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Space, Power and the Public Library: A Multicase Examination of the Public Library as Organization Space

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SPACE, POWER AND THE PUBLIC LIBRARY: A MULTICASE EXAMINATION OF THE PUBLIC LIBRARY AS ORGANIZATION SPACE

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Abstract

This study investigates the materially-embedded relations of power between library users and staff within public library buildings and how building design regulates spatial behavior according to library organizational objectives. Most specifically it considers three public library buildings as organization spaces and determines the extent to which their respective spatial organizations reproduce the relations of power between the library and its public that originated with the modern public library building "type" ca. 1900.

I adopted a multiple case study design, employing several *qualitative* data collection methods and analysis. I conducted site visits to three, purposefully-selected public library buildings (i.e., "cases") of relatively similar size but varying ages: first, a neo-classical Carnegie library (updated with extensive renovations and additions); second, a library of the late-Modernist period containing no additions or extensions; and third, a postmodernist (and recently completed) library building (also without extensions or additions) exemplifying the most current application of library design principles. I visited each library for 5 days. Site visits included: blueprint analysis (to understand the library as place as conceived by planners and architects); organizational document analysis (to understand the library's organizational goals and service objectives); in-depth, semi-structured interviews with library users and library staff members (to understand how, and for what reasons, library users and staff use different places within the library building); cognitive mapping exercises with all interview participants (to understand how they perceive landmarks and boundaries within the library); and observations and photography (to record general library activity).

Findings indicate that—despite newer approaches to designing public library buildings, the use of newer information technologies in libraries, and the emergence of newer paradigms of library service delivery (e.g., the "user-centered" approach)—the library as an organization still relies on many of the same socio-spatial models of control as it did one century ago when public library building design first became standardized. This not only calls into question the public library's progressiveness over the last century but also hints at its ability to survive in the new century.

Keywords

Public libraries, library as place, organization space, architecture, power relations, panopticism, user studies, Carnegie libraries.

For Abby and Scout

‘NUNC SCIO TENEBRIS LUX’

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Chapter 1

1 Overview and Context

Library buildings are a form of information technology. Since ancient times, libraries of various types and forms have stored and organized countless scrolls, tablets, and codices. For example, one of the oldest purpose-built libraries on record is the ancient Library of Alexandria, constructed in the third century BCE and predating even the invention of the codex. Since then, with everything from the invention of Gutenberg's printing press in the fifteenth century, to today's various electronic media, libraries worldwide have appeared in greater numbers than before, and have incorporated an even broader array of materials into their collections. Today, computers and other forms of digital information technology have become commonplace and allow users to access library materials and services far removed, physically, from the library building itself. In light of the "books-bytes" combination, library scholarship has increased its focus in recent years on better understanding the place of libraries within the communities they serve, their attributes as social space, and their purpose in the new century. This study follows that tradition.

1.1. Introduction

A "library" can be merely a collection of information or informational materials—one that does not necessitate a proper-name organization for its administration and care, or even a purpose-built building in which to place it. More commonly a "library" is known as a formal or "proper-name" organization, one that organizes itself spatially (Hernes, 2004; Clegg & Kornberger, 2006) or as a place. By "place" I mean a fixed location defined by its greater social and cultural contexts and by the many solids and voids that give it materiality and shape (a discussion of "place" and "space" appears in Chapter 2). Even though digital forms of information will vastly increase the capabilities of the "place-as-library"—the seemingly boundless web of wireless signals, laptop computers and portable, handheld devices that make, at present, virtual libraries available from just about anywhere—I and others (for instance, Birdsall, 1994) believe the library as an organization will continue to organize itself, its administration and core activities, in the form of bricks and mortar.

Research into the library as place examines the library and its properties as a built environment—that is, how libraries operate as the material manifestations of intersecting social, cultural, political, and economic forces. This study of the *public library* as a place examines specifically how building design spatially arranges the public library as an organization in ways that support the public library's vision of itself and role within its community. Its chief aim is to map and interpret the public library as *organization space* which, in this study, is the framework for explaining the physical and social coordination of libraries on at least two different but interrelated scales: first, the ordering of materials, people and activities within libraries and, second, the configurations of different places within a library building. What do library buildings tell us about how public libraries operate as social space? This study takes the rather critical view of the public library as a civic institution interested in its own reproduction and survival as much as it is interested in meeting the needs of its users. Crucial to this approach is an understanding of how library users and staff often take for granted the "language" of space, never (or rarely) questioning how what it is they do in the library and where they do it represents merely one spatial order out of an infinite number of alternative orders that never materialized (Gieryn, 2002).

With this approach in mind, we may begin asking some fundamental questions about libraries as places: Why are public libraries designed as they are? How can design affect someone's perception of where they are, and thus who they are?

1.1.1. Study Background

In 2007 I completed a Master's-level research project about library buildings. Using Henri Lefebvre's (1991) spatial triad as a theoretical basis, I compared three Carnegie libraries in their present-day states, particularly how the three libraries had adapted as places to over a century of changing service trends. The study found that: first, Carnegie library buildings, old and outdated in the opinion of some (see Dahlgren, 1987), were capable of some flexibility as physical and social space; second, that the "historical library", a place-bound "layering" of different ages of library service, was possibly emerging as its own library type and form of community space; and third, that the spatial organization within the three libraries I examined had changed considerably over time, seemingly levelling the historically-determined

imbalance of power between the librarian and the library user (Griffis, 2010). However, these findings raised more questions than they answered. The case selection (three Carnegie libraries) had been determined to maximize variability among libraries of only one type. The study did not examine library buildings from other periods of library design. There were many possible ways of expanding on the 2007 study's original concept, and plans for a second exploratory study commenced in 2010.

1.2. Research Problem

While the phenomenon of study in 2007 was building adaptation and change, in the present study it is *the library as organization space*—specifically, the materially-embedded relations of power between the library as an information providing institution and its public. The more specific research problem explores the extent to which the social philosophies underpinning modern library design (ca. 1890-1920) continue to influence the organization of today's public libraries. The specific purpose of this research is to explore the materially-embedded relations of power between library users and staff within public library buildings and how building design regulates spatial behavior according to library organizational objectives. To achieve this, the study examines three mid-sized public library buildings as organization spaces and determines the extent to which their designs reproduce specific relations of power between the library and its public that originated with the modern public library building "type" around 1900. (An expanded discussion of the study's research questions appears at the end of Chapter 2, in section 2.3.6.)

1.2.1. What Do Library Buildings Do?

Buildings are a form of shelter. The most fundamental functions of shelter include the provision of protection, a place for people or organizations to store objects of immediate or future utility. Shelter also, to an extent, establishes territory and, perhaps more than anything else, creates a point of reference—somewhere, that is, in which "to be".

Today, the idea of shelter is most recognizable in the phenomenon of architecture: the steel, brick and glass systems of enclosure we commonly refer to as "buildings." However, just as few buildings are merely four walls and a door, even fewer buildings exist merely for reasons

of shelter. Today's buildings perform myriad functions, among them the practical (protecting people from the outside, storing belongings); the economic (buildings make money for architects and builders and also provide sites for "productive labour and entertaining leisure"); and the symbolic (buildings display wealth and establish ownership) (Gieryn, 2002, p. 35). As architecture, buildings symbolize the group- or individual needs, past and present, which made and continue to make their existence necessary. It is the building as a nexus or intersection of these forces that give them their *place*-ness, their particularity, and ultimately their purpose.

In their volume on society and space, Hillier & Hanson (1984) argue that architectural theory has been slow to develop a general model for socio-spatial studies, mainly because it assumes that such a model's two basic dimensions, the material (physical) and the social (abstract), co-exist but do not interact: "Society can only have lawful relations to space," the authors observe (p. 26), "if society already possesses its own intrinsic spatial dimension; and likewise space can only be lawfully related to society if it can carry those social dimensions in its very form." In other words, as humans we are intrinsically spatial in the way we perceive society and behave within it. It naturally follows that we shape our physical environments with an eye to our social needs.

Lawson (2001) asserts that humans communicate more through their "inherent spatiality" than they do with any other form of language: "Wherever you find people gathered together collectively inhabiting some part of our world you will also find rules governing their use of space" (p. 2). "Space," he continues,

> is both that which brings us together and simultaneously that which separates us from each other…. Architecture organizes and structures space for us, and its interiors and the objects enclosing and inhabiting its rooms can facilitate or inhibit our activities by the way they use this [spatial] language (p. 6).

Buildings, observes Gieryn (2002), "*stabilize* social life. They give *structure* to social institutions, *durability* to social networks [and] *persistence* to behavior patterns," (p. 35, emphases mine). Humans use this "language" of space without direct awareness of their participation: "Space is needed," claims Lawson (2001), "… to establish relationships" (p. 8) and, in a carefully-designed building, "space does this for us without our noticing." Implicit

in "relationships" is the idea of relations between people and things, codes of behaviour, frames of perception, and structures of power.

So why study library buildings? To begin, they give tangibility to the library as organization and provide a "face" for the library as civic institution (Wagner, 1992).[1] More specifically, they store, protect and centralize materials and other physical collections in one place (or several places, if a branch system is used) so that users know where to find them (Brawne, 1997). Library interiors contain numerous functional places, some publicly accessible and some not, from small storage closets and hidden, "back of house" (Lawson, 2001) administrative offices to multi-use community rooms, computer classrooms and in some cases even whole subject departments. Just like print classification systems, library buildings identify, label, and order their space in ways that profoundly affect the experience of discovery. By opening and closing, permitting and constraining, the library as building is constantly negotiating the extent of access users have to the contents of and activities inside a library. "Architecture," notes library architectural historian Abigail Van Slyck, "plays a central role in shaping the user's experience of the library as a place," (2007, p. 221). "A building's plan determines which interactions—with books, with library staff, with other users—are possible and which are impossible. The three-dimensional qualities of a building's interior spaces, as well as the furnishings and fittings within those spaces, constitute a sort of stage set that encourages users to play certain sanctioned roles, while making others seem unthinkable."

Library buildings give tangibility to the library organization's adopted philosophies of service (Van Slyck, 2001) and prescribe actor behaviour accordingly by affecting the staff and user's perception of themselves in relation to their immediate surroundings. Public library buildings are designed so that actors behave in taken-for-granted ways according to the library organization's vision of itself. This "taken-for-granted" form of behaviour implies what some have called the "silent language" or "hidden dimension" of spatial order (Hall, 1966).

[1] As Brawne (1997) notes: "It would be impossible to divorce a symbolic aspect from the library building. It enshrines our belief in knowledge as an essential element of our culture; indeed many aspects of our culture are held within the library. Symbol and reality become enmeshed. This may in fact be one of the reasons why we continue to construct libraries" (p. 8-9).

1.2.2. Library Buildings and Social Space: A Need for Research

As the following chapter will cover, most published literature about the library as place is theoretical or speculative; very little of it supports its claims with original fieldwork. Moreover, studies of library buildings or libraries as places (for instance, see Leckie & Buschman, 2007) are place-space oriented and very few consider space as "the materialization of power relations" (Taylor & Spicer, 2007). It seems the "spatial turn" (Massey, 2004) characteristic of several of the social sciences over the past two decades has arrived relatively late in the library research field. Van Slyck (2007, p. 222), whose work on Carnegie libraries remains one of the few studies of the public library as social architecture, notes:

> [I]t is somewhat surprising that scholars of library history have been slow to recognize the importance of library architecture to their work…. Adopting historical methods that rely exclusively on written sources, they have tended to ignore material culture and the historical evidence that is built into the very walls of the library itself. As a result, these scholars have often overlooked opportunities to explore attitudes that were so ingrained in the culture that they could either not be verbalized or were not considered worthy of verbal expression.

Library buildings are indeed what Gieryn (2002) called "black boxes"—buildings that lock inside their final design the social forces that shaped them—and remain a much neglected aspect of LIS research. Because the library building is the outcome of complex social and political processes (Wagner, 1992), it renders the library's service philosophies virtually transparent to the clientele it serves.[2] It is thus critically important to examine libraries in this manner, since—despite the well-known "deserted library" prophecy (Hart, Baines & Jones, 1996; Carlson, 2001), on which library architects have cast great doubt (Brawne, 1997, Lukez, 1997)[3]—the library building is and will remain a fundamental part of the public library as organization (Birdsall, 1994; Gorman, 2000).

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[2] "[M]y fear," writes Van Slyck (2001, p. 523-4), "is that the virtual library will render the philosophy of library service invisible and that such invisibility will insulate the library from impassioned public debate about who has access to its resources. That loss, I would argue, is more than we should be willing to bear."

[3] Indeed, as long as the print book exists, library buildings will, too: "[W]e are at present not certain how long… electronic forms [of information] will last," writes library architect Michael Brawne: "We know that books will survive centuries without their content being affected in any way. The deterioration of electronic data and the relative ease at which it can be altered are both matters of serious concern," (1997, p. 9). "Despite our transference from physical to virtual realities," adds library architect Paul Lukez (1997), "we are social creatures who need to belong (and be seen to belong) to groups and communities. Virtual simulations cannot meet all of our interpersonal communication needs. The architectural challenge is to design libraries that synthesize both the real and virtual worlds while still meeting the constantly changing demands of technological developments," (p. 13).

A better understanding of how smaller—or, in this study, "mid-sized"—public libraries structure their space will not only add to our understanding of the library as a place but also to our understanding of the public library as an organization, including its vision and its goals. It will also add to an important (and growing) literature about mid-sized libraries. As Wiegand (2011) indicates in *Main Street Public Library*, we know little about the overall history of mid-sized libraries. He claims that in the United States approximately 80 percent of all public libraries serve "small towns" (centres having 25,000 or fewer people, as he defines them). It is not unreasonable to believe that in Canada smaller and mid-sized libraries similarly outnumber the larger, central public libraries.[4] In any event, it is clear (see Chapter 2) that most studies of public libraries as places use larger libraries as examples for study. Since the overwhelming majority of libraries in North America fit the smaller or "mid-sized" (see Chapter 3) variety, it is time we began focussing our analyses of libraries as places more on this type.

This study adds to that literature. It determines, specifically, the extent to which the library's spatial construction reproduces the materially-embedded relations of power between the library and its public that originated with the modern library building "type" around the turn of the last century. It adds to our understanding of how the two dimensions of the public library—the library as organization and as place—interact. Findings may be of value to researchers of the library as a place and also to library planners, administrators, and practitioners.

[4] For instance, although Alberta contains only two urban centres that exceed 100,000 people (Calgary and Edmonton) the international library directory (at www.libdex.com) lists as many as 93 public library systems in the province. In Ontario, where, according to national statistics, only 24 urban centres exceed 100,000 people, the same directory lists at least 354 public library systems currently operating in the province. A great many of these libraries are quite small and have been for a long time: for example, the town of St. Marys, Ontario, which currently has a population of just over 6,500 people, has had its own municipally run public library since 1896.

Chapter 2

2 Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Several literatures inform the present study, most particularly the library as place and public library literatures. There are also several theoretical literatures, from historical theories of public library development in the West to theories of place, space, social space, and finally organization space. Here I examine these literatures in detail; I also provide an historical overview of the formation of the public library as a building type in North America. Last I introduce the study's research questions and explain how each of them will lead to an in-depth analysis of the public library as organization space.

2.1 The Library as Place

The term *library as place* refers to, among other things, the study of libraries as built environments including their cultural, geographical, and historical contexts, as well as their representative properties as social, political and informational space. A good explanation can found in the introductory chapter of Leckie & Buschman's (2007, p.3) *The Library as Place*:

> We recognize libraries as physical entities where a complex mix of activities, processes, actions, and performances occur on a daily basis. We know that they acquire an ever-changing array of cultural resources for public use.... Accordingly, a wide variety of people (both users and staff) visit libraries, bringing their individual values, beliefs, expectations, assumptions, daily practices, and cultural awareness. How does this complicated set of characteristics, including elements from the personal, the private, the public, the physical, the intellectual, and the cultural, coalesce into the space or place we call the library?

Interest in the library as place developed a decade ago or more, arguably in reaction to the emergence of virtual libraries and the "place as library" paradigm. Interest in space and place was growing in several of the social sciences (Massey, 2004; McGregor, 2004a). In 2001, Carlson published his controversial article "The Deserted Library", which implied that with the emergence of virtual libraries the traditional concept of the academic library as a physical "place to go" could well decline. Studies of academic libraries as places soon followed in great numbers. Among these were Engel & Antell (2004) and Antell & Engel's (2006) two-part examination of faculty members' use of campus libraries as well as Shill & Tonner's (2004) examination of the effects of building renovation on library use. Studies of public libraries as places have become almost as common; two examples are Lees' (1997) study of

Vancouver's central library as civic space and Leckie & Hopkins's (2002) comparison of Vancouver's and Toronto's central libraries. (These two studies will be reviewed more closely in the following sections.) Monographs about the library as place have also appeared, among them Russo's (2008) inventory of library buildings in California, *The Library as Place in California*, and, perhaps most comprehensive among them, Leckie & Buschman's (2007) edited book of scholarly studies, *The Library as Place: History, Community and Culture*—both of which have become commonplace in academic collections.

2.1.1. Current Research and Trends

Nearly all research dating from the beginning of LIS studies is attributable in some way to our understanding of the library as a place since, until only recently, conceptualizations of "the library" were synonymous with the idea of a building or a physical place. A survey of some of the most recently published journal literature reveals some of the many themes of interest, including:

- how libraries as places affect social interaction, exchange and connectedness among members of different ethnicities, ages, classes and communities (Aabo, Audunson & Varheim, 2010; Fialkoff, 2010; Johnson, 2007; Johnson & Griffis, 2009; McDermott, 2009; Varheim, 2007, 2008, 2009; Couri, 2009);
- how libraries operate as places of literacy and interactive learning (Barratt & White, 2010; Yuko, 2009; Duderstadt, 2009);
- how libraries operate as places of inclusion and exclusion (Haffernan, 2009; Couri, 2009; Kleiman, 2009; and Smith, 2009);
- the greening of library facilities in the new century (Bushnell, 2009); and
- even more traditional focuses such as the changing modes of reference service (Donghua et al, 2009) and library user satisfaction (Gerke & Maness, 2010).

There exist relatively few evidence-based studies in the literature, however. Database searches will uncover dozens, possibly even hundreds, of articles using "library as place" as a descriptor—all replete with opinion and conjecture but relatively few findings supported by evidence derived from fieldwork. As Shill & Tonner (2004, p. 148) observe, "Discussions about the 'library as place' often occur in a context of speculation uninformed by validated

empirical evidence." Recent doctoral theses, including Cavanagh's (2009) study of reference librarianship as an epistemic, social-relational practice, and Most's (2009) case study of a northern Florida public library system as place, have reversed this trend.

2.1.2. Libraries and Space

Some library as place studies, though not primarily concerned with library design, do consider social space, organization and power in their research questions. Leckie & Buschman's (2007) book, if used as a starting point, explores a multitude of library-as-place topics worth reviewing in detail. Some of the book's earliest chapters take historical perspectives: for example, Arenson's (2007) examines American social libraries as places at their zenith of popularity (ca. 1800 to 1860); Hersberger, Sua and Murray (2007) recount the history of the Carnegie Negro Library in Greensboro, North Carolina; and Curry's (2007) account of the Vancouver Carnegie Library's changes over a century of community service.

Taking a gendered space perspective, Arenson (2007) explains how social libraries were primarily "gentlemen's clubs" (p. 57) for young professional men new to larger cities and in need of somewhere to spend their leisure time. Most social libraries were lavishly furnished and ornately decorated, acting as "showrooms" for library members and fashioned after the private parlours of the elite classes. Arenson argues that the decor of these social libraries greatly influenced the decor and atmosphere of the first public library reading rooms and also played a significant role in influencing gender segregation in early purpose-built public library building design. Curry (2007) and Hersberger, Sua, and Murray (2007) also examine the library as place from an historical perspective; the former's analytical chronology of the Vancouver Carnegie library, which was opened in 1903 in what was then the heart of British Columbia's largest and most industrially prosperous city, examines the building's ability to adapt over a century of changing library service philosophies, changing public needs as well as demographic and urban change. Curry's work is bricks-and-mortar intensive, testifying to the flexibility of historical library buildings in larger urban landscapes where change is constant. The latter study, Hersberger, Sua, and Murray's (2007) account of the Greensboro, North Carolina's 1924 Carnegie Negro Library, examines how, over its forty years of service, the library helped organize and define a "community within a community",

becoming “the place” where Greensboro’s African-American population would socialize free from the imminent dangers of racial prejudice.

Other studies in Leckie & Buschman (2007) examine libraries as places of organized community. For example, Rothbauer’s (2007) study of the spatial practice of LGBQ users at a public library examines the extent to which the public library, in its traditional roles as a “storehouse” of information and a “safe place” within the community, includes LGBQ patrons in its vision of universal inclusiveness. Rothbauer argues that though the public library often provides some materials of interest to LGBQ library users, such users feel excluded and look elsewhere in the community for space. McKenzie et al’s (2007) study of a knitting group and a child/caregiver storytime program at an urban branch library examines how women “[transform] the space of a public library program room into semiprivate or private realms” (p. 117). Comparing their findings to those of Leckie & Hopkins (2002), McKenzie et al (2007) conclude that modes of social interaction and behaviour differ highly from behaviours seen in the more “public” book stacks and reading areas of the library—that though users are “among strangers” in a program room, the program room invites a greater level of intimacy. Fisher et al’s (2007) study of the new Seattle Central Library building investigates the extent to which the new building acts as a “third place” (i.e., place of informal social gathering and exchange separate from work and home [Oldenberg, 1999]). The authors conclude that, while the new Seattle library building does not exhibit all “third place” characteristics, it does facilitate some regular interaction between users and staff and a shared feeling of personal benefit.

Studies of academic libraries have also been helpful; for example, Bennett’s (2006) review of academic library architectural history, which discusses the changing spatial paradigms that have informed academic libraries as places over the years. Bennett’s work finishes with a discussion of new spatial paradigms that mix the previously segregated functions of reference services, collections, computer labs, reading space, and information technology support into a blended model which enables increased autonomy for users. (Today called the “learning commons.”) Some studies in Leckie & Buschman’s (2007) volume focus on the academic library as a place; for example Antell & Engel’s (2007) study of academic libraries, their

patterns of use and multiple meanings among a multigenerational sample of faculty users at one university library system. The study concludes that academic libraries are not becoming "deserted" but continue to provide a multitude of beneficial services for scholars. Scholars, for the most part, tend to value the library as a physical place quite strongly apart from any electronic resources offered to them. However, there are generational differences worth noting: older scholars tend to value the library as a place for long periods of uninterrupted work more than younger ones, and younger scholars tend to value electronic access to materials more than older scholars. Oddly, however, the study found that the academic library's "conduciveness to scholarship" is "vastly more important" to younger scholars than to older ones. Given's (2007) work examines the information behaviour of undergraduates and in particular the role the library plays in the information-seeking process and its place on the larger "information space" of the university campus (p. 179). Given argues that students as a group desire cleaner, more "welcoming" places that permit greater physical comfort as well as places that are more dynamic, flexible, and conducive to a broader range of information behaviours and needs. Given concludes that academic libraries, often slow to respond to change and often limited in funding, will have to adapt to this new vision of the academic library in order to survive.

2.1.3. Key Studies

Although the literature on public libraries is endless, a number of recent qualitative studies about the public library as a place and its relationship with the public library as an organization are helpful. To begin, Lees' (1997) study of Vancouver's central library analyzes the library building as both material and ideological forms of public space. Lees juxtapositions two opposing conceptualizations of public space and examines their presence in the final design of the library building. The first type is Foucault's *heterotopia*[5], a utopian vision of postmodern civic space where different ideologies can coexist; second is Sorkin's *ageographia*, a dystopic vision of space characterized by "Disney-style simulations" and increased forms of surveillance (Lees, 1997, p. 322). As ageographic space, the Vancouver library building employs a "simulated Roman Coliseum" exterior, thereby relying on "an image drawn from history" (p. 343) to establish its authority. Lees claims that the building,

[5] A concept that Lees explains with little clarity, calling it an "underdeveloped" concept based on only two brief articles written by Foucault.

slightly removed from Vancouver's downtown centre, uses a mixture of public (i.e., library) and private (i.e., commercial shops) space on its interior—an approach intended to encourage gentrification of the library's surrounding neighbourhoods. As heterotopic space, Lees argues, the library still retains its traditional intellectual symbolism and informational functions by remaining a public place in which users may resist and contest its ageographic qualities. Lees suggests a new label for such places, the *autopia*, where both the civic and the private (capitalist) spatial orders can coexist acceptably.

Another study involving the Vancouver central library, Leckie & Hopkins's (2002) study of central public libraries in Toronto and Vancouver examines the place of the central library in the urban context. The researchers found that both central libraries attracted a broad range of users, and both are regarded as safe places within their respective communities where people tend to stay for extended periods of time to engage in purposeful study and minor amounts of social interaction. Overall, users are free to "pursue their own uses of the space (within the usual expectations about appropriate behaviour in public places)" (p. 354). The library, in other words, retains much of its more traditional roles as informational and democratic space; the researchers warn, however, that "private market interests" encroaching upon the library "and not advances in information technologies" pose perhaps the greatest "threat to [the public library's] multifaceted role as a successful public place" (p. 326).

Most's (2009) multicase study of a rural library system in northern Florida investigates several aspects of the public library as a place at once, including: library user types and groups; user perceptions of the library and its services; user perceptions of library buildings; and staff and user perceptions of the library's role in their community. The study found that a high number of library users valued, more than any other service, access to computer technology and the internet, and that the library's place in the community is conceptualized across a broad spectrum of roles, from a community meeting place to politically and religiously neutral space, and a place that offers its users information about myriad subjects. The study also found that while library users had positive things to say about the libraries as buildings, staff members were more apt to criticize such things as service desk placement and desk size, sight lines from service stations, and even things such as parking lot inadequacy.

However, Most found that opinions about library building design had no substantial bearing, overall, on the degree to which people value public libraries as places.

Most if not all of the studies reviewed above consider the library as representational space: gendered space, civic space, community space, informational space, and so on. Only one study could be located that examines the public library and the materially-embedded relations of power between the library organization and its users. That study, completed by Cavanagh (2009), examines reference transactions at several branch libraries of a major urban public library system, and offers this study much insight about the public library as an organization and how its values are manifest in its physical design. Cavanagh's work, an ethnographic case study using participant observations of reference transactions, interviews with library staff members and document analysis, examines the act of the reference interview as an epistemic practice in today's public library. Cavanagh (2009) centers her study's viewpoint on the notion of the "lived experience of the reference desk" (p. 148), which acts as the material and conceptual boundary between "institution" and "client" where much of the library's identity as a "knowing organization" is constructed and enacted. Her work runs consistent with historical accounts of the modern public library floor (Van Slyck, 1995; Breisch, 1997; and Black, Pepper & Bagshaw, 2009) all of which emphasize the centrality of the "charging" (Van Slyck, 1995) desk (or the service or reference desk) on the floor of the library. Cavanagh's work also situates the practice of public librarianship beyond the status of a mere service profession; the public library as a "knowing organization" is charged with facilitating access to "useful knowledge" (see Wiegand, 2003). Reference service, Cavanagh concludes, is in fact an epistemic, socio-relational practice that cannot as yet be replaced with electronic counterparts. "The public library has a unique organizational culture consisting of traditional, long-held values that are also being revisited in this age of advanced information and communications technology," she remarks (p. 46). "Exploring the public library as a knowing organization might offer public libraries another way of understanding their role in this changing information environment." Exploring further the relationship between the public library as a "knowing organization" and its physical organization beyond just the reference desk would indeed be valuable.

Studies of public library buildings, on the other hand, have been greater in number than studies of librarianship in general. Key works include Oehlerts's *Books and Blueprints* (1991) and the recently published *Books, Buildings and Social Engineering* by Black, Pepper & Bagshaw (2009), which examines public library architecture and social control in England up to the 1930s. Works with a narrower focus include Breisch's *Henry Hobson Richardson and the Small Public Library in America: A Study in Typology* (1997), which examines Henry Hobson Richardson's six library buildings and their influence on late-nineteenth century library design.

Studies of Carnegie libraries, among them Griffis (2010) and the aforementioned Curry (2007) and Hersberger, Sua & Murray (2007) works, have examined the ways in which Carnegie libraries have served and adapted to the changing needs of users over decades of service. Other historical perspectives about Andrew Carnegie's library philanthropy, including Koch's *A Book of Carnegie Libraries* (1917); MacLeod's *Carnegie Libraries in Wisconsin* (1968); Bobinski's seminal *Carnegie Libraries* (1969); Beckman, Langmead & Black's *The Best Gift: A Record of the Carnegie Libraries in Ontario* (1984); Martin's *Carnegie Denied* (1993); Van Slyck's *Free to All: Carnegie Libraries and American Culture 1890 to 1920* (1995); Jones's *Carnegie Libraries Across America* (1997); and Boyer's *Local Library, Global Passport: The Evolution of a Carnegie Library* (2008); examine the origins of the Carnegie program and its role in the development of the modern public library as a building type.

Monographs about newer library buildings are comparatively few. Nevertheless, Mattern's (2007) study of new central public libraries examines what one might call the "new monumentalism": the central public library building as a symbol of urban prosperity in the age of the knowledge economy. I mention many of the above works, albeit selectively, in the following overview of the evolution of the modern public library building.

2.2. The Modern Public Library Building, 1850-2000

Baumann (1972) cites three major factors that have influenced the evolution of public library buildings since 1850: (i) the increased production of books (and, one might add, the

increasing number of different formats, particularly electronic); (ii) social improvements (i.e., in public education and increasing literacy rates); and (iii) advancements in construction technologies. Some sources identity a fourth influence: the Carnegie library program (Oehlerts, 1991; Harris, 1995), which funded an unprecedented number of small and mid-sized public library buildings at a time when North American centres were in need of funds for library construction (Bobinski, 1969). This section will provide an overview of the modern public library's emergence as a building type and its changes over the last century.

Before the advent of modern library buildings, most libraries in North America (academic, public, social libraries, Mechanics' Institute libraries), were merely adjuncts to larger buildings and consisted chiefly of reading rooms. They were rarely purpose-built, standalone buildings. Purpose-built public library buildings were relatively few prior to Andrew Carnegie's library philanthropy (see Beckman, Langmead and Black, 1984; Oehlerts, 1991; Bruce, 1994; Harris, 1995; Van Slyck, 1995; Breisch, 1997; and Cohen & Cohen, 2003; among others) and found in large centres only. As the following overview will show, it was during the Carnegie library movement (ca. 1898-1920) that the "modern" public library building came into fruition. As Van Slyck (1995) argues, while Carnegie's library program did not single-handedly standardize public library design, it was his funding of so many buildings in such a relatively short span of time that "accelerated" smaller and mid-sized public library design into standardization. (Since after 1900, the central public library building evolved along an almost entirely separate route from smaller and mid-sized public library buildings[6], and since this study examines mid-sized buildings only, the overview below focuses heavily on the history of the smaller and mid-sized public library buildings.)

[6] This distinction is made obvious in Oehlerts (1991). Once open access became more or less commonplace in smaller public libraries (a model that eventually necessitated mixing books and readers in the same space), larger, central library buildings—almost all of which remained closed access (and kept books locked away in bookstack "cores", a model that eventually culminated in the development of subject departments in the mid-1920s [see pages 86-90])—increasingly became their own type and have, arguably, always remained so. For an even more thorough exploration of this process (and most particularly, how this caused the Carnegie library program much frustration in their increasing efforts to control library forms from 1908 onward), consult Van Slyck (1995) pages 85 to 100: "Even after 1908, when design review was a required part of the [Carnegie] funding process, central libraries continued to reflect a concern with monumentality that went quite against the principals of efficiency that Bertram [Carnegie's secretary and overseer of the library grant program] espoused so forcefully for other library types," explains Van Slyck (1995, p. 85-6). "An important part of the explanation is that the library profession was unable to resolve opposing philosophies of the arrangement of large urban libraries that had first been articulated in the 1870s and 1880s." Speaking specifically about Carnegie's languishing interest in funding large, central libraries in the last years of the Carnegie grant program (ca. 1908-17), Van Slyck continues: "Designed and built independently of the planning principles usually advocated by the Carnegie program, central libraries in urban centres reflected local priorities and desires more directly than other [i.e., smaller] library types constructed with Carnegie money" (p. 90).

2.2.1. Book Halls, Bookstacks, and the Richardson Library, 1850-99

In the early days of public libraries, nearly all major institutional or organizational libraries were closed access. Users and books were not allowed to mix directly; a user located a book in the catalogue, and filled out a request slip. A library worker then fetched the requested book from the shelves. Library collections were usually quite small by today's standards.

In these early years, libraries were usually planned using one of two spatial models. The first was the book hall model, which was basically a large, oblong chamber with bookshelves lining the perimeter (see figure 2i). Study tables and chairs filled the centre. Sometimes galleries added a second level; in later years, self-supporting "wall stacks" provided additional room when collections grew. One of the earliest (and largest) examples of international stature was Henri Labrouste's Bibliotheque St. Genevieve in Paris, France (opened in 1853). The building was a long, rectangular two-storey building whose topmost floor was designed as a bookhall. Though bookhalls were common in the United States, the idea of the large bookhall eventually made its way to North America, and by 1858 the first Boston Public Library building opened to the public. Another bookhall library of note was the Cincinnati Public Library of 1874.

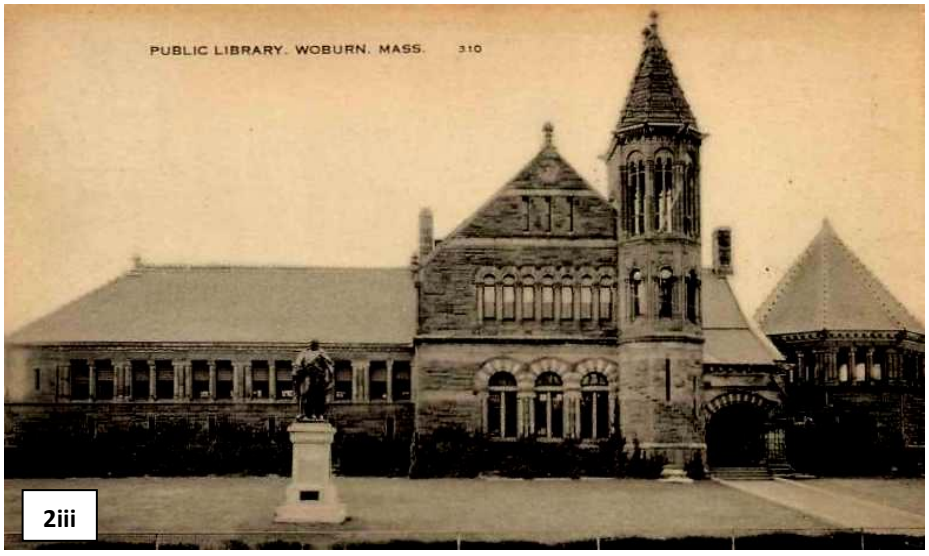
By the late nineteenth century there emerged the "bookstack library," a concept which separated readers from books by placing the entire collection in its own wing containing self-supporting, floor-to-ceiling, cast-iron bookstacks (see figure 2ii). The bookstack and reading room that Henri Labrouste designed for France's Bibliotheque Nationale (finished in 1868) gained international attention. Well-known, North American bookstack libraries of the period included Harvard's library at Gore Hall (opened in 1838, upon which was later added a bookstack wing; see 2v), and the largest bookstack library ever built, the Thomas Jefferson building of the Library of Congress (completed in 1896). In these early days, libraries with small collections usually adopted the book hall model while libraries with large collections adopted the bookstack model.

2i

2ii

The two most common types of library in the late 1900s: the bookhall library (far left) and the bookstack library (immediate left).

(Public domain; from Snead & Co's *Library Planning, Bookstacks and Shelving,* 1915.)



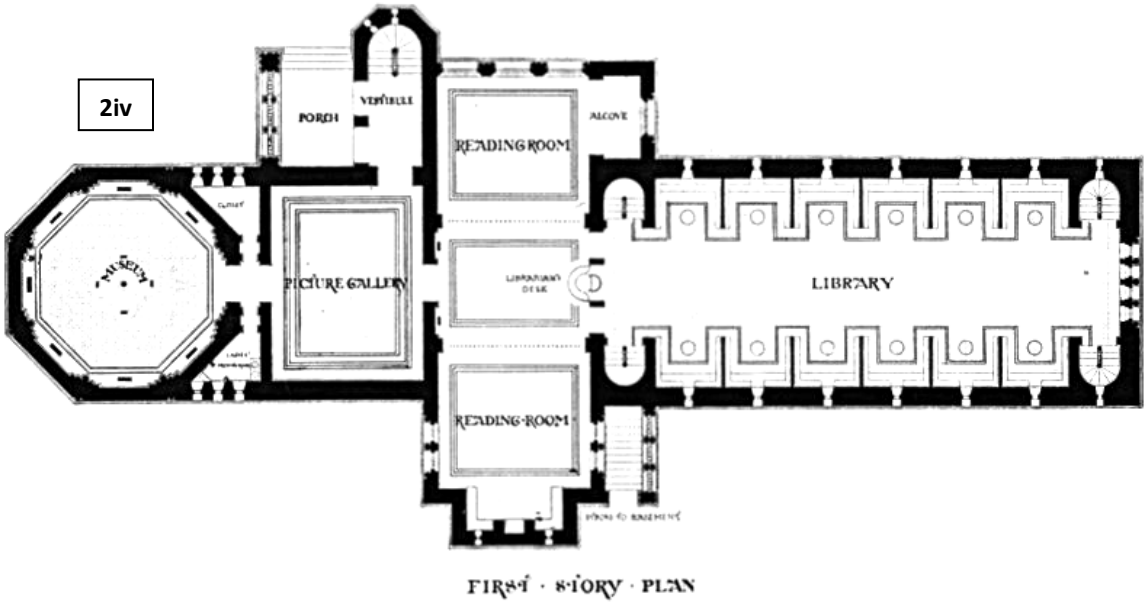
2iii

(Left) *Richardson's Winn Memorial Library at Woburn, MA, perhaps the best known example of Richardson's application of the Romanesque style.*

(Public domain; postcard from author's collection.)

(Below) *Floor plan for the Winn Memorial Library; note the* delivery *counter at centre.*

(Public domain; from Wikimedia Commons: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Winn_Memorial_Library_(Woburn,_MA)_-_first_story_plan.jpg.)



2iv

FIRST · STORY · PLAN

By the 1870s Henry Hobson Richardson, an Ecole des Beaux-Arts-trained architect of cathedrals (and later, of office buildings), became the first professional architect in America to specialize in library design (Oehlerts, 1991; Breisch, 1997). Richardson's libraries were modelled on a double-axis footprint (see 2iv), a form he borrowed from the knave-transept model used in cathedrals (Van Slyck, 1995). Richardson favoured the Romanesque style (see 2iii) and decorated his libraries with octagonal towers, cavernous, low-hanging arches and heavy stonework (Oehlerts, 1991; Van Slyck, 1995). As usual, access to books was closed to users; reading rooms often contained chairs and tables. The Richardsonian library building was based largely on the concept of the librarian as "gatekeeper" of the collections. This was most evident in the double-axis structure of the library (see 2iv): Richardson invariably placed the librarian's delivery counter at the point of intersection (where, it is worth adding, one usually finds an altar in a church). The delivery counter served as the physical barrier between the books and the users. This spatial order was especially important in the early age of philanthropic paternalism, as Van Slyck (1995) argues, since the librarian acted as a kind of mediator between the library's wealthy (and often deceased) benefactor and the users or "guests" that visited the library building. Although Richardson designed only six library buildings before his death in 1886, his library designs were so admired that other library architects often imitated his work (Oehlerts, 1991; Breisch, 1997).

Demolition of Gore Hall, 1913; note the five tiers of self-supporting bookstacks. (Public domain; from Snead & Co's *Library Planning*.)

By the late nineteenth century, the free public library movement had been gaining momentum throughout New England and parts of the American Mid-west and West Coast. Progress was comparatively slow in Canada, although the province of Ontario passed its first free public library legislation in 1882. Black, Pepper & Bagshaw (2009) refer to this period of public library infancy as the "civic" period (p. 28-32) of public library development, when enthusiasm for free public libraries was directly linked with a sense of prosperity and civic pride. The public library both reflected and contributed to local economic growth "in the [ongoing] competitive struggle with other towns for supremacy in urban social progress" (p.

29). The spread of public libraries reflected North America's increasing literacy rates, the spread of public education, and the advent of "recreational" reading (Martin, 1998). The public library was thought of as a storehouse of knowledge—a "cultural powerhouse" (p. 29) of the town. The core values of the "civic" public library were utilitarian and meritocratic and focused on good citizenship and the development of the individual.

2.2.2. The Carnegie Library, 1900 to 1920

With the opening of the first, fully-tax funded major public library building project, McKim, Mead & White's Boston Public Library at Copley Square (completed in 1894), interest increased in new ways of designing standalone, purpose-built library buildings. With the increasing status of librarianship as a profession, librarians increasingly sought a voice in the debate over effective library design (Oehlerts, 1991). William Frederick Poole, a founding member of the ALA and a proponent of functionalism, urged his colleagues as early as 1879 (around the time of Richardson's libraries) to "[a]void everything that pertains to the plan and arrangement of the conventional American library building" (quoted in Lushington, 2002, p. 3). Poole advocated something he called the "book-room" plan (a forerunner to the later subject department model), which he later employed in his proposed concept for the Newberry Library of Chicago in the late-1880s (Rogers, 1976).

In the 1890s, debates about the merits of closed versus open access designs for smaller and mid-sized libraries become commonplace. Opponents of the open access model warned against the mutilation and theft of library materials, the spreading of bacteria and diseases, and general disorder in the library. Proponents spoke of the greater freedom for users and the efficiency of mixing readers and books more directly. One figure who saw the potential of the open access model was John Cotton Dana who, in 1897, declared that the public library building might be better modeled after factory buildings or offices rather than museums (Mattern, 2007). For a brief period in the 1890s a half-open, half-closed model prevailed in some libraries known as the "safe-guarded open access" model. This model allowed users into stackrooms but the placement of the librarian's desk was at the entrance so that users were in full view of the librarian at all times and could not leave the stackroom without passing the librarian's desk.

It was in 1898 that philanthropist Andrew Carnegie began his "national" phase of library giving,[7] the phase during which the modern public library "type" developed. Carnegie's grant program followed a simple set of rules: Carnegie libraries had to be free, and communities had to pledge to support the library through local taxation. Size of a community's population determined the size of the grant, which ultimately determined the size of the library building. Other than that, in the early years of the program Carnegie and his representatives exerted little architectural control over library forms. If anything, architectural fashion was perhaps the greatest influence upon library buildings at this time. Following the Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago, "neoclassical" architecture had become a popular style among institutional (libraries, museums, courthouses, and post offices) and commercial buildings (banks, and insurance companies, among others). Their "high style" conveyed a sense of civic prosperity just as their use of symmetry conveyed a sense order: the "order" of the library's collections (Dale & Burrell, 2008) as well as the "order" that the library sought to impose on its public. The appearance of the early Carnegie library building thus fit well into the values of North America's "progressive era," a period of intense civic development and wide expansion of municipal services (Jones, 1997). Public libraries, it was believed, had the potential to "correct" the ills of industrialized society—crime, poverty and violence, among others (Breisch, 1997)—by providing for the working classes a more propitious alternative to drinking, gambling and prostitution (see section 2.3.1.).

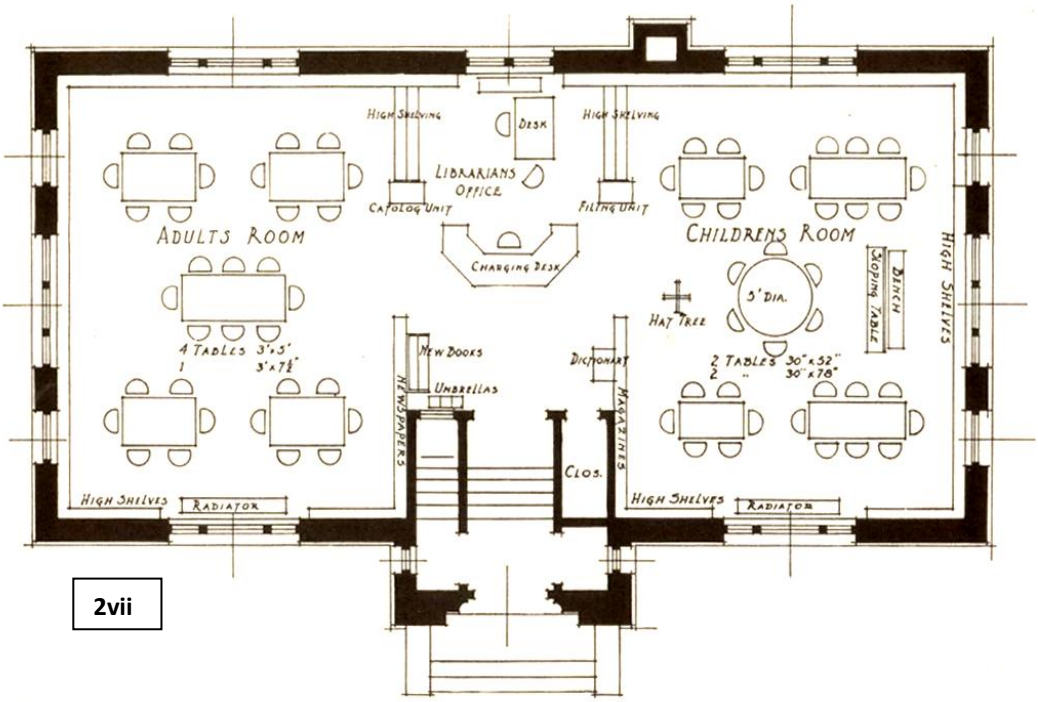
One of the best examples of "wasteful design" was architect W. Colwill Frye's Carnegie library in Guelph, Ontario, opened in 1905. After seeing Colwill's work, James Bertram forwarded the blueprints to the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh's Chief Librarian, E. H. Anderson, for critique. Disgusted, Anderson called the library "grandiloquent... of the pillar-sham" style (quoted in Beckman, Langmead & Black, 1984, p. 35). (Public domain; postcard from the author's collection.)

[7] An earlier period, beginning in 1883 and ending in the mid-1890s, saw Carnegie pay for several libraries in his homeland of Scotland and in several of his American steel-towns, among them Allegheny, Homestead and Pittsburgh. During this former phase, Carnegie paid for all necessary expenses, including books and furnishings, whereas in his later period he paid (with some exceptions) for only the buildings. Since it was during this later period that his interest in funding libraries stretched outside of his steel towns, it has been referred to as his "national" period. (It is an American-centric term since he actually funded the construction of libraries all over the world, including Canada.)

Early Carnegie libraries were certainly handsome works of architecture but were not well-suited for long-term use. Without any readily available standards or guidelines for library buildings, smaller and mid-sized communities had been left little choice but to mimic the monumentalist forms they recognized in larger, central libraries. Early Carnegie libraries (for an example, see image 2vi) thus resembled wedding cakes, heavily decorated with multi-pillared porticos, raised entrances, domed atriums and even stained glass windows (Beckman, Langmead & Black, 1984; Van Slyck, 1995; Jones, 1997). Their interiors were often just as ornate, employing heavy partitioning in order to create highly specialized rooms. Over the first ten years of his grant program, Carnegie's concern for the "waste" of his funds on frilly, monumental buildings grew, and by 1908 prompted a reform of process. Carnegie's secretary, James Bertram, who supervised the library building program from 1898 until its end in 1917, took increased control of Carnegie library designs around 1907 and, from 1908 onward, made his approval of blueprints a necessary condition for funding (Oehlerts, 1991). Bertram's intentions were to keep building costs to a minimum while maximizing efficiency of operation within the building itself. His aim was to modernize the smaller and mid-sized public library in its approach to organizing its activity.

The plan Bertram encouraged was an overall rectangular form, including room at the rear for a librarian's office (Bobinski, 1969; Van Slyck, 1995; Jones, 1997; Lushington, 2002). Rarely did he allow for more than one storey above grade; basements were raised to provide another functional level and often included a lecture room, technical services, cataloguing, and janitorial functions. The main floor (see 2vii) followed an open plan and was lined with perimeter shelving. Bertram encouraged the inclusion of children's areas or departments (Jones, 1997) and suggested bisecting the main floor of the library into two main zones: adult and children's. Reference collections were usually enclosed in the adult area, none too far from the librarian's reach. The card catalogue was frequently placed near the service desk (Cohen & Cohen, 2003). The librarian's desk was central within the floorplan; sometimes it was placed nearer the back. Either way, the placement of the service desk was crucial: the entire main floor was to be seen from the librarian's desk, giving the librarian a commanding position in the overall design.

It was during this period that the utilitarian values of public library service intensified.[8] The role of the public library during the Carnegie period was shifting away from being a "custodian" of knowledge and becoming more of an "organizer and administrator" of knowledge (Oehlerts, 1991, p. 7). The public library also adopted a sense of literary idealism, taking firm stances on what books "should be read" versus what books were best left for entertainment. Its "utilitarian" zeal remained active to a great extent, up until the Depression



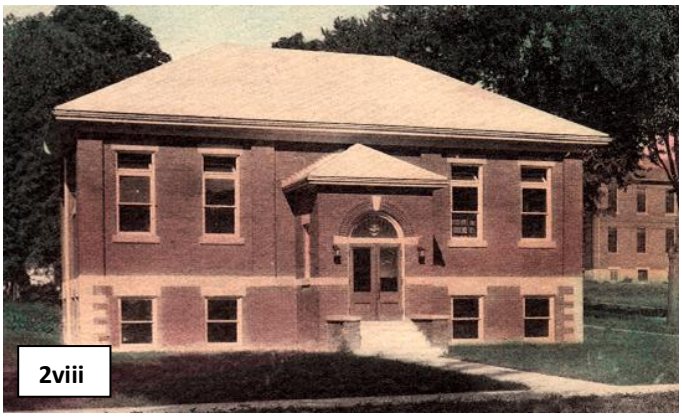
2vii

Schematic representation of the ideal smaller library floorplan, an image derived from Bertram's exemplars and published in the 1924 planning guide Library Buildings: Notes and Plans *written by Chalmers Hadley and published by the American Library Association.* (Public domain.)

when the unemployed would use the library to learn new trades (Cohen & Cohen, 2003; Curry, 2007). These values had a substantial influence on the typical Carnegie library. For instance, Bertram outlawed in later Carnegie library designs the inclusion of such non-library functions as museums, art galleries, and smoking rooms. Bertram's aim was to make the library buildings as dedicated to library service as possible. He believed such "recreational" functions were distracting to library users conducting quiet study (Bobinski, 1969; Jones, 1997; Griffis, 2010).

[8] Though some claim that intellectual idealism prevailed more than utilitarianism (see Black, Pepper & Bagshaw, 2009, p. 34-5), promoting reading for reading's sake as well as life-long learning. There is some truth to this, especially with respect to the public library's growing interest in children's services at this time.

Bertram eventually published his suggestions along with several exemplar floor plans in a pamphlet entitled "Notes on the Erection of Library Buildings," first issued to Carnegie library architects in 1911. Though communities would have to design their Carnegie buildings according to local conditions, architects were warned to "[p]ause before aiming at radical departures" from Bertram's models (Van Slyck, 1995, p. 37). Therefore, many later Carnegie libraries looked relatively plain and rectangular (see figures 2viii and 2vix). Though Bertram may have felt that he was influencing only the building designs, he was, arguably, influencing much more. By dictating the Carnegie library's spatial construction Bertram was at the same time dictating the library's program and purpose as an organization. Bertram designed not just the library building to be modern, but the users to be modern, too: the values of industrial capitalism were replete within the Carnegie library. (This was unsurprising, given that a world-famous industrial capitalist who believed that work and study advanced the working class was funding these libraries.) The influence of the modern factory, where foremen stood on raised platforms overseeing the entire workspace, is obvious when looking at Bertram's plans. The Carnegie library employed the same basic concept, only the librarian was the foreman and the library user was the worker (see Stevenson, 2005).



Two examples of typical Carnegie libraries after Bertram's reforms: the Norwich, Ontario library of 1912 (top)*, and the Renfrew library of 1921* (bottom). (Public domain; postcards from the author's collection.)

It is at this point that the story of public library design branches in two distinct directions: small and mid-sized library design, and large central library design. Both types had always coexisted but it was not until the Carnegie era, during which so many smaller and mid-sized

buildings were constructed, that any radical difference emerged between the two building types other than size. Though Carnegie funded large central libraries in the early days of his grant program (one of them Toronto's Reference Library, a bookstack library), in its middle and later years he steered clear of them. First, he felt his money was better spent funding a higher number of smaller libraries. The other reason was because, as Van Slyck (1995) implies, at the time of Bertram's architectural reforms the central public library was too complex an organism to standardize by modern design principles. Carnegie continued to fund library construction in large cities but only neighbourhood branches. For this reason, and because they were still largely dependent on self-supporting bookstacks, central library buildings of the early century were left untouched by Bertram's "modern library" model.[9]

2.2.3. James Bertram: Innovator or Synthesizer?

The library planning literature from the 1920s onward shows just how influential Bertram's work was on smaller library buildings 1910 to 1950. Very little literature on library planning existed at the time of Carnegie's program. Yet some did exist, and it appears that Bertram and his advisors (among them, library architect Edward Tilton) took it into account when writing the *Notes* pamphlet.

Among the earliest examples of planning literature was the chapter "Rooms, Buildings, Fixtures, Furniture" from John Cotton Dana's *A Library Primer* (1903), which, in some ways, set the basic groundwork for Bertram's later ideas. In his chapter, Dana challenges library architects, much like Bertram would shortly thereafter, to plan *purpose-built* library buildings; to include in their plans room for later expansion; to use few internal partitions; and plan "with a view to economical administration" and "complete supervision" (p. 13). Dana's chapter, however, only four short pages in length, offered no floor plans or detailed descriptions of advisable spatial arrangements. In the remainder of his chapter, Dana advises on book cases and other storage, but not spatial arrangement. There is no explicit mention of the central placement of a service desk. The book chapter, though important, merely presages a few of the principles upon which Bertram would later base his influential architectural reforms.

[9] For instance, the Cleveland Public Library's main building of 1925 and the Los Angeles Public Library's main building of 1927—both of which comprised multiple levels designated by subject division, each surrounding a central core of library bookstacks.

Still, it could be said that Bertram was more a synthesizer of architectural concepts, not an innovator. The "inside, out" aspect of designing libraries had not begun with Bertram's reforms; it in fact belonged to a whole architectural movement: early Modernism. Modernism in architecture, which rejected the frilly historicism of the neoclassical school, was gaining in influence, having more or less officially begun in 1896 when architect Louis Sullivan (of the "Chicago School") declared that form must "ever follow function," (quoted in Brand, 1994, p. 3). This new approach demanded that buildings be designed from the "inside, out" (rather than the former method, from the outside, in), and it is clear that Bertram had heeded Sullivan's call. His derivation of the Carnegie library type from the modern factory plan certainly adhered to this dictum.

In any event, Bertram's influence on library design, as well as his reputation as the "father" of the modern library building is well evidenced. Bertram's "Notes" pamphlet has since been referred to as "one of the first codifications of useful library design" (Lushington, 2002, p. 4) and the rate at which the Carnegie library building proliferated, even at the later stages of the program, had great influence on other library buildings of the period and beyond (Jones, 1997; Griffis, 2010). For instance, two the best-known library planning manuals of the early and mid-century, Charles Soule's *How to Plan a Library Building for Library Work* (1912) and a later example, Chalmers Hadley's *Library Buildings: Notes and Plans* (1924) (the latter published by the American Library Association), attest to the influence of the Carnegie library building. Hadley's volume was in many ways an elaboration of the Bertram pamphlet. In his section entitled "General Principles" Hadley strongly advocates, much like Bertram had ten years earlier, that public libraries "occupy [their] own separate building" (Hadley, 1924, p. 12). "Plan the building for economy in the number of attendants, ease and efficiency in administration," Hadley advises, "and the concentration of the library's work with the public on one floor" (p. 13). When Hadley advises that libraries be designed as "oblong" or rectangular shapes, with their main entrance placed on the longer side of the building, Hadley was in effect advising what is now referred to as the "Carnegie rectangle" (Cohen & Cohen, 2003). Hadley in fact reproduces Bertram's *Notes* exemplars as examples of advisable library design.

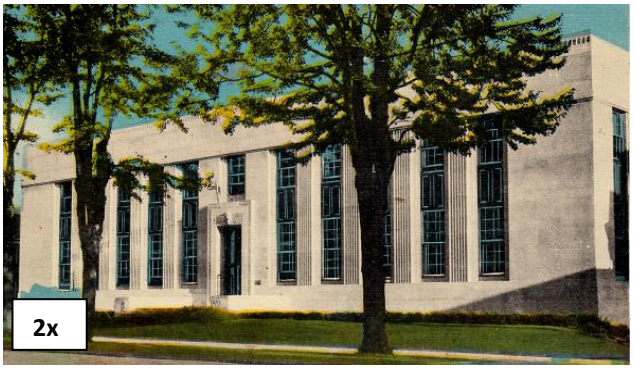
Even later manuals offer the same advice, reiterated for newer audiences. For instance McComb's *Public Library Buildings* (1934), while offering little descriptive advice on spatial arrangements, does reproduce floor plans from several of California's most exemplary public library buildings—nearly all of them demonstrating the same rectangular, central-desk model; and last but by no means, perhaps the most influential public library planning guide of the mid-century, Wheeler & Githens's extensive *The American Public Library Building: Its Planning and Design with Special Reference to its Administration and Service* (1941), a heavy, extensive tome in which the authors expound a detailed, "control by central desk" multi-typology of floorplans that composes one full quarter of the book.

2.2.4. Modernism, Modularity and the "Business" of Libraries, 1945-80

Most public library construction during the 1920s and 1930s focussed predominantly on larger, central buildings (Oehlerts, 1991). Among the buildings of note were the Cleveland (1925) and Los Angeles (1927) public libraries, both bookstack libraries, and the Enoch Pratt Library (opened in Baltimore in 1934), one of the first major central libraries in North America designed without bookstacks. However, the period of economic prosperity and growth that followed World War II brought with it rapid suburbanization, increases in publishing, and a "baby boom", all of which underscored the need for more public library buildings (Cohen & Cohen, 2003). The library's support of public educational curricula strengthened, and as post-war immigration surged, the library's role expanded to "Americanize" newcomers. It was clear that newer libraries offering greater spatial flexibility were needed.

The increasing influence of Modernist architecture encouraged library architects to open libraries even more. Advancements in construction technologies, most particularly the advent of reinforced concrete, allowed more expansive interiors, and library architects felt more freedom to experiment with building designs. As a result, concrete (see 2x), steel, and glass became common in library buildings, and by the 1950s libraries resembled office buildings more than "traditional" libraries. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, library buildings would increasingly adopt this "office block" style (Oehlerts, 1991), now referred to as "the glass

cube" or "the glass rectangle" library building. An examination of post-war library planning literature confirms that this change in philosophy was not just architectural. In the conference proceedings of one of the first post-war conferences on library building design, Gilbert Stanley Underwood, Supervising Architect of the American Public Buildings Administration, explains this new "office block" vision of the library very plainly: "Every building that serves Government," he claimed, "is a *business* building" (Underwood, 1947, p. 169, emphasis mine). Underwood cites post offices, hospitals, and even court houses as other examples of municipal "business buildings." He emphasizes something he calls the "loft principle", which he describes as "constructing buildings with continuous floors from wall to wall" (p. 171), omitting such divisive features as permanent partitions, interior courts, and mezzanines.



Although its style is, more specifically, "classical Modern", London, Ontario's main library building of 1940 was a landmark early Modernist library building in Canada. (Public domain. Postcard from author's collection.)

Modular library planning, described as "the change from fixed-function to open space interiors" (Cohen & Cohen, 2003, p. 1582), was one of the first responses to this new vision. The modular library plan sectioned the open library floor into "modules" of set dimensions, each module defined by semi-fixed materials such as shelves and study tables. It was, in actuality, no different in approach than the "open plan" of the early century; however, advancements in artificial lighting and interior environmental systems encouraged modular library planners to turn the library "in" on itself. The modular library's most famous proponent was Angus Snead Macdonald, a bookstack manufacturer who envisioned the public library much like an open supermarket, where users could browse at their leisure. In the modular library plan, collection areas were typically defined by rows of freestanding, browsable bookshelves. Sound-absorbing materials and lounge seating also made the modular library more conducive to reading. Library buildings began including more multi-use community rooms in their plans (Cohen & Cohen, 2003) and library automation received increased attention.

Library planning manuals from the later century suggest, however, that the philosophies guiding spatial organization in public libraries had changed little since the days of the Carnegie library. In his *Planning and Design of Library Buildings* (1977), a work which otherwise focuses more on larger library buildings, Godfrey Thompson provides several floor plans for consideration with smaller and mid-sized public library buildings. As usual, the rectangular form prevails; staff and users are highly segregated; and the public is "bottlenecked" (p. 111) through a single main entrance into a large public space dominated by a centrally-placed service desk—a nerve centre for the control of the library building. As Thompson explains, the desk, or counter, is "of great importance" to the library "because of the critical operations which take place there" (p. 112). Sixty-six years after the Carnegie program's influential *Notes* pamphlet, Thompson's model floor plans look strikingly similar to Bertram's.

2.2.5. The "Postmodern" Library Building, 1980 to Present

As flexible, cost-effective, and futuristic as they were, library buildings of the Modernist tradition lacked atmosphere. Their styles were interpreted as cold, unfeeling, and uninviting to the public ("anonymous-looking" and "bland", as Lushington [2002, p. 6] observes). This opinion reached a fever pitch during the "Brutalism" period of the 1970s, when some libraries' structure was formed almost entirely of concrete. The Robarts Library at the University of Toronto and the D.B. Weldon Library of the University of Western Ontario (see 2xi) are prime examples of the Brutalist Modern library building. "[D]esigned as fortresses," observe Cohen & Cohen (2003), the Brutalist library buildings tended to "keep the non-reader out," (p. 1582). The 1970s library architectural preservationist movement, however, emerged from widespread resistance to Modernist architecture as well as the destruction of many Carnegie-era buildings during the 1960s and 1970s. The result was a shift, by the 1980s, into a new era of library building.

Although not a public library, the D.B. Weldon Library at the University of Western Ontario serves as a fine example of the Brutalist Modern style popular in the late-1960s and 1970s. (Photo by author.)

"Postmodern" library architecture reflects "a desire to be relieved of the preceding period's obsession with a purely functional expression in building" (Mayerovitch, 1996, p. 166). It began, in the words of Canadian architect Raymond Moriyama, "as a reaction, an expression of widely felt nostalgia for the tactile and infinitely varied world of the past. People had become uneasy, unsure of the impersonal, standardized urban environment springing up around them without any sign of the technological Utopia it envisioned" (quoted in Conn & McCallum, 1986, p. 143). Postmodern library architecture focuses on providing vibrant, attractive libraries rather than simply creating as functional a building as possible. Unlike their Modernist predecessors, postmodern libraries have reintroduced the influence of classicism (or, more appropriately, "historicism"); postmodern architects believe that ornamentation adds an essential allure to buildings (Mayerovitch, 1996), and it is therefore not uncommon to find pillars, porticos and friezes interwoven with more contemporary features in postmodern library designs (Conn & McCallum, 1986). It also adds a sense of identity to the building: "[I]t cannot be denied," writes Mayerovitch (1996, p. 78), "that the complete absence of decoration... would provide little hint of the [building's] purpose or the character of its occupants."

Interiors have changed somewhat; like Modernist buildings, postmodern libraries are designed from the "inside, out" but, unlike their predecessors, postmodern libraries have introduced the concept of the "user-centered library" or "people-centered library" (Cohen & Cohen, 2003), which focuses specifically on how users experience the library buildings as well as on comfort and atmosphere (Lushington, 2002, p. 7). The "Postmodern" library focuses on user self-service (Mattern, 2007); ergonomically correct desks and chairs; universal access (Martin & Kenney, 2004); the incorporation of multiple information technologies (most notably computer terminals) and multimedia collections (Lushington, 2002); and, in most recent years, the retail or "bookstore" approach to interior design (i.e., the "merchandizing" approach to materials placement) (Cohen & Cohen, 2003; Martin & Kenney, 2004; Woodward, 2005).

The social role of the public library in the postmodern age is in debate. While some argue that public libraries, though facing competition from private market interests, remain (or

should remain) operational civic institutions in a society whose "public sphere" (Habermas, 1989) is constantly shrinking (Buschman, 2004), others see the public library of today not just as a centre for research but increasingly more of a public amusement service—a "popular library" (Lushington, 2002) offering not just "serious" materials but an increasing number of movies, CDs, bestsellers, and newsstand magazines. Still others see the library and librarian dove-tailing snugly into the millennial culture's focus on digital information technology. Perhaps the most accurate—if least precise—way of articulating the role of the public library in the twenty-first century is: "all things to all people" (Mattern, 2007). Arguably, in its attempt to define its role in an age of transition, the public library has surrendered to the inevitability of serving a diverse public with even more diverse needs, and it has identified for itself, notwithstanding local variability, not one role but a list of roles intended to ensure its survival. The public library of today is (according to Martin's [1998, p. 186-7] summation): a community activities centre; a community information centre; a formal education support centre; an independent learning centre; a "popular" materials library; a preschooler's "doorway" to literacy and scholastic learning; and a research and study centre. In light of this complex medley of roles, some now refer to the public library of the 21st century as the community "living room" (Griffis, 2010) or "front porch" (Nikitin & Jackson, 2012).

2.2.6. Public Libraries and Design: Guiding Principles Unchanged?

To an extent, Baumann's (1972) three factors influencing the progress of library design have all irrefutably played roles in changing the overall appearance and shapes of library buildings, and have necessitated the implementation of new approaches to library design as well as new ways and standards for constructing library buildings. If Baumann (1972) were writing today, he might include as a fourth factor the advent of telecommunications and the emergence of computer technologies. Still, despite the public library's changing contexts, what evidence exists that any of the fundamental, guiding principles governing the organization of public library space have changed much in the past century?

While the LIS literature gives us some idea of how today's large, central library buildings are organizing their space, we know little about the more common-sized public libraries. Today's

large central libraries, for instance, are in some ways radically different from their modern predecessors and seemingly contradict the argument introduced above; as some of the best-known central library building projects of the past fifteen years have shown, many central buildings tend to defy what most people think a library "should look like" (Mattern, 2007) by using unique, "un-library-like" forms. Staff space has in some ways been redefined altogether; Seattle's new central building, for example, features traditional reference stations but also, in other parts of the library, "roaming" librarians equipped with wireless headsets. Still, many aspects of these newer and larger central libraries remain unchanged: staff still rely on a clear division between staff and user space; the librarian's "desk-as-fortress" remains a key component of the library's floorplan—much to the chagrin of some library architects who wish to see it gone entirely (Mattern, 2007). There is in some cases resistance from library staff to new modes of service that mandate a decreased use of staff stations (Mattern, 2007). Cavanagh's (2009) work attests to this further; mentioned in an earlier section, Cavanagh (2009) centers her study's viewpoint on the "lived experience of the reference desk" (p. 148)—the desk itself the locus of the librarian's authority in the library floor, acting as the material and conceptual boundary between "institution" and "client" where much of the library's identity as a "knowing organization" is still enacted and enforced.

2.3. Overview of Theoretical Perspectives

Despite this published research about how large central public libraries today are organizing their space, what do we know about the other library buildings? How have they changed, if at all? Last: How can we explore this issue in a way that necessarily links organizational purpose to the built environment?

This section will review several bodies of theory, including sociohistorical theory (the social control theory of public library development in North America) and sociospatial theory (organization space theory, panopticism and disciplinary power, and territorialisation).

2.3.1. Public Libraries and Social Control

Until the 1970s, few questioned the origins of library development in North America. The free public library was understood to be a remnant of the Progressive Era, a period of rapid social and economic progress in the mid- to late-nineteenth century that placed a high importance on the furthering of local government, civic expansion, and cultural improvement. Consequently, early library scholarship sought, as Wiegand (2000) has put it, "to celebrate, not analyze"[10] (p. 4) the story of the public library.

In 1973, Harris published "The Purpose of the American Public Library: A Revisionist Interpretation of History", which argued that the free public library was one of several civic institutions established by the aristocratic upper middle-class to effect social control and ensure its dominant position in society. Though Harris's viewpoint was not without its opponents (see Dain [1975]), it was revisited six years later in book form by Garrison (1979) and has resurfaced in the works of Van Slyck (1995) and Breisch (1997), among others. Despite Harris's detractors, this "revisionist" stance set in motion a serious reconsideration of public library development in the mid- to late-nineteenth century. Since then at least three historical theories of public library development have been identified in the literature: the "social conditions theory", the "democratic tradition theory" and the "social control theory" (Williams, 1981). The first two will be reviewed briefly and then the third theory in detail.

The "social conditions theory"—or as Garrison (1979) calls it, "the multiple social forces argument" (p. xii)—explains how the public library emerged in the nineteenth century from a confluence of contemporary social, economic, and political conditions (Harris, 1995). Most early scholars of public library history, among them Ditzion (1947), Shera (1949), Lee (1966) and Bobinski (1969), as well as some later scholars (for example Martin [1998]), adopt this theory; but as Williams (1981) points out, few agree with each other on which "forces" were most influential. In his seminal book *The Foundations of the Public Library* (1949), Shera lists up to nine such forces:[11] first, the economic climate and industrial

[10] Or in the more recent words of Christine Pawley: "[L]ibrary history has been characterized primarily by its celebratory, self-congratulatory quality" (see her introduction in the most recent edition of Garrison's *Apostles of Culture*).

[11] Notwithstanding the importance of Shera's work, Dee Garrison's summary of "multiple forces" is more succinct and better represents the "usual list" of such forces given in other works: "[T]he growth of sufficient community resources and a population dense enough to support a public library; the urge to conserve historical records; the existence of civic pride that led to rivalry among communities to

prosperity enabled a viable base of tax support for the free public library to exist; second, the emerging belief in universal public education called for more institutions that supported free, adult self-education; and third, expansions in "professional and amateur" forms of scholarship "desperately needed libraries" (p. 207) to support this activity. Other conditions Shera lists include local pride and a sense of competition between urban centres; the languishing presence of Mechanics' Institutes, Lyceums, and other private antecedents to the public library; and last—in a list of "lesser" influences—the need for "moral reform" in the languishing shadow of the church. The appeal of this "multiple conditions" theory is obvious: one can easily define a new study of libraries or librarianship by throwing emphasis on any one of these "conditions" more than another. Since those who adopt this theory rarely (if ever) account for any causal interrelationships between these numerous "conditions" (Williams, 1981), the theory's chief limitation is its tendency to blind researchers to public library development's larger, more complex social contexts.

The "democratic tradition" theory, which has been described as "unquestionably the most popular" of the three (Williams, 1981, p. 334), views the emerging free public library as a venerable "people's university"—a place where anyone, regardless of social position or background, could access information vital to civic learning and participation. Garrison (1979) calls this the "progressive" or "humanitarian" interpretation (p. xi). Overviews of this theory usually begin with a description of working class patrons in the late nineteenth century using the library for self-education and intellectual exchange; they then go on to explain the emergence of more specialized, inclusionary services in the early to mid twentieth century for children, young adults and immigrants. Ditzion's *Arsenals of Democratic Culture* (1947), perhaps the best-known articulation of this theory, paints the nineteenth century free public library as a politically neutral space for the exchange and debate of ideas: "The tax-supported public library not only answered the criteria inherent in the democratic premise but also offered an instrument as responsive to varying social requirements as democracy itself" (p. 51). The theory's chief weakness, however, lies not in its ability to explain why the public library emerged when it did but more in its "lack of clearly defined [and] measurable" (and uncritical) definition of "democracy" (Williams, 1981, p. 335). Moreover, the democratic

establish themselves as cultural centres; the desire of workers for vocational instruction; and the influence of the Jacksonian period, which created a widespread belief in the value of universal education" (1979, p. xii).

tradition theory fails, as Garrison (1979) believes, "to define accurately the social philosophy of those responsible for the establishment of the American public library system and of the library leaders who initially influenced its development" (p. xii). Recent interest in the "public sphere" (Habermas, 1989; Buschman, 2004) and the public library as civic (or "community") space (Lees, 1997; Kranich, 2001; Leckie & Hopkins, 2002; Putnam, Feldstein & Cohen, 2004) has nevertheless dovetailed nicely into this traditional vision of the public library in present-day North America, and has to an extent helped keep this theory of library development active into the twenty-first century.[12]

The "Willing Subjection" of the "Dangerous Classes": The Social Control Theory

The "social control" theory of public library development counters the "democratic tradition" theory entirely (the latter of which Harris [1973, p. 2509] calls "the public library myth"). It acknowledges the primordial conditions listed by the first theory ("social conditions") but claims that these conditions merely explain the circumstances under which the public library emerged but not specifically why (Williams, 1981). The crux of the social control theory sees the free public library as a device for the monitoring and regulation of the lower classes created by an elitist, upper middle-class aristocracy—comprised of "new urban, middle-class… professionals, literary gentlemen and some businessmen" known as "the gentry" (Garrison, 1979, p. 10)—who pushed for the public library as a means of shaping the masses according to their hegemonic interests:

> They placed great emphasis upon moral norms, as a way of governing themselves and shaping the moral values of society…. Whereas ladies and gentlemen had once been defined at birth, the American mode of gentility was not dependent upon ancestry or wealth, but could be achieved through education and adherence to a properly conceived value system. … In cities across the nation, [the gentry] embarked in the late nineteenth century upon an effort to educate and uplift the unfortunate. … They never doubted the validity of imposing upon others their middle-class values: thrift, self-reliance, industriousness, and sensual control.
>
> (Garrison, 1979, p. 10)

With the expansion of industrial capitalism in the West during the mid- to late-nineteenth century came widespread social, political, and economic changes, particularly a new social

[12] Echoing Harris (1973), Williams (1981, p. 334) remarks: "Public librarians are particularly fond of [the "democratic tradition" theory] since it places them squarely in the mainstream of the Jeffersonian tradition and permits them to view their work as central to the advancement of democracy."

order where wealth and poverty not only reinforced a rigid class structure, but increasingly alienated the wealthy from the poor. The upper classes, from the gentry to the more wealthy industrialists looking for philanthropic outlets, the free public library would become one of several methods of implementing and controlling the gradual normalization and acceptance of this order. As Ken Harrison once summarized it, public libraries in the late-nineteenth century were "thrust upon an unwilling world by do-gooders, moral reformers and sly capitalists who saw public libraries as soporifics, able to divert those members of the working classes who were beginning to ask awkward questions about the existing social system" (quoted in Black, Pepper & Bagshaw, 2009, p. 43). Thus by providing books for both "serious" study and (less serious) recreation, the free public library was introduced as a means of empowerment but was, underneath, nothing more than a way to: (i) legitimize the social and economic conditions that created the public library in the first place; and (ii) condition lower-class users into accepting the existing social order as an indicator of "progress".

The concerns of the gentry were not limited to concerns over competing ideologies. In addition to an increase in crime and violence, there was the omnipresent threat (a perceived threat, at least) of anarchy and class warfare (Martin, 1973; Breisch, 1997). In the term "dangerous classes" more than just the late-nineteenth century surge of immigration is implied. In his work about the Richardsonian era of public library development, Breisch (1997) explains how stories of revolutionary France created a chill among members of the American bourgeoisie, ultimately influencing the 1876 formation of the National Guard Association to lobby for a new Militia Act. Early founders of public libraries were worried about all subsections of the lower classes, not just immigrants, and their collective potential to overthrow their "rulers": "In the industrialized New England states, in particular," Breisch (1997) explains, "the continuing threat of domestic insurrection led to the creation of dozens of National Guard units and the erection of municipal armories all across the region—with budgets and building programs often supplemented by the local business community" (p. 27). The gentry's interest in developing the public educational school system, for instance, was also well allied with "countering" this perceived, imminent "collapse of moral or social order" (p. 28). Public education was increasingly believed to be, in the words of Edward

McGlynn, "one of the greatest and most potent instruments for building up and maintaining one great, free, common nationality," (quoted in Wiebe, 1967, p. 58). The free public library was generally believed to be, in Andrew Carnegie's own words, "an adjunct" to the public school system, a place where the public could improve their selves by emulating the higher, more educated classes. When discussing the founding of the Boston Public Library in 1852, Harris (1973, p. 2510) notes:

> … [Ticknor's] authoritarianism and elitism were reflected in his goals for the library: 1) To educate the masses so that they would follow the "best men" and not demogogues [*sic*]; to "stabilize the Republic and to keep America from becoming another Carthage; and 2) To provide access to the world's best books for that elite minority who would someday become leaders of the political, intellectual and moral affairs of the nation.

The widespread popularity of "philanthropic paternalism" (Van Slyck, 1995) in the age of the free public library only supports the social control theory all the more. Indeed the industrial millionaires-turned-philanthropists of the day, Andrew Carnegie not least among them, who were too wealthy to be considered a part of the "gentry" but shared their social views (Breisch, 1997), showed great interest in endowing public libraries. Both Mickelson (1975) and Griffis (2010) have extensively traced Carnegie's adoption of Social Darwinism, the late-nineteenth century social philosophy that imposed Darwin's biological theory of natural selection upon social evolution—or, as the former puts it, "the myth of the self-made man, the belief that any man could achieve success provided he worked hard enough and developed sufficient strength of character" (Mickelson, 1975, p. 118). The idea of the "survival of the fittest"—or, in Harris's words, the "elite minority"—was not at all seen as antithetical to, but rather as a counterbalance for, the indoctrination of the majority. As the "improvers of the race" (as Carnegie himself put it) advanced with great mobility, Social Darwinism would at the same time (i) fix the lower classes in their place and (ii) explain why such an order was the result of "natural laws" and not social injustice. As Breisch explains: "This power… provided a means of maintaining cultural hegemony over the working classes, an affirmation of the privilege attendant upon the accumulation of wealth and status that set these men apart" (p. 31). Certainly Carnegie's experiences with labour unrest, particularly the Homestead strike of 1894 (which preceded his twenty-year "national period" of library philanthropy by only four years, it should be noted), have often been interpreted as one of

Carnegie's chief motivations for funding over 2,500 free public libraries worldwide (Martin, 1993), 1,679 of them in the United States and 125 of them in Canada. As Carnegie himself admitted, free public libraries were for the "inert, lazy and hopelessly poor" (Harris, 1973, p. 2513) and were "to make men not violent revolutionists, but cautious evolutionists; not destroyers, but careful improvers" of society (Breisch, 1997, p. 36).

As Harris (1973), Garrison (1979), Breisch (1997) and Martin (1998) all agree, this "gentry" period of library development began its decline in the early twentieth century and finished, more or less, by the end of the First World War (Garrison, 1979). Garrison (1979) has linked its decline to the disappearance of the gentry itself as a group, whose own decline was precipitated by a confluence of factors, among them: resistance to the gentry's claims of authority by immigrant groups (which had become increasingly large by the first two decades of the twentieth century); changes of emphases in college curricula from "liberal arts" subjects such as classics and history to more "specialized and technical" subjects, among them the hard sciences; and the gentry's "unwise" allegiance to literary idealism which only alienated the uneducated. There was also the rise of professionalization beyond the formerly brief list of professions to which the educated class could aspire: doctors, lawyers, scholars and teachers, "those [professions] from whom the gentry had traditionally drawn much of their support" (Garrison, 1979, p. 14). "Those who clung to the older view of the gentleman as a man of varied concerns and talents began to seem like mere amateurs," Garrison explains. "[T]hey became isolated within the associations that served as a base of power for the new professionals in the new organizational society," (p. 14).

Ironically, the public library, the very institution the gentry had helped found, was itself in the middle of the professionalization movement. By the early twentieth century, an increasing number of "properly" trained librarians and technicians were entering the field. This "second generation" of public librarians, however, while not entirely in line with their predecessors' viewpoints, did not altogether shrug off the authoritarian nature of their profession or the sense of authority the general public accorded the public library itself. "The American public librarian was beginning to lose touch with the founders' vision of the library's purpose," explains Harris (1973), "but the authoritarian and elitist program so

consciously pursued by 19th century librarians did not disappear. It simply became less obvious in the increasingly aimless and bureaucratic nature of [twentieth century] public library service," (p. 2512).

Other sociohistorical theories exist that support the social control theory of public library development. As Marxist critic Antonio Gramsci believed, "... all societies in human history have been divided into two basic groups: the privileged and the marginalized, the oppressor and the oppressed, the dominant and the subordinate, the rulers and the ruled.... What has historically been described as 'the people,' Gramsci describes as an "ensemble" of subordinate groups and classes in every society that has ever existed until now" (Fonte, 2001, p.201). Gramsci believed that the bourgeoisie establish and maintain its dominance over the proletariat through "hegemony." Hegemony describes the process by which the proletariat consents (albeit passively) to adopting bourgeoisie values, beliefs, morality and habits into its own worldview (Bressler, 1999; Fonte, 2001). This process extends itself, Gramsci believed, to social institutions, all of which "transmit" sets of values to greater society and mediate between the classes in a "civilizing" way (Jones, 2006). Gramsci called this process *institutional hegemony*. "This hegemony or 'intellectual and moral leadership' is exercised through the institutions and associations of civil society such as schools, churches, trade unions, and civic associations, which serve to 'legitimize' the rule of the predominant groups," notes Fonte (2001, p. 202). "In the institutions of civil society the subordinate groups are influenced to internalize the value systems and worldviews of the privileged groups and, thus, to consent to their own marginalization."

It seems one of the most effective methods of controlling society was to control people in space. This was most evident in public institutions like public schools and public libraries. The following section brings several theoretical frameworks into the discussion and explores how space and social control combined in public libraries.

2.3.2. Theoretical Background

In this section, I review theories of place and space as they relate to the conceptual framework (*organization space*) that I use for this study's findings.

As Pawley writes in her introduction to the 2003 edition of Garrison's (1979) *Apostles of Culture*:

> A crucial contribution of the early social control theorists was to situate the history of public library development within the history of the development of modern industrial capitalism. But as scholars were beginning to recognize by the 1980s, critical social analysts had ignored the *spatial dimension*, both in terms of larger-scale geographical constructs like "region" and "locale" and also in terms of smaller-scale work and domestic spaces. *The reorganization of space and of bodies in space, they pointed out, was a vital, if neglected component of industrialization*. (Pawley, 2003, p. xxvii, emphases mine)

Certainly, public library design in the early modern era was not a haphazard affair; there were reasons why library architects designed libraries as they did, especially with so few previous models to follow. Even with the turn from closed- to "safe-guarded" open-access in the last decade of the nineteenth century, the control and regulation of people who visited the library and used its materials was of paramount importance to the spatial construction of the institution and its goals. It thus reveals much about the social ideologies that existed at that time and influenced both the needs of the institution and the design of the building itself.

One way of understanding how the public library's sociohistorical contexts affected its spatial construction is through organization space theory. Organization space theory explains how proper-name organizations, most particularly corporations and institutions, "enlist space as a managerial tool in the restructuring of power, corporate culture and employee identity" (Dale & Burrell, 2008)—or, put another way, design their buildings with the intent of controlling the actors, their perceptions and identities—and thus too their behaviour—in ways that support organizational values and objectives. Before exploring this theory further, we must first understand the terms "place" and "space" and what they mean to this study and its theoretical viewpoints.

"Place" and "Space"

Space and place, as distinct concepts, have been the subject of many lengthy, in-depth theoretical discussions (for two excellent and recent examples, see Hubbard, Kitchin & Valentine, 2004, and Leckie & Buschman, 2007). The earliest notions of space and place were relatively basic. To Greek mathematicians like Euclides, for instance, "place was subordinate to the space of geometries" (Leckie & Buschman, 2007, p. 4), place being

merely a point "[within] a matrix, a location within finite dimensions." Plato and Aristotle, on the other hand, saw place as the "more prominent concept" and integrated it "into their respective ideas about the cosmos, the void, and ontology" (p. 4). Descartes' concept of "extensive space" provided yet another interpretation: that space was a container in which all matter existed, and that place was merely a "subordinate concept to space and matter" (Leckie & Buschman, 2007, p. 4). Philosophical and scholarly movements into the mid-to-late twentieth century continued to explain space as "essentially a blank canvas, and, rather than playing an active role in shaping social life, formed a surface on which social relations were played out," (Hubbard, 2005, p. 42). Some writers still take this view, among them Gieryn (2000) who, in his primer on the subject, defines "place" as nothing more than a "unique spot" with finitude that makes distinct the concepts of "here and there." Since the mid-1970s views on the space-place horizon have become more sophisticated, however. Michel Foucault, Pierre Bourdieu, Anthony Giddens and Henri Lefebvre have all rejected the "blank canvas" idea of "absolute" space (Leckie & Buschman, 2007) and have insisted on more abstract, more sociopolitical meanings. This signaled the concept of "social space", as will be defined in the following section.

However, and despite the amount of thought invested in distinguishing them (while, at the same time, allowing for them to remain interrelated), no one has conclusively offered a set of universally applicable definitions for the terms (despite the time taken in discussing the inadequacies and limitations of past definitions). This is likely because the terms, what they mean and how they relate to each other, are very situational, and probably vary from study to study almost as much as they vary from discipline to discipline. As Hubbard, Kitchin & Valentine (2004) explain, despite all the recent attention the terms have received in the social sciences, "[space and place] remain relatively diffuse, ill-defined and inchoate concepts" (p. 6) in the wider literature.

Therefore, and before moving on to any discussions of "social space", some definitions for "space" and "place" must be given here. Agnew (2002, p. 4) provides useful definitions for the both terms, and it is these definitions that will be used in this study. As he writes, "Space

is... understood as commanded or controlled, whereas place is lived or experienced," he writes. He continues:

> Space is the abstraction of places into a grid or coordinate system as if the observer is "outside it" down at the world from above.... Space [also] signifies a field of practice or area in which a group or organization... operates, held together in popular consciousness by a map-image and a narrative or story that represents it as a meaningful whole. (p. 4-5).

It is the latter half of the above definition that relates most to this study's theoretical framework. As will be explained later in this section, one of social space's most fundamental tenets is the idea that space exists as *a product of social relations*—i.e., that people create space by giving action to the many processes and actions that constitute everyday life. As such, space is not some big empty container but rather a living, fluid entity that can be used to describe systems of social relations (or interrelations) on many levels and at many scales. Thus, many places can constitute "a space"—perhaps the best example (as related to public libraries) being the notion of the library as a form of "public space" (in the Habermasian sense): one "place" of many (including, but not limited to, parks, public squares, newspapers, the internet) that together form the idea of a "space" for public discourse and the exchange of ideas. From this angle, and consistent with the work of Lefebvre (1991) and Dale & Burrell (2008), space is the product of ideology (or multiple, sometimes competing ideologies)—specifically the dominant social, political and economic forces that govern how societies exist and evolve. This is what makes "space" and "spaces" so fascinating to sociologists, and gives us a sense of why considering "place" or *a* place and how it is constituted is particularly important in the study of public libraries.

Defining "place", on the other hand, Agnew (2002) explains how place

> represents the encounter of people with other people and things in space. It refers to how everyday life is inscribed in space and takes on meaning for specified groups of people and organizations.... Places tend to be localized when associated with the familiar... [b]ut they can also be larger areas, depending on patterns of activities, network connections, and the projection of feelings of attachment, comfort, and belonging. (p. 5)

The idea of "place", in this study, first and foremost denotes a sense of embodiment (Hubbard, Kitchin & Valentine, 2004)—not necessarily physical embodiment, although the idea of location or *a* location is certainly relevant to what comes in the following chapters. In the first sense—that of location—"place" denotes a point of particularly within an order, and

the meanings derived from considering the "place" of something in relation to what surrounds it. In the second sense—that of *a* location—"place" denotes a more concrete sense of *where*. It is very much concerned with, as Agnew notes in the above, how "everyday life is inscribed in space". Many forces and factors can create "a place" or, alternatively, a "sense of place" (Hubbard, Kitchin & Valentine, 2004), the idea that within the systems that constitute "society" it is possible to define, explore and even possibly explain the meanings that distinguish some point of uniqueness, particularity, or focus. To put it more simply, and apply the concept to libraries, although a public library as a civic institution can be described as part of a larger "space" (see below), a library is primarily a place, distinguished from other places by its many contexts (social, cultural, economic, and so forth) and thus make it worthy of the level of focus it receives in the larger "library as place" literature. It also contains many more specific places within it. In this sense, although a bricks-and-mortar building alone is not what gives a library its "place-ness", the library building does contribute to the sense of embodiment and particularity necessary for defining it as a "place".

A Note on the Use of "Ideology" In This Work

Throughout the previous overview of how various social attitudes helped shape the designs of public library buildings during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the term "ideology" has been used or implied. Some discussion of what this term means within the boundaries of this research is required, though, since the more common but specific definition (i.e., political economy) is not what this study intends to examine in its findings.

Ideology is "an elusively slippery concept" that is "very widely used in both the Marxist tradition and in the social sciences as a whole to describe a distorted or illusory form of thought which departs from a criterion of objectivity," (Macey, 2001, p. 198). According to Abercrombie, Hill & Turner (1988, p. 118), it is "[o]ne of the most debated concepts in sociology." The Marxist definition of "ideology", that which is assumed by most of the theories covered in the previous section, is the idea that

> … history is the product of class conflict; in any given period, the ideas of the ruling class are the ruling intellectual force or the dominant ideology. In a society divided into antagonistic classes, ideology both derives from and masks real social relations and thus legitimizes class domination by making it appear natural and ahistoircal.

Although it was necessary to cover social conflict as a means of explaining why early modern library design became standardized as it did, to consider how today's public libraries operate as organization spaces or as the product of one or multiple such Marxist ideologies is far outside the scope of this study. Therefore, from this point forward, the term will refer to, very simply, "any [socially determined] set of beliefs, covering everything from scientific knowledge, to religion, to everyday beliefs about proper conduct, irrespective of whether it is true or false," (Abercrombie, Hill & Turner (1988, p. 118) and/or "[a set of] practices engaged in every day by everybody in an entirely unreflecting way" (p. 119). The adoption of this more general definition will: (i) allow us to recognize that libraries as places do not form in vacuums, that they are indeed socially determined, yet (2) free us from the obligation of constantly referencing the impact of political-economic forces on the various aspects of library design, which although undoubtedly important, are not the primary focus of the present study.

Lefebvre and Social Space[13]

Henri Lefebvre has been described as "the key figure in the development of contemporary interest and concern with space" (Zieleniec, 2007, p. 60). First in his French-only *Le production de l'espace* (1974), and then later in the book's first widely adopted English translation, *The Production of Space* (1991), Lefebvre rejected the idea of absolute space and proposed the idea of "social space"—the theory that every society creates its own modes of production and these modes of production in turn produce that society's space and all its properties. Put simply, to Lefebvre space is not some dead, non-concept; it is in fact the very essence of how societies define themselves and reproduce the social relations of production. Social space is thus not absolute but *abstract* space—and in Lefebvre's particular view, the "space of capitalism" (Lefebvre, 1991). "Space, as Lefebvre makes clear," writes Zieleniec (2007, p. 61), is "the product of ideological, economic and political forces (the domain of power) that seek to delimit, regulate and control the activities that occur within and through it."

[13] Organization space theory's debt to Lefebvre is well-documented in the opening chapters of such volumes as Tor Hernes' *The Spatial Construction of Organization* (2004), Taylor & Spicer's (2007) literature review, and Dale & Burrell's *The Spaces of Organization and the Organization of Space* (2008).

It was in the first chapter of *The Production of Space* (1991), a work that can in no way be pinned down to a single interpretation, that Lefebvre first posited his spatial "trialectic", which contends that societies produce space in three ways: as *spatial practice,* as *representations of space* and as *space as representation* or "representational space" (Lefebvre, 1991). (These three dimensions have been referred to in several literatures, respectively, as "the perceived", "the conceived" and "the lived" spaces.) "Spatial practice" refers to the production and reproduction of the perceived and routinised behaviours within a given space according to its physical design (Griffis, 2010); this practice is much dependent on the "representations of space", which refers to the "space of scientists, planners, [and] urbanists... and social engineers... all of whom identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 38). Space as representation, or "representational space", refers to how space "is directly *lived* through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users'... This is the dominated—and hence passively experienced [i.e., lived] space..." (p. 39). Leckie & Given's (2010) explanation of Lefebvre's use of these three overlapping and interdependent realms is perhaps the literature's most coherent (and useful) interpretation of the Lefebvrian triad:

> …Lefebvre's triadic processes or conditions (spatial practice, representations of space, and representational space) each have simultaneously operating within them all three realms of the physical, the mental and the social. Thus *spatial practice* includes not only the ongoing development of the built environment (the physical), but also how we perceive it (the mental) and the ways in which it shapes our lives (the social), all of which forms a type of spatialized practice. Similarly, *representations of space*, include not only how we conceptualize, articulate and plan spaces (the mental), but also what gets built, where and how it is controlled by means of this planning and representation (the physical), and how such representations affect our ideas of what is appropriate behavior or action in any given space or landscape (the social). Finally, *representational space* allows us to portray, through our art, imaginations, actions and daily living (the mental) what it is like to "live" in certain spaces, to challenges various constraining elements of the built environment (the physical) and to disrupt, often in very small ways, the taken-for-granted order of things (the social). Thus, physicality, conception and experience (i.e., the physical, mental, and social) cannot be separated and are integral parts of the production process and the ongoing cycle of recreation and reproduction. (p. 228)

It is not easy to immediately understand how Lefebvre's model works, for, as Shields (2004) implies and Leckie & Given (2010) state, "this triad was never fully or adequately

articulated… which can be viewed as either a blessing or a curse" (p. 228).[14] Nevertheless, Lefebvre (1991) contends that social space is inconspicuous (or is, at least, taken-for-granted) and has, as Leckie & Given (2010) further explain, several implications or consequences, among them the idea that

> very society's space will look and feel differently from those spaces that preceded or followed. This unique spatiality occurs because of the interrelationships between the social relation of production (organized via the family, the sexes and different age groups, etc.) and the relations of production (the division of labor and its concomitant social hierarchies and functions). The particular ways that these interrelationships are played out produce a specific and historically-contingent configuration of space (p. 225).

Organization Space

The theoretical framework for this study is called *organization space* and it is loosely derived from Lefebvre's spatial triad. Just as all societies produce their space, all proper-name organizations produce theirs since they are a part of that society: "The origins of organization," claims Hernes (2004), "are primarily associated with the ordering of human actions and interaction through regulation by physically tangible means. Basic forms of regulation relate to the division of work, introduction of formal rules and hierarchy. These, and others, are material measures that are used to meet needs for predictability and stability," (p. 85). The theory's chief concern is the identification and interpretation of boundaries, material and conceptual, and how perception affects behaviour within them. The concept's chief tenet is that space is central to organization, and thus organization "is fundamental to understanding social structures, processes and relations" (Dale & Burrell, 2008, p. 4).

Organization space theory has a history.[15] When it emerged in the 1970s and 80s, organization space research was known to a relative few as "sociophysical organizational development" (Steele, 1973, p. 3) and was chiefly concerned with the effects of

[14] As Leckie & Given (2010) argue in their interpretation, Lefebvre's own dislike of the separation of three distinct realms (the physical, the mental and the social) is perhaps what caused him to "resist such categorizations through explicating the complex interplay of processes by which space is produced" (p. 228) in his own theory.

[15] Organization space research is considered a sub-focus within the larger field of organizational studies, an interdisciplinary field of research mixing interests from the fields of psychology (behavioural and social), business, management, and architecture. A common avenue of inquiry in organizational studies is the study of the organization as a structure of power and domination (Reed, 1992), which views formal organizations as "brought into existence and sustained as viable social units by the wider totality of power structures and control relations in which they are embedded"(p. 94-5).

environmental conditions on worker efficiency.[16] More recently its focus has shifted from concern over *how* organizations design their space to *why*: "Researchers [now] argue," explain Taylor & Spicer (2007), "that any spatial arrangement, no matter how apparently innocuous, is a materialization of deeper structures of power and domination with a 'hidden logic of control' which underlies it" (p. 332). Of particular interest to this tradition[17] is space as materialized power relations, the systems of autonomy and resistance and the strategies and tactics (De Certeau, 1984) through which actors resist these regimes of power and domination (Taylor & Spicer, 2008).

Dale & Burrell's Three E's: Enchantment, Emplacement, Enactment

Dale & Burrell (2008) draw heavily on Lefebvre (1991) and Foucault (1977). Dale & Burrell (2008) offer their own triad for explaining how organizations and their architects achieve this manner of control. First is *enchantment*, which refers to "linking together matter and meaning in such as way as to produce various power effects" over actor perception and behaviour (p. 66). Aspects of enchantment include, for example, such things as building height, a common interpretation being that the taller the building, the more powerful the organization that built it: In larger cities, "[d]omination of the skyline is and has been equated to domination of markets and of the competition" (p. 49). Other examples of enchantment include the use of building materials and architectural style as well as more subtle, everyday things such as the use of "imaginary spaces" like store displays which allow "our hopes, dreams, desires and aspirations to be appropriated" and "facilitate the construction of the consumer through the fantasy experience of buying" (p. 51). Enchantment exerts power by

[16] See the (now infamous) "Hawthorne studies" (Roethlisberger & Dickson, 1939), which constitute some of the very earliest research in the literature, and examined the relationship between lighting levels and worker efficiency at Western Electric Company's Hawthorne plant in the 1920s. Later work examined the relative locations of people within workspaces and their impact on interpersonal contact, the formation of group norms, and work output. Other studies were somewhat less "applied," for instance Mogulescu's (1970) study of status symbols in organizational settings: specifically how the layout and furnishings of a worker's environment possesses its own "language" of symbols—size of room or desk, type of carpet, and so forth—revealing a worker's rank or position. All of these studies (and others) comprise some of the important turning points in organization space theory; nevertheless, the incremental, applied nature of organization space studies made the idea of a causal theory seem novel, and in response some writers of this period, for Gutman (1972), began to encourage the architectural profession to broaden their understanding of the built environment and "behavioural programming" in hopes of developing one. Though not an answer to their problem, the first full-length work of its kind, the landmark *Workspace: Creating Environments in Organizations* by F. D. Becker, was published in 1981, a managerial studies textbook that posited a basic model of interrelated realms: the spatial form of settings, including the size, shape and connection of "bounding surfaces" in the environment; patterns of activity, including location, intensity and scheduling of activities within the space; communications, including explicit and implicit, their forms and meanings; and ambience, including the intensity and patterns of sound, light, smells and textures of the work environment (Becker, 1981, p. 3-5).

[17] Taylor & Spicer (2008) argue that three traditions now exist within organizational space studies: studies of organizational "space as distance", studies of organizational "space as the "materialization of power relations", and studies of organizational "space as experience" (p. 325).

desensitizing its subjects to other events and feelings that are occurring by heightening only a relative few. The authors give, as an extreme example, the effects of theme park architecture, the hypnotic "Disneyfication" that seems to define such ageographic spaces as theme parks and malls (Sorkin, 1992).

Emplacement refers to the fixing of people and things in particular places through the use of physical and conceptual boundaries. Here the authors refer to Foucault (1973, 1977), who believed that modern workspaces such as factories and prisons comprised four elements: "enclosure," which refers to the territorializing of an internal space for a particular activity or purpose; "partitioning," which refers to the elements of space that control movement and communication by allowing some actions but not others; "classification," which refers to the functional labelling of people, materials and groups in space; and "ranking," which refers to the "hierarchy" of people and places in space according to their knowledge and ability. This should be compared with Markus (1993, 2006) who believes that indeed buildings are classifying devices: "It crucially matters who is located where, in relation to others in other spaces, and what is the nature of the space (size, quality, central or peripheral, etc.... Some structures are deep, some shallow, and some tree-like while some are ring-like. These signify quite different relations between users or objects, degrees of freedom in the choice of routes, opportunities for chance encounters, solidarities and possibilities for control or surveillance" (p. 132-4). Indeed, emplacement has hierarchical implications, namely the monitoring of people and their activities to ensure efficiency, compliance, and the thorough routinising of work through the use of time schedules.

Enactment refers to "the ways that social spaces are lived, are processed through, are experienced through mobility and what power effects this brings about" (Dale & Burrell, 2008, p. 48). It refers to embodied space and in this way is a direct mirror of Lefebvre's concept of *representational space* or the lived space. Enactment explains how the experience of mobility serves as an "illusion of freedom" for inhabitants. It also refers to the construction of identity within space: "The significance of enactment as a socio-spatial form of power is the simultaneous taken-for-granted nature of power relations as 'lived through'

embodied and cultural spaces, and the processes of identity construction that may be facilitated by the *narrative opportunities* of these spaces" (p. 77, emphasis mine).

Like Lefebvre's (1991) spatial triad, Dale & Burrell's (2008) "three E's" overlap one another and are mutually constituted. Yet while Dale & Burrell's triad is apparently modelled very closely on Lefebvre's, one does not directly mirror the other. It would be easy to argue that Lefebvre's triad is broader conceptually, and that is perhaps very true. Yet the terms Dale & Burrell have chosen for their three "lenses" seem to imply more than they denote. For instance, though both Lefebvre's "spatial practice" and Dale & Burrell's "enchantment" focus on the effects of perception (the perceived space, in Lefebvrian terms), "enchantment" refers to the power effects of the built environment that influence or create certain behaviours, while "spatial practice" refers the behaviours themselves. One could argue that enchantment is a process by which certain spatial practices are created. Lefebvre's "representations of space" (or the space as conceived) can be differentiated from Dale & Burrell's "emplacement", though if a difference exists at all (and it may not) it is slight. Arguably, while Lefebvre's term focuses on the creation of the boundaries themselves, Dale & Burrell's term is more concerned with the effects of boundary creation, on the consequences of fixation rather than merely the act of fixing. The reason for this difference may simply be that Lefebvre introduces his triad in the most abstract, unapplied manner, while Dale & Burrell, chiefly concerned with the social space of organizations, define their triad with an eye to its application in real-life settings. The final couple, Lefebvre's "representational space" (space as lived) and Dale & Burrell's "enactment", both refer to the construction of identity within lived or embodied space.

In any event, differences may only be a matter of interpretation, for one can easily see how, in Dale & Burrell's version, the three realms that Leckie & Given (2010, p. 228) identify in Lefebvre's triad (the physical, mental and social) work in a similarly mutualising pattern. For instance, while enchantment explains how certain characteristics of building design (physical) influence perception (mental) and thus identity and behaviour (social), emplacement depends first upon the processes of perception (mental) which then dictate how buildings are designed (physical) which then influences identity and behaviour (social). Last,

enactment explains how we experience place in everyday life (social), which is very much dependent upon or is at least prescribed by the material constraints of space (physical) which affect our perceptions (mental) and what is and what is not possible.

Territorialisation

Two further spatial theories are used to explain the study's findings. First is *territorialism*, the theory of territorial behaviour in humans, first expounded by British zoologist Desmond Morris (1977, 1988), who defines *territory* as an "owned" or "defended" space (1988, p. 510). (His theory was just one small part of his larger theory of human behaviour, and unfortunately Morris published little else relating directly to this theory.) Some of his ideas match those of sociospatial theorist Edward T. Hall, whose studies of spatial differences between people and how these patterns differ from culture to culture were published (Hall, 1959, 1966) and are now known as *proxemics*.

Like Hall, Morris claims that every culture, society or collection of people has its own set of socially, mentally, and physically defined territories of variable scale, and these territories and their boundaries constitute important structures aimed at producing order where there otherwise would be none: "Man is a co-operative species," he writes, "but he is also competitive, and his struggle for dominance has to be structured in some way if chaos is to be avoided" (p. 510). People territorialize at different scales, and they define and defend their territory through territorial or "barrier signals" (Morris, 1977, p. 133). "In order for [systems of territorialisation] to work, each territory has to be plainly advertized as such," Morris says (1988, p. 511). Territorial or barrier signals are ways of identifying, either through individual behaviour or through the manipulation of the physical environment, where territory begins and end, and under what conditions, if any, visitation or mixing between members of different territories may occur.

Indeed, any group, club, organization, physical or conceptual or both, constitutes what Morris calls a "modern pseudo-tribe" (1977, p. 128) and sets up their own "special kind of home base. In extreme cases non-members are totally excluded, in others they are allowed in as visitors with limited rights and under a control system of special rules" (1988, p. 511-12).

Flags, signs, physical barriers such as counters, locks, people standing guard outside important entrances or exits, all serve a function (to guard space by filtering what or who goes in or comes out) as well as act as a "symbolic embodiment" (1988, p. 511) of the territory being guarded. Morris discusses not just inter-territorial dynamics but also, to a limited extent, *intra*-territorial dynamics, particularly the formation of sub-groups within territories too expansive and sophisticated to guarantee absolute unity among members. One example Morris gives is of modern organizations, particularly businesses and industries where organizational structure mirrors a well-defined hierarchy of different subgroups, each with their own interests and goals in addition to larger organizational objectives.

The implications of Morris's theory of *territorialisation* upon organization space are many. To begin, the theory suggests that territories can be both physical and conceptual, and that physical boundaries within organization space are only one aspect of a much larger system of boundary creation and defense. Systems of territorialisation begin with the conception of space, namely the *emplacement* of people within space in relation to one another by means of fixation, and are *enacted* in various ways, most particularly through what one might call "organizational performance", which I define as a standardized manner or set of behaviours shared among members of an organization. Territorial signals are many, most particularly visual and embedded in all aspects of the built environment that symbolize and convey (enchantment) status and a sense of ownership and control.

Disciplinary Power[18]

The sociospatial theory that requires mention, and will be explored in further detail in the study's findings, is Foucault's concept of *disciplinary power* (Foucault, 1977). Disciplinary power not only helps explain how and why public librarians constructed their identity as "knowing" professionals in the modern public library; Foucault's ideas about the origins of modern institutional buildings—and their preoccupation with the regulation and monitoring of bodies in space, most particularly—help explain why the modern public library in the early twentieth century was modeled so similarly to the modern factory.

[18] As Dale & Burrell (2008, p. 61) comment: "It is not surprising that organization theory became enamoured of the panopticon for in organizational terms it brings together a number of interesting factors: the spatial, the social, the discursive and the subjective, although in many accounts spatial itself it not analyzed."

Beginning with *The Birth of the Clinic* (Foucault, 1973) and bringing his ideas to full fruition in *Discipline and Punish* (Foucault, 1977), Foucault examined "the relations of power and knowledge as imprinted on the human body" through "disciplinary codes and related forms of punishment" within the penal system (Elliott, 2009, p. 72). Just as Foucault believed that power produced knowledge, he also believed that the exercise of knowledge produces power. Foucault used as a universal example of the power/knowledge process the modern medical profession and its preoccupation with the identifying, classifying, and monitoring of the sick, insane or the "other." Doctors and psychiatrists constructed a regime of truth and meaning around their collective authority as knowing professionals, an authority that led to the use of power ("medicalization") in the ways in which they retained and treated patients. In hospitals and insane asylums, for instance, this entailed myriad examinations, classifications, and documentation activities, all of which objectified and depersonalized patients with labels or codes and kept them under careful watch.

Foucault saw this examination-classification-documentation process occurring not just in modern medical practices but in many more areas of everyday life. Foucault felt that modern society, in its race to "medicalize" its institutions and operations, had developed a fixation on the control and regulation of the body (Jones, 2003). This was much in part due to capitalist discourse and the concept of labour, specifically the control of large numbers of compliant bodies ("docile bodies") at once. This is where Foucault turned to Jeremy Bentham's (1787) conception of *The Panopticon*, a revolutionary form of eighteenth-century prison design, to illustrate the greater effects of disciplinary power upon society. Bentham's prison was a circular design with a darkened central watchtower at its core. Cells radiated from this tower to the outer walls, leaving prisoners under the watch of unseen guards at the centre. Bentham's chosen name for the prison type, the *panopticon*, was a combination of the Greek words *pan-* ("all") and *–optikon* ("optic") (New Oxford American, 2008), thereby implying the design's spatial concept: that guards could see all, everywhere and at all times, though the prisoners themselves could not see the guards. Bentham's innovation offered the penal system two chief benefits: First, because prisoners could not see the guards in the watchtower, they did not know when they were being watched. This resulted in the "self-

policing" or "self-regulation" of prisoner behaviour: Prisoners, in effect, became their own guards. This was something Bentham called a "new mode of power, of mind over mind" (Bentham, 1787, p. v). Foucault referred to it as "the automatic functioning of power." The second benefit was that fewer guards would be needed per prisoner since prisoners were busy policing themselves and could not see the guards anyway. This way, the few (the guards) could exert a certain kind of control over the many (prisoners). Foucault referred to this form of power as "disciplinary power" (Foucault, 1977).

Foucault believed that discourse and forms of disciplinary power underlay most modern institutions (Andrejewski, 2008).[19] In the industrial and early modern eras, thus, institutions preoccupied with the control of "docile bodies"—asylums, hospitals, jails, prisons, schools, poor houses—adopted this subtle mechanism, this "relational play of forces between the state and its subjects" (Philo, 2004, p. 123) in their buildings. Most important is the "careful watch" or, as Foucault called it, the "clinical gaze."[20] Turning the idea of Bentham's "panopticon" into *panopticism*, Foucault explained how complex systems of "gazes" (or surveillance), direct and indirect, external and internal, gave rise to modern society's preoccupation with "bio-politics"—or, the control of masses of people through the regulation of the mind and discipline and control of the body. As these modern institutions increasingly adopted approaches to surveillance into their operations, they began to incorporate fundamental elements of Bentham's prison design in their architecture. As Foucault (1977) asks, "Is it surprising that prisons resemble factories, schools, barracks, [and] hospitals—which all resemble prisons?"

[19] Industrial capitalism, according to Foucault, has always depended on systems of surveillance and self-regulation. In fact Foucault saw these structures just as present in contemporary society in the way bureaucratic organizations—governments, for example—maintain control over the population. It is also the way hegemonic interests maintain their dominance. "Society for Foucault," explains Elliott (2009), "may be understood as a struggle of discourses in which power relations are shaped, with specific forms of discipline and resistance defining the nature of what it feels like to be alive. Those in positions of power," he continues, "in order to further their material and symbolic interests, seek to gain control over the policing of discourse—of defining what is acceptable and unacceptable within specific forms of life in society at large. But power, warns Foucault, is never fixed. Power is instead best conceived of as a relationship, a mysterious force between individuals, groups and institutions" (p. 74).

[20] The "clinical gaze" is not literal; it does not necessarily denote direct surveillance (i.e., seeing an object, person or activity directly) inasmuch as it denotes detectability within a visible field, visibility itself not just the visual but the abilities of multiple sensory organs: seeing, hearing and smelling. Another aspect of "the gaze" was the creation and maintenance of records necessary for the reform of the convicted. Anyone thus subjected to these direct and indirect forms of surveillance was subject to the "clinical" or "Foucauldian" gaze.

The original purpose of the modern public library, as explored earlier, was to reform and regulate but, it being a voluntary institution unlike a public school, hospital or prison (Martin, 1998), its users were not there due to laws or ill health—in other words, because they had to be. Yet those who used the library required, to some degree at least, access to print information and, by that measure, were there out of necessity. Since they were using materials and space that was not theirs privately, some agreement or compromise was necessary about the conditions under which users were to access and use the library's resources. Because of the service-bound nature of modern public librarianship, librarians and users were thus in opposition to one another, and some disciplinary mechanism was required to keep activity and people "in a state of conscious and permanent visibility that ensures the automatic function of power" (Foucault, 2007, p. 415). Disciplinary power was the answer:

> It is polyvalent in its applications; it serves to reform prisoners, but also to treat patients, to instruct schoolchildren, to confine the insane, to supervise workers... It is a type of location of bodies in space, of distribution of individuals in relation to one another, of hierarchical organization, of disposition of centres and channels of power... which can be implemented in hospitals, workshops, schools, prisons. Whenever one is dealing, with a multiplicity of individuals on whom a task or particular form of behaviour must be imposed, the panoptic schema may be used. (Foucault, 2007, p. 419)

The work of Alistair Black examines the influence of Foucault's disciplinary power and panopticism on early library architecture. His work alone (Black, 2001, 2005) and with others (Black, Pepper & Bagshaw, 2009) examines specifically the Victorian public library in England, the Foucauldian "medicalization" of the library profession, and its impact on the library as a place. To begin, Black, Pepper & Bagshaw (2009) explain how the emerging library profession first established itself as an "expert" group by constructing discourses of knowledge and "regimes of truth" (Black, 2005) that produced and reproduced their authority as "knowing" professionals. These were the foundations that established the oppositional power relations between the librarians and the library's public (Black, Pepper & Bagshaw, 2009, p. 44). As trained professionals librarians maintained this authority over knowledge through: (i) the classifying and ordering of information contained in the library; (ii) a preoccupation with "businesslike" procedures and rules of order; and (iii) the tracking of users' locations and activities in the library space (Black, 2001).

This bureaucratic, panoptic nature of the modern public library "was the foundation of the culture of professional librarianship," claims Black (2001, p. 66). "It underpinned the need and expressed the desire to control both internal library operations and the activities of its users. A concern for bureaucracy was also the cornerstone of librarians' stated mission to organize and control knowledge." The librarian thus developed a preoccupation with "bureaucratic paraphernalia" (Black, Pepper & Bagshaw, 2009, p. 45): namely, minute books, workbooks, time books, annual reports, registers, public notices, forms, files, and so on. Librarians were thus like Foucault's doctors, medicalizing the library's operations to the point that users were not even people: "In what became a highly bureaucratic library system," explain Black, Pepper & Bagshaw (2009, p. 45), "users were placed on the same level as the book: that is to say, numbered, sorted and subjected to detailed and documented rules of procedure, as well as, unlike books, to rules of behaviour." Such processes

> ... which in themselves engendered discipline and order, enhanced the ideological purpose of the library: which was to improve the efficiency and productivity of the population, to civilize it and elevate it morally. ... In rendering the reader's body "docile", librarians were in effect imbued with a sort of "bio-power": the exercising of power via the domination of the body. (p. 45-6)

So, by constructing self-serving discourses of knowledge, librarians elevated their status within the library. They were not just organizers and controllers of information; they were also "engineers of conduct" (Black, Pepper & Bagshaw, 2009, p. 45). Surveillance played a key role in this "search for order" in the modern public library, and librarians conducted surveillance two ways: First, documentary procedures (i.e., indirect), the "tracking, logging, capturing, computing, and tabulating" of user patterns and "motives of use" (Black, 2005, p. 425); and second, physical observation of library users (i.e., direct) (Black, 2001, p. 66-7). The impact of the librarian's "gaze" upon library designs was significant. As Black (2001) once again explains:

> Devices such as the raised superintendent's platform, radiating stacks, long counters arranged perpendicular to parallel stacks, glass screens, the sparing use of alcoves, and appropriately positioned galleries and balconies were liberally deployed in libraries. "Every convenience is sacrificed at the shrine of supervision," wrote Champneys... and often, he continued, the librarian's office was at the center of it, with lines drawn on the plan from his desk to every corner of the building to show, apparently, that he can see all ways at once. (p. 75)

Surveillance and control in the library building, like Bentham's panopticon, enforced an atmosphere of method, order, and self-regulation rather than direct, forceful control. However, regulation was internalized; that is, librarians were not the only "gazers". Andrejewski adds that gazes in panoptic spatial arrangements were not always "monocentric"; they were also "dispersed, returned and contradicted" (2008, p. 2). In other words, users gazed *at each other* as part of the self-regulation process (Black, 2001; Andrejewski, 2008). Ultimately, the panoptic model allowed the control of many by a relative few (Schmeltzer, 1993).

Many would find it startling to adopt a negative view of the public library from conceptualizing it this way: as a Foucauldian "clinic" or "prison"—that a benevolent cultural institution such as the public library could be interpreted as suspect or somehow not well-intentioned. This is a matter worth exploring, albeit briefly, for as Foucault saw the panopticon as a metaphor for the self-regulation that propelled greater society, others who have revisited Foucault's ideas do not necessarily see this process in the pejorative. Panopticism and surveillance can be used constructively, reminds both Black (2001) and Andrejewski (2008): "[A]s much as individuals used surveillance to discipline in prisons, users in other contexts relied on it to enhance efficiency, to forge and buttress hierarchical divisions between people and groups, and even *to bond people united by shared interests, goals, or obligations together in a context of fellowship*" (Andrejewski, 2008, p. 3-4, emphasis mine). Black (2001, p. 74) adds:

> The panoptic control systems of modernity, including those deployed by public libraries, are not simply born of coercive intentions. Modernity and its surveillance mechanisms encompass projects that are both liberating and disciplinary.... This has been evident in the bureaucratic, information practices of librarians who, though exerting a professional gaze on users... have done so not just for occupational self-esteem but also in the name of social betterment and enlightenment.

Despite the relationship between the public library and industrial forms of architecture, some library architects took panopticism to an almost literal level in their designs for several large, non-public libraries built in the 1890s. The first of these was the British Museum's round reading room, opened in 1857. At its center was placed a round, island-like delivery counter at which sat members of library staff who enjoyed a clear, 360-degree view of the room.

Study tables and chairs, placed perpendicular to the central desk, radiated in all directions. No users are unwatched in the reading room. Similar reading rooms in North American libraries followed, namely the Low Memorial Library at Columbia University (built in 1895) and the central reading room of Thomas Jefferson Building of the Library of Congress (see 2xii), completed in 1896. Both featured the central, island-like librarian's desk but study tables radiated from the centre in rings rather than in radials. Even Canada's Library of Parliament, a round library with tiers of alcove wallstacks lining its perimeter, contained elements of panopticism in its design when it first opened in 1876.

The reading room of the Library of Congress (Jefferson Building), which opened in 1896. (Public domain; p/c from author's collection.)

Professional Librarianship, "Scientific Management", and Organization

Although panopticism was a particularly strong influence in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, there were other factors that influenced institutional building design, including the emergence of the "the organization" as a modern phenomenon and the accompanying preoccupation with efficiency and "scientific management" of people and operations. These movements helped shape the public library as an organization, which, to an extent, influenced the evolution of the public library as an organization space throughout the twentieth century.

As Olbrich (1994, p. 477) explains, since 1876 approaches to library organization have reflected "librarians' struggles for recognition and power within the confines of institutional patronage." Library organizations have thus adopted a more or less corporate approach to their operations. Industrialization in the nineteenth century, along with the writings of such figures as Max Weber, Henri Fayol, and Frederick Taylor, triggered what it now termed the "classical school" of organization and management, a utilitarian approach to organizing factories and businesses as efficiently and "scientifically" as possible through the principles of planning, staffing, the development of rules and routines, and directing. This resulted in the division of labour, the compartmentalization of different organizational functions, the specialization of tasks, analysis of efficiency, and so forth. As Stuart & Moran (2007, p. 129)

explain, this method of organization "divides an organization into smaller, more manageable units and makes the work done in each unit compatible with that done in others." As public library operations became standardized in the late-nineteenth century, public libraries began to divide their operations (and services) by function: as Stuart & Moran (2007) explain, circulation, reference, acquisition, cataloguing, and management "historically have been the [functional] bases of library organization," (Stuart & Moran, 2007, p. 160).

As the professional status of librarianship grew during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, its leanings toward this "scientific" manner of organization intensified. Among the most enthusiastic proponents of the "efficiency" or "scientific management" movement within the library field were Melvil Dewey and Charles McCarthy (Rosenberg, 1994)—the former, of course, being the inventor of modern decimal classification and the founder of the first professional library school (the "School of Library Economy" at Columbia College, in 1887). The development of the Library Bureau, another one of Dewey's inventions, was instrumental in bringing to libraries of all sizes and kinds not just a collection of useful equipment and tools to aid the sorting, organization, and coordination of library operations, but also a standardized method of doing so. The Library Bureau sold not just to libraries; but as one of the largest manufacturers and distributors of such equipment, the Bureau sold plenty to businesses as well. Thus, that the modern public library's approach to organization, including its choice of management philosophies, has, like many other types of organizations and institutions, emulated the corporate model is no accident. (Neither is the fact that "library *science*" would later become the profession's label.)

By the early twentieth century, the internal organizations of most public libraries had adopted an overall bureaucratic form and structure, with the "chain of command" beginning at the top (administration) and ending at the bottom (support workers). As Martin (1996) and Stueart & Moran (2007) explain, much of this structure remains in today's library organizations. Yet even within this structure there have been clear "territorial" divisions between the lower ranking staff (support staff) and the higher ranking staff (administration). The American Library Association's *Manual of Library Economy*, one of the first publications of its kind, identified such organizational stratifications in libraries as early as 1907. Yet as Martin

(1996, p. 20) observes, though the chain of command has operated in one direction only, both the lower-ranking and higher ranking staff have obligations to one another: "The manager has a responsibility for getting tasks done, even as the workers has a responsibility to perform." Increasingly, and despite the introduction of library automation in the 1960s and 1970s, library "professionals" have handed down many of the more "traditional" library functions (e.g., public service, cataloguing, and so forth) to non-professionals and other support staff while the professional librarians focus more on policy development, fiscal matters, and general administration (Young, 1994). Unionization among staff, as well as the emergence of staff associations, became increasingly common (Young, 1994) through the last century. Consequently, by the 1990s the ratio of support staff and assistants to professional staff and administration had become approximately 2 to 1 (Young, 1994). It follows that the higher one's rank in the library organization, the fewer contemporaries one has. Thus forms the conceptual basis of the bureaucratic "pyramid".

Although Rosenberg (1994) claims that the public library's adoption of "scientific management" techniques would not fully develop until the 1930s, libraries began adopting aspects of the model into their operational design much earlier. One can thus appreciate the impact this had on the development of the public library building. For example, subject-specific reading rooms and eventually the first subject departments emerged in large public libraries as early as the 1870s and 1880s. Indeed, in his description of the library's organization structure, Martin (1996, p. 20) hints at how worker specialization and functional compartmentalization has always had unavoidably spatial consequences on the public library as a building:

> In Weber's sense the library is a bureaucracy, with its hierarchy of positions sections, departments and divisions, with its combination of non-professional, professional and managerial personnel, and with its various specialties of position such as cataloguer, bibliographer, circulation staff, reference librarian, and so on. If the attempt were made to combine all these specialties in every worker, each one with the whole range of ability and responsibility, qualified individuals would be most difficult to locate [i.e., to recruit]. Even if they were somehow located, there would not be as much production in the factory or as much service in the library, because individuals would lose time in shifting from one role to another... [and] would have to function at different workstations, would probably lack full equipment at those stations, and would have to engage in some tasks in which they have little or no interest.

In other words, specialization of tasks and the compartmentalization of those tasks and functions have been fundamental to the design of modern library buildings. That is, nearly every function has its own location, and not necessarily every individual worker. Moreover, as rank increases so does one's "privilege and reward" (Martin, 1996). Libraries have also adopted the concept of the "line" worker: "This had [first] developed in armies," explains Martin (1996, p. 25), "with combat units at the front and planning, engineering, supply and other support units behind them. The same structure can apply in the factory [and, of course, the library], with workers on the line, and accounting, personnel, and maintenance [administration and planning] units backing them up."

The library's adoption of a corporate, bureaucratic structure has remained more or less static since the days of library standardization (Olbrich, 1994; Martin, 1996; Stuart & Moran, 2007). "Publicly supported organizations, including libraries, have been slower to change and move away from traditional organization structures," observes Stuart & Moran (2007, p. 135). "Hierarchy and departmentalization," adds Olbrich (1994, p. 481), "established a library status quo librarians [have] found useful..." Even though the primary focus of this research is an exploration of library design using organization space theory, it is anticipated that aspects of scientific management will be observed and documented as the study proceeds, and may aid in the understanding of how libraries are perceived and used, and why certain spatial characteristics and/or patterns are evident.

2.3.3. Research Questions

As stated earlier, this study examines the materially-embedded relations of power in the designs of three of today's mid-sized public libraries. (By "mid-sized" that is to say not a large central library or a very small, one- or two-room rural library.) To suit its design (see next chapter), this study was guided by one overarching research question ("RQ") and three specific, case-level research questions (CQ_1, CQ_2, and CQ_3 respectively). These questions are:

RQ	To what extent and in what specific ways do the modern public library's materially-embedded relations of power operate within the built environment of today's mid-sized public libraries?
CQ_1	*What forms of enchantment affect people's perceptions of the public library as an organization and place?*
CQ_2	*What forms of emplacement exist in the built environment of the public library that position, fix and coordinate materials and people in relation to each other?*
CQ_3	*How do inhabitants enact the "public library" as a place?*

CQ_1 "What forms of enchantment affect people's perceptions of the public library as an organization and place?" entails a consideration of the library's architectural style, the power effects it has upon the library building's inhabitants (users and staff), and their perceptions of the public library's organizational purpose. Does style matter? Does it convey a certain ideology or vision to library users, or is it merely decoration? This question is explored chiefly through interviews with library users and staff. **CQ_2** "What forms of emplacement exist in the built environment of the public library that position, fix and coordinate materials and people in relation to each other?" entails a consideration of the library's overall spatial configuration, most particularly how staff and user space is fixed and arranged in relation to each other, and how the library building works as a closed, interdependent system of different places and people. This question is explored through interviews with library users and staff as well as cognitive mapping exercises, observations, and the analysis of photographs and library blueprints. **CQ_3** "How do inhabitants enact the "public library" as a place?" entails a consideration of the kinds of activities library users and staff conduct within the library buildings they inhabit, and in what ways the library's space constructs the identities of "library staff" member and the "library user". This question is explored through interviews, observations, photographs, and cognitive maps.

Overall, the main research question (RQ) and its corollaries will allow me to examine the library as organization space in a systematic fashion. Although one cannot examine any facet of organization space theory completely on its own, $CQ_{1\text{-}3}$ will enable me to foreground each one and then establish a basis for understanding how and, to an extent, why the public library organized its space. Chapter 4 contains the majority of findings relating to $CQ_{1\text{-}3.}$ Chapter 5 will explore findings relating to the RQ, building upon the discussion in Chapter 4.

Chapter 3

3 Study Design and Methods

To explore the study questions, I employed a mixed-methods case-study research design to examine the spatial organization of three public library buildings. Data collection methods included semi-structured interviews with library staff (service staff and administration) and users, non-direct observation, photography, and cognitive mapping exercises. I consulted several key case methodologists, among them Yin (1993, 2003), Stake (1995, 2006), Merriam (1998), Creswell (2007) and Hancock & Algozzine (2006), for all aspects of my approach.

Case study methodology has been used extensively in the social sciences, particularly in the organizational space literature. For instance, both Barajas & Ronnkvist's (2007) study of a public school as "racialized space" and Chugh & Hancock's (2009) analysis of the embodied space of hair salons use a single-case design; and Small's (2009) investigation of how the concept of "workplace community" is made manifest in a federal service agency building also employs a case study methodology. The case study has been successfully employed in recent LIS studies as well; for instance, case studies have recently been used to examine the implementation of online health information (Aspinall et al, 2009); children's experiences in school libraries (Greenwood, Creaser & Maynard, 2009); teens' use of school libraries (Rofste, 2005; Stephens, 2007); the implementation of information commons at academic and research libraries (Allmang, Liu and Saunders, 2005; Koelker, Bouchard & Lutz, 2010; Bailey, 2010; Stoffle & Cuillier, 2010); academic libraries as learning centers (Bryant, Matthews & Walton, 2009; Baratt & White, 2010); public libraries in shopping centres (Forsyth, 2006); and reference services (Del Bosque & Chapman, 2007; Donghua et al, 2009). At least two of the studies covered in section 2.0 were designed as case studies: Cavanagh's (2009) ethnographic case study of a large, urban public library system, for example, uses as data collection tools participatory observations, interviews, and document analysis; and Most's (2009) case study of a rural public library system in northern Florida employs interviews, statistical observations, document analysis and survey questionnaires.

3.1. Case Studies

The case study is a qualitative approach appropriate for research questions whose answers require an in-depth, "empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (Yin, 2003, p. 13). The object (or "phenomenon") of study is bounded by space and time (Creswell, 2007) and can be an individual, an organization, a program, or an event (Yin, 2003; Stake, 2006; Hancock & Algozzine, 2006)—anything that can be defined as a complex and integrated system of factors within a "field" setting rather than in controlled conditions.[21] In the present study, the phenomenon of study is *the public library as organization space* and the cases for study (or "units of analysis" [Yin, 2003]) are three different public library buildings.

The case study's epistemological assumptions place the researcher very "close" to the phenomenon of study—in its natural or "real world" setting in fact, giving the researcher what is called the *emic* or "insider's perspective" (Yin, 2003). Since the case study's chief form of evidence is the actions and experiences of people who exist within and experience the bounded system, its ontological assumptions recognize the existence of multiple realities from multiple points of view (Yin, 2003). When formulating and later investigating his or her

[21] In his chapter entitled "What Is a Case Study?", Gerring (2007) makes the observation that "[t]he key term of this book ["case study"] is... a definitional morass," (p. 17) implying that previous attempts at defining the case method, either in research findings or methods texts, have caused more problems than they have attempted to solve. This is because what "case study" means is very dependent on one's choice of case study type, one's choice of research design, whether or not quantitative data gathering techniques will be used, and so forth.

Attempts to define the case study in just one or two sentences have therefore resulted in contradictions between texts because each author's previous experiences with the method have been different. For example, Gerring's (2007) brief definition describes the case study as "[t]he intensive study of a single case for the purpose of understanding a larger class of similar units (or populations of cases)" (p. 211). Yin (2003) would disagree with Gerring's claim that statistically generalizing findings to a larger "population" is possible: unless the case study employs quantitative-only data gathering methods (and some do), a truly qualitative case study researcher does not make statistical generalizations nor do they present their selection of case(s) as representative of larger populations. Berg's (2001) definition of "case study" is a little more expansive, noting that case studies "involve systematically gathering enough information about a particular person, social setting, event or group to permit the researcher to effectively understand how it operates or functions," (p. 225). True, case studies require the systematic gathering of data, and in *explanatory* case studies we do wish to make assertions about causality, but not in all case studies and not in this study (more on this later in this chapter).

However, in addition to the definition in the running text above, many published definitions of "case study" do match how the present study, an *exploratory* case study, defines the concept. For example, Hancock & Algozzine (2006) define the case study as a set of "intensive analyses and descriptions of a single unit or system bounded by space and time" (p. 11) and as "an empirical investigation of a contemporary phenomenon within its natural context using multiple sources of evidence" (p. 15). Creswell (1998) describes the case study as "an exploration of a 'bounded system' or case (or multiple cases)" through "detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information rich in context" (p. 61). And finally, Merriam (1998) defines case studies as "differentiated from other types of qualitative research in that they are intensive descriptions and analyses of a single unit or bounded system. A case study design is employed," she continues, "to gain an in-depth understanding of the situation and meaning for those involved. The interest is in process rather than outcomes, in context rather than in a specific variable, in discovery rather than confirmation," (p. 19).

research questions, the case study researcher aims to understand the object of study from multiple angles and consider information derived from a variety of data collection techniques rather than just one (Yin, 2003). It is at the confluence of these multiple realities that the researcher can derive well-triangulated study findings.

3.1.1. Case Study Methodology

While the case study design has long been a popular approach to research in medicine and psychology (Berg, 2001), and reviews of "cases" are often used as a teaching device[22] in many social science disciplines (Yin, 2003), the case study as a research *methodology* is relatively new to the social sciences.[23] Previously, researchers perceived the case method as nothing more than a mere sampling strategy (i.e., selecting a sample of 1 while using another research approach) or the term "case study" as nothing more than "a catchall category" or label for any research design "that is not a survey, an observational study, or an experiment and is not statistical in nature" (Hancock & Algozzine, 2006, p. 15). Nevertheless, the case study is a legitimate qualitative approach to research with assumptions and protocols distinct from other qualitative approaches (Yin, 2003; Creswell, 2007).

Using Creswell's (2007) "five traditions" of qualitative inquiry as a guide, it is clear how the case study differs from other qualitative research methodologies. While a phenomenological study, which examines "the meaning of several people's lived experiences around a specific issue or phenomenon" (Hancock & Algozzine, 2006, p. 9) is in some ways comparable to the case study, the phenomenological study relies primarily on interviews for evidence and does not examine the interactions of different factors within a bounded system. Rather, phenomenological studies are chiefly concerned with "describ[ing] the essence of the phenomenon [of study], such as the essence of having cancer or of being a minority in a majority setting" (p. 9). Moreover, phenomenological studies do not require placing the researcher in the same context as those he or she interviews. Biographies examine the life of

[22] As Yin (2003) notes: "Teaching case studies need not be concerned with the rigorous and fair presentation of empirical data; research case studies need to do exactly that" (p. 2).

[23] It seems that within only the past fifteen or twenty years has the case study developed as a methodology all its own with rules, assumptions and protocols different from those of other qualitative approaches. Yin's (2003) brief literature review demonstrates this more than adequately. My own examination of literature in specific fields (for example, LIS, education, business, political science, anthropology and economics), paying particular attention to the number (and publication dates) of texts and handbooks that deal with the case method, further supported Yin's (2003) claim.

one person and rely on document analysis and interviews as their only forms of evidence (Hancock & Algozzine, 2006). As histories, they examine past phenomena, not contemporary.

Ethnographic studies, often confused with case study research (Yin, 2003), "investigate intact cultural or social groups to find and describe beliefs, values and attitudes that structure the behaviour, language and interactions of the group. Findings are based primarily on observations by the researcher, who is immersed in the group's setting for an extended period of time," (Hancock & Algozzine, 2006, p. 9). Unlike ethnographies, however, case studies do not require as much time in the field (Yin, 2003; Stake, 2006) and can even use quantitative data gathering techniques—something the ethnography cannot use (Yin, 1993, 2003). Further, as with grounded theory studies, ethnography does not require the placement of theory early in the research design. Case studies, on the other hand, do (Yin, 2003). Grounded theory studies aim to generate "a [new] theory [or theoretical model] grounded in data from the field" (Creswell, 2007, p. 65) rather than explain patterns or themes or make assertions using pre-existing theory; and while grounded theory studies, like case studies, rely heavily on high amounts of field evidence, they gather information from interviews only (Creswell, 2007). Ultimately, the case study's primary advantages include the opportunity to study a bounded system in a real-life context as well as the opportunity to use multiple data gathering techniques (or sources of evidence) for triangulation of findings (Yin, 2003).

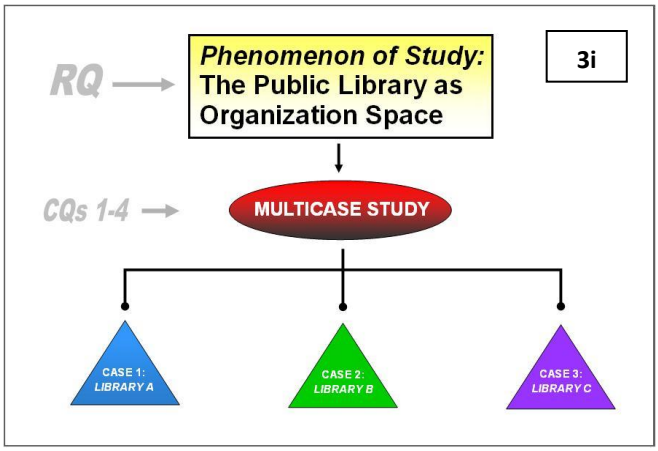
According to Berg (2001), Stake (1995) and Yin (1993, 2003), there are at least three distinct types of case study from which to choose: *exploratory*, *explanatory* and *descriptive* case studies. An explanatory case study, perhaps the type most "scientific" in its approach, seeks to uncover causal relationships in the units of analysis as a means of generating conclusions about the phenomenon of study (Berg, 2001; Yin, 2003). Explanatory case studies involve not only the development of research questions about the phenomenon of study but also require propositions or hypotheses to either confirm or reject (Stake, 1995, 2006; Yin, 2003). Exploratory case studies, by contrast, do not look for causal relationships in their data; they look for associations, interactions, or correspondences. Nor do exploratory case studies require the formulation of propositions or hypotheses. Exploratory case studies are normally

used for pilot studies (Berg, 2001) or, in this case, a larger study for which there is little previous research available about the topic to inform propositions or hypotheses (Yin, 2003). Exploratory case study designs, often appearing less structured to those less familiar with the methodology (Stake, 2006), are intended to unfold as the researcher encounters and probes their object of study. (For instance, in some exploratory studies, the formulation of research questions occurs when the researcher is in the field rather than at the proposal stage.) The third type of case study, the descriptive case study, follows the same approach as the explanatory case study, but uses descriptive theory, not explanatory theory (Berg, 2001).

This present study is primarily exploratory in its approach to inquiry. Since empirical findings from other studies of the library as an organizational space are scant, no hypotheses were developed prior to data collection. However, this study employed schedules and standardized forms to ensure as uniform and systematic collection of data as possible, much like an explanatory case study. This study also used explanatory theory to contextualize findings.

3.1.2. Study Design and Case Selection

The present study adopted a multiple case study design (Yin, 2003; Stake, 2006) using three cases for investigation. In case study methodology, the greater the number of cases in a design, the stronger a researcher's findings will be since they have more data to consider: "[M]ultiple case study designs are likely to be stronger than single-case designs," claims Yin (2003, p. 19). "Trying to use even a two-case design is a worthy objective compared to doing a single-case study." The figure at right depicts this study's multicase design. The RQ is asked at the level of the *phenomenon of study* ("the public library as organization space") while the specific research questions, CQ_{1-3}, are asked at the *case*-level. Findings pertaining to CQ_{1-3} form a basis to exploring the RQ



Study design.

(see figure 3i). Qualitative case study findings are never generalizable statistically, only at the level of theory. Hence the importance of using the study's theoretical framework in the formulation of the research questions.

I chose the three libraries for specific reasons, considering their size, age, varying architectural styles, and their location. All three are located in the Canadian province of Ontario, where all three are governed by the same provincial legislation. Each one is relatively accessible (geographically) to the researcher. Each case library is of relatively similar size (in this study, "mid-sized") but from different eras of library design: the first, a Carnegie library updated with an addition; second, a library from the late-Modernist period; and third, a library from the Postmodern period. Since buildings from all three eras of library architecture are still used as libraries in North America, I considered all three as valid examples of present-day public library space and it was important to represent this variability within the sample.

Table 1: Size of Library and Community for Libraries A, B, and C

	A-Salterton Library	B-Deptford Library	C-Cornish Library
Building Size (in ft^2)*	25,000	40,000	38,000
Resident Pop. served (as 2010)*	32,000	76,000	49,000

** Rounded to the nearest 1,000. Obtained from* www.mtc.gov.on.ca/en/libraries/statistics

I had to define "mid-sized" in a broad way: recruiting three, identically-sized libraries (by square footage) and each in an identically-sized urban centre (by population) was absolutely impossible. I tried to find three buildings of variable age but that were approximately the same size (in square footage) and within a reasonable distance of the researcher. Therefore, in this study, I have defined "medium-sized" library by the following characteristics:

- serves a resident population between 30,000 and 80,000 people
- is a standalone library without any other fully operational braches elsewhere in its community

- holds a collection of between 100,000 and 150,000 volumes
- has a circulation of approximately 250,000 to 450,000 items per year

The Ontario Ministry of Culture,[24] the governing body for the three case libraries, breaks down library size not by square footage but rather by population served. It has grouped its public libraries into eight categories by population: under 2,500; 2,501 to 5,000; 5,001 to 15,000; 15,001 to 30,000; 30,001 to 50,000; 50,001 to 100,000; 100,001 to 250,000; and over 250,000. The three case libraries, by measure of resident population served, place the three libraries into two of the "middle" size categories (categories 5 and 6), namely 30,001 to 50,000 (Libraries A and C) and 50,001 to 100,000 (Library B).

I avoided large, central library buildings (e.g., buildings in Toronto, Vancouver, or Ottawa, for example) since central libraries are not only larger but very different in nature than smaller and mid-sized library buildings (see section 2.2); I also avoided choosing library buildings in rural communities (in a population centre less than 10,000 people, for example) since those buildings tend to be very small and are usually branches of a country system where top-level administration houses itself off-site. Only one library (B-Deptford) had a branch library in addition to their main library. However, this branch library had limited collections, very limited hours, and no separate staff or management. Therefore all three libraries were virtually self-contained and, as organizations, centralized within their respective buildings. I avoided choosing libraries that were undergoing renovations or remodeling; I also avoided libraries in shared facilities. Although Library C-Cornish operated an art gallery in their library, the gallery was operated by the library and was not a separate municipal organization.

3.2 Data Collection and Methods

The selection of data collection tools is crucial in case study methodology. Yin (2003) and Creswell (2007) cite six sources of evidence for case studies: documents, archival records, interviews, direct observation, observation and physical artifacts. While a researcher should use, at a minimum, two of the six sources, it follows that the greater number of sources a

[24] See www.mtc.gov.on.ca/en/libraries/statistics.

researcher chooses will better triangulate their research findings. This study used five: semi-structured interviews, cognitive mapping, field observations, document analysis, and—one method which Hall (1974) believes is one of "the best available means" (p. 3) for exploring spatial relationships—photography.

Choice of data collection tools followed a simple framework based upon a framework by Markus (2006). Markus distinguishes between two forms of "languages" in the study of built environments: prescriptive language and descriptive language. The former refers to evidence related to the *planning and preparation* of library buildings (planning documents, blueprints, and so forth) while the latter refers specifically to the *experiences* of those who use the libraries in question (expressed in various ways, though chiefly verbal). One form of "language" explains how space is designed or intended; the other explains how space is actually experienced. The data collection tools that collected evidence at the prescriptive level include document analysis (floor plans, especially) as well as photographs of the empty library; the data collection tools that collected evidence at the descriptive level included semi-structured interviews, cognitive mapping exercises, non-direct observations, and photographs of the library during open hours.

Document Analysis

As Yin (2003) explains, "[d]ocuments examined by a case study researcher include materials extracted from the Internet, private and public records, physical evidence [or artifacts], and instruments created by the researcher" (p. 51). I collected many publicly available library documents at each case library, including floor plans, building programs, strategic plans, pamphlets, and printed rules of conduct.

The documents I was most interested in related to the library building: floor plans and facility planning documents chief among them. Such documents were not as uniformly available among the three case libraries, however. For instance, of the three libraries only two (Library C, the Cornish Library) had any facility planning documents available—understandable given Library C was only five years old at the time of the study and Library A had undergone an extensive renovation nearly twenty years before. Strategic plans varied in extensiveness

and availability; for two of the case libraries I was limited to the only publicly available (i.e., online) versions of their strategic plans, and the remaining case library informed me that they had no current strategic plan but were finalizing one. (Only recently did I obtain a copy of it.) All documents were entered in the project file and examined during data analysis.

Document analysis can be a valuable data collection tool but it has its limitations. Document collection can prove difficult, perhaps even overwhelming, if a decision is not made ahead of time which documents are most desirable. Liabilities include biased selectivity (on the part of the researcher) and reporting bias (on the part of the document's authors) (Yin, 2003). I attempted to counter any chance of biased selectivity by collecting nearly *everything* I could. Because all of the documents I collected for examination were created by the libraries, and the overwhelming majority of them were meant for public consumption, there was little chance for avoiding reporting bias. Pamphlets, calendars, and descriptions of library resources (e.g., Reader's Advisory bookmarks) were all created by the library as a way to advertise the library's programs and materials. I was able to use the documents I collected to learn more about each library's goals and objectives and how, to some extent, these are realized in their programming and service mandates—but little more. Because of time constraints, I did not collect any documentation about the three case libraries at the municipal level.

Photography

Photography proved to be one of the most valuable forms of data collection. Although in the pilot study (Griffis, 2010) I found it unnecessary to photograph library users, when preparing the present study I realized that documenting library use would be crucial for understanding how the case libraries operate as organization spaces. So, in the present study, I intended to take two sets of photographs. The first, Set 1, did not include library users or staff. The purpose of Set 1 photographs was to collect prescriptive-level information about each library building's design and layout. Since floorplans rarely include such things as the placement of materials and furnishings (or do but the arrangement of items has since outdated), I decided that photography would be the most accurate way of recording such information.

The second set, Set 2, included users and staff and were taken during operational hours. Set 2 photographs offered a descriptive set of photographs for comparison and added to observational data by providing "snapshots" of general library use. Set 2 photos were taken at three general times of the day: morning, midday, and evening. Set 2 photos were date- and time-stamped (using the digital camera's date-time feature) and saved in the same sequence in which they were taken. I took these photos with advance permission of the case libraries and I posted public notices about the photography in conspicuous places around each library. To protect privacy, the identities of users and staff were blurred (using photo software) (see "Confidentiality and Anonymity", below). Photos were entered into the project file and coded.

Table 2: Set 1 and Set 2 Photos per Case Library

Photos	A-Salterton Library	B-Deptford Library	C-Cornish Library
SET 1	454	523	525
SET 2	n/a	163	114
TOTAL	**454**	**686**	**639**

I was unable to take Set 2 photographs at the Salterton Library because the administration had concerns about their users' comfort and privacy. I learned this on the first day of my site visit to A-Salterton, and could only compensate for it by using the time I would have taken gathering Set 2 photographs by taking additional observations. I hoped that, in the absence of Set 2 photographs, increasing the amount of observational data would help balance the data set for Library A.

Observations of Library Activity

In order to observe and record what kinds of activities take place in the libraries (without having to rely solely on information collected in the interviews and photographs), I kept a field observation notebook for the duration of each site visit. Yin (2003) states that observations can be collected either formally or casually; in this study, except for my site visit to A-Salterton Library (at which I could not take Set 2 photographs), no exact period of

time was set aside for this procedure. I did vary my observational period among the different parts of the day (morning, afternoon, evening) and I took at least one period per day to make observations, usually between interviews, first thing in the morning after the library's opening, or last thing in the evening before closing.

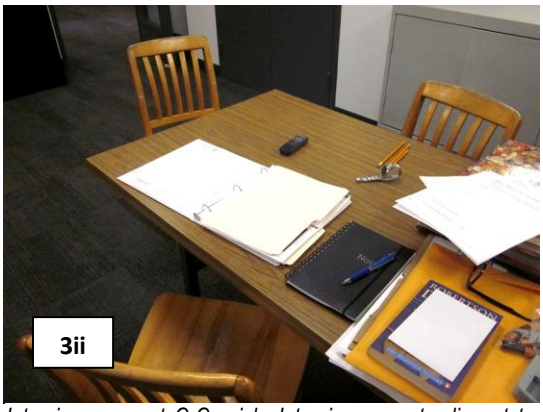
Although I did not replicate their "seating sweeps" method, I referred to the many different library activities as observed by Leckie & Hopkins (2002) and Given & Leckie (2003) (see Appendix G) as a starting framework. I did not limit observations to what is included on the schedule, however. Rather than targeting specific users and staff, my observations targeted different *library buildings* and the kinds of general activities that occurred in them, if any. Observations were entered into the project file and later coded.

Semi-Structured Interviews

Stake (1995) cites the in-depth interview as the chief source of evidence for case study researchers. "Much of what we cannot observe for ourselves has been or is being observed by others," (p. 64). Stake (1995) sees interviewing as an extension of the observation process, referring in his text to interviewees as "surrogate observers". He claims that it is the interview, perhaps more than any other data gathering technique, which gives the case method its ontological foundations: "Qualitative researchers take pride in discovering and portraying the multiple views of the case. The interview is the main road to multiple realities," (p. 64).

The data I collected through semi-structured interviews with users and staff at each library were unquestionably the most valuable of any data I collected at the case libraries. I began each site visit with a tour of the library building given by a member of the library's administration or senior member of library staff. This was to familiarize myself with the library and get a general overview of what kinds of places existed in each case library and what kinds of activities occur in them. These tours were not so much interviews about the staff member giving me the tour but did act as semi-structured interviews about the library building itself. Guided tours usually took no more than 1 hour; each was audio-recorded, coded, and added to the project file.

I intended to interview at least 7 to 10 library users and up to 5 staff members per case library. This proportion was intended to reflect not just the difference between the average number of users versus the average number of staff members per library; it also recognized that library staff members are often reluctant (or unable) to participate in interviews because of time and work obligations.



Interview room at C-Cornish: Interviewees sat adjacent to me, rather than across, so that the interview did not feel like an interrogation but rather a discussion focussed on their experiences in the library building. (Photo by author.)

Each interview took place in a private, enclosed room at each library (see image 3ii). Signed informed consent forms (advising each participant about the nature of the study and its risks; see Appendix C) were collected for each interview. I also obtained signed permission forms to audio-record each interview. No interviewees declined to be recorded. Interviews lasted from approximately 15 minutes (the shortest interview) to over 1 hour (the longest). Length depended on the detail of the interviewee's responses, their willingness to speak openly about their experiences, and my need to ask any questions beyond those appearing on the interview guides (see Appendix E). The identity of each interviewee was kept confidential (see "Confidentiality and Anonymity", below).

While preparing for data collection, it was clear to me that getting people to speak about their experiences in a built environment would likely be one of the most challenging parts of the entire study. People tend to take spatial practice for granted and find it difficult if not impossible to answer direct questions about their perceptions of space or their specific role(s) in space-power relationships. As Hall explains in his handbook of proxemic research, "Proxemic patterns, once learned, are maintained largely outside conscious awareness and thus have to be investigated without probing the conscious minds of one's subjects. Direct questioning will yield few if any... significant insights," (1974, p. 2-3).[25] As Hall reiterates in

[25] Edward T. Hall's theory of proxemics is a typology of interpersonal distances. In the study's early stages I considered using it as a theoretical framework. It was omitted before the final proposal, however, and substituted with Foucault's disciplinary power. Some of Hall's points remain nonetheless valid to the study of spatial relations and so they have not been omitted.

a more recent work, "Most individuals, try as they will, can specify few if any of the elements that enter into [spatial] perception. They can only describe the end product. Thus, the student of proxemics is faced with the problem of developing techniques to isolate and identify the elements of space perception" (2004, p. 55, emphasis mine).

I prepared two interview schedules for this study: one for library users and one for library staff (see appendices). The interview schedules followed a semi-structured format (Berg, 2001); the questions acted as a guide, allowing me to probe responses by adding further questions where and when appropriate (see Appendix E). Using the approach recommended by Seidman (2006), I used the first of the scheduled questions to prompt interviewees to merely *describe and explain* their experiences in the libraries, focusing on details and description wherever possible. I used the second set of questions to enable interviewees to *reflect on the meaning* of those experiences. "At the root of in-depth interviewing is an interest in understanding the *lived experience* of other people and the meaning they make of that experience," (Seidman, 2006, p. 9, emphasis mine). It was important to keep interview questions open-ended so that interviewees can tell *stories*, which, according to Seidman (2006), "are a way of knowing" (p. 7). "When people tell stories," he continues, "they select details of their experience from their consciousness.... It is this process of selecting constitutive details of experience, reflecting on them, giving them order, and thereby making sense of them that makes telling stories a meaning-making experience." Interviewers who use open-ended questions, "build upon and explore their participants' responses to [the interview] questions. The goal is to have the participant reconstruct his or her experience within the topic under study," (p. 15).

Table 3: User and Staff Interviewees per Case Library

Interviewees	A-Salterton	B-Deptford	C-Cornish	Total by Type
Administration	*1*	*0*	*2*	3
Librarians	*3*	*2*	*2*	7
Library staff	*3*	*4*	*5*	12
Maintenance	*1*	*0*	*1*	2
STAFF TOTALS	**8**	**6**	**10**	**24**
Male users	*3*	*4*	*7*	14
Female users	*4*	*4*	*2*	10
USER TOTALS	**7**	**8**	**9**	**24**
INTERVIEWEES TOTAL BY LIBRARY	**15**	**14**	**19**	**48**

I recruited user interviewees several ways. The most effective way was the use of research recruitment posters (see Appendix D) which acted as an open invitation to potential user interviewees. These posters were surprisingly effective; many users took an interest in the study and approached me for more information. In some cases, after learning more about the study and having their questions answered, these users consented to an interview. If I was not readily available to speak with users (e.g., I was conducting an interview, or taking photographs), library desk staff often provided interested users with a copy of the letter of informed consent (see Appendix C). These users sometimes waited or returned to the library at a later time to speak with me directly. Other users were recruited directly via the library's staff who recommended interviewees based on their familiarity with the user. I resorted to this latter method only when the former method was proving less than efficient. Essentially anyone who was over the age of eighteen and was a library user qualified for an interview, and it did not matter how frequently or infrequently the interviewee visited the library or for how many years they had been using the library.

Because of my approach to recruiting user interviewees, my user samples at each library were drawn entirely from those users who were: (i) interested in the study and (ii) also interested in an interview. Because I could not approach users directly, I could not make my sampling of library users purposive in any manner. I did not ask people their ages before or during interviews; there was no reason to target people of certain ages over others, or to discriminate between male versus female users. Nevertheless my samples at each library were reasonably balanced and variable; I interviewed both male and female users and people from many different ages and user groups. Some of my user interviewees were in their early twenties; many of them were middle-aged professionals or retired seniors. Younger users were somewhat difficult to recruit; I observed that many users in their twenties and thirties were young parents and often had children to supervise and thus could not consent to an interview. Consequently most of the younger (~20-30 years) library users I interviewed were college and university students.

I recruited staff interviewees by approaching them directly or having administration approach them on my behalf. Because my sampling of staff members could be more direct, I made my sampling technique more purposive and approached as many different ranks of staff as possible. Each case library allowed me to approach staff directly because they considered the direct selection of staff to be less intrusive than the direct selection of users. I varied my staff interviewees as much as possible by age, rank, and job specifications. Again, I did not record age but observed that my sampling was reasonably varied among age groups and lengths of employment at the case library. Some staff I spoke with had only been working at their library a short while (one staff member had been working at her library for only a few months); others had been working at their library for over 30 years. Interviews with staff members usually did not last as long as those with users simply because staff members had more serious time constraints to mind. The longest staff interview was 70 minutes and the shortest was just over 15 minutes.

All interviewees were offered, as compensation for their time, a $15 gift card for use at a local coffee store. Initialled receipts were collected and kept on file as evidence that each interviewee who accepted a gift card actually received it. I did not actively advertise the gift

card offer in any way; no mention of it was made on the research poster or letter of information.

Cognitive Mapping Exercises

The final stage of each interview employed a technique called *cognitive mapping*. Cognitive mapping has been referred to as one of "the most persuasive and useful" tools for analysing environmental cognition (Kuipers, 1984). "Cognitive mapping research seeks to comprehend how we come to understand spatial relations gained through both primary experience and secondary media," explain Kitchin & Freundshuh (2000, p. 1). "In other words, how people learn, process and use spatial information that relates to the environment that surrounds them." More specifically, a cognitive map itself is "a mental representation of an external environment" (Tversky, 2000, p. 25). At the heart of the cognitive mapping technique is the theory that (i) spatial behaviour is central to everyday life, and (ii) that spatial knowledge is related to spatial behaviour (Kitchin & Freundshuh, 2000). By describing verbally—or drawing graphically—depictions of the maps they keep "in their minds", human subjects can often reveal telling clues about their spatial knowledge—that is, how they perceive, gather, interpret and commit to memory various kinds of spatial information that affect their behaviour within embodied space. Thus cognitive mapping exercises reveal information about how library users and staff perceive the spatiality of the library.

For the final ten minutes of each interview, I asked staff and user interviewees to sketch, within a designated amount of time (about five minutes), a rough, two-dimensional ("bird's eye-view") map of the library from memory. I asked them to choose the level of the library they were most familiar with. I supplied them with one 8.5" x 11" piece of white paper (see Appendix F) and a pencil. This specific approach to cognitive mapping is called a *graphic task* (Kitchin, 2000). Sketches served as the basis for a brief discussion with the interviewee about what they drew and why they drew it as they did. Sketches were labeled with the interviewee's code number, collected, scanned and added to the project file for later review and analysis.

It was from this exercise that I wished to gain two important types of spatial information. The first was "landmark" information. Landmarks (or "cognitive reference points") depict "privileged" or explicitly prominent features that "serve as reference points for many less distinguished elements" (Tversky, 2000, p. 26). Landmarks are important to spatial knowledge and thus figured prominently on the library sketch maps. It was my intention to use these maps as a way of better understanding key elements of *emplacement*: that, with limitations of time, subjects will depict the library space "as conceived" including only the most prominent or substantial spatial features. I was not disappointed; users and staff interviewees invariably included, in some form or other, walls or semi-fixed partitions, desks, counters, shelving, and so forth. What features did they draw? What features did they not draw? Why did they include the front stairwell on their map, but not the children's department? Why did they omit the coffee kiosk? The brief discussion following the sketching gave me a chance to clarify such questions. The second kind of information I wished to gain was a sense of the interviewees' sense of territoriality, if any. What kinds of markings, if any, did the interviewee use to show separations in space? Was their sketch a mixture of staff and user space, or did it focus on just one type? If they chose to sketch both, were there differing levels of detail between the two?

Cognitive maps can show an overall "awareness" of the importance of certain features or aspects of space over others: "[Cognitive] maps may indicate the aspects of a space an individual is aware of and remembers," claims May (2011, p. 357). To analyze maps, I created a rough matrix (one per library) and recorded all recurring features and characteristics of the maps (including omissions). I separated staff maps from user maps. To determine which were the most frequently recurring "landmarks" I considered the general frequency of certain features or items in contrast to others. In order to analyse the maps for evidence of territoriality, I simply looked for peculiarities: labels (e.g., "staff only") or special symbols indicating boundaries (double-lines, and so forth).

It must be noted that this technique originated and is used predominantly in studies of behavioural and developmental psychology, studies in which researchers code, aggregate and analyse cognitive mapping data statistically. In this, a qualitative study, I used it in an

adapted manner. In their primer on the subject, Downs & Stea (2005, p. 16-24) list well over a dozen different elements cognitive map researchers normally focus on when analyzing data. For the purposes of this study, I focussed only on "landmarks" and indictations of territoriality since I considered them the most pertinent to the research questions. Besides, to analyze the maps beyond this would have necessitated much more time, and cognitive mapping as a method has many limitations: "Weaknesses... include inaccuracies and unreliability in terms of the respondents' spatial knowledge," notes May (2011, p. 356), "or their lack of knowledge of cartographic conventions or both." May also notes that often cognitive maps reveal "only a proportion" of a respondent's full spatial knowledge of a place. "Because of these weaknesses," she concludes, "this technique is rarely used in isolation but is rather frequently used in conjunction with other methods..." In this study I used information from the maps only when aspects of the maps seemed to corroborate data collected through interviews, observation or photography.

3.2.1. Time, Place, and Procedure

According to both Yin (2003) and Stake (2006), case studies do not require extensive time for the collection of data. Differentiating case studies from ethnography, Yin (2003) explains: "Ethnographies usually require long periods of time in the field and emphasize detailed, observational evidence. Participant observation [specifically] may not require the same length of time but still assumes a hefty investment of field efforts. In contrast, case studies are a form of inquiry that does not depend solely on ethnographic or participant observer data. You could even do a valid and high-quality case study without leaving the library and the telephone or Internet, depending on the topic being studied" (p. 11). In fact, according to Yin (2003) and Stake (2006), data collection for case studies can be done within a matter of days, if needed.

I visited libraries during the Winter and Spring of 2011. Site visits lasted 5 days: Library A-Salterton from 22-26 March, Library B-Deptford from 25-29 January, and Library C-Cornish from 15-19 February. I used the following general schedule for data collection:

Table 4: Data Collection Schedule for Site Visits

DAY 1	*Audio-recorded tour of library with CEO; begin photography of library; begin library user interviews/cognitive mapping exercises.*
DAY 2	*Continue library user interviews/mapping; continue taking Set 2 photographs and making observations; begin staff interviews/mapping.*
DAYS 3-5	*Continue taking Set 2 photographs and making observations; complete user and staff interviews/mapping.*

My site visits followed this general schedule more or less faithfully; however, libraries were not always able to offer guided tours on the first day. At Libraries A-Salterton and B-Deptford tours were given on the third days of the site visit. I made only one subsequent visit: in May I returned to Library C-Cornish for a morning to interview two staff members who had been ill during my site visits but who wished to participate in an interview.

To make users aware that a researcher was in the library, I erected a research poster inside each library's main entrance (see 3B). These posters were 20" x 30" (see Appendix D) each and were mounted on an easel. I posted smaller versions of the research poster at other highly visible places throughout the library: near reference and information desks, computer stations, reading areas, and so forth. Signs served as:

Recruitment poster at Library B (Deptford's) entrance.

- a notice to the public that a researcher was on-site;
- an open invitation to users to approach me with any questions;
- a notice that general library activity was being observed (non-direct observations); and

- a notice that photographs were being taken of general library activity and that faces would be blurred (but that if people wished not to be photographed they could request it).

I used an alternate version of the research poster (omitting the statement about photography) at A-Salterton.

3.2.2. Data Analysis

I analyzed each of the three cases on its own, and then considered the three cases alongside one another. Stake (2006) proposes this kind of approach to multicase analysis: it begins with a *within-case* analysis where research questions are explored at the case level and is followed by a *cross-case* analysis where research questions are explored at the phenomenon of study level.

However, although there were many small (and significant) distinctions between the buildings at the case-level, these were not of such a scale that writing three separate case reports seemed effective. I found it most efficient (and effective) to write two separate findings chapters: one that explores the case-level questions (Chapter 4, which is quite long nonetheless), and one that explores the phenomenon of study level question (Chapter 5). This alternate approach allowed me to contrast the different libraries by discussing the most relevant case-specific findings but, at the same time, also make comparisons on a cross-case level. Had the phenomenon of study (which, in the present study, is the *public library as organization space*) been more general, for instance *public cultural institutions as organization space* with, say, a library, a city hall, and a museum as cases, then perhaps a more rigorous application of Stake's (2006) method would have been appropriate.

Once the interviews (including the cognitive mapping discussions) were transcribed and checked for errors, they were entered in the project database created using N'Vivo 8. Each case library had its own file within the database; staff interviews and user interviews were stored separately within the file. I did not begin analyzing data until I completed all three site visits. I began analysis by reviewing interview transcripts and developing a reliable coding scheme (using a thematic or axial scheme, something which Miles & Huberman [1994],

Strauss & Corbin [1998], and Bazeley [2007] advise; see "Interview Analysis", below). Once the coding scheme was finalized and transcripts were satisfactorily coded, I reviewed the observations, cognitive maps, and photos. I applied the coding scheme to the observations and photos but not the cognitive maps.

Assumptions

My chosen methodology necessitated the following assumptions:

- that the data I collected over the course of five full days at each case library is representative, notwithstanding seasonal changes in library use, of how these libraries operate *over a substantially longer period of time*—i.e., that the same general and specific activities occur, and that people's perceptions and experiences at these libraries would not have been different at another time of the year;
- that interviewees were being honest and truthful when responding to my questions, and that anonymity would provide them with the comfort to speak without fear of judgement or reproach from others in higher positions of power[26]; and
- that each case library as an organization has full or nearly full control over the planning and design of its library building; that the intentions and objectives of architects, designers, and planners when designing libraries are, for the most part, to serve the needs and requests of library board members, administration, and staff and public.

Interview Analysis and Coding and Inter-coder Reliability Testing

Miles & Huberman (1994) define "codes" as "tags or labels for assigning units of meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study" which are used "to retrieve and organize chunks mentioned earlier" (p. 56-7). Although some advocate an *open coding* approach when analyzing qualitative data (see Berg, 2001, p. 251-55), others do not. Miles & Huberman's (1994) recommend applying an *a priori* framework or "start list" of codes that "comes from the conceptual framework, list of research questions, hypothesis, problem areas, and/or key variables that the researcher brings to the study" (p. 58). The start list can have up to 50 or 60 codes.

[26] My acknowledgements to Most (2009), from whom I derived my first two assumptions above.

My final approach was a combination of the two: I began with the three, theoretically informed concepts of *enchantment*, *emplacement*, and *enactment* as broad categories, and then I coded openly from that point onward. Subsequent passes resulted in revision and merging until I arrived at my final scheme. I also coded biographical and statistical information for each interviewee and separated them into their own category. These descriptive codes included (for staff members) such information as job title and duties, years employed at the library, and for users their frequency and history of library use. The process of coding took nearly three months (not including transcription time).

I recruited a fellow PhD Candidate to test my final coding scheme on a sample of unmarked transcripts from the project file. After comparing her coded transcripts to mine, and using a formula given by Miles & Huberman (1994), I added all agreeing codes together and divided by the total number of all agreements and disagreements and determined a ratio of 0.82 or 82% reliability. Miles & Huberman (1994) claim that most intercoder tests will score 70% or lower on the first test but that eventually "intercoder agreement should be up in the 90% range" (p. 64). I did not test the scheme a second time because I deemed 82% reliability strong enough and because most intercoder disagreements pertained to things that would be clarified in the written findings.

Photography and Observations

After transferring photographs to the project computer (and blurring the faces of users and staff), I sorted Set 1 and Set 2 photographs from each other and then printed them for coding. Prints were contained in binders by case library, and within each binder Set 1 and Set 2 photos were kept separate. I reorganized and printed Set 1 photos by library level; I printed Set 2 photos in sequential order (using date/time stamp information).

For analysis of the photographs and observations I used codes from the N'Vivo project file. This linked data from these two data sets to the interview data set and allowed for comparison of the different data sets (and, in many cases, corroboration between them).

Cognitive Maps

Since landmarks and evidence of territoriality were the two kinds of information I hoped the maps would provide me, I sorted the maps into separate files (by case library) and then sorted them by user versus staff member. I conducted a first examination of the maps by making notes about the kinds of objects and general patterns they contained. I then created a matrix in which, while conducting subsequent examinations of the maps, I recorded the frequency of these objects and patterns. Each case library received its own matrix. This approach allowed me to see the data in aggregated form and observe patterns and frequencies within and between interviewee groups (staff, users) and case libraries.

Validity and Reliability

As Yin warns in his text on case study methods: "Do case studies, but do them with the understanding that your methods will be challenged from rational (and irrational) perspectives and that the insights resulting from your case study may be underappreciated" (p. xiii). However, when done using a careful, systematic approach (i.e., the use of structured, pre-approved schedules and guides as a way of ensuring a systematic approach to data gathering) as well as a uniform approach to the collection of data at multiple sites, case studies can yield findings just as (or possibly more) powerful than those of other qualitative approaches.[27]

Many have criticized the validity of case study findings based on the idea that findings from only one or a small handful of cases cannot be generalized to a larger population. This belief, according to Yin (2003), confuses theoretical generalizability with statistical generalizability. Case studies offer no statistical validity or generalizability whatsoever. Findings pertaining to the research question (RQ) can be generalized at the level of theory only. Put another way, while we cannot make assertions that all public libraries in the "real world" possess certain attributes or power relationships in their space, we can assert or explain, based on those attributes and relationships we have detected in our three cases, what we have learned about

[27] In her short essay in s upport of the case study Gladstone-Millar (1998) makes the observation: "One point forgotten by the critics of case study research is that this type of research is not easy; statistical research is easier, quicker and most of the groundwork could be done by an assistant."

the *public library as an organization space*. Future studies of other individual case libraries may add to, extend, or fully contradict this study's findings and conclusions.

Trustworthiness and Transferability

Though a qualitative case study's findings may not be statistically generalizable, if the study's research design and methods are approached systematically and rigorously enough they can achieve a certain "truth" or degree of generalizability on an analytical basis (Erlandson et al, 1993).

The research design used here fulfills several criteria for achieving "trustworthiness" and "transferability" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Erlandson et al, 1993). The site visit schedule achieved a degree of prolonged engagement, placing the researcher in the field (i.e., at each library) long enough time for him to understand each case library in a way relatively comparable to those who experience it on a daily basis. The use of multiple methods also achieves a strong degree of triangulation: findings culled from multiple data sources corroborated each other and strengthened the overall validity of those findings. This was particularly important when considering the subjective nature of staff and user interviewee testimony against observational and photographic data. Enough "referential adequacy materials" were collected to provide as holistic a view as possible of each case library's context. Overall, though each case library and its contexts are unique, specific findings are potentially applicable (transferable) to the same aspects of other cases where contexts are similar.[28]

3.2.3. Ethical Considerations

In November of 2010 the study was granted approval from the Ethics Review Board of the Faculty of Information and Media Studies at the University of Western Ontario. See Appendix A for a copy of the letter of approval.

The study's methods required approval for:

[28] Ultimately, however, "the obligation for demonstrating transferability belongs to those who would apply it to the receiving [i.e., other] context" (Erlandson et al, 1993, p. 33).

- the manner in which I recruited the libraries, including the letter of recruitment I (see Appendix B);
- the process by which recruited interviewees;
- the process by which I obtained informed consent during the interviews, including the form (see Appendix C);
- the process by which I made it known to library users that I was observing library activity;
- the process by which I propose to keep the three case libraries anonymous (use of codenames);
- the process by which I have stored the collected data;
- the process by which I photographed library interiors and library activity (and obtained permission for this); and
- the distribution of honoraria to interviewees

Confidentiality and Anonymity

The identity of each interviewee was kept confidential during data collection by assigning them a label: for example, the fourth library staff member interviewed at Library B received the tag, "LBS04"; the sixth library user interviewed at Library C received the tag, "LCU06". The only point at which I recorded anyone's real names was when they signed the written consent form or signed their honorarium receipt—neither of which was linked to the recorded interview or transcript.

In chapters 4, 5, and 6, staff and users are identified using the following system: each user has received a proper name as a pseudonym; preceding it is the library's letter (A, B, or C). Each staff member's name begins with S; each user's name begins with a P. Men's names have been chosen for male interviewees and women's names for female interviewees. For example: "A-Sarah" is the pseudonym for a female staff member from the Salterton Library (Library A); and C-Patrick is the pseudonym for a male user from the Cornish Library (Library C). Staff interviewees were made aware that their professional roles (job title and duties) would be used in conjunction with the pseudonym. This detail was included in the

informed consent letter that they read and signed before consenting to an interview (see Appendix C).

Although the project files used the codenames (“Library A”, “Library B” and “Library C”), and the written findings use pseudonyms (“Salterton”, “Deptford”, and “Cornish”, respectively), I could not guarantee complete organizational anonymity to the three case libraries. Because written findings must use photographs and floor plans of each library for analysis, it will be possible for others (those who have visited these libraries) to recognize them. This detail was included in the Letter of Recruitment for Case Libraries (see Appendix B) and the informed consent letter for interview participants (see Appendix C).

Data Storage

I regularly backed-up the N’Vivo 8 project file, as well as all raw data in its original form, on a USB storage key. This key as well as all transcripts and documents collected during the site visits will remain in a locked file cabinet for two years following the completion of all written reports arising from the study.

Chapter 4

4 The Salterton, Deptford and Cornish[29] Public Libraries as Organization Spaces

This chapter explores findings related to the three case-level questions, $CQ_{1\text{-}3}$. First I consider, albeit briefly, the three case libraries' visions and link aspects of the case libraries' organizational profiles to their designs as buildings. The discussion provides a basis for understanding how enchantment, emplacement, and enactment work in each library.

4.1 Organizing Operations

Because I granted limited anonymity to each of the case libraries, I cannot refer to organizational documents directly, nor can I include in this section much detailed information relating to each library's unique organizational contexts. Nevertheless, I introduce each case library building and its service community here. I then consider the characteristics of the libraries as organizations and briefly describe the ways in which they have realized their organizational purpose in the organization of their space.

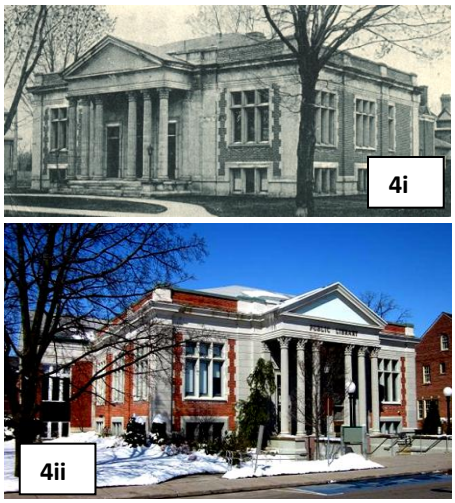
Library A: The "Salterton" Public Library

Salterton's present population is approximately 40,000 people.[30] No age (or user) group predominates; small children, young adults, and adults are more or less equally represented within the population distribution by age, with some decline after 60-65 years. Educational levels range from below high school to undergraduate studies or beyond. The centre's dominating industries include manufacturing, retail, and health care, though residents work in a wide range of fields from management to the skilled trades. Visible minorities account for less than 5% of the city's population; nearly half of the community's residents are third generation residents (or beyond).

[29] These three names are pseudonyms, taken from Robertson Davies' three trilogies. Although the term "Cornish" traditionally refers to Cornwall, England, in this case Library C's community has no direct connection whatever with Cornwall, Ontario.

[30] All demographic information for the three case library communities obtained from the 2011 census: http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2011/dp-pd/prof/index.cfm?Lang=E

The community of Salterton is among the province's many older centres, having been first settled around 1800. By mid-century it had become a town, and not long after 1900 it incorporated itself as a city. Many of the community's original public buildings still stand and are still used for their original purposes. The Salterton Public Library's building is one of them. The Salterton Public Library formed as a free public library in 1904; it opened its current building—its first, purpose-built public library building, a Carnegie library—in 1909 (see 4i), the funds for which had been promised to the community a couple of years before. The library was originally designed as a closed-access one and featured two operational levels, the main and the basement (herein referred to as the "upper" and "lower" levels[31]), both of which were accessible to the public, the latter of which contained an art gallery and a lecture room, among many staff-only rooms. The main level was separated into three major regions: a stackroom to the east, a reading room to the west, and in the middle, underneath a lavish, pillared rotunda, was its foyer. Above the main level was a staff-only mezzanine, accessible via a staircase in the stackroom and which included an office for the library's chief administrator.



The Salterton Library in the 1910s (top)*, not long after it first opened; and today* (above) *with its addition at the back.* (Public domain image/postcard from author's collection; original photo by author.)

The Salterton library predates the later "Carnegie library" type (see Chapter 2) but is nevertheless an ideal specimen of the "classical" Carnegie period. Historical photographs show that, not long after converting to open access, the library eventually rearranged its main floorspace to follow the central desk model. By the 1980s, the library's information desk was located directly beneath the internal dome of the main level's rotunda—the heart of the Carnegie library's overall floorplan.

Indeed, although the public library still occupies its Carnegie building, since 1909 it has undergone many substantial changes, from converting to open access to establishing a

[31] For floor plans of the three libraries, please contact the author.

children's department in the 1920s. In the 1960s the library constructed an addition to the north (its back) for the art gallery and the library's reference department. A vacant church directly north of this addition was acquired in the 1970s and converted into a separate children's library, the two structures joined by a corridor. Eventually, the art gallery moved out of the building and into its own accommodations in the nearby downtown. The library underwent substantial renovations ca. 1995-6 at which time the 1960s addition and its neighbouring church were razed to make room for a much larger addition. This, the library's most recent substantial change to its spatial organization, brought the library's total size to about 25,000 sq. ft. The project not only solved many of the library's space needs problems but also assured the ongoing use of one of the community's most prized historical buildings. The library building, one of Canada's 125 Carnegie libraries, was listed as a designated property in the late 1970s, not long after such designations were made possible in Canada.

The present-day Salterton library (see 4ii) contains two functional levels. Before 1996, the upper level was the library's main level; now, the basement, where the main entrance and circulation functions are located, is considered the "main" level. Still, the overwhelming majority of the staff's space is found in the basement, along with the library's one programming room, its Children's Department and Children's information desk, and the Young Adult section. The upper level contains the periodicals, microfiche, and computer terminals in its Carnegie wing at front, and the non-fiction, audio-visual, and graphic novel sections, as well as the adult study tables, OPACs, the puzzle table, several lounge seating areas, and the Information and Reference Desk. At the centre of the plan, directly in front of the Information Desk, is the library's main public stairwell. The building occupies a conspicuous corner lot located one block north of the centre's main street, in the heart of the central business district. An old courthouse flanks it to the west (across the street); a former art gallery building to its east; a high school to its southeast; and to its immediate north a large parking lot.

Library B: The Deptford Public Library

Deptford's population is currently around 79,000 people. Age distribution is fairly even among age (user) groups; numbers of adults in their early 30s are comparatively lower and

yet, unlike Salterton, retiree age groups are as well represented in the distribution as middle-aged adults. Deptford is, as it has been called many times, one of the province's most popular retirement communities. Like Salterton, quite a few residents are third-generation residents or beyond. There are relatively few visible minorities. Educational levels are quite broad, ranging from below secondary school to people with doctorates. Professions vary from health care services to retail, business, manufacturing, and education. Indeed, Deptford is also a student town: there is both a college and a small university in the city. Consequently, adults aged 20-24 are better represented demographically than in towns of comparable size.


4iii

Deptford's main library building, which opened in 1980.

Deptford itself is somewhat younger, by one quarter-century, than Salterton. The first settlers arrived around 1825; by midcentury the community had become a town and, like Salterton, it incorporated itself into a city only a few years after 1900. Beginning in the 1950s the city began a series of capital projects aimed at expanding its public services buildings. A new city hall opened in the downtown in the 1950s, and a new post office quickly followed. By the early 1970s, developers had razed a substantial part of the city's central business district to make way for a large, multi-level shopping mall. At that time, the city and the Library Board agreed that a new, more modern library building was needed. In 1980 they opened the present Deptford Public Library building.

The Deptford Public Library formed in 1895 and became a free library nearly fifteen years later. In 1911 it opened its first purpose-built public library building, a Carnegie library, in the City's downtown. In the mid-1970s, the Public Library prepared to move into a new building several blocks west (see 4iii). This building, though dating quite late in its architectural period, has been referred to by Canadian library historians as a particularly strong example of late Modernist library architecture. The building is situated several blocks west of the former Carnegie library, but is still considered by most to be in the city's downtown core. The library building's total size is approximately 40,000 square feet and its main level contains separate adult and children's departments as well as the library's

circulation and information desks, a cafe, and numerous staff-only rooms scattered around the building's perimeter. The lower level contains a large, multi-use auditorium and programming room (on of the largest publicly accessible rooms in any of the three case libraries); the Head Librarian and Library Managers' offices; the staff lounge and kitchen; men's, women's and staff washrooms; numerous staff workrooms and administrative offices. The library underwent some remodelling and reorganizing ten years ago, including new arrangements for collections, service desks, and offices for management. A flood in 2004 necessitated the remodelling of the library's basement. Nevertheless the library building has not undergone any major structural changes, extensions, or additions since it opened. One branch library exists; it is located in the south end and it operates on extremely limited hours and offers relatively few collections.

Library C: The Cornish Public Library

The recently opened Cornish Library building.

The current population of Cornish is about 49,000 people. Age group representation is fairly balanced across the population distribution; however, like Salterton, residents in the retiree age group begin a steady decline after 65 years. Educational levels are variable although the majority of people in the city have no formal education beyond high school—some have college training (there is a community college in the centre); relatively few have university training. The city's major industries include retail services, business services, and manufacturing. Popular occupations include sales and service, business and administrative, and the skilled trades. Visible minorities account for just over 5% of the city's population; over two-thirds of Cornish's residents are third-generation residents or beyond. Like Salterton, Cornish greatly values its local history, particularly its historic buildings in the city's downtown.

Its original public library building, opened in the first decade of the last century, still stands but is currently, for the most part, unused. Cornish formed a free public library in 1895 but, unlike Deptford and Salterton, did not apply to Andrew Carnegie for a library grant. It

provided itself with its own library building, a former bank converted into a closed-access library. The library subsequently expanded the building in the 1950s, 60s, and 70s. By 2000, however, space needs were signalling the need for a new library building. In 2006, the Cornish Public Library occupied a newly constructed public library building (see 4iv). The new building—the city's first purpose-built library building—stands literally across the street: diagonally opposite to the old one.

The new building contains three functional levels—a total of 38,000 sq. ft. The building is a composite; it contains a drum at the front with the library proper towards the back. The drum, on the first level, contains the library's foyer, a cafe, a retail area for the Friends of the Library, the public washrooms, plus, at its north end, the Children's programming room and, at its south end, the circulation workroom. The library proper contains the circulation desk, Reader's Advisory, the fiction collections, the Children's Department and Children's information desk, plus most of the library's public access computers, and a reading lounge. Technical Services and the Superintendent's workshop are at the north end of this level. The library's second level contains the non-fiction, reference, periodicals, and local history collections (which are kept in a separate, locked room), plus study tables and several smaller reading lounge areas. Administrative offices plus a boardroom and several computer classrooms are located on the drum's second—and last—full level. The third level is dedicated to the library's art gallery, a library function for over one-hundred years. This level includes three linked gallery rooms, a multipurpose programming room, storage rooms, plus an office for the Curator. The Cornish Public Library does not currently operate any branches.

4.1.1. The Salterton, Deptford, and Cornish Public Libraries as Organizations

As the above profiles show, these libraries and their communities are reasonably comparable on a general scale; each case community is relatively similar to one another, even if their public libraries vary in age and slightly in size. Yet just how different are the public library organizations that inhabit these buildings? Have they any characteristics that distinguish one from the other?

To begin, what is an *organization*? Organizations as we know them are, much like free public libraries, a modern development. Though in a mechanical sense organizations are a group of people, they are also a singular entity. As Scott & Davis (2007) explain, "The social structure of modern society can no longer be described accurately as consisting only of relations between natural persons; our understanding must... include as well those relations between natural and *collective actors*, and between two or more collective actors" (p. 7, emphasis mine). Just as Marshall McLuhan believed that technology is an extension of the self or the body, organizations can be viewed as extensions of larger society: they achieve goals no one individual can achieve on his or her own. They are thus "mechanisms" (p. 5) by which certain goals are achieved on behalf of some public or group interest. "Organizations," continue Scott & Davis (2007), "are viewed as the primary vehicle by which, systematically, the areas of our lives are rationalized—planned, articulated, scientized, made more efficient and orderly, and managed by 'experts'" (p. 4). In other words, they organize their operations around the provision of services or goods that target specific individual or collective wants or needs.

The word *organization*, in its simplest form, means "to put in order" (Martin, 1996, p. 4). Organization, as in the *act of organizing*, has been described as "a set of relationships designed to further the purposes of an agency... [and] includes all relationships which affect the performance and the product of the enterprise—between administrators, between managers and staff, among groups within the staff, and among individuals" (Martin, 1996, p. 6-7). Indeed, according to most researchers of organizational studies, organizations employ several interconnected elements when organizing their operations: organizational strategy and goals, the work and technology required to meet those goals, formal organization (policies, procedures, job design, and organizational structure), informal organization (culture norms and values), people (those who work for the organization, those for whom the organization works), and an environment (physical, social, technological, local and extra-local) (Scott & Davis, 2007, p. 19-25). While none of these elements can (or should) be studied in complete isolation, it is certainly common for researchers to emphasize one over the others (Scott & Davis, 2007). In this study, I consider the environmental element specifically but the reasons why public libraries have organized over the past 150 years (and

continue to in the new century) are fundamental to understanding *how* they have organized their environments.

What kinds of organizations are these three public libraries? What is/are their purpose/purposes? We know that, as libraries, their objectives, in the plainest sense, are to organize, administer—and in some circumstances, synthesise and create—information for use by their users in an efficient manner. Indeed, libraries have been referred to as "bodies of organized knowledge" (Martin, 1996, p. 4) for use by people in and outside of the library itself. Moreover, these case libraries are not just libraries but *public libraries*: these libraries are funded by local and provincial funds, and they are public buildings (i.e., represent local government) and are thus open to the general public. They are classed, usually, "in the class of service organizations, and [in] the sub-class of educational agencies. This means they cannot be measured by tangible product or by profit, but rather by their effect on people they service, an elusive and nebulous outcome," (Martin, 1996, p. 11). Summarizing McClure, Van House & Lynch (1987), Martin (1998, p. 186-7) lists the eight roles of the public library. These are:

- a community activities centre;
- a community information centre;
- a formal education support centre;
- an independent learning centre;
- a popular materials library;
- a preschooler's door to learning;
- a reference library; and
- a research centre

An examination of each library's collections, organizational documents, and public literature reveals that indeed these libraries administer information, services, and programs that fulfill these eight roles (albeit to varying extents). Each case library specializes in the provision of and access to all kinds of information, from obscure and little-used reference and governmental information to certain types of local (community) information to worn-out copies of best-selling fiction novels. Outside of their information-provision role they offer

myriad social-informational activities (classes, clubs, and workshops), from age-, interest- or user group-specific to general interest; and they support local educational programs, from preschool to post-secondary learning (depending on the existence of local, post-secondary programs).

In fact, learning appears to be the library's chief benefit; and experience, either individual- or group-based, seems to be the means by which library users learn. Each case library's vision statement, though unique in its wording, is its own variation on the idea of learning as a process and not an end in itself: words such as "inform", "enlighten", "literacy", "enrich", "engagement", and "discovery" focus on the benefits of learning and of access to the public library as a service. Emphasis on words such as "community", "opportunities", "relationships", and "world" suggests not only a broadness of accessibility but also a broadness of experience—that learning is interconnected, that it can be an individual and/or a shared process. These vision statements also emphasize, perhaps more than anything else, the public library's position in this larger process: words like "connection", "link", and "access" not only suggest that the library is a source of learning but also a facilitator in the process—even a gatekeeper, perhaps. These libraries are thus not just keepers and organizers of information, they are administrators of the means and processes by which people access and make sense of that information. One library's vision statement (Salterton) refers to the library as a "destination"—the library is thus not just a facilitator but a *place* where this facilitation, this "connection" and "linking", occurs.

Ultimately, all three case library buildings are planned so as to "set the stage" for the learning and processes their vision statements advertise. These libraries store information but their contents are necessary for these experiences and to ensure that these experiences occur in controlled conditions. To begin, all three case libraries operate on a model of voluntary use; unlike school children, who by law must attend school up to a certain age, libraries depend on users to make a choice to use the library's materials, services, and programs. Their access model is much like that of a department store: the building is open a set number of hours per day, and entering users are allowed *direct contact* with information and materials. Consequently, in each case (except for perhaps the Cornish library), most library space is

devoted to collections storage, the majority of which is placed in open, user-accessible space. The influences of scientific management philosophies and planning are already evident in each of the three libraries: for instance, each library compartmentalises or arranges (with some minor exceptions) collections by format (e.g., print, electronic) or type (e.g., fiction). (The art gallery in the Cornish library provides a place for a "special kind" of material: visual art.) Other kinds of secondary rooms allow for more social-informational activities: programming and multi-use rooms provide space for workshops, classes, performances, and club meetings (see, for instance, the multi-purpose room on Deptford's lower level, or the programming room at the south end of Cornish's third level); cafes allow casualness and chances for more informal social-informational exchange. These places are rarely integrated into the collections, however; they are instead placed adjacent to the collections, interspersed around the perimeter of the library or located on secondary levels (e.g., the basement). These public libraries, therefore, see programming and group activities as not just a separate part of their mandate but perhaps even a secondary one to their more traditional role of making stores of information directly accessible to the individual user.

Perhaps the most important aspect to these libraries' spatial organizations is how the user and the staff member relate. Each library makes catalogues and other findings aids available to users; these are placed either in clusters or individually throughout the collections. To varying extents, each of these libraries has separated its services into categories. Desks placed at key points within the each library's space plan offer a range of specialized assistance: circulation, reader's advisory, general information, reference, and separate desks for Children's Departments. Independent research and information gathering is therefore possible, although for many reasons the librarian or desk staff member must mediate access Therefore library users have the freedom to enter and leave the library building at will, and are free to browse materials and collections at their discretion; however, selecting and accessing information is not always an independent act.

4.2. Enchantment: Bricks, Mortar and Symbolic Meaning

This section explores the concept of *enchantment*, which describes how the "symbolic power of the architecture [is] expressed through its materiality" (Dale & Burrell, 2008, p.

48) and how the "linking together matter and meaning... produce[s] various power effects" over actor perception and behaviour (p. 66). Put simply, enchantment explains how appearances have power, how they have the ability to convey meaning and thus tell us what to think and how to feel. "A building speaks to us," claims Mayerovitch (1996, p. 28). "It tells us... how it wants to be understood by its outer clothing—its special kind of body language." Indeed library users and staff imbue elements of the library's materiality (its style, its building materials, and its context) with *symbolic meanings* that influence their perception of the library's purpose and place in the community. This is reflected, to an extent, in the library planning literature.

Library planning guides all agree that library buildings should give a "welcoming" impression (Lushington, 2002). Indeed, in her chapter in *IFLA Library Building Guidelines: Developments and Reflections*, Kugler (2007, p. 159) claims that first impressions of library buildings are usually formed in about ten seconds, and that the fronts of library buildings, particularly their main entrances, are among the most influential factors in creating an impression. Few, if any, of these guides explain precisely how architectural style contributes to the impression a library makes, however. How people respond emotionally or intellectually to architecture, particularly to architectural style, is not a matter of accident but rather a function of what attitudes they bring to it (Mayerovitch, 1996). Many of these attitudes are historically and culturally determined and affect how users and staff perceive the organization inside the building, its purpose, and its importance.[32]

This section addresses the first case-level question (CQ_1), "What forms of enchantment affect people's perceptions of the public library as an organization and place?" I investigate the "body language" of the three case library buildings, focussing primarily on architectural style and socially constructed meaning. As it turns out, three very different architectural styles convey very different material-symbolic meanings and thus very different power effects on inhabitants.

[32] In the *IFLA Building Guidelines* (2007), McDonald advises library architects to apply what he calls "Oomph"—which is, as he describes, an "inspirational" quality in library space that "captures the minds of users and the spirit of the institution" (p. 25). The best way to achieve "oomph", he claims, is to include "exciting architectural features" in the library design. He does not give details. Such examples only show how seldom the planning literature pays attention to architecture and material symbolism.

4.2.1. "Pillars and the whole thing": Salterton's "Ideal" Library Building

Library staff and users described the Salterton Library's building as a very conspicuous, imposing structure. Nearly all of them spoke positively of it; only a few respondents were indifferent to its style; none spoke negatively or even critically of it. In interviewees' minds there was no way of distinguishing the Salterton library's form from the idea of "the library"; its style seemed to beckon to people's preconceived notions of what a library building "should be." For instance, when asked if they felt the building "looked like a library" most interviewees felt that it did and described the building as having a "serious" appearance, a "sense of style" (A-Sheila) or architectural distinction about it. "It has a certain gravity about it, without being pompous or overbearing," explained A-Sheila. "This library... looks like a building of substance of some sort," said A-Phyllis. When asked to describe how they pictured the building in their minds nearly all interviewees described the building's front elevation: specifically, the elegant portico of six fluted pillars which supports the large, triangular pediment (see 4v). Curiously, the library's west elevation (see 4vi) is much longer than (and just as visible as) the front elevation; moreover, the library features pediments of near-identical size on its east and west elevations. Nevertheless the library's front, arguably less visible than the library's west elevation by means of total surface area, tends to make the greater impression. In other words, it was clear that the library building's front was considered its "face" and was, in interviewees' minds, its most memorable feature. This could be because the building's front had a certain distinction about it that none of the building's other elevations possessed. For many interviewees the building's style seemed to fulfill some kind of ideal: "It fits the 'historic' idea of what a library is," claimed A-Sally. This pattern seems well-connected to the library's "status" as a Carnegie library. For example, one staff member even upheld the Salterton library as an excellent example of "the Carnegie look" (A-Sarah). One user described the library's portico, pediment, and pillars as "the Carnegie effect" (A-Phil). Others agreed: "It's got pillars, and the whole thing," said A-

The Salterton Library's portico and columns (above) *and west elevation* (below). (Photos by author.)

Phyllis. Another user described the pillars as "mysterious" (A-Peter), as though they emitted a sense of wonder throughout the entire library. These architectural features evoked not just a sense of grandeur and intrigue but also an important kinship between the Salterton library and other libraries of similar age or historical origin. Indeed, nearly every interviewee at the Salterton library identified the library as a "Carnegie library" or in some way knew of its connection to the historical figure (Andrew Carnegie). To some this distinction meant little; to others the label connoted a greater, more sophisticated identity for the building. There was also frequent mention of the types of materials used in the building's construction: namely the brick and stonework, which for some conveyed a comforting, assuring sense of endurance or permanence: "It's solid," reasoned A-Pearl. "It's here to stay, because it's been here one-hundred years already."

Indeed, whether they identified the Salterton building as a "Carnegie library" or not, many described the building's exterior as "striking" or having a sense of "seriousness" (A-Sheila) or "presence" (A-Sally) about it. Specifically, they associated its style with a sense of institutional importance and authority. Classical pillars imbue buildings with a sense of dignity, richness, and moral authority (Mayerovitch, 1996). To make their point some interviewees compared the library to other civic building types: "It has the look of a courthouse," elaborated A-Pearl, suggesting that one would normally expect other civic buildings to look "serious" and dignified. Others contrasted Salterton's library with more modern forms of architecture, specifically commercial architecture; their responses targeted what they perceived to be the plainness of these other buildings and the absence of a sense of "presence": "I think a library should look impressive and not just plain like a store front," claimed A-Patricia.

More specifically, Salterton interviewees perceived a direct link between the building's architectural style and a sense of educational or intellectual uplift. As both Mayerovitch (1996) and Dale & Burrell (2008) remind us, the classical principle of symmetry conveys a sense of harmony, balance, rhythm, stability, and order. (Indeed, as Salterton staff member A-Stacey explained, the library's symmetrical design conveyed a sense of "orderliness" about the library.) Such symbolic associations are what made the classical style ideal for the

"progressive", free public library when it emerged over one-hundred years ago (see Chapter 2). The classical library building appealed to many Salterton interviewees' sense of the public library as an exponent of tradition—the library's six pillars representing the public library's purpose as an upholder of strongly defended cultural values: among these, education and knowledge. Indeed, classical forms also connote a commitment to the intellect (Mayerovitch, 1996). As A-Shirley explained, the first time she saw the Salterton library, it gave her the impression that the building was "intellectually alive"—a place of study and scholarship. Others explicitly claimed that Salterton's building looks more "educational" than other, more modern library buildings. "It gives a sense of validity—that there is truth here, that we are credible," claimed A-Stacey. A-Patricia, a Salterton library user, agreed: "Education is something that should impress people," she said. "When you look at a store front, you don't get the impression that there's something you're going to learn in there."

By "repeating historical forms," claims Mayerovitch (1996, p. 26), buildings can "remind of the continuity of time." They can also "reveal the social ideas and traditions which inspired their construction." Ultimately, the Salterton library's exterior evokes Victorian notions of the public library as a *scholarly temple*—unsurprising since the library's original structure dates from the precise historical period when many free public libraries were conceived as such, and library exteriors used classical forms as a way of comparing the ancient traditions of knowledge and enlightenment with the modern era's concern for "progress" and "moral uplift." For Salterton's users and staff, it is difficult to separate the library building and the library organization. There is a clear "fusion" (Dale & Burrell, 2008) between organization and building; the building makes reference to an historical antecedent that itself was imbued with connotations of tradition, authority, and endurance. The Salterton building's architectural style "[calls] attention to a grand, spiritually uplifting place of major cultural importance" (Lushington, 2002, p. 94).[33] To apply some of the interviewees' responses, it "impresses" people; it commands them to take the institution "seriously" as "intellectually alive", authoritative, purposeful, and thus culturally important.

[33] Lushington (2002, p. 94) takes the opinion that such opulent, "temple of learning" library designs are "at [their] best in places like the great New York Public Library"—in other words, not in smaller libraries.

4.2.2. “I don’t particularly notice it”: Deptford’s “Invisible” Library Building

The Deptford library building’s material-symbolic properties seem to have different power effects on visitors. Instead of seeming grand and imposing, Deptford’s building is quite plain and inconspicuous and, in some ways, even self-effacing.

The Deptford Library’s exterior. (Photos by author.)

This was perhaps best observed in the interviewees’ inability to describe the building’s exterior in any great detail. Many interviewees did not feel that Deptford’s building “looked like a library”—not its exterior, at least (see 4vii and 4viii). When asked specifically about the building’s architectural style, some interviewees lamented its lack of “librariness”: that is, to them it seemed to be another kind of building type, not a library. “This is more of a ‘Modern-ish’ building, which to me doesn’t suit a library,” said B-Paula. Because interviewees associated other building and organization types with the library’s architectural style, they appeared to dismiss the Deptford building’s outward or exterior forms from having any material-symbolic relevance to the organization that inhabits it. “From the outside, it looks more like a dentist’s office or medical office,” added B-Paula. Others agreed. “When I think of libraries, I think of Carnegie buildings and things like that,” said B-Stafford. “I’m kind of a traditionalist when it comes to architecture. I like buildings that are symmetrical, classical. [That] would be more the kind of architecture that I would expect for a library,” explained B-Scott, emphasizing the connection he makes between the ideas of “community” and “history”: “[Older buildings] have that connection with history and with the history of the community.... [This library] seems much more like a retail store to me.”

Indeed, to nearly all interviewees, Deptford’s architectural style seemed without purpose beyond the mere obvious, which is to give the library something to exist inside. This appears to be the end effect of the Modernist tradition, which was to do away with ornament and enchantment and focus strictly on function (Gympel, 1996). In other words, Modernist

buildings were only meant to have a practical function, not a symbolic function. Indeed, when describing the building's architecture one interviewee described it as "a cement cage" (B-Stafford), suggesting not just a blandness of style but also emphasizing a bare-bones sense of functionality. Arguably, the building does achieve some stylistic distinction: namely, a skin of golden yellow brick, a prominent monitor running along the north edge of its roof, and ribbon windows along its front which, even in daytime, expose a large portion of its spacious children's department. Nevertheless, when asked to describe how they pictured the building's exterior in their minds, very few interviewees could describe it in detail, and those that did focussed on elements of the site's landscaping. "I notice the shrubs and bushes and things that are growing... but I don't particularly notice any other features of the building," said B-Pamela. "I suppose in the summer, when the gardens are done, I notice the lilies," added B-Shauna. One of Deptford's staff members (B-Serena) claimed it was almost impossible to find anything remarkable about the building's exterior: "I think of the front steps, and the trellis. But the building itself? No."

The Deptford Library's main level. (Photo by author.)

However, this did not mean that the Deptford library as a built environment had no power effects on its inhabitants. Although interviewees at Deptford seemed overwhelmingly unfocussed on the building's architectural style, they did focus on the library's collections, people, and interior space (see 4ix). For instance, when I asked one user if Deptford's library building looked, to them, "like a library", she immediately said yes. She explained: "Everywhere you look, you see books," (B-Paige). Another user (B-Paula) gave a similar answer, emphasizing the transition one experiences entering the building: "As soon as you step inside, it's very much a library. Immediately you see books and a circulation desk." For other interviewees, it was not just the library's collections or equipment they felt gave them the idea of the "public library"; it was also the presence of other people: "I think it has a

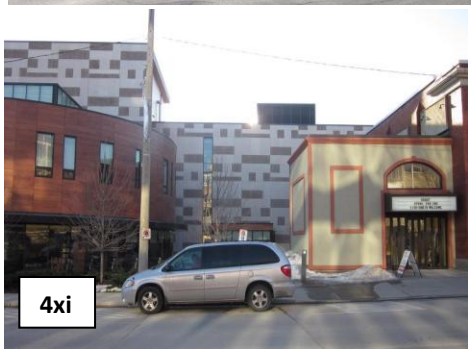
sense of community," explained B-Pamela. "I notice people reading books and reading newspapers, and they know other people and they chat to other people." Even when Deptford interviewees commented explicitly on the built environment they often connected the idea of "the library" with the concept of "people" and much less with the building itself. B-Samantha, Deptford's Children's Services Librarian, noticed that the library regularly contains a "broad range of people"—something she associated with the idea of a public library. "It feels like the whole community is here," she said, "people of all ages and backgrounds." Lingering traces of past library activity also imbue the Deptford library's interior with a "used quality" which, for some, had profound symbolic value: "It's a little worn," explained B-Paige, glancing around at the faded portions of carpeting, the scuff marks on the library's stucco walls, and even at the pencil marks on the table in front of her. "That, to me, is very comforting." The appearance of the library as not just a place but a *used place* reminds some users of the presence of "people", specifically other users: those who are using the building, and those who have used the building. Arguably, for some people at the Deptford library, a new, pristine and unused building might seem odd. There is in its "worn" quality a sense of the active and continuous: namely the continuity of use and activity, of people and community.

Although Deptford's architectural style seems to convey little to its inhabitants, the library as a built environment does have other power effects connected to its materiality, and these reside in its interior. Rather than "impressing" people and elevating the library organization's cultural status (as in Salterton's case), the Deptford building's overall power effects convey a sense of the *everyday*. Rather than having an imposing effect on visitors, Deptford's building seems more accessible, perhaps less overwhelming as a material expression, and thus more comfortable to users approaching the building. Instead of "palace" or a "temple", the library as a place is perceived more as a "living room" or a commons.

4.2.3. "It's Post-Nothingism": Cornish's Enigmatic Library Building

The architectural style of the recently opened Cornish Library building was very much on the minds of the library's staff and users when I interviewed them. Their perceptions of the building's architecture and ambience were among the most varied of the three cases. It seems

that, while the library's new building plays a very conspicuous role in shaping people's impressions of the library, people have a hard time understanding what the building is trying to convey to them, if anything. The library building is imposing and conspicuous—but baffling.

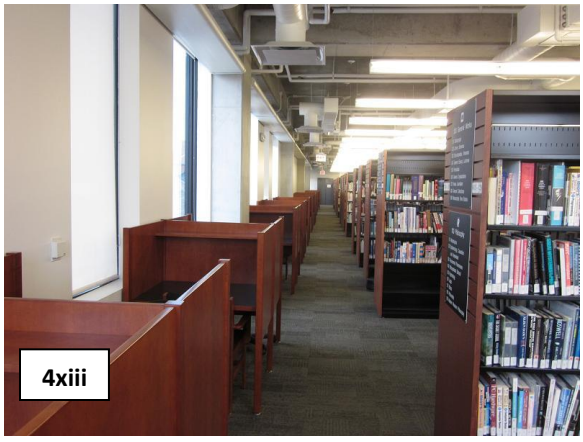


The Cornish Library's exterior. (Photos by author.)

The building, only five years old at the time of data collection, still had a sense of newness, a sense of novelty, and a "presence" that could be easily detected in the interviewees' responses. Among those who spoke positively of the building (see 4x and 4xi), there was a sense of purpose to the building's design. First and foremost was the building's composition, a geometric combination of a rectangle (the library proper) and a drum at the building's immediate front, slightly off-centre (and containing the foyer, the cafe, the washrooms and, on the upper level, the library's administrative offices). The building's appearance is pleasantly (or unpleasantly) paradoxical: it is an example of balanced asymmetry. "I think it's quite a beautiful building," said C-Shannon. "I like the geometry of it, the rounded space and the square space [together]. It's not just one block." "Those two shapes together... I think it's brilliant," added C-Steve. "I think the shape of it is most prominent because they have the round part [the drum] at the front," said C-Shantal. "I think the shape is intriguing" explained C-Peggy.

According to Mayerovitch (1996), asymmetrical design suggests that "a building is dedicated to informal activity" (p. 60). This may explain the confusion, since few Cornish library interviewees spoke of their public library as a place of "informal" activity. The building's composition is variable, and certainly variety in architectural form can be pleasing, or at least

intriguing to observers. However, it must have some order, some sense of unity to give the variety a sense of purpose or message (Mayerovitch, 1996). The library's composition seems to convey a sense of the disjointed: not only does it exist as two, strikingly different shapes fused together; one shape's skin (the drum, which contains the foyer, administrative offices, and the cafe) is covered in a wood veneer, connoting a sense of lightness and softness, while the other (the rectangle, which contains the library's collections and art gallery) is covered predominantly in hard stone. Indeed, the Cornish building suggested to its users and staff very little by way of order or unity. "It's a patchwork," said C-Patrick, adding that the building was more "like a jigsaw puzzle" than a library building—which itself suggests not only that the building's composition conveys a sense of mechanical wholeness, or of division, but also that its purpose beyond the simple function of housing the library is not entirely clear. "I don't know what it is," he continued, thinking of the building's architectural style. "It's Post-nothing-ism," he concluded. User C-Paul called the building both "artsy" and "spacey"; others compared the library to other building types: "It looks like one of those hospitals from the 1970s," said C-Suzanne, shrugging her shoulders. A few interviewees did perceive some material-symbolic meaning in the building's architectural style; their sense of what this meaning was, though, was at best nebulous and ill-defined. "I think... there was an artistic intent in the [building's] design," explained C-Steve, noting the "futuristic" appeal of the building's architectural style. "I think that when you think of knowledge, of getting information, it is something in progress, so it's something that reaches into the future." To C-Steve, the building's "spacey" quality suggests that the library as an organization is very forward-looking, very progressive. This response, however, of all interviewee responses at



The Cornish Library's interior. (Photos by author.)

the Cornish Library, was the only coherent attempt at assigning meaning to the building's appearance.

Although not many interviewees were interested in interpreting style, they did emphasize their sense of the library building's atmosphere. Once more, perceptions were variable. Some described the building as "stark", "grey" and "cold" said C-Suzanne. "It's a very impersonal structure... There's all these pipes and cement," noted C-Shantal (see 4xii and 4xiii). "It's cold, impersonal and has no personality." Although to some the building itself had "no personality" they felt that the library organization inside the building did; that is, they were able to contrast the "starkness" of the building with the warmth of the people that inhabit it. "When I first came here, I thought it was very institutional—the grey walls, the cement—because it was so different from where I'd worked before," explained one of library's managers (C-Sandra), using a word ("institutional") that many respondents used when describing their impression of the building. "But over the years they [the staff] have made it more welcoming," she added, "so now I think it feels like a library."

It is unclear what specific power effects the Cornish library's building has on its staff and users. Overall, people are aware of the building's presence and feel that it has something to tell them about the library's purpose in the community. They are just unsure what that message is. That in itself produces a power effect, perhaps even an undesirable one: rather than elevating the library organization (as in Salterton's case), or making the library organization seem more ordinary, more accessible (as in Deptford's case), the Cornish library building seems to repel users with its sense of disjointedness, asymmetry, and imbalance, and its overall use of "cold" and "institutional" building materials. People feel warmly about the organization, but not the building it inhabits.

In summary, architectural style and aspects of the library's interior built environment have significant power effects upon those who use and work in the library. Built form and style has meaning and imbues, through the use of historically-determined and socially-constructed forms of material-symbolism, the library as a place and as an organization with perceived values, purpose, and status.

Architectural form and style have the ability to elevate, alienate, and/or make accessible the library as a place and as an organization. Using the case libraries as examples, one can see how the classical style has the power to elevate and dignify the library organization using historicism (in Salterton's case, genuine historicism); its form conveys a sense of high cultural and institutional importance. Because the building uses an architectural form and style that people tend to collectively agree is a "serious" style, it conveys the sense that the library is a serious institution. The exterior style of the Deptford building, by contrast, makes no impression; it is self-effacing and forces inhabitants to look for material-symbolic meaning in its interior built environment. Its interior's "used" or "warn" quality imbues the institution with a casualness unseen in the Salterton example. Overall, the building seems less imposing, perhaps more modest, than a classical building. Last, the Cornish building's post-Modern playfulness with composition, along with its interior's overall Spartan quality, puzzles and in some ways even alienates its inhabitants. Inhabitants do not recognize it as a library building following any tradition.

I return to some of these points in the following section where I explore the role these buildings and their wider contexts play in creating something I called an "organizational narrative" for each library.

4.2.4. Organizational Narratives: The "Traces of an Interesting Evolution"

Although it is not the core of their writing, Dale & Burrell (2008) mention *narrative* at several key points in their work on organization space: "Places and spaces shape our actions, interactions, and sense of meaning, emotions, and identity. The built world we inhabit tells us narratives, stories, about ourselves and the societies that we live in..." (Dale & Burrell, 2008, p. 43). While defining "enactment" specifically, they explain: "The significance of enactment as a socio-spatial form of power is the simultaneously taken-for-granted nature of the power relations as 'lived through' embodied and cultural spaces, and the processes of identity construction that may be facilitated by the *narrative opportunities* of these spaces" (p. 77, emphasis mine). However, while Dale & Burrell (2008) talk much about the narrative properties of space, much of their discussion refers to what they call "organized walking" (p. 72), which describes a person's trajectory through embodied space in a sequence pre-planned

to affect their perception and understanding of what they are experiencing. A simple example they give is a museum exhibit that must be experienced in a sequential fashion, the sequence of movement mirroring the chronology of events the exhibit depicts. A museum visitor thus "relives" history by following a sequentially-planned exhibit, a plotted path of simulation that in effect produces a type of understanding.

I would like to use "narrative" and identity a different way, however. I contend that the concepts of *place* and *narrative* have the potential to affect library buildings and meaning in other ways. To begin, implicit in the idea of *narrative* is some kind of "account of *connected* events" (New Oxford American 2008, emphasis mine); this is important when considering public libraries as places, for what they are at any given point in time is a product of several *contexts*. First is the library's urban context. That is, where is it located in relation to other places within the community? Next, and closely related to urban context, is its material-symbolic context. Does the building "fit in" with its neighbours, or with the prevailing architectural values or tradition of the larger community? As Mayerovitch (1996) contends, an architectural style strikingly different from what predominates can seem like an intrusion or a protest against a sense of unity or a sense of community. Last, but perhaps most important, is its chronological or historical context. That is, what is the library building's age? What unique connection does it have with the community's collective memory? A building's past has a substantial affect on how it is perceived at the present. As artist Brian Eno[34] observes:

> We are convinced by things that show … traces of an interesting evolution.... An important aspect of design is the degree to which the object involves you in its own completion ... [and] this is what makes old buildings interesting to me. I think that humans have a taste for things that not only show that they have been through a process of evolution, but which also show that they are still a part of one. (quoted in Brand, 1994, p. 11).

Each library building plays an important part in a library's organizational narrative, and this organizational narrative is the combined product of several contexts. This in effect casts everyone that uses or works at these case libraries as participants in the enactment of a larger story. What is each library's organizational narrative? Are users and staff aware of it?

[34] Stephen J. Brayer seems to have echoed Eno when he stated: "The story that a building tells... may be as important to the community as is its function" (quoted in Levy, Kent & Nikitin [2012]).

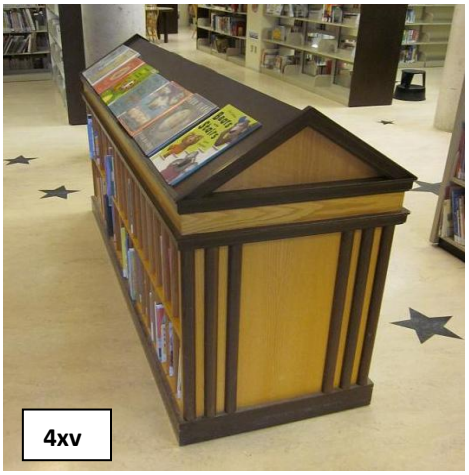
Salterton: The Library as "Historical Artifact"

The Salterton Library celebrates its heritage with a plaque honouring its "Carnegie" status. (Photo by author.)

To begin, the Salterton library sits in an area of the downtown known for its civic buildings and its century architecture. It is contextual within its urban landscape. Although it is a well-known building, it does not stand out in any way that suggests it sits apart from the others. The library conveys to users that it is *in the community* and *of the community* and thus it is in line with the Salterton community's values. "We tend to take pride in [our] buildings and try to preserve them as much as possible," explained A-Sally. This seems plausible, especially considering the library's renovation and structural addition in 1996, which was designed in a manner sympathetic to the historically significant style. The addition, aesthetically, was seamless; it creates the illusion that the library building has always been as it is today. It is almost hiding evidence of progress and change.

Since the library is now over a full century old, its chronological context is also a factor. The preservation of older buildings conveys a sense of continuity; historic places provide a chance for people to "indulge in the nostalgic" and conserve (or "reclaim") a more idyllic past (Mayerovitch, 1996). In Salterton, there is an emotional need to recognize the continuity of community life; thus the permanence of the library building satisfies a certain emotional need: "There are people who can remember 90 years ago," explained A-Phyllis, "so you can't make change too obvious or too quick. You can put a little bit, but you have to retain a bit of something else. They want to see something they can remember." Among some of the interviewees there was the sense that the additions and renovations were not *replacing* anything as much as they were adding on to something—the idea of having taken something completely away was perhaps antithetical. Consider A-Phil and A-Phyllis, who, when commenting on the 1996 addition (which replaced an older one, which was razed), both described the new addition as being "built on top" of the old one.

At the Salterton Library, new history therefore never replaces old history; it develops in a layered manner, perhaps like geological strata. It is not just the sense of being in or working in an historical building; there is a feeling of continuity. People—users and staff—feel as though they are part of a lineage, that they are have been enlisted in an ongoing story that began over one-hundred years ago. Thus at Salterton, library activity is an ongoing rehearsal and performance of history and tradition.



The Salterton Library reproduces its portico as part of its logo (as seen on a staff member's nametag) and on shelving units in the Children's Department. (Photos by author.)

This explains the prominent position the Salterton library building has in the minds of those that use it, either daily as a place of work (library staff) or regularly as members of the larger community (users). As Mayerovitch (1996, p. 180) reminds us, the endurance of historic places acts as "tangible evidence" of history—that society can "benefit from a unity of past, present and future" (Mayerovitch, 1996, p. 180). The Salterton library is a piece of history, an artifact. The building's status within the immediate community has become a source of pride; consequently the library organization brings constant attention to the building in several explicit ways. A plaque (see 4xiv), conspicuously placed in the main public stairwell, commemorates the building's connection to Andrew Carnegie—some interviewees even included the plaque on their cognitive maps. The library celebrates the building even further by reproducing it in several ways, not least among them the library's logo (see 4xv), which shows six pillars and a triangular portico. Several shelving units in the library's Children's Department even reproduce the shape of the portico on their end panels (4xvi). These bookshelves are, in effect, miniature "Salterton Libraries" for miniature users. For the staff and users of Salterton, the building is not just the library's container. The building *is* the library, and the library is a place.

Deptford: The Library as "Container"

It is difficult to analyze attitudes about a building that so few interviewees spoke of explicitly or at length. When examining the Deptford building's chronological contexts, one can see why. The building is only thirty years old and has changed in few significant physical ways since it opened in 1980. Apart from some new carpeting, and changes to the arrangement of stacks in the library's main floor and Children's Department, there have been no additions or major structural changes to the building, no major reshuffling of any of the library's internal, functional departments. Some long-time users of the library still think of the Deptford building as the "new library" and the community's old Carnegie building, now an annex to Deptford's City Hall several blocks over, as the "old library". No interviewees spoke of the Deptford library as having any significant history. In their minds it is not necessarily a "new" building as much as it is a building without any deeper past. It is merely the library's building, and the library organization inside it is a public service they use.

4xvii

The Deptford Library's front entrance. (Photo by author.)

The library's urban contexts may also have an effect. Contextuality in architectural landscapes conveys meaning. To say that the Deptford library is non-contextual would be difficult; although Deptford's building has a certain amount of distinction it is lost in a landscape that is itself without distinction. Though many of the community's architecturally significant buildings have been conserved, over the past forty years many of its heritage structures have either been razed or burned. Consequently the downtown landscape is variable; it boasts a broad variety of styles and no one era or style predominates. On the library's block alone some structures survive from the nineteenth century, including a residence (now an office) immediately to the library's north. However, across the street is an old church sporting a recent, modernist addition on its west elevation. To the library's south is a parking lot where an older building one stood. The empty lot conveys a sense of absence. Immediately south of that is a restaurant housed in a mid-century building that resembles a box. On the southeast corner of the block is a commercial structure

built in the mid-1980s. The immediate area, like the rest of Deptford's downtown, is a mixed bag of different styles and appearances. However, not one building—not even the library (see 4xvii)—rises more than a few storeys from the ground.

Consequently, the library as building and as an organization come across as quite usual, quite ordinary. As a piece of architecture, the building is quite unique; but when considered part of a larger urban landscape, the library is lost in an endless variety of different styles. The building is not old enough to be considered special, nor is it new enough to be considered novel. Its contexts forge a rather bland organizational narrative: it is, at this point in the library's development, and at this point in the broader community's development, a place of no significant meaning beyond its function. This may help explain why so few interviewees spoke of the library in any way beyond how they use it.

Cornish: The Library in "Transition"

The Cornish Library's urban context is somewhat unique among the three. At five years old it is the newest and youngest of the three case libraries. Consider next how some interviewees described their community as very much like Salterton: Cornish places a strong emphasis on built heritage. Consequently buildings with architectural styles that postdate 1920 stand out. Their distinction seems based almost entirely on their newer, Modernist or postmodern aesthetic. They are, to put it one way, a protest against the prevailing landscape. For that reason these buildings seem to suggest that they stand apart from the rest of community; people are reminded of what they *are not* rather than what they *are*. Or to put it conversely, they are *in the community* but not *of the community*.

A view of the former library from the window of the new library. (Photo by author.)

This connects directly with the library's chronological contexts. Curiously, the Cornish library's original building, an old bank building repurposed into the community's first free public

library in 1907, still stands directly across the street, cater-corner to the new library (see 4xviii). It is therefore almost impossible to visit the "new" library building without thinking of the "old one". The old library stands literally in the shadow of the new one. Or, is it the other way around? Interviewees' responses made it clear that the "new library" stands in the old one's shadow. Overall they voiced negative personal opinions about the new library building, despite the many well-publicized reasons the old library building could not continue as the city's library: size and space needs issues, accessibility issues, and a leaky basement, just to name a few. Despite the old building's disadvantages the new one seems to have interrupted a sense of continuity and endurance that many users and staff had come to value.

Consequently, many staff and users reject the new building. Talking about the building's architectural style, one user exclaimed: "I don't know what it is but it was expensive," said C-Patrick, hinting at the new library's political contexts. Many interviewees, including staff, reject the idea that there is any connection between the new library building and the old. When I asked staff interviewees how long they had been working at the Cornish Library, nearly every long-time staff member answered "Five years," or "Since it opened." In their minds they did not work for a library organization as much as they did for a library building, and to them the new building symbolized an entirely new organization. The only continuity people sense between the old library and the new one is the people inside, namely the long-time staff.

The "old" library's "Shakespeare window", transplanted into the new library. (Photo by author.)

Some aspects of the new building's built environment make a valid attempt at "borrowing" history from the old building, or at least building some kind of bridge between them. These

include replacement of a 1905 stained glass window (see 4xix) from the old library into the second level of the new one. Other touches, such as plaques commemorating the careers of past librarians, attempt to remind people that the new library is a direct descendant of the other one. It carries forward the Cornish Public Library as an organization.

Nevertheless, it appears the library's political contexts have an effect on people's perception of the library as a place. That the new library was designed by architects from another, nearby (larger) city did not sit well with some interviewees. They seemed to connect the new building with a sense of the outside, the *extra-local*: "People said it was a design that was rejected in [another, larger city] but they thought that [the Cornish community] was too 'mentally impoverished' to protest and that we would accept it," explained C-Patrick. Evidently some interviewees interpreted the building as *a statement about the community by another community*, perhaps even an insult. Alternatively, the building symbolizes for others an embracing of the extra-local, of progress and ties to other parts of the province. The idea of "moving forward" seemed to go even deeper: No matter how interviewees felt personally about the new Cornish building, it did seem to represent something important, some kind of intervention or interruption—or perhaps a very large corner turned—for the Cornish community.

Thus for some the new building shows that the library and its community are both in a state of transition: The centre that was once a city with a small town feel is now a city with, more appropriately, a city feel. As the library's Deputy CEO (C-Shannon) explained to me: "[We've gone] from a small, hometown kind of library—baking cookies, bringing cake to meetings—to a [more] business-like organization that's trying to do things in a very—some would say "institutional"—way... it's bigger now." The building's superintendant (C-Steve), who personally liked the new building, remarked: "It's a design that's ahead of what [Cornish citizens] were ready for," he explained. Nevertheless it is one that they are growing into. The new building's post-modern aesthetic has, in a way, signalled a new chapter. It is a symbol of progress.

A comparison of these three buildings considered in their larger contexts show that a library building's enchantment effects are not created by the building alone. The meanings they convey are also rooted in the building's larger story—or, put more appropriately, the larger story of which the library itself has become a part. At Salterton, the library conveys not just a sense of the scholarly temple but also a sense of endurance throughout the larger Salterton community; of lasting values; of permanence and reliability. At Cornish, the presence of the older library across the street serves to remind the building's staff and users of what the library is not, of what the city of Cornish is no longer: a small town. At Deptford, the building's contexts have dulled its enchantment effects somewhat by masking the building's unique qualities. The Deptford findings also suggest that while the building as a symbol may not convey anything explicit, people are aware enough of "what a library is" to focus more on the "meaning" of the activity inside.[35]

It would be interesting to explore people's perceptions of these kinds of building styles in other communities where the contexts are very different. Would people perceive their respective architectural styles at all differently? Would they make conclusions about such libraries different from what interviewees in these three cases have?

4.3. Emplacement: Bringing Order to Organization

This section explores the concept of *emplacement*, which describes the fixing of people and things in particular places through the use of physical and conceptual boundaries. Put simply, emplacement "implies control in space through fixing"—the idea that there are "rightful and wrongful places for different categories of people", objects, and processes in space (Dale & Burrell, 2008, p. 53). Emplacement, as Dale & Burrell (2008) define it, recalls many of the fundamental approaches of the "classical school" of organizational design (Martin, 1996; Stueart & Moran, 2007)—most especially Frederick Taylor's concept of "scientific management" (Martin, 1996). For instance, systems of emplacement (fixation, enclosure, classification and ranking), are both physical and temporal and lock nearly everyone and

[35] Although they are describing larger, central "showpiece" libraries more than smaller libraries, Nikiton and Jackson in their www.pps.org piece "Libraries that Matter", observe that sometimes a library's exterior is nothing more than just that—an exterior—and that ultimately, it is what is on a library's interior that makes the longest lasting impression: " While many cities and towns now recognize the importance of re-positioning libraries as destinations, this awareness doesn't always translate into a well-rounded success. The most high-profile new libraries rely on stylized designs to create buzz, feeding a false perception that destination libraries are all about attention-grabbing looks. But when the tour bus crowds stop coming, these libraries will sink or swim based on how well they serve the needs of their respective communities–whether they are truly great places, not just eye-catching buildings."

everything within the library's physical boundaries into a series of interconnected systems. They create a basis for the library's spatial organization which produces, for the library and its many activities and services, a degree of stability and predictability ("order") in a type of place that in some ways must be left to disorder and unpredictability.

Library planners have traditionally rationalized their decision-making with discourses of efficiency; now, "user-centered" paradigms of space planning are just as central to their solutions (Lushington, 2002). Yet a closer look at how the three case libraries have placed people and materials in relation to one another reveals that the sustaining of well-entrenched relations of power within and between groups in the library also plays a significant role in organizing the library. This section addresses CQ_2, "What forms of emplacement exist in the built environment of the public library that position, fix and coordinate materials and people in relation to each other?"

4.3.1. Library as Theatre: Front of House and Back of House

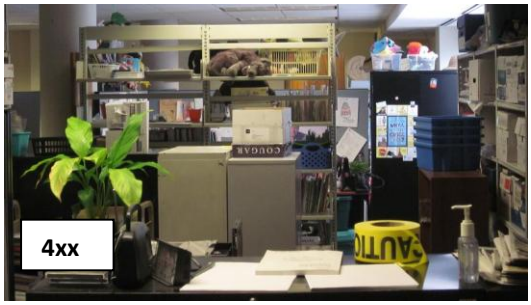
Some building types can be divided into two distinct sections or territories: "front of house" and "back of house". These terms appear to have originated in theatre architecture. This is important for understanding how they relate to (and how they help describe) public library buildings as organization spaces. The *Oxford Companion to the Theatre* (Hartnoll, 1995) defines *front of house* as

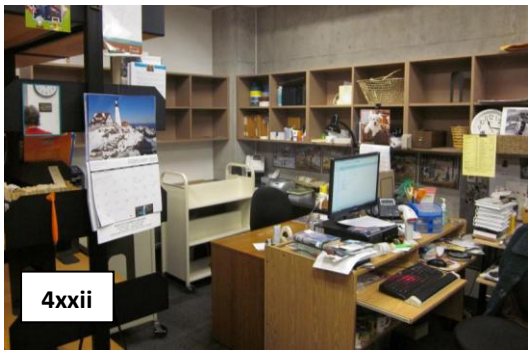
> all those parts of a theatre which are used by the audience, as distinct from the performers, who are backstage. They include the auditorium, passages, lobbies, foyers, bars, cloakrooms, refreshment rooms, and the box office or pay-box for the booking of seats, the whole being under the control of a front of house manager who also acts as host to important guests and is at all times concerned with the well-being of the audience. (p. 308)

The same source defines back of house (or "backstage") as

> a term originally applied to a recess in the back wall of the stage, used for the last pieces of scenery in a deep spectacular vista, and at other times for storage. By extension the word was applied to all parts of a theatre behind the stage, including the actors' dressing rooms and the green room. (p. 50)

Though Hartnoll (1995) prefers the former, the terms "backstage" and "back of house" are similar; the former seems to refer to the areas described in the first sentence of Hartnoll's definition, and the latter refers to the areas described in the second.[36]





Back of house space in each case library: Salterton's staff cubicles (top)*; Deptford's back workroom* (middle)*; and Cornish's Technical Services room* (bottom). (Photos by author.)

In any event these concepts are worth considering for several reasons. First, they suggest that in some building types a fundamental divide exists between distinct groups that share the same building for the same goals but different purposes. Second, they suggest that these spaces require mechanisms—from the more passive, sometimes unnoticed effects of buildings design (walls, doors, stairwells and corridors) to the more active and noticeable enacted elements, such as designated authorities ("managers")—to maintain that conceptual divide. One can detect this spatial divide in public library buildings. First, rather than performers, technicians and theatre managers ("theatre staff") versus the public ("the audience"), in library buildings these two groups comprise the technicians, clerks, supervisors and managers (library staff) and the public (library users). The basic physical design of a public library purposefully separates these two groups and makes certain that any interactions between members occur under carefully controlled conditions. For example, a library's "front of house" region includes all the publicly accessible collections space (including all lanes and aisles), the library's foyer, the quiet reading areas, the library's cafe (if applicable), the space in front of the service desks, and so forth. By contrast the library's "back of house" includes all the staff-only

[36] This particular distinction is important not least because "backstage" is often used to describe what might be more appropriately called *back of house*; moreover it suggests that the concept of "backstage" has grown from a somewhat literal understanding (i.e., behind the actual stage) to a broader one (i.e., all spaces inaccessible to and unseen by the audience). Nevertheless the term *back of house* is used in this chapter to describe the section of space in a library building that is inaccessible to, and mostly unseen by, library users.

rooms: the administrative and supervisory offices, cubicles (see 4xx), technical services rooms (see 4xxi), workrooms (see 4xxi), and lunch rooms, just to name a few obvious examples.

This distinction is not as simple as it first sounds, however; it is multivalent and relative. While the back of house concept compartmentalizes and isolates library staff from direct contact with the public (users) certain parts of the organization's personnel seem to form another "public" all their own. That is, even the "back of house" has its own "back of house" space that not all staff can directly access or would have reason to access: the storage and mechanical rooms—even the offices of the administrators or managers. Mechanical or technology rooms (e.g., rooms containing service panels or computer machinery) are often isolated not just from the public but also from most staff for security reasons and environmental reasons (e.g., servers produce high amounts of heat).

The end effect, however, not only conceals the inner clockwork of the library but does so in carefully planned stages or tiers. This makes "experiencing the building" different for actors depending on what group an actor belongs to and what rank he or she holds within that group. In other words, aside from the inevitable, subjective differences of each person's individual experience of a place, library buildings use emplacement as a way of prescribing the experience of each organizational actor differently from the next.

Library users are very aware of the existence of "back of house" regions, even if they hardly see or never experience them first-hand. User interviewees chose many different ways of describing or labelling back of house space: "locked up" places, "the offices", "staff rooms" and other areas "over the counter" or "behind closed doors" were among the most frequent ways users referred to back of house space when describing their experiences in the library. When I asked users to explain how they knew of any back of house space (when, indeed, very few of them had ever been in the library's back of house), they frequently based their responses on the physical environment. The most frequently cited indicator of a "back of house" part of the library was the sight of closed doors, especially those carrying traditional key locks, keypads, or passcard devices. Some users referred to these closed doors as

"protected doors" (A-Perrin) that lead to places "behind closed doors" (A-Patricia). They implicitly knew that they as users were prohibited from entering such areas unless for a special reason, and only then one can enter but only with "special permission" (A-Perrin). Since public doors in today's libraries are relatively few (arguably, a result of recent barriers-free legislation), the sight of a closed door (locked or unlocked) more often than not suggests to users that the space behind that door is not intended for them. Thus for many users the sight of a closed door has produced a basic rule of behaviour: do not enter. "I just assume that if a door is closed, it's not a public area," explained A-Pearl, shrugging her shoulders.

Arguably, doors are not as much about "keeping people out" as they are about making access heavily conditional. "Enclosure can be a physical boundary that gives shelter or definition," explain Dale & Burrell (2008, p. 54), "or it can be seen as a restriction, a way of forming exclusions and inclusions. It creates mental and social enclosures or sets of distinctions as well as material ones." For example, although users at all three case libraries are allowed to access such rooms as local history rooms, board rooms, and meeting rooms, these often remain locked during normal operating hours. This makes a system of filtering necessary, and thus library staff are required before unlocking any doors to determine who wants access to a particular room and why.

Another frequent way that users identify the back-/front of house divide is through the library building's use of partitioning: specifically the placement of its walls, desks, and counters. Obvious as it may seem, this category of boundary indicator is almost as much of an enchantment issue as it is an emplacement issue. Users have described the "back of house" in a library as mysterious—an almost mythical place "out of the way and hidden" or "behind the counter" where the librarians keep all of their "files and things" (B-Paula). A-Peter used the very abstract word "beyond"; other users referred to the back of house as the library's "underside" of which they knew little. One of Deptford's users, who after many years of visiting the library as a user became a volunteer, explained her experience seeing the library's back offices and basement for the very first time:

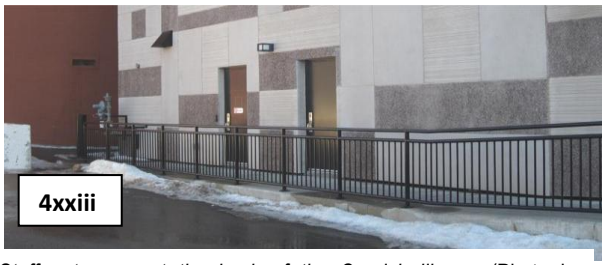
> It surprised me. It was much different than I thought it would be. I didn't think there would be staff down there [in the basement]. I thought it would be... I don't know. I thought it would be all the old books that just got piled down to the basement. But it's actually like this whole other little library world down there... (B-Paula)

Users are aware that these places exist but the uncertainty of precisely what they contain and how they relate spatially (and perhaps even functionally) to the rest of the library adds to the user experience an important element of mystery.[37] It also creates a viable power effect: limited access creates limited awareness. Put simply: because there are places in the library that users know they cannot visit under normal circumstances, they become aware that there are things about the library that they do not and cannot know. This has the potential to diminish a user's sense of status within the space. Visible "back of house" indicators tell users which of the two groups have the higher status: the library staff.

Another way that users know what is staff-only space is by observing the relative fixation/location of staff versus users. In other words, they observe where staff tend to be and where users tend *not* to be: "[I know where not to go] just by watching staff going [in and out] of particular areas," explained B-Pamela. "I see the circulation desks and I see [staff members] chatting back and forth, and so I know that's where [they go] to do paperwork or whatever they do... That's how I know." Interestingly, though all three case libraries had ample signage classifying the "staff-only" areas as such, library users rarely reported even noticing these signs. (When I asked B-Pamela about such signs, her response was a typical one: "You know, I don't really know. I'm sure they must.") It seems that library users recognize what is staff-only space by observing physical indicators (desks, counters, closed doors) and the spatial behaviour of staff, not signs.

[37] Salterton's Deputy CEO, A-Shirley, described to me what it is like for her to introduce new people (users, new staff or volunteers) to the back-of-house library space: "It's like we stage this every day," she said. "This is the public face we put on, out here. And it looks great. People will often come in the back... [and] we say, 'Well, now you know all our secrets'.... I think of the "Wizard of Oz": now I've pulled back the curtain, and this is where we make it happen. And it's our secret because all we are is this little bunch of people in the back corner and we're making it all look very "The Library" and it's so calm and orderly. But in the back you see a flurry of activities and people's desks piled with things and books coming and going."

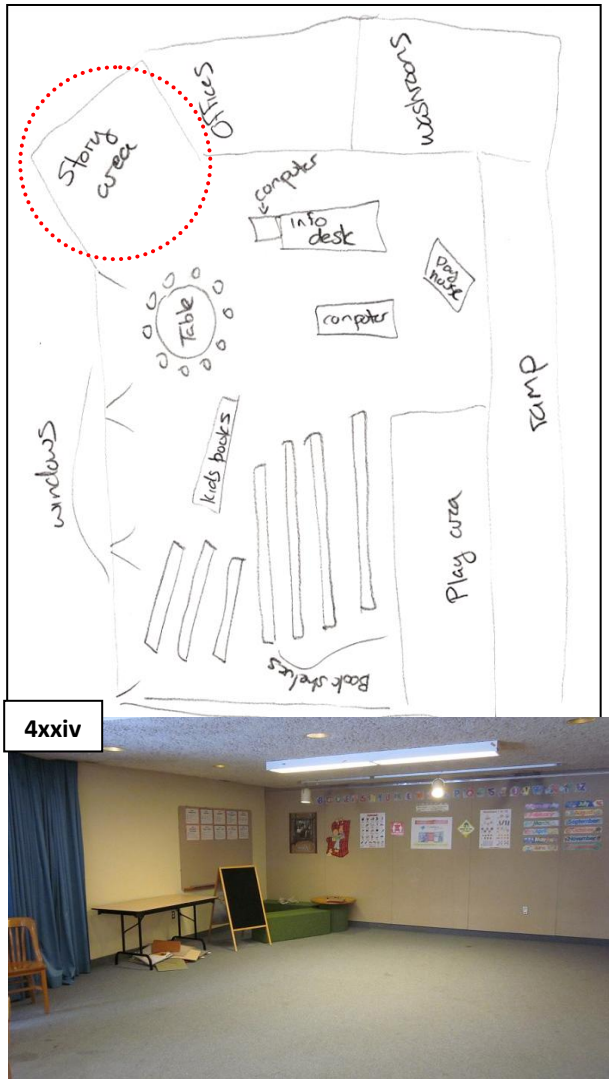
Another pattern that reinforces the back of house, front of house spatial division is the habitual use of separate entrances and exits between staff and user groups. Though some staff reported occasionally using the library's main (public) entrance while leaving and returning from their lunch hours, most full-time staff explained that they habitually used the staff entrance(s) for accessing the building. At all three case libraries the staff entrances were either at the back or at the side of each building—that is, to some degree hidden from public view (see 4xxiii). There are practical reasons for this: staff parking is usually at the back or the side of the building, and of course some staff entrances employ keypads and passcard features that public entrances do not. In any event, staff entrances are designed only for staff, and most full-time staff arrive at a time of day when the public entrance is still locked. The end result is that library staff's entrance to the building at the beginning of the working day is somewhat secretive, and must be so that it does not appear as though the library is open. This model allows each group direct access to the part of the library that corresponds most closely to their spatial identity (see 4.3.1). Users directly access the front of house through the main entrance, and the staff directly access the back of house through the staff entrance. So, although the model has its practicality it does reinforce a sense of separateness between the library's two major groups.



Staff entrances at the back of the Cornish library. (Photo by author.)

When users and staff interact, it is under carefully prescribed and controlled circumstances. An in-depth discussion of the service desk as a locus of control in the publicly accessible parts of the library appears in Chapter 5. Here, I return to the "theatre" analogy to suggest that in other parts of the library staff-user interactions occur on a somewhat more casual—and equal—basis. These parts might well be called "mixing places".

One of the most telling interviewee responses of the study came at Deptford, when a young mother (B-Paula) was explaining to me her cognitive map of the Deptford library's children's department. On her map, she labelled the programming area (opposite to the junior picture books and adjacent to the service desk) as the "story area" but, when speaking about it to me, she referred to it as "the stage" (see 4xxiv). The word hinted not so much at a theatrical comparison but more at an understanding of the programming area as a place where the interaction between staff and users is pre-planned. Such is the character of such "mixing places", which usually exist in the front of house region but are not in constant or continuous use. The data from all three cases suggest a typology for the mixing places of the public library: (1) the formal (programming areas or rooms); (2) the semi-formal (art galleries, certain public staircases, community meeting rooms used for non-library purposes, foyers and corridors); and (3) the informal (cafes).



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(Top) *B-Paula's cognitive map of Deptford's Children's department. In her interview she referred to the "story area" as "the stage"; below* (bottom) *is a photo of that space.* (Photo by author.)

Perhaps the best example of a mixing place is the most informal of all, the library cafe. Cafes have become popular features in public libraries; although Salterton does not

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Deptford's cafe, where "a fair bit of interaction" occurs between staff and users.(Photo by author.)

have one, several years ago Deptford refitted a corner of their main level (just past the circulation desk) with a coffee shop, and the Cornish Library included a cafe in their original plans, placing it in the drum, adjacent to the front entrance and separated from the library via the grand foyer. Libraries usually place cafes (see 4xxv) as close to the building's main entrance for convenience, and also as a way to "set a welcoming tone and encourage an open conversational atmosphere" and encourage users "to spend more time in the library since they have places to eat" (Lushington 2002, p. 95). However, the planning literature neglects to mention one very important aspect of the cafe. In both cases, I observed staff (on break) and library users sitting at tables in the cafe. The cafe is a peculiarity within both library buildings because it cannot be classified as "staff space" or "user space"; it may be even improper to refer to them as "library space" since in both Deptford and Cornish's cases the cafes are run and supervised by outside organizations. Nevertheless, library cafes unite and mix library staff and users together on a truly equal level: neither one is in the other's territory. At both Deptford and Salterton, not only were the cafes frequently used but by staff as much as patrons. I observed library staff having mini-meetings while at the cafe; I observed library staff speaking with library users in a more relaxed, less formal manner than I observed inside the library itself. "That's where a fair bit of interaction between our staff... and some of the patrons [occurs]," B-Scott, a circulation clerk at the Deptford library, told me. Cornish's Gallery Curator, who spends most of her time on the top (third) level of the Cornish building (and thus removed from many of the library's users), experiences all kinds of unexpected, chance meetings with users down in the cafe on the first level. "If I'm downstairs getting a cup of coffee or a bowl of soup, and someone wants to talk about the Gallery, it'll happen in the foyer [which connects the cafe to the library and Gallery]," she explained. The library cafes in both the Deptford and Cornish libraries are not only fine examples a "third place" (Oldenberg, 1999) but are rare examples of a third place within what is itself often described as a third place, the public library.

The front of house, back of house distinction is important for several reasons. As an emplacement strategy it lays the groundwork for division between the two general identity groups within the library building: staff and users. It suggests that much of where members of these two groups go and what they do is not so much a random thing. It is a very carefully

prescribed system of perception and behaviour. It suggests that these groups co-exist not just within a building but are collective actors within a more sophisticated narrative.

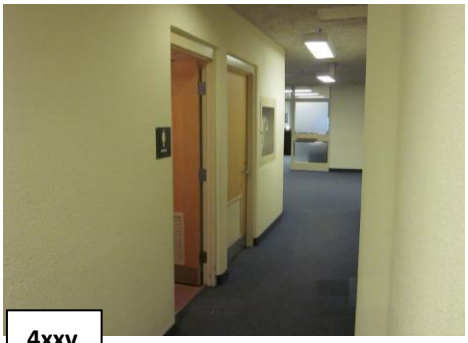
4.3.2. Organizational Hierarchy and Building Design

The back of house arrangement follows a hierarchical or ranked emplacement, one not that unlike the basic organizational structure of the library organization. Indeed, as Markus (1993, 2006) reminds us, buildings are classifying devices: "It crucially matters who is located where, in relation to others in other spaces, and what is the nature of the space (size, quality, central or peripheral, etc.... These [spatial structures] signify quite different relations between users or objects, degrees of freedom in the choice of routes, opportunities for chance encounters, solidarities and possibilities for control or surveillance" (2006, p. 132-4).

In his library planning guide, Lushington (2002) remarks that staff work areas (technical services departments, for example) should be placed near delivery entrances for proximity and convenience. With some exceptions (such as circulation workrooms), in all three case libraries technical and support staff workrooms generally are near the delivery entrances. However, this does not fully explain the general pattern of division and distance between support staff and upper management. According to Becker (1981), organization spaces of all kinds (not just libraries) divide management and administrative offices or rooms from those of support workers for reasons of control: "Visual order reduces ambiguity by masking individual differences among setting occupants. It is a form of social control," explains Becker (1981, p. 25). He continues:

> Environments that acknowledge differences in individual requirements for environmental support... are often considered chaotic because all of the offices or workstations do not have identical equipment or the same type of visual... barriers.... From this perspective, a major function of the physical setting of organizations can be seen as an attempt to visually and physically reduce the ambiguity of social position and power within the organization by marking distinctions among job classifications with clear signs of spatial privilege... and by minimizing distinctions within job classifications by rendering all environmental support identical.
>
> (p. 25-26)

Indeed, just as there is a clear spatial divide marking the difference of status between users and staff, there is one between lower ranking staff and management. In the Deptford Library, for example, both managerial and technical services space is located in the library's basement; however, a large section of user space (the main corridor, the public washrooms, and several meeting rooms) creates a substantial physical divide between these two groups (see 4xxv). Within the managerial offices, the Head Librarian's office sits behind a glass wall just off the basement's public corridor; a closed door prevents direct access and a large working counter prevents passersby from seeing the Head Librarian at work. Beyond the Head Librarian's office is the Library Manager's, which is more completely enclosed with a proper door. In this specific example, the respective ranks (Head Librarian, Library Manager) reflect each manager's proximity to the only access point within the administrative space: the main



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4xxvi

(Top) *A corridor from outside Deptford's Technical Services department, looking toward the public washrooms and, in the distance, the administration's office.* (Above) *Looking from one entrance (behind the photographer) to the other (behind pillar in the far distance) in Deptford's Technical Services department. On either side of the aisle are workstations arranged in a grid-like fashion, as seen in this detail from B-Sadie's map* (middle). *The red arrow shows the photo angle.* (Photos by author.)

corridor. Yet this is not the case across the public corridor in Deptford's Technical Services department (see 4xxvi), where personnel do not seem to be arranged in any ranking order in proximity to the door. Here, there are at least two access points in Technical Services: the front access point (off the public corridor) and the back access point (the staff-only stairwell). Rather than placing individual workspaces in any ranking order, they are instead placed in a more grid-like fashion between the front access point and the back access point. The grid as a shape (or a sequence of repeated identical shapes) has been described as "a way of extending out indefinitely through the emphasis homogeneity" (Dale & Burrell, 2008, p. 62). In the support staff area, there seems to be a prevailing sense of "sameness" or implied equality within the space: even if one staff member outranks the other, there is little to no difference in spatial privilege: the workers are at once differentiated and homogenous (Dale & Burrell, 2008).

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Cornish's second-level foyer, which separates the administrative offices from the rest of the library; and (bottom) *in the administrative area, looking toward the Cornish Library's Deputy CEO's office (at end of aisle).* (Photo by author.)

There is a comparison to be made here on several levels. First, administration space is separate from lower ranking staff workspace. Second, in the administrative space, the highest ranking staff member (the Library Manager) enjoys the most privacy and distance from the public corridor and thus could be said to have the most spatial privilege. Meanwhile, in the Technical Services department, the workspace layout is not ranked at all. There are similar patterns to observe at the Cornish Library, where there is an even greater spatial segregation between library staff space and managerial space. Of all three case libraries, the Cornish Library was the only one that had no functional basement, and thus nearly all of its support staff space is spread throughout the building along its perimeter. Nevertheless, Cornish's Technical Services room is tucked away at the north end of the first level, clustered with various storage spaces and the Superintendent's workshop; circulation has its workroom on the first level, on the south end of the drum; and departmental

supervisors have offices placed behind service desks on the first and second levels. Just like Deptford's layout, however, Cornish's administration is contained in its own space apart: on the second level of the drum, out of the library proper and across the foyer which contains the main elevators (see 4xxvii). The image this creates is an almost corporal one: if one thinks of the Cornish Library's rectangle (the library part) as the organization's "body", and the drum at the southeast end of the building (which contains the administrative offices) as the organization's "head", the spatial division between the two makes sense, if only through the lens of this "corporeal" metaphor. Moreover, the drum seems to convey a sense of the closed, the protected: circular enclosures "seem to shut out the exterior to place us at the centre of our own personal world. [They] also tend to stop movement, suggesting the final destination has been reached." In practice, this plan creates spatial distance between the two groups that seems to mirror an organizational one: "The staff are far away from us," explained Cornish's Deputy CEO. "There's a big divide there. We're almost as far away as possible in a sense." She did not mean just physically. "There's an organizational divide too, or separation, between the administration and the unionized employees... [and] it affects how we behave. You'll see that in certain areas of this library. You know, 'This is *our* space.'"

4xxviii

The Salterton Library's CEO office door (which is shut); and his administrative assistant's cubicle, placed in front of the door. To get to the CEO, whose office is the only office with a door, one must first pass through his assistant's space. (Photos by author.)

The layout of the Salterton Library's staff space differs considerably from the other two libraries. However, it too shows signs of separating staff according to rank. Most of the library's staff space exists on the eastern end of the library; staff and some members of upper management (among them, the Deputy CEO) work in cubicles which are arranged in a grid-like formation. Some technical service staff have their individual workspaces at the very front of the building, separate from the others via a long corridor. It was explained to me that Salterton has adopted this mixture of

management and staff because of a lack of space (despite the 1996 renovations). However, the same rule applies here that did in Deptford and, to an extent, Cornish. The only member of Salterton's library staff with a private, enclosed office is the library's CEO (see 4xxviii). One staff member joked that the CEO's office was "the only room [in the library] with a door" (A-Sally). (There is a small office just down the hall for the library's chief caretaker, which has its own door, but this "office' is actually a converted storage closet). Mayerovitch (1996) claims that small, enclosed spaces create an almost womblike sense of comfort and protection for occupants. This kind of spatial privilege is considered a luxury, one that may be afforded only the CEO and one that other staff would have if they could. There almost seems to be a sense of regret or at least a sense of frustration that more higher-ranking staff do not have private, enclosed workspaces. "One thing that the Supervisory staff miss—and we really argued for it when we redesigned in 1996—was walls around our offices," explained A-Shirley, the Deputy CEO. "You're always conscious that someone might hear everything that's going on in your office... So, we don't like the open office concept." Though library staff at Salterton spoke highly of being close together—it makes communication "very handy" (A-Shirley)—privacy, the kind made possible by walls and doors anyway, remains a function of spatial privilege. Privacy is key in the upper ranks of library management because, as Cornish's Deputy CEO explained, "There are certain issues that you don't want to be overheard. So, you have to be able to close doors." In a library like Salterton's, where there exists only one office with a door, complete enclosure is a luxury, one that only the highest ranking member enjoys.

Organizational divisions are evident in other ways. Even the staff-only, back-of-house has its own "mixing places" where, instead of mixing users and library staff, these places have the potential to mix lower ranking staff with upper management: staff rooms, meeting or board rooms, and sometimes training rooms (though not all case libraries had training rooms).

In sum, in all three cases, the emplacement of people in the back-of-house space reflects, to some degree, the bureaucratic, pyramidal organizational structure of the library. Highest ranking managers are enclosed in separate offices, far removed from direct public access; lower library personnel, though removed from direct public access, are rarely enclosed

individually, and never ranked spatially and are usually placed closer to the public. Despite the noted exceptions, it could be stated that as one's organizational rank increases so does one's distance from the public and from other library staff. Therefore, the concept of "back-of-house" space is a multivalent concept in libraries: It is a tiered design and limited not just to the boundaries that distinguish user (public) space from staff (private) space.

4.3.3. Movement and Access

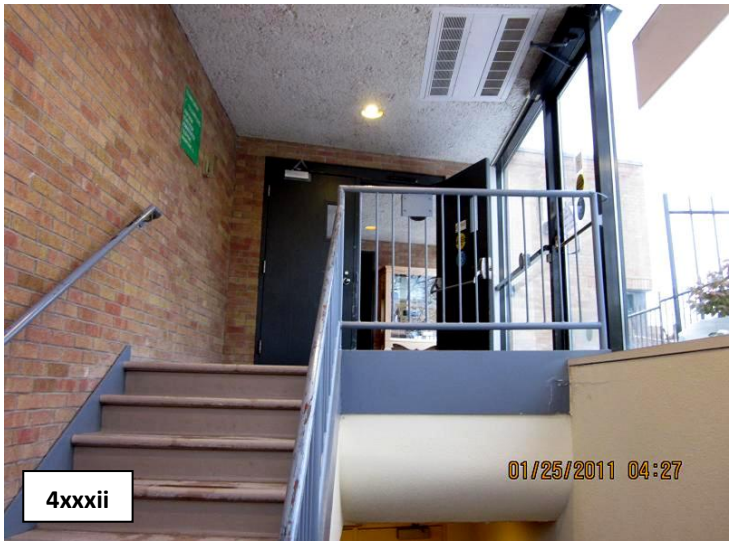
Three concepts govern movement and access inside a library building: physical boundaries, organizational structure, and spatial practice. The first concept is the most obvious of the three. At the base of all movement and access inside a library is the fact that most if not all of the library's daily activities are fixed within the library itself—and not just on the library site but inside the building itself. Therefore, the most basic of all architectural elements, walls and doors, play a fundamental role in shaping experience. People cannot walk through walls or float between levels therefore doors and staircases facilitate movement and make movement and access an event: "We possess space by moving through it," explains Mayerovitch (1996, p. 127). "The voyage creates a sequence of effects, one space preparing us for the impact of the next. Organizing movement makes [space] effective, both functionally and emotionally."

(Top) *Locked doors inside the Deptford Library;* (bottom) i*nside the Cornish Library's enclosed (and locked) local history room.* (Photos by author.)

Doors (see 4xxix), therefore, not only negotiate access, but make compartmentalisation and isolation possible. They symbolize access, they symbolize isolation, and, as explored in the last section, they symbolize rank and status. The idea of "door" turns up in people's responses in figurative ways; for example, some staff at Salterton meet in the programming room in the basement because they get to "close the door to the public" (A-Sally). The comment is just as metaphorical as it is literal. Locks are not to keep people out as much as they are to make access conditional: Who are you? For what reasons do you need access to this room or space? Use of locks concentrates

on filtering and operates the same way on either side of the front-/back-of-house boundary. Just as a locked CEO's office keeps certain items from staff's eyes, a locked door can keep certain collections and materials out of a user's reach. A good example of this is the Cornish library's local history room (see 4xxx), a partitioned room at the north end of the building's second level. At first glance, it would seem that the room is open to the public but partitioned off for reasons of sound isolation. However, the door is locked all the time. As user C-Patrick explained to me, "They get the materials for you. When you're done with [an item], you take it back to the desk and say 'I'm finished,' and then they put it back. You don't go in there and go through the shelves [yourself]," (C-Patrick). The process is a common one in libraries and has been for a long time. That is because it is such a simple yet powerful example of the filtering process.

While doors negotiate access, staircases and elevators facilitate it. Stairs and elevators have an interesting paradox: because they allow connection among different levels of a building people normally associate them with freedom and access. However, because they are fixed spatially, they in turn fix one's movement at a certain point and position one's field of vision so that one sees and experiences things in a controlled sequence. At Salterton, the stairs are integral to the publicly accessible space; their design shows that. Rather than being merely functional stairs, much like Deptford or Cornish's steel and concrete staircases, Salterton's staircase's (see 4xxxi) curved railings stoop to put arms around the user, inviting and thus implying direction: *up*. Moreover, the staircase occurs in two parts: a singular staircase and, just a half-level below the library's upper floor, it splits into a double staircase, leading users either east or west. Double staircases "dramatize ascent" (Mayerovitch, 1996, p. 110). Like Salterton's, Cornish's stairs (see 4xxxiii) are placed in the library proper; however, their design is rather linear and functional. Curiously, the Deptford (see 4xxxii) library uses stairs in a very different manner. The only publicly accessible stairs in the Deptford library exist outside of the library proper—in the foyer, beyond the checkout desks. They connect the main level with the basement, which also contains publicly accessible space. However, because users must first leave the library proper in order to gain access to the basement, there is the sense that what the basement contains—the public restrooms, the library's auditorium—is not an integral part of the library. By contrast the only "movement facilitator"



(Above) *Salterton's grand staircase, which splits into a "dramatic" double staircase at its landing; note the tiled "trail" that leads users from the circulation desk area to the bottom of the staircase and continues up the staircase itself.* (Middle) *Deptford's only public stairs, the steel stairs that lead from the front foyer to the basement.* (Bottom) *Cornish's floating staircase; it connects the first and second levels, although no such staircase connects the second and third levels.* (Photos by author.)

or device linking the library's main floor to the upper Children's Department is a ramp. There are no stairs or elevators. One must access the Children's Department via the adult library. Consequently there is the sense that the Children's Department is not its own space but rather an extension of the adult library space.

Organizational structure affects movement and access just as much as physical boundaries do. In fact, where and what library staff member can and cannot access in the library is, in all three case libraries, directly proportional to organizational rank, not need—which is curious, given the public library's traditional focus on efficiency. Though a low-level and/or part-time staff member may at some time require frequent access to a meeting room, programming room, a special collections or storage area, such staff members often do not carry the keys or codes necessary for access. They must obtain them from designated (often higher-ranking) personnel. The Salterton library's managers and supervisors carry keys; part-time and low-ranking full-time staff do not. Another good example is the Cornish Library's local history room, situated on the library's second level and partitioned off from the rest of the library proper. The door is always locked, and library staff require a separate key for access (a physical key, although the overwhelming majority of locks in this library are operated via number code). Thus one lock can create not just a filtering process but a structure to that process that relates to organizational design: the only way into the room is via designated, higher-ranking personnel. Curiously, at Deptford, one part-time staff member explained that he possessed a key that could open nearly every door in the building. He added, however, that he had always made a point of keeping that quiet, as he suspected that his having a master key was a mistake. At Salterton staff members regularly told me that if there was a room or area to which they required access but did not have a key—the attic, where some local history collections are stored, or the programming room which is used almost daily—"... you have to go find a key for someone to open it," said A-Sarah, adding that "no one's going to deny me access to that area if I need it." At the Cornish library, a similar, tiered-access system exists. Access is restricted by department. Thus if a department is closed (for example, the Gallery) no one else can enter unless someone (a member of management, usually) gives them access. Therefore the design of the building has an impact on policy and

procedures; while the library organization constructed the building, the building in turn constructs an integral aspect of the organization. Moreover, if in a public library building a staff member's "reach" of access is a direct function of one's rank, it can be argued the two most powerful people in a public library building are the library's CEO (or Chief Librarian) and the Chief Caretaker (or Building Superintendant). They have, of any staff member or manager, the broadest reach of access.

In addition to walls, doors, and systems of tiered-access is a certain spatial practice that governs where people choose to go and where they choose to avoid and why. Some staff felt that, though they may have direct access to a co-worker or supervisor's office or workspace, they would not feel "right" accessing it unless they had an exceptional reason to. A user's sense of where they can and cannot (or should not) go sometimes has little to do with physical accessibility and more with an implicit sense of permission—or lack thereof. When I asked users to explain where in the library they felt they were not allowed to go, most of them answered "in the staff rooms" (B-Pamela, "places that are locked up" (C-Paul) or something similar. Users believed that these areas of the library were off-limits unless under exceptional circumstances or unless one had, as B-Paula put it, "special permission" to go. Interestingly, some users (for instance, Salterton user A-Preston) claimed that they did not feel welcome in the children's section—users that did not visit the library with children but nevertheless claimed to enjoy some of the Children's Department's materials. This feeling of unwelcomeness they experience may be more than just a feeling; when interviewing some children's library staff there was the suggestion that users in the children's department not accompanying children are suspicious and require extra attention. Volunteers are not staff but are more than merely users. They are allowed access into the back, but only under certain conditions and only when they are acting as volunteers—when their organizational identities change and thus spatial identities change.

4.3.4. Temporal Organization and Communication

In keeping with the fundamental principles of "scientific management" and coordination (Martin, 1996; Stueart & Moran, 2007), all activity inside a library building is both time- and

place-bound.[38] "Managing time, like managing space, is an organizing process," explains Becker (1981, p. 29). "It is a social process that contributes as much to the nature and character of the physical setting, and our experience of it, as do the more tangible walls, desks, [and] lights." Indeed, Dale & Burrell (2008, p. 64) compare time tables to a spatial grid: "The development of a timetable is one grid form which provides a way of producing knowledge or control and movement through time and space. If there has to be movement between places, it has to be controlled, so that time and space are known and rational."

As discussed earlier, most if not all of the library's daily activities are fixed within the library building itself. In all three cases, staff from the respective libraries' Children's Departments mentioned working off-site but only on occasion: for example, service work on literacy and educational committees—or more frequently, conducting outreach visits to nearby schools and daycare centres. In these latter instances, those staff members bring items with them, perhaps a selection of books or some puppets. In other words, they bring the library with them rather than bringing people to the library. A-Sally, Salterton's Head of Children's Department, mentioned conducting occasional summer programs in a nearby park, and Salterton's Deputy CEO mentioned appearing on a local cable access program about once a month. Such cases are unusual, however. "I'm probably unique that way," admitted A-Sally. So, with some exceptions, most library activity that constitutes "the library" happens *at* the library, *in* the library.

Most of this activity occurs within the regular operating hours of "the library". An exception that proves the rule: in all three case libraries, "after hours" places—programming rooms, for

[38] Certain aspects of the library's processes transcend time- and space-boundaries, and one of these is phone and computer forms of communication. Staff telephone extension directories, regularly posted at staff telephones throughout the library, remind on-duty staff that, despite the physical separation between workers, just about any staff member is immediately available for contact (if not their voicemail). Home phone numbers are also available but used only in emergencies. However, most communication between staff and users takes place inside the library and in-person. Staff and users communicate via phone and email but only in certain circumstances. For example, the user phones the library to renew an item or have a reference question answered. The library might call a user to remind them of an overdue book, a hold (at some libraries automated voice messages are sent, or even email, rather than having staff call the users). Sometimes administrative staff must speak with off-site members of the public for the booking of meeting rooms, and so forth. In such cases fax machines and email facilitate the exchange of contracts and other documents. Staff interviewees tended to agree that email is best used for something that is not time-sensitive and requires a broad audience—a memorandum about an upcoming meeting, for example. The advantages include not having to "bother" someone needlessly while they are working. Ultimately, email enables two-way communication between people who are not necessarily in the same place (the library building) at the same time (different schedules). It is a two-way, asynchronous method of communication and thus lacks the immediacy of phone or in-person conversations. In-person conversations tend to occur when there is a time-sensitive matter at hand, the person is not available via telephone extension and thus spatial distance must be overcome.

example—extend the daily life of the library beyond the temporal boundaries of regular "operating hours". These places are carefully contained spatially by means of fixation and partitioning. In other words, a temporal irregularity is made possible by means of an adjustment in the library's regular spatial configuration. Regularity means predictability, hence the use (and importance) of temporal boundaries. Both part-time and full-time staff follow set schedules of roughly the same number of hours per week. Schedules operate on a set basis—usually a Week 1/Week 2 format—and shifts are a set number of hours per one or two week blocks. Despite the unpredictable aspects of daily library work, staff tend to order their approaches to getting their tasks done in the same, formal and routinised way as the schedule orders their hours per week. As A-Sally described her approach to just one portion of her day, "We start at nine but the library is not open until 10am. [That] first hour is usually spent doing office work and supervisory kind of stuff. Days that I'm programming... that hour ... is [spent] getting set up for storytimes." Hence, time of day affects where someone is in the library and what it is they are doing, according to where they are scheduled to be. Temporal and spatial order becomes one.

Indeed, a library staff's duties and activity gives action to the process of "the library", and scheduling is the codification of the spatial and temporal dimensions of that process. It organizes activity in space and time into set routines, which then create a sense of knowing, by means of paper, when and where someone is or simply what is happening and where. "You can't see through walls, so [otherwise] you don't know," explained A-Sarah. Thus scheduling is, in a sense, a way of "seeing through walls." Master schedules can be found throughout the library's back of house: on bulletin boards, on marker boards (see 4xxxiv), outside managerial offices, and even in key places in the front of house—behind a service desk, for example. Just like the fixing of people and activity in space, the fixing of people and activity in time—scheduling—creates a predictability on which "the library" depends, and predictability creates stability. For example, though most administrative personnel could be seen moving throughout the

Schedules and in/out boards, such as this one in Salterton's staff space, can be found in all three libraries. (Photo by author.)

buildings consistently, the staff idea or belief that supervisors spend most of their time "at their desks" creates a sense of locational reliability. "I can pretty well assume that [the administration is] at their desks," said A-Sheila, "unless I go down there and find [otherwise]."

In summary, the public library building can be divided into two distinct sections: first, the library's "front of house", which includes all the publicly accessible collections space, foyers, quiet reading areas, cafes, and services desks; second, the library's "back of house", which includes all the staff-only space, the workrooms, administrative and supervisory offices, cubicles, lunch rooms, and technical services rooms, and so forth. This distinction is multivalent and relative: even the "back of house" has its own "back of house" that not all staff can directly access or would have reason to access. Nevertheless, staff rely on a clear divide between user space and staff space in order for the library to function.

The library depends on very careful systems of fixation, classification and ranking in order to maintain stability in the library building: building design reflects and reinforces organizational structure and divisions; schedules and timetables fix staff and even users into time-place routines; and movement, access, and freedom among staff members is a reflection of rank, not need. In sum, systems of emplacement constitute the "clockwork" of the library and unite the organizational and spatial dimensions together: namely, the specialization of tasks; the separation and compartmentalization of functions; the monitoring of people and their activities to ensure efficiency and compliance; the thorough routinising of work through the use of time schedules; and the bureaucratic "pyramid" that defines the downward flow of power from the library manager or CEO to the part-time, non-professional support workers. In some ways, looking at these three case libraries through the lens of Dale & Burrell's (2008) emplacement suggests that some public libraries, even in the new century, remain fine examples of organizations that subscribe to this approach to management (and thus, certain, unchanged aspects of library design).

4.4. Enactment: Territorialisation and Group Identity

The purpose of this section is to examine the concept of *enactment*, which explains how people's experiences in embodied space construct their identity in relation to those around them. Put simply, enactment is "the lived experience of social space" (Dale & Burrell, 2008, p. 66). Much of this process is place-bound; a library's physical boundaries and patterns of fixation are transformative: no one inside the physical boundaries is entirely without a role, and these roles are at once created and reinforced by spatial organization. "Power is not solely in the creation of the monumental... but in how built forms embody different interests and identities. And power does not simply produce intentional effects, but also the taken-for-granted, the cultural assumptions and the norms that become a part of our spaces and hence social relations" (p. 47).

As such, this section explores CQ3, "How do inhabitants enact the "public library" as a place?" Its findings explore identity in two ways: how library design creates and reinforces group roles (users and staff), and most particularly how territorialisation creates and reinforces group identity.

4.4.1. The Library "Staff Member" and the Library "User"

In their tome about organization space, Dale & Burrell (2008, p. 109) specify *enactment* as the "living through of social relations, spaces, and identities" in an automatic, almost completely unmindful manner. In a phrase, Dale & Burrell refer to this socio-spatial role playing as the "forced reiteration of norms" (p. 109). "[W]e wish to develop the concept of enactment to show that identity is not simply a discourse but needs to be enacted by human bodies in social spaces on a daily basis," they explain (p. 110). That is, people do not consciously adopt roles in space; identities in organization space are often unquestioned and taken for granted. People "become" what they are not just as a result of policies and job descriptions but also their spatial placement in relation to others and how they "live through" these identities on an everyday basis.[39]

[39] It was therefore challenging to question interviewees about their spatial identities without seeming simplistic—without implying that their roles in the library space were in some way a superficiality, much like an actor adopts a role in a movie. (In a way, by using the words "role" and "performance" in the following section I am betraying this intention. Yet, for the purposes of writing about enactment is a simple [and hopefully clear] way, I use them to describe group identity [the "role" of the staff member, the "role" of the library user] as

To begin, although many library staff members insisted that there was little difference between who they are while working at the library, and who they are in their private lives, they did admit to a certain level of detachment necessary to be a library staff member. Some insisted that the difference was merely that, as staff, they are expected to follow a "high standard of professional courtesy" (A-Shirley). As C-Shannon explained, "I try to be myself and use humour and friendliness and so on, but you still have to take things above that level... [I try] to detach..." There is more to this form of "detachment", however. It is what could be called a type of organizational "performance". It is not cold or impersonal; it is, however, an agreed upon way of acting and thinking that, in consequence, creates a standardized manner of behaviour that comes to represent the "library organization" instead of the staff member as an individual. A-Sheila used the word "facade" to describe it.

This "performance" begins when staff arrive at the library for work. When staff enter the library via the staff-only entrance, they undergo a series of spatially-programmed rituals that transform their identity: the removal of jackets once inside the hallway (see 4xxxv); the checking of mail in one's mailbox; the walk to their office or individual workspace or cubicle; the placement of jackets on chairs; the logging into one's computer. As A-Sally described it, "Hang up my coat, take off my boots, check my mailbox, and after that I head right to my desk." It is an "internal check-in process" that each staff member undergoes as they arrive at the library building, and it usually involved some combination of (i) entering the building the same way each time, and choosing a path through the building because it is either the only possible path or the quickest path; (ii) taking off outerwear and/or affixing one's nametag; reporting to their individual workspace, if they have one. Each task or ritual is a step forward into the transformation from

Jackets hung inside the Salterton Library's staff foyer, adjacent to one of the library's staff entrance. Notice the clock show 9:53 am, just minutes before opening. (Photo by author.)

well as the "forced reiteration of norms" ["performance"] we find at work in both groups.) In any event, the main point here is that these roles are almost entirely place-bound. They are a function of space perhaps more than any other determining factor.

member of the public over to library staff member. As A-Shirley remarked, once a staff member has performed many if not all of these rituals, there is the sense that "You're 'on'."

Organizational performance carries on throughout the day in a number of other ways, not least the standardized ways of dealing with public service situations, reference interviews, telephone calls from outside the library, and even dealing with adverse user behaviour (which has protocols and procedures to follow). In almost every aspect of their publicly observable behaviour and conduct, staff are preconditioned to act in certain, uniform ways. Again, they represent the library, not themselves as private individuals. Appearance plays a part; although none of the three case libraries enforced uniforms for staff or management, most interviewees emphasized the importance of wearing semi-formal, professional dress in order to create a certain impression and set themselves apart, visibly, from library users. I observed very few staff (if any) dressing as casually as the library's users. Some maintenance personnel even chose to wear coveralls. As the Cornish Library's Building Superintendant explained, "We have a uniform. So, if I'm wearing this, I represent the library." At one other case library the maintenance staff wore similar uniforms. In all three case libraries the staff wore nametags or some kind of accoutrement that designated them explicitly as "library staff". In at least two of the cases the wearing of nametags for public service workers was a city-wide policy.

Organizational performance would not be worth mentioning here, of course, if it were not fundamentally related to space. Levels of "organizational performance" tend to be spatially determined and most intense on the "front lines"—in public view, especially at service counters. As one staff member explained to me: "When you're at the front desk you have to be professional, especially with how the sound travels... But in the workroom, that's more 'me.' I'm more relaxed" (C-Sandra). Indeed, other staff interviewees implied that the pressure to "perform" is directly related to placement relative to library users. Thus back-of-house space provides emotional benefits, namely decompression and performance relief. "It's a good thing for staff to sort of get away from all the noise," said B-Scott. "You're in the middle of everything for [a whole shift], except for your fifteen minute break." Staff members' identities as "library staff" as such also have a spatial dimension. To begin, one or two library staff members found it difficult if not impossible to distinguish between their

personal, private identities or their professional ones: “I can’t really think of myself as a library user,” conceded the Cornish Library’s CEO. This pattern can most certainly be related to space, especially when one considers when staff members use the library on their days off. Such circumstances involve picking up forgotten items, attending library programs, or accompanying children. In these “off-duty” visits, switching roles is a conscious effort. “If I’m on holidays for two weeks and I’m in [the library] to pick up books... [I] try to be ‘the good patron’,” (A-Sally). It seems that once in the library building, they cannot divorce their professional identities from their personal, private ones.

Indeed, some staff members explained that it was virtually impossible to switch entirely to the role of “the user”—that once in the library building they are first and foremost a staff member, even when on holidays. “I have come to a couple of the gallery [events] and that’s [on] my time,” C-Shannon told me. “But you could say that was semi-official,” she added, agreeing that in such situations she is “straddling two identities”. Some staff interviewees explained that, while complete transformation into a library user is impossible, they use certain visible indicators to help them signal a switch to a “user” status: “If I put on a baseball hat, sunglasses and jeans, [the other staff] know I’m ‘not here’... I’m off-duty,” explained C-Steve.

Unlike library staff, users have no job descriptions to define their role on paper. All three case libraries do publish and post “codes of conduct” throughout the library, outlining what is acceptable and what is unacceptable behaviour. Nevertheless, when asked about their behaviour inside of a public library, users frequently reflected on where, when, how and even from whom they learned to behave in a public library. Many users could trace their learning or understanding of “proper library behaviour” back to early childhood: “Most kids grow up learning how [to behave inside] a library... I was taught by my parents,” explained B-Paula. “I guess I learned [how to behave inside a public library] in elementary school,” B-Paige added, talking about class visits. Others recalled exactly what

“You go through the channels, ask your questions, and you check out your material.... There’s a general [sense of], ‘Come in, be quiet, do what you’re going to do, and then leave.’” (Photo by author.)

kinds of behaviour they learned. “When I was a young kid... I was probably told that a library is a sort of quiet place except for certain areas where there are doors so that you don’t disturb other people,” explained A-Perrin, suggesting that a certain amount of mutual respect between users and shared responsibility is a key part of the “user” role.

Unsurprisingly, many of these “learned behaviours” are linked to place. In fact, one could call these learned behaviours “spatial practices” (Lefebvre, 1991) since there is a fundamentally spatial aspect to them. As B-Stafford, Deptford’s Clerical Supervisor, explained, “[Visiting the public library is] more like rules that you follow, like when you’re in a church,” suggesting that different public places have different behavioural codes for visitors. Indeed, B-Stafford’s description of how users should behave strongly implied a fundamentally spatial orientation to the “user” role: “You go through the channels, ask your questions, and you check out your material,” he explained (see 4xxxvi). It also seems that, just like the “library staff” identity, the “library user” identity exists only within the physical boundaries of the library. “There’s a general [sense of], ‘Come in, be quiet, do what you’re going to do, and then leave.’” B-Stafford’s response also suggests that, like the “staff” role, the “user” role is one that exists only in the library. Some users recognized that entering and using a library is voluntary—a choice that they exercise at their own discretion: “A person comes here of their own initiative,” A-Phil pointed out.

If this is the case, then, it comes as little surprise that, once inside the library, use is not free or undetermined. That is, just as the library itself is place-bound, nearly all library activity is prescribed by materials and services and their specific locations within the library. Many users described their library use patterns not so much in terms of what they do but what they use, whom they talk to or get help from, and ultimately *where they must go* to achieve these ends. (“I use the reference section—the people that work on the reference desk,” remarked A-Phil.) Moreover, just as some users use the library as part of a larger daily or weekly routine, each user I interviewed seemed to follow a spatial routine within the library. With each visit, they tour the same sections and in more or less the same order and in, with some exceptions, roughly the same amount of time. Although their respective patterns varied substantially, these users all described their usage patterns identically—as “a loop”, as

though a visit *to* the library was more like a visit *through* the library. Moreover, interviews and observations revealed that users depend on the library staff for a variety of things, among them locating and selecting materials for their information needs; policing the publicly accessible parts of the library and discouraging "bad" behaviour; solving problems, from giving spatial directions to advising on the suitability of a library service for the user's need; and for technical training and assistance. Although Lushington (2002) claims that today's public libraries are designed to make usage as independent as possible, it seems that users must defer to a staff member's authority for something. The point is that library use is very much tied to the spatial layout and the degree to which a user is dependent on the library's staff for meeting their objectives. In other words, the library as organization space determines who users are and what they can and cannot do. Other aspects of the library environment control what the user can and cannot do. For example, children's story times and craft times are programmed, ordered, and prescribed: "The kids don't really have the free time to get rambunctious and run around," said B-Paula, a mother who notices the degree of control library staff have over children during such activities. These activities are contained in parts of the library created specifically for those purposes—even something like a storytime carpet (see 4xxxvii) creates a "manipulated space" (Mayerovitch, 1996), a containment where, in this instance, children sit, keep quiet, and listen to the story being told. Such examples of "manipulated space" have particularity of place and a particular set of behaviours under such circumstances. The functional specialization of furniture and equipment plays a role: sections often contain special furnishings and equipment optimized for use by youngsters. Conversely, many tables or OPACs and functionally specialized for use by only adults. Accessibility computer

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terminals and accessible, motorized working desks, segregated from the banks of "normal" public computer terminals, again function to separate one group from another.

In one way, libraries separate users into separate user or clientele groups by means of the physical arrangement: a YA service desk, a children's desk, an adult information desk, a reader's advisory desk. Though libraries often believe that such service designs separate user needs for reasons of specialization, such designs physically separate users at the same time. At the same time, however, library environments also push together or merge user groups together by means of place: for instance, computer users (see 4xxxviii). Although computer terminals allow users to perform myriad tasks and access an endless supply of information on a limitless number of topics, spatially these users are often squeezed into one, relatively small area of the library. Terminals are often set up so that only one, maybe two people at most, can use a computer at the same time. Login software limits time and thus controls interaction and use. Though a user might employ a computer terminal for broad range of information needs, the library's design lumps these users together into one group: "computer users." We see two forms of specialization at work here: In the former case, library service is specialized by user need (i.e., a particular collection); whereas in the latter case, service is specialized by format or technology (i.e., computer). Both models have spatial consequences.

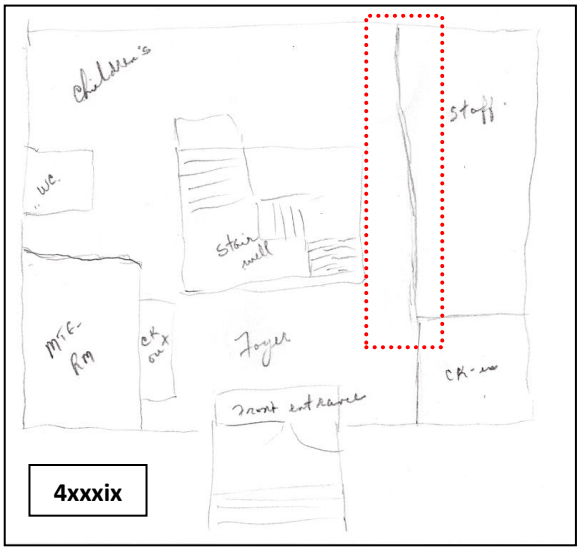
In summary, the two identities (the "library user" and the "library staff member") are very much prescribed by the physical design and setup of the library itself. This is further evidenced in the following section which discusses territorialisation and boundaries within the library, and how these aspects of the built environment serve to construct spatial identity.

4.4.2. Boundary Creation and Territorialisation

One could call "territorialisation" as the spatial organization of group identity: "Spaces... are territories with which a person or group or organization is associated," explains Steele (1973, p. 9). Morris (1988) defines *territory* as an "owned" or "defended" space or place (p. 510). Certainly, different groups in a library have varying spatial status and habits depending on place, and these places are defined by physical features—"boundary markers... walls, fences, or signs" (Steele, 1973, p. 9)—and are defended and protected by the individuals or groups

that benefit from the benefits and privileges they allow. Thus, fundamental to territorialisation is the creation and defense of boundaries. "In order for [systems of territorialisation] to work, each territory has to be plainly advertized as such," Morris says (1988, p. 511). Territorial or "barrier" signals are ways of identifying, either through individual behaviour or through the manipulation of the physical environment, where a territory begins and end, and under what conditions, if any, visitation or mixing between members of different territories may occur.

Staff members of all types and ranks, from part-time, non-professionals to full-time management, rely on a clear divide between user space and staff space in order for the library to function. This turns the discussion back to back of house, front of house divisions. Although there are some exceptions, it appears that staff space is almost synonymous with the "back of house" parts of the library building. I could not ignore that on several staff cognitive maps, the specific walls that delineate the back of house from the front of house often received some kind of special treatment—sometimes a special label, but in other instances a double-line (see 4xxxix) or a bold line—something that indicated where back-/front of house boundary lay in that particular library. Those staff-only parts of the library were important to those interviewees' respective experiences inside the building, and thus it was just as important to those interviewees to define the boundary by giving it special definition in drawn form. The privileges of "back of house" space are many, and library staff seem to value three in particular and in the following order: (1) isolation, (2) privacy from users, and (3) personal security. Because many of their tasks require long periods of concentration, staff find that some degree of isolation from users is essential. Therefore some kind of individualized workspace, temporary or



A-Pearl's map of Salterton's lower level. As a retired employee of the library, she showed a greater awareness of back-of-house space than most users at Salterton. Her map used double lines (see red square) to delineate the staff space from the user-accessible space: "I used a double-line here [for the staff area] but then a single line here [pointing to the washroom area], because this is an open, public area."

permanent, exclusive or shared, located away from the reach of users, is necessary for this kind of isolation. Isolation in turn gives library staff some degree of privacy from the public; privacy permits the conditions under which to complete special tasks that may involve confidential information or information best limited to a relative few. Privacy also gives staff a degree of separateness or individualization over which they have some control. Last, the "back of house" allows an increased degree of personal security (which seems to be gaining in importance, given the increased risk of being directly accessible to certain members of the public).

Yet at the same time what might be called "staff space" (as opposed to user space) and what is *staff territory* are not necessarily one and the same. This is because the practice of distinguishing between staff and user space in a library building is not merely a functional one; it also relates to power. Territory *is* power: not just in having territory but also having the ability to create and enforce that territory and its boundaries. As Morris (1988) explains, "Man is a co-operative species, but he is also competitive, and his struggle for dominance has to be structured in some way if chaos is to be avoided" (p. 510). However, even within one very broad territory, not every member of that territory's group possesses absolute freedom. There is rank and order within that territory. The earlier discussion of access and movement and organizational rank serves as a good example: though this pattern varied slightly among the three libraries, direct access to restricted rooms or areas in the library building appeared directly proportional to rank, not need. Therefore the purpose of back of house "staff only" space cannot solely be to define space in which staff have a higher degree of freedom than they would have elsewhere. The chief purpose is instead to create space *exclusive* to staff members and create a rationale (isolation, privacy, and security) for preventing users any access to it—hence the importance of creating and defending boundaries.

4.4.3. Desks, Counters, and the Library's "Frontline"

"Public libraries are fundamentally self-service institutions," notes Lushington (2002, p. 14) in his library planning guide. "Most users never contact a staff member except to check out materials." He continues: "The democratic idea that an individual is free to choose any book and find a place to sit and read is still at the heart of the public library. Organizing the library so that the user, on his own, can find a subject or a book among the thousands available

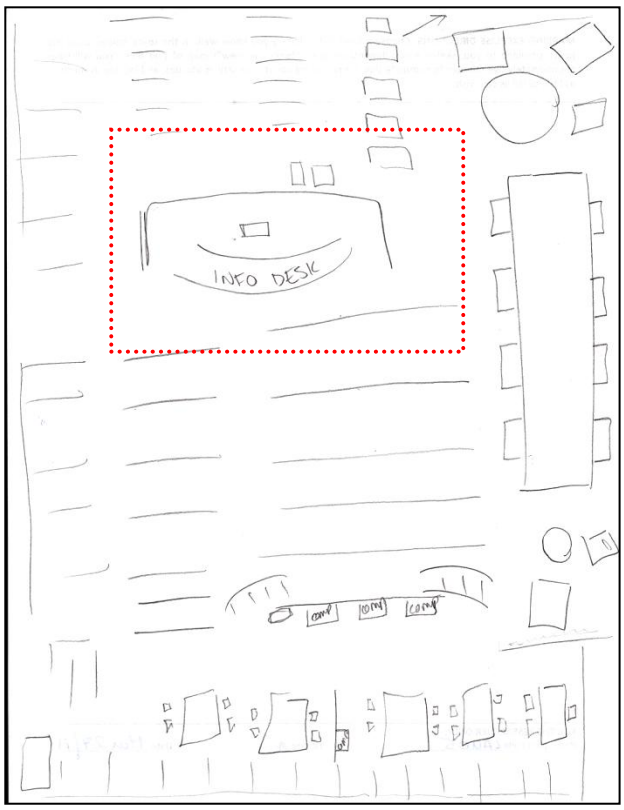
demands a rigorous order...” (p. 17). Although all three case libraries followed an open access model and provided catalogues, signage, and other common finding aids to users, overall this “democratic idea” or vision of the “self-sufficient library user” proved to be largely untrue at the three case libraries. Interviews and observations revealed that although many users were able to navigate the library’s collections rather effortlessly, many more required assistance with accessing and selecting materials: this included informational and reader’s advisory, directional, and technological assistance. This demand fluctuated and varied depending on day and time; nevertheless, many library users consistently depended on desk staff for service and help.

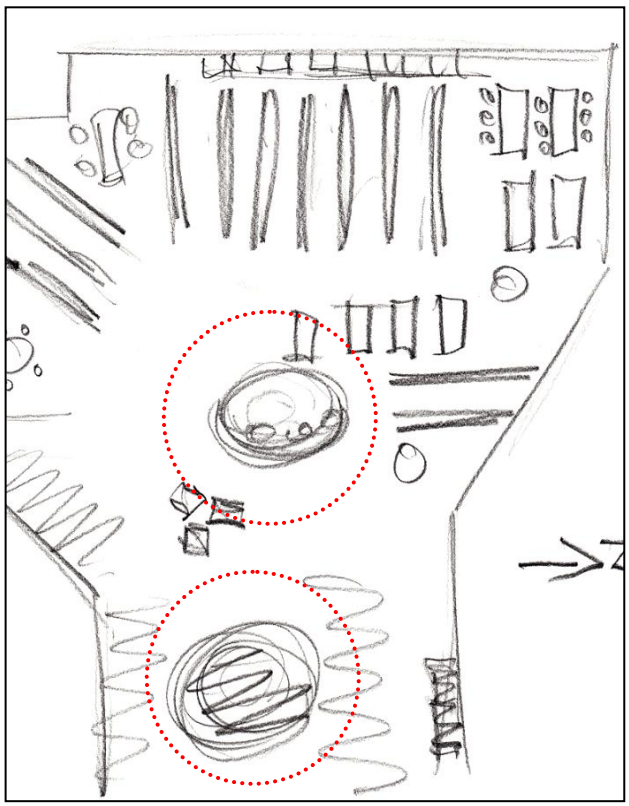
Indeed, the concept of library service is, on an everyday basis, almost exclusively focused on “the desk”. In many ways, “the desk” as an object becomes synonymous with the role and action of “providing service.” Purposeful roaming by librarians on-duty is very limited, if existent at all; staff will leave a service desk for a specific, time-sensitive reason, such as locating a requested item or checking for remaining users during the closing rituals, but rarely for anything more. “You can’t leave,” explained A-Sarah about working at the circulation counter, “[unless] they [the users] were having trouble finding a reserve.” The obvious reason for this is because the public expects staff to be available for service, and providing a specific place for this service is believed to be an efficient means of delivering it. “The expectation is to be largely at the desk,” added A-Sheila, “because you have to answer the telephone and people expect you to be there [for service].” As one user commented on her use of service desks, “Well, I don’t expect *them* [the library staff] to come looking for *me*” (emphasis mine).[40]

Cornish’s Reader’s Advisory desk, on the library’s first level. (Photo by author.)

The concept of the “service desk” (see 4xxxx) gives users a point of reference, a reliable place to go for help and for librarians and users to engage in the reference interview (Lushington, 2002). However, this practice is also related to control. The service desk or

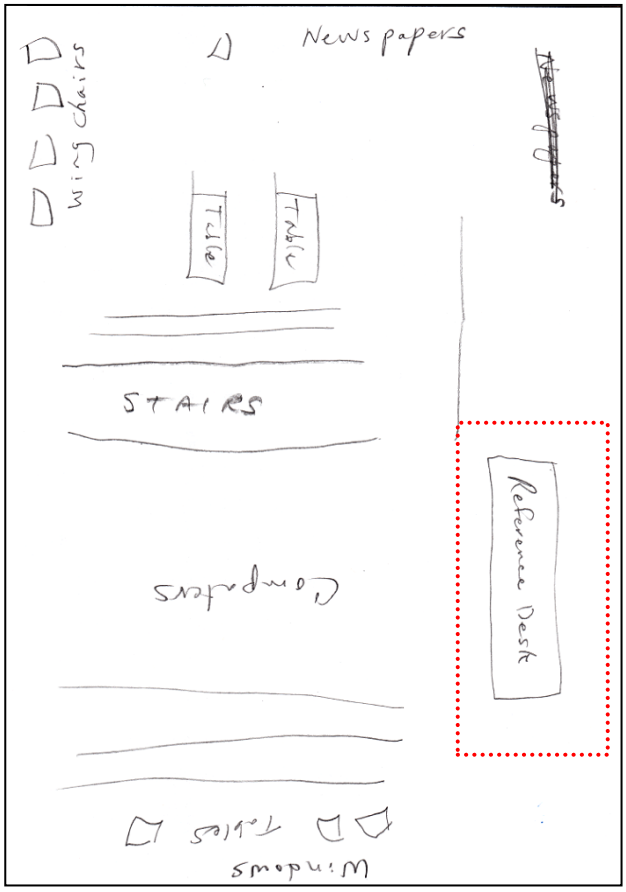
[40] When I asked Deptford user B-Pollock if he felt that the Deptford library “looked like” a library, he, like so many other Deptford users, focussed on the interior of the building rather than on the exterior. But most interestingly, he focussed especially on the placement of the staff members in the library space: “Yes,” he answered, pausing to think. “I see [library staff] at their stations…”





Desks and counters were by far the most frequent type of "landmark" interviewees included on their cognitive maps. Most interviewees began their sketch of a space by drawing a desk or a counter.

Here are three user maps showing desk placement in the three case libraries: (above, left) *A-Perrin's map of Salterton's upper level, showing the location of the Reference desk (in red) in relation to the rest of the 1996 addition*; (above, right) *B-Peyton's map of Deptford's main level and adult department, showing the central placement of both the Circulation and Information desks (circled in red); and* (right) *C-Preston's rather sparse map of Cornish's second level, showing the Information desk's (in red) placement in the library's public floorspace.*



counter provides stability and predictability for both the librarian or staff member and the user. Without a desk, users do not have a stable, permanent place in the library floor plan at which to line up, and therefore tasks cannot be dealt with in an orderly, prioritized fashion. Staff interviewees explained that leaving their service desk or counter risks loss of control and order; they have, as A-Sheila explained to me, the potential to experience interruptions, to become "people magnets": "You rarely go out and away from that desk... without being stopped by somebody else in your travels."

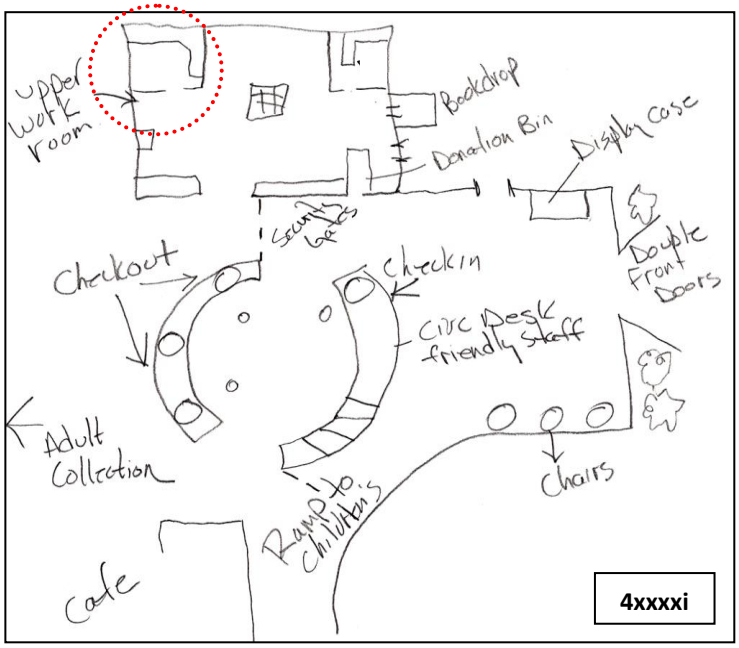
Users and staff both told me that when a user approaches a librarian on the floor, that user is most usually referred to a service desk or counter. "People will come up," explained C-Sandra, "and usually I direct them back to the Reader's Advisory desk." The only exception to this I encountered at any of the three libraries was at the Cornish library, which contained an Art Gallery on its third level. There is no active service desk in the Gallery, and thus to maintain some degree of visibility its Curator includes in her daily routine a walk around the open galleries. This, according to her, stimulates interaction with users. This example, however, was again an exception to the pattern.

The reliance on desks and counters in the physical plan of the library is also evident in library staff and users' choice of language. A term that many staff interviewees (particularly managers and supervisors) used in their interviews was "*frontline* staff". This term describes the group of staff members that are stationed at service desks and counters, work directly with users, and are thus directly exposed to users more constantly than any other members of library staff. These staff are the "front", the "face" of the library organization. To an extent, the concept of "the frontline" library worker recalls Martin's (1996) explanation of the "line" distinction (see discussion in Chapter 2) in factories and other moderns workplaces adopting a "scientific management" approach to organization: just as in combat situations, where "the line" soldiers operate closest to the "action" of conflict, the "frontline" workers of the library operate closest to the dividing "line" between two groups in the library space: users and staff.

Indeed, interview data indicate that the overwhelming majority of interactions between library staff and users occur in-person at service desks and counters. Only, in these libraries, users and staff are not "in combat" with one another. Yet they are careful to keep a sense of

division between them. Users associate "the desk" with the idea of help and expertise when they are "trying to find some books" (C-Perry), information or advice. Desk interaction is not limited to information provision or the business of borrowing or returning materials; it also includes informal talk about non-library topics—casual talk or "chit-chat" or "exchanging pleasantries" (A-Patricia). Some staff-user interactions take place on the library floor but this is not the norm. (Such interactions are usually quick: a directional question or a quick "chat" if there is a familiar relationship between the user and staff member in question.) Users often approach desks and counters for help with signing up for computers or to get their card renewed or fines paid. Interestingly, some staff interviewees claimed to interact with users at OPACs, yet very few user interviewees corroborated this. Moreover I observed comparatively little staff-user interaction at OPACs at the three case libraries. Perhaps users are reluctant to ask staff for OPAC help because they feel as though they are taking staff away from "where they're supposed to be"—at their service desks.

In times of emergency or confusion, even when the problem is not information related, users feel compelled to seek help from desk staff. For this reason, the service desk or counter becomes a "territorial outpost" to managers when they emerge from the "back of house" to resolve extenuating issues. This seems to be the case even when a service desk or a computer is not necessary to resolve an issue. As Salterton's Deputy CEO explained, "Sometimes we have disciplinary issues with someone in the library and you have to meet with them about that... in the Chief Librarian's office." Moreover, as one Deptford supervisor (B-Stafford) explained to me, when supervisors or managers emerge from their offices to



Map by B-Stafford, the Deptford Library's Clerical Supervisor, showing the circulation area in relation to the back workroom (labelled as "upper workroom" on the map), where his office (circled in red) is located.

resolve a specific user-related issue, it normally follows a careful, spatially structured protocol (see 4xxxxi). They first deal with the matter at the service desk or counter. If it is something that needs more attention, or something "of a more personal nature" he explained, "then we'll leave that area and come into the upper workroom and discuss it." At Deptford, the upper work room is located just off the circulation area; from the workroom and through a door is the Clerical Supervisor's private, enclosed office, which is where I interviewed him. "And if it gets deeper into something, we'll come in here," he said. There have been times when the issue is so pressing that he has taken the user all the way into the Head Librarian's office—down in the library's basement. This tiered-protocol shows a certain careful spatiality to problem-solving: the more extenuating or distant from the everyday business of the library the problem is, the further the library must take the user into the back of house to get it resolved.

This pattern likely explains why staff members usually discourage users from coming up behind the desk (in a consultative position) unless absolutely necessary. "We keep our working space within our personal space. We discourage the customers from coming behind the desk," said B-Sophie. Some staff have described the feeling when, on occasion, a lost or confused user walks behind a desk or counter. "It's an odd sensation," explained A-Shirley. "You'll realize that someone just walked behind you because they thought that [space] is an aisle." It also shows how reluctant staff are to have users come into their space. In fact some managers (for instance Cornish's CEO) make it a point never to bring a user into their office.

In sum, the term "front line" is an important term in one way because it implies this recurring sense of "front" and "back" in libraries; more specifically it identifies the conceptual or "human" boundary delineating the library organization from its public. It was not a surprise to me that users and staff—almost equally—not only included service desks and counters on their maps but such items were often among the first two or three things they drew on their maps. Desks and counters are not just items in space; they are landmarks, they have meaning and importance within the spatial hierarchy at work in the library.[41] They are not just points

[41] It must be noted that many interviewees neglected to include certain items—bookshelves, user tables, or even banks of computer terminals—that were just as large, or larger, than the service desks. This suggests that it is not just size of object that determines a landmark, but also how people perceive the *importance of* that landmark.

of service; they represent the boundary between "the library" and its public in its most centralized form. Although at some libraries members of management do spend some time working at the reference or information desk (this was the case at Salterton, where the Deputy CEO completes some shifts "on desk"), Cornish's Deputy CEO lamented that this was not her case: "I would have enjoyed a little time on the desk," she said. Again, though nothing prevents a member of management from roaming the library floor for this specific purpose, many members of library staff and management equate being "on the desk" with interacting directly with users. This connects back to the issue of territoriality in several ways. First, staff interviewees often referred to being "*on* the desk" (A-Sheila) or even "*doing* the desk" (C-Sandra) rather than merely "at the desk." One is not simply *at* a location as much as they are fulfilling locational identity (hence earlier the discussion of "organizational performance").[42] This identity is therefore also a territorial one. Though staff at service desks work constantly with users they use the desk as a "base" (A-Shirley) and thus a basis for spatial identity, safety, and protection.

4.4.4. "Interlopers": User Territorialisation and the Problem of Place

To some users, there is no "user territory" in a public library—if we define users as a group, rather than a series of individuals. From this perspective, it is arguable that all library space is staff territory or some extension thereof; it is merely a question of where users ("the public") are permitted to go, under what conditions, and where they are not.

"I put on headphones to study," one user told me. Headphones become, for some users, a way of isolating themselves (by listening to music) while for others they become a way of symbolizing a desire for isolation. (Photo by author.)

User interviewees tended to visit the library for the following reasons, ranked in order of frequency: (1) books and research; (2) computers and internet; (3) DVDs and music; and (4) quiet reading. Overall, users felt the library gave them what they needed to perform these tasks satisfactorily. They showed an awareness of why they visit the library and what the public library is for. However, some users recognized that their use of the library is voluntary—a privilege. At times they described the public library as someone else's space, not their own: "You're coming in for

[42] As B-Serena explained, "When we say we're off-desk, it means we're off the *public* desk.... I'm downstairs doing other my own work at my own desk.... [When] you're *on desk*, you're in public, and you're there to help the public. I think if it as 'putting on your show face.'"

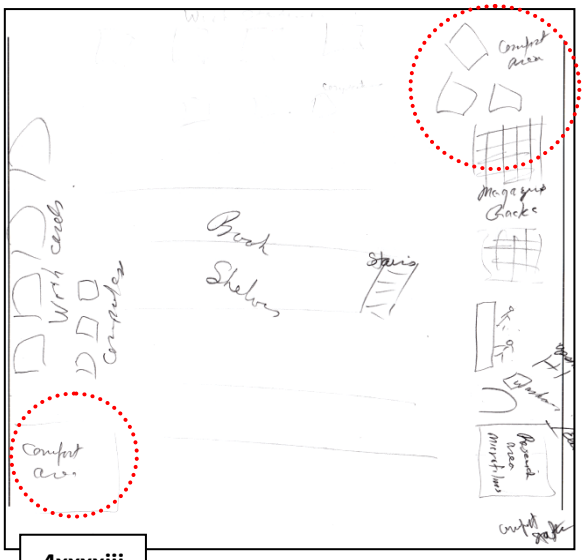
research or entertainment," A-Phyllis explained to me. "You have to remember that, yes you're there, but you're... the *interloper*," (emphasis mine). In other words, some users felt like guests in the library, not owners or residents. For that reason, other users felt, as A-Peter put it, that there's "a certain amount of uncertainty" about being in a library as a user: perhaps some users are uncertain or find it questionable what the true extent of their freedom is in the library. It was curious when Salterton library staff member A-Stephanie described to me a graphic novel section the library had just opened for Young Adults (and out of view from the library's main service desk): "It's good to give them a place where they can go and be and where they don't feel like they're being watched all the time," she explained. "But giving them that freedom also gives them the freedom to carry on, if that's what they're there to do." This comment demonstrates the tension of defining territory in libraries: Is user-accessible space also *user territory*, or is it really an extension of staff territory in which users are permitted (or "given") certain freedoms relating to the specific purpose(s) of the space in question

It depends on how one defines "territory." According to Morris (1988, p. 510), "territory" is a "defended" space or place. It is curious that, though many users use the library independently, they territorialize *individually* rather than as a group (see 4xxxxii). While library staff have the benefit of a team-based organizational culture to create and maintain some degree of cohesion among members, users do not. Users occupy space that has been defined and set aside for their use by the library. Ultimately, there are no places in the library that are entirely exclusive of staff members or at least a staff presence (this will be explored further in the following chapter).

So, because few if any users can territorialize using physical boundaries, they rely more on conceptual ones. For instance, users place a high value on isolation; certain activities require so much concentration that users need to block out their immediate environment. Computers are a good example; I observed in all three libraries an overwhelming trend of individualized computer use. Rarely if ever did pairs or groups share a computer, and rarely did computer users directly acknowledge the presence of other users. As B-Pamela explained to me, "I don't do much conversing when I'm on the computer because I'm so focussed on what I'm

doing," she said. "People [using the computers] are into their own business." Interviewees often explained the tension between requiring an individual workspace for internet use and having internet terminals clumped together in pairs or strung into a long line. They did not want another person sitting directly next to them. Some users (C-Paul, for example) actually complained that the Cornish library should offer partitioned, individual study rooms for users. (None of the three case libraries had any.) Others (C-Piers, for instance) explained to me how, when they study or read, they often deliberately seek regions of the library containing the least users.

Physical isolation is not always an option, however, and consequently users must find other ways to isolate themselves. The use of headphones appears to be a popular way for users to isolate themselves: "I put on headphones to study," A-Peter told me. It appears that whether one is actually listening to music or not does not matter in these cases; just wearing headphones is enough to do the trick. Headphones become, for some users, a way of isolating themselves (by listening to music) while for others they become way of *symbolizing a desire* for isolation. As A-Peter believes, there is an unspoken code among library users that no one will "bother you" (or people will be less likely to bother you) if you are wearing headphones. There are other, less obvious ways users isolate themselves. As one user explained windows can play an important role: "I'm more partial to the distractions of the outside world," A-Peter said, "as opposed to the distractions of my immediate environment... [or] looking around at what everyone else is doing." In other words, some



4xxxxiii

(Top) *C-Paul's map of the Cornish's second level; note the two quiet reading areas labelled as "comfort areas" (circled in red).* (Above) *Cornish's second-level reading lounge, one of several such lounges in the library.* (Photo by author.)

users just prefer to ignore the library. This connects with another pattern in the interview data: users rarely mentioned the idea of "comfort" explicitly; when they did they tended to define it not so much in a physical sense but rather in emotional terms: whether or not the library was "inviting" (B-Pamela) or welcoming" (A-Perrin, A-Patricia), how much they feel "at home" or "cozy" (B-Paula) in the library, or how much they feel at ease. One user, B-Paige, seemed to associate comfort with familiarity and a sense of individual autonomy: "[It feels] automatic; I know where I'm going," she said. "I feel really at home." Physical comfort does play into this, to an extent. According to the interviews, the "comfy", more domestic parts of the library are among the most popular (if not the most popular) places for users to spend their time if not searching for materials or getting help from a service desk. Few users left these off their cognitive maps (see 4xxxxiii) and, as observational data show, at all times of the day and on just about every day of the week, the places containing lounge seats, grandfather clocks, and fireplaces were among the most popular places in all three case libraries. This may be because, for some users, these places simulate the comforts of a place where people tend to have some sense of independence or ownership: home. As Mayerovitch (1996, p. 168) observes: "The fireplace, long displaced by central heating, speaks... of home [and] warmth" and a sense of security. In other words, and to put it in the form a question, are the places in the public library where some users feel most "comfortable" in fact the places where they feel *least* like they are in a traditional library?

(Above) *A user marks personal territory by leaving a jacket on a chair.* (Photo by author.)

In all of the above examples, we see users who isolate themselves emotionally, mentally, and physically, or who isolate themselves by seeking out parts of the library that simulate other, more domestic (less "library-like") environments. This connects directly back to the earlier question of library users as "interlopers": For some users comfort is almost entirely an

emotional phenomenon, and much less a physical one. They wish to feel as little like a "guest" in the library as possible, and isolation is perhaps the best way of achieving it.
Individualized territorialisation among users is evident in other ways. The most obvious (and most frequently mentioned) method of territorializing is to spread one's work out on a table. Although this is risky, given the security issues surrounding leaving personal items unattended in libraries, users do this nevertheless, and also use papers, pens, calculators, and opened library books as a way of marking their occupation of a study carrel or place at a library table. "I flop out a table full of stuff," A-Peter explained. Many other user experiences were similar. Sometimes, when users are without these kinds of items they instead leave jackets, hats, and duffle bags (see 4xxxxiv). What is most interesting is that some users do not confine themselves to one spot over the course of a long library visit; they sometimes pick up and move to another part of the library if a different task requires a different place to occupy. "I take a huge duffle bag with me wherever I go," C-Piers told me. Thus users not only create their own, individualized "territory"; there is the sense that they sometimes must also "carry it" with them as they move around the library. For the user, there is no stasis, no permanent sense of place. The only "territory" they have is their own, individual space.

In summary, this chapter has shown how the three case libraries operate as organizational space: namely, how their organizational objectives have been realized in the general designs of their buildings; how the three case libraries' respective architectural styles have created certain *enchantment* effects that affect how people perceive the library organization, and the library as a place, and how these perceptions are influenced by larger contexts; how *emplacement* fixes, classifies, ranks different spaces across multiple levels and territorializes space among people and groups in order to create and maintain organizational stability and function; how spatial *enactment* constructs group identities ("library staff members" and "library users") that are fundamental to the library's operation.

The physical layout of the public library assigns different roles to library inhabitants, and these roles can be sorted into two major groups: "library staff" and "library users". These are socio-spatial roles and place-bound and enacted through the "forced reiteration of norms" and forms of behaviour either learned on the job (staff) or from personal experience (users).

In order to operate the library as organization relies on a clear division between staff and users and thus a clear division between staff and user space: hence the need for *territoriality* and the creation and enforcement of material and conceptual boundaries. These boundaries include the manipulation of physical barriers as well as an ongoing emphasis on the use of desks and counters and the importance of "frontline" staff. The "frontline" is in fact the conceptual boundary between the public library organization and its public.

However, some findings suggest that library users, as a group, have no territory. Some users conceive of themselves as "interlopers" in a place that is, arguably, entirely staff territory. Whether or not users are indeed "interlopers" is debatable: some users claimed (or implied) they felt so. Some of these users had not been long time users of the library, which may help explain this response. Nevertheless the finding deserves attention for it shows that the library environment has the potential to make some users feel this way. The resultant power relationship is clear: the library organization's importance is upheld, while users are reduced to the status of mere "guests." Even the user-accessible places in a library have a strong staff presence, and that presence is built into them in various ways that influence behaviour. The trick, therefore, is for the library to build this staff presence into the user space in ways that minimizes imposition but maximizes control—in other words, creates *the illusion* that the library is a place of truly independent work and learning for users. The following chapter will explore this issue even further.

Chapter 5

5 Spaces and the Gazed: The Spatial Control Model Reconsidered

> *"It is a type of location of bodies in space, of distribution of individuals in relation to one another, of hierarchical organization, of disposition of centres and channels of power... which can be implemented in hospitals, workshops, schools, prisons. Whenever one is dealing, with a multiplicity of individuals on whom a task or particular form of behaviour must be imposed, the panoptic schema may be used."*
> (Foucault, 2007, p. 419)

This chapter will explore the phenomenon of study-level research question: *To what extent and in what specific ways do the spatial control models dating from early modern public library design still operate in public library space?* Using examples from all three case libraries, I argue that indeed many elements of the spatial control model, which developed as a fundamental part of modern library design in the late 19th century and based on Bentham's panopticon prison design, are present in the three case libraries. I examine how this spatial control model works despite the three case libraries' varying ages and architectural styles; I consider the existence of the monocentric, librarian-user gaze; and last I investigate the presence of other "gazes" in the library, namely the user-user gaze, the user-staff gaze, the managerial-staff gaze, and the staff-managerial gaze. Findings suggest that, ultimately, mid-sized public library design has changed very little over the past century in the way it organizes its space. Despite an increase in the variety of places public libraries contain, despite an increase in their multi-functionality, and despite changing trends in architecture and building technologies, today's public library buildings are just "new twists" on an old spatial model.

5.1. The Library as Shop Floor: Panoptic Emplacement and Enactment

Although the three case libraries each contained a wide variety of places, staff and user interviewees made clear that the space that contains the main collections and service desks comprises the "heart" of the front-of-house. "[The circulation desk] is the hub of the library," insisted B-Stafford, "and we have the collections," he added. Although during the cognitive

map exercises I asked all interviewees to draw the level of the library they were "most familiar with", some staff interviewees felt compelled to draw the level of their library that contained desks and collections, even if they were more familiar with other levels (such as a basement). This was the case with A-Shirley, Salterton's Deputy CEO, even though her office (her primary workspace) is located one floor below all the Salterton library's adult collections. When I asked her why she had first wanted to draw the upper level, she paused a moment and said, "It's the desk and all the adult collections", as though the thought would make perfect sense to anyone familiar with public libraries.

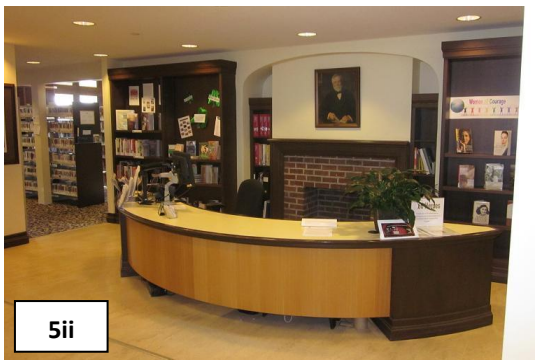
This is not terribly surprising; the public parts not only contain most if not all daily user activity but also they have traditionally been the library's main purpose for existence: to provide informational materials and services. To again use the theatre analogy: the library's public floors are the stage (or a series of stages) on which the theatre of "the library" happens. It comes as little surprise, then, that such places are among the most directly monitored places in the entire library building. "Emplacement often develops a moral and political dimension: the separation of the sheep from the goats," explain Dale & Burrell (2008, p. 60). "As such it leads to the need to make visible, to *monitor whether things and people are in their correct places* (emphasis mine)." It seems there are actually very few (if any) activities users can perform completely unmonitored.

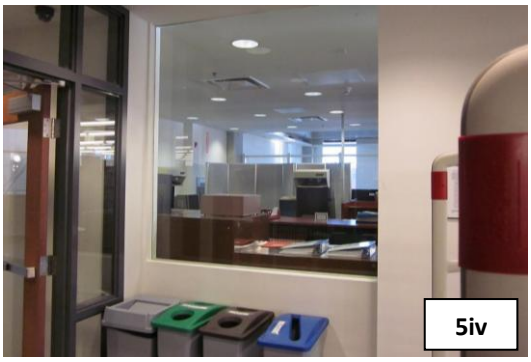
5.1.1. The Public Floor and the "Staff-User" (Monocentric) Gaze

The most explicit form of monitoring in a library's public floorspace is through direct, visual means. As Dale & Burrell (2008, p. 46) explain: "Surveillance may be used to ensure that we follow [certain] forms of behaviour and to alert us to the potential costs of not doing so." Sightlines from service desks, particularly reference and information services desks, have been crucial for library staff and planners for years (see chapter 2). Lushington (2002), in his *Libraries Designed for Users: A 21st Century Guide*, advocates for prominent desk placement in the library's public areas, emphasising consistent, "controlled visual access" between library staff and users. This gaze, the staff-user gaze, is the one-way "disciplinary" gaze that Andrejewski (2008) calls the "monocentric gaze". It was perhaps the most explicitly discussed of all gazes during the interviews, especially among staff members. After drawing

her cognitive map of Salterton's adult collection floorspace around the library's main information desk, A-Sheila explained: "I spend so much time there, looking down from the desk... It's something I do and have done hours a week." The most common reason staff members gave as wanting to maintain "controlled visual access" with users is to "look out" for unwarranted user behaviour. As Deptford's Clerical Supervisor, B-Stafford, explained, "You watch for what's going on [and] if there's anything that shouldn't be going on." Some staff explained how "creepy people" (A-Sarah) often necessitate extra attention from desk staff. As information desk staff member B-Sophie told me, "If we have people behaving inappropriately, it's our job to go and try and sort out the problem before it becomes a bigger problem."

When I explicitly asked some users about their awareness of the librarian's "gaze", most seemed indifferent to the idea, as if they took the arrangement for granted. One user, C-Paul, referred to Cornish's circulation counter (at the library proper's main entrance, see 5i) as the library's "office space". When I asked him why he would refer to the circulation counter as an "office space", his reply emphasized the desk's immediate relationship to the public floorspace: "Those are where the people in charge sit, sort of like when you come into a school," he said,





(Top) *The Cornish Library's Circulation desk, which one user compared to the Principal's office of school: "Those are where the people in charge sit, sort of like when you come into a school...";* (middle) *Salterton's Reference desk, and* (middle, lower) *Deptford's Information desk.* (Above) *Internal windows help Cornish's Information desk staff see through walls—literally.* (Photos by author.)

referring to a Principal's office, a place commonly found adjacent to a school's front entrance. In a few other cases, users defended the library's need for monitoring, or at least for providing some kind of restraining influence: "I'm not going to do anything stupid, so I'm not worried about people watching me. I'm not going to steal or wreck anything," said A-Phil. "But there are a lot of idiots, eh?"

Although it is impossible for staff to see every user in every publicly accessible corner or aisle, each case library has nevertheless organized its main public floorspaces in ways that maximize staff's ability to see where users are, particularly from service desks. Salterton's information desk (see 5ii) is placed at the center of its main (upper) level, directly in view of most of the library's collections. Once again, the "monocentric" arrangement recalls some of the implications of the library building's origins in "scientific management": rather than a manager watching his or her workers in the factory or store space, the library staff member watches the workers in their rightful places: From the information desk, one can not only watch users searching the catalogues, working at tables or browsing the stacks, one can also see who is coming and going: the desk has been placed directly in front of the library' central staircase, adjacent to which is the library's only elevator. As users enter the library's main collections, they are under watch and are themselves confronted with the presence of a service desk. Cornish's publicly accessible collections are spread over two main floors within the library proper. On the first level, a circulation desk is placed at the left as one enters the library. To the right and around the corner is the Reader's Advisory and Reference Desk, placed against the east wall and staffed by two librarians. From this desk they can see down to the south end of the library floor, as well to the north. At the north end of the main level is the Children's Department, at the centre of which sits a service desk directly in front of the story time carpet. In Cornish's Children's programming room, an enclosed room physically separate from the library's main contained in the drum, sits an old wooden desk (reminiscent of a teacher's desk) at the front of the room. As children's enjoy watching a film or making a craft, a staff member can keep watch over the children.

This "desk proximity" manner of setting up the library environment is perhaps most obvious at Deptford, where users enter the library via one of two passageways around the library's

circular-shaped Circulation desk. The singular desk, conceived as a "one-stop" desk where users can return their materials on the way in, sign materials out, renew or create new membership cards, has been designed much like a tollgate box or booth. It not only becomes the circulation staff's locus of operations but also a one-stop place for users coming and going. As users enter the library they are left with the impression that they have passed into monitored space. Once beyond the Circulation desk, the users find themselves in the immediate visual field of the Information desk (see 5iii), placed in the middle of the adult collection's floorspace. In fact, staff at both desks can see one another directly. Both were designed as circular-shaped "islands" floating in the middle of the floor. Though they certainly cannot see Deptford's entire main floorspace, staff members at both these desks enjoy the widest views of any service desk or counter observed at any of the three case libraries. As B-Sophie explained, "We can see most of the library from our desk."

Deptford's circulation desk, as seen from the foyer. (Photo by author.)

Some places are out the staff member's *direct* gaze, of course. It is impossible to make visual contact with every part of the public floor space. In some unusual cases noise can become an instrument of surveillance; in situations where librarians cannot see boisterous activity they can at least hear it and respond accordingly. "[T]he term *gaze* [refers] to an act of surveillance with a transformative end," notes Andrejewski (2008, p. 5). "Although often and typically visual in nature.... gazes could be multi-sensate, involving auditory as well as visual acts. For Bentham and Foucault, the condition of visibility meant that those under watch were knowable by a variety of means—visual or otherwise." As information desk staff member A-Sheila told me at Salterton, "If someone—it's usually kids—is making a racket, then I just follow it. They're so noisy that it's not hard to follow. And it usually stops as soon as they see me."

Some out-of-view places have other means of enforcing a staff presence. One area seemingly out of staff's direct view is the main floor of Salterton's original Carnegie wing, which is physically cut off from the rest of the library's main floor by a wall to the north. Wide passages at the wall's east and west ends allow ample room for passage between the old and new sections of the building. However, running along the top of this wall is the library's original mezzanine and librarian's office. This level has since been changed into a staff kitchen and the original librarian's office into a staffroom. This enclosed room contains several windows at its front and sides, originally to allow the chief librarian a wide view of the Carnegie wing's main floor (see 5vi). Today the staffroom enjoys the same advantage. Moreover, the well beneath the old rotunda connects the Carnegie wing's main level, visually, to circulation department directly below. So, although it contains no service desk, this part of the library is by no means entirely out of the staff gaze.

5vi

Looking up to, and looking down from, Salterton's mezzanine-level staffroom. (Photos by author.)

The same argument can be made about other seemingly private parts of the library, places that contain entrances to staff-only stairwells, back doors into staff offices or secondary rooms such as storage rooms. Good examples would include one of Cornish's quiet reading areas, which contains the door to a staff-only stairwell, and Salterton's children's department, whose only area out of direct view of the Children's service desk also contains a door into the staff workroom at the building's northeast end. In all these cases, although a user may not be in clear or direct view of a library staff member, there is always the possibility that a staff member may suddenly appear.

Similarly, some publicly accessible parts of the library use desks as a symbolic tool of surveillance rather than a merely functional one. The best example is the "unstaffed" service desk (see 5vii) in the main foyer of Cornish's art gallery (on the third level). At the time I visited the library it was temporarily unstaffed because of budgeting. Nevertheless, regardless of the desk's potential usefulness elsewhere it has been left in the foyer. When users enter the foyer, they are confronted with the presence of a staff desk. Despite its being unstaffed, it is the only service desk in the art gallery. Its presence is almost a gentle warning; it gives the visitor the sense that though they may have left the library proper, they are still in monitored space.

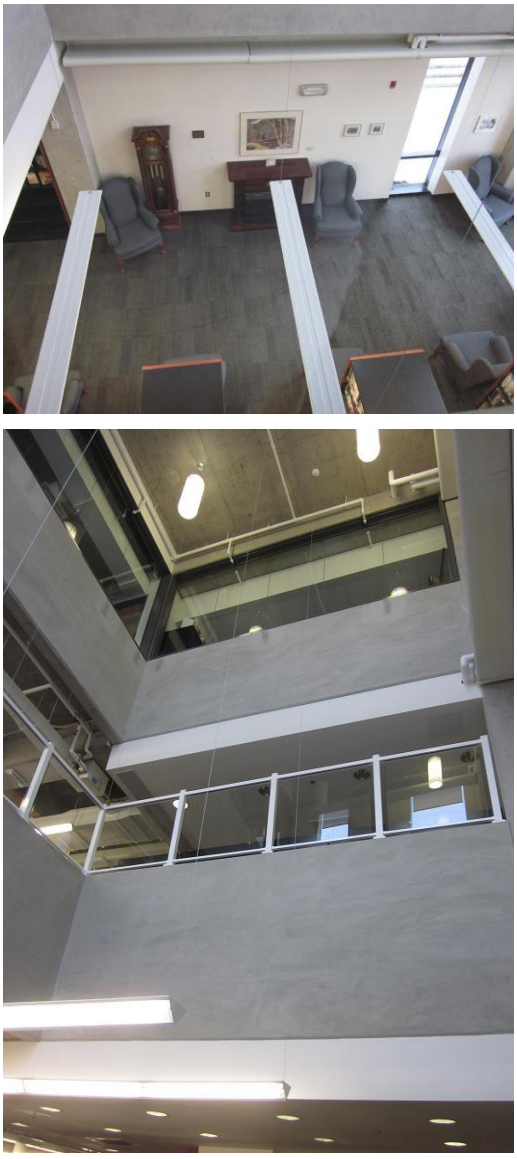
The service desk in the Cornish art gallery's foyer: though unstaffed it gives the impression of monitoring. (Photo by author.)

5.1.2. The Indirect Gaze: Closed-Circuit Cameras and Magnetic Security Gates

Although closed-circuit video cameras (see 5viii)—originally used in maximum security prisons and in traffic control (Barker, 1998)—are now commonplace in public buildings, and existed in all three case library buildings, their presence appears to have little effect on influencing user behaviour. In all three case libraries the cameras were visible to users; in two libraries conspicuous signs reminded users that cameras were present in the library. Nevertheless not one user or staff member included these cameras on their cognitive maps, and furthermore nearly every user whom I asked specifically about the presence of cameras admitted ignorance. "I wasn't aware of that. I would have said there wasn't any if you [hadn't] asked me about them," said A-Pearl.

Security camera at the Cornish Library. (Photo by author.)

In at least two of the case libraries (Salterton and Cornish) I asked staff about the use of cameras, and to what extent they provided direct surveillance of out-of-view parts of the library. In both Salterton's and Cornish's cases at least, privacy by-laws forbid staff to watch camera images, unless an event occurs (a theft, an assault, an abduction) and logged camera footage is needed for investigation by authorities. Staff members thus cannot use cameras as extensions of their desk "views." The footage can only be used after-the-fact. Nevertheless, some believe that the presence of cameras may be enough to remind users that they are *being watched*, or at least at some point could have their activities reviewed. One of the case libraries' caretakers, who spoke with me informally, told me an interesting story: Years before it installed an operating surveillance camera, the library had placed a "video camera" in an out-of-view region of the adult collections. The camera's cord, which ran into a hole in the wall, was actually just glued into place. The cord went nowhere—the "camera" was a dummy. Nevertheless its presence discouraged illicit activities in a part of the library that staff could not directly monitor.



At the Cornish Library, several light wells and balconies allow users to watch other users inconspicuously. (Photos by author.)

Magnetic security gates, though fully functional, appear to work in a similar way. That is, they are often more of a visible disincentive to prevent materials theft than an efficient detector of actual theft. Protocols exist for dealing with security gate alerts but desk activity is often so distracting that staff are unable to deal with all alerts. At Deptford I asked the Clerical Supervisor, B-Stafford, about the gates' efficiency and how circulation desk staff

deal with alarms. Is it possible to question every single person that sets off the security alarm? "No, not really. That depends on how busy it is." Indeed, desk staff told me their indifference to adhering to protocol in such matters. "It's not the most effective system," said B-Scott, a circulation clerk. "It's frustrating for patrons because so often they'll check their books out properly and they [the gates] will go off anyway. [The users] feel humiliated …. [So] the staff doesn't take them that seriously—unless someone is obviously stealing books."

Triggering the security gates is sometimes not enough to prompt a staff-user confrontation; it is also whether or not you appear "suspicious" to the staff member working at the counter. As a result, staff have developed their own internal detection systems, based, as B-Scott explained to me, on stereotypes. "I hate to say it, but it's stereotyping. If it's a nice old lady who volunteers here every week... and she makes it beep, obviously we say, 'Don't worry about it.' But if it's a young person who looks nervous, who looks a little bit dishevelled, that's when we would probably step in a little more." Indeed, I witnessed this at two of the case libraries where staff just waved some patrons through the alerted gated but not others. It calls into question the implied purpose of the gates since the obvious purpose (to detect theft) is applied only selectively. The uncertainty is perhaps the greater disincentive because it lacks predictability. In other words, as part of the library's exit design, these gates are more a symbol of *what could happen* rather than an indicator of *what will happen*.

5.1.3. The User-User Gaze

The measure of the panoptic model's efficiency is the extent to which the "watched" police their own behaviour. They may not know when they are being watched or by whom. Nevertheless, library staff members are not the only ones who cast a "gaze" upon users of the library. As mentioned in the previous chapter, unless they were visiting the library with family or friends, very few user interviewees indicated that they interacted with other users. This does not mean, however, that they did not indicate an awareness of other users.

One user interviewee at the Cornish library (C-Paul) spoke extensively of other users in terms of how old they appeared and what they did while at the library. At one point in the

interview he spoke of long-haired "artsy" types who were, obvious in his view, "not coming in here for research or for reading" but rather for programs upstairs in the library's Gallery. Other interviewees described their fellow library users in traditional "user group" terms such as children, teens (young adults), and seniors. However, the most frequent way for users to describe other users was by their chosen library activity: computer users; newspaper readers; comfy chair users; internet station users; and so forth. In another user's eyes, the average library user possesses not so much a demographic identity as they do a use- or activity-based identity.

Although there were few such indications in the interview data, some users spoke explicitly of being directly watched or monitored by other users. They felt their use of a particular place was being questioned, not necessarily themselves as people. There was the example in the previous chapter of a user (a grown man) feeling unwelcome in the children's section because he was using the section without any children with him. Indeed, other users spoke of judging others by their use of the library. For example, although users employ reading tables for a variety of different activities, some users believe that discretion should be exercised in choosing where to conduct what kind of activity: "If I'm doing research and the person next to me is tutoring someone, and the person doesn't understand and it's going back and forth... it's a little frustrating. It's like, 'Are you sure that's the right place for you to be doing that kind of thing?'" explained A-Peter. Other users complained of having their actions watched and judged by other users, particularly at computer terminals. "People will stand behind you and look at what you're doing," C-Peggy told me, explaining the pressure she often feels from other users to finish her work and leave the terminal. Perhaps the physical arrangement of computers at the Cornish library (a long, continuous line of terminals that face out) is meant to discourage the use of computers for inappropriate or even illegal purposes. "I felt that there was no privacy," she continued, adding, "not that I was doing anything bad."

What library users do and where they do it at times becomes a public spectacle. As Mayerovitch (1996, p. 115) explains, "Windows are the eyes of a building"; they not only connect the interior with the exterior, they admit the outside world—including its gaze. For years library planners and managers have advocated the use of large windows in library

buildings, most frequently because "[n]atural lighting from windows is important for morale" and emotional health (Lushington, 2002, p. 48). However, large windows also make the activity of the library (particularly in user space) transparent. Hence what some library staff called the "fishbowl effect"—the ability to be seen by the outside public (see images 5ix). Library architects call this the "lantern effect", describing how a heavily windowed library "glows" after sundown. (Outside observers are cloaked in darkness, and users are visible in the library's artificial light. "The building seems turned inside out," explains Mayerovitch [1996, p. 70], "its exterior a disembodied silhouette.") Several in-terviewees spoke of the lantern effect, and all of them positively: "Even just driving by at night when the lights are on, you can see all the activity inside of the building. I think that's important; it makes people want to come in here and see what's going on in this building and be a part of it," said A-Sally. Library planners usually recommend using windows as a way of "opening" up the library to the outside; for example Lushington (2002) who advises the use of "glass facades" to "[show] what is going on in the library" (p. 17) and "to allow users and passersby to view the library before entering" and to "give the library an

5ix

The "lantern effect": even in broad daylight, outside passersby can see deep into (top to bottom) the Salterton, Deptford and Cornish libraries. (Photo by author.)

open, welcome feel" (p. 93). One could say that this approach "merchandizes" library activity: windows act as picture frames, showcasing little vignettes or "snapshots" of library activity.

It did not seem like a coincidence that in all three case libraries, certain areas that were out of the desk staff's direct view were placed in heavily windowed parts of the library. Examples include quiet reading areas and the ground-level computer terminals in the Cornish library; several study table areas on the upper level of the Salterton library; and the quiet study area at back of the Deptford library where floor-to-ceiling windows expose the study area to the library's busy north walkway. In the daytime, and most especially at night, windows keep library users and their activities in a "spotlighted" state of visibility.

5.2. The Multivalent Panopticon: Gazes Returned and Redirected

Spatial control models inside the library are not limited to the monitoring and control of user behaviour. The panoptic model "is a machine," claims Foucault (2002, p. 99), "where everyone is caught, those who exercise power just as much as those over whom it is exercised.... The summit and the lower elements of the hierarchy stand in a relationship of mutual... conditioning, a mutual hold." In her work about surveillance in 19th century buildings, Andrejewski (2008) explains: "Some forms of surveillance... were monocentric and disciplinary, others were dispersed, returned, and contradicted," (p. 3). "Thus as much as individuals used surveillance to discipline in prisons, users in other contexts relied on it to enhance efficiency [and] to forge and buttress hierarchical divisions between people and groups..."

Although the study-level research question (RQ) was, at least in its wording, limited to a consideration of the *monocentric*, "staff-user" gaze, data revealed, though not to a very great extent, several further "gazes" inside the library space between and among different people and groups. These additional gazes have a direct effect of how people—most particularly staff members—behave in the library, both in the front-of-house and back-of-house.

5.2.1. The User-Staff Gaze

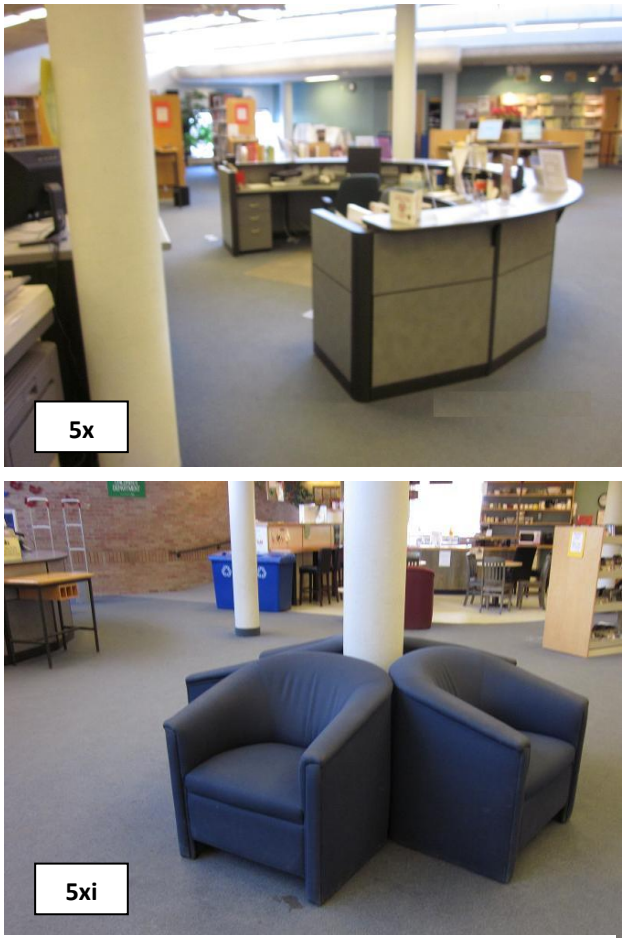
As Foucault himself explained: "The Panopticon, subtly arranged so that any observer may observe, at a glance, so many different individuals, also enables anyone to come and observe any of the observers" (2007, p. 420). Indeed, the very concept of a library "back-of-house" was created on the belief that for some operations complete isolation from the gaze of the broader public is ideal. Nevertheless, some part-time staff members I interviewed had no individualized workspace in the back-of-house. Just about every one of their tasks was performed at a service desk or counter, and they were aware that nearly everything they do is within public view. "With the staffing as it is, we part-time people are out there all the time," said B-Sophie, an information desk (5x) staff member at Deptford. "You're in the middle of everything for the whole five hours [shift], except for your fifteen minute break," said B-Scott, a worker at Deptford's circulation desk. He further explained that at Deptford, years before, books were checked-in in the back workroom rather than at the circulation desk. Several desk staff members lamented no longer having this method of concealing themselves: "I thought that was a good benefit, just to be able to be away from that for half an hour as you went back there for your check-in shift," said B-Scott. B-Sophie agreed. Being constantly "in the public eye" (B-Sophie) creates a certain pressure on staff: "I think, to a certain degree, I for one do feel a little less secure. We have no retreat from that space."[43]

Of the three libraries, it was at Deptford where desk staff spoke most explicitly about this aspect of the library floorspace. Deptford's circular "island" desks epitomize the basic panoptic design by giving a constant, 360-degree view of the library floor. However, as B-Pamela explained, "It works both ways." Staff work within a constant, 360-degree view. In some cases, it is the library users who have the better chance of staying out of direct view: behind bookshelves, behind computer terminals, or even behind an OPAC station. Even when users are out in the open, at any point staff could be watched by someone else without knowing it. Deptford's Clerical Supervisor (B-Stafford) recalled the complaints he received

[43] Salterton's rotunda is another, if lesser, example. Many staff members I interviewed there complained about the "well" directly beneath the rotunda, most particularly about its ability to carry sound between levels. The well also gives curious users a commanding position: they can stand at the railing and watch staff and users interact at the desk for, directly through the well, looking from the upper level to the lower, can be seen one of the library's circulation counters. Unless the staff member looked up, they would be unaware of anyone watching them. Although it was not a popular pastime among users I did observe several times over the week some users watching the desk activity below. Even I took the opportunity several times to observe circulation desk activity via the well: its chief advantage is that desk activity can be observed for long periods of time without being detected.

from desk staff soon after the library implemented the new "island" desks several years ago: "I think everyone felt that they were sitting ducks out there," he said. Indeed, one information desk staff member (A-Sophie) described the feeling of being within public view at all times: "If anything nasty was to happen out there we would be right in the middle of it."

Between Deptford's two service desks sits a structural pillar around which sit several lounge seats (see 5xi). Users sitting in the chairs can stare directly at the desk staff. As B-Scott concluded, "I guess the theory is that... the patrons—who are, you know, the taxpayers—can be able to see what their municipal employees are doing."



(Top) *Deptford's Information desk, as seen from the bookstacks to its immediate west; and* (above) *a bank of four comfy chairs in direct view of the library's Circulation and Information desks.* (Photos by author.)

Indeed, chief among staff's concerns about the "user-staff" gaze is the possibility of being judged negatively. This had recently been discussed at the Cornish library, where not long before my first visit there had been some discussion about placing a reception desk in the library's foyer. Many staff, however, showed great apprehension to approve the idea. As one explained, "If you're just sitting there, waiting for people to come in, people will think that you're lazy and that you don't do anything."

While there may be a certain amount of acceptance of the user-staff gaze, library staff draw the line at allowing users to see them in their private offices. At the Cornish library, some of the glass partitions that divide office and user space are frosted "to keep people from looking in" (C-Shantal). At the Deptford library, the floor-to-ceiling windows and door that enclose

the Head Librarian's and Library Managers' offices are frosted to keep the public from looking in.

5.2.2. The Managerial-Staff and Staff-Managerial Gazes

As Lushington (2002, p. 47) advises: "The arrangement of [staff] workspaces... should promote productivity... over long periods of time." By "productivity" he means the ability of staff to work "unrelieved by the variety and the immediate satisfaction of *public* contact" (p. 48, emphasis mine). However, no one is entirely free from a gaze of some kind in a public library, not even staff members. Just as users are aware of the "librarian's gaze" and library staff are aware of the public's gaze, the library staff space is designed so that staff of all ranks work under a kind of "staff-staff" gaze. I have identified two specific staff-staff gazes in the data: the "management-staff" gaze and the "staff-management" gaze.

Some aspects of these two "gazes" have already been covered in previous sections of this work, albeit to a limited extent. Certainly whenever staff spoke about issues of privacy, to some extent they were speaking of the staff-staff gaze. For example, at Salterton some staff interviewees spoke at length about the compromised privacy of staff workroom (see 5xii). Even inadvertently, sound becomes a method of surveillance: "It's difficult to have a one-on-one meeting with someone without having everyone else hearing what you're talking about," said A-Sally. This is perhaps one of the more obvious examples; others are not so obvious. In/out boards become a way of documenting, if temporarily, who is inside the library at what times and who is not. At two of the case libraries (Deptford and Cornish), computers log (via key codes) who enters the library and when (see 5xiii). Another less obvious example of the "staff-staff" gaze is

(Top) *Open staff cubicles allow staff to keep watch over other staff; and* (above) *a computer records staff entry.* (Photos by author.)

scheduling, perhaps best described as a time-place codification of library activity. They not only organize activity and routines in space and time, but also create a sense of having everything happening in one "place"—on a piece of paper. Since people "cannot see through walls", the schedule becomes a way of knowing what is happening where, when, and by whom. Schedules are not just circulated among staff members; they are often posted in conspicuous, high-traffic staff areas—and are sometimes even memorized. "You just know other people's schedules," explained A-Sadie. "And then, it's like, 'Hmm. How come I haven't seen her tonight?'" Schedules, the place-bound fixity of tasks, and the relative proximity of one staff member to another all suggest to staff that they are best to remain (i) at their posts and (ii) on-task.

Indeed, most staff seemed to gauge the size of building—or at least the efficiency of its plan—by how quickly or easily they can find a particular staff member when necessary. "It's not so huge that you're walking for miles just to get somewhere," A-Shirley told me about the Salterton building. "Our library is of such a size that somebody doesn't have to look far for you." Others made similar statements: "In this building, it's not very far to go to actually go to the person to talk to them," said C-Sherry, Cornish's CEO. In fact, some staff interviewees felt that they were perhaps too accessible: "It's hard to separate, particularly in a library of this size. If it were a larger city and a bigger library, I might be more [anonymous]," said C-Sherry.

As explored in Chapter 4, there is in each library's physical organization some degree of purposeful separation between the library's management and the unionized library staff. This "organizational divide" (C-Shannon) is not only evident in the emplacement of management offices versus staff cubicles; it is also evident in staff's awareness of what could be termed the "managerial-staff" gaze: "When we're out in the public, we're being watched by administration," said circulation desk staff C-Sandra. A circulation desk staff member at the Deptford library felt the same way, but was able to rationalize it: "[It's] not so much that you're worried that people are watching you all the time, but the possibility… is always there," said B-Scott. "It's a deliberate way to manipulate your behaviour, to get people [staff] to watch what they're doing, and I can understand that from a managerial point of view." A

more indirect example of the managerial-staff gaze is, once again, scheduling. The schedule, both as a printed document and as a spatial and temporal structure for library activities, is the library management's way of "seeing through walls." "I usually keep a schedule at my desk, so I'll roughly know who's where," explained A-Stephanie, Salterton E-Branch Manager. Indeed, as A-Sadie told me, it's customary for library staff to say hello to the Salterton CEO's administrative assistant as they walk by her desk first thing in the morning. "You say 'hi' to [her] because [she] knows we're scheduled, and she's aware that we're in." Scheduling also becomes a way for some members of management to look back in time. For example, Cornish's Building Superintendent (C-Steve) prepares on every caretaking schedule (i) what tasks must be done, (ii) in what order, (ii) on what day, and (iv) at what time of day. So, if later in the week he spots an undusted shelf: "I can go there [to the schedule] and see, 'Oh no. It wasn't dusted. What happened there?' and I can go to the janitor and say, 'Justify where you were.'"

Evidence of a "staff-managerial" gaze emerged in the data; however, what did emerge was slim. Nearly all of it came from one staff interview: C-Shannon, Cornish's Deputy CEO. Few other managers or supervisors revealed anything substantial about a staff-managerial gaze. This may be for a number of reasons, first among them that C-Shannon was one of the few members of management at any of the case libraries who agreed to a full-length interview. Second, this interviewee was relatively new to library administration, and perhaps this put her in a position to notice aspects of her position that others might otherwise take for granted.

"You have to make sure you're in well in advance of starting hours," C-Shannon told me, "and should be seen to do that." Leaving personal belongings, such as this sweater and pair of shoes inside a staff office at Cornish, is one way of "being seen." (Photo by author.)

To begin, it seemed to her that, some days, she feels under watch from the moment she enters the library. Since all staff enter the library in the early morning through the same corridors and, in some cases, even past the same offices, her entry can be spied by the support and circulation staff. "I say 'Hi' to everybody on the way in... You have to make sure you're in well in advance of starting hours, and *should be seen to do that*," she told me (see 5xiv). This certainly connects back to the idea of organizational performance; however, rather than following a set of behaviours for the public's eyes, here a member of administration feels open to scrutiny in the eyes of her staff. She explained to me her former, "morning entry" sequence: rather than reporting directly to her office, C-Shannon would report directly to certain departments and speak to them about library matters. This original plan seemed to her a more efficient use of time given the distance between her office and these departments. However, since beginning at the library, she had felt pressure to change her sequence: "Now I just go straight to my office. [My former approach] didn't work well [as far as] being perceived to be in my office on time. So, my preferred thing would be to stop along the way. Technical Services is my responsibility and it's right there [next to the staff entrance]. But now I prefer to go straight up, get sorted, and then come back downstairs."

This response strongly suggests that, to an extent, members of management can sometimes feel as though they are being watched—and their efficiency and productivity is being judged—by onlooking staff. Indeed, as A-Sheila told me when I asked her about the accessibility of management at Salterton, "I can pretty well assume that they're at their desks..." This suggests that staff expect management to be in their office, despite management's frequent need to leave their office. Cornish's Deputy CEO also expressed discomfort about leaving the library building in view of library staff. "My lunch hours vary a lot. I might be in [a meeting] with the CEO, and it's late. And that might fall outside the boundary—it should be between 12 and 2pm. So I'm aware that people might notice that, and I might take those stairs [in the drum] that go directly out." C-Shannon elaborated: "I do make choices... about that depending on whether or not I'm prepared to be accosted by staff on the way out, or whether or not I'm prepared to let them see when I'm going out and coming back in. There's a certain lack of privacy, and I like privacy." There can also sometimes be a need to conceal personal use of the library's activities for fear of being

judged by other staff. To sign books out of the library, C-Shannon must take her books down to the checkout desk like any other user. At times she has felt as though she is being judged, or perhaps even perceived as having a lot of leisure time: "I take materials out of this library, and the circulation staff will comment, 'Oh, that's a lot of stuff for the weekend, isn't it?' and they shouldn't be doing that. A self-checkout would help so you could privately take out whatever you want."

Certainly, some managers feel the need to conceal their operations from staff members: check-out their own material; have a separate entrance and full walls around their offices. This spatial separation can, at least at the Cornish library, help perpetuate the organizational separation it mirrors. For instance, managers and supervisors sometimes augment behaviour—self-censor, or are hesitant to mix with lower staff in a social setting because of conflicts of interest. Although the Cornish library contains an important "mixing place", the cafe, at no time did I observe members of management mixing with staff there. "With any informal behaviour with [unionized staff] you have to continue to wear that [management] hat... and that's unfortunate, because I've had some staff members say, 'Would you like to come to lunch?'" she explained. "There are things set out very clearly and both sides have to observe them. You can't start blurring the line on that."

In summary, this chapter has shown how, in the three case libraries (Salterton, Deptford and Cornish), the basic spatial control model that emerged in library design over one century ago is still present in the design of public libraries as organization spaces. Because all library space is, essentially, staff territory, and users are conceived of as "interlopers" in the library space, staff feel a deep need to directly and indirectly monitor the library floorspace (the "staff-user" gaze). As a result, users carry out their work and activity cloaked in an awareness of the librarian's gaze and self-police as a result. In other words, in some ways the library is still designed to ensure "the automatic functioning of power." However, data also show that there are other gazes at work in the library building that affect and control certain kinds of behaviour just as well: the "user-staff" gaze and two different "staff-staff" gazes, the "managerial-staff" gaze and the "staff-managerial" gaze. These gazes were not talked about very explicitly, and may not be as overt as the monocentric "librarian-user" gaze.

While it cannot be proved that such gazes did not exist in library buildings of the past, this last finding does suggest that published discussions of panoptic library design past and present have more to consider than merely the effect of the "librarian's gaze". The findings also recall one of the most important findings of the aforementioned "Hawthorne studies" (Roethlisberger & Dickson, 1939): that workers were more productive when they know they are being watched or observed—which may provide insight as to why this spatial model has proved so lasting.

Chapter 6

6 Conclusions

Although this dissertation used organization space as a framework (not just as an explanatory framework, but also a basis for formulating its research questions), its applications of the theory, plus the depth of its findings, are somewhat limited. It is my hope that future research will further our understanding of how public libraries shape space in the ways I have explored here. As Yin (2003) would remind us, the findings of this multicase examination are generalizable only to the individual case libraries examined, not "all public libraries" and not even all "mid-sized public libraries". Yet researchers can generalize case study findings on a theoretical level (Yin, 2003). Here, I will briefly reflect on selected aspects of the research design, and then I will consider what this study's major findings suggest about public libraries as organization spaces.

6.1. Methodological Reconsiderations

Since this study's use of methods was as "exploratory" as the research questions themselves, I will reconsider some of these methods and the challenges they presented during data collection and analysis and make recommendations concerning their use in future case studies of libraries.

Anonymity of the Case Libraries

It is arguable that had I not granted anonymity to staff interviewees, I may not have collected as rich a data set from the semi-structured interviews. This is an important consideration since the interviews comprised the bulk of data in this study. However, because I granted limited anonymity to the case libraries, I was restricted from using detailed information about their unique contexts in my analysis of their building designs. This, in turn, affected my use of the organizational documents that I collected. Although I collected and learned much about their respective histories and about the communities they serve, referring to such information in the written findings, even without footnotes or citations, would have been a breach of the confidentiality agreement. Consequently this study's written findings, while

compelling, lack the depth that might have been possible had I been able to identify the case libraries more explicitly.

Nevertheless, with the "cloak" of anonymity granted to them, I did receive a great deal of what I perceived to be honest testimony from staff and administration about the challenges of working in a public library, particularly one with dynamic internal politics. This led to some of the findings outlined in Chapter 5 about the organizational divisions between administration and unionized library staff. It is quite possible that I might never have learned what I did had interviewees not been granted anonymity.

In conclusion, a researcher should pause before making any final decisions about identifying libraries when recruiting them for case studies. If the kinds of research questions he or she is exploring are such that granting anonymity seems needless, consider leaving that condition out of the research design. That way, more information can be divulged about the case library or libraries being examined, and the researcher can factor unique, contextual information about case libraries into their written analysis.

Interviews

It occurred to me during data analysis that some of my semi-structured interview questions were leading. They made assumptions that preordained or prompted my interviewees to see or think of library buildings in a specific way. For example: the question "Do you feel this library looks like a library?" assumes, first, that the term "library" necessarily must refer to a building and, second, that libraries as buildings must necessarily "look" like something. Another example is my use of the concepts of "library user" and "library staff". These terms imposed a view on interviewees; they suggested that there were only two ways of classifying the people inside of a library building. Had I not used those terms in my questions, interviewees might have felt more freedom to use their own terms. Differences of terms might have varied among interviewees, which then may have yielded further insights about how the people inside of a library building perceive themselves as well as others.

I formulated my interview questions as guides (see Appendix E), and indeed many interviewees were able to side-step those questions' assumptions and express their own views in response. Interviews must be structured and efficient; it is impossible to begin an interview with complete silence and it is nearly impossible to conduct a semi-structured interview without guiding its path. Perhaps a better way to conduct such an interview, particularly one about library use, is to formulate a set of topics for discussion or exercises based on open themes, rather than a list of questions, in order to get interviewees to speak openly about their use of the library. Perhaps critical incident techniques would be useful.

Cognitive Mapping

The cognitive mapping exercises were valuable in that they stimulated the interviewees' awareness of the libraries, and provided cues for discussions about specific features or aspects of these libraries that might have otherwise not been discussed. Beyond this, the cognitive maps as data collection tools were quite limited. Consequently, none of this study's major arguments hinge solely on the map data.

I based my original approach (i.e., to have them draw their maps at the end of the interview) on the premise that they would better recall the library *after* an interview. (I did not want to get blank maps.) I now suspect that this might have made a difference in the data I collected. That is, providing a memory-jogging interview before the mapping exercise may have skewed the data. Using the mapping exercises as an engagement strategy—i.e., have interviewees complete the mapping exercise at the very beginning of the interview—might provide a more accurate depiction of how they actually conceptualize the library in their minds, even if this means drawing a less accurate map.

It was also difficult, when analysing the maps, to trust that the interviewees' final map was as they had drawn it during the graphic task. During the discussion period some interviewees felt compelled to add or make changes to their maps based on new thoughts about the library's space. I politely requested that they not, but many interviewees did so anyway, almost automatically. If I use this tool in the future, a better approach might be to have

interviewees draw their maps in regular pencil and then have them make any additions or changes afterward in a coloured pencil.

6.2. Public Libraries as Organization Spaces

This study's summative finding is that, while public libraries have over the past century most certainly broadened their roles (see discussion in Chapter 2), broadened their attitudes toward service and collections (e.g., fiction, and information consumption as recreation), and have even embraced new paradigms of library design (e.g., the "user-centered" library), many of the fundamental principles that defined the spatial organization of the modern public library as a "type" one century ago are very present in the three case libraries. These principles relate to power, control, and the construction of "the library" as an authoritative "knowing organization" whose "business" centers on the act of mediating between people and information. This finding seems to corroborate Brand's (1994) claim that institutional building types experience the least amount of change over time.[44] It is probable that case studies of other mid-sized public libraries would reveal similar results.

Enchantment, Emplacement, Enactment

What conclusions can we draw about libraries as organization spaces, particularly with respect to the three specific research questions $CQ_{1\text{-}3}$? First, when exploring the role *enchantment* plays in public libraries as organization spaces, it is clear that, in all three cases, architectural style and appearance does influence perceptions of the library as an organization and its purposes in the greater community. Yet this relationship between external style, appearance, and people's perceptions of the library as an institution works on at least two levels: within an historical or chronological context, and within an urban context. What this means, respectively, is how a public library is perceived depends upon long-standing traditions or popular conceptions of what "types" of buildings are appropriate for certain activities or purposes, as well as how the library building compares to other buildings in the immediate external (urban) environment. The Salterton and Cornish cases show just how important such contexts are when considering how these two libraries are perceived by those who use and work inside of them. To a certain extent, the Deptford case shows the same

[44] Brand's typology includes three kinds of spaces: domestic, commercial, and institutional.

patterns, but in Deptford's case there enters into the mix an additional factor: the power effects of the internal environment. That is, a library building's *perceived* lack of external symbolism or sense of context does not necessarily negate entirely the enchantment effects of the library as a place or as a built environment: a dynamic *internal environment*—i.e., the presence of people, of materials, and activities—has the potential to override the symbolic cues of external style and provide its own such cues.

When exploring the role *emplacement* plays in public libraries as organization spaces, it is clear that, in all three cases, the influence of the public library building's social origins is evident, most particularly in the (i) the specialization and compartmentalization of certain functions and public services, as well as the routinization and fixing of work and tasks in space and time (i.e., the influence of "scientific management"); and (ii) the fixing of people and objects in space (particularly user space) in order observe (and, to an extent, control) their behavior. These patterns, in turn, have a profound effect on the *enactment* of "the library" as a place. For instance, both staff and users find ways to express a sense of territoriality but each from a very different perspective: staff territorialize from a group perspective, while users territorialize from an individual perspective. The implications of this understanding of the library as territorial space strongly suggest that all public library space is, at some level, staff territory. This is worth some attention since it conflicts directly with current library planning principles which encourage librarians and planners to create public areas that are somehow distinct from staff space. Certainly, the three case libraries here have been designed and even (in two cases) updated with the comfort and needs of the public in mind. However, it would seem that these libraries as organization spaces are still designed around library collections and operations more than they are users. Thus, the whole notion of the "user-centered" library or the library as a place independent learning is, to some extent, called into question.

Discussion: "Past Practices" and "Powerful Continuities"

Indeed, it would seem that, despite discussions of the "adaptability" of the public library as an organization, in many ways it has changed little in the past century. Is it surprising? It appears the public library of today is the same type of organization it was one-hundred years

ago: a bureaucratic institution[45] (Martin, 1996) aimed at providing free, "useful" information to the public in a specific way (a rationalized, "scientific" way, hence the term "library *science*") that has continuously (re)constructed the library organization and the librarians that work for it as highly skilled and knowledgeable. This self-view of the public library is self-perpetuating; it accords both the institution and those who work for it (librarians, library staff) with authority. It depends on the sustainability of that power relation to its public in order to survive. Arguably, any change the public library as an organization has experienced over the past century has occurred entirely within the limits of this self-view. As Martin (1996) observes, libraries "in their long history, have accumulated set conceptions and methods which makes for rigid structure and resistance to change... Librarians accept the attributes of their institution without hardly noticing them or reflecting on their implications," (p. 12-13).

Consequently the public library as an organization has over time developed a set of permanent, "core" services that support this structure: reference, collection development, and reader's advisory services (just to give a few examples) provide a "safety zone" for libraries (Webb, 1989, p. 9) in a world of constant change. The organizational structure of the public library has changed very little, despite patterns of restructuration that have drastically changed other organizations in the postindustrial age to broader, "flatter" structures (Stueart & Moran, 2007). Martin (1996) concurs, claiming that libraries, public libraries among them, "in their long history, have accumulated set conceptions of function and method which make for rigid structure and resistance to change" (p. 12). Its institutional values are just as static; the public library of today claims the same "noble" values it did when it first began: stewardship, intellectual freedom, equity of access, service, privacy, democracy, literacy and learning (Cavanagh, 2009, adapted from Gorman, 2000). It still aims to serve, to act as a mediator between the world of "useful knowledge" and its public. To change this relationship—arguably—would render the modern public library obsolete.

[45] The public library in fact follows the Weberian model of a *bureaucracy*, containing "a hierarchy of positions, sections, departments and divisions, with its combination of non-professional, professional and managerial personnel, and with its various specialties of position such as cataloger, bibliographer, circulation staff, reference librarian, and so on" (Martin, 1996, p. 20).

To make the point a different way, I will refer to a study (McGregor, 2004b) of the sociospatial construction of secondary schools conducted about ten years ago. The study found that, despite the seemingly dramatic changes to educational architecture over the past century, and despite changing approaches to pedagogy and practice, the spatial configurations of secondary school buildings have themselves changed little since the nineteenth century, and the power relations between students and teachers in the classroom thus also remain unchanged. McGregor writes:

> Many schools maintain structures, architectural and organizational, that derive from 19th century elementary schools, designed to produce the docile bodies required for factory working. The standard secondary classroom today has a layout that maintains a particular spatiality where power relations operate to support didactic transmission approaches to teaching, with pupils passively receiving information which is controlled …. Schools as hierarchical, routinised and highly structured environments contrast with the world "beyond" school, with which young people interact (increasingly through Information Communication Technologies), which is obviously complex, layered and presenting constantly changing challenges. (2004b, p. 17)

The study concludes:

> School buildings are inscribed with educational ideologies and practices, and the fabric is a chronicle of change and use resulting from the network or relations, local and global, which comprise "the school". The durability of the classroom is masked by the way in which contemporary interventions such as the National Curriculum have presented the impression of constant change, while obscuring powerful continuities. Exploring the spatiality of schools is a means of highlighting such relations. *The physical spaces materialise past practices and social relations and thence "predispose current practices to emulate past practices*." (p. 14, emphasis mine)

Indeed, the public library as an organization and thus as a built environment has been inscribed with social philosophies, ideologies and practices, many of them dating from the middle and later parts of the nineteenth century. Public library designs have retained much of this ideology, regardless of the "impression of constant change" that the profession creates. We take for granted the ways in which public libraries organize their space; we are immune to recognizing the "powerful continuities" that the ongoing conversations of "adaptation" and "reinvention" have concealed. This study's findings show that, indeed, the arrangement of today's public library spaces prescribes past power relations, and thus, to paraphrase McGregor's (2004b) observations about school buildings and pedagogy, predispose current

library practices to emulate past library practices. This study's findings also corroborate the work of Cavanagh (2009), whose ethnographic case study of a large central library (also in the province of Ontario) took the view that many of the socio-relational practices that constitute "the library" occur within the "lived experience of the reference desk" (p. 148); that the reference desk itself acts as the locus of the librarian's authority in the library floorspace; and that the reference desk acts as the material and conceptual boundary between "institution" and "client" where much of the library's identity as a "knowing organization" is enacted and enforced. Although similar arguments could be made about all service desks, the "reference transaction" (note the use of the business term, "transaction") is the core of library "service", and information the "goods" or "product" passed to the consumer.

Rethinking "Constancy" and "Change"

That is not to say that public libraries have not changed at all, however. The three case libraries all showed evidence that a century of time has brought some change, much of it a direct benefit to the library user. For example, the case libraries show a much stronger emphasis on user comfort, hence the increase in casual forms of seating (i.e., "comfy" areas) available to users, plus a concern for comfortable, ergonomically correct computer terminals and seats. There is also a greater variety of places for different uses and different modes of informational behaviour: it is possible to be conducting quiet study at a reading table one minute, and then be socializing with friends at a cafe the next. A greater variety of collection types and formats have allowed for new experiences inside the library, among them the viewing of video and the private listening of music while one works at a study carrel. Despite this study's focus on the enduring librarian's gaze, there is also a noticeable increase in the amount of personal privacy for users. Although library staff still rely on indirect methods of surveillance to monitor out-of-view regions of the library floor, overall these three case libraries show a greater trust in their users than libraries one-hundred years ago would have. Although library staff described the existence of areas outside the librarian's traditional, monocentric gaze as less than ideal, such allowances have become an increasingly necessary part of organizing a library.

Just how resistant to change is the public library? This is perhaps another research problem for another study. Nevertheless one could argue that as long as mid-sized public libraries remain bricks and mortar places, their spatial organization may very likely operate in the manner of the three case libraries examined here. In all fairness, there would be very few public buildings which do not have some degree of control built into them. When considering public libraries specifically, two reasons come to mind: first, it is a fairly safe prediction that library professionals would never, or would at least be reluctant to, change the structures and practices of their profession in a way that would lessen their stature. Hence one possible reason the "roaming librarian" model has proved difficult to implement: when librarians are forced to compare themselves to retail store clerks (or least use the same methods of practice), a little of the glamour of being "the all-knowing librarian" sitting (literally) in a commanding position on the library floor is inevitably lost. The second reason is that, as long as physical libraries follow the open access model, and as long as most of their collections are print materials, what alternatives exist to this "monitored department store" model that public libraries have been using for over a century? If the public library is to be an open, public space, some control is necessary for the safety of collections and for the safety of individuals. Other fields that use disciplinary spaces, among them public schools (i.e, the teacher's desk and classroom), hospitals (the nurse's station), and courtrooms (centrality of the judge's bench) seem to have also changed little. There is a compromise that must be reached between the freedom and privacy of the library user and the needs of the library organization to run a facility safely and responsibly. This "spatial control model", as I have called it, is the price that library users and staff must pay, but it is arguably a small one considering the amount of direct access users have to library materials, equipment, and space.

Current paradigms of library planning may also have a lot to do with how library spaces are conceived and configured. A small number of recent library planning handbooks and guides were referenced in Chapters 4 and 5, chief among them Nolan Lushington's popular and highly regarded Libraries Designed for Users: A 21st Century Guide (2002), a resource that has been in print for ten years and has been recommended and distributed by library associations across North America (among them, the Ontario Library Association). If well planned and up to date, such guides can prove valuable. Yet few, if any, of these guides

contain any consideration of the more interpretive aspects of library space. If these guides are of any accurate indication, architects, designers, and library planners conduct their work using discourses of efficiency, comfort, and user-centeredness. Yet do they consider what the unintended consequences of their designs are? Do they understand, or even suspect, that they are imbuing library designs with ideology? Are they not interested in questioning, beyond the mere practical concerns, why they plan libraries as they do?

Two of this study's major findings would be relevant to a library planner or architects. First, architectural style matters in a library building. A library's face says much about what's behind it: classical styles can convey endurance and high cultural authority; Modernist styles can convey an emphasis on architectural functionalism and pragmatism; and postmodern styles can connote forwardness and futurism. None is "wrong" or necessarily inadvisable for a public library; but when choosing a style be aware of what it conveys and consider whether or not it fits (and will continue to fit) the library organization that it "fronts". Style is not merely a matter of looking appealing inviting; it is a matter of communicating what a library organization stands for, and the degree to which it wishes to fit in with the rest of its community. Second, library planners and architects should design library buildings with what Brand (1994) calls the "low road" approach. Focus on openness, and focus on the long-term flexibility of all library spaces and components, not just the collections space. Despite ongoing discussions in the planning literature over the 120 years about the growing openness and "internal flexibility" of library buildings, most of these discussions have focussed on the publicly accessible parts of the library—the "user space"—and much less the back of house space. At least two of the case libraries showed little potential for large-scale, back of house reorganization—particularly the youngest of the three case libraries, the Cornish Library. Its staff workrooms and offices have been fixed where they are by means of permanent walls and doors; the building design has permanently inscribed upon the building plan how the library organizes its back-of-house operations. The spatial divisions between staff groups in that library will likely always exist as long as the library organization remains in that building. Providing the back of house space with the same "internal flexibility" the front of house receives will give the library organization the potential to grow and change over

time—and perhaps even adjust the boundaries of its back of house space, if more or less is ever appropriate.

Given the general purpose and daily operations of a public library, perhaps mid-sized libraries have reached a point in their spatial development where no better alternatives exist—yet. As any library planner could explain, building size is a direct function of community size; thus mid-sized public libraries may be, to some extent, at a disadvantage since they have much less space to experiment with than larger, central public libraries. Indeed, it is curious to note the increasing attention paid to certain "innovative" new libraries that employ robotic arms to retrieve requested materials from underground bookstacks. One such example is Helmut Jahn's Mansuetto Library at the University of Chicago. What is so innovative about this model? It only recalls the days of the closed-stack Richardson libraries of the 1880s; the librarian or assistant has been replaced with a computer-controlled robotic arm. Thus in their efforts to move ahead, some libraries seem to be actually going backwards.

6.2.1. Future Directions

Since this was an exploratory study, it should act as a springboard for future work, either mine or someone else's. Although no one aspect of organization space can be studied entirely on its own, future studies of the library as organization space could (and, arguably, would be best to) emphasize one aspect (enchantment, emplacement, and enactment) over the other two.

The one area of this study that shows perhaps the most potential for further study is the area of enchantment. If, as this study suggests, the meanings that people assign different styles of library architecture are rooted in several overlapping and ever-changing contexts, is it possible to propose a phased, conceptual model based on this change over time? Are all library buildings not fated to be historical artifacts at some point? Do classical library buildings and their use of historicism enjoy an advantage that other styles of library buildings do not? Would people's perceptions of a library's "face" be at all different comparing a century-old library with a newer, postmodern library building designed to merely *resemble* an older library (for instance, Chicago's Harold Washington Library, opened in 1993)? Is it

architectural style alone that contributes to the power of enchantment, or must a library building be "genuinely old" (as opposed to the simulated experience, as in the Chicago example) in order for this power effect to work?

On the level of emplacement, what would happen to a mid-sized public library if we took away service counters completely? With the advent of RFID, plus the emerging concept of the "deskless", roaming librarian, would the mid-sized public library as an organization space be perceived at all differently than it is now? Would inhabitants understand or perceive their identities any differently as a result? That is certainly another question for another time: at the time of writing, despite the increasing popularity (and affordability) of RFID technology in libraries, no mid-sized public library that this researcher is aware of has integrated a roaming librarian model with a full RFID system.

Another area for potential further study would be the enactment of the librarian's gaze and the specific attributes, if any, that make the librarian's gaze unique. We know from Foucault that the disciplinary gaze is not unique to librarians; yet are there aspects to the "library gaze" that set it apart from other institutional gazes? Note that this multicase study examined three public library buildings alongside one another. It did not compare the public library to any other public cultural or educational institutions. What findings would a similar, multicase study of a public library alongside a museum, an art gallery, or a public school yield?

In summary, the study of libraries as places is a rich and evolving part of the field. This study has in many ways raised more questions than it has explored, each one a possible candidate for future research. There are undoubtedly many other possible questions relating to the design and impact of libraries as built environments, the meaning and influence of their interior and exterior designs, the user and staff experiences of library space, the symbolic and representational meanings of library buildings, and the organizational characteristics of public libraries. However, despite the subject's potential, to date, relatively little work has been done on the topic which is both theoretically and empirically grounded. This area of inquiry thus holds great promise for LIS scholars and has the potential to shed some very

revealing light on the taken-for-granted nature of a type of public space which many people frequent on a daily or weekly basis.

APPENDIX A – Ethics Review Approval Letter

Western
Faculty of Information and Media Studies

Office of the Dean

Ethical Review of Research Involving Human Subjects

All non-medical research involving human subjects at the University of Western Ontario is carried out in compliance with the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council Guidelines (2002). The Faculty of Information & Media Studies (FIMS) Research Committee has the mandate to review minimal risk research proposals for members of the FIMS community. Proposals are reviewed for adherence to the above guidelines.

2010 – 2011 FIMS Research Committee Membership

1. J. Burkell (alt)
2. G. Campbell
3. C. Farber
4. H. Hill
5. V. Manzerolle
6. P. McKenzie (Chair)*
7. D. Neal
8. K. Sedig (alt)
9. L. Xiao
10. C. Whippey*

Research Committee members marked with * have examined the research project **FIMS 2010-023** entitled

Space, power, and the public library: a multicase examination of the public library as organization space

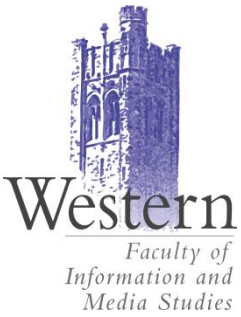
as submitted by: Gloria Leckie (Principal Investigator / Supervisor)
Matthew Griffis (Co-investigator/Student)

and consider it to be acceptable on ethical grounds for research involving human subjects under the conditions of the University's Policy on Research Involving Human Subjects. Approval is given for the period **2 November 2010 to 31 August, 2011.**

Approval Date: Pending completion of minor changes requested by reviewers, November 2, 2010

Pamela McKenzie, Assistant Dean (Research)
FIMS Research Committee Chair

APPENDIX B – Letter of Recruitment For Case Libraries



Faculty of Information and Media Studies

_____, CEO
[ADDRESS]

RE: Space, Power and the Public Library (PhD study)

Monday, Month XX, 2010.

Dear __. _____:

I am Matthew Griffis, a PhD (Library and Information Science) Candidate at the University of Western Ontario. I am writing to you because I am hoping to include your library as one of three cases in a study I am conducting this fall and winter as part of my doctoral research. My study is an exploratory one, not evaluative; and what I am studying, specifically, is how the design of public libraries, from the arrangement of rooms, people and groups, to the placement of furnishings, equipment and materials, reflects the social roles of public libraries today. I am particularly interested in the extent to which staff and user spaces are placed in the overall building design as well as the types of boundaries, both physical and conceptual, which define these two types of space. I am interested in your library particularly because [...].

I am completing the necessary fieldwork by visiting each library, in-person, for a period of about five consecutive days. What I hope to accomplish during that period is fairly straightforward, and has been decided upon with an eye to creating as little interruption as possible. First, I need to audio-record a tour each library with a senior member of staff as a means of understanding how all the library spaces are used. I also need to collect planning documents (publicly accessible documents only)—not necessarily environmental planning documents, though those would certainly be of value (especially floor plans) if any are available—but strategic planning reports (if accessible) and other public information such as annual reports, programming pamphlets, and so forth. To understand how the different library spaces are designed and how they are used, I also hope to photograph the library spaces—front of house (public) and back of house (staff only) spaces. (Photographs do not necessarily require people in them, but if it is at all possible for me to photograph general library activity, I would refrain from photographing minors. Additionally, notices would be posted to notify people of the general observation and photography plus any photos with people in them would be digitally altered to obscure faces and would not be published in written findings.)

The bulk of my work would be taken up by completing audio-recorded interviews with selected library users and staff. (My goal is to interview about 7 to 10 library users and about 3 to 5 library staff per library.) These interviews would require the use of a private room somewhere in the library, and would last about 30 to 40 minutes each; the final five minutes of each interview would entail a brief cognitive mapping exercise (i.e., drawing a map of the library from memory). Recruiting users would entail placing a small station near the main entrance at which I would sit with a sign announcing that I am conducting a study. Interested users will be free approach me for more information and eventually volunteer their participation if they so choose. As for recruiting library staff, I would hope to approach them and seek their participation on an individual basis. Participation is entirely voluntary; all interview participants will receive a small honorarium ($15 bookstore gift card) as a "thank you" for their time.

The names of staff and user interviewee names will be kept confidential and will be anonymized in any written findings. Staff interviewees will be identified by title/role but not name. The names of the libraries themselves will not be identified by place or organization name but rather "Library A", "Library B", and so forth. (Complete confidentiality cannot be guaranteed to libraries, though, since service populations and other demographic information, along with selected photographs and floor plans, will require publication in the written findings.) The benefits of conducting a study like this one include a better understanding of how the built environment of the public library affects the experiences of both users and staff. Findings may be of value to library planners, practitioners, and other researchers of the public library. Participating libraries will of course receive a printed and bound copy of my completed dissertation for their records.

If your library agrees to participate in this research, I would hope to make the site visit to your library sometime this fall or winter. Please let me know, at your earliest convenience, if you are interested in participating. The project is being supervised by a committee headed by Dr. Gloria J. Leckie, whose contact information appears alongside my own (below). I have also attached to this e-mail a copy of my CV. If you would like to speak with me more directly about the project please e-mail me and we can arrange a phone call at a time that is convenient for you.

Thanking you again for your time and attention, I am

[*signature*]

Matthew Griffis, PhD LIS Candidate

(*My dissertation supervisor:*)

Dr. Gloria J. Leckie, Associate Professor

APPENDIX C – Informed Consent Letter for Interviewees

SPACE, POWER AND THE PUBLIC LIBRARY: AN INFORMATION SHEET FOR INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS

FALL 2010/WINTER 2011

Dear interview participant,

I am Matthew Griffis, a PhD student from the Faculty of Information and Media Studies at the University of Western Ontario. I study public libraries in the community and, specifically, the public library as a *place.* What I am studying in your library today is how the designs of public library buildings reflect the social roles of the institution today. I am particularly interested how staff and user spaces are placed in the overall building design as well as the types of boundaries that define what staff space is and what user space is.

You are invited to participate in this study. If you choose to take part, you will be asked:

- to complete an audio-recorded interview lasting about 30 to 40 minutes
- to answer questions about why it is you use the library, what it is you usually do while visiting the library, and where and how you go about doing these activities.

At the end of the interview you will be asked:

- to complete a short (5 min.) cognitive mapping activity, which means you will be asked to sketch a map of the library from memory—and you do not require any artistic skills whatsoever for this brief exercise.

The interviews are audio-recorded for accuracy reasons and no sensitive personal information is collected during the interviews. You will receive a small honorarium (a bookstore gift card) as a "thank you" for your participation.

You are required to be at least 18 years of age to participate, and your participation is completely voluntary. You may refuse to participate, refuse to answer any questions or withdraw from the study at any time. The interview will take place in a private room here at this library.

Your responses will be used for research and teaching purposes and your name will not be published or made public. You are guaranteed confidentiality of your input; your personal identity (name and signature) will be collected *only on an informed consent form that is <u>not in any way linked</u> to the interview audio file*.

If the results of the study (including portions of interviews or the sketch maps) are published, your name cannot be used and no information that discloses your identity will be released or

published. Staff interviewees will be identified by title/role but not by name. Library names will be kept confidential in all written findings. Photographs and floor plans of the library will be included in written findings, and thus it is possible that readers of the study may recognize the library. However, any photos that contain people (users, staff) will have any identifying information (e.g., faces) blurred. All sketch maps, interview audio files and transcripts will remain in a locked cabinet for two years following the all published reports arising from the study and will then be erased/shredded.

You may keep this letter for any future reference. If you have any further questions about this study, please contact me (Matthew Griffis) or my Supervisor (Gloria Leckie) using the information below.

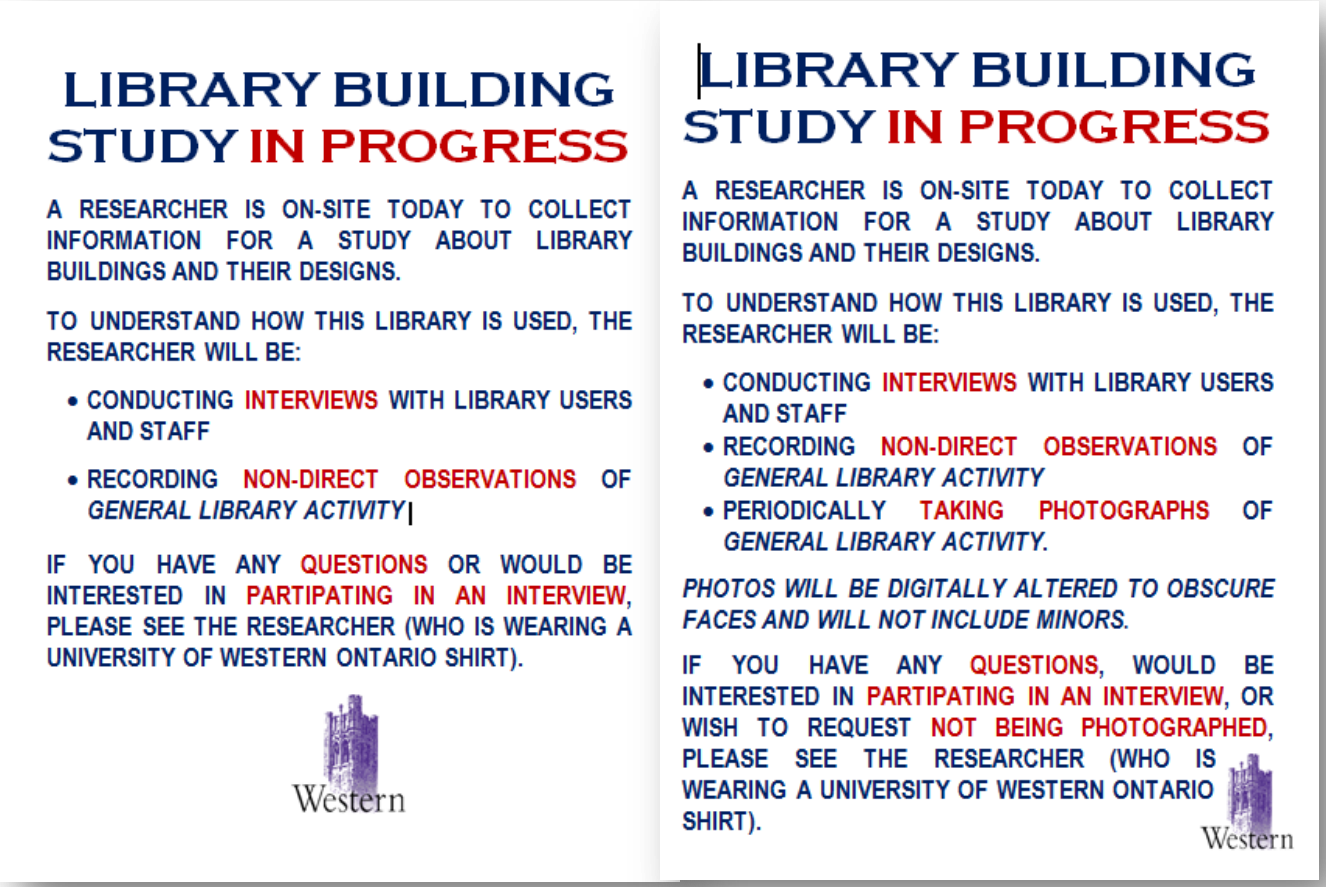
Matthew Griffis, PhD LIS Candidate

Gloria Leckie, PhD (Supervisor), Associate Professor

APPENDIX D – RESEARCH POSTER (2 VERSIONS)

Without photography notice (D1).

With photography notice (D2).



APPENDIX E – GUIDES FOR LIBRARY USER AND STAFF INTERVIEWS

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: **LIBRARY USERS**

1. Describe to me a typical visit the library. What kinds of things do you do while here?
2. Do you use the library for anything else, if only now and then?
3. Where do you go to [insert activities from previous responses]?
4. How long do you usually stay in the library?
5. For how many years or months have you been using this particular library?
6. Do you have a favourite spot or location in this library? (If so, what is it? Why is it your favourite spot?)

1. When you enter this library building, what is the first thing you notice?
2. Where is the first place you go when you enter the library?
3. Are there any places in the library that you are not permitted to go? (If so, how do you know where you're allowed to go, and where not?)
4. Do you ever speak to library staff? (If so, for what reasons?)
5. Where do these conversations take place?
6. Is there anything about this library's layout that you find inconvenient or wish you would change?

1. How would you describe the atmosphere of this library building?
2. Have you used any other libraries in the past? (If so, how do those library buildings compare with this one?)
3. When you approach this library from outside, is there anything about its external appearance that you notice? (If so, what?)
4. Do you feel this library "looks like" a library? If so, in what ways would you say it looks like a library? If not, what kind of building would you compare this library to?
5. How should a person behave while inside the library? Why do you believe this?

FINAL 10 MIN.: Ask the interviewee to draw, on a blank piece of 8.5" x 10" paper, a two-dimensional floor plan of the main level of the library. Time their work so that this portion does not exceed five minutes. Label the drawing with the same code number used for the audio-recorded interview so that the two pieces can later be linked in the database. Lead question for discussion of the drawing: *What did you draw first and why?*

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: **LIBRARY STAFF**

1. For how many years or months have you been working at this particular library?
2. Describe to me a typical shift here. What kinds of work or duties do you do perform here?
3. Where do you [insert work or duty]?
4. How long is a typical shift for you?
5. Do you ever speak with library users? (If so, under what circumstances do you meet or speak with them?)
6. Do you ever visit the library while not on duty? (If so, for what reasons do you come and how often?)

1. How do you enter the library? Where is the first place you go when you enter the library?
2. Are there any places in the library that you are not permitted to go? (If so, how do you know where you're allowed to go, and where not?)
3. Returning to the topic of speaking with library users: when you do speak with them, where do these conversations or interactions take place?
4. When you need to speak or communicate with a co-worker, how do you go about this?
5. Are there things about this library's layout that make it easy for you to [choose duties and tasks from previous answers]?
6. Is there anything about this library's layout that you find inconvenient or wish you would change?

1. How would you describe the atmosphere of this library building?
2. Have you worked at any other libraries in the past? (If so, how do those library buildings compare with this one?)
3. When you approach this library from outside, is there anything about its external appearance that you notice? (If so, what?)
4. Do you feel this library "looks like" a library? (If so, in what ways would you say it looks like a library? If not, what kind of building would you compare this library to?)
5. How should a library user behave while inside the library? Why do you believe this?

FINAL 10 MIN.: Ask the interviewee to draw, on a blank piece of 8.5" x 10" paper, a two-dimensional floor plan of the main level of the library. Time their work so that this portion does not exceed five minutes. Label the drawing with the same code number used for the audio-recorded interview so that the two pieces can later be linked in the database. Lead question for discussion of the drawing: *What did you draw first and why?*

APPENDIX F – COGNITIVE MAPPING INSTRUCTION FORM

MAPPING EXERCISE DIRECTIONS: Choose a level of the library you know well and in the space below, using the pencil provided to you by the study investigator, sketch a two-dimensional (i.e., bird's eye-view) map of that level. You will have five minutes to complete this. Do not worry about your artistic abilities, and include as much or as little detail as you wish.

FOR THE RESEARCHER ONLY:

Participant codename_____. Library ___. Date:_____.

APPENDIX G - GUIDE FOR OBSERVATIONS OF LIBRARY ACTIVITY

The list below has been developed using the work of Leckie & Hopkins (2002), Given & Leckie (2003) as a guide for non-direct observations in this study.

NOTE: Observations will not be limited to only these activities and details; what is listed below will help the researcher to keep his observations focused and varied.

USER INFORMATION

- gender – general frequency of each
- age: <30, 31-60, >61

POSSESSIONS

- books and writing materials
- briefcases, portfolios, knapsacks/bookbags
- laptop computers
- handheld electronic devices (e.g., Blackberry)
- food and/or drink
- walking aid (cane, walker, etc.)
- baby or infant child
- baby carriage/stroller
- other possessions

ACTIVITIES

- reading, writing
- information retrieval
- browsing
- using laptop
- using other portable information technologies (mp3, cell phone, etc.)
- using library computers
- using other library technology (e.g., photocopiers)
- talking
- eating/drinking
- sleeping
- sitting/watching others
- purchasing items (i.e., book sale cart)
- interacting with staff
- other activities

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Yuko, Y. (2009). A Japanese view on Scandinavian libraries: The public library as a space for informal learning. *Scandinavian Public Library Quarterly*, *42*(4), 16-7.

Zieleniec, A. J. (2007). *Space and social theory*. London: Sage.

CURRICULUM VITAE – MATTHEW GRIFFIS

PhD LIS Candidate, Faculty of Information and Media Studies, University of Western Ontario

EDUCATION

PhD in Library and Information Science (defence date Jan 2013)
Faculty of Information and Media Studies, University of Western Ontario
Thesis title: "Space, Power and the Public Library: A Multicase Examination of the Public Library as Organization Space", supervised by Dr. Gloria J. Leckie

Master of Library and Information Science
Faculty of Information and Media Studies, University of Western Ontario, 2007

Postgraduate Certificate, Book and Magazine Publishing
School of Communications, Media and Design, Centennial College, 2006

Bachelor of Education
Faculty of Education, Queen's University, 2004

Bachelor of Arts, Honours English Literature
Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Trent University, 2003

SCHOLARSHIPS, FELLOWSHIPS, GRANTS AND PRIZES (ALL COMPETITIVE)

2011-12	**Ontario Graduate Scholarship (OGS)** Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities (Ontario)	**$15,000**
2011	**Graduate Thesis Research Award** The University of Western Ontario	**$700**
2010-11	***SSHRC Doctoral Fellowship** Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council Canada * I declined this to remain working as Research Assistant for Dr. C A. Johnson, whose research project was a SSHRC-funded study.	**$20,000**
2010-11	**Ontario Graduate Scholarship (OGS)** Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities (Ontario)	**$15,000**
2010	**Library Research Seminar V Travel Fellowship** Institute of Museum and Library Services (Washington, DC)	**$400 (value)**
2010	**Graduate Thesis Research Award** The University of Western Ontario	**$700**
2009-10	**Ontario Graduate Scholarship (OGS)** Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities (Ontario)	**$15,000**
2007	**H. W. Wilson Scholarship** Faculty of Information and Media Studies, University of Western Ontario	**$850**
2007	**Research and Development Grant 2007** Canadian Library Association (CLA)	**$800**
2000	**John Pettigrew Prize 2000** Department of English Literature, Trent University	**$200**

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

ACADEMIC:

Sep 2008-Apr 2011
Research Assistant, ***Public Libraries and Social Capital*** **project (PI: Dr. C.A. Johnson)**
Faculty of Information and Media Studies, University of Western Ontario, London, ON

Mar-May 2006 (Internship)
Editor, Thomson-Carswell Publishers, Toronto, ON

LIBRARIANSHIP:

May-Dec 2011
Library Planning Consultant, ESL Resource Library, Adult ESL Education Program, Lorne Avenue School, London, ON

Sep 2006-Apr 2007
Casual Library Assistant, D.B. Weldon Library, University of Western Ontario

Oct 2000-June 2001
Library Assistant, Peterborough Collegiate and Vocational School, Peterborough, ON

Dec 1999-Aug 2003
Library Assistant, Peterborough Public Library, Peterborough, ON

Sep 1997-Dec 1999
Library Assistant, Peterborough Public Library, Peterborough, ON

TEACHING AND INSTRUCTION:

May-Aug 2010, May-Aug 2011 (2 summer terms, sessional)
Course Instructor, MLIS 9516 – Library Planning and Design, Faculty of Information and Media Studies, University of Western Ontario

Sep-Dec 2011 (Part-time)
Teaching Assistant, MLIS 9002 – Organization of Information (Instructor: C. Martin)
Faculty of Information and Media Studies, University of Western Ontario

Sep 2007-Apr 2008 (Part-time)
Teaching Assistant, MIT 1700 – Information and Its Contexts (Instructors: J. Noon [Sep-Dec] and Dr. C.A. Johnson [Jan-Apr]), Faculty of Information and Media Studies, University of Western Ontario

ACADEMIC ACTIVITY

RESEARCH PROJECTS:

2010-13 *Space, Power and the Public Library: A Multicase Examination of the Public Library as Organization Space*, PhD Thesis (supervisor: G. Leckie), Faculty of Information and Media Studies, University of Western Ontario (to be submitted Fall 2012).

2008-11 *Public Libraries and Social Capital* (PI: Dr. Catherine Johnson), Faculty of Information and Media Studies, University of Western Ontario.

2008 *Once In a Lifetime: The Planning and Design of the Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library 1967-77*, PhD Directed study (2 half-credits, supervisor: Dr. L. F. McKechnie), Faculty of Information and Media Studies, University of Western Ontario.

2006-07 *Living History: The Survival of the Carnegie Library in Ontario*, Master of LIS Major Research Project (4 half-credits, supervisor: G. Leckie; advisor P. McKenzie), Faculty of Information and Media Studies, University of Western Ontario.

PEER-REVIEWED ARCTICLES AND PAPERS:

2013 Griffis, M. R. and Johnson, C. A. "Social Capital and Inclusion in Rural Public Libraries", *Journal of Librarianship and Information Science*, in press.

2013 Johnson, C. A. and Griffis, M. R. "The Effect of Public Library Use on the Social Capital of Rural Communities", *Journal of Librarianship and Information Science*, in press.

2012 Griffis, M. R. *Pillar of the Community: The Peterborough Carnegie Library 1911-80*. Peterborough, ON: Occasional paper published by the Peterborough Historical Society, 26p.

2010 Griffis, M. R. "Living History: The Carnegie Library as Place in Ontario." *The Canadian Journal of Information and Library Science*, 34 (2), p. 185-211.

2009 *Johnson, C. A. & M. R. Griffis. "A Place Where Everybody Knows Your Name? Investigating the Relationship Between Public Libraries and Social Capital." *The Canadian Journal of Information and Library Science*, 33 (3/4), p. 159-91.
*reviewed abstract

PAPERS DELIVERED:

2011 "Space, Power and the Public Library." *American Library Association Annual Conference: Library Research Roundtable 'New Minds, New Approaches' Forum*, 23-28 June, New Orleans, LA.

2011 "Space, Power and the Public Library: A Multicase Examination of the Public Library as Organized Space." *Canadian Association of Information Science Annual Conference*, 2-4 June, University of New Brunswick/St. Thomas University, Fredericton, NB.

2011 "What Library Buildings Do: Examining the Public Library as Organized Space." *24th Annual Western Research Forum*, 26 Feb, University of Western Ontario, London, ON.

2010 (with C. A. Johnson) "Where All Are Welcome: Social Capital and the Public Library as a Community Meeting Place." *Library Research Seminar V: Integrating Practice and Research*, 6-9 Oct, College Park, MD.

2010 (with C. A. Johnson) "Public Libraries and the Creation of Social Capital in Urban and Rural Communities." *American Library Association Annual Conference: Library Research Roundtable Four-Star Research Series*, 24-29 June, Washington, DC.

2010 (with C. A. Johnson) "City Mouse and Country Mouse: Urban and Rural Libraries and Social Capital." *Sunbelt XXX: International Network of Social Network Analysis Conference*, 3 July, Riva del Garda, Trento, Italy.

2010 (with C. A. Johnson) "Social Capital and Community Building in Rural Ontario Libraries" *Canadian Association of Information Science Annual Conference*, 2-4 June, Concordia University, Montreal, QC.

2009 "Once In a Lifetime: Explaining the Social Forces Shaping a Central Library Building." *American Library Association Annual Conference: Library Research Roundtable Four-Star Research Series*, 9-15 July, Chicago, IL, USA.

2009 (with C. A. Johnson) "The Public Library and Social Capital: Examining the Role of Public Libraries in Building Social Cohesion." *Canadian Association of Information Science Annual Conference*, 27-31 May, Carleton University, Ottawa, ON.

2009 (with C. A. Johnson) "Libraries Building Communities: What Works?" *Ontario Library Association SuperConference 2009*, 29-31 Jan, Toronto, ON.

2007 "The Carnegie Library and Its Change Over a Century of Service." *Library Research Seminar IV: The Library in Its Socio-Cultural Context*, 10-12 Oct, London, ON.

2007 "Carnegie Libraries in Ontario and the Reinvention of Public Space." *20th Annual Western Research Forum*, 9-11 May, University of Western Ontario, London, ON.

INVITED PAPERS:

2012 "Library Buildings: Changing Contexts, Changing Shapes." *MA in Public Texts 5001H Colloquium* speaker series, Department of English Literature, Trent University, 20 Feb, Peterborough, ON.

2010 "Public Libraries as Places: What the Future Holds." *A Meeting of the Minds: 2025*, 14 Apr, St. Marys, ON.

OTHER PAPERS:

2011 "Pillar of the Community: Peterborough's Carnegie library 1911-80." Delivered at the October 2011 meeting of the *Peterborough Historical Society*, 18 Oct, Peterborough, ON.

2011 "Remembering Peterborough's Carnegie Library." *Peterborough Public Library 100th Anniversary* tea and ceremony, 14 May, Peterborough, ON.

2010 (with C. A. Johnson) "Social Capital and Community Building: Comparing Urban and Rural Libraries." *London Public Library Speaker Series*, 8 Apr, London, ON.

2010 "Carnegie Libraries in Canada." *Woodstock Carnegie Library Centennial* celebration, 25 Nov, Woodstock, ON.

2009 (with C. A. Johnson) "Social Capital and Public Libraries: The Challenges of Locating the Elusive Non-User." *Faculty of Information and Media Studies Fall 2009 Brown Bag Series*, 2 Dec, London, ON.

EXHIBITS:

2011 "Library Buildings: A History in Postcards, 1900-1950." Exhibit at D.B. Weldon Library, University of Western Ontario, 1-31 Oct, London, ON.

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

2012-13 **Ontario Library Association (OLA) Institute on the Library as Place**
→ Member, Planning Committee (2012 and 2013)
→ Session Facilitator, 2012 OLA Institute on the Library as Place

2012 **Reviewer, *Library Quarterly***

2012 **Reviewer, Program Committee, CAIS 2012 Annual Conference**

2010-11 **Student Representative, PhD LIS Program Committee**,
Faculty of Information and Media Studies, University of Western Ontario

2009-10 **Western Libraries Review Committee**, Office of Provost and VP Academic

2009-11 **Doctoral LIS Representative, Western Society of Graduate Students**

SEMINARS AND WORKSHOPS ATTENDED

2011 **Graduate School of Design, Harvard University, 20-24 July, Cambridge, MA.**
Executive Education Certificate course: *Public Library Design and Planning*.

2010-11 **Future Professor Workshop Series**, **Teaching Support Centre (Western)**
3 workshops: *Effectively Integrating Technology into Instruction* (July 2010), *Designing Learning Activities for Students with all Learning Styles* (July 2010), *Student Engagement* (May 2011)

2009 **QSR International Workshops, 11-12 May, Toronto, ON.**
2 courses: *Introduction to N'Vivo 8*; *Advanced N'Vivo 8*.