RADICAL CHOICE?

THE ROOTS OF THE RADICAL LIBRARIAN MOVEMENT IN 19TH CENTURY
RADICAL POLITICS AND AN ANALYSIS OF CONTEMPORARY RADICAL
LIBRARIANSHIP IDEOLOGY AND ACTIVITY

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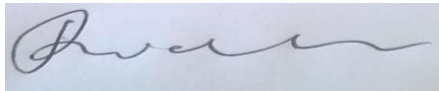
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Abstract

The Progressive Librarians' Guild in the United States and the Radical Librarians' Collective in the United Kingdom are two organisations that support a radical approach to librarianship. The Progressive Librarians' Guild was formed in 1990, but the roots of a radical approach to librarianship can be traced back much further with the Progressive Librarians' Council running from 1939 to 1949 in the US and the Librarians for Social Change in the UK from 1972 to 1986. It is the intention of this paper to investigate what the various organisations that call or have called themselves 'radical' actually do or believe; investigate whether any roots of 19th Century radical politics and philosophy can be found in the formation of the UK and US Public Library systems; and if the term 'radicalism', in relation to librarianship, can actually be defined. This research will take the form of a Literature Review.

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1. Introduction

In 2003 Naomi Klein, the Canadian social activist and political commentator, gave a speech at the Joint American Library Association and Canadian Library Association conference entitled 'Why Being a Librarian is a Radical Choice'. In this speech she praised the ethical stance taken by American librarians in the face of the perceived attack on freedom of information that came from the Patriot Act (2001). She went on to say that 'being a librarian today means more than being an archivist, more than a researcher. It means being a guardian to the embattled values of knowledge, public space and sharing that animate your profession'. (www.dissidentvoice.org)

The idea that librarianship is an occupation that has an essential moral dimension at its core that transcends the boundaries of the professional skills associated with it is nothing new. Nor is the idea that librarians ought to be vocal and visible political campaigners a recent development. In 1939 the recently established Progressive Librarians' Council declared, as one of its strategic aims, "to unite all progressive librarians whose single voices are inaudible into a group which should be heard" (McReynolds, *Progressive Librarian, Issue 2,* 1991). The Council was a relatively short lived organisation that didn't survive the turbulent immediate post war years in American political life. However, in the decade that they were in existence they were outspoken campaigners who fought for a pacifist stance in the Second World War (interestingly, a position they ultimately changed when Germany attacked the USSR, as McReynolds points out), fought against the culture of censorship, and against what they saw as the prevailing conservative culture of the ALA. In many ways the Progressive Librarians Council acted as a de facto traditional left-wing trade union and the ethos they espoused certainly can be seen to come from a similar culture as shall be explored further on in this paper.

Although, as stated before, the Progressive Librarians' Council was relatively short-lived, it perhaps succeeded in weaving a thread of political activism and professional outspokenness into the fabric of librarians' identity that is still found in contemporary library culture, particularly in the public library sphere. This political activism takes on different guises and is called different things which makes identifying it as a connected movement problematic. According to Samek (2004) progressive librarianship is sometimes known as "socially responsible librarianship, activist librarianship or radical librarianship" and is "on a continuum that that spans from an anarchist stance to varying degrees of a social responsibility perspective" (Progressive Librarian, Issue 28, p.49). The most vocal and organised of the various groups is found in America. In 1990 a group of disillusioned American librarians, concerned that "the line behind which the library stood as a moral and educational force in society was being breached by the tide of fads of the American way of doing business" (Progressive Librarians Issue 1) formed the Progressive Librarians' Guild. The Guild is still going strong today and were highly involved in the librarians' campaign against the Patriot Act to which Naomi Klein made reference. The PLG's 'Statement of Purpose' states that "the development of public libraries which for one reason or another held that real democracy requires an enlightened citizenry, and that society should provide all people with the means of free intellectual development There is no information on the

Progressive Librarians' Guild website about current membership numbers, but there is a lot of information about the growing global network within which the PLG currently sits. There are Progressive Librarian projects in Argentina, Australia, Austria, Cameroon, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, Germany, Korea, Mexico, Nicaragua, Palestine, Peru, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland, the UK and the US.

In the UK the 'Radical Librarians' Collective' is a much more recent organisation and only held its first event in 2013. Similarly with the PLG, the RLC has a lot of emphasis on its website about the size of the network it has created (with some 49 affiliated 'radical' libraries), but has no information online about current membership levels. The Radical Librarians Collective (RLC) has no specific mission statement yet, but states that their aim is 'building solidarity for those critical of the marketization of libraries and commodification of information'. In comparison, The PLG's 'Statement of Purpose' states that the early development of public libraries "held that real democracy requires an enlightened citizenry, and that society should provide all people with the means of free intellectual development" and that "a progressive librarianship demands the recognition of the idea that libraries for the people has been one of the principal anchors of an extended free public sphere which makes an independent democratic civil society possible".

There are some common themes that the Progressive/Radical librarian movement seem to be focused on. These are:

1. The commercialisation of information is wrong, as is the conservative or neo-liberal model of library management that encourages commercialisation, and this must be fought against.
2. The early development of libraries, particularly public libraries, were as much about democratisation and empowerment of individuals and communities as it was the promotion of literacy. This tradition must be continued
3. It is imperative for librarians to come together to do this so that their single voices can be formed into a group that 'should be heard'.

It is the aim of this paper to explore these themes and what they actually mean for the radical librarian movement. It is a complex issue to research because it involves such a long period of history, encompassing the very foundation of the public library model in the 19th Century, and is influenced by a lot of different political/philosophical movements and historical events. Calhoun (2012) states that 'radicalism is not best understood as a stable ideological position. Ideas radical at one point could be merely liberal or even conservative at another' (p.5). In other words the prism of time changes perspective so it is vital to look at history with a broad lens to place the motivating influences in context. In order to understand what radical librarians want today, one must understand the long history of culture and tradition that informs their position.

It is the purpose of this paper to assess what the radical librarian movement stands for and hopes to achieve. In doing so an attempt will be made to answer the following research questions:

1. Was the establishment of the public library movement in the UK and US influenced by 19th Century radical politics?
2. How has the Radical Librarian movement been influenced by pre and post-war political philosophy?
3. What do the Radical Librarians really mean by 'radical'?
4. How effectively does the online information of the RLC, and in particular, the PLG communicate what the radical librarian movement stands for and hopes to achieve?

The research paper takes the form of a literature review in two parts. The first part will explore the historical influences on the formation of the public library movement as well as looking at the bigger socio-political and philosophical theories that influenced political activism. This section will make use historical resources, as well as contemporary historical analysis. The second section will explore and analyse the forty two issues of the 'Progressive Librarian' journal published by the PLG and will take the form of text/content analysis.

2. Literature Review

The 19th Century was a period of enormous social change. In order to understand the demand for, and formation of, a comprehensive public library service during this century it is important to take into account the background philosophical, socio-political, economic and cultural forces that led up to the Public Library Act of 1850 in the UK. In the US the American Library Association (ALA) was formed a relatively short while later in 1876 and this is arguably the moment that librarianship became a recognised profession.

This part of the literature review shall be split into five subsections:

1. **Profiles of Progressive Librarians' Guild and the Radical Librarians' Collective**
   Introductory profiles of both organisations based on their web identities.
2. **Political Philosophy and librarianship**
   In order to understand the context of the broad societal forces that shaped, and continue to shape, the contemporary radical library movement it is important to look briefly at the early philosophical and historical influences that led up to the formation of public libraries.
3. **19th Century Radical Politics and the 'New Social Movements'**
   This section will look at the early radicalism and emergence of the 'New Social Movements' in the early 19th century that preceded the formation of public libraries, the political culture that led directly to the passing of the Public Libraries Act 1850 and the early days of the public library service.
4. **20th Century and Contemporary Radical Library Culture**
   This section will look at the social and political events and philosophies of the 20th century that have led to the formation of the radical librarian movement in the US and UK.
5. **What is 'Radicalism' – a schema**
   In the post-analysis of the historical and philosophical influences that influenced the formation of libraries, this section will define 'radicalism' as a schema with which to measure the ideology and practise of the Radical Librarian movement.

2.1 Profiles of Progressive Librarians' Guild and the Radical Librarians' Collective

Progressive Librarians' Guild

In autumn (or "Fall") 1989 a group of like-minded librarians met in New York City. These librarians were concerned with the 'move towards commercialization….. marketing and merchandising enthusiastically embraced as "strategy" for public library development' and that the 'line behind which the library stood as a moral and educational force was being breached by the tide of fads of the American way of doing business' (*Progressive Librarian* issue 1). From this meeting was formed the Progressive librarians' Guild and in the summer of 1990 the group, in the first issue of their own *Progressive Librarian* journal declared that the group's purpose will be to:

- Provide a forum for the open exchange of radical views on library issues.
- Conduct campaigns to support progressive and democratic library activities locally, nationally and internationally.
- Defend activist librarians as they work to effect changes in their own libraries and communities.
- Bridge the artificial and destructive gaps between school, public, academic and special libraries, and between public and technical services.
- Encourage debate about prevailing management strategies adopted directly from the business world, to propose democratic forms of library administration.
- Consider the impact of technological change in the library workplace, on the provision of library services.
- Monitor the professional ethics of librarianship from a socially responsible perspective.
- Facilitate contacts between progressive librarians and other professional and scholarly groups dealing with communications worldwide.

Since 1990 there has been an average of two editions of the *Progressive Librarian* published every year and these are archived on the PLG website. According to their website (www.progressivelibrariansguild.org) there are currently, out with the main central organisation of PLG, 17 different local chapters of the organisation, with many of these affiliated to student university organisations. There is no information on the website about membership numbers for PLG, but according to their social media profiles there have 359 followers on Twitter (@PLGCoordCom), and 307 members of the Progressive Librarians group on Facebook. Interestingly the Facebook group is classified as a "closed group" and it is stated within the description of the group you must be a "dues paying member of PLG, a member of a PLG student chapter, or a graduate student of LIS who agrees with our mission statement in order to join this group" (https://www.facebook.com/groups/65731734736/). The significance of this will be discussed later in this paper.

The Progressive Librarians' Guild state that they are both 'inside and outside of the "official" library organisations, in particular the ALA'. They are affiliated with the Social Responsibilities Round Table, or the SRRT, a unit within the American Library Association (ALA) that promotes the "social responsibility as a core value of librarianship" and "a more progressive agenda" (SRRT website). The Progressive Librarians' Guild is also closely affiliated to Radical Reference a group of politicised archivists who state that they 'support activist communities, progressive organisations, and independent journalists by providing research support, education and access to information' (www.radicalreference.info).

For the Progressive Librarians' two key figures in LIS critical theory are Henry Giroux and Paolo Freire, especially Freire's seminal 'Pedagogy of the Oppresed'. Freire, a Brazilian educator published his tome in 1968 and he was heavily influenced by Marx. Giroux wrote of Freire's work that:

'One of the fundamental tasks of educators is to make sure that the future points the way to a more socially just world, a world in which critique and possibility – in conjunction with the values of reason, freedom and equality – function to alter the grounds upon which life is lived" (Gregory & Higgins ed. 2012 p. xii).

The pursuit of social justice through librarianship is a key aim for the progressive librarian movement.

Radical Librarians' Collective

The Radical Librarians' Collective was formed in 2013 when a group of 'like-minded radicals' got together through a shared concern that 'neo-liberal and managerialist attitudes are now prevalent within the library and information workspaces' and that RLC aims to 'galvanise our collective solidarity against the marketization of libraries'. Their website, from which these quotes were taken (rlc.radicallibrarianship.org) is less developed than the PLG's for obvious reasons, but there are good links to 38 different affiliated 'radical libraries' across the UK and some thoroughly researched recommended reading lists of works that promote a wide range of radicalist-influenced literature. The RLC has also started its own peer-reviewed journal 'The Journal of Radical Librarianship' and, although this is newly established and not much has been published yet, it has committed to publishing articles in the following (by no means exhaustive) subject headings: 'Information Literacy', 'Politics and Social Justice', 'Scholarly Communication', 'Equality and Diversity', 'Library History', 'Management and Professionalism', and 'Political Economy of Information and Knowledge'.

Just like the PLG there is no information on the website regarding membership numbers, but, interestingly, they RLC has a much bigger social media presence, in particular on Twitter (1885 followers and 2000+ tweets) and seem to use social media much more to get their message across with regular online discussions taking place on Twitter (#radlibchat). There are also "gatherings" that have taken place once a year since 2013 where interested members can get together and chat in person.

There have been other groups in the UK that have dealt with radical librarian agendas and may have influenced the Radical Librarians Collective. In the 1960s and 70s the Librarians for Social Change had a similar agenda and published a journal also called *Librarians for Social Change.* According to Lowe (1999) the organisation also had links with other radical library groups such as 'Librarians Against Racism and Fascism, Gay Librarians Group, Library Workers Action, Trade Union Librarians Group; & Socialist Library Workers Group" (p. 42). Librarians for Social Change folded in 1986, but the 'Librarians Within the Peace Movement' 'a network that linked librarians, peace libraries and peace organisations' (Lowe p.42) ran from 1989 to 1993. Also, according to the PLG journal the *Progressive Librarian* there was a group that was based in London in the 1990s that called itself 'Avant-garde Librarianship'. The *Progressive Librarian* published their manifesto in 1993 which consisted of twelve rather outlandish statements, the first one being 'Shake in your shoes bureaucrats! The time has come for a realization of the theory-death of the librarian, embodied in the revolutionary struggle for liberation from this odious society' (*Progressive Librarian*, Issue 8, p.79). However, there seems to be virtually no more information about this group and it is unknown if there is any connection with the Radical Librarians' Collective.

A key figure in LIS critical theory for the Radical Librarians' Collective is Louis Althusser and his work 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses' (1970). Althusser, a lifelong Marxist, believed that an individual's behaviour, thoughts, wants and desires are products of social

practice and society is therefore the originator and controller of individuals. In this way individuals can be controlled and manipulated by ideology. The ruling power, or state, 'ensures subjection to the ruling ideology or the mastery of its practice' (Althusser, 1970). The RLC, therefore, see the neoliberal state as a source of sophisticated repression.

2.2 Political Philosophy and Librarianship

The Progressive Librarians' Guild and the Radical Librarians' Collective both talk a lot about the marketization of libraries and the increasing influence of neo-liberalism. These terms owe more to political philosophy than to standard library practice. Of course, the politicisation of information and, therefore, libraries, is very much the core issue of the radical librarian movement. Therefore, in order to fully understand their viewpoint, it is necessary to briefly look at an overview of the relevant political philosophies that inform this debate.

The history of political philosophy is, of course, long with a myriad amount of branches and roots which influence different ideas interconnectedly. It would be too long and convoluted therefore to look at each philosophers who has influenced every radical activist. In fact, all philosophers have their contradictions and so radical movements seem to have taken different ideas from different thinkers. Therefore the purpose of this section is to look only briefly at the thinkers who either directly influenced radical political thought in the United Kingdom or the United States, or who had an identifiable influence over the creation of Public Libraries.

As a succinct way of opening this section on political thought it is relevant to begin by considering Jonathon Wolff's (2006) statement that 'it has been said that there are only two questions in political philosophy: "who gets what?", and 'says who?"' (p.1). Although this is, of course, as Wolff recognises, a simplification, it nevertheless relates directly to how radical or progressive librarians may see their role. 'Who gets what' might sound like it refers to material objects or goods, but it could just as easily refer to rights and liberties or access to information and knowledge. If 'who gets what' were rewritten as 'who gets access' (to information) then this would be directly relevant to a key issue for the radical/progressive librarian movement. Indeed, in the internet age, 'who gets access' has become a fundamental moral dilemma for our society. Similarly the concept of 'Says who?', or the principle that we should challenge who has political power and why we let them make decisions for us, is also central to the political activism of the radical/progressive librarian movements. Much of the talk around the control of information that is at the centre of this debate, uses terminology associated with morality and the question of individual human rights versus the needs of the collective. However, there is an added dimension to this debate that lies at the real centre – the question of information as property that can be bought and sold.

The dominant argument in the history of political philosophy, and of particular relevance here, is that of individualism versus collectivism. As individuals we should have the right and freedom to do what we want without interference. However, we clearly need to co-habit, interact and cooperate with others in order to survive, and in doing so we need a set of

rules to do this safely and fairly and we need institutions to carry this out on our behalf. If we have institutions of power then we need people to run them. In the classical age Plato and Aristotle thought that philosophers made the ideal rulers as they enjoyed a combination of: 'good memory, readiness to learn, breadth of vision and grace, and be a friend of truth, justice, courage and self-control' ('The Republic', 1987 p.280). Plato's ideal of a society ruled justly by a small intellectual elite has been extremely influential in western political philosophy. It has been the prevailing model in essence of political structure for over two thousand years – an uneducated or 'blind' (as Plato expressed it) mass is controlled by a small elite group of "clear-sighted" rulers. Sight, meaning intellectual superiority versus darkness or blindness, meaning ignorance and the inability to govern were recurring motifs in Plato's philosophy. In this way the control of, and access to, knowledge has always had huge significance in how power in society is shared.

The model of a small elite ruling over an ignorant mass was able to remain as a stable political structure during the Middle Ages, while society (and economy) remained as a low-mechanised, largely agrarian, state. The elite group would probably be made up of a small feudal system with a king at the top of a pyramidal power structure with multi layers of nobility with decreasing powers and influence the lower down the structure they were. Political control was exercised by ruthless taxation, a tightly controlled monopoly on education and access to information, and petty displays of brute force when required. Essential partners in this were the Church or clergy, as they were very much the custodians of learning. As the lower classes could not read and had no means to access education there was never any way for the status quo to change. It was technology that began to challenge this once solid precipice of power. The invention of Gutenberg's printing press in 1440 started a revolution that, in some ways, is still in progress. The printing press allowed for multiple copies of texts to be created and distributed – and this allowed the rapid spread of ideas in a way that was difficult for the elite to control. This was the true start of the information age and heralded the move from the 'middle ages' to 'modern times'. Bertrand Russell (1965) observes that the era was defined by "the diminishing authority of the church and the increasing authority of science" (p.479). The printing press was particularly influential in the rise of science as it allowed for journals and new research to be distributed widely and rapidly. This began to challenge the role of the church as custodians of knowledge and culture. Bertrand Russell states that: "the culture of modern times is more lay than clerical. States increasingly replace the Church as the governmental authority that controls culture" (p.479). This had a profound impact on the balance of political control in society with the beginning of a move away from what was essentially an information cartel between the clergy and the monarchy. The control of information was absolutely at the heart of this shift.

In terms of the political philosophy after this period there are three philosophers who in the intervening years came to influence the early radical political movements, the development of public services in the 19th Century and radical left wing politics well into the twentieth century. The writings of John Locke, John Stuart Mill, and Karl Marx had a significant influence over both historical and modern radicalism.

John Locke's most influential work 'An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding', published in 1689, anticipated the works of the European Enlightenment because it argued that human knowledge is largely gained through experience. This was the forerunner to the Enlightenment theory of empiricism and had a profound influence on the rise of scientific and rational thought as the prevailing belief system in society. This further helped to undermine the Church's role as sole custodian of knowledge and therefore had a huge influence on the way information and learning was spread and democratised. Locke's view of the role of the state was also influential. Referring to the writings of Locke, Bertrand Russell states that "the first comprehensive statement of liberal philosophy is to be found in Locke" (p.581) and describes Locke as "the most influential, though by no means the most profound of modern philosophers" (p.581). Locke argued that "the liberal state should not seek to impose any particular way of life on its members, but instead should establish a regime of toleration, allowing all members of society to hold their own views on matters of conscience" (Parvin & Chambers, 2012, p.25). Locke argued that, in order to prevent tyranny, there ought to be a separation of powers within society. As Russell (1965) explains: "The doctrine that the legislative, executive, and judicial functions of government should be kept separate is characteristic of liberalism; it arose in England in the course of resistance to the Stuarts and is clearly formulated by Locke" (P.613). Locke then was part of this intellectual and social move away from monarchical, divine-appointed power structures and was extremely influential in the move towards the modern democratic state. Locke had a profound influence therefore on the French Revolution (by proxy through the works of Voltaire), and had a crucial influence on the writing of the American constitution. Locke also inspired many of the political radicals of the 19th Century.

John Stuart Mill and his mentor Jeremy Bentham devised and refined the philosophy called "Utilitarianism" that had a profound impact on the social reformation that took place within the 19th Century. Parvin and Chambers (2012) define it as a 'consequentialist theory. What this means is that, for Utilitarians, the rightness or wrongness of an action is determined by its consequencies' (p.136). Bentham and Mill essentially promoted the idea that 'happiness' was fundamentally good and 'pain' was unquestionably bad, therefore logic dictates that the pursuit of happiness should be the guiding principle of life, and society should be structured and organised to achieve the most happiness. Bentham first established the basic foundation of the theory, but it was his mentee, John Stuart Mill who tried 'to save utilitarianism by recasting it as a more humane, less calculating doctrine' (Sandel, 2010, p. 48). In his most famous work, 'Utilitarianism' Mill defines 'utility' as the 'Greatest Happiness Principle', which 'holds that actions are right in proportion as they tend to promote happiness, wrong as they tend to produce the reverse of happiness' (Mill, 1990, p.257). Although Mills was a lifelong atheist, his vision, resonated strongly with contemporary Christian reformers, particularly British Methodists, with a vision of a society where the 'end of human action' is to act collectively in the pursuit of happiness, or perhaps the eradication of unhappiness, for as many people in society as possible, 'secured to all mankind' (Mill, p.263). The early social reforming culture was heavily linked to the Temperance Movement, a campaign to discourage working people from the evils of drink. This was as much about the wariness authorities felt towards the rapidly expanding population of the urban working

class authorities, as it was moral concern. This national sobriety campaign was influenced by the Methodists, and a stringent moral earnestness was very much the mood of the times. EP Thompson (2002) states, in fact, that "the keynote of the autodidact culture of the [eighteen] Twenties and early Thirties was moral sobriety" (Loc.13857). Thompson goes on to make the point that although the Methodists were rather anti-intellectual in a puritanical way "they can be said to have added an earnestness to the pursuit of information" (loc.13900). The sobriety campaign was two-fold: abstinence from alcohol and the betterment of the self through wholesome reading. This attitude underscored a lot of the social reforming movement of the early 19th Century.

Social reformers became increasingly vocal in society and the government of the day eventually responded to this pressure in order to appease a mass of people it was becoming increasingly wary of: the new urban working class. Locke had established the idea that governments, or states, should not be allowed to have unlimited, unchecked power. This was a recognition that those who governed did not always have the people's interest at heart. John Stuart Mill took this a step further and essentially argued that it is the moral duty of society (represented by government or the state) to prioritise the needs of the population and work for their betterment as this would produce a better, happier society. This was the beginning of the concept, then, of a government that existed to serve the needs of the people.

Karl Marx, is perhaps the thinker that has had the most obvious impact of the trio. Although Marx greatly disagreed with John Stuart Mill, nevertheless Bertrand Russell stated that Marx was an outcome of "the Philosophical Radicals, continuing their rationalism and their opposition to the romantics" (p.748) and that Marx's philosophy was a "blend of Hegel and British economics" (p.749). Marx's work, then, is not really outright philosophy, rather it is a mixture of economic and sociological analysis and theoretical political activism. Calhoun (2013) states that:

"Marxism has shaped the most sustained and influential analyses of popular radicalism, but does not altogether escape the misleading formulation. For all its differences from liberalism, and even in many of its most Hegelian dialectic formulations, it remains an alternative theory of progress" (p.5.

It is this "alternative theory of progress" that has proved to be the most influential with radical politics. Marx's socioeconomic theory that society is organised by the control and distribution of the material means of production and that society is in a constant battle for control over this. Marxism, of course, is heavily linked with the Russian Revolution, the establishment of the Soviet Union and the subsequent Cold War with the US, but it also had a huge influence over radical politics in the UK and US. Marxism influenced the rise of the Trade Union movement and the Labour Parties which continue, it can be argued, to promote left-wing activist politics. Marxism provides a socio-political analysis that seems to continue to resonate with those that see themselves as 'radical'. It has also had a huge influence on the Progressive Librarians' Guild and the Radical Librarians Collective who regularly refer to Marxist theory, such as Althusser's 'Ideological State Apparatus' (1970), referred to earlier.

2.3 19th Century Radical Politics and the 'New Social Movements'

As stated before the 19th Century saw a period of social and political upheaval. There were three major historical influences on this turbulent period, but they all began in the 18th Century: The Enlightenment, The French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution.

The European Enlightenment, with its philosophical roots in the writings of thinkers such as David Hume and Immanuel Kant, ushered in a period of scientific rationalism. Bivens-Tatum (2011) quotes Kant's famous essay from 1784 'An Answer to the Question: What is Enlightenment?': 'Enlightentment is mankind's exit from its self-incurred immaturity. Immaturity is the inability to make use of one's own understanding without the guidance of another' (p.3). Kant urged thinkers to 'Sapere aude!' which translates as 'dare to know!' and this was a powerful challenge to the political and religious orthodoxies of the day, particularly, as Bivens-Tatum (2011) points out that 'for the Enlightenment, knowledge was meant to be shared, not hoarded. The enlightened investigate, examine, debate, publish. Thy do not spread darkness' (p.8). Thus from the Enlightenment emerged the idea that the there is a moral dimension to the dissemination of information. This led to new ideas in how to spread information – for example in 1750 Diderot created the first *Encyclopédie,* an early step in the logic that ultimately saw the formation of a public library system. It is easy to see how this call to openness and rationalism was seen as a dangerous challenge to the political and religious institutions that jealously 'hoarded' information and knowledge as a way to maintain political control over an illiterate population. The European Enlightenment, with key Scottish figures such as David Hume and Adam Smith created a culture where scientific principles and rationalism challenged the orthodoxy of a church/state culture based on faith and a rigid sense of social obedience. By demanding a society based on reason and a respect for individual rights The Enlightenment challenged the divine right to govern that the ruling coalition of church and aristocracy had previously enjoyed. It was inevitable that a clamour for social change was to follow.

Greatly influenced by the principles of the Enlightenment the French Revolution had a profound influence over the whole of Europe and sent shockwaves through the political status quo that existed in the UK. Its influence over the American Revolution and the writing of the Declaration of the Bill of Rights is well documented. However, in the UK the initial reaction was an intellectual battle to try establish the ultimate interpretation of what had happened and how it affected Britain which resulted in the publication of Edmund Burke's 'Reflections of the Revolution in France' and Thomas Paine's 'The Rights of Man'. Calhoun (2013) points out that Burke's Book 'helped to cement a certain view of radicalism as a sort of liberal extremism, overthrowing all social order (p.15). Paine's work, of course, went on to have a great influence over the development of the American Constitution and is still regarded as an important work in radical politics. Both books helped to establish the rather confused notion of the term 'radicalism' today – it can be used to describe something that is highly ethical, egalitarian, emphatic, extreme and also dangerous. How this relates to libraries shall be discussed later.

The desire of working people in the UK to initiate social change in the wake of the French Revolution and the desire of the UK government to avoid extreme social change gave birth

to two separate social movements, both of which had an influence over the development of public libraries. The 19th century was a period of great change socially and this period of social reform saw many of the contemporary institutions relating to public welfare established such as schools, hospitals and libraries. There were many influencing factors that led to this period of grand social investment. The French Revolution had created a fear amongst political institutions as to what the "masses" could do if they came together as a political or revolutionary force, and some of the momentum for social reforming can be seen as ripples, or after shock from that great seismic event. From this reactionary source was to grow what was to become modern Liberalism. This emergent liberalism was hesitant and at times contradictory as Calhoun points out:

 'linkages were made between political freedom of individuals, including a free press, and economic ideas like free trade, or the sanctity of private property…but on the questions of whether political freedom extended to the whole citizenry and whether workers had the right to resist displacement or form unions, their views ranged widely' (p.65)

The next great event, The Industrial Revolution, changed Britain enormously. It was the powerhouse that was fuelled the engine of the British Empire. Merchants and industrialists were moving into foreign territories and exploiting these markets to accrue vast amounts of wealth. There are many parallels between the British government of then and the global financial culture of today. The British were using superior technology, a well-developed military-industrial machine and a nationalist-motivated desire to dominate exploit cheap foreign labour. Indeed, the East India Tea Company, the UK government's own "commercial wing" was essentially a prototype of today's multinational. However, the British Empire had a weakness: it relied on labour at home to create the machinery and infrastructure needed to maintain the empire. Until then Britain had largely been a rural agrarian economy with the vast majority of working people living in small rural locations. The explosive growth of the industrial revolution meant that large numbers of working people moved to urban environments. Arriving in large numbers over a relatively short time scale, these workers were hungry for change and were less accepting of the status quo. The government were frightened by the potential of the workers to become organised and to spread social unrest in general. The early 19th Century saw considerable violence as the authorities tried in vain to squash any sense of rebellion. The poet Shelley writing about one such act of repressive violence which became known as 'The Peterloo Massacre' (where the British government sent in the Hussars against a group of workers campaigning for voters rights) captured the mood in the nation when he wrote in his poem 'The Mask of Anarchy' (Shelley, 1977, p. 76):

<div align="center">

'Shake your chains to earth like dew,

Which in sleep had fallen on you,

Ye are many – they are few"

</div>

The early 19th Century was a time of great instability, therefore, when governments around Europe genuinely feared mass uprisings. Workers began to gather together in organised groups and the early buds of radicalism began to come through the spring soil. This was happening on both sides of the Atlantic. This early radicalisation was motivated more by

economic need than it was the pursuit of grand social justice. The shift to a mechanised economy and production processes saw the rise of factories as the staple employer in local areas and groups of factory workers as well as 'privileged artisans and degraded craftsmen'(Calhoun p.212) came together to form an early radicalised labour movement that was to become known as 'The Chartists'. Although, the Chartists were eventually 'pulled apart by the differences in these groups' (Calhoun p.212) they did lay the foundations of the early Trade Union movement that was to follow. Another aspect of these early Labour movements was that they tried to 'politicize aspects of everyday life' (Calhoun p.264) and this resulted in a broad coalition of interests coming together, including 'Temperance, abolitionism, campaigns for popular education, and perhaps above all, early women's movements' (P.264). Collectively these have become known by historians as the 'New Social Movements'. The impact of all this was the politicization of large groups of people with disparate sets of demands. The battle to supress this was a war that would have to be fought on many fronts, something the empire-building British government and the relatively newly established US Government could ill afford. In the UK this clamour for social reform from organised groups of workers began to be taken treated sympathetically by the Methodist and other Christian reformers mentioned earlier and the pressure on the government increased. Eventually the government relented to pressure by the social reformers in the hope of appeasing the masses. From this rose the great social institutions of today - schools, hospitals, and, ultimately, libraries. It can be seen, therefore, that this great push for social reform was actually born out of a reactionary desire to control a mass of people that the powerful elite greatly feared, rather than a direct link to radicalism. Also it is significant that the influence of a sudden leap forward in technology allowed a limited redistribution of power and wealth that benefited social groups who had previously had no political power or influence to demand change.

The formation of Public Libraries was very much part of this government-sanctioned experiment in social reforming. According to Minto (1932) 'the establishment and growth of the public library may be viewed as part of the great social movement for the spread of knowledge among the poorer classes which took place in the late eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century' (p. 15). Private libraries, and libraries linked to academic institutions has been in existence for a long period of time, but it was the influence of the churches, particularly, according to Minto, the formation of Church of England Sunday Schools and the creation of the so called 'Lancastrian' education system used by the Quakers in the early 19th Century, that created an impetus for educational reform, which in turn created the need for libraries. This reflects the earlier point about utilitarianism having a strong Christian following. The Reform Bill of 1832 created the first grant in aid of education and the creation of schools which in turn, as Minto points out, 'the natural result of the spread of education was the demand for reading matter, which the very few existing libraries that were freely accessible to the public were quite unable to supply' (P. 17/18).

Public libraries had long been established in Italy, France and Germany and there were libraries in every state of the union in America. So there was a feeling amongst parts of the political establishment in England that the UK was seriously lagging behind its European competitors, and worse, its former colonies. It was with a sense of nationalist

competitiveness then, as well as from a desire to continue the experiment in social reformation that sprung the pressure to create a Public Library system for the UK. In 1850 Parliament passed the Public Libraries Act and this was extended to Ireland in 1853 and Scotland in 1854. The act enabled Town Councils to establish libraries and museums, but was limited to towns that had a population that exceeded 10,000. It was passed 'after a long struggle and in the face of opposition hardly credible in the present day' (Minto p. 95). It seems that not everyone thought that libraries should be funded from the public purse. W.R.Aitken (1971) quotes a Scottish MP who 'announced his intention to vote against the bill for he believed 'that it was going to do by Act of Parliament what could be more efficiently done by private enterprise' (p.1). A lot of the anti-library debate seemed to focus on taxation – why should ordinary tax payers pay for something only a few would benefit from. This is an argument that is eerily prescient to modern times. It seems even in 1850 libraries were viewed by some quarters as being expensive and unnecessary luxuries – how little has changed. Opposition to libraries was not just about money. Minto (1932) quotes the minutes of the 1849 select committee looking into public libraries that states (by way of explaining opposition to the formation of publically funded libraries) 'the idea still prevailed that it was a dangerous thing to give education to those who were then described as the lower orders of society….lest they get to know too much' (p.48).

Kelly (1977) argues that the origins of the Public Libraries Act of 1850, and other similar 'reforming measures' owes 'more to the enlightened good will of a sector of the ruling classes than to revolutionary agitation from below' (p.3). Hendry (1974) (actually quoting James H. Wellard) expands on this by stating that the motivating forces on the drive for public libraries were 'philanthropy and civic pride, both attributes strengthened by the humanitarian attitude towards the working classes' (P.5)

It seems then, that the creation of public libraries did not, come out of a great radical social movement led by the masses desperate for social change. Rather it seems that a relatively small wealthy social elite took it upon themselves to try and 'improve' the lot of the ordinary working classes. Perhaps it could be argued that a fear of the radicalisation and politicization of the masses motivated a desire to create some kind of control over the public access to books and learning. This philanthropy or Victorian paternalism could also be seen a way to provide social control over an ignorant mass of people prone to excessive drinking and the potential for violence. There is a subtle undersong of fear in the almost religious way that the wealthy reformers discussed the need to 'educate the masses' – certainly early libraries were careful to stock only morally appropriate books and pamphlets. In America, the early libraries also reflected this culture. Jaeger et al (2013) state that 'local political leaders believed that public libraries could provide a civilising influence on the masses and be a means to shape the populace into adhering to hegemonic social norms' and that libraries were 'supported more or less as alternatives to taverns and streets'.

Jaeger et al (quoting Jones 1993) remark that librarians 'viewed themselves as arbiters of morality' and attempted to be 'social stewards of the population'. This is interesting because although it seems clear that the formation of public libraries did not spring directly from the well of radical politics, there is evidence in the sources quoted of a highly moral, even crusading professional culture that quickly developed amongst the early librarians.

As mentioned earlier, there was a second movement born out of the ripples from the French Revolution –a left-wing radical activism which started with the Chartists, and this would eventually lead to the formation of Trade Unions. It was the Trade Union movement that bridged the social reform movement of the 19th century and the colossal ideological clash between the left-wing radicalised socialist/communist movements and the right-wing capitalist cultures that dominated the 20th Century and beyond.

2.4 Twentieth Century and Contemporary Radical Library Culture

In the first issue of the 'Progressive Librarian', published in 1990, the PLG state that they have chosen to adopt the term 'Progressive' because

'in America it has stood for a whole range of political perspectives, but what we want it to mean is to go back to its roots at the turn of the century, when to be progressive meant to be in favour of people and suspicious of corporations, to be in favour of economic democracy and against monopolies and imperialism'.

Although the editorial develops this further with references to the political activism and radicalism of the 1930s and 1960s, it is the reference to the period at the turn of the century that is the most interesting. It is clear that the PLG identify the role of librarians as crusaders of free speech and rights as being one that has been around for over a hundred years and goes back to the early days of the library services.

In the UK the early twentieth-century saw a rapid expansion in the numbers of Public libraries. It seems, however, that libraries were still viewed with some suspicion as Kelly (1977) states that attitudes towards libraries 'were by no means uniformly favourable' (p.112). One of the reasons for this expansion was the due to the philanthropy of Andrew Carnegie. During the early part of the twentieth-century Carnegie gave funds for some 2800 libraries worldwide, with 'more than half the library authorities in Great Britain, 213 out of 437 in England and Wales and 50 out of 77 in Scotland, had received grants in aid' (Kelly p.117). Whilst this is of course another example of the link between libraries and the philanthropy of the financial elite and not revolutionary or radical politics, the timing of this rapid expansion is significant.

The first two decades of the new century were a time of great growth in left wing political activity and consciousness amongst the working classes. Union membership in both the US and UK steadily increased from 1897 to 1914, but between 1915 and 1920 the union membership of both countries almost doubled. According to Wolman (1937), Union membership in the UK in 1920 stood at 8,348,000 and at 5,048,000 in the US. There was a significant slump after this time between 1920 and 1933 due to the post-war years and the Great Depression. Therefore, just at the same time as the libraries were expanding so were the activity levels and membership of trade unions. Although the libraries and unions had a very different parentage, as discussed earlier, the fact that both enjoyed rapid expansions at the same time has significance for the development of a radical or politically active strand that developed amongst professional librarians. It seems reasonable to suggest that there was a cultural cross-fertilisation between the organisations at this stage. Unions, with a remit to improve the lot of the working individual would almost certainly have encouraged

the use of the resources of the library and the professional expertise of the librarians amongst its members, and perhaps at this point a number of librarians became politicised by seeing increasing numbers of union members using the library as a resource. The women's suffrage movement, very active during this period, was probably also an early influence in developing a radical strand in early librarianship as libraries, like education, traditionally have employed far more women than men. However, it is the linkage with the Trade Union movement that is the most interesting.

There is a certain amount of conjecture with this, of course, but if one considers the global events that would have directly affected or at least registered with an increasingly aware and politicised working class during this period then it is difficult to see how the profession of librarianship would have remained entirely neutral. Between 1900 and 1939, the politically active working individual would have seen three revolutions in Russia (1905 and two in 1917), the First World War (1914-1919), The Great Depression (1929-1936), The Rise of Fascism in Italy (1922-1945), the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) and the rise of Hitler (1933-1945). This was a tumultuous time when events of huge political significance were happening without any real end. The PLG quote referenced earlier regarding the political activism at the turn of the twentieth century 'in favour of people….against monopolies and imperialism' could easily be interpreted as a reference to trade union activism.

The Progressive Librarians' Council, a forerunner of the PLG, was established in 1939 and ran until the late 1940s. It had a 'pacifist outlook' and 'took such action by sending a letter to President Roosevelt in which he was urged to avoid bringing the United States into war' (McReynolds 1991). The group, according to McReynolds, also raised funds for Spanish Loyalists exiled in France after the Spanish Civil War. The fate of the organisation, which made frequent 'jabs at the ALA', forms an interesting bridge into the second half of the twentieth century. In 1949 they were called before the House Committee on Un-American Activities and their careers were ruined.

The first part of the twentieth century had seen a rise in left-wing political activity globally and perhaps the roots of the radicalist strand of librarianship being cultivated. If the first half of the century had been about open protest and debate then the second half was very different. An event that took place in the same time period just referred to had huge significance for the debate about global politics – the rapid industrialisation of the Soviet Union under Stalin. This eventually established the USSR as a global superpower, enabled Stalin to grab a vast amount of land after the Second World War, and, in the US, ushered in the age of McCarthyism and the rise of the neo-liberal corporate political culture of the late twentieth century. McCarthyism's paranoia impacted on global politics in several ways. It created a fear and loathing for left-wing political thought that has never quite gone away in the US. It repressed debate about government policies concerning national security. It also inadvertently encouraged the rise of the huge multi-national companies that allowed America to dominate economically and territorially (this allowed the US to broaden its political sphere of influence in exchange for cheap international labour and lucrative foreign trade markets). It is the battle for global political freedom and economic fairness in the wake of these events that are the issues of most concern to the radical librarian movement.

The latter part of the twentieth century then has been an ideological battleground between what emerged from the political culture of the US in the 1950s and 1960s: 'Neo-liberalism' and 'Communitarianism' and this is a battle that the PLG and the Radical Librarians' Collective see themselves as active participants in. Fredman and Doughney (2011) state that 'Neo-liberals advocate a return to the ideas of neo-classical economics, such as a thorough-going individualism and the inherent efficiency of the marketized provision of most if not all goods and services" (pp.44). Enright (2013) states that 'by asserting the primacy of capital, neoliberalism subverts political forms, social structures and economic arrangements, by subordinating all areas of social life to the rule of capital' (Gregory & Higgins ed. p. 15) .According to Noam Chomsky (1999) neoliberalism 'refers to the policies and processes whereby a relative handful of private interests are permitted to control as much as possible of social life in order to maximise profit' (p.7). The Neoliberalists policies of greatly reduced state-delivered services, lower taxation and the marketization of goods and services was championed by Friedrich Hayek and Milton Friedman and were very influential over the economic and social policies of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan. It is Reagan's neoliberalist influenced policy of selling off public housing stock in the US in the 1980s that is seen as one of the root causes of the global financial crash of 2008. Critics of neoliberalism say that it is a policy that has terrible social consequences for the poor in society. Chomsky states that the economic consequences of neoliberalism have produced 'a massive increase in social and economic inequality, a marked increase in severe deprivation for the poorest nations, a disastrous global environment, an unstable global economy, and an unprecedented bonanza for the wealthy' (p.8).

Neoliberalism, then, is a highly controversial social and political philosophy that attempts to actually encourage state intervention in both society and the marketplace in order to maximise the rights of the individual, especially the right for individuals to make huge profits. The counter argument to neoliberalism emerged in the 1980s: communitarianism. Communitarianism, championed by philosophers Michael Sandel and Alasdair MacIntyre, argues against the strand of liberalism that saw individualism and individual rights placed above everything else. Parvin and Chambers (2012) state that Communitarianism 'emerged as a critique of liberalism and libertarianism. It is the view that, by emphasising individual freedom, liberalism and libertarianism undermine the shared sense of identity which people need in order to function as a society (p.205). Wolff (2006) expands on this by arguing that, contrary to liberalist belief 'we are thoroughly social beings, and that our identities and self-understandings are bound up with the communities in which we are placed' (p.130). Wolff argues that this viewpoint expresses a form of 'positive liberty' as opposed to the 'negative liberty' (p.131) definition assumed by liberals. Communitarians believe, essentially, because of our interconnectedness, attempts to organise society to prioritise a small elite will only rebound to harm everyone and, therefore, the interests of the small elite are bound up with the interests of everyone else. It is a philosophy that promotes a vision of cooperation and political, economic and social responsibility. The communitarianism philosophy has been extremely influential over the rise of the Occupy and the Anti-globalisation movements, of which Naomi Klein, quoted earlier, is an active supporter. Michael Sandel in his book 'Justice: What's the Right Thing to Do?' observes that inequality has grown in recent years,

yet is not seen as a priority issue by US politicians. Sandel believes that focusing on the civic consequences of inequality, and ways of reversing them, might find political traction that arguments about income distribution as such do not' (2010,p.268). Sandel calls for open dialogue and debate about the social and economic issues society faces argues that a 'politics of moral engagement is not only a more inspiring ideal than a politics of avoidance. It is also a more promising basis for a just society' (p. 269).

So how are librarians affected by the philosophical battle between the Neoliberals and the Communitarians? Librarians are impacted in a number of ways. Firstly, the reduction in state-run services advocated by neoliberals (and implemented in the wake of the 2008 economic crash) have placed the very existence of public libraries under threat. Also, the rise of the internet in the late 1990s, has created a social revolution, but a revolution that has been spearheaded by private companies who wish to turn information into a commodity that can be traded for profit. For many years Librarianship has been a profession that has worked to a strict ethical code, as set out by the National Codes established by the formation of the great professional library institutions of the 19th Century and further developed by SR Ranganathan's 'Five Laws of Library Science' in 1931. Now the profession faces the scenario where private companies trade information for profit via the internet. Companies like Google and Facebook have heralded in a huge change in information seeking behaviour through seductive technology, but, for radical librarians, questions remains about the ethical integrity of what they deliver. Another major area of concern for librarians is a perceived erosion of democratic principles and individual human rights in the age of the internet. There is a lot of discussion in the journals of the Progressive Librarians' Guild and the Radical Librarians Website about 'democracy'. The protection of free speech and democratic principles is a key area of concern for Radical librarians as will be seen in the research section.

2.5 What is Radicalism?

As Calhoun stated earlier radicalism is a difficult concept to define as 'ideas radical at one point could be merely liberal or even conservative at another' (p.5). Radicalism as a political ideology does not exist independently, like 'socialism' or 'communism', rather the term is used as a way to describe the interaction between an ideological orthodoxy and a group of individuals who feel extreme disengagement from that norm. In this sense the term is almost adjectival and denotes attitudinal perspective rather than a fixed ideological viewpoint. So-called 'Radical' movements often consist of very small groups of people (The Progressive Librarians' Council only had a maximum of 250 members across the entire US in the 1940s) and are often personality-led with a small group, or even an individual running the whole show. This means that the group's identity is often vulnerable should the individual(s) move on to something else. (In 1986 the Librarians for Social Change "bit the dust" because the 'journal editor and mainstay moved to Australia' (Vogel, 1991).

Another difficulty in defining 'Radicalism' is that it can be used as a way of representing a kind of obstinate commitment to disagreement. Parvin and Chambers (2012) state that 'Radical or antagonistic democracy retains the notion of active deliberation, but rejects the idea that it is possible, or even desirable, for diverse groups and individuals to reach

agreement on political or moral questions'(p.9). An example of this is seen in the PLG statement made in 1997 entitled "PLG: Why We Keep Going" which states that the 'PLG, as it was originally conceived is still today both inside and outside of the "official" library organisations' and that 'we are the (self-styled) "left-wing" of the SRRT [Social Responsibilities Round Table]'. This is seems like a badge of honour for the organisation and there is a sense of "outsider pride" in this. Existing on the periphery is an important of their identity.

Schema

The following, therefore, is a schema of attributes relating to the concept of 'organisational radicalism'. As such there is no attempt to define 'radicalism' in terms of fixed ideology for reasons already discussed. Rather it is an attempt to list the behavioural attributes and attitudinal perspectives that are commonly found with groups or individuals that position themselves as 'radical'. For this schema the use of the term 'Radical' incorporates the term 'Progressive' as, for the purposes of this study, they are considered as meaning the same thing. Therefore:

- 'Radical' is used as a way to emphasise the need for change.
- The use of the term 'Radical' indicates a perception that change needs to be rapid.
- 'Radical' is used to indicate the need for a significant change in direction or a change in an underlying philosophy.
- However, it is often the case that when the term 'Radical' is used the change is not made specific or clearly defined.
- 'Radical' is often used to emphasise stringent opposition to a prevailing and powerful orthodoxy.
- 'Radical' implies a left-leaning ideological perspective, but this often remains undefined.
- 'Radical' is often used to express the difficulty or impossibility of consensus on a range of ideological points.
- 'Radical' can also have an emotional emphasis.

It is clear from the above schema that often there is no defined ideological viewpoint that the radical organisation can be defined by. Rather it is often the case that the group functions as a form of 'Protest Group' whereby the main thrust of activity is criticise and campaign against the activities of a larger "parent" organisation. This kind of group is very common on the margins of left-wing politics. For example, in the 1980s in the UK the Trotskyist 'Workers Revolutionary Party' split and formed various groups including 'Workers Press', 'Workers International League' (which evolved into 'Workers Action'), 'The International Communist Party' (which became the 'Socialist Equality Party') (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Workers_Revolutionary_Party_(UK). This culture of factionalism can be very common on the fringes of mainstream political activity. However, it must be said that the Progressive Librarians' Guild has had a stable existence since 1990. If it differs from more mainstream groups even in only a small way (such as the SRRT, part of the ALA), then it has remained committed to exploring these differences with admirable

consistency. As Samek stated the radical/progressive librarian movement consists of a fluid continuum rather than a fixed ideological point. Similarly, The Radical Librarians' Collective although still a relatively new organisation, which remains structurally a little undefined, appears to be striving for a broad 'rainbow' policy.

With this schema as a tool of measurement it is now time to look at the output of the Progressive Librarians' Guild and to analyse the content of their journal articles for recurring themes and patterns. The research section will employ both quantitative and qualitative analyses.

3. Methodology

The purpose of this part of this paper is to focus on the research output of the Progressive Librarians' Guild by looking at the content of their journal, the *Progressive Librarian,* and to measure whether or not the content of the journal reflects the group's "Statement of Purpose" referred to earlier. The reason there is a focus solely on the content of the Progressive Librarians' Guild and not of the Radical Librarians' Collective is that the Progressive Librarians' Guild is a much more established organisation that has been producing measurable output on a regular basis since 1990. The Radical Librarians' Collective has only been in existence since 2013 and has only just started producing their own journal articles. However, there will be points in the research that will be relevant to both organisations and comment will be made on these points where relevant.

Between 1990 and 2014 the PLG produced 35 issues of the *Progressive Librarian* journal. These seem to have been made with a consistent editorial team and a small group of regular contributors. All the issues of the journal are freely available to read or download on the PLG website (www.progressivelibrariansguild.org). The methodology used to analyse the content of the journal comprised a textual analysis using textual analysis software and manually reading every journal article in order to attain a deeper understanding of content and context. Where appropriate articles were read and evaluated on an individual basis, as well as being evaluated collectively with the other articles in each issue. Issues were analysed individually as well as grouped together in units of 5 issues in order to look at comparative trends.

On a technical note the back issues of the *Progressive Librarian* had been archived on the PLG website in the form of a scanned PDF format. This meant that in order to be analysed by text analysis software they had to be converted into a Plain Text format. In order to do this each issue of the journal was downloaded and saved in its original format. Then each issue was converted into a Plain Text format using free online software on the website www.online-convert.com.

The analysis of the journal articles was developed in three distinct stages:

1. An analysis of each journal article by searching for the frequency of specific target words using the taporware online analysis tool (http://taporware.ualberta.ca/~taporware/.), and a comparison with the overall themes and trends running through the journals as a collective body of work. Taporware is a set of text analysis tools that enables users to perform text analysis on HTML, XML, and plain text files.
2. An analysis of the percentages of positive emotions and negative emotions expressed, and the number of "big Words" (6 letters or more) in the each journal article…..using the Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count tool online programme (http://www.liwc.net/) and a comparison with the themes and trends running through the journals as a collective body of work.
3. An analysis of the actual content of each individual journal article to ascertain whether each article could be categorised using the following criteria:

1) Library-related political activism (domestic)
2) Library-related political activism (international)
3) Non-library related political activism (domestic)
4) Non-library related political activism (international)
5) Non-political library-related (domestic)
6) Non-political library-related (international)

Notes on Target Word analysis

The following words were selected for target words analysis using the taporware online tool: 'Political', 'Radical', 'Progressive', 'Freedom', 'Activism' and 'Neo-liberal'. These words were selected as it was felt that they best represented the editorial ethos of the journal, but also of the wider strategic focus of the organisation gleaned from a broad reading of the journal articles. Some of the words were taken from the PLG's 'Statement of Purpose' referenced earlier, but not exclusively. There is therefore an element of arbitrariness about their selection, however, it is hoped that they are reflective of the culture of the PLG and by measuring their frequency, increasing or decreasing over the years, then some measurement of where the articles placed their focus can be attained. The term 'Neo-liberal' has a specific reason for inclusion as it was a phrase that was becoming increasingly common in the later journal articles and was a phrase that the Radical Librarians' Collective have very much focused on since their inception. This part of the research was carried out on an issue by issue basis rather than looking at individual articles.

Notes on Positive Emotions, Negative Emotions and "Big Words" Analysis

The purpose of this section was to, firstly, analyse the percentages of specific words or terms that register as 'positive' or 'negative'. Once again this was done by looking at each journal issue as a whole rather than individual articles. This was then measured against a standardised average that the LIWC tool uses for standard texts. Thus it is possible to measure an article's positive or negative content against a recognised standard or average. This is important as it might be expected that an organisation whose entire identity is about fighting for positive change ought to have an emphatic use of language to get their message across. As an addition to this section the software also measured the percentage of "big words" used (ie words of more than 6 letters). Again this was considered important as it might help identify whether overly complicated language is being employed. In order to create some context the most recent edition of the ALA's own journal was downloaded from their website (www.ala.org) and analysed with the same tools for comparison

Notes on Content Analysis

For this section it was decided not to use software, but to manually read each article to provide a more in-depth analysis of content and context. Each article was read and the main area of focus was identified. The reason for this was to ascertain whether there are patterns in the specific areas that the journals have focused on and whether these have changed over the years. For example, has there been a greater focus on international activism than domestic library policy and practice? Has there been a recognisable trend in the prevalence of this? Each article was also rated as to whether the tone was predominantly 'critical',

'positive' or 'neutral'. This was in order to dig a little deeper than the emotion content referred to earlier and to try and determine whether an organisation that campaigns for positive change uses a positive, negative or neutral tone to do this. There are some specific notes regarding this section:

1. The table of contents were used to identify individual articles as being distinct from one another (sometimes the editing does not make this clear). For example, sections 'headed 'Documents' were assessed as a whole rather than looking at individual documents as that is how they appeared in the table of contents.
2. Where there was an identified "Editorial" this was included for analysis as this gave a distinct and measurable opinion on something, but where there was an "Introduction" this was not included as it only set out what was to come.
3. PLG's 'Statement of Purpose' was only analysed once as it appears in every issue
4. 'Suggested Reading' lists and 'Notes on Contributors' were not included for analysis
5. Book reviews were included for analysis as they were usually texts that reflected editorial thinking.

4 Textual analysis of 'Progressive Librarians' Guild Journal' 1990 – 2014

4.1 Target words results: (number instances of each word per issue)

Table 1:

Issue	Political	radical	neoliberal	progressive	freedom	Activism
1	24	4	0	16	25	1
2	33	6	0	32	23	2
3	21	3	0	16	12	0
4	37	6	0	7	3	0
5	18	5	0	40	9	0
6/7	30	21	0	53	3	0
8	19	16	0	61	17	4
9	12	3	0	31	28	0
10/11	26	4	0	18	33	3
12/13	8	2	0	101	58	0
14	11	1	0	73	10	0
15	32	17	0	106	25	3
16	44	18	5	101	12	3
17	69	33	0	115	12	4
18	83	1	0	99	13	2
19/20	63	6	0	165	97	4
21	18	0	1	93	3	0
22	18	3	0	111	41	13
23	54	13	3	123	32	2
24	49	4	0	84	4	2
25	36	2	0	138	75	2
26	23	3	0	111	17	0
27	35	3	0	106	8	0
28	64	10	0	163	35	2
29	33	2	20	126	32	2
30	74	19	0	151	21	14
31	29	2	1	165	56	2
32	29	4	0	135	24	5
33	7	0	0	112	7	0
34/35	31	9	3	174	17	7
36/37	66	24	1	151	21	10
38/39	42	10	0	175	12	2
40	61	13	6	35	42	4
41	48	0	18	68	35	5
42	27	10	6	53	94	1
Average per issue	36.4	7.9	1.82	94.5	27.6	2.65

Target words results over groups of 5 issues

Table 2:

Issues	Political	Radical	Neoliberal	Progressive	Freedom	Activism
1-5 (1990-1992)	26.6	4.8	0	22.2	14.4	3
6-13 (1993-1997)	19	9.2	0	52.8	27.8	7
14-18 (1998-2001)	47.8	14	1	98.8	14.4	12
19-24 (2002-2004)	40.4	5.2	0.8	115.2	35.4	21
25-29 (2004-2007)	38.2	4	4	128.8	33.4	6
30-35 (2007-2009)	34	6.8	0.8	147.4	25	28
36-42 (2010-2014)	48.8	11.4	6.2	96.4	40.8	22

Analysis

In some ways the results above are quite predictable – the journal scores relatively highly in the areas that you would expect. However there are several points worth looking at in a little more depth.

- The journal scores consistently highly for the use of the word 'progressive' this is something that was expected from the outset as it is in the name of the organisation.
- In contrast the journal scores a lot lower for the use of the word 'radical'. This may be because the editors and contributors have elected to use the word 'progressive' instead when they mean 'radical' (as it's a more positive sounding word perhaps), but it could also be that despite setting themselves up to promote 'radical views on librarianship' this does not mean there is an adherence or commitment to a formal definition of radicalism. There may even be a reluctance or hesitation to use it too often.
- The journal scored extremely highly for the use of the term 'political' and in fact in the analysis of the journals organised into groups of 5 then one can see that there was an above average use of the term 'political' in 4 out of the 6 groups. This

demonstrates that this is a professional organisation that is unusually focused on the political arena.

- The word 'freedom' scores consistently highly as expected from an organisation that promotes 'democratic library activities' and is very focused on the principles of free speech. Interestingly, however, it does not score as highly as 'political', perhaps indicating that there is more of a focus in the journal on the mechanics of the political struggle rather than on the ethical or moral dimension.

- The use of the term 'Neoliberalism' has significantly grown in use over the output, albeit latterly. There was no mention of it at all in issues 1-15, and it appeared for the first time in issue 16 which came out in 1999. The political administration of George W. Bush, widely associated with the term 'neoliberalism' was not elected until 2000. This demonstrates that political commentators were already using the term before the Bush administration, but also demonstrates that the contributors to the 'Progressive Librarian' were highly tuned to changing political trends.

- There has been an upward trend in the use of the term 'activism' over the output. If one compares the first 10 issues with the last 10 issues then it is clear that that is a word that has doubled its significance. This points to an organisation where the promotion of political activism has become increasingly important.

Overall these results were expected but the target words analysis has demonstrated just how much focus there is in the journal on the political arena – this is an organisation that seems to be highly political in its and is becoming increasingly focused on activism within that culture.

4.2 Emotional Content results

Table 3:

	Your Data	Personal Texts	Formal Texts	Your Data	Personal Texts	Formal Texts	
1	1.59	2.7	2.6	1.01	2.6	1.6	28.71
2	2.05	2.7	2.6	0.88	2.6	1.6	30.90
3	1.54	2.7	2.6	0.57	2.6	1.6	27.28
4	1.67	2.7	2.6	1.10	2.6	1.6	30.40
5	2.15	2.7	2.6	1.20	2.6	1.6	27.90
6/7	2.06	2.7	2.6	0.96	2.6	1.6	28.86
8	1.30	2.7	2.6	0.74	2.6	1.6	29.97
9	2.04	2.7	2.6	1.02	2.6	1.6	30.00
10/11	1.78	2.7	2.6	0.91	2.6	1.6	28.75
12/13	1.97	2.7	2.6	0.85	2.6	1.6	30.16
14	2.03	2.7	2.6	0.72	2.6	1.6	30.51
15	1.63	2.7	2.6	0.77	2.6	1.6	30.08
16	1.90	2.7	2.6	1.08	2.6	1.6	28.63
17	1.86	2.7	2.6	0.77	2.6	1.6	28.34
18	2.07	2.7	2.6	0.77	2.6	1.6	28.88
19/20	1.70	2.7	2.6	0.64	2.6	1.6	28.56

21	1.39	2.7	2.6	0.96	2.6	1.6	29.58
22	1.84	2.7	2.6	0.87	2.6	1.6	28.64
23	1.94	2.7	2.6	1.08	2.6	1.6	28.51
24	1.64	2.7	2.6	1.21	2.6	1.6	26.89
25	1.87	2.7	2.6	0.82	2.6	1.6	30.32
26	1.59	2.7	2.6	1.17	2.6	1.6	28.3
27	1.42	2.7	2.6	0.58	2.6	1.6	31.59
28	1.78	2.7	2.6	0.80	2.6	1.6	30.28
29	1.83	2.7	2.6	0.86	2.6	1.6	30.76
30	1.82	2.7	2.6	0.67	2.6	1.6	29.04
31	1.42	2.7	2.6	0.66	2.6	1.6	24.15
32	1.74	2.7	2.6	0.65	2.6	1.6	31.62
33	1.62	2.7	2.6	0.52	2.6	1.6	30.22
34/35	1.76	2.7	2.6	0.75	2.6	1.6	30.24
36/37	1.73	2.7	2.6	0.62	2.6	1.6	32.22
38/39	1.87	2.7	2.6	0.81	2.6	1.6	28.9
40	1.69	2.7	2.6	0.86	2.6	1.6	30.72
41	1.90	2.7	2.6	0.69	2.6	1.6	30.76
42	1.88	2.7	2.6	0.69	2.6	1.6	30.97
Average	1.77	2.7	2.6	0.81	2.6	1.6	29.47
ALA June 2015	2.35	2.7	2.6	0.41	2.6	1.6	26.73

Analysis

The analysis of the emotional content of the journals has thrown up some interesting and somewhat unexpected results. From the outset it was clear that the 'Progressive Librarian' was a journal that dealt with emotive topics so it would be expected, therefore, that this would be reflected in the emotional content of their journals. If one considers again the PLG's Statement of Purpose referenced earlier it is written in fairly emotional language with the use of words such as 'defend', destructive', 'encourage', 'support' 'progressive' that help to set the emotional tone of, what is in essence, the PLG's vision statement. According to Evans and Alire (2013): 'A good vision statement is articulate, compelling, exciting and challenging.' (p.92). The Statement of Purpose does a reasonable job of being 'exciting and challenging', but does the actual content of the journals follow suit? It might be expected that an organisation whose core activity is promoting fundamental change would score significantly in emotional content in one of 3 different ways, depending on the editorial tone of its publications, namely:

1. Score highly for positive content and low for negative content indicating an optimistic and solution—focused, co-operative culture.
2. Score highly for negative content and low for positive content indicating a more critical culture that was more about challenging prevailing orthodoxies and was less solution focused

3. Score highly for both indicating a culture or tone that was both optimistic and solution-focused, but also comfortable being openly critical and challenging of prevailing orthodoxies.

It is interesting, therefore, that the 'Progressive Librarian' scores low for both positive and negative content. This is really surprising as, based on the readings of the individual journal articles, it was expected that the emotional content would probably be measured as being negative. The journal never exceeds the average figure provided by the Linguistic Inquiry and Word Tool software for comparison which states that a personal text will have an average positive content of 2.7% and 2.6% for negative content, whilst formal texts have an average of 2.6% for positive content and 1.6% negative content. In fact the average scores for the journals – 1.77% for positive content and 0.81% for negative content is significantly lower than the LIWC average.

The fact that it has scored lower for both positive and negative emotions is, undoubtedly, an issue for the PLG. It seems to suggest that the tone of the journals is too flat and avoids overtly positive or negative language. It seems a strange approach for an organisation that is promoting either fundamental progressive change or is staunchly defending established culture and practice from unwanted change and threat. In order to create some informal context for these figures the latest edition of the American Library Association journal was put through the same software with the same methodology. Whilst it is not possible to compare the analysis for formal research (as that would have involved analysing every ALA journal published over the same time scale), nevertheless, if an informal comparison is made between the average figures for the 'Progressive Librarian' and the most recent edition of the ALA journal then it is clear that the ALA scores significantly higher for positive content and lower for negative content, indicating a much more positive editorial tone.

The average scores provided may also suggest that there is an over use of jargon or technical language which would be measured neutrally. This is backed up, in some way, by the statistics of the 'big words' analysis where the software searched for words that have six or more letters. The 'Progressive Librarian' has an average of 29.47% of words 6 letters or more which is a statistically high figure. There seems to be a growing trend towards using bigger words, 7 out of the last 10 issues have had an above average number of words with 6 letters or more, compared to only 5 out of 10 for the previous 10 issues, or 5 out of 10 for the first 10 issues. Again by comparing, informally, with the ALA journal there is a significant difference with the ALA registering an average of only 26.73%. Again this is suggestive of a publication that is more positive in tone and, ultimately more readable.

This is not a comment at this stage on the quality of the intellectual content of the 'Progressive Librarian', but rather is an attempt to look at how language use and tone may influence how effectively a message is communicated. There will be a more in depth look at the content in the next section. To summarise this section textual analysis of the 'Progressive Librarian' suggests that the PLG is an organisation that is highly political in its outlook and has become more politicised over the years, however it may have an issue with the way in which the political message is presented and defined.

4.3 Analysis of general themes and trends

As stated before, the purpose of this part of the research was to look at each issue of the Progressive Librarian (35 individual issues but numbered 1-42 due to double issues) and to reflect on the content of each volume. The intention was to analyse the particular area of focus for each article and consider what kind of tone the contributor used to convey the message (see 'methodology'). What follows immediately is a brief summary of the content and themes of the issues in the journals when grouped into the units of five previously discussed in this research. Then there will be a statistical breakdown of the thematic analysis of the journal's output.

Issues 1- 5

The first five issues of the *Progressive Librarian* were very much about establishing the identity of the journal. The early volumes set the pattern and tone of what was to come in later issues. There was a clear editorial focus on global political issues, some with a librarianship emphasis, some not. There was also a lot of interest shown on the social and political issues of developing countries. There were a large number of quite direct criticisms of ALA policy or practice, including direct criticism of named ALA employees. The message that was established from the start is that this is a publication that has a broad focus and is concerned with big global and political issues. For example, in Issue 2 Henry T. Blanke (*Progressive Librarian* co-editor at the time) writes that, regarding the increasing commercialism of information management, 'libraries are in the vortex of these developments and their response, whether acquiescence, accommodation, or resistance will have impact not only on the future of the profession, but on the future of democracy as well' (P.10). This is a very strongly worded argument but although the claim that the changing practice within librarianship might have serious repercussions for the whole of democracy might sound hyberbolic to some, it is nevertheless quite typical of the tone of these early issues. Elsewhere in issue 2 the organising committee of the PLG issued a statement stating opposition to the conflict in the Middle East at the time which says that: 'as socially responsible professionals in the field of librarianship we demand that the troops be brought home now' (P.47). Again these are strong words, but some may question whether expressing what is clearly an overt political statement in the context of 'socially responsible professionals' is actually relevant to the profession. It could be argued that being so overtly partisan within a professional context may actually undermine professional credibility.

Issues 6-13

The recurring theme that seemed to run through issues 6-13 was the issue of librarianship struggling with its own identity in the wake of rapid technological change. Articles on this topic were overwhelmingly negative. In issue 6/7 John Buschman writes 'the current trajectory of our profession and our institutions is the primary vehicle behind the shift towards aligning libraries with the technological and corporate agenda to the detriment of libraries' role as critical and democratic spheres' (p. 16). This was a fairly typical viewpoint – technology = corporations + commercialisation = bad. There was only one article in all the five issues that argued that technology could enhance the information professional's role. In

issue 12/13 Philip Agre argued that technology could help 'build the interconnected pluralistic society we so badly need' (p.5). The articles that looked at global issues again tended to focus on librarianship in developing countries. There were some interesting articles in Issue 8 about the German library system and how it changed after unification between East and West. Issue 8 also demonstrated a very strange editorial policy with a considerable amount of pages devoted to Surrealism which included a 25 page, 200 item bibliography on the topic. As this has absolutely nothing to do with library policy or practice and has no discernible political context it is baffling to understand the editorial decision to devote such a large part of the journal to it.

Issues 14-18

Issues 18-14 of the *Progressive Librarian* continued to be dominated by the theme of technology and libraries, but there seemed to be a broadening out of the argument. In Issue 14 Karen Coyle wrote a very interesting article about the "information highway". In it she asks the question 'how much of what is on the Net today will exist in any form ten years from now?' the argues about the need to try and archive online information systematically warning that 'the commercial world, of course, will preserve only that which sells best' (p. 25). She finished up by saying 'rather than letting the technology determine what culture we can have, we need to decide what culture we want the technology to support' (p.33). This was the most balanced look at the issue of technology the journal has published so far. In issue 15 Sandy Iverson touched on the subject of librarian neutrality – a key issue for the Progressive and Radical librarian movement – and quoted Henry Blanke's quote that 'librarianship's reluctance to define its values in political terms and to cultivate a sense of social responsibility may allow it to drift into an uncritical accommodation with society's dominant political and economic powers' (p. 15). Also in issue 15 there were some interesting accounts of the equivalent progressive librarian organisations in Sweden, Germany, Austria and the UK. The tone of these articles was very positive, however, they were essentially self-promoting accounts as there was no comment or context given by the *Progressive Librarian* to validate them.

Issues 19-24

Issues 19-24 showed a real change of focus away from global issues and much more on domestic political issues. This is not surprising as issue 19/20 was published in 2002 – a year after 9/11. There is a lot of open debate in these issues regarding the kind of stance that the PLG should be making in the wake of 9/11. In Issue 19/20 there was a really interesting open exchange from two members of the editorial team. John Buschman argued that it was time for PLG to start focusing their official output on more library specific issues as, for example, librarians making large statements against wars was 'meaningless' (p.77) and observes 'the Left's compulsion to always have a position on everything'(p.77). To counter this Mark Rosenweig argued that it was the 'duty of intellectuals' to challenge 'the roots of American foreign policy and the effects of its hegemony' (p. 83). Elsewhere there was a lot of focus on librarianship in Cuba. There is an interesting contradiction with the PLG stance on Cuba. Early issues of the 'Progressive Librarian' published during the Cultural embargo of South Africa are unflinchingly and rigidly in support of the boycott as it is seen as the only way to

topple a corrupt government and free a long repressed people. However, the PLG stance with Cuba is to argue the opposite. The editorial line is very much that it is time for the US government to end the boycott and for librarians to visit Cuba and work with Cuban libraries. Both have autocratic rigid and repressive regimes so why the completely different viewpoints? Perhaps because Cuba's oppressive regime is a left-wing one then the PLG condemns it with less certainty and commitment. There is also an interesting article in issue 23, written by Mark Rosenweig that gently flirts with Marx by suggesting that Marxism could provide a set of foundation values for librarians to use and states that 'Libraries are, in essence socialism in action' (p.63). What is fascinating here is the coyness with which it is written. It is clear from reading so many volumes of the 'Progressive Librarian' that there is a strong ideological influence of Marxism running through the publication, yet there is a definite reluctance to be open about it. Perhaps this is due to the 'fear and loathing of left-wing political thought' referenced earlier that still exists in the US. There is also an editorial policy that starts with these issues and really begins to become an issue in later volumes – allowing extremely long articles that become quite boring and repetitive. This is especially true of the book reviews. In Issue 23 there are 13 pages devoted to reviewing a single book! The journals start losing focus and impact at this point and this editorial decision is especially puzzling in this particular example as the review is of a book written by a regular contributor and high profile member of PLG. This does not seen ethical and questions the journal's credibility.

Issues 25-29
The more balanced, open approach seen in the previous five issues seems to have got lost here as in issues 25-29 there returned a certain level of hyperbole in editorial content that strained the credibility of the journal. In issue 25 there was an official PLG statement opposing the appointment of John Roberts as Chief Justice to the Supreme Court as 'his testimony has been inadequate and his record disturbing' (p.70); a call in issue 27 to have the president impeached and, in issue 29, a petition to the UN General Assembly to have the President and various senior republic politicians tried for war crimes. There was also a lot of references made to the debate about the neutrality of the librarian, but the arguments were wholly one-sided in favour of political involvement. Overall there seemed to be a lack of any real debate on any of the big issues discussed and there was also a repetition of views expressed the same points over the five issues. However, in contrast to the rather bombastic tone in the editorial-led articles there were some really interesting examples of articles about progressive approaches to librarianship which were solution focused. Lynn Anderson wrote two articles about innovation in the work done with prisoners – there should be more examples of this to vary the tone and content of the journal. In issue 28 there was a very interesting article by William F.Birdsall that distilled the essence of the modern progressive librarian into the following six components:

'Component 1: a progressive librarianship responds to the emerging context of the expansion of global inter-personal electronic communication and of the increasing global achievement of individual and collective rights.

Component 2: A progressive librarianship shifts the focus from the concept of the informed citizen to the communicative citizen.

Component 3: A progressive librarianship responds to the political economy of librarianship by advocating a shift from a mass-media mentality favouring top-down, one way verbal communication to that of a communication environment favouring global, personal, two-way, horizontal communication between individuals and groups.

Component 4: a progressive librarianship favours a balance between the needs of the individual and the community through a combination of individual and collective rights.

Component 5: A progressive librarianship encompasses any particular form the library may take and works for its continual transformation.

Component 6: a progressive librarianship embraced the development of a genuinely international librarianship that yet remains responsive to local needs'.

('Progressive Librarian', Issue 28, p. 49-63)

The above quote is included in full here because it is one of the few times in the journals that a contributor attempts a definition of the movement. The 'progressive' or 'radical' aspect of the content is usually implied in the political viewpoint that an article espouses, rather than being consciously defined. The issue here is that the above listed components are very vague sounding. Birdsall claims to be defining the characteristics, or personality, of the progressive librarian movement but he absolutely fails to articulate anything that comes close to being specific and tangible. Instead his vision of the movement is hidden behind a commonly-used style of rhetoric that becomes rather repetitive over the course of the 35 issues researched here.

<u>Issues 30-35</u>

Issues 30-35 focused a lot of attention on the topics of libraries and human rights and the culture and the political activity of unions in librarianship. Issue 30 dealt with the theme of the 60th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Katharine J Phenix, writing the guest editorial, declared that 'this year we should go beyond bookmarks and bibliographies. This year our place is central to information dissemination, dignity and justice for all of us' (p.2). The issue of human rights and access to information is a key issue for librarianship as a whole, not just for the PLG, but it was dealt with in depth in the journal. In issue 31 Toni Samek raises the issue of the freedom of workplace speech in the context of human rights and asks whether any future resolution from the ALA on workplace 'acknowledge that freedom of expression includes freedom to dissent' (p. 5). The issue of librarians and human rights is a recurring issue for the journal, but the PLG manages to produce a lot of varied and interesting articles on the subject of the course of all the back issues. This is a topic that many contributors are, rightly, passionate about and some of the best and writing in the Progressive Librarian has been on human rights. In issue 32 there was a relatively new feature (although it had actually appeared first in issue 28) entitled 'There is Power in a Union' which consisted of a round-up of union activity across US librarianship. Kathleen De La Peña McCook notes that the only 'reporting and analysis' of union activity in the industry appeared in the PLG journal. 'This lack of attention to union issues in the general library press continues to be a concern that should be addressed by

those who believe that library workers and their conditions of worklife contribute to better library service' (p. 56). As discussed before, there is a strong connection between radical librarians and unions and, for the PLG, the promotion of union activity within the journal is beneficial to the cause in two ways: it highlights to librarians the politicised behaviour of some of their contemporaries, and it also helps to carry the radical or progressive message with practical real examples. This can be a lot more powerful than endless articles or debates about political theory and is a smart editorial move.

Issues 36-42

Issues 36-42 saw articles on a broad range of themes. In Issues 36/37 Shiraz Duranni warned that the UK Library system was facing closures due to the 'current capitalist financial crisis' (p.59) and bemoaned the fact that 'the professional body here remains silent of the political trends threatening the very existence of libraries as a free, public service' (p.60). The perceived lack of a firm political standpoint taken by the Chartered Institute of Library and Information Professionals (CILIP) was a key motivator for UK librarians to come together and form the Radical Librarians' Collective. In issue 41 there was editorial criticism of the way in which the ALA handled the international outcry over the whistle blowers Edward Snowdon and Bradley Manning. Freedom of speech is another key issue for the PLG and the editorial line on this was that the ALA had overly compromised in dealing with this by avoiding naming Snowden and Manning and instead opting for a general statement about the US Intelligence services. On these occasions the PLG can make good use of their fringe status by being outspoken on key issues and thus applying pressure to a mainstream less interested in provoking political controversy. However, in this case the editorial viewpoint seemed to lack ferocity as it simultaneously wanted to criticise the power struggles within the ALA and compliment the members of the ALA as people who are 'thoughtful and take their responsibilities as counselors [sic] seriously) (p. 3)'

Also in issue 41 there was an interesting article that traced the origins of the word "customer" in the library setting back to 1876 and the 'overlapping historical periods of the Gilded Age and the Progressive Era' and also the influence of the 'Clinton-Gore Reinventing Government Initiative which emphasised federal agency "customer service" to US citizens' (p.20). The issue of library users as 'customers' is a at the very heart of the debate about library identity that is taking place across the LIS community and for the PLG it is central to their stand against the neo-liberalisation of public services in general and libraries in particular. In the same issue Buschman states that neoliberalism makes the assumption that 'people are rationally motivated by self-interest'. This is a principle that the PLG, and indeed most of the mainstream library institutions have been fighting against for many years.

4.5 Content analysis – results

Every article in each journal volume was read and was categorised thematically according to the categories stated earlier. Each article was also analysed for tone and categorised accordingly. Across the 35 issues of the journal a total of 394 articles were included in the analysis. Please note that out of the 394 articles 3 did not meet any specific category and so were categorised as 'other'. As this is a statistically negligible number these have not been

included in the table below, but there is information in the table in **Appendix A** on how every individual article was analysed and categorised. These are the collated results.

Table 4:

	Total (out of 394 articles)	Issues 1-5	Issues 6-13	Issues 14-18	Issues 19-24	Issues 25-29	Issues 30-35	Issues 36-42
1: Library-related political activism (domestic)	197	22	20	19	24	40	34	38
2: Library-related political activism (international)	105	16	13	19	18	10	10	19
3: Non-library related political activism (domestic)	31	6	3	4	3	7	2	6
4: Non-library related political activism (international)	28	9	3	5	1	4	2	4
5: Non-political library-related (domestic)	24	2	2	1	5	0	7	7
6: Non-political library-related (international)	6	0	0	2	1	0	1	2

There are some interesting figures here. For an organisation that is overtly political there is an obvious focus on political issues in the journal. Whilst the largest number of issues focus on domestic issues, there are a high number of articles that focus on international topics. This was particularly so in the early days of the journal where there was a lot more focus on global library/political issues. There was a lot of editorial interest in the early volumes on the politics and libraries in the so-called developing world, especially South Africa. However, as the journal entered the new millennium the editorial focus switched much more to American issues. Out of the 394 articles published, 44 were directly critical of a mainstream

library organisation. 31 of those articles were directly critical of the American Library Association (ALA). There was an interesting trend in the first few issues to be directly critical of named individuals within these organisations. However, this is a policy that PLG seemed to do away with as the practice disappeared from the journal with subsequent criticisms aimed solely at the organisations. Here is the breakdown of the results in comparative figures:

- 91% of the articles in the journal focus in some way on political activism or discuss a political issue.
- 76% of the articles in the journal discuss or refer to political activism, or a political issue, that directly affects libraries
- Only 8% of the journal's content is considered non-political.
- The concentration in each issue of articles focusing on domestic political issues was quite steady from 1990 to 2004, but doubled from 2005 onwards. This is significant because after the 9/11 terrorist attacks the Bush administration passed several pieces of controversial legislation, including the Patriot Act (2001), and the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act (2004) that gave the US Government controversial surveillance and detention powers. This has caused great concern for librarians. Heather Phillips (in Progressive Librarian 25, P.39) states that the Patriot Act 'threatens the value of patron confidentiality and its ties to freedom of expression'.
- There is a very low number of articles that deal with non-political library business – only 30 in total. While it is obvious that the Progressive Librarians' Guild is a political organisation and therefore it is understandable that its publication largely focuses on political issues or activism, it is a little strange that there is such a low number of non-political articles. Creativity, innovation and good practice are perhaps not political things, but the promotion of fresh approaches and good ideas is a good way to encourage an alternative way of doing or thinking.

Tone

It was decide to look at the tone of each article to measure how the content, or "message" of each article was delivered. Of course, this is a highly subjective analysis and there is plenty of room for debate on what exactly constitutes a "critical" tone as opposed to a "positive" or "neutral" one. However it is hoped that the analysis is accurate enough in order to capture the essence of each article. The rationale was this: if an article used largely positive language and focused on solutions to issues, or highlighted areas of success then it was deemed to be, overall, "positive". If an article used negative language, or focused mainly on problems, obstacles or issues without suggesting or highlighting solutions then it was deemed to be "critical". "Neutral" was where articles did not express argument or debate and simply delivered a set of facts.

Table 5:
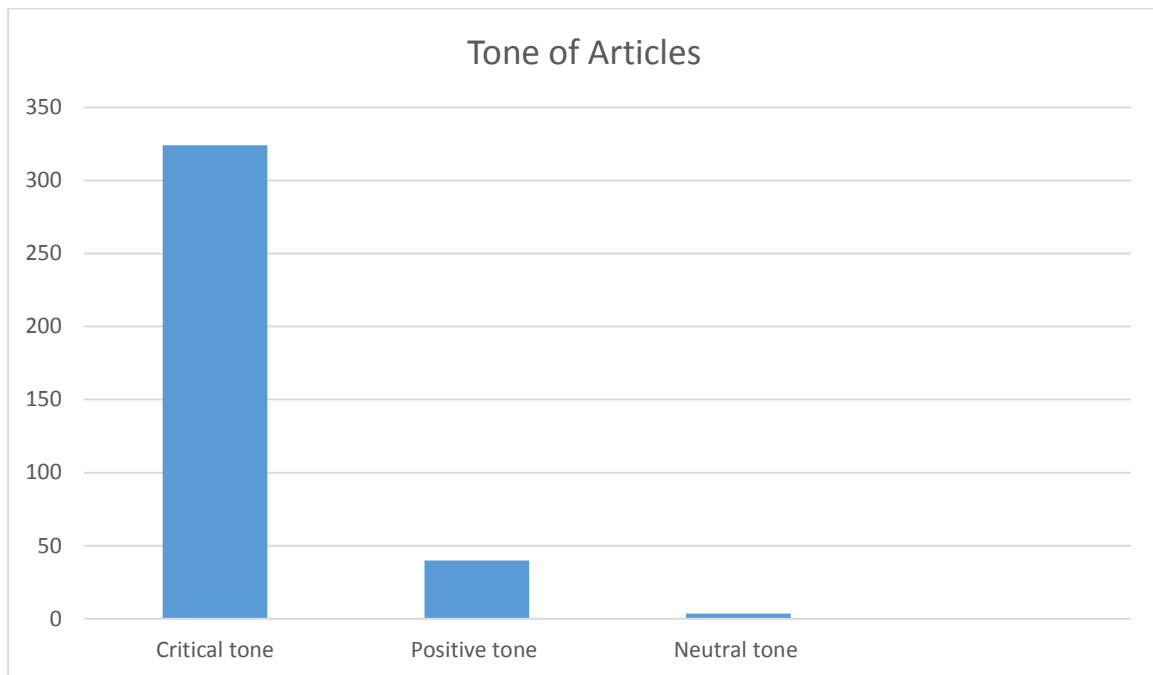
It is very clear to see here that the overall tone of the journal is highly critical. Even making adjustments for a certain level of subjectivity it still suggests an editorial policy that is overly negative and focused on issues and obstacles. While it is absolutely appropriate for an organisation that aims to 'provide a forum for the open exchange of radical views on library issues' (PLG Statement of Purpose) to engage in passionate political debate there has to be a balance. The term 'open exchange' is suggestive of debate and, therefore, disagreements and this is a healthy thing. The critical tone is perhaps symptomatic of a lack of debate within the journal itself. PLG need to refresh their commitment to the 'renewal of the democratic ethos' and encourage different viewpoints within their publication. It is time to go out and persuade not preach to the converted.

5. Conclusions

Although the Progressive Librarians' Guild has been in existence since 1990, and the Radical Librarians' Collective only since 2013, the link between a radical political identity and librarians is a long one. It can certainly be traced as far back as 1939 with the formation of the Progressive Librarians' Council in the United States, however, there are probably links even further back to the beginning of the 20th Century. There have been many different organisations that tried to represent the views of politicised librarians over the years and some have been mentioned in this dissertation. However there are probably many more that have come and gone and disappeared into history. It is clear from the passion of these organisations, past and present, that there is a huge belief in the moral importance of librarianship. As Berry (2014) states "good librarians are politically enmeshed in the larger national and international issues of war, peace, social justice and the vital role of good government in human affairs". It is not the purpose of this dissertation to question the beliefs of the members of the organisations mentioned, nor their sincerity. These are individuals whose professionalism and commitment to their profession can be nothing but lauded. However, it is important to look at the success or impact of their endeavours in order to measure their effectiveness in communicating the message they are so passionate about.

Radical or progressive librarians are sincere in their belief that libraries represent the best of society and it is hard to argue with this notion. For them it is a fundamental certainty upon which they build their principled and moral stance. Bivens-Tatum (2011) states that libraries are places where "people can go, physically or virtually, and emerge better people, their lives improved and through them perhaps our society improved" (P.192). This style of, almost righteous language, is commonly found across the PLG's considerable output. Despite its radical intentions it is similar to the utopian language used by the religious social reformers of the early 19th Century. Berry's comment of "good" librarians invites a similar analysis – is it "good" as in highly professional, or "good" meaning morally upstanding? Whatever the intended meaning there is a judgemental tone to the comment. Chandler (Pugh, 2009), in discussing contemporary political activism, observes that "the forms and content of this new global approach to the political are more akin to religious beliefs and practices than to the forms of our social engagement in the past" (p.78). In issue 36/37 of 'Progressive Librarian', Kim Schwenk quotes Naom Chomsky's statement that "for the radical imagination to be rekindled and to lead the way out of this desert, what is needed is people who will work to sweep away the mists of carefully contrived illusion" (*Progressive Librarian,* Issue 36/37, p.56). This sounds almost messianic – a deliverance from ignorance and darkness by a chosen few that have vision and light on their side. Again this is reminiscent of the crusading language of the religious reformers.

Without wishing to labour the religious analogies too much, radical librarians are motivated by a rather rigid ethical code that could be seen to be similar to the devout. It would be going too far to say that it is fanaticism, but there is something dogmatic in the way that the message is doled out. Also like many religious organisations, for the radical movement, the account of how the movement was born is of great importance – it is always imperative that origins or births are seen as pure and humble. The PLG's statement, referred to earlier, that

what they mean by progressive 'is to go back to its roots at the turn of the century, when to be progressive meant to be in favour of people and suspicious of corporations' (issue 1 p.44) is an attempt to align their movement, and librarianship in general, with the radical political culture of the late 19th century. This, however, is a fallacy. The truth is that the public library system did not originate from a radical background at all. To answer the first of the research questions posed in the introduction, libraries were, instead, born out of governmental response to the threat of radicalism. Libraries were, in fact, an attempt at reactionary appeasement. It was hoped that by giving the newly arrived, and recently politicised, urban working classes access to a controlled morally pure literature it would contain them. The early libraries may not have been tainted by the malign influence of 'commercialisation' that modern progressives are so concerned about today, but they were not necessarily bastions of freedom and democracy, nor were they designed to be.

Although libraries were not born directly from the radicalist tradition, it is true that the prevailing political philosophies of the day certainly had a big influence on how the profession of librarianship developed and this in turn encouraged a certain amount of radicalisation. As discussed earlier, the Utilitarians and their condescending zeal for reforming for the common good had a huge influence over how the early service developed. Librarians were natural utilitarians – a well-intentioned desire to do good and help people coupled with a sense of moral and cultural superiority and a disdain for people's ability to make choices for themselves. However, for the radical librarians another contemporary philosophy in the 19th century had a bigger influence over the radicalisation of librarianship – Marxism. It is the influence of Marx and particularly his analysis of economic history which sowed the seed for much of the left-wing political activism and thinking of the twentieth century and beyond. Marxism carried the new breed of librarian on a wave of political activism into the early 20th Century and laid the foundations for what was to follow. Marxism's central theory that the state is an institution hostile to ordinary citizens and intent only on endlessly exploiting them in order to enrich an elite few is responsible for two of the central moral codes of the progressives: that people need moral champions to protect their interests and that the state is inherently hostile and needs to be challenged. In addition to this information, or access to information, became a critical political tool for the library profession. However, if truth be told there is a touch of hypocrisy here. Politicized librarians believe that openness, democracy and the right to access knowledge and information are fundamental freedoms that society has to fight to stop being taken away. However, they also believe that they are the best placed in society to decide how this information is stored and distributed. Here can be seen the confluence of the two political philosophies that shaped the professional service and how contradictory they were: the radical revolutionary politics of Marx coupled with the condescending control of the utilitarians.

However, it is worth pointing out that conscious political activism isn't unique to fringe groups like the Progressive Librarians' Guild or the Radical Librarians Collective. The American Library Association, the mainstream professional body in the US that the PLG often rails against is itself a fairly outspoken entity politically. The ALA's Social Responsibility Round Table has been in existence since 1969, 21 years before the PLG and, according to their website, they aim to 'promote a more progressive agenda' and to 'promote social

responsibility as a core value of librarianship'. The SSRT has been very active over the years and has a similar stance to the PLG on many issues.

This inevitably then leads to the question that if the ALA, through the Social Responsibilities Round Table unit, are politically active and share many of the same principles as the PLG (negative influence of neoliberism, the protection of freedom and democratic values, end to wars etc) then what is the uniqueness of the PLG? If the PLG and the SRRT are superficially compared they share many of the same beliefs and a commitment to political activism across librarianship. Within the thirty five issues of the 'Progressive Librarian', it is simply not clear enough how the two organisations differ enough to remain as separate entities. Either they don't differ and therefore what is the point of the PLG, or they differ greatly, but the PLG aren't communicating this effectively. This is about how the message is delivered, not the content. This leads on to a number of issues with the journal itself. There is a tendency to overly intellectualise the debate and to focus overly on critical theory. The problem with this is that the counter-ideology that the progressives and radicals are fighting against, 'neoliberalism', is the least intellectual political theory of modern times. It is absurdly simple and pragmatic. However, the critical theory that is referenced – Freire etc seems outdated - it is heavily influenced by Marxist analysis, so much so that there is the suspicion that the fundamental difference between the PLG and ALA may be ideological, not professional. There was also a very negative attitude towards technology, especially in the earlier volumes, although this has improved recently. There is a sense that the editorial viewpoint on the changes sweeping the library profession is simply: change must be resisted. There is a lack of real debate in the journal – this is a publication that is aimed at individuals who share its values – it is not interested in persuading unbelievers (a classic political fringe attitude). As identified in the research it is overly negative in tone and fails to be emotive enough to convince those who may be new to the debate. There was also a problem with the journal as the years went on – it began to be dominated by several individuals who had their opinions expressed on a regular basis – this led to a repetition of ideas and debate. Despite trying to sell themselves as progressive or radical, the content of the journal often comes across as quite conservative. This is a political activism that was forged in the 'New Left' years of the radical sixties. The world has moved on since then, but often the journal seems to look to the past rather than the future for answers. After 24 years of considerable output there is the feeling that the 'Progressive Librarian' has not moved the argument on much and the debate is caught in an intellectual loop. A more open editorial style with a more positive approach is really needed if the debate is to move forward.

There are many positives, however, and theses must be recognised. The PLG has produced, to date, 36 issues (only 35 are analysed in this paper) of a well-researched journal and written over 400 articles of a high academic standard. They are intellectuals and perhaps if it is true that at times they have overly intellectualised the debate then the counter argument to this is that they have nevertheless brought some important ideas and political thinking to the debate table. Where the journal has been strongest is in the promotion of union activity and the topic of human rights and this is something the Progressive Librarians' Guild should build on. This leads to the central question of this dissertation – what is radicalism and how does the radical librarian movement fit into the definition?

Ian Clark, a prominent member of the Radical Librarian movement in the UK and keen blogger on this issue recently discussed the difficulty in defining the term 'radical' on his blog before concluding that 'I would like to see if there is some consensus in how we interpret what it is to be "radical'. This may sound like a strange statement from a key member of an organisation that purports to be radical, but this is, in fact, a vital consideration. One of the issues with the radical/progressive librarian movement is that this has never really been defined. The schema for radicalism discussed earlier in this dissertation makes it clear that 'radicalism' does not refer to a fixed ideological viewpoint, rather it is a way to politically position an organisation or viewpoint as being on the edge, far away from the centre of power and its dark gravity that demands unquestioning conformity. For the PLG and the RLC 'radicalism' is really just another way of saying 'political and social activism', but 'activism' suggests a lot more than just debating and discussing. The issue for the PLG is that they are constantly trying to define their position ideologically, instead of focusing on active radicalism that can be seen and measured in actions. When the PLG started focusing on union activity in their regular 'There is Power in a Union' the actions and activities of the union members spoke a lot more loudly and clearly than pages and pages of political theory. In essence the Progressive Librarians' Guild are really a specialised trade union, or perhaps the ideological wing of a trade union. The links between the trade union movement and radical librarians is not a coincidence – they are brethren organisations, both fighting for the betterment of their members, for the reputations of their professions, and for a broader ideological struggle.

There are lessons to be learned in this for the Radical Librarians' Collective. They are in the process of building their organisation, of exploring their identity and finding their voice. It is a positive thing that Ian Clark has asked the question 'what is radicalism?' It is important for the RLC to ask questions and to encourage open debate. Agreement and consensus can be a sign of sign of ennui and staleness. There are a couple of worrying signs, however. At the latest Radical Librarians' Collective "gathering" held in Huddersfield in 2015 there was a significant phrase used in the online article giving information about the upcoming event. The article stated that 'As per previous gatherings, everyone who subscribes to the principles of the Radical Librarians Collective is welcome and encouraged to attend'. This is quite similar to the PLG Facebook page that referenced previously that only those that 'agree with our mission statement' could join the group. It is strange for organisations that seeks to 'galvanise' debate and discussion to limit membership and differing viewpoints within their structure. This seems stifling rather than progressive. However, the RLC website also states:

'All are welcome to these non-hierarchical events and anyone is welcome to contribute to the ongoing dialogues or to offer and suggest something new and radical: we want to facilitate dialogue in order to organise and bring about positive changes for a holistic, collective future.' (http://rlc.radicallibrarianship.org/about-2/)

This certainly sounds more inclusive, but once again there is an emphasis on 'dialogue'. If the Radical Librarians' Collective want to avoid making the same mistakes as the PLG they have to find a way to move the argument on away from endless theorising, or at least take

the debate in new theoretical directions. Two of the most influential theorists for the radical/progressive librarians - Freire (1968) and Althusser (1970) - published their most important work over 45 years ago – long before the explosion in technology and the arrival of the internet at the end of the 20th Century. This is a very different world and their works have become far too outdated as a result – it is essential for new critical theory to be explored.

To summarise the research and to answer the questions asked at the beginning of the dissertation then it is clear, that the early libraries service was not a product of 19th Century radical political thought. However, librarianship as a profession, whether radical or mainstream, has become increasingly politicized and this is undoubtedly an influence of 18th and 19th Century political thinking. It is also clear that the term 'radicalism' does not denote an ideological viewpoint, but instead implies, amongst other things, political positioning far away from centralised power. It is also evident that although the PLG has perhaps struggled to 'provide a forum for the open exchange of radical views on library issues' they have had more success in defending 'activist librarians as they work to effect changes in their own libraries and communities' and it is with the latter that a more positive future direction lies.

It is important, however, in closing this dissertation that 'radicalism' is placed in the context of the bigger societal change going on globally. Carver (Pugh, 2009) states that the:

'political backdrop is perhaps the greatest determinant in producing a politics that qualifies as 'radical'. That is, if the backdrop is an established order – resistant to change, exclusionary, uninventive, possibly oppressive – then this is probably a good starting point for understanding how radicalism arises' (p.52)

In other words, radicalism appears when social and political order begins to change from one model to another. Often the change in order is preceded by an explosive advancement in technology. In the 15th Century Gutenberg invented the printing press and the age of modern secular learning and science followed. The industrial revolution mechanised the means of production but also ushered in the age of democracy and human rights. The internet is the technological advance that is changing our society and our generation. The technology has advanced so rapidly that politicians and society is scrambling to catch up. The progressives or radicals do not have control over it but neither do the neoliberals or the corporations. The future is as blank as a fresh new library card and the radical librarians will have an important role in shaping it.

6. Suggestions for Future Research

There are two areas of potential further research that have jumped out of the work done on this thesis. Firstly, it would be interesting to read some further research into the links between trade unions, Women's suffrage movement and libraries in the early 20th Century to find out if there was indeed, "cross-fertilisation" between the two. Secondly, there should be some more in depth research carried out into the similarities and differences between the PLG and the SRRT in terms of journal output.

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8. Appendix A: Content Analysis of 'Progressive Librarian' journal 1990-2014

Categories of analysis

1. Library-related political activism (domestic)
2. Library-related political activism (international)
3. Non-library related political activism (domestic)
4. Non-library related political activism (international)
5. Non-political library-related (domestic)
6. Non-political library-related (international)
7. Other

Table 6:

Issue Number	Year	Article Number	Title of article	Category	Tone – critical, neutral or positive
1	Summer 1990	1	Editorial	1	Critical
		2	The South Africa "Book Boycott": Censorship or Solidarity?	2	Critical
		3	International Librarianship & the Struggle for Democracy in South Africa	2	Critical
		4	The Starvation of Black Minds? A Critique	2	Critical
		5	Interviews with South African Library Users	2	Neutral
		6	The Times Miscovers the ANC	3	Critical

		7	ANC Statement on Wedgeworth Trio to S.A.	2	Critical
		8	Intensify the Struggle: Statements on Sanctions	4	Critical
		9	Censorship on the Retreat	2	Critical
		10	PLG Talks to the Fund for Free Expression	1	Critical
		11	DeGennaro Calls S.A. Boycott "Mickey Mouse"	1	Critical
		12	Interlibrary Loan Offices Violate Sanctions	1	Critical
		13	Poor People's Services	1	Positive
		14	National Cataloguing Campaign	1	Neutral
		15	Jack Conroy	3	Positive
		16	PLG Statement of Purpose (Draft)	1	Positive
2	Winter 1990/1991	1	Editorial	2	Critical
		2	Libraries at the End of History	1	Critical
		3	Libraries and the Commercialisation of Knowledge: Towards a Critical Discourse of Librarianship	1	Critical
		4	The Global Commercialisation of Culture	4	Critical
		5	The Progressive Librarians Council and its Founders	1	critical
		6	Censorship in South Africa in an Era of *Glasnost*	4	Critical
		7	South Africa: UN Address	2	Critical
		8	South Africa: LIWO Proceedings (excerpts)	2	Critical

		9	Middle East: PLG Press Release	4	Critical
		10	Middle East: MSRRT Resolution	4	Critical
		11	Small Press Centre	5	Neutral
		12	Book Review: The Alienated Librarian	1	Positive
3	Summer 1991	1	Editorial	1	Critical
		2	Towards a New World Information and Communication Order: A Symposium	2	Critical
		3	Not Three Worlds, But One!	4	Critical
		4	NWICO: Background Readings	2	Critical
		5	The Homeless and the Public Library	1	Critical
		6	A Perspective on the Book Famine	2	Critical
		7	Book Review: The Right To Know	3	Critical
4	Winter 1991/1992	1	Editorial	1	Critical
		2	The Pro-Machine Bias: The Fate of the Luddites	3	Critical
		3	Community Libraries: A Viable Alternative to the Public Library in South Africa	2	Neutral
		4	Politically Controversial Monographs	1	Critical
		5	A Declaration of Cultural Human Rights: A Draft	4	Critical
		6	Few Voices, Many Worlds	4	Critical
		7	LIWO Statement to IFLA	2	Critical
		8	South African Cultural Boycott: ANC Statement	4	Critical
		9	VDT Survey	5	Critical

		10	VDT (Song)	1	Critical
		11	Book Review: Taking Liberties: National Barriers to the Free Flow of Ideas	1	Critical
5	Summer 1992	1	No Love Lost	1	Critical
		2	The "Fucking" Truth About Library Catalogs	1	Critical
		3	Libraries and the Middle East Question	2	Critical
		4	A Program for Library Change in Sweden	2	Positive
		5	Resolution on Loyalty Oaths	1	Critical
		6	Book Review: Goodbye Columbus	3	Critical
		7	Book Review: PC for Pre-Schoolers	3	Positive
		8	Liberation Technology	1	Positive
		9	Response to Al Kagan	1	Critical
6/7	Winter/Spring 1993	1	Politics of Information and the Fate of the Earth	1	Critical
		2	Information Technology, Power Structures and the Fate of Librarianship	1	Critical
		3	The Mass Culture Debate: Left Perspectives	3	Critical
		4	Lula Against the Alagoas Maharajah (Comic strip)	4	Critical
		5	Closed Stacks at the Library of Congress	5	Critical
		6	Resolution on the Library of Congress	5	Critical

8	Fall 1993	1	Feminist Thought and the Critique of Information Technology	1	Critical
		2	Historical Patterns of a Women's profession in Germany	2	Critical
		3	Archives and libraries of Women's Literature in Germany	2	Critical
		4	AKRIBIE – Work Circle of Critical Library Workers	2	Critical
		5	Surrealism – Chicago Style	7	Positive
		6	For Tyree Guyton	3	Positive
		7	'As Long as Tourists Replace Seers'	4	Critical
		8	Media Charter of the African National Congress	4	Critical
		9	Resolution on *New Statesman and Society*	2	Critical
		10	Manifesto of Avant-garde Librarianship	2	Critical
		11	ALA Needs a Progressive Agenda	1	Critical
9	Spring 1995	1	What's Public is Propaganda, What's Secret is Serious: Official Secrecy and Freedom of Information in South Africa	2	Critical
		2	Oral Documentation: The Other "Famine" in African Libraries	2	Critical
		3	Superhighways, Work and Infrastructure in the Information Age: A Symposium	1	Critical
		4	Election Day Messages from South African Librarians	2	Positive
		5	IFLA Cuba Statement	2	Critical

10/11	Winter 1995/1996	1	Editorial	1	Critical
		2	Service Undermined by Technology: Gender Relations, Economics and Ideology	1	Critical
		3	Information Technology and the Future of Work	1	Critical
		4	Technology and Library and Information Science	1	Critical
		5	The "Enola Gay" Controversy as a Library Issue	1	Critical
		6	IFLA and Human Rights	2	Critical
		7	IFLA Resolution	2	Critical
		8	Resolution on NYPL's SIBL	1	Critical
		9	LIWO Statement	2	Critical
		10	Poem: 'Searches With No Direct Hits—Words'	7	neutral
		11	Book Review: *Into the Future* by Michael H Harris and Stan A Hannah	1	Critical
12/13	Spring/Summer 1997	1	The End of Information & The Future of Libraries	1	Positive
		2	A House Divided Against Itself: ACRL Leadership, Academic Freedom & Electronic Resources	1	Critical
		3	A Primer on WIPO and Database Extraction Rights	1	Critical
		4	Corporate Inroads & Librarianship: The Fight for the Soul of the Profession in the New Millennium	1	Critical
		5	GII: Global Power Grab	3	Critical

		6	Speech by the Superintendent of Documents at ALA	1	Critical
		7	Statement of Robert L. Oakley on the GPO Budget	1	Critical
		8	Notes from the Front Lines at SFPL	1	Critical
		9	From France: Libraries Losing Their Reason	2	Critical
		10	Book Review: William Birdsall's *The Myth of the Electronic Library*	1	Critical
14	Spring 1998	1	Editorial: Institutionalizing Silence Within ALA	2	Critical
		2	Garlic, Vodka and the Politics of Gender: Anti-Intellectualism in American Librarianship	1	Critical
		3	Competing Visions of Library Service	1	Critical
		4	Growing our Communications Future – Access Not Just Wires	1	Critical
		5	The "Invisibles" – Lesbian Women as Library Users	2	Positive
		6	Outsourcing Federal Libraries	1	Critical
		7	Librarians Against War: An Open Letter	4	Critical
		8	St Petersburg NGO Libraries	6	Neutral
15	Winter 1998/1999	1	A Few Gates: An Examination of the Social Responsibilities Debate in the Early 1970s and '90s	1	Critical
		2	Librarianship and Resistance	1	Critical
		3	LIWO: Local Touch and Global Networking in South Africa	2	Positive

		4	From Student Revolt to Working Librarians: The Formation of BiS, Sweden	2	Positive
		5	AKRIBIE: Arbeitskreis Kritischer Bibliothekarinnen/ Working Group of Critical Librarians, Germany	2	Positive
		6	KRIBIBI: Public Libraries and the "Working Pool of Critical Librarians" in Austria	2	Positive
		7	Radical Librarianship, UK: Something of an Overview form the UK	2	Positive
		8	The Cuba Poster Project	2	Positive
		9	Book Review: *Librarianship and Legitimacy: The Ideology of the Public Library Enquiry* By Douglas Raber	1	critical
		10	Book Review: *McLibel: Burger Culture on Trial* by John Vidal	4	Critical
		11	Remarks on Racism, International Relations and Librarianship	2	Critical
		12	Letter Against Bombing of Iraq, 12/16/98	4	Critical
		13	World Bank Protest Letters	4	critical
16	Fall 1999	1	Mana, Manna, Manner: Power and the Practice of Librarianship	6	Neutral
		2	Understanding Information Media in the Age of Neoliberalism: The Contribution of Herbert Schiller	3	Critical

		3	Searching for "the Enemy": Alternative Resources on U.S. Foreign Policy	4	Critical
		4	Book Review: *Class Warfare in the Information Age* by Steve Labash	3	Critical
		5	Book Review: *Information Liberation* by Brian Martin	3	Critical
		6	Book Review: *Poor People and Library Services* by Karen M. Venturella	1	Critical
17	Summer 2000	1	Editorial: Core Wars	1	Critical
		2	Returning a Stare: People's Struggles for Political and Social Inclusion	2	Critical
		3	The Unsustainable Library: Does the Internet Really Help Us in Africa?	2	Critical
		4	The Internet and Social Activism: Savage Inequalities Revisited	3	Critical
		5	Patent Alternatives	1	Positive
		6	Radical Periodicals and Their Place in the Library	1	Critical
		7	Open the Doors: Ridgedale Library Grand Opening Poem 10/10/99	5	Positive
		8	Book Review: *Sorting Things Out: Classification and its Consequences* by Bower and Star	1	Critical
		9	Book Review: *Untold Stories: Civil Rights, Libraries and Black Librarianship* ed. Tucker	1	Critical

18	Summer 2001	1	A Political Economy of Librarianship?	2	Critical
		2	Intellectual Property: A Historical Perspective on the Commodification of Information	2	Critical
		3	Reading in the Age of Golden Media	1	Critical
		4	Response to Miller	1	Critical
		5	The WTO and the Threat to Libraries	2	Critical
		6	Potential Unexploited: Public Libraries and Adult Literacy	2	Critical
		7	"Inside" Censorship	1	Critical
		8	Taking it to the Streets	1	positive
		9	Report on the 66th IFLA General Conference, Jerusalem, 13-18 August 2000	2	Critical
		10	Circle of Studies About Political Librarianship - Mexico	2	positive
		11	Program for International Progressive Librarianship	2	Critical
		12	LINK: Network for North-South Library Development	2	Positive
		13	Recommendations for Action in Implementing ALA's "Library Services for the Poor" Resolution	1	Neutral
		14	Book Review: *The Dismissal of Miss Ruth Brown: Civil Rights, Censorship and the American Library* by Louise S Robbins	1	Critical
19/20	Spring 2002	1	Editorial	2	Critical

		2	Librarians or Dissidents: Critics and Supporters of the Independent Libraries in Cuba Project	2	Critical
		3	"Why Do We Need to Keep This in Print? It's on the Web..?" A Review of Electronic Archiving Issues and Problems	5	Neutral
		4	Disconnected: Teaching Information Equity to Undergraduates	1	Neutral
		5	September 11th and PLG: An Editorial Exchange	2	Critical
		6	Leftwords: Another Country	3	Critical
		7	Letter to the American Library Association Annual Meeting, 6/01	2	Critical
		8	Memo to: International Relations Committee, ALA	2	Critical
		9	Resolution Concerning Cuba adopted at IFLA	2	Critical
		10	Cuba: Sovereignty, Development and Intellectual Freedom – a Presentation 6/17/01	2	Critical
		11	Memo to Committee On Professional Ethics, ALA	2	critical
		12	Book Review: *A Radical Democratic Critique of Capitalist Education* by Richard A. Brosio	4	Critical
		13	Book Review: *Intellectual Freedom and Social Responsibility in American Libraries 1967-1974* by Toni Samek	1	Critical

21	Winter 2002	1	SOS Calls, Breaking Stories, Network Disinformation, and the Process of Scholarly Communication: Implications for Information Intermediaries	5	Neutral
		2	Proposal for Inclusion of Union Label Description In Bibliographic and Archival Cataloging	5	Neutral
		3	Electronic Metaphors and Paper Realities	5	Neutral
		4	Books in Prison	1	Positive
		5	Palestinian Libraries: Little Pieces of Heaven in Hell	2	Critical
		6	Damage to Palestinian Libraries & Archives During the Spring of 2002	2	Critical
		7	Resolution on the Destruction of Palestinian Libraries	2	Critical
		8	Neutrality, Objectivity and the Political Centre	1	Critical
		9	SRRT Statement of Concern On the Use of Flags	1	Critical
		10	The Library Juice Manifesto	1	Positive
22	Summer 2003	1	The Transformation of South African Librarianship: Survey Results and Analysis of Current Opinion	2	Critical
		2	Activist Librarianship: Heritage or Heresy	1	Critical
		3	Operation – Patriots Act: The Role of School Libraries in Promoting a Free and Informed Society	1	Critical

		4	Expanding Our Work With Prisoners	1	Positive
		5	Historical Accuracy and the Web: A PLG-Net Exchange	1	Critical
		6	POETRY MATTERS! On the Media Persecution of Amiri Baraka	3	Critical
		7	Book Review: *Vandals in the Stacks: A Response to Nicholson Baker's Assault on Libraries* by Richard J Cox	1	Critical
		8	Book Review: *Censorship Inc.* by Lawrence Soley	3	Critical
23	Spring 2004	1	Repetitive Strain Injuries, Ergonomics Regulation, and Catalogers	1	Critical
		2	The Scarf-and-mitten Adventure: A Meditation on Emergent Poetries and the Library	1	Critical
		3	The School Library/Media Center & Construction of the Subject	1	Critical
		4	The Basis of Humanist Librarianship in the Ideal of Human Anatomy	2	Critical
		5	Librarianship as a Radical Profession	2	Critical
		6	International Relations Committee and Intellectual Freedom Committee's Report on Cuba ALA	2	Critical
		7	In Praise of Learning	6	Critical
		8	The Answers to "Bad" Speech: A Comment on ALA Debate	1	Critical
		9	Book Review: Henry Giroux's *Abandoned Generations & Critical Librarianship:* A Review Article	2	Critical

		10	Book Review: *Dismantling the Public Sphere* by John Buschman	1	Critical
		11	A Note on Frohman *by John Buschman*	1	Critical
		12	Book Review: *Philosophical Scaffolding for the Construction of Critical Democratic Education* By Richard A. Brosio	1	Critical
		13	Book Review: *Revolting Librarians Redux: Radical Librarians Speak Out* Edited by Katia Roberto and Jessamyn West	1	Critical
24	Winter 2004	1	Editorial: Miss Leftist Manners' Guide to Excruciatingly Correct Communication With Right-Wingers	1	Critical
		2	The Controversy Over *Double Fold* as a Battle of Elites	1	Critical
		3	The View from the Intersection of School Library Women and Work	1	Critical
		4	The Myth of the Neutral Professional	1	Critical
		5	Into a Google World: Rethinking Ubiquity	1	Critical
		6	Jailed for Dissent "In These Times"	2	Critical
		7	Declaration from Buenos Aires, *By the First Social Forum on Information, Documentation and Libraries*	2	Positive
		8	Product Review: HP Scanjet 4670C	5	Positive

25	Summer 2005	1	Tabloid Ethics, News Reporting on the Iraq War and the Simulacrum of Objectivity	4	Critical
		2	Information Criticism: Where is it?	1	Critical
		3	The Digital Divide and Public Libraries: A first-hand view	1	Critical
		4	Libraries and National Security Law: an examination of the USA PATRIOT ACT	1	Critical
		5	Ethical Reflections on 21st Century Information Work: an address to teachers and librarians	2	Critical
		6	Out of the Closet…But Not On the Shelves? An analysis of Canadian public library holdings of gay-themed picture books	2	Critical
		7	Freedom or Micro-Fascisms: debates in ethics in information studies	1	Critical
		8	Public Library Collection Development Issues Regarding the Information Needs of GLBT Patrons	1	Critical
		9	Update on Prison Projects	1	Positive
		10	Inagural	3	Critical
		11	Salinas Public Library Support	1	Critical
		12	Resolution on the Federal Library Depository Program and the Print-on-Demand Allowance Program, from DANJ	1	Critical

		13	Secrecy Report Card, from OpenThe Government.org	3	Critical
		14	Book Review: *Introduction to Public Librarianship* by Kathleen de la Pena McCook	1	Critical
		15	Book Review: *On Bullshit* by Harry G. Frankfurt	1	Critical
26	Winter 2005/2006	1	Location Tracking, RFID & Libraries	1	Critical
		2	Towards Self-reflection in Librarianship: What is Praxis?	1	Critical
		3	The Context of the Information Behaviour of Prison Inmates	1	Critical
		4	"Formats are a Tool for the Quest for the Truth" HURIDOCS Human Rights Materials for Library and Human Rights Workers	2	Neutral
		5	Libraries Burning: A Discussion to be Shared	2	Critical
		6	Blood Ritual in the Library: reflection into praxis, or, how I learned to worry and stopped loving the flag	1	Critical
		7	Resolution on the Connection Between the Iraq War and Libraries	2	Critical
		8	Resolution on Disinformation, Media Manipulation and the Destruction of Public Information	1	Critical
		9	Progressive Librarians' Guild Opposes Roberts' Confirmation	3	Critical

		10	Report: The USAPATRIOT Act, Dr Sami Al Arian & The United Faculty of Florida	1	Critical
		11	Review Essay: Adult Literacy Practice and Theories – the writings of George Demetrion	1	Critical
27	Summer 2006	1	The Professional is Political: Redefining the Social Role of Public Libraries	2	Critical
		2	On Privacy	1	Critical
		3	Knowledge Organization from an Institutional Point of View: Implications for Theoretical & Practical Development	2	Critical
		4	Why Have a Comprehensive & Representative Collection? GLBT Material Selection and Service in the Public Library	1	Critical
		5	Becoming Responsible Mediators: The Application of Postmodern Perspectives to Archival Arrangement and Description	1	Critical
		6	"Is that a poll in your inbox or are you just glad to see me?"	1	critical
		7	Resolution Condemning the Actions of President George W. Bush and Calling for Impeachment Proceedings	3	Critical
		8	Resolution Against Anti-Immigrant Legislation 2006	3	critical

		9	Letter Supporting Library Union in Indianapolis	1	Critical
28	Winter 2006/2007	1	What is Going on at the Library of Congress?	1	Critical
		2	The Hottest Place in Hell: the crisis of neutrality in contemporary librarianship	1	Critical
		3	Mi mano, tu mano, su mano…¿Nuestras manos? Reflections for socially responsible librarians	2	Critical
		4	A Progressive Librarianship for the 21st Century	1	Critical
		5	Philanthropies Unexpected Consequences: public libraries and the struggle over free v. proprietary software	1	Critical
		6	Politics and Public Libraries Collections	1	Critical
		7	The Wrong Path & The Right Path: the role of librarians in access to, and presentation of, cultural heritage	1	Critical
		8	PLG Statement on UCLA incident	1	Critical
		9	There is Power in a Union: union activism 2006 timeline	1	Critical
		10	Book Review: *People's Movements, People's Press: The Journalism of Social Justice Movements* by Bob Ostertag	3	Critical

29	Summer 2007	1	Editorial: On Anonymity in Libraryland Blogging	1	Critical
		2	Cataloging the Path to a New Dark Age: a taxonomy of the Bush Administration's pervasive crusade against scientific communication	1	Critical
		3	The Road to the Iraq War: an annotated bibliography	4	Critical
		4	Talkin' 'bout My (Neoliberal) Generation: three theses	1	Critical
		5	The Internet's Root of Power	3	Critical
		6	Librarians Take a Stand on Darfur	2	Critical
		7	Librarians as Advocates for the Human Rights of Immigrants	1	Critical
		8	Towards a Progressive Discourse on Community Needs Assessment: perspectives from collaborative ethnography and action research	1	Critical
		9	Resolution on Darfur Genocide, ALA	2	Critical
		10	Petition to the UN General Assembly to Set Up a International Criminal Tribunal to Try President George Bush, Vice-President Dick Cheney, Former Secretary of Defence Donald Rumsfeld, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, and Attorney General Alberto Gonzales	4	Critical
		11	Book Review: Never Be Silent: Publishing and Imperialism in Kenya 1884-1963 by Shiraz Durrani	4	Critical

		12	Book Review: Censoring Culture: Contemporary Threats to Free Expression, edited by Robert Atkins and Svetlana Mitcheva	1	Critical
		13	Book Review: The Library as Place: History, Community and Culture: By John Buschman and Glorai J Leckie	1	Critical
		14	Book Review: Librarianship and Human Rights: A Twenty-First Century Guide by Toni Samek	1	Critical
		15	Book Review: Library Juice Concentrate. Edited and mostly written by Rory Litwin	2	Critical
		16	Book Review: Globalisation, Information and Libraries: The implications of the World Trade Organisation's GATS and TRIPS Agreements by Ruth Rikowski	1	Critical
		17	Book Review: Constraining Public Libraries: The World Trade Organisation's General Agreement on Trade in Services by Samuel E. Trosow and Kirsti	1	Critical
30	Winter 2007/2008	1	Editorial: Dignity and Justice for All of Us: The Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948-2008	2	Positive
		2	Challenging the Conditions That Make Alternatives Necessary: Librarians the News Media and Information Literate Citizen	1	Positive

		3	"So Promising of Success" The Role of Local 88 in the development of the Chicago Public Library 1937-1952	1	Positive
		4	An Indomitable Spirit: The Eight Hundred of CUPE 391	2	Positive
		5	There is Power in a Union - 2007	1	Critical
		6	PLG - ¡Presenté! Report From the United States Social Forum	1	Critical
31	Summer 2008	1	Editorial: Cultivating a Culture of Freedom of Expression in the Library	1	Neutral
		2	Workplace Speech in Libraries	1	Critical
		3	Reading and Culture: The Challenge of Progressive Era Beliefs in the Postmodern World	1	Critical
		4	Library Science in Mexico: A Discipline in Crisis	2	Critical
		5	Jamming in the Stacks: Music as a Progressive Librarian Ideal	1	Positive
		6	Just Throw It All Away! (and other thoughts I have had that may bar me from a career in archiving)	2	Neutral
		7	On the Misrepresentation and Misunderstanding of Library Archives and Special Collections in the case of the *National Review's* "Investigation" of Documents Housed in the Richard J. Daley Library at the University of Illinois in Chicago	1	Critical

		8	PLG Statement on WIFI in Libraries and the Precautionary Principle	5	Critical
		9	Fact Sheet 2008 – Library Workers: Facts and Figures *Department of Professional Employees, AFL CIO*	5	Critical
		10	Fact Sheet 2008 – Professional Women: Vital Statistics, *Department of Professional Employees, AFL, CIO*	5	Critical
		11	The Union Difference for Library Workers, Salary Survey 2006 by ALA-APA & DPE, AFL-CIO	5	Critical
		12	Book Review: *College Libraries And the Teaching/Learning Process: Selections from the Writings of Evan Ira Farber* edited by David Gansz	1	Critical
		13	Book Review: *Mrs Magavero: a history based on the career of an academic librarian* by Jane Brodsky Fitzpatrick	1	Critical
32	Winter/Spring 2009	1	Libraries& Memories: Beyond White Privilege 101	1	Critical
		2	Archival Landscape: Archives and Human Rights	2	Critical
		3	Theory and Politics in Public Librarianship	1	Critical
		4	Boom or Bust: The Need for Senior Services Librarianship	1	Critical
		5	Library Rhetoric: The Canadian Library Association Statement of	2	Critical

			Diversity and Inclusion and LBGBTQ Advocacy		
		6	There is Power In a Union 2008-2009	1	Critical
		7	Book Review: *True Enough: Learning to Live in a Post-Fact Society* by Farhad Manjoo	1	Critical
		8	Book Review: *Government Secrecy: Classic and Contemporary Readings* by Susan L. Maret and Jan Goldman	1	Critical
		9	Book Review: *Questioning Library Neutrality: Essays from Progressive Librarian* edited by Alison Lewis	2	Critical
		10	Employee Free Choice Act, Statement by Emily Skeketoff, Executive Director, ALA Washington Office	1	Neutral
		11	Living Wage Resolution, Passed by ALA-APA Council July 15, 2008	1	Neutral
		12	Introducing CIRL: Community of Industrial Relations Librarians	6	Neutral
		13	Resolution Concerning ALA Policy Opposing Sweatshop Labor and supporting Union Business	1	Positive
		14	ALA Task Force Member Survey on Policy 61 "Library Services for the Poor"	1	Critical
33	Summer/Fall 2009	1	Making the Jump: The Need for a Phenomenological Shift Through the	5	Positive

			Literature Experience in the Adult Literacy Classroom		
		2	Librarians as Literary Sponsors: The Connection Between Information Literacy and Writing	5	Neutral
		3	The Ethics of Open Access to Research: A Call for Civil Disobedience and Moral Courage	1	Critical
		4	The Library Paraprofessional Movement and the Deprofessionalisation of Librarianship	1	Critical
		5	What is Distinctive About the Library of Congress in both its Collections and its Means of Access to Them and the Reasons LC Needs to Maintain Classified Shelving of Books Onsite and a Way to Deal Effectively With the Problems of "Books on the Floor"	1	Critical
		6	Marketing the Library? Why Librarians Should Focus on Stewardship and Advocacy	1	Critical
		7	Resolution on Libraries and the Continuing Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan	4	Critical
		8	Book Review: *Slow Reading* by John Miedema	5	Critical
		9	Book Review: *The Prison Library Prisoner* by Brenda Vogel Latham	1	Critical

34/35	Fall/Winter 2010	1	The Diversity Discussion. What are we Saying?	1	Critical
		2	Digital Rights Management as Information Access Barrier	1	Critical
		3	Critical Theory, Libraries and Culture	1	Critical
		4	Transcription of the contribution to "E-books in the Classroom: Implications for Teaching, Learning and Research" Presented at Georgetown University's Ninth Scholarly Communications Symposium on October 30, 2009	1	Critical
		5	Towards a Critique of Social Networks for Learning	3	Critical
		6	"Breaking Secrets" in the Catalog: Proposing the Black Queer Studies Collection at the University of Texas at Austin	1	Critical
		7	Looking Backward, Imagining Forward: Celebrating 20 Years of *Progressive Librarian*	2	Critical
		8	Press Release: 2010 Coleman Lecture	2	Neutral
		9	PLG Statement: On Wikileaks and the Library of Congress	2	Critical
		10	There is Power in a Union 2009-2010	1	Critical
		11	Building a Case Against Neoliberalism in LIS from the Ground Up: An Essay Review of John	1	Critical

			Budd's *Self Examination: The Present and Future of Librarianship and Knowledge and Knowing in Library and Information Science: A Philosophical Framework*		
		12	Monthly Review Press	3	Positive
		13	Book Review: *Information Technology in Librarianship: New Critical Approaches,* edited by Leckie, Gloria J and John E Buschman	1	Critical
		14	*Review: DIY Media: Movement Perspectives on Critical Moments,* produced by Mark Read. A DVD Series Produced by Deep Dish TV (1988-2010)	4	critical
36/37	Fall 2011	1	Walkerville, New Democrats and "Wishes in the Wind" – Rolling Back the 20th Century in Wisconsin	1	Critical
		2	Under Our Own Umbrella: Mobilising Research Evidence For Early Literacy Programmes in Public Libraries	1	Critical
		3	Revisiting the Concept of the Political Library in the Web 2.0 Technologies	2	Critical
		4	Economics of Information: A Brief Introduction	1	Critical
		5	Another World Possible: Radical Archiving in the 21st Century	1	Critical

		6	Studies in Progressive Public Librarianship: Training for Alternative Service	2	Critical
		7	Design Implications: How Space Can Transform the Library and its Public	1	Critical
		8	Conference Proceedings: Organise and Assemble – the First Symposium of the Edmonton Branch of the PLG	2	Critical
		9	Book Review: *Government Secrecy* by Susan Maret	4	Critical
		10	Book Review: *Critical Theory for Library and Information Science* edited by Leckie, Given and Buschman	2	Critical
		11	Book Review: *Introduction to Public Librarianship* by Kathleen de la Pena McCook	1	Critical
		12	Book Review: *The Atlas of New Librarianship* by R David Lakes	1	Critical
		13	Book Review: *Beyond Article 19: Libraries and Social and Cultural Rights* edited by Julian Biando Edwards and Stephen P Edwards	2	Critical
		14	PLG Stands in Solidarity with Public Employees	3	Critical
		15	A Response to McMaster University Librarian Jeff Trzeiak from Edmonton Chapter PLG	1	Critical
		16	PLG Statement on Occupy Wall Street	3	Critical

38/39	Spring 2012	1	Occupy Wall Street Librarians Speak Out	2	Critical
		2	Information Rights, Human Rights and Political Rights: A Précis on Intellectual and Contextual issues for Library and Information Science	2	Critical
		3	Collection Management, Conceptual Anachronisms, and CIPA	1	Critical
		4	Transmitting Whiteness: Librarians, Children and Race 1900-1930s	1	Critical
		5	Moving On – Or How I Left a Truly Great Job for Extraordinary Insecurity	1	Positive
		6	Collective Bargaining is a Human Right, Union Review for 2011	1	Critical
		7	Joint Conference of Librarians of Color	1	Positive
		8	Declaration of the Occupation of New York City	3	Critical
		9	PLG Statement on Censorship and the Tucson Unified School District	1	Critical
		10	Book Review: *Consuming Schools: Commercialism and the End of Politics* by Trevor Norris	3	Critical
		11	Book Review: *Lite Ethnography: An Essay Review*	1	Critical
		12	Book Review: *This Book is Overdue: how librarians and cybrarians can save us all* by Marilyn Johnson and	1	Critical

			Library: an unquiet history by Matthew Battles		
		13	Book review: *Serving LBGTIQ Library and Archive Users: Essays on Outreach, Service, Collections, and Access* edited by Ellen Greenblatt	1	Critical
		14	Book Review: *Retired Terrorist* by Gordon McShean	2	Critical
40	Fall/Winter 2012	1	Libraries and Archives of the Anarchist Movement in Italy	2	Critical
		2	The Counterhegemonic Academic Librarian: A Call to Action	1	Critical
		3	Prisoners of Microfilm: Freeing Voices of Dissent in the Underground Newspaper Collection	1	Positive
		4	The Politics of Cultural Genocide: Uses and Abuses of the Destruction of the National Library of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a Western Propaganda Tool	2	Critical
		5	Through a Distant Lens: Visions of Native Hawaiians in Children's Picture Books	1	Critical
		6	Book Review: *Insider Histories of the Vietnamese Era Underground Press, Part 2* by Ken Wachsberger (ed)	3	Critical
		7	Book Review: *Greening Libraries* by Monica Antonelli and Mark McCullough (eds)	1	Critical

		8	Book Review: *A Social History of Books and Libraries from Cuneiform to Bytes* by Patrick M Vaelentine	6	Neutral
		9	Book Review: *Libraries, Classrooms, and the Interests of Democracy* by John Buschman	1	Critical
41	Fall 2013	1	Editorial: Conscience v. Political Expediency at ALA	2	Critical
		2	Democracy, Market Solutions, and Education Institutions: A Perspective on Neoliberalism	1	Critical
		3	Situating the Customer: The Genealogy of Customer Language in Libraries	1	Critical
		4	Historical Roots of Faith (in the Market): Neoliberalism before the "Neo"	1	Critical
		5	Days of Action: Madison Graduation Speech 19 May 2013	1	Critical
		6	Adventures in Copyright Violation: The Curious Case of Utopian Constructions	5	Critical
		7	Audiovisual Patrimonie for Libraries	5	Neutral
		8	Organize and Assemble II: Progressive Librarians' Guild Edmonston's Symposium	2	Critical
		9	"Library Workers Will Not Be Shushed" 2012 Union Review	1	Critical

		10	Loud Hands in the Library: Neurodiversity in LIS Theory and Practice	5	Critical
		11	PLG Resolution on Fossil Fuel Divestment	4	Critical
		12	SRRT Resolution on Bradley Manning	4	Critical
		13	Resolution on Edward Snowden	4	Critical
		14	Resolution on the Need for Reforms for the Intelligence Community to Support Privacy, Open Government, Government Transparency, and Accountability	3	Critical
		15	Book Review: *Libraries and the Enlightenment* by Wayne Bivens-Tatum	5	Neutral
		16	Review: Women of Library History (at Tumblr)	1	Neutral
42	Summer 2014	1	Editorial: Racism and "Free Speech": Framing the Issues	1	Critical
		2	Abandoning Snowden..*and* Privacy? Hegemony at Play in ALA	1	Critical
		3	Librarians as Wikipedians: From Library History to "Librarianship and Human Rights"	1	Positive
		4	Making Space for Silenced Histories: National History, Personal Archives, and the WWII Japanese American Internment	1	Critical

		5	E-lending and Libraries: Toward a De-Commercialisation of the Commons	1	Critical
		6	Deconstructing the "Books for Boys" Discourse	1	Critical
		7	"The Union Can't Sit Idly By": 2013 Union Review	1	Critical
		8	*Every Thing* Determines Everything: Embracing the Flux of Academic Librarianship to Co-Author Meaningful Change	1	Neutral
		9	A Report on the Librarians and Archivists to Palestine Delegation June 23-July 4 2013	2	Critical
		10	Librarians and Archivists in Palestine: Solidarity Statement	2	Critical
		11	Librarians and Archivists in Palestine, zine excerpts	2	Critical
		12	1978 BCALA Statement on "The Speaker"	1	Critical
		13	Review: "A Book is a Miracle" *by Jorge Reichmann*	6	Neutral
		14	Review: *Library 2020: Today's Leading Visionaries Describe Tomorrow's Library* by Joseph Janes *Reflecting on the Future of Academics and Public Libraries* by Peter Hernon and Joseph R Matthews	2	Critical

		15	Review: *Progressive Library: Perspectives from Kenya and Britain 1979-2010* by Shiraz Durrani	2	Critical
		16	Review: *Feminist Pedagogy for Library Instruction* by Maria T. Accardi	1	Neutral
		17	Review: *Focus on Educating for Sustainability: Toolkit for Academic Libraries* edited by Maria Anna Jankowska	5	Neutral
		18	Review: *The Green Library Planner: What Every Librarian Needs to Know Before Starting to Build or Renovate* by Mary M. Carr	5	Neutral
		19	Review:*The Library Juice Press Handbook of Intellectual Freedom: Concepts, Cases and Theories* edited by M. Alfino and L. Koltutsky	2	Critical
		20	Review: *Information Literacy and Social Justice: Radical Professional Praxis* edited by Lua Gregory and Shana Higgins	2	Critical
		21	Review: *Transforming Young Adult Services* edited by Anthony Bernier	5	Critical