Coordinator Project

Northern Brooklyn, including
the ghetto neighborhoods of
Bedford-Stuyvesant, Bushwick,
Brownsville, Red Hook

The New York Public Library
North Manhattan Project

Harlem

Queens Borough Public Library
Operation Head Start

Disadvantaged areas located
throughout the borough:
Astoria, Baisley Park, Corona,
Dunton, North Beach, Queens-
bridge, Rockaway Beach, St.
Albans, South Jamaica, South
Ozone Park

For convenience in reporting this population will be classified according to age level and socio-economic status. In the discussion of age level, an attempt has been made to follow the library distinctions of age: preschool (five years and under); children (six through twelve); young adults (including teenagers); and adults. The field observations have led to the following classification of socio-economic status:

1. the most disadvantaged, characterized by extreme poverty, little contact with any public institution (with the exceptions of Public Assistance and, in some cases, the public schools.)

2. disadvantaged, but with at least minimal physical necessities, some informed contact with institutions, and an ability to use these institutions when properly introduced;
3. upwardly mobile disadvantaged, usually self-sustaining, using contacts with public institutions as one entree into the middle-class;
4. middle-class.

While the last classification is not appropriate to programs for the disadvantaged, some members of this group were evident in the programs and therefore this stratum must be included for reporting purposes.

Age Levels

The age levels included in both the BPL Preschool Program and QBPL Operation Head Start were three-to-five-year-olds and adults. The adults in both programs were chiefly women, mostly mothers in the 20-35 year age group, although a significant number of older women, grandmothers and aunts, were reached by the programs.

The North Manhattan Project of NYPL concentrated its services in Countee Cullen Branch on three age groups based on the three sections into which library services are divided. The children's program primarily reaches children in grades three through eight. The young adult program serves persons from 14 to 18 years of age. The adult program is geared to the remainder of the population.

It was difficult to get information on the age levels reached or the actual services rendered by the project through Schomburg Collection. It appeared that one service to this

community was to make available to a broader body of scholars and students the material in the collection. Persons using the collection appeared to range from junior high school students through elderly persons.

The Community Coordinator Project of BPL concentrates its services on the over 12 age group. However, due to the extensive public work it conducts through the Sidewalk Service Van, it often reaches children on the street. The main thrust of another portion of the program appears to be with teenagers attached to various clubs and community organizations and with adults attached to similar groups. (See Appendix B-5, 6)

For example, a Community Coordinator spoke on Sophocles to a College and Career Club group of 12-to-16-year-olds connected with a community center. She presented a shortened version of Oedipus Rex and the plot of Antigone, quoting from the play. The Community Coordinator and the students then discussed questions such as: Could any of the problems which Antigone faced be evident in the modern world? This led to a discussion of moral law versus civil law with the youngsters supplying examples of civil rights, the poll tax, and capital punishment.

This Community Coordinator had brought with her slides she had taken on a trip to Greece which she showed the group, relating the scenes to the setting of the plays.

After observing this program our field worker had occasion to interview three junior high school members of the club. From them she elicited the fact that the library was used by them

sporadically. In two cases the respondent's family used the library to view films. Although the tenor of these interviews did not offer great enthusiasm for the library, these respondents felt the library was doing all it could do at this time. (See Appendix B-33 .)

Socio-Economic Strata

The BPL Preschool Project, because of its involvement in preschool programs sponsored under various auspices, reached a wide range of disadvantaged persons. In the preschool centers sponsored by "grassroots" community action groups and housed in church basements, rooms over garages, storefronts, the population served tended to be extremely disadvantaged. (See Appendix A-29, 33.) The adults appeared to be uneducated and in contact with no other community organization or institution except that group sponsoring the preschool center.

Parents with children in day-care centers served by the project appeared to be working mothers who found it necessary to leave their children in all-day care so they could continue working, usually as sole support of their families. Although financially more advantaged than the former group, they appeared to provide less parental concern for their children's at-home learning than did the other groups.

Parents with children attending Head Start programs, because of the nature of these half-day programs, are not working parents. They take their children to Head Start and collect them three hours later. Some of these parents are involved in

Head Start programs as aides or volunteers. Many of them remain at the program with their children for at least a portion of the time. These parents tend to be the most advantaged, most upwardly mobile. They appear to seek middle-class values and status for themselves and their children.

The smallest group of parents in this project, a minute fraction of those observed, are middle-class parents who are included either through their children's attendance at a Head Start program, or through preschool programs in connection with the Sidewalk Service Van.

It was reported by the supervisor of the Preschool Project that larger numbers of middle-class parents were served when the preschool programs were conducted in the public schools. The enormous need for the preschool program by seriously disadvantaged children and their parents led to public school preschool program being phased out, being replaced by programs in grassroots preschool centers. (See Appendix A-50.)

In OBPL Operation Head Start most of the persons reached by this program fall into either the middle-class or upwardly mobile, less disadvantaged groups. As the program is currently operated, the "hard-core poverty group" appears to be unreached. This finding is reported comparatively. None of the participants observed in Queens appeared to be as disadvantaged as many of the participants living in Brooklyn ghettos. This may in part, be related to the differences in the populations of the two boroughs, but this seems unlikely.

In an interview the branch librarian (where a program had been observed) reported that he is very pleased with the program, but feels it is not reaching enough target area people. He believes the branch library is misplaced for this purpose and more effort should be concentrated on out-agency programs. (See Appendix A-10,4.)

Aides interviewed in another branch following a program there reported that they feel the program has great potential but is not reaching the right people. They believe that Operation Head Start should not go into Project Head Start classes but rather concentrate on children with no preschool experience. The aides were also of the opinion that a staff of canvassers would greatly increase the effectiveness of the program in reaching target area people. The respondents felt that aides do not have the time to do an adequate job so canvassing is very haphazard and limited to markets, laundries, and other nearby shops. (See Appendix A-107)

In one branch the librarian appears to be strongly oriented to seeking out new participants for the project. Therefore the aides in this branch devote more time to canvassing and following up contacts than do the aides in any other branch. The result of this emphasis is that in this branch programs are currently operating at capacity, and the population served appears to be more truly disadvantaged than many of the participants in other branch programs. Because of this emphasis on canvassing, the aides devote less time to clerical duties in the branch, with

the approval of the branch librarian.

Our field worker reports:

At one point when the branch librarian was speaking to me, an aide was returning from canvassing for more children in the neighborhood. They showed me how they signed up children and then that day sent out post cards saying that the child was enrolled in the Operation Head Start Story Hour, with the hour and day filled in. This follow up is considered to be very important to them, but she (the branch librarian) said that the usual process in other branches is to send out the cards three weeks later. (See Appendix A-103.)

In the North Manhattan Project of NYPL the social stratification may be observed. Middle-class Negroes living within Harlem use the library and also lend their professional services and advice to the North Manhattan Project. (See Appendix B-94.)

In an interview with the director of the Heritage Program of HARYOU-Act, the feeling of this group is typified. "I live a few blocks from here. This is my community. The library is very important to me not only for my work here but because this area is my home. People think Harlem is a cultural desert, but they just don't know. I work a lot with the library because it provides important things for my people in this neighborhood."

Within the disadvantaged group in Harlem there are three distinct levels: 1) an upwardly mobile group, mainly children, whose parents are working and are keenly interested in the opportunities for their children and themselves, both in education and cultural areas. The North Manhattan Project has very successfully reached this group of people. The children tend to belong to organizations such as HARYOU-Act which conducts special

classes on the cultural heritage of the black man. The parents are active in a wide variety of community activities and organizations and are anxious to participate in library activities;

2) families where one parent is employed at a low-paying job or who live on Public Assistance and tend to use the services of Harlem Teams for Self-Help and the Harlem Adult Training Center. The young adults and adults in this group have come to recognize that they need further education or guidance to get rewarding, satisfying employment. The North Manhattan Project has played an important role in introducing the services and resource materials that a library can offer to help this group achieve their personal goals;

3) the disaffiliated - these persons do not appear to belong to any community organization and tend to exist solely on welfare funds or outside the law. The North Manhattan Project has not successfully reached large numbers of such persons. There are instances where certain individuals have begun using the library books, newspapers, resource materials, the television or record collections. Interviews with persons from this stratum indicate their use of the library.

A 55 year old man tells of his relationship with the library to our field worker:

Oh, sure I come in this place (the adult section of Countee Cullen) all the time. I read the newspapers. I don't work. Never have done much work. I came to New York a while back and my Mrs., she works. I watched the house. She gone now. After she was gone, there wasn't nothing to do. I never had much learning. Matter of fact, I don't remember much about school. A few years back, my nephew -- he has good work -- he

took me here to a movie. Well, I saw this was a real nice place so I comed back. All my life I read a little. Now I come in most everyday. Everyday in the summertime. It's quiet here and so cool. I sort of study. Now I read real good. I learned from the newspaper. Sometimes I find some of their books for my kind. You know, someone who can't read so good. Kids today are smart. I like to watch the young ones come here to work. They study real hard today.

A 35 year old man was reading a book on the Black Muslims when our field worker interrupted him for this interview at Countee Cullen:

I use this library very frequently. Every week I read many books. I read on my job. It's vacation for me now. My people went away so they don't need their chauffeur. Most days now I go to Schomburg. Do you know about our place? (Schomburg) Those books tell the truth about my people. My babies are taught bad lies in school. I gotta study real hard to teach them straight. . .I've seen lots of things here. This is the place for my people. (asked whether his friends came) I don't have much time for socializing. My wife, she comes with her lady friends. Respectable people come in here.

A 19 year old youth in jeans and a jersey was working math problems from a basic mathematics book at one of the tables:

I'll make a deal. Can you understand this stuff? You look like you've been to school. You help me and I'll help you. (They worked together several minutes.) I left school. School's a #\$/ing bore. I left just as soon as I could. Wasn't soon enough. Don't know why they didn't throw me out on my ass before then. I'm a dropout -- D-R-O-P-O-U-T. Now I know better... Life don't swing much now. An education is the only way to get ahead. I'm going back. There's a place over there...Harlem Teams for Self-Help... I'll get there next year. (Do you come to the library very often?) Yeh, I hit this heap a lot. I ain't gonna be the dumb one in my class. I'll learn it all now and show the rest. The library's got all kind of things. Lots of learning books... I don't read no book here. Just study, or listen to them records

over there. Man, you can fly on some of them. (When did you start using the library?) I was shacked up with this chick until she went square. She went to school and grew real uppity -- had no use for my kind, she said. Anyway, she brung me here and I got a card. It's the only thing I ever had with my name on it. Coming's like a habit. (Do any of your friends use the library?) You kidding? Man oh man, my buddies, they is so strung out. They think I've gone square. They'll see. I'll be somebody -- they'll die.

Two mothers in their 30s were leaving the branch:

The project (NMP) is the best thing that ever happened around here. It's made the library a new place. I never used to come to the library. Oh, I guess I went a few times when I was in school.

I've always used the library (other woman). My mother taught me how to use the library near our home. When I got married and moved up here, I just came here (Countee Cullen). But I never did like the library like now. Why, we go to movies, classes by important people, concerts, just all sorts of things.

All these events are wonderful for people like us. We never get downtown for shows. Our children tie us down. Downtown costs too much. Our friends -- we take turns (babysitting) and everything's free. After I came here for awhile, well, I got interested in books. My boy, he's 14, comes here to study. I peeked at some of his books, so I tried it.

A few of us come together each afternoon before meeting the younger children at school. But we come often after their school. They have programs for children upstairs. We try to bring them then.

(What additional services could be offered?) Nothing could be better than it is.

I agree, but maybe they could have a place early in the afternoon for little babies. It seems like more of our neighbors could come. They're really tied down.

The projects might be more effective in reaching school children in local, public and parochial schools who belong to this group of most disadvantaged persons. Letters are sent to

Harlem school principals, inviting some of the teachers in their schools to arrange library tours, however, other channels of communication with school superintendents and principals might be explored.

A teacher in a Harlem school describes his experience.

I have been teaching for two and a half years and have taken my classes there (Countee Cullen). Our school library burned down last year. Since then it hasn't been in full operation. The kids could go to the school library for a so-called library period but they could only look. None of the books were circulating. That's when I began taking my classes to the library....No, the library doesn't contact any of the teachers. They sent a letter to the principal saying that the school could send ten classes to the library. The principal made an announcement and then anyone interested could get in touch with him. I really pressured him to let my classes go and to get other classes to go. (How many classes are there in your school?) Thirty to thirty-five. (Why were only ten invited?) I don't know. Everyone should have been asked to come considering the fact that the school had no library. I even went to the library and tried to explain the problem we faced. No luck. They said they couldn't do anything about it. (See appendix B-105)

The Community Coordinator Project of BPL probably consistently reaches a wider span of socio-economic levels than does any of the other projects. This finding may be explained by the nature of the Sidewalk Service Van and the

3-B's program. The most truly disadvantaged persons in a neighborhood are rarely attached to any organized community group, and therefore are most likely to be reached on the streets of their own neighborhoods, which is where the van operates.

Other disadvantaged groups are reached through contacts with community organizations, of which there are large numbers in Brooklyn ghetto areas. The Community Coordinators invest a great deal of personal time, as well as time on the job, cultivating acquaintances in these groups, and seeking entree to the groups to provide programs related to the library as well as to the needs of the group.

An example of this approach is the work of the senior Community Coordinator who has joined several community groups as a dues paying member. He is on the board of directors of the Youth in Action program, belongs to the Brownsville, Red Hook, and Bushwick Community Councils, and works with groups ranging in membership from businessmen to Explorer Scouts.

STAFF

PROFESSIONAL STAFF

All four projects are directed by professional staff of the sponsoring library system. Such staff have a defined hier-

archical position within their system. There appears to be, in each case, a well-established and open system of communications upward within the system. The project directors appear to be assured of the support of their supervisors in the conduct of their projects. Policy decisions seem to be made on a variety of levels, depending on the scope of the decision to be made. Insofar as could be determined, the project directors, with one possible exception, seem to have a comfortable degree of autonomy in which to operate their programs. The limitations are defined within the project proposals and the existing rules of the system.

The possible exception is in the Brooklyn Preschool Project. When this project began operation, it started to work with established preschool programs in public schools, and Head Start Centers, and day-care centers operated by agencies. These centers all tend to be well-financed and well-staffed. Their clientele tend to be the most affluent of the disadvantaged groups.

As the project continued operation and became better known, the services it offered were requested by smaller, newer preschool centers, many of which were less well-funded, inadequately staffed and equipped, and whose clientele were more severely disadvantaged. These were the grassroots programs which represented the "hard-core" poverty groups which the project supervisor believed were the group most in need of the preschool programs. However, those centers receiving the project services did not want to give them up,

and it was not possible to add aide staff to meet all the new requests.

A policy decision was made to cut back on all public preschool programs. However, this decision still did not release enough staff to meet continuing requests for service.

Another complication is that aides can be hired only once a year since preservice training is held only during the month of November. Therefore, normal staff attrition places increased limitations on the number of new programs which can be served during any given year.

The preschool centers which most clearly need the services of this project are the most seriously disadvantaged. However, the programs which have the project services have the institutional backing and community contacts which make their protests at losing service more strongly felt by the library administration than do the grassroots programs. (See Appendix A-50)

In each of the four projects, project staff have brought about changes or modification in order to facilitate optimal operation of the projects. The following are some examples of such flexibility.

In Brooklyn Public Library cards are issued to potential borrowers on the street, upon presentation of acceptable identification. This procedure permits the registrant to borrow his first book immediately. The Queensborough Public Library regulations prohibiting baby carriages in the library have been suspended during Operation Head Start programs, so that mothers with

infants can attend the programs. In the North Manhattan Project of the New York Public Library, a "special investigator" was employed who helped retrieve overdue books and encouraged the borrower to continue library use.

NONPROFESSIONAL STAFF

A major innovation in relation to the professional staffs of each of these projects is that they have had to assume the additional function of trainers of non-professional staff members. The three projects which employed non-professional aides were BPL Preschool Project, QBPL Operation Head Start, and BPL Community Coordinator Project. Because this kind of auxiliary staff is crucial to the operation of these programs, factors related to their functioning within the projects will be explored here.

Recruitment

Recruitment processes were similar in both Brooklyn Public Library and Queensborough Public Library. Want ads were placed in The New York Times listing positions available. Informal recruitment was also conducted by members of the library staffs. Queensborough Public Library also placed posters listing job openings on local university bulletin boards.

Selection

Selection was conducted by the personnel departments of the library systems. Criteria for Brooklyn Public Library included a college degree, personal references, and subjective criteria.

These were: high motivation to work with disadvantaged persons, above average imaginations, a love of books, a genuine interest in people. Criteria for the Operation Head Start Project of Queens Borough Public Library are that aides have at least two years of college and are committed to working with children.

It was reported that the personnel department of the library systems, the library administrations, and the directors of the two projects seem to share an understanding of the spirit of the projects and the kind of aide this requires. While these criteria appear to be highly subjective, observations of the programs in operation tend to confirm that the personnel departments are able to find candidates who fulfill the requirements as established.

Training

Training of aides in the two preschool projects involves both preservice and inservice instruction. However, the content of the training varied significantly in the two programs, such variations being a function of the institution and the accumulated experience of the project.

Preservice training in the BPL Preschool Program for aides joining the staff in 1966 was conducted during the month of December. The annual report, 1966-67, states:

Storytellers were introduced to the philosophy of the Brooklyn Public Library with emphasis on children's services, the concept of preschool services to children in the historical development of the Brooklyn Public Library; the criteria in selection of materials; and techniques of storytelling to three -

to-five-year-olds. Several pertinent films and discussions were used in order to highlight the purposes of the program, as well as to introduce the viewers to some understanding of the causes of poverty, problems, and needs with stress on the future possibilities of those who suffer its consequences. Fortunately, the Blue Ribbon Award winning film of 1966, The Pleasure is Mutual, was available for assistance in training which served as a guide in discussions of the value and characteristics of picture books for preparation and presentation of programs. Also, during the training month, time was allotted for new aides to observe trained aides conducting programs, strengthened by the Each-One-Teach-One method of trained aides assisting new staff in a real working situation. Each new aide later presented a demonstration followed by evaluations and critiques by peers and supervisor. Breakdown of training hours for Group VI:

Observations	24 hours
Orientation to BPL	8
Demonstrations	12
Instructions	20
TOTAL	<u>64</u> hours

Inservice training and supervision include the following:

- 1) periodic meetings (weekly or biweekly) of all the aides with the director. The content of the meeting includes a demonstration of storytelling by an aide, the showing of a socially-oriented film, or a movie of a child's storybook (Madeline, The Red Balloon). A discussion of the presentation follows, which is led by the director. General announcements conclude the session. The two training sessions observed had an informal, seminar atmosphere in which a high degree of participation on the part of the aides was noted.
- 2) observations of the aides in action by the director;
- 3) individual conferences between aide and director based on observations and the aide's reports in his daily log book.

The preservice training of aides in the CBPL Operation Head Start Project is described in the Training Manual. Aides currently employed in the program who have been with the project for more than a year received the following intensive preservice training.

The first four-hour session includes orientation of library aides through a description of the national antipoverty program, the social and educational situation of culturally disadvantaged children, and the Queens Borough Public Library's Operation Head Start Project. The method used is a lecture and a visit to a branch for observation and direct job instruction.

The second session takes two hours and is concerned with the psychology of learning in young children. Topics covered in the lecture include interests and motivation of young children, ways young children learn, influence of home and social environment, and importance of early childhood education. The lecture is followed by questions and answers and group discussion.

The third session of six hours is on book selection for young children. This lecture is followed by reviews of the professional and picture books and study and discussion of these two collections of books.

The fourth lesson of four hours is on the use of audiovisual techniques. The content is picture book programs and the operation of a film projector. Methods used are demonstrations by professional children's storyteller of film-story and film-recorded music techniques; a lecture demonstration of operation and uses of film projectors; and trainee practice, under supervision of film librarian, in threading, running projector, setting reels, and rewinding film.

The sixth lesson, two hours, is on child-parent education. It includes need for involvement of parents, stimulation of parent interest in value of libraries in preschool education, types of programs to be developed with parents. Methodology is informal talks with individual parents, informal group discussions with parents who accompany children to library programs, and development with parents of

programs geared to their interest to be conducted concurrently with children's programs.

The final lesson of two hours concerns community relations for library programs of parent and child education. The content includes community contacts to be made by Operation Head Start branch personnel and methods of contact. Methods used are lecture and printed instruction sheets.

Aides joining the program during the past year have received an entirely different kind of preservice training. Aides are trained individually in the branches by the branch librarian. They come together only for the film, The Pleasure is Mutual. The training now consists mainly of observation of experienced aides at work in the branch. The branch librarian provides books on the art of storytelling and children's books for the trainee to study. The aide is also taught the library procedure and clerical functions she is expected to perform.

Observations of aides conducting programs who had been trained under the original system and the newly established procedure has led to the following conclusion. Aides trained under the first procedure appear to be more aware of the sociological emphasis of the program. Aides trained in the newer manner by branch librarians appear to be more oriented to formal storytelling and performance of clerical duties in the branches.

Inservice training of Operation Head Start aides includes observation of the aide conducting a program and conferences by the director or assistant director with the aide and the branch librarian about the aide's performance. The director and assistant director also review daily log books kept by aides and suggest changes to be made in programs.

Attrition of Aides

In both preschool projects aides tend to be recruited mainly from two groups: college students or recent college graduates who tend to view the job as a temporary one or as a stepping stone to other careers in the service professions; and older persons, often women with growing families who favor this kind of employment because it combines satisfactory hours with community service. Attrition is higher in the former group. Many leave for full-time employment elsewhere. Others, having had experience in the library and enjoying it, decide upon a career in library work and leave to obtain a degree in library science. Some of the second group have also left the program for this reason. Normal reasons for changing jobs also account for attrition of aide staffs.

This attrition creates a problem in staffing for the BPL Preschool Program because its training program is offered only once a year. Therefore, if a number of aides leave the program for any reason during the year, the number of preschool centers which can be served is curtailed, because staff cannot be replaced in the field before new aides have completed the training program.

The QBPL Operation Head Start Project avoids this problem under their new system of training aides in branches. However, as has been noted, this system may not produce trainees as satisfactory as those produced by the formal training program previously conducted.

Personnel Policies Affecting Aides

Until June 1967, when an aide wished to take an extended vacation or needed leave from the BPL Preschool Project for personal

reasons, it was necessary for the aide to resign, and when he was ready to return to the program, he had to reapply and wait for re-employment until a vacancy appeared. The system has recently revised this policy to permit aides to take leave without pay for personal reasons, maintaining their status.

Aides in BPL Community Coordinator Project

The Community Coordinator Project employs aides who assist the Community Coordinator. The duties of these aides include working on the Sidewalk Service Van in registering people for library cards, setting up displays, giving information about books, helping browsers locate books, keeping records of books requested but not in current collections. They also assist the Community Coordinators in following up on arrangements for Community Coordinator's speaking engagements with groups, assembling collections of books and materials to be taken on speaking engagements, and following up on new registrations.

The aides, although specifically assigned to a certain Community Coordinator, often are asked to assist other Community Coordinators in their programs. On the van, two Community Coordinators and their aides often work together.

Aides in this project are trained directly by the Community Coordinator to whom they are assigned. The main part of their training consists of observing other aides and working along with them.

All aides in this program are college graduates from other disciplines than library science.

OTHER NONPROFESSIONALS

The North Manhattan Project of NYPL was idiosyncratic in

that it did not employ aides, as such. However, the following kinds of nonprofessional staff were employed and trained to be of use in the library project.

Audiovisual Person

A college graduate in electronics was retrained specifically in library work and then given the position as head of the new audiovisual programs under the North Manhattan Project. This person, who has left the project for another position, had full responsibility for equipping the Countee Cullen Branch for the new audiovisual program. He was also trained by the library staff to work with community people.

Storyteller

A college student was employed for two summers to tell stories to children. An English major, she was trained in the art of storytelling by professional storytellers at the Fifth Avenue library. "She turned out to be wonderful. It was a joy to see her work," a staff member reported.

Pages

High school students were trained to be pages.

We were offered so many high school students and even more high school dropouts by community agencies that we couldn't begin to cope with all of them --- either in training or funding. We have had to drop out some pages since the project is ending.

One of our pages was our best authority of science fiction. He was amazing. He knew exactly what we had in our collection. He had read all the books. Whenever we were about to buy science fiction books, he was always consulted. He never did only what one might expect a page to do. He was able to help people who came to use the library in this area. We try to have all of our staff work that way.

This statement, as is the next, was made in an interview by the project

director.

Clerks

We had approximately ten clerks (five full-time and five part-time). Now there are fewer. Our clerks are neighborhood people. They are high school graduates, but many of them have limited education despite the high school diploma. Having clerks from the neighborhood is excellent feedback to the library. The clerks understand what the community is interested in and can give us guidance in choosing material geared to the varying levels of education of the people. Many of the programs have achieved greater success than expected simply because the community hear about the program from friends who are our clerks.

INTERACTION BETWEEN LIBRARY AND PROJECT STAFF

Relationships between library and project staff on the professional level have been dealt with in the first portion of this section. (pp. 32.) Relationships between nonprofessional and professional library staff are more idiosyncratic and will be treated here.

In the BPL Preschool Project aides have a high degree of autonomy in the actual operation of their programs. Very few programs are conducted within a branch, but aides return to a branch base after a day's work in the field. At this time they return project books, prepare their next day's book needs from the project collection kept at the branch. In the main their only formal contact with the branch library staff is to request an occasional book which they need but which is not available in the project book collection. This occasion usually arises when the teacher in a preschool center has suggested that a particular book would be appropriate for her group because of an incident which has transpired in the group life. An example of this is the request for The Dead Bird which a teacher made when the children were evidencing concern about death. Occasionally, an aide arranges a visit of a preschool group to the branch. (See Appendix. A-71.)

The aides do, however, have informal relationships with branch staff. These are generally cordial and where they are not, they usually involve personality conflicts, not working relationships.

The aides in QBPL Operation Head Start Project are all attached to branches and conduct most of their programs there. While they are

directly responsible to the project director, they are supervised daily by the branch librarian both in the performance of project functions and in clerical functions for the branch.

Furthermore, since the branch librarian now conducts the greater portion of their training, the aides become most directly related to the branch librarian. This arrangement is generally productive of positive relationships between branch aides and branch staff. However, it also results in a greater variation in allocation of time to project functions and branch functions. The aides' assignments depend on the branch librarian's perceptions of the goals of the project and the needs of the branch.

In the North Manhattan Project the director had this comment on relationships between library and project staff:

When the project began I was very anxious that we give the people using the library the best possible service. We had to work very hard in the beginning to draw everyone together. I wanted a staff that did not look upon itself as belonging to either the project or the branch. The problem of coordinating both groups was difficult, but I think we have succeeded.

You know, I can go out on the floor any time and see most of the staff helping people and still there are others who need assistance. People walk around like they know what they are doing. Actually, it usually turns out that they have no idea what they are up to. In many cases, it's their first time in the library. They come in from the neighborhood and are scared by the library so they put up a facade.

The older clerks posed the only problems in working together. The newer clerks are both younger and recently trained by us. The older ones sometimes grumble about why they have to do something that we have insisted on with the project. They complain that it was never that way before.

Observations of the project and branch staff in action bear

out this assessment.

In the BPL Community Coordinator Project there appear to be excellent working relationships among Community Coordinators, their aides, and the branch staff of libraries in which they are based. The relationships among the Community Coordinators, their aides, and the branch staffs at some smaller branches at which the Community Coordinator Project is less well known appeared to be less cordial. The operative factor in these relationships seemed to be that the branch staffs did not completely understand what the Community Coordinator Project was attempting to accomplish, particularly when the program required of the branch staffs new approaches to the public.

INSTITUTIONAL EFFECT OF THE PROJECTS (LIBRARY IMAGE)

The projects do seem to have been working effectively at bringing into focus the relevance of the library to disadvantaged persons. The "old image" of the library seems to have been cracked for those who have been reached. The projects, without exception, have had a marked effect here.

The one area in which the library appears to be perpetuating the old image is the program of storytelling to young children. In those programs observed it appears that the method used is one in which the children are required to listen passively. Storytelling as practiced in these programs is essentially a performance rather than an avenue of communication with the children.

Most available evidence demonstrates that disadvantaged children lack a responsive environment with which they can interact meaningfully in order to develop communication skills. If a child does not have enough of these experiences early in life, he does not develop the skills which lead to reading and eventual enjoyment of books. Being a passive member of the storyteller's audience does not seem to contribute to such development.

The institutional effect of each project appears to be related directly to the overall philosophy of the system operating the project. This philosophy governs, to some extent, the general practices of the library, the attitudes of most of the staff, the institutional tone of the library as it is perceived by the public it serves. The library image is a combination of many factors.

At Brooklyn Public Library the entire staff interviewed,

including the new director, the coordinator of children's services, the coordinator of adult services, the project director, the senior community coordinator, and the director of the preschool program all seem to agree that the library is the best community resource for all types of information needed by every member of the community. The staff further agrees on possible ways to implement this objective. The central thrust appears to be not only to provide comprehensive information to the client, but to assist the client in taking the next step, which is helping him to discover how he can use the information to move toward his personal goal. This approach seems to be particularly relevant to work with disadvantaged persons.

Most people interviewed in the disadvantaged communities in Brooklyn seem to know that the library has collections of books and is a repository of information. However, many of these people are reluctant to take the initial step of entering a branch in order to find out if what is in the library is relevant to their lives. The library, through its two projects for the disadvantaged, has moved outside the institutional building and into the community to make the initial contact with the disadvantaged potential user, bringing to him materials the library has found to be appropriate.

In the Preschool Project there is not as much emphasis on moving the recipients -- preschoolers, parents, teachers -- directly into library use. The stated goals of the program do not stress this.

In the Community Coordinator Project, every attempt is made to have the street contact, or the organizational contact, be directly followed up by introducing the new user to the nearest branch. For

example, when a book is borrowed for the first time from the Sidewalk Service Van, it is supposed to be returned to the branch nearest the user's home. The Sidewalk Service Van does not return to the same location on a regular schedule, so borrowers do not establish a continuing relationship with the van personnel, but rather with the branch personnel.

In the Queens Borough Public Library the administration of the system has demonstrated that it is determined to reach the disadvantaged members of the community, not only through the sponsorship of Operation Head Start, but also through changes in organizational structure. Queens Borough Public Library has set up a "regional" grouping of branches serving the ten most disadvantaged sections of the borough. These branches are widely spread geographically because Queens, a mainly middle-class borough, has discontinuous "pockets of poverty" located on the edges of middle income neighborhoods. However, in spite of this regional organization, there are problems in carrying out the goals of the system.

The ten branch libraries in the disadvantaged group are still used chiefly by middle-class residents. Many of these branches are small and understaffed. Development of use by disadvantaged members of the community is perceived as being difficult. Aides express fear at having to canvass or hold programs in ghetto neighborhoods.

Our field worker reports:

Prior to the children's program, and for a while afterwards, I was able to have an extensive and very free discussion with the aides. From them I learned that the aides canvass neighborhoods of their choice for an out-agency program. They may also choose the site of a

program. In this case the two aides chose a middle-class area because they liked the looks of it and admitted that they would not want to go into the park in the Negro area (which is quite a distance from the branch library). They further admitted that most of the children to whom they read are not culturally deprived, and that the parents who come to the parent programs do not need the kinds of discussions which are scheduled (e.g. one of the programs was on landlord-tenant relationships, but every parent who attended was a home owner in his own right). Neither aide seemed to know the actual goals of the program. (See Appendix A-9 $\frac{1}{2}$)

Furthermore, the increase of large numbers of any users, disadvantaged or middle-class, would put demands on the inadequate facilities which could not be met, according to branch staffs. It is very difficult to determine how valid these attitudes are. That there exists a need for more professionals on some branch staffs is undisputed. Some branches cannot maintain a full weekly schedule because of staff shortages. However, the addition of library aides through Operation Head Start was designed to relieve professionals of some clerical duties they had been performing so that they could devote their time to more truly professional services. Within the scope of this study, it was not possible to determine whether this aim has been accomplished.

Operation Head Start has, however, brought about shifts in the attitude of some disadvantaged persons toward the library as an institution. By holding most of the preschool programs in the branches, the library gets the user to take the initial step in coming to the library for a pleasurable experience. Secondly, by providing free paperback books for preschoolers and pamphlets to parents it succeeds in getting reading matter into homes to form

the basis of a home reading center where none may previously have existed.

The program also encourages book borrowing both by adults and children in a relatively "soft-sell" manner: "As long as you're here for the program, why don't you borrow a few books to enjoy until the next program?" is the essence of the approach.

The problems faced by the North Manhattan Project of The New York Public Library in relation to the image of the library may be related to the fact that Countee Cullen Branch and the Schomburg Collection are located in the heart of Harlem. In a ghetto community such as Harlem, the library not only has to combat the usual stereotype of being a somewhat hushed and stuffy institution devoted to maintaining a collection of books for "smart" people, but it also has to realize that the members of the community see the library as an essentially white institution, which for Negroes may carry connotations of rejection, not-belonging, or condescension.

The image of the library as a useful resource for "smart" people but as irrelevant to the many members of the community who do not think of themselves as being "smart" is not one which needs to be erased, but reinterpreted. One function of the library seems to be "to provide something for everyone," and therefore the institution does have relevance even for the undereducated. There is a certain cachet to believing oneself not to be "smart" but nevertheless able to use a facility that is valued by those one considers to be intelligent. (See interviews in Appendix B-115, 117 .)

Changing the image of the library from that of being essentially

a white institution in a black neighborhood is more difficult. When library users see a majority of staff who are white, it reinforces their image of the white institution. However, if they see a preponderance of Negro staff, many may believe that Negroes are being assigned to the Harlem branches in order to reinforce de facto segregation. The system and the project, under standard employment practices and assignment procedures, can do little to change these feelings in the community, but within the limitations of policy have to be aware that such feelings exist and be prepared to interpret the system's policies.

One step which has proved effective is for the library to reflect the recently awakened interest in Negro history, Negro culture, and Negro pride. This approach has been demonstrated in the emphasis on expanding the book collection in relation to current books about and by Negroes, as well as offering programs related to these themes.

Our field worker in the North Manhattan Project reports steps taken to inform library users of the availability of such material:

During a tour by a group of school children, a number of kids asked to go to the bathroom or for water so the tour leader, after several attempts to get their attention, said they would stop at the bathrooms and then continue their tour. The children's librarian told them she had put book lists for them at the door. In the hall outside of the bathrooms a table had been set up with several books and piles of the booklets made under the North Manhattan Project called "Books by and about Negroes". The kids gathered around the table and seemed quite interested in the lists and examined the books together. (See Appendix B-48.).

A young librarian in training reported:

They have been wonderful to me here. I never dreamed they would let me do so much. It's been hard because I didn't know anything about Negro history. Working here is quite an experience. They just let me try all kinds of things and that's the best way to learn... It's so hard to know how to discuss Negro heritage with these classes that come. One time I referred to their people as Negroes and their teacher came to me afterwards and said that I was never to refer to black people as Negroes but as Afro-Americans. Then another time I used Afro-Americans and that teacher told me they were colored people. It's very hard to know quite what to say. (See Appendix B-57.)

The director of the Harlem Adult Training Center stated:

Many of the students do use Schomburg. It's particularly useful with the Muslims. Schomburg is good at relieving tensions they have. They are a tough group. They are always asking why isn't this done, or why do people do this, or why is it that we always hear this. They say that there isn't any literature that tells the truth. I told them about that little bookstore across the street. Do you see it there? Well, when I showed it to them, I had to back down. It's closed all week except for a few hours on Friday and Saturday. So then I told them about the Schomburg Collection and they went, of course, to prove me wrong. Well, they were amazed, and quite excited. They couldn't believe that a place they could use told the truth. But they never can be satisfied and had to find something wrong. They can't take the books out so the white institution has foxed them again. Don't underestimate the importance of getting a Muslim to admit a place has books that tell the truth. It's very significant. If the Muslims will go there and use the library, and many of them have taken part in militant programs, then the old image of the library is changing. (See Appendix B-67.)

SITUATIONAL DILEMMAS

Within each project certain situational dilemmas exist, some of which may be solved through innovative approaches, and some of which appear to be unchangeable within the given institutional limitations. For the purposes of this study, these dilemmas will be reported, analyzed, and suggestions will be made where appropriate.

PSYCHOLOGICAL DISTANCE

Two kinds of distance exist affecting library projects for the disadvantaged. They are the psychological distance between the library as an institution and the disadvantaged potential user, and the physical distance of branches from some disadvantaged populations.

As has been reported, the Brooklyn Public Library projects attempt to lessen the psychological distance between the potential user and the institution by making initial contact with the potential user outside the institution and by structuring the initial contact so that it results naturally in entry of the new member to the branch nearest his home.

What this approach does, in effect, is to postpone the initial inbranch contact by one step, although the taking of that step has been motivated by providing an immediate need, i.e. to return a borrowed book. The burden of developing rapport with the potential user passes quickly from the outside staff to the branch staff. The kind of reception the new recruit receives, the ability of the branch staff to interpret immediately to him what there is within the library which meets his needs and interests are critical to his continued use of the branch. Probably more disadvantaged persons become users or reject library services as a result of their initial experience in the branch than at any other point in library contact. This finding points out the need for training of branch staff, as well as project staff, to understand the aims of the projects and implement them in the branches.

The BPL Preschool Project may lessen psychological distance between disadvantaged participants in the program and the library over the long term, but it is impossible to demonstrate such an effect in a short-term study. Very few of the interviews conducted with parents, teachers and children show that any significant number of these persons have been motivated to seek out the nearest branch and borrow books. However, it must again be mentioned that this was not a stated goal of the program.

It does appear worth noting, however, that some preschool programs are conducted in centers which are within a block or two of the nearest branch. Even in these programs, few teachers report taking their pupils to visit the library, nor do these teachers visit the library themselves to borrow books for use with the children, even though, at many of these centers, their own book collection is extremely limited, and in some cases, nonexistent!

The preschool children do make some psychological connection with the library as an institution through the person of the library aide and the books she brings to the storybook hours. Some very young children were overheard referring to the aide as "The Library Lady", and in two instances, just as "Library". (See Appendix A-9.) They recognize the books from the library as being distinct from other books because they have plastic covers and because there is a card in the front. However, although children in this program can readily identify a book as being from the library, few can select a book which has been recently read from a group of three, two of which have not been read to them.

In the QBPL Operation Head Start project the psychological distance for those who choose to come to the program is in part lessened through the fact that most of the programs are held in the library branches. However, the outreach of this project into truly disadvantaged neighborhoods appears to be minimal. (See Appendix A-94, 104, 107 .) This circumstance may be a function of limited canvassing by library aides outside the immediate neighborhood of the branch. Aides reported that they only visited the supermarkets and laundromats adjacent to the branches. As reported above, they frankly admitted that they did not like to go into Negro and Puerto Rican neighborhoods.

Another set of observations at parents' programs held in the branches showed that, for the majority of disadvantaged persons who do attend, the programs do not appear to be meaningful. In one case, when a film was shown, the parents conversed throughout the showing and only occasionally looked at the film. When a film on prejudice was shown, the aide attempted to lead a discussion on the film which became dominated by three participants. In another instance, the aide distributed copies of a pamphlet to the parents and attempted to conduct a discussion with them, following guidelines which had been prepared. The aide, upon observing that the parents were not participating in the discussion, started delivering anecdotes from his personal life. The mothers, all of whom appeared to be older than the aide, led the observer to suspect that they believed they were being "talked down to".

In later interviews three mothers admitted that "sometimes the discussions are good," but primarily, "they are just something to put

up with." The mothers attend the programs so that the children can come to the storyhour which the children enjoy.

Such instances not only do nothing to reduce the psychological distance between the disadvantaged person and the library, but may actually contribute to the disaffection of the middle-class population because of the inappropriateness to them of the content.

The North Manhattan Project at Countee Cullen and Schomburg has attempted in a variety of ways to lessen its psychological distance from the community. One of the most successful was the scheduling of a great number of activities which are not usually associated with libraries. These programs included jazz and rock and roll concerts, which replace the chamber music concerts the library previously provided. This shift represented an honest attempt to "meet the public where it is" rather than trying to elevate the public's taste to pre-conceived standards. Psychologically, this act said to the community, "This library is interested in the things you are interested in. Here is a place where you can find things you like."

Providing gallery space for local artists and photographers to exhibit their work and providing a formal reception for the opening of exhibitions was another such approach. Poetry readings by local published poets was an extension of this concept which blended the "literary" tradition of the library with the untapped resources of the community. (See Appendix B-40, 41)

The psychological distance and the physical distance of the library from disadvantaged members of the community was lessened by the BPL Sidewalk Service Van, part of the Community Coordinator

Project. The van roamed the streets of the Brooklyn ghettos, parking at intersections, and literally moving the library services, at least in small part, to the passers-by. Many people were initially attracted by the sound of the loud jazz coming from the van's loudspeakers. "You've got to grab their attention," one Community Coordinator said, "and then they will stop and look at the books, and maybe sign up for a card." It is difficult to conceive of an approach which could be psychologically farther from the old stereotype of the library.

Some reactions from neighborhood persons stopping to look at the displayed materials on the sidewalk racks demonstrate some misconceptions the disadvantaged residents had formed about the library as an institution. "You mean I can get a card free? I thought you had to pay to belong to the library." "I can take this home with me? (indicating a book she had been looking through) I thought books had to be read in the library." "You mean children can borrow books? (This by a mother with three youngsters in tow.) I thought they had to go to the library to look at the books." "The library really trusts us to borrow the books and return them. I never knew how the library worked before." (This by a man of about 60 signing up for his first card and borrowing a book on the spot.) "The library is right on my block, but I never went in there. I thought it just had school books and hard books." (This new borrower had selected a paperbound copy of They Call Them Heroes, an easy-to-read adult format book on prominent citizens, many of whom are Negro.)

The procedure in borrowing a book initially from the van involves presenting identification, signing for a card, and getting the book stamped with the due date. The registrar explains to the

new card holder where the branch nearest his home is located, and that he is expected to return it to that branch. Most of the people who go through this procedure do not seem to know where their nearest branch is and have to be shown on a map.

Most of the individuals who borrow books in this manner do, in fact, find their local branch and return the book.

Our field worker reports an interview with an aide on the Sidewalk Service Van:

The aide told me this was a typical day on the van with the exception that there were not many children in the area. She said that usually the children arrive in the morning and do not leave until night or late afternoon. (This was a school day which probably accounts for their absence.) The response she has seen from the van has been excellent. For instance, many of the books circulated are paperbacks and the name of the borrower is not placed on the record. She explained that few books are lost in this manner. (See Appendix B-34.)

PHYSICAL DISTANCE

In general, physical distance of branch libraries from the homes of disadvantaged members of the community seems to be a less thwarting factor in library use than psychological distance. Most branch locations were determined by the individual systems long before the neighborhoods changed from middle-class to disadvantaged. The obvious exception to this is Countee Cullen Branch and Schomburg Collection of The New York Public Library.

Each branch is in physical proximity (a few blocks radius) to a very small percentage of the persons it was built to serve, be they disadvantaged or affluent. Maps developed by each system showing geographic distribution of branch users show that in all branches

heaviest use of the library is made by those persons living closest to the branch. This tendency appears to be one which even the most imaginative programs would be unlikely to overcome.

The exception, Countee Cullen and Schomburg, formed the physical base for the North Manhattan Project. The two buildings, fronting on 136th and 135th Streets respectively, are interconnecting. Geographically these branches lie in the center of Harlem, but are not the only branches of The New York Public Library in Harlem. The immediate neighborhoods of these branches are extremely disadvantaged, and are considered by many Harlem residents who live elsewhere, particularly to the west, to be unsafe. Interviews with adults who accompanied children to the library showed that they would not permit children, some of whom were as old as 11, to travel several blocks to the library alone. (See Appendix B-101.)

BOOK RETRIEVAL

This dilemma may be partially related to physical and psychological distance. It appears that once a relationship with the library is established, then the need for a particular book, a library service, or for recreational reading material, is sufficient motivation to get a person into the library, although it means that a distance must be traveled.

However, even with the implied threat that an overdue fine represents, the motivation to return the book is apparently less strong.

Other factors may operate. Among persons unused to libraries, the apparently enormous size of the book collection may be so impressive to the borrower that he cannot readily perceive the library's need to have the book returned at the due date. "They have so many books; why do they need this one right away?" Also, a disadvantaged person may have a less well-developed concept of public property and the responsibilities use of it entails. The life style of some disadvantaged persons involves an entirely different concept of time than does the middle class life style. A date stamped on a card in a book may literally be meaningless to such a person.

The presence of fines, in themselves, may mitigate against the return of a book which is overdue. For very poor people, one day's fine of five cents may not be overwhelming, but a truly poor person may not be able to find five cents on any given day. If then, he wants to return the book which he has noticed is one day overdue, but lacks the five cents, he will most likely postpone returning the book until he believes he will have the cash. Of course, the fine

increases while he waits.

He postpones the moment of confrontation, probably because he feels humiliated at having to admit he does not possess five or ten cents, and perhaps because he fears he will not be believed.

It has been demonstrated in studies of persons receiving public assistance in New York City that many of them do not have one dollar in discretionary money in a whole month. For such a person to borrow books from a fine-levying institution presents a risk he may not wish to take.

In each project observers reported isolated instances of fines being waived for individuals. There appeared to be no patterns for such remissions of fines. In some cases fines were completely waived; in others, the time for payment was extended indefinitely; in others, a schedule for payment was worked out with the borrower. A school teacher reported having varying degrees of success interceding for his pupils whose books had been lost or destroyed. (See Appendix B-205)

In another instance a class of children were unable to return their books as a group on the due date, and although the teacher notified the branch that this was due to circumstances beyond the children's control, the fines were levied. (See Appendix A-71)

If the enforcement of the rule on fines is left to the discretion of the individual librarians, it would appear that these individuals apply a wide range of criteria to determine who will pay fines and for whom they will be waived.

The attempts made to retrieve books by the North Manhattan Project of NYPL appears to be a constructive step in retrieving books

which would otherwise be lost to collections, while at the same time tending to insure the continuity of the book delinquent as a borrower. This part of the project was accomplished through the employment of a special investigator whose responsibility it was to follow up on overdue books. Unfortunately, cutbacks in staff in the North Manhattan Project prevented this service from being continued this year. This part of the program was not observed in action, but its benefits were reported in interviews.

Another step taken by this project to retrieve books quickly and less painfully to the borrowers, was to send out overdue notices much earlier than is the general practice in New York public libraries. The overdue notice arriving when the fine was still quite small often brought the borrower in with the book the day the notice was received.

Book retrieval in the Community Coordinator Project does not seem to present more of a problem than it does elsewhere in the Brooklyn Public Library, even though the initial process of registering for a card and taking out the first book is done on the street through the Sidewalk Service Van, or in public meetings, or local activities such as the Consumer Education Fair. In spite of the fact that this procedure is less formal than the inlibrary registration for a card, it appears to be equally effective in interpreting to borrowers the need to return books. (See Appendix B-34.)

COLLECTION SIZE

This factor is also related to book retrieval. The collection sizes varied greatly from project to project, depending on the emphasis placed on building or rebuilding collections. The North Manhattan Project placed great emphasis on evaluating collections at Countee Cullen, rebuilding the collections with books particularly appropriate to the population of Harlem, and the compilation of varied and intriguing book lists for readers. The book collections of the North Manhattan Project were catalogued separately and identified on the books, but were shelved with the Countee Cullen collections. This arrangement instantly improved and expanded the books available to borrowers without raising in their minds a distinction between branch books and project books.

The emphasis in the collections of the BPL Community Coordinator Project was on building a truly comprehensive collection for all reading and interest levels, and the addition of large numbers of paperback books, which could be considered as being "more expendable" than hardcover books. Another reason for this approach was that such paperback books are not only less expensive initially but need less processing by library staff, and therefore do not represent the same investment of staff time.

The preschool collections both of Brooklyn Public Library and Queens Borough Public Library projects appeared to be adequate for the storytellers to be able to make selections from for varied programs for the children, and for the children to browse in while they are at the programs. In Brooklyn, however, the collection does not appear to be extensive enough to permit leaving a supply of books at each preschool center for the children to enjoy between programs. The need for this service may not have been envisioned when the project started because the original plans called for operation within the established public school preschools and Head Start centers. However, since the project has turned its attention to the more severely disadvantaged children in grassroots centers, few of these centers can afford attractive collections of their own, and need the service.

Most children in the QBPL Operation Head Start Project do appear to borrow several books with each visit to the storytelling hours which are held in branches. They, like the children in the Brooklyn project, cannot borrow books from the Operation Head Start programs held in out-agencies or playgrounds.

DISPLAY

In all projects visited, given the limitations of space in the smaller branches, books and materials appeared to be attractively and invitingly displayed. Displayed books usually looked as if they were meant to be borrowed. There was little feeling of "Look, but don't touch."

PHYSICAL PLANTS AS FACTORS IN THE PROJECTS STUDIED

The branches visited ranged from solid examples of spacious

public architecture to small storefront branches. The older branches in all three systems looked and felt like typical metropolitan libraries with separate sections for children, young adults, and adults. They were furnished with solid tables and chairs for reading, and had wide aisles which facilitated browsing. The smaller storefront branches tended to be crowded and inadequate for the program being conducted. This was particularly noticable in the smallest Queens branches. In the Rockaway Beach branch, the children's program filled the public space available and the parents had to be crowded into the staff room which would comfortably seat about four adults.

The observers noticed that in the older, larger branches of Brooklyn, and the Countee Cullen branch of NYPL the use made of the children's sections by large numbers of apparently disadvantaged children far exceeded what they expected of "normal" afterschool use of a public library.

The observers also commented that the psychological climate of these sections was a far remove from traditional stereotypes of the library as a hushed and solemn place. Children were observed moving freely and purposefully through the sections. They chatted naturally with each other and with the available staff. They sought out staff not only for information, but also to share discoveries and to make comments on books.

It was also observed that most children's librarians knew many of the children by their first name.

The children were using the library as a place to do homework, to meet friends, to play chess, as well as a place to borrow

and return books. Such intensive library use would not have been possible in the smaller branches in Queens.

AGE SPAN

The preschool projects of Brooklyn Public Library and Queens Borough Library aimed at a very limited age group. The children served were from three to six. The parents were mainly women between 20 and 25, with a few older women in addition. Questions might be raised concerning the appropriateness of concentrating an entire project on the preschool age group which, at the present moment in national history, is receiving as much, if not more, attention from federal, state, and locally sponsored educational projects than any other single age group. It would appear, from observations made, that in those preschool programs which are not connected with a publically sponsored well-staffed, well-equipped educational program (Head Start, public school preschool program, agency operated day-care center, etc.) such attention is justified. For these children attending such programs as those listed, the preschool library projects duplicate -- in goals, if not in methodology -- educational programs these children already receive.

The age span of the other two programs: BPL Community Coordinator Project and NYPL North Manhattan Project, extends from six year olds through elderly persons, with the major concentration being on children from six through twelve and on teenagers and young adults. Extension of emphasis on a wider range of ages makes it possible for a project to try a number of different approaches to the target population. Each of these projects carried on continuous experimentation to determine which of their approaches were most effective with various age groups of readers and library users.

READING LEVEL

A discussion of reading level is appropriate only to the Brooklyn Public Library Community Coordinator Project and the New York Public Library North Manhattan Project. The situational dilemma presented in these projects is that the educational system has failed to make each child and adult truly literate. Many of the disadvantaged persons whom these projects are trying to reach read far below the latest grade level which they attained in school. Most of them are well aware of their deficits in reading ability, and most of them tend to be ashamed of their lack of ability. This fact in itself tends to alienate large segments of the disadvantaged population from library use. Some of these persons feel that their lack of reading skill will be exposed. Others believe that there will be nothing in the library which will interest them which they will be able to read. Others have developed a life style in which reading has no place at all. The library they identify primarily with the printed word and so, in a sense, they "select themselves out" of the library public.

The two projects referred to have gone to great lengths to change the image of the library as being a place devoted exclusively to the printed word, and to devise subtle measures to communicate the fact that among the vast collections in the libraries there can be easily found books appropriate to almost all reading levels and interest levels. The emphasis of the North Manhattan Project at Countee Cullen Branch on films, recordings, poetry readings, art exhibitions, photographic displays, discussion groups, and adult education groups demonstrates its determination to present the library as a community

resource for a wide range of interests.

The Community Coordinators of the Brooklyn Public Library, in their contacts with established community groups, make great efforts to arrange their programs according to the interests of the group, rather than the interests of the library. Even when the program presented is, in essence a "book talk", it is sensitively geared to its audience, and not overtly "missionary" in tone.

Both projects have exhaustively studied the interests of the disadvantaged populations they seek to serve in order to determine those books which will be most appropriate on both interest level and reading level. This concern has led to acquisition of large numbers of duplicate copies of some books, because of their fascination for, or relevance to, the lives of the disadvantaged. Examples of this approach is the number of Dr. Spock's Baby and Child Care Claude Brown's Manchild in the Promised Land, or Malcolm X's Autobiography.

All three systems have developed carefully selected lists of relatively easy reading level books appropriate for adults and added these to their project collections. The care which has been taken to assure the readers that these books will be possible for them to read easily without being condescending in approach is remarkable.

MAJOR FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The study demonstrated that many of the desired outcomes of the library projects for disadvantaged persons were, in fact, being realized. The differences among projects were differences in degree of effectiveness in relation to socio-economic stratification with the disadvantaged group and among varying age levels.

In essence, experiences in the four projects seemed to indicate that it is likely that the desired outcomes from such projects in a given system can be realized if certain preconditions are established so as to avoid or resolve some of the difficulties which are likely to occur without informed, thoughtful, and cooperative planning.

IMPACT OF PROJECTS ON POPULATION TO BE SERVED

Socio-Economic Considerations

- 1) The local disadvantaged community needs to be studied by the library and the project designed to serve particular segments of this population.

It appears that there exist several socio-economic levels within the disadvantaged community. No one program seems able to meet all the library needs of all the people.

- 2) Local community leadership who know the needs of and approaches to the disadvantaged in that community must be included in the planning of the projects.

Programs and services which solicit and use the cooperation of community leadership appear to be most relevant and successful. Initial communication with target populations seems to be best established outside the library, as has been done by the Community Coordinators in Brooklyn and by the North Manhattan Project Director.

Age Levels

- 1) In the libraries' attempts to reach preschool children, there are a variety of alternative approaches available which might have a greater lasting impact on young children. The rationale for attempting some different approaches is that since programs for the disadvantaged in libraries have relatively limited resources in terms of personnel and materials, strategies for reaching preschool children which affect other prime figures in the children's lives increase the potential for continuing support of the young child's introduction to the world of books. Some of these alternatives are:
 - a) reaching the leadership of operating preschool programs for the disadvantaged (other than those operated by the Board of Education) to develop training sessions for the staff of these preschool programs in presentation of picture book sessions;
 - b) establishing revolving loans of picture book collections to establish preschool programs in disadvantaged areas so that the children can have access to picture books in their centers throughout the week, not just during a story book hour.

c) establishing short-term training programs for parents of preschool children on techniques of story reading and picture book presentation so that parents who do not have these skills nor books in their homes can develop them and learn to select books from the library collection and read to their children at home.

d) establishing short-term training programs for junior high school students from disadvantaged areas to develop skills in picture book selection and presentation to preschool children. Such teenagers could be used as library volunteers to present story book programs to preschool children in the library, but could also be encouraged to form neighborhood groups for story reading to preschoolers, as well as to establish picture book programs with their younger siblings at home. Such an approach would have the further benefit of exposing the disadvantaged teenager to the possibility of a career in library work. Since many junior high school students in disadvantaged areas themselves have problems in reading, the contents of preschool picture books would prove to be within their reading abilities and nonthreatening to them, and might supply purpose to their developing reading skills.

e) storytelling to preschool children, as now offered, appears to be effective with those children reached, however, this approach is limited in its effect only to those children exposed to the picture book programs.

The preschool age group is currently receiving increasing attention from educational programs, federal and local, which have as a part of their objectives the introduction of books and storytelling. In spite of the fact that such educational programs may not currently be fulfilling this objective in depth, it would seem that libraries could work with these programs in more productive ways. The use of the limited resources of the library programs for disadvantaged persons which have the possibility of producing a "ripple effect" is recommended.

- 2) School age children would benefit from greater coordination and cooperation between school libraries and public libraries.

Short-term training institutes for teachers of disadvantaged children in book selection and storytelling is a service libraries might be able to provide. Such programs might be considered by the board of education as part of teachers' inservice training.

Libraries might cooperate with colleges of education in involving student teachers in short-term library training programs which could be part of the student teaching placement in order to make the new generation of teachers more knowledgeable about library services. The student teachers would also benefit from this kind of placement in that they would get to observe and work with children outside the school setting.

- 3) Increased availability of nonreading programs for young adults.

Young adults appear to be attracted to library use most easily through those programs which are not directly related to books and reading: films, music programs, art shows, poetry readings, interest groups related to careers and college. This list can be expanded as the library staffs get to know the interests of the disadvantaged populations they serve.

- 4) Consider those situational factors which prevent adults from using libraries, and provide services which alleviate some of these problems.

Adults are often prevented from using the library services because of situational factors. For example, mothers of small children indicated that they would attend library programs more frequently if a concurrent children's program (or babysitting service in the library) were provided. This approach appears to be more appropriate than planning a program for young children and then having the mothers become a captive audience to an inappropriate program for adults.

- 5) Accepting the wide range of interest levels in the ghetto and planning programs for adults at varying points on that continuum.

It appears that many adults in ghetto areas have a wider range of interests than has previously been acknowledged or discovered. An example of this finding is the interest generated by the BPL Community Coordinators in a program on investment counseling in Bedford-Stuyvesant. Libraries do provide a wide range of materials on all reading levels. Adults need to be made aware of the wealth of services and materials available on a wide range of interest levels.

SERVICES

- 1) Innovate out-of-library services to reach the disadvantaged where they live.

The service provided by the Sidewalk Service Van appeared to be one which reached the greatest cross section of the population in disadvantaged communities it visited. The number of such vans and attendant staff might be increased. This service is not only appropriate to urban areas but also disadvantaged rural areas, where the van might have a much wider range than is possible in the city. This recommendation is not for the extension of conventional bookmobile services, but rather the expansion of bookmobiles in rural areas to provide the other kinds of services the Sidewalk Service Van provides.

Since the current use of the Sidewalk Service Van is possible only during good weather months, another use might be made of it during the winter. It might be scheduled to visit other institutions commonly used by the disadvantaged where they have to wait for services: hospital, clinics, welfare offices, prenatal care centers. The waiting rooms of these institutions could be used in much the same way the streets of the ghetto are in the summer for display and registration.

- 2) Expand and vary in-library programs in relation to needs and expressed desires of the population to be reached.

This approach includes those programs already mentioned: art shows, photographic exhibitions, poetry readings, interest groups. New kinds of programs can be introduced. Examples are a writing workshop, such as the one started by Budd Schulberg in Watts; development of an after-school program where mothers can learn to read stories to their children while the children use the children's section.

- 3) Increase communication with leadership and staff in non-library community programs, agency-sponsored programs, and grassroots self-help programs concerning material available in the library for these groups.

Libraries currently have much valuable material available which few disadvantaged persons -- or the groups they are affiliated with -- ever hear about. A suggestion which involves little staff time or organization is to make available to each group known to the library

the name of one staff member who can be their "contact person" for information on services available. This name can be communicated through a letter from the library. It was discovered that even to professional staff in community organizations the library appeared as a somewhat overwhelming institution and often they did not contact the library because they did not know the name of anyone with whom to talk.

- 4) Make possible circulation of materials which do not now circulate.

Most collections of records, films, film strips, and 35mm. slides normally do not circulate from branches. These collections might be expanded so that they could circulate to community groups, and perhaps to individuals. Equipment such as inexpensive slide viewers might also circulate.

- 5) Increase circulation of paperback books.

Part of the image of the library is the feeling that books borrowed have to be returned. An alternative to this is providing an expendable collection of paperback books on a "bring one - take one" basis. Shelf space might be provided for a small collection which could be initially stocked by more affluent library users donating their once-read paperback collections. Everyone would then be welcome to "borrow" a paperback as long as he left one in its place. Some readers in the disadvantaged population might chose to keep one he borrowed in this manner and replace it with one from his own collection. No records would be kept, and as the collection became depleted, it could be restocked by a public appeal for more paperbacks.

As persons in the disadvantaged community built up their own paperback collections at home, they might take real satisfaction in contributing to the library's stock.

STAFFProfessional Staff

- 1) Training in communication with disadvantaged groups is needed not only for professional staff working in the projects but for all professional staff.

It cannot be assumed that all professional staff is equally qualified or prepared to work particularly with disadvantaged persons. The fact that this group has traditionally not been the population which the library reaches would indicate that library personnel, in the main, need further training in this area. The distance between professional library personnel and the disadvantaged community is a social one, and the problems encountered are similar to those encountered in schools where the teachers represent a middle-class culture and the disadvantaged students represent a lower-class culture. Communication is difficult for both groups, but the responsibility for establishing communication lies with the middle class group. Training which involves acceptance of differences, shifts in attitudes toward those of another culture, and techniques for bridging social distances is called for.

- 2) Selection criteria for staff to work in projects for disadvantaged persons should include a desire to work with these persons.

A chief requirement is that persons who are to work with members of disadvantaged groups should be genuinely free from condescension.

Nonprofessional Staff

- 1) Consider recruitment of nonprofessional staff from disadvantaged populations themselves.

Recent studies have indicated that there are within these populations significant numbers of college graduates and persons with two or more years of college who are currently employed in menial jobs because they do not know of available opportunities in community services. This lack of knowledge appears to be a result of institutional recruitment methods which bypass communication channels which reach into ghettos. Unfortunately, very few disadvantaged persons, with or without college educations, read the want ads in the Sunday Times.

Recruitment from this population increases the possibility of feedback to the target population of information about the library. Further, nonprofessional staff from the disadvantaged community tends to view institutional employment as a status symbol and a sign of upward mobility. Such an attitude should tend to make such persons stable employees.

Selection criteria should be flexible enough to "screen in" such persons, particularly when the preservice and inservice training provided by that library can be expanded to remedy minor deficits such candidates may have.

- 2) Training should emphasize attitudinal change and techniques of communication.

The lack of these emphases appeared to be the most serious deficits in the training programs studied. For example, it appears equally important to be able to talk with disadvantaged persons to identify what kinds of services they need and want as it is to be able to prepare an excellent program (which may turn out to be irrelevant if not preceded by such interchange).

- 3) Increments and other employee benefits are needed for non-professionals.

Attrition of nonprofessionals can be reduced through such benefits. Other personnel policies should be clearly explained to non-professionals prior to employment. Job descriptions should be clearly defined.

- 4) Supervisory lines should be clearly established.

Even though nonprofessionals have to work with a wide range of professional staff, supervision should be provided by one person and not divided between project staff and branch staff.

- 5) Project goals and methods should be clearly defined for all staff: project and branch, professional and non-professional.

Interaction between project and branch staff can be facilitated by clearer interpretation of projects for the disadvantaged to all staff.

INSTITUTIONAL EFFECT OF PROJECT (LIBRARY IMAGE)

- 1) The project serves best when it is "invisible" (truly a part of the library).

This effect has been achieved almost completely by the BPL Community Coordinator Project. It appeared to have been achieved by the North Manhattan Project until the community became aware that the project might be terminated or cut back for funding reasons.

Once projects are started it would appear that they should be institutionalized as quickly as possible, so they are truly a part of the services the library offers.

The naming of projects raises a similar problem. One branch librarian in Queens noted that disadvantaged parents who might have welcomed a storytelling program at the library for their children resented the label, Operation Head Start, investing it with implications of "poverty program". The existence of such sensitivity cannot be overlooked.

SITUATIONAL DILEMMAS

The areas indicated in the findings on situational dilemmas lend themselves less easily to the making of recommendations because they depend so much on the individual systems involved. Only a few of these areas will be treated here.

Psychological Distance

- 1) This distance is decreased by meeting the disadvantaged first outside the library.

The psychological distance of a disadvantaged person from library use appears to be directly proportional to his socio-economic status. The more disadvantaged a person is, the more it seems to be necessary to make initial contacts with him outside the library. Services such as the Sidewalk Service Van demonstrate this approach.

Book Retrieval

- 1) The sooner a person is reminded a book is overdue, the sooner he is likely to return it.

The relatively simple innovation of sending overdue notices out earlier than had been the custom seems to have facilitated return of overdue books.

- 2) The policy on overdue fines should be humanely and uniformly enforced by all staff.

When it is not possible to employ a "special investigator" to follow up on overdue books and interpret library policy to delinquents, it would seem even more important to have a compassionate policy for payment of fines. This policy should be communicated to every staff member, professional and nonprofessional, since contact is not always made with the same staff member. In doubtful cases staff should be

able to refer the delinquent borrower to a designated staff member who can interpret the policy sympathetically.

- 3) Local book drops might facilitate book retrieval in neighborhoods most distant from branches.

It appears that the motivation which gets a person to go to the library for a needed or wanted book is much stronger than the motivation to return the book by the due date. Most people are willing to expend more effort and go longer distances to borrow a book than they are to return it. Local book drops might help alleviate this problem. An arrangement might be worked out with the Post Office to permit library books to be dropped in a mailbox.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study staff read and concurred with many of the recommendations made by the Conference on Library Participation in Anti-poverty Programs, February 7-9, 1966. The findings of this study particularly support the following recommendations:

- 1) That in planning for greatly expanding school library resources and services, there should be coordination of effort with public libraries.
- 2) That librarians work through local school superintendents who are the key to cooperative and joint efforts.
- 3) That one or more library systems might profitably call a meeting of educators in their areas to discuss ways in which communication can be improved and to let each group know their services and objectives.
- 4) That librarians think of themselves as educators.
- 5) That librarians be willing to depart from traditional and established patterns of library service in order to reach people in poverty areas.
- 6) That in planning projects, libraries should include funds for paperbound books which trainees and others learning to enjoy reading and library services could take home and keep.²

It would appear that certain components of the projects studied lend themselves to replication by other library systems for disadvantaged populations. No program should be replicated as it stands, because situational factors, both in disadvantaged populations and library institutions, vary considerably. However, some components of these programs can be considered as models.

²Proceedings of Conference on Library Participation in Anti-Poverty Programs, The University of the State of New York, The State Education Department, The New York State Library, Division of Library Extension, Albany, N.Y., 1966, pp. 8-9.

The library system which is considering developing projects for reaching disadvantaged persons first needs to consider the boundaries of library service in terms of the services which are already provided by other community institutions and agencies. Libraries have an area of expertise and experience which is unique, and which is in some ways complementary to those services already available in the community. The library can operate on many fronts:

- 1) providing direct information and service to the disadvantaged community;
- 2) providing supporting service to agencies and institutions serving the disadvantaged community;
- 3) providing service indirectly to the disadvantaged community through training of staffs of other agencies and institutions.

While the latter two modes may not be as visible, and perhaps less satisfying, the long range effects, and the achievement of the goal of developing library use among members of the disadvantaged community may be greater.

The library has responsibility to the total community for providing not only information and education but also cultural recreation. It is services in the latter area which appear to be the most difficult to interpret to members of the disadvantaged community as being an important and relevant part of their lives. Most disadvantaged persons interviewed in the study seemed to know that the library was a repository of information and educational material. What they did not seem to realize was its accessibility to them, the fact that it was free, and that they could borrow it to use outside the library. It is on these points that education is needed. Such education is best provided first, through person-to-person contact and, second, through

radio and television. Printed announcements or comments rarely reach this audience.

However, most of the disadvantaged persons interviewed did not seem to perceive of the library as being a place where cultural recreation was available. These services and programs need interpretation and publicity in the disadvantaged community.