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This study examines California public libraries' collections of adult nonfiction books on abortion and same-sex marriage to determine whether a relationship exists between a library's political environment and the diversity of opinions in its collection. A checklist of 20 titles was assembled for each topic, and these book was categorized as either "pro" "anti" or "neutral" on the subject. Library holdings were examined using the California Libraries Catalog, and the political climate of a library's community was determined using recent election results. The expected outcome that there would be less diversity of opinion in libraries serving communities at either end of the political spectrum was not supported due to a lack of measurable data. Libraries situated in politically liberal communities were most likely to own checklist titles, even when controlling for population size. Further research is needed to develop effective methods for measuring how different variables influence the collection development process.

Headings:

      Adult literature -- Non-fiction

      Collection development -- Evaluation

      Public libraries -- California

      Public libraries -- Book collections

POLITICS AND COLLECTION DIVERSITY IN CALIFORNIA PUBLIC LIBRARIES' NONFICTION HOLDINGS ON TWO CONTROVERSIAL SUBJECTS: ABORTION AND SAME-SEX MARRIAGE

by
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Introduction

The American Library Association (ALA) devotes four of six articles in the *Library Bill of Rights* (1980) to the need for libraries to maintain access to diverse collections that represent the spectrum of viewpoints. Article I of the *Library Bill of Rights* states: "Books and other library resources should be provided for the interest, information, and enlightenment of all people of the community the library serves. Materials should not be excluded because of the origin, background, or views of those contributing to their creation." Librarians are specifically charged with the provision of "materials and information presenting all points of view on current and historical issues."

Given its central location in the *Library Bill of Rights*, one can infer that the ALA considers the development and maintenance of diverse collections a fundamental guiding principle of librarianship. In order to ensure that the breadth of opinions is represented in a collection, librarians must select materials without influence from external or internal sources of bias. An ALA *Interpretation of the Library Bill of Rights* (1990) lists examples of how collection developers proscribe materials, whether consciously or unconsciously:

> Some examples of censorship may include removing or not selecting materials because they are considered by some as racist or sexist; not purchasing conservative religious materials; not selecting materials about or by minorities because it is thought these groups or interests are not represented in a community; or not providing information on or materials from non-mainstream political entities.

While it's easy to identify an overt challenge to a book from a library patron, the effects of bias on the entire selection procession are likely to be less obvious. Librarians as a

whole are often stereotyped as left of the political center, and some evidence points to this being true. David Durant (2005) discusses "the loneliness of the conservative librarian" in a column about his experiences as an academic librarian. A sample of campaign donations from the 2004 presidential election shows that librarians contributed to John Kerry over George Bush at a rate of 223 to 1 (Brooks, 2004). While librarians may aspire to the collection diversity principles outlined in the *Library Bill of Rights*, selectors may unconsciously favor materials mirroring their own political views. Further, librarians serving a particularly conservative or liberal population might be swayed to over-represent the prevailing view of the community in their collection at the expense of minority opinions.

Although numerous studies measuring collection diversity were conducted in the 1980s and 1990s, there has been little recent research on the subject. This, despite the fact that the political environment in the U.S. has become increasingly partisan in nature. Layman, Carsey, and Horowitz (2006) found that not only have America's major political parties become increasingly polarized in recent decades, the general population is becoming ever more sharply divided on ideological issues, "particularly on abortion and homosexuality." Similarly, Abramowitz and Saunders (2005) posit that red states and counties are getting redder while blue states and counties are getting bluer, which is "producing a nation that is increasingly divided along partisan, ideological, and religious lines." Durant (2005) believes this politicization has carried over into the library profession. He notes: "In the wake of 9/11 and the war in Iraq, librarianship as a profession no longer simply leans to the left; it has become openly politicized. By 2004, to work in a major American public or academic library was to find yourself in a left-wing echo chamber."

As the nation's political parties and general population continue to become more partisan in nature, it becomes increasingly important that libraries reflect ALA principles on

collection diversity. The spectrum of viewpoints on a given issue should be represented in public libraries so that voters can inform themselves about ballot issues, minority voices in a community can find support for their beliefs and experiences, and all patrons feel welcome regardless of their perspectives on a particular issue. Given the importance of collection diversity, especially against the backdrop of increasing ideological polarization, it is useful to revisit this issue to track any changes over time in diversity levels of public library holdings.

The purpose of this study is to determine whether the political composition of a library's community affects the diversity of opinions in a library's nonfiction collection of materials on two controversial contemporary social issues. This study will attempt to answer the following questions: How diverse are California public libraries' collections of adult nonfiction monographs on abortion and same-sex marriage? Is there a relationship between the political orientation of a library's community and the diversity of opinions found in that collection? To investigate these questions, California public library holdings on abortion and same-sex marriage will be examined to determine the relationship, if any, between collection diversity and political environment. It is hypothesized that there will be less diversity of opinion in the holdings of libraries that serve communities at either end of the political spectrum (i.e., communities judged as very conservative or very liberal).

Literature Review

Studies regarding the selection of potentially controversial books for library collections have appeared consistently throughout the past 60 years. Early research set out to define and describe the problem. In the 1980s, studies were motivated by accusations of censorship from the conservative right; researchers sought to prove or disprove censorship accusations through the use of checklist studies. Researchers also became increasingly interested in the idea of collection balance and began to move away from presenting results as a referendum on librarian self-censorship; more focus was put on measuring other variables that could be at work. In 1995, Simpson's index, a quantitative approach to measuring collection diversity, was tested by Serebnick and Quinn, providing a basis of comparison among studies. While researchers have tested the effect of several variables on book selection, three studies in particular have explored the relationship between political environment and the extent of a collection. The most recent body of work on the collection of controversial materials has focused on GBLTQ adult, young adult and children's fiction collections.

Lester Asheim's 1953 essay, "Not Censorship but Selection," is a seminal work in the field. In fact, the ALA includes this article on its Office of Intellectual Freedom website. Asheim bases his essay on the idea that while equal access to all books is desired, physical constraints make selection a necessity. The thought process behind the decision is what distinguishes selection from censorship; the selector's goal is to find reasons to keep a book,

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while the censor's is to find reasons to reject it. Asheim urges librarians to select materials "in the direction of stimulating controversy and introducing innovation" and counsels that decisions made due to external factors, such as in anticipation of the library community's reaction, are considered censorship.

Fiske's study later that decade is also a classic in the field of selection and censorship research. In the milieu of un-American activities committees and well-publicized book protests, Fiske (1959) set out to discover what Californian librarians' thoughts and practices were in the selection of controversial materials. Through interviews of 204 school and public librarians, she discovered that almost 50 percent of librarians professed freedom-to-read convictions, yet more than two-thirds of the same librarians reported instances where they had not purchased a book due to its controversial nature and one-fifth habitually avoided collecting controversial materials. These contradictory findings suggested a bias in library collections against materials deemed "controversial."

In the 1980s claims of library bias were brought to the forefront when Jerry Falwell, a New Right conservative leader, published an article in *Moral Majority Report* claiming librarians were under-representing conservative voices in collections. After a survey of 169 libraries in 40 states, Falwell (as cited in Szuchewycz, 1990) concluded that the average library had six of the 62 titles on his New Right checklist. Several studies (Gorman, 1987; Hupp, 1991a; Szuchewycz) were motivated by these accusations that librarians had censored right-of-center viewpoints. Both Gorman and Hupp constructed their checklist using the 37 books in Falwell's report, while Szuchewycz augmented Falwell's list through a survey of other New Right publications. Both lists included titles on abortion and homosexuality.

Gorman (1987) surveyed the holdings of two academic and two public libraries in Georgia and found these libraries owned from nine to 27 titles on the checklist, much higher

than Falwell's average of six. Because many of the titles held by these libraries were from small-press publishers, Gorman surmised that librarians may have been actively seeking out these materials. Although Gorman acknowledges that his small sample size does not allow for generalization, he suggests that Falwell's claims may have been exaggerated. Szuchewycz (1990) conducted a similar study, checking the holdings of five major library systems in Toronto (three academic and two public) against a 150-book list of New Right publications. Eighty percent of the checklist titles were held by at least one of the libraries, although no one library achieved this result. Szuchewycz found that libraries were more likely to hold the titles on social issues (including abortion and homosexuality) than those on anti-Semitism or Creationism. Given the wide range of issues covered under the social topic, Szuchewycz recommends further research on holdings of conservative opinions on social issues to confirm his results. Overall, he suggests his research provides "strong counter-evidence" to accusations that New Right materials are underrepresented in libraries, thus, supporting Gorman's findings (p. 23).

Hupp (1991a) is the first to compare library holdings on two sides of the political spectrum. To construct his checklist, Hupp uses Gorman's (1987) list of conservative titles and a sample of liberal books used in an unpublished study on book reviews. After surveying the holdings of all OCLC-member libraries in Ohio, Hupp found that every title on both lists but one was held by at least one library. Academic libraries were more likely than public libraries to own these titles, and conservative titles were held in more libraries and in larger numbers than were liberal books. The results indicate a confirmation of Gorman and Szuchewycz (1990) in contradicting Falwell's claims. Although conservative books held the edge, only 13 percent of Ohio's public libraries owned a title from either list. Hupp suggests

that public libraries may not be doing a good job of collecting controversial political materials of either type.

As indicated above, researchers frequently use the checklist method to discover the extent of a library's holdings on a given subject. These studies should be evaluated in light of questions Serebnick (1982) raised with the validity of the checklist methodology. After conducting a meta-analysis of checklist studies, the author found these studies vary widely in researcher objective. Many researchers undertook these studies to prove or disprove librarian self-censorship, however, few researchers defined self-censorship or indicated the number of books a library must own from the checklist to be found uncensorious. In response to Serebnick's findings, Hupp (1991a) specifically states his purpose is not to measure library self-censorship but to collect basic data on holding patterns. This becomes the trend in many subsequent studies, with Harmeyer (1995) being the notable exception.

Serebnick also identified researcher subjectivity in the construction of checklists and recommended using library subject headings or establishing definitions for what books are included and excluded from lists. All three of the studies using New Right titles (Gorman, 1987; Hupp, 1991a; Szuchewycz 1990) share a problem with the currency of their checklist construction. In the case of the *Moral Majority Report* list, 20 of the 37 monograph titles were published in the 1970s. The oldest title on Szuchewycz's checklist was published in 1939 and nearly 50 percent of the titles were 10 or more years old at the time of his research. It is possible that many libraries had deselected older materials by this point, thus, skewing the results.

Beginning with Hupp (1991a), researchers increasingly began to focus on the diversity of opinion in a collection, asking the question: Are all views on a subject, no matter how extreme, represented in a collection? In a study of library holdings of Holocaust denial

monographs, Hupp (1991b) found that less than 1 percent of public libraries nationwide owned one of the 125 checklist titles. His data lends support to previous findings (Hupp, 1991a) indicating that few libraries are actively collecting controversial political and social materials. Although Hupp's data is somewhat problematic in that he surveyed only OCLC member-libraries and extrapolated the findings to all public libraries listed in the *American Library Directory*, it does suggest that libraries are not likely to collect books spouting extremist views. It is notable that the largest public libraries in Hupp's study were most likely to hold checklist titles, which suggests a relationship between book budget and/or collection size and holdings of extremist materials. Whether or not Holocaust denial publications have a place in non-research oriented libraries is outside of the realm of Hupp's study, but a worthy question to consider when reviewing his results.

Harmeyer (1995) investigates collection bias at public and academic libraries in California by examining the balance of opinions in library holdings on abortion. The author selected eight books representing pro-life, pro-choice and neutral opinions on abortion, as judged by a panel of ten experts. These titles were then used as a checklist when analyzing California libraries' holdings through the use of the OCLC database. Harmeyer found that religious-affiliated libraries were more likely to own the pro-life titles in the eight-book sample, while non-religious academic and public libraries reported more holdings of the pro-choice titles. The author uses these results to support a claim that libraries are practicing self-censorship and are not presenting the complete array of viewpoints to patrons. Harmeyer's study is an important step toward quantifying collection bias in the holdings of a controversial subject, particularly through its methodological approach of selecting titles representing multiple viewpoints. Given the very small sample size of titles measured, however, it is difficult to definitively say that the absence or presence of one or two books

on the checklist represents self-censorship or bias in the collection. As the author acknowledges, many other factors could be at work, including the number of reviews a title received and the inclusion of similar pro-life or pro-choice books in a library's holdings that weren't on the sampled list of books.

The questions of what constitutes balance and adequate representation in a collection are raised by Pankake, Wittenborg, and Carpenter (1995) in their commentary on Harmeyer (1995). These authors assert that attaining equal numbers of books on both sides of the spectrum does not necessarily mean that both sides are equally represented. The quality of one book could counter-balance several more haphazardly argued books on the other side. Pankake echoes Serebnick (1982) in questioning the construction of Harmeyer's checklist. She notes that only one of the eight titles chosen is classified under subject headings for pro-life and pro-choice movements and no criteria is given to indicate the particular importance of the books included in the checklist over other books on the same subject. While the conclusions Harmeyer draws from his data may be suspect, his research does present a starting point for further investigations of the diversity of opinion in library holdings by measuring the extent of holdings on two sides of a controversial issue.

Serebnick and Quinn (1995) reject the standard checklist approach as subject to investigator bias during list construction and in the evaluation of results. In their study, they tested the validity of a new methodology for compiling a checklist and for quantifying diversity of opinion in library collections. The authors surveyed the directors of 250 public libraries nationwide and asked them to nominate four titles that best represent the diversity of opinions in their collection on each of four controversial subjects – abortion, arms control, capital punishment and euthanasia. The librarians' responses were aggregated into a 278-book checklist – 73 of which dealt with abortion. This methodology does not solve the

arbitrariness inherent in checklist construction, but it does address problems related to researcher bias.

To quantify their results, Serebnick and Quinn (1995) employed Simpson's index of diversity, a formula widely cited in other scientific fields but not previously used to measure the collection diversity of library holdings. Simpson's index gives equal weight to neutral, pro and anti viewpoints. A collection with an equal number of titles for each viewpoint would receive a score of 0.67 (most diverse) while a collection with only neutral titles, for example, would receive a 0 (least diverse). Simpson's index pointedly does not reward libraries for owning more neutral titles than pro or anti titles, because, as the authors point out, libraries should be seeking out all viewpoints, not just moderate ones. A valid critique of this methodology concerns the equation of diversity with equal numbers of titles on all sides. As Pankake, Wittenborg, and Carpenter (1995, p. 117) commented, "[E]xcessive concern about numeric equivalency of texts advocating opposite viewpoints is not warranted." Serebnick and Quinn recognize this as a failing of Simpson's index but stress the importance of first having a quantifiable measure of diversity and then studying the causes of deviations from the "ideal" measurement. One further benefit Simpson's index provides is it allows researchers to control for collection size when comparing diversity scores across libraries.

Serebnick and Quinn (1995) analyzed 104 public libraries' holdings in the OCLC database against their librarian-composed checklist. After ranking each title as pro, anti or neutral through publisher reviews and by examination of the books themselves, Serebnick and Quinn uses Simpson's index to calculate diversity scores. They found diversity scores were highest overall in abortion and disarmament holdings, however, at least five libraries scored a zero – the lowest, or least diverse, score possible – for their abortion collections. Although the checklist included roughly equal numbers of anti, pro and neutral abortion

titles, anti-abortion titles were less widely held overall than pro or neutral titles, confirming Harmeyer (1995). The authors were not able to determine what score represented a "good" or "adequate" level of diversity, however, Serebnick and Quinn noted this finding challenges the "assumption that librarians usually succeed in adequately representing pro and anti views" and warrants additional exploration (p. 36).

Quinn (1996) built on this research in his dissertation, *Abortion Titles in Indiana Public Libraries: An Examination of Factors Influencing Collection Diversity*. The author surveyed holdings of 26 small- to medium-sized public libraries against a checklist of 139 abortion-related books, pamphlets and videos. Confirming Harmeyer (1995) and Serebnick and Quinn (1995), pro-choice titles were more widely held than pro-life titles in Indiana public libraries. Using Simpson's index, Quinn calculated the collection diversity of libraries' holdings in abortion. On average, collection diversity scores were lower than they were in Serebnick and Quinn (1995); also smaller libraries tended to have lower collection diversity scores with one of the 26 libraries owning no titles whatsoever on abortion. This suggests a library's budget or size may have an impact on collection diversity.

In addition to the checklist methodology, Quinn also surveyed librarians at the 26 libraries to determine other variables that may be influencing collection diversity. While the surveyed librarians were slightly more pro-choice, the results indicate that librarian's attitude toward abortion was not a strong predictor of collection diversity. On the other hand, librarians' level of education and attitude toward censorship were predictors of collection diversity. Fiske (1959) reported similar findings in regard to a librarian's level of education and their willingness to collect controversial materials. Quinn recommended more research be conducted on other factors impacting book selection, especially on community variables, such a political environment.

Three studies (Broadbent, 1997; Cahill, 2004; Oberg & Klein, 2003) have examined the relationship between a library's political environment and the extent of its holdings of potentially controversial materials. Both Cahill and Oberg & Klein measured the extent of libraries' collections of gay/lesbian/bisexual/transgender/questioning (GLBTQ) materials. Oberg and Klein used WorldCat to search the holdings of all public and academic libraries in Oregon for nonfiction GLBTQ titles. No attempt was made to distinguish between pro-versus anti-gay materials. The results indicate that libraries with the largest collections of GLBTQ-related titles tended to be located in "traditionally liberal" areas and the smallest collections tended to be in "traditionally conservative" areas. Unfortunately, the authors did not fully explain their findings or provide definitions for how a given community's political status was determined. In addition, because pro- and anti-gay materials were not differentiated, it is impossible to say whether collections in liberal and conservative areas were more or less diverse.

Cahill (2004), in her unpublished master's paper, attempted to determine the relationship, if any, between political climate and a public library's collection of young adult GLBTQ fiction. The author surveyed public library systems in six state capitals – three conservative states and three liberal – against a checklist of 95 young adult fiction titles. No relationship was found between political climate and the extent of libraries' GLBTQ young adult fiction collections. Given that state capital library systems may have more resources and may attract more highly educated librarians, both of which have been shown in previous studies (Fiske, 1959; Quinn, 1996) to positively affect collection diversity, different results may have been found through a wider survey of libraries in these six states. Further, a study of pro, neutral and anti titles on a GLBTQ-related subject may be a more revealing indicator of collection diversity in a highly conservative or highly liberal state.

Interestingly, although numerous studies have measured public libraries' *fiction* holdings of GLBTQ titles for adults (McKenzie & Pecoskie, 2004; Sweetland & Christensen, 1995), young adults (Boon & Howard, 2004; Cahill, 2004; Jenkins, 1998; Rothbauer & McKechnie, 1999; Spence, 1999), and children (Spence, 2000), few studies have been conducted of GLBTQ *nonfiction* holdings (Oberg & Klein and Ritchie, 2001) and no study that I have found has attempted to measure the diversity of holdings of opposing viewpoints on a GLBTQ-related issue.

Broadbent's (1997) unpublished master's paper, *Abortion titles held by public libraries in liberal and conservative states: A look at bias in diversity,* most directly informs my research question. Broadbent used Serebnick and Quinn's (1995) list as the basis of her checklist study but subtracted all books that had not received at least one review. The researcher consulted a political almanac to select six states in three different geographical regions of the country – one liberal and one conservative state in the West, Midwest and East – and surveyed all OCLC-member libraries in each state. Diversity scores were calculated using Simpson's index. The results indicated a pro-choice bias in public libraries' holdings but no correlation was found between a state's political climate and the level of collection diversity.

Broadbent's findings provide a basis of comparison for future studies on this topic; however, some aspects of the study can be called into question. In particular, it is unclear how a given state's liberal or conservative status was determined in the consulted almanac. Were these the most conservative or just moderately conservative states? Was a state's political status derived from the results of a recent election or registered voters? Further, the researcher's decision to eliminate all titles not receiving a review disproportionately affected the anti-abortion titles; pro-abortion titles were cut by only 9 percent while anti titles were pared by 67 percent. Broadbent argued if a title had not received a review it was not

reasonable for a librarian to be aware of the book's existence. Many extremist political titles, however, are published by small presses that do not get reviewed in mainstream selection tools. Serebnick and Quinn (1995) determined that 89.5 percent of the anti-abortion titles on the librarian-generated checklist had not been reviewed in any of the six largest selection tools. A checklist constructed solely of materials garnering reviews might place undue emphasis on moderate opinions at the expense of more controversial voices on a given subject.

Although numerous studies measuring collection diversity were conducted in the 1980s and 1990s, there has been little recent research on the subject. While public library holdings on abortion have been well-documented, little to no research has been attempted to measure the diversity of nonfiction GLBTQ-related holdings. As the nation's political parties and general population continue to become more partisan in nature, it is necessary to revisit the issue of collection bias to track any changes in levels of collection diversity over time.

Method

This study will examine California public libraries' holdings of adult nonfiction monographs on abortion and same-sex marriage to determine whether a relationship exists between the diversity of opinions a library's collection and the political orientation of the library's community. To achieve this objective the research was carried out in five stages: (1) identification of controversial topics to be studied; (2) assembly of a checklist of representative titles on these controversial topics, with each title categorized by viewpoint; (3) identification of public libraries to be studied; (4) selection of an indicator of political orientation; and (5) analysis of the holdings data, with an attempt to calculate Simpson's index scores to measure the level of collection diversity.

Controversial Topics

The topics of abortion and same-sex marriage were chosen because they are both hot-button subjects of debate in contemporary society. For example, in the most recent 2006 general election, abortion-related ballot measures were voted on by three states, while same-sex marriage bans were on the ballot in eight states. These two issues also lend themselves to a "pro" vs. "anti" delineation, which allows for convenient analysis.

Selecting Abortion Titles

As Serebnick (1982) discusses, researcher subjectivity often influences the construction of checklist studies. To guard against this, this study will adopt the methodology used in Serebnick (1981) and use Library of Congress subject headings, where possible, to assemble a checklist of titles. Although LC subject headings exist for both the pro-life movement and pro-choice movement, they are used at different rates: Over the last five years (2006-2002), the pro-life movement heading was used to describe 13 adult nonfiction monographs while the pro-choice movement heading was used only to describe seven titles. Given these numerical limitations, these two subject headings could not be solely relied upon for assembling and categorizing the checklist.

The study population was identified by using the Library of Congress online catalog (http://catalog.loc.gov). The catalog was searched for titles published from 2002 to 2006 that had at least one of the following headings: abortion, pro-life movement or pro-choice movement. The search was limited to books originally published in English. Government reports, working papers and non-monograph results, including serials, sound recordings and motion pictures, as well as books with fiction, drama, poetry, bibliography or juvenile literature subdivisions were discarded. Books assigned medical subject headings, such as "Abortion, Spontaneous," "Abortion, Induced" or "Abortion, Habitual," and one title discussing abortion in farm animals were also discarded, as it was considered unlikely that public libraries would collect technical or agricultural titles of this nature.

A large number of books described by one of these three LC subject headings discuss abortion exclusively in another country. A decision was then made to discard all titles that only had LC-applied geographic subdivisions outside of the United States, as it was considered unlikely that a California public library would collect titles, such as *Abortion and*

divorce law in Ireland (2004); books without any geographic subdivisions, or books with geographic subdivisions for both the U.S. and another country, were retained. Finally, if a book appeared in the results in multiple editions between 2002 and 2006, it was counted only once at the earliest date of publication. The existence of either edition, however, will count as a holding when searching the public libraries' catalogs.

Upon a preliminary search of WorldCat it was discovered that some of these titles were held by very few libraries and, in some instances, by only one library—the Library of Congress. A measure was needed to determine what level of holdings on WorldCat would indicate the book had a reasonable chance being held by a California public library. In a 2006 study, Bernstein found that items with more than 50 holdings in WorldCat could be defined as "non-scarce." For the purpose of this study, it was decided that only non-scarce titles would be included in the sample. Each of the remaining 100 titles was searched in WorldCat and all titles with 50 or less holdings were discarded, leaving a final sample of 66 titles. The use of Bernstein's measure may have skewed the sampling frame toward pro-choice or anti-abortion titles if books espousing one or the other of these two opinions tend to be more heavily collected. Using a higher holdings threshold might produce a more realistic list of titles that are likely to appear in a public library, however, it is recognized that the more-than-50 threshold is somewhat arbitrary.

The remaining 66 titles represent the sampling frame and were assembled into a list ordered first by publication date then by the first author's last name. A sample of 20 titles was be selected using the Table of Random Numbers in Appendix C of Babbie (2004). This resulted in a sampling ratio of 3/10, or 30 percent of the population size.

After the sample was determined, content analysis was employed to assign each book to one of three categories using Quinn's (1996) definitions: pro (generally in favor of

abortion, or "pro-choice"), anti (generally against abortion, or "pro-life"), or neutral (expressing either no opinion or both pro and anti opinions). In order to categorize the titles, each book was physically examined by the researcher. The title, author, table of contents, cover, introduction and other preliminary material was examined to determine whether the book should be categorized as pro, anti or neutral (see Appendix A for codebook).

This methodology relies on the consistency of subject headings chosen by Library of Congress catalogers; any bias or inconsistency in applying these subject heading on the catalogers' end could skew the results. Bias on the researcher's part could also lead to inconsistent categorization of the individual titles. Because the categorization of titles relies on evaluating latent content, the validity of the coding may be high but it has lower reliability. Also, it can not be assumed that a book added by the researcher to the "anti" or "pro" list expresses the beliefs of its assigned Library of Congress subject heading. For example, *Killing for life: The apocalyptic narrative of pro-life politics* (2002) has a pro-life movement LCSH, however, the book describes the pro-life movement's history of violence and does not espouse pro-life beliefs. Another limitation of this methodology is that the titles will be categorized after the systematic sample has been taken. This means the study sample could contain an unrepresentative number of titles from one category. While stratified systematic sampling might result in a more representative checklist, the impracticality of physically examining 100 books ruled against this method.

Selection of Same-Sex Marriage Titles

A similar methodology was followed when choosing titles on same-sex marriage. The relevant subject headings for books on this topic are "same-sex marriage" and "civil unions."

The Library of Congress online catalog was searched for titles published from 2002 to 2006 that had at least one of the two headings.

As described above, the search was limited to books originally published in English. Government reports, working papers and non-monograph results, including serials, sound recordings and motion pictures, as well as books with fiction, drama, poetry, bibliography or juvenile literature subdivisions were discarded. Books assigned only legal subdivisions, such as "Law and legislation" or "Legal status, laws, etc." were also discarded as a cursory search of OCLC indicates that most of these titles are held only by academic or law libraries. Books with geographic subdivisions only outside of the United States were discarded; titles without any geographic subdivisions were retained. Finally, if a book appeared in the results in multiple editions, it was counted only once at the most recent date of publication, however, the existence of either edition will count as a holding when searching the public libraries' catalogs.

Using Bernstein's (2006) non-scarce threshold, 10 titles were eliminated for having holdings in WorldCat of 50 or less. The remaining 47 titles represent the sampling frame and were assembled into a list ordered first by publication date and then by first author's last name. A sample of 20 titles as selected using the Table of Random Numbers in Appendix C of Babbie (2004), resulting in a sampling ratio of roughly 3/7, or 43 percent of the population size.

After the sample was determined, each book was assigned to one of three categories: pro (generally in favor of same-sex marriage), anti (generally against same-sex marriage), or neutral (expressing either no opinion or both pro and anti opinions). In order to categorize the titles, each book was physically examined by the researcher. The title, author, table of

contents, cover, introduction and other preliminary material was reviewed to determine whether the book should be categorized as pro, anti or neutral.

This method has the same limitations described above, however, because the sampling ratio is lower for same-sex marriage titles the results may be more reliable. Upon examination of the titles by the researcher, it appears as though some titles included in the sampling frame may be written for the young adult audience; because a "juvenile literature" subdivision was not assigned by the Library of Congress, these titles were not omitted from the results, therefore cataloger inconsistency could play a larger role in skewing the same-sex marriage checklist titles than the abortion titles.

Selection of Libraries

California was chosen because it is a large state with conservative and liberal regions. Californians also have voted on two abortion-related and one same-sex marriage ballot measure since 2000, so the issues are the subject of active debate within the state. Further, statistics about California's public libraries are easily available, and the libraries themselves are diverse in extent and population served.

The November 1, 2006, update of the *California Library Directory, 2006* lists 179 public library systems. The largest of which, the County of Los Angeles Public Library, has 88 points of service (including branches, book stations and bookmobiles), while several areas are served by one-library systems. The populations served by these libraries vary from the nearly 4 million served by the Los Angeles Public Library to the 1,262 people served by the Alpine County Library/Archives. California's Education Code requires public libraries to report statistics to the state librarian, who uses this information to compile the directory.

Given this requirement, one can be reasonably confident that all public libraries are represented in this directory.

As part of a 2005 initiative, the California State Library maintains the California Libraries Catalog (http://www.calcat.org/), which includes holdings information for all but three of the 179 public libraries in the state. Because a single-access catalog to all public library holdings exists, the census of public libraries in California was examined. Public libraries that do not report their holdings to the California Libraries Catalog and do not have an online catalog accessible on the free web were omitted from this study; the three non-participating libraries are Vernon Public Library, Irwindale Public Library and Victorville Public Library.

The county where each public library is located was then identified, and the libraries were compiled into a list. All 58 counties in California have at least one public library, with the exception of Sierra County, which is served by Plumas County Library. Because this study will be limited to California public libraries, the findings may be affected by variables specific to the state environment, and the results will not be generalizable to the rest of the country's libraries.

Indicator of Political Environment

The 2004 general presidential election was chosen as the indicator for a county's political orientation. For the purposes of this study, a county is considered liberal if more than 55 percent of the votes cast were for the Democratic candidate, John Kerry, and is conservative if more than 55 percent of the votes cast were for the Republican candidate, George W. Bush. Counties where neither candidate received more than 55 percent of the vote are considered moderate.

The California State Board of Elections maintains election results by county for all recent elections. Using this data, each library was categorized as serving a politically conservative, liberal or moderate population. It is recognized that 2004 presidential election results may not accurately convey the political environment of a county or their views on either abortion or same-sex marriage. Also, if a large county is served by several city library systems and one rural library system, it is possible that the overall election results are not representative of the specific population served by any one of those library systems. Despite these limitations, it was not considered practical to increase the granularity by determining each library's specific voting district.

Analysis

The 40 titles on the abortion and same-sex marriage checklists were searched using the California Libraries Catalog. Holdings for each title were recorded.

It was intended that Simpson's index would be used to calculate collection diversity scores. Serebnick and Quinn (1995) were the first researchers to apply this quantitative index of diversity to library collections, although this index is commonly used in many scientific disciplines, including information science. Because Simpson's Index is not biased by collection size, these scores would allow for a quantitative comparison of collection diversity across all of California's libraries The formula for Simpson's index is:

$$SI = 1 - \sum_{i=1}^{N} \pi_i^2$$

where N = the number of groups being measured (in this case, 3: anti, pro and neutral) and π_i = the proportion in the population of the *i*th group.

This formula can also be written as:

$$SI = 1 - [(a/d)^2 + (b/d)^2 + (c/d)^2]$$

where a, b and c are the number of anti, pro and neutral books in a collection and d = a + b + c, or the total number of books on a given checklist that were found in a library's collection. Quinn (1996) uses the following example to illustrate how Simpson's index operates. If a library has 15 titles evenly distributed across all three categories – five pro, five anti and five neutral titles – the score would be calculated like this:

$$SI = 1 - [(5/15)^2 + (5/15)^2 + (5/15)^2]$$

$$SI = 1 - [(.33)^2 + (.33)^2 + (.33)^2]$$

$$SI = 1 - [.11 + .11 + .11]$$

$$SI = 1 - .33$$

$$SI = .67$$

When only three categories are being measured the highest score is .67, representing a perfectly diverse collection, and the lowest score is 0, representing a perfectly un-diverse collection (e.g. the library only had neutral titles on the subject). The equal weighting of pro, anti and neutral titles also reflects the spirit of the ALA's *Library Bill of Rights* in that a library does not receive a higher diversity score for owning more neutral books – a diverse collection is one where all opinions are represented, not just neutral ones.

A criticism of the Simpson's index is one echoed by Pankake, Wittenborg and Carpenter (1995) in their comments on Harmeyer (1995) A diverse collection isn't necessarily a numerically balanced collection; one well-written comprehensive book on one side of the issue might balance out three ill-cited or poorly composed books on the other side. Although this formula may not provide a qualitative measure of a collection's diversity, it could allow for a quantitative comparison of California public library collections on these

subjects to determine whether certain viewpoints are over-represented or under-represented. Another limitation of Simpson's measure is that an "appropriate" diversity score has not been determined by previous studies using this index. Given this factor, this study would not attempt to classify libraries as "adequately" diverse based on these scores. Further, it is recognized that the political environment of a library's community is only one of many variables that may influence collection development decisions. Other variables include publishing trends on a given topic, the number of reviews a particular title receives, library budget, circulation levels, personal characteristics of the selector, and the existence of a written collection development policy.

Results

Categorizing Abortion Titles

Using random sampling, twenty titles on abortion were culled from the sampling frame. After physically examining each title, they were classified as pro (generally pro-choice), anti (generally anti-abortion), or neutral (either expressing no opinion or both pro and anti opinions). Figure 1 illustrates that these titles have a close-to-even distribution among the three categories. See Appendix B for a list of the checklist titles and their classification.

Figure 1: Categorization of Sample Abortion Titles

Class	*Number of Titles*
Pro-choice	7
Neutral	7
Anti-abortion	6
TOTAL	**20**

Categorizing Same-Sex Marriage Titles

Also using random sampling, twenty titles on same-sex marriage were culled from the sampling frame. After physically examining each title, it was discovered that the majority of titles were classified as pro (generally in favor of same-sex marriage) or neutral (either expressing no opinion or both pro and anti opinions), with only one title classified as anti (generally against same-sex marriage), as illustrated in Figure 2. The predominance of pro titles could be a quirk of the sampling process. If these numbers are representative of the sampling frame as it a whole, it indicates that few books with an anti-same-sex marriage

perspective were published during that five-year period, or that these titles were published by

as tracts or by non-mainstream publishers and did not end up in the Library of Congress

catalog. See Appendix B for a list of the 20 checklist titles and their classification.

Figure 2: Categorization of Sample Same-Sex Marriage Titles

Class	*Number of Titles*
Pro-same-sex marriage	14
Neutral	5
Anti-same-sex marriage	1
TOTAL	**20**

Political Orientation of California Public Libraries' Communities

The November 1, 2006, update of the *California Library Directory, 2006* lists 179 public

library systems. Three of those libraries have been excluded from results, as they do not

report holdings to the California Libraries Catalog. The remaining 176 public libraries are

located in 57 of California's 58 counties. In the 2004 presidential election, voters in 15

California counties voted predominately for Democrat John Kerry; these counties are

classed as liberal. As depicted in Figure 3, early twice the number of counties are classed as

conservative, with voters favoring Republican George Bush by more than 55% in these

areas, however, these counties tended to have smaller populations with fewer libraries.

Forty-seven percent of the state's libraries are located in "liberal" counties, and these libraries

serve 51 percent of the state's population. While fewer counties have a liberal political

climate, these counties represent slightly more than half of the state's citizens.

Figure 3: Characteristics of California Public Libraries

Political Orientation	No. of Counties	No. of Libraries	% of Libraries	Population Served	*% of State's Population*
Liberal	15	83	47%	18,707,367	51%
Moderate	13	33	19%	7,178,058	19%
Conservative	30	60	34%	11,132,170	30%
TOTAL	**58**	**176**	**100%**	**37,017,595**	**100%**

Note: Political orientation determined by results of 2004 presidential election.

Interestingly, four counties – San Francisco, Alameda, Marin and Santa Cruz – comprising 18 libraries, can be classed as extremely liberal, with more than 70% of the electorate voting for Kerry. In contrast, only two counties – Modoc and Lassen – which each have two libraries, can be classed as extremely conservative, with more than 70% of the vote for Bush.

Distribution of Abortion Books

Although the abortion checklist titles were almost evenly distributed between the pro, anti and neutral categories, they were held by very few California public libraries. In fact, 12 of the titles were held by less than five libraries, with six titles being held by none of the libraries. On average, each sample abortion title was held by 7.9 libraries statewide, which means the 176 libraries held on average only 0.9 checklist titles per system. See Appendix C for full results of the checklist survey.

This could mean that California's public librarians have not been collecting many new books on abortion because few important titles have been published over the last five years; out of an attempt to avoid titles on a controversial topic; due to the strength of their existing nonfiction abortion collection; due to lack of funding; or because acquisitions librarians have favored books on other current-interest topics over abortion. Regardless of

the reason, the lack of data precludes the use of Simpson's index for analyzing the diversity of libraries' collections on abortion.

The existing data does highlight a few interesting points about the books themselves. The most widely collected title overall, *With liberty and justice for all: A life spent protecting the right to choose* by Kate Michelman, was judged to be a "pro" title. It is held by 40 California public libraries: 5 libraries serving conservative communities (or 8% of all California libraries located in conservative areas), 9 libraries (27%) serving moderate communities, and 26 libraries (31%) serving liberal communities. This book appears to be disproportionately held by libraries in relatively liberal and moderate communities.

On the other hand, the most widely held "anti" title, *The party of death: The democrats, the media, the courts, and the disregard for human life* by Ramesh Ponnuru, is held by only 12 libraries: 3% of the libraries serving conservative communities, 9% serving moderate communities and 8% serving liberal communities. Although the scant data does not allow for hard conclusions, it is curious that the more libraries in liberal climates hold this anti-abortion book than those in conservative areas.

Ponnuru's book was published by Regnery, the nation's self-described "leading conservative publisher" (Ross, 2005, ¶ 1), while Michelman's book was published by Hudson Street Press, a division of Penguin Group. This provides anecdotal evidence to suggest that political aspirations or size of a book's publisher may be an important variable in the public library acquisitions process.

Distribution of Same-Sex Marriage Books

The same-sex marriage checklist titles were held nearly twice as frequently as the abortion titles, however, the overall numbers were still relatively small. Each title was held on

average by 14.8 library systems, which means each of the 176 libraries held on average 1.7 of the checklist titles. Six titles were held by four or less libraries—of which two titles were held by none of the libraries—while only two titles were held by more than 50 libraries. See Appendix D for the full results of the checklist survey.

Again because the number of libraries reporting holdings of the sample titles is so low, and because the distribution of pro, neutral and anti books is radically skewed toward the pro side, a broader analysis using Simpson's index as outlined in the methodology is not possible.

Other interesting patterns, however, are evident in the results. The only book from the sample classed as "anti" is *Outrage: How gay activists and liberal judges are trashing democracy to redefine marriage* by Peter Sprigg. Seven public libraries in California report holding this title in their collection: 1 library serving a conservative communit, 4 serving moderate communities and 2 serving liberal communities. Of the 10 libraries serving the largest populations, only two hold this title. None of the 25 libraries serving the most liberal communities holds this title. With only one anti title in the checklist it is impossible to draw any conclusions, however, it would be interesting to discover through further research whether librarians actively bypassed this anti-same-sex marriage title for its political viewpoint or if other variables explain this book's absence from all of the libraries in the most liberal counties.

The most widely collected title overall, *Civil wars: A battle for gay marriage* by David Moats, was judged to be a "pro" title. It is held by 68 libraries: 13 libraries serving conservative communities (or 22% of all California libraries located in conservative areas), 9 (27%) serving moderate communities and 46 (55%) serving liberal communities. This book appears to be disproportionately held by libraries serving liberal communities.

Similar to the most popular pro and anti sample titles on abortion, Sprigg's book was published by conservative press Regnery, while Moats' volume was published by Harcourt, a more mainstream agency, giving further anecdotal support to the idea that a publisher's size and political perspective is an important variable in the collection development process.

Interestingly, the data shows that libraries serving liberal communities hold more checklist titles per library, regardless of the political slant of the book, than do libraries serving neutral or conservative communities. Libraries in liberal areas held 2.4 of the same-sex marriage sample titles per system as compared with 1.6 titles in moderate areas and 0.8 titles in conservative areas. Figure 4 offers a graphic illustration of this result.

Figure 4: Average Number of Checklist Titles Held vs. Political Orientation of Community
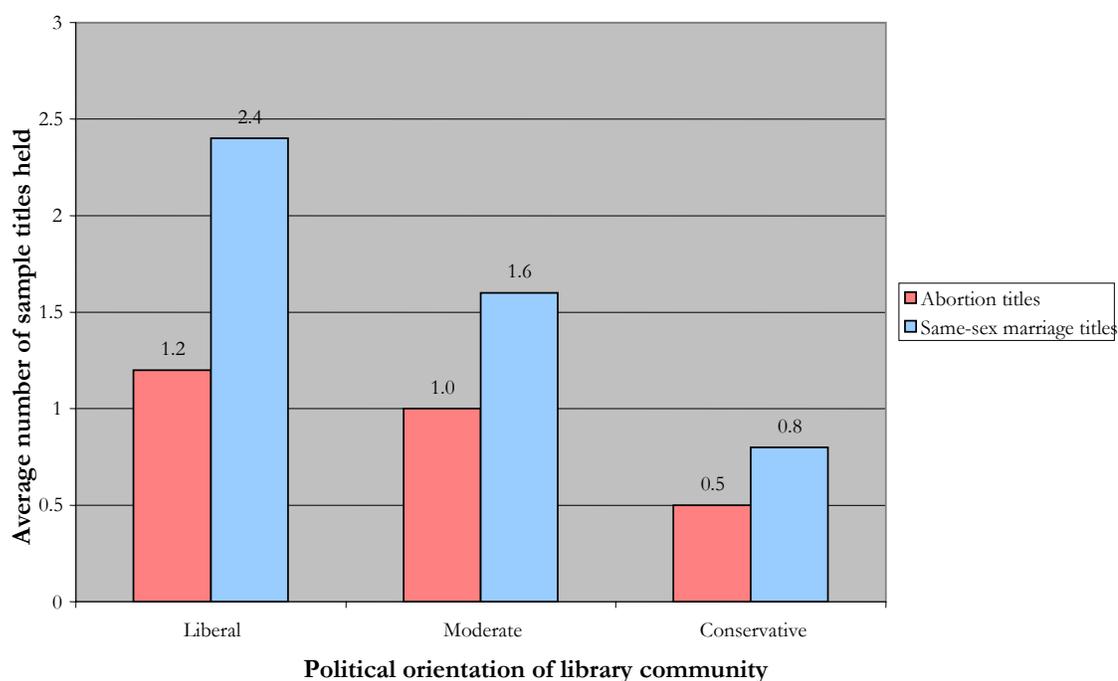
This could suggest that libraries situated in liberal climates are more likely to collect books on controversial subjects, however, other variables could be at work to explain these difference, including the size of the libraries' budgets and populations; libraries in conservative counties might serve smaller populations, have smaller budgets and therefore

are not able to collect as many titles. Even when controlling for size, though, the data seems to indicate a difference in the number of titles held at libraries in liberal vs. conservative counties. As Figure 5 illustrates, when looking only at the highest quintile of libraries, when ordered by population size, the libraries in liberal areas held 5.6 titles, while the conservative libraries held less than half that number; in the lowest quintile this disparity was also demonstrated with liberal libraries reporting holdings of 1.3 and conservative libraries 0.2.

Figure 5: Number of Same-Sex Marriage Titles Held vs. Population and Political Orientation of Community
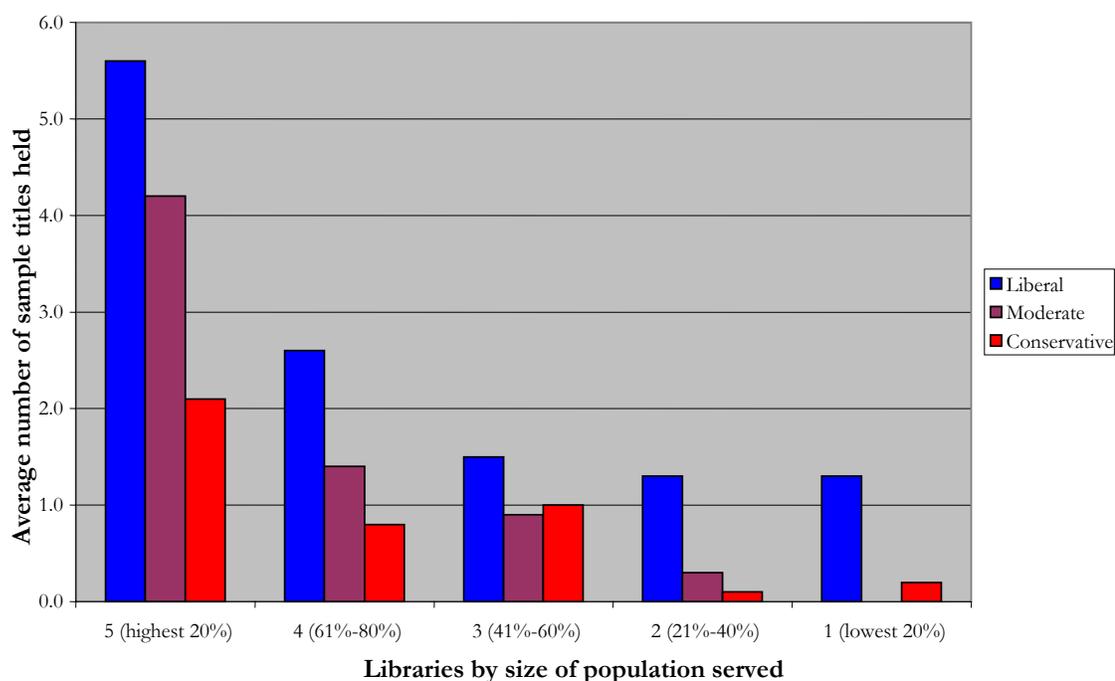
Although the lack of substantial holding data for the checklist titles makes it impossible to draw any hard conclusions as to the relationship of political climate and collection diversity of controversial books, it does appear that a library's size has some impact on the number of checklist titles owned overall. Regardless of political slant, the average number of titles held appears to decrease dramatically from libraries serving large populations to those serving smaller ones.

Summary and Recommendations for Further Research

The methodology employed in this study failed to yield enough data to employ Simpson's index to quantify the diversity of California public libraries' collections of abortion and same-sex marriage titles or to characterize the relationship between political climate and collection diversity. Given this, no evidence was found to refute or confirm the hypothesis that libraries situated in politically moderate communities are more likely to have diverse collections on abortion and same-sex marriage than libraries in liberal or conservative areas. The holdings data did suggest that political climate may be an important factor in determining the overall number of books held on a controversial subject, regardless of viewpoint.

Many variables may be influencing librarians' selection decisions. While an attempt was made in this study to isolate one variable in the collection development process—the political orientation of a library's community—further research is needed to examine the spectrum of variables at play when collection decisions are made. These variables include a libraries' size and budget, the number of books on a particular subject being published, the perspective, size or perceived importance of the publisher, publicity and reviews of a title, and librarians' personal viewpoints. In addition, when the given subject has a long history as abortion does, further studies are recommended to study how acquisition decisions are influenced by a library's existing collection on the subject. In many cases where libraries did not own the checklist titles on abortion, all of which were published from 2002 and 2006, it

is possible that these libraries already had strong collections in this subject and new books on the topic were not deemed a collection development priority. It is also possible that current books on the topic may be approaching the subject through avenues—for example, a book on the ramifications of the emergence of a conservative judiciary—and these titles did not appear in the sample when searching only on abortion-related LC subject headings.

Article II of the ALA's Library Bill of Rights charges librarians with the provision of "materials and information presenting all points of view on current and historical issues." While most librarians might agree with this ideal in the abstract, it must be weighed against the economic reality of public libraries' often meager book budgets. Libraries will never be able to collect everything. Given this fundamental limitation, how are librarians interpreting this directive when making collection decisions? When book budgets are tight, should the collection of extremist or edgy material remain a priority even if it comes at the expense of more mainstream publications? What best serves the patron? Given the number of factors involved in collection development, qualitative research on how librarians choose books might shed more light on these complicated questions than will further checklist studies.

The American Library Association (1980) states that "all libraries are forums for information and ideas." If educating the populace about contemporary issues is one of the central tenets of librarianship, it is important that libraries maintain diverse collections on controversial subjects. Given the ongoing political and popular debate over abortion and same-sex marriage, it is more important than ever to measure how successfully librarians are living up to this challenge.

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Appendix A: Codebook for Categorizing Abortion and Same-Sex Marriage Books

Codebook

Author and Short Title	Title	Publisher	Table of Contents	Acknowledgements	Introduction	Preface/Foreword	Front/Back Cover	Total	Comments
Brockopp. Islamic Ethics	0	0	0	n/a	n/a	0	0	0	
Burke. Forbidden Grief	-1	0	-1	0	0	-1	n/a	-3	
Feldt. Behind Every	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	4	
Kaldera. Handfasting	0	0	0	n/a	n/a	1	0	2	**(+1)** Includes chapter on designing a same-sex marriage ceremony.
Pro (1), Anti (-1), Neutral (0), Not Applicable (n/a)									

Notes:

- If the book is in hardback but lacks a dust jacket, mark "n/a" under "Front/Back Cover."

- Books with a positive score of 2 or more will be categorized as pro; books with a score of -2 or less will be categorized as anti; and books with scores of -1, 0, or 1 will be categorized as neutral.

- The comments section can be used to overrule the total score, if necessary. For example, a book that is not distinguished one way or another by its cover, title, publisher, or most front matter, but has a "pro" foreword would receive a total score of 1, putting it in the neutral category. If that same book includes an explicit statement in the foreword, however, saying "this book advocates for the legalization of same-sex marriage," this would be added to the comments section and the book would be categorized as "pro" despite its number.

Appendix B: Checklist Titles and Points of View

Abortion Checklist Titles

Point of View	Author(s), Date of Published, Title, and Publication Information
Neutral	Brockopp, J. E. (Ed.). (2003). *Islamic ethics of life: Abortion, war, and euthanasia.* Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press.
Anti	Burke. T. K. (2002). *Forbidden grief: The unspoken pain of abortion.* Springfield, IL: Acorn Books.
Neutral	Burns, G. (2005). *The moral veto: Framing contraception, abortion, and cultural pluralism in the United States.* New York: Cambridge University Press.
Anti	Dellapenna, J. W. (2005). *Dispelling the myths of abortion history.* Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press.
Neutral	Dudley, W. (Ed.). (2006). *Reproductive rights.* San Diego: Greenhaven Press.
Pro	Feldt, G. (2002). *Behind every choice is a story.* Denton, TX: University of North Texas Press.
Pro	Francome, C. (2004). *Abortion in the USA and the UK.* London: Ashgate Publishing.
Anti	Hui, E. C. (2002). *At the beginning of life: Dilemmas in theological bioethics.* Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press.
Pro	Knudsen, L. M. (2006). *Reproductive rights in a global context: South Africa, Uganda, Peru, Denmark, United States, Vietnam, Jordan.* Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press.
Anti	Kreeft, P. (2002). *Three approaches to abortion: A thoughtful and compassionate guide to today's most controversial issue.* San Francisco: Ignatius Press.
Neutral	Lee, E. (2003). *Abortion, motherhood, and mental health : Medicalizing reproduction in the United States and Great Britain.* Hawthorne, NY: Aldine de Gruyter.
Pro	Michelman, K. (2005). *With liberty and justice for all: A life spent protecting the right to choose.* New York: Hudson Street Press.
Neutral	Ojeda, A. (Ed.). (2003). *Should abortion rights be restricted?* San Diego: Greenhaven Press.
Anti	Ponnuru, R. (2006). *The party of death: The Democrats, the media, the courts, and the disregard for human life.* Washington, DC: Regnery Publishing.
Pro	Sanger, A. (2004). *Beyond choice: Reproductive freedom in the 21st century.* New York: PublicAffairs.
Neutral	Schiff, D. (2002). *Abortion in Judaism.* New York: Cambridge University Press.
Anti	Schooler, J. E. (2004). *Mom, dad ... I'm pregnant: When your daughter or son faces an unplanned pregnancy.* Colorado Springs, CO: NavPress Publishing.
Pro	Shrage, L. (2003). *Abortion and social responsibility: Depolarizing the debate.* New York: Oxford University Press.
Pro	Sloan, D., & Hartz. P. (2002). *Choice: A doctor's experience with the abortion dilemma.* New York: International Publishers.
Neutral	Watkins, C. (Ed.). (2005). *The ethics of abortion.* San Diego: Greenhaven Press.

Same-Sex Marriage Checklist Titles

Point of View	Author(s), Date of Published, Title, and Publication Information
Pro	Auger, J. A. (2003). *Passing through: The end-of-life decisions of lesbians and gay men*. Black Point, NS: Fernwood Publishing.
Neutral	Burns, K. (Ed.). (2005). *Gay marriage*. San Diego: Greenhaven Press.
Pro	Cahill, S. (2004). *Same-sex marriage in the United States: Focus on the facts*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
Pro	Ellison, M. M. (2004). *Same-sex marriage?: A Christian ethical analysis*. Cleveland, OH: Pilgrim Press.
Pro	Freeman, E. (2002). *The wedding complex: Forms of belonging in modern American culture*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Neutral	Friedman, L. S. (Ed.). (2006). *Gay marriage: Introducing issues with opposing viewpoints*. San Diego: Greenhaven Press.
Pro	Jordan, M. D. (2005). *Blessing same-sex unions: The perils of queer romance and the confusions of Christian marriage*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Pro	Kaldera, R., & Schwartzstein, T. (2003). *Handfasting and wedding rituals: Welcoming Hera's blessing*. St. Paul, MN: Llewellyn.
Pro	Lahey, K. A., & Alderson, K. (2004). *Same-sex marriage: The personal and the political*. Toronto: Insomniac Press.
Pro	Moats, D. (2004). *Civil wars: A battle for gay marriage*. New York: Harcourt.
Pro	Mohr, R. D. (2005). *The long arc of justice: Lesbian and gay marriage, equality, and rights*. New York: Columbia University Press.
Pro	Pinello, D. R. (2006). *America's struggle for same-sex marriage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Neutral	Pories, K. (Ed.). (2004). *The M word: Writers on same-sex marriage*. Chapel Hill, NC: Algonquin Books of Chapel Hill.
Pro	Rennert, A. (Ed.). *We do: A celebration of gay and lesbian marriage*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books.
Pro	Savage, D. (2005). *The commitment: Love, sex, marriage, and my family*. New York: Dutton.
Pro	Snyder, R. C. (2006). *Gay marriage and democracy: Equality for all*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
Anti	Sprigg, P. (2004). *Outrage: How gay activists and liberal judges are trashing democracy to redefine marriage*. Washington, DC: Regnery Publishing.
Neutral	Sullivan, A. (Ed.). (2004). *Same-sex marriage, pro and con: A reader*. New York: Vintage Books.
Pro	Temple, G. (2004). *Gay unions: In the light of scripture, tradition, and reason*. New York: Church Publishing.
Neutral	Wardle, L. D. (Ed.). (2003). *Marriage and same-sex unions: A debate*. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Appendix C: Abortion Checklist Survey Results

Checklist Abortion Titles Held at California Public Libraries

Library Name	Brockopp	Burke	Burns	Dellapenna	Dudley	Feldt	Francome	Hui	Knudsen	Kreeft	Lee	Michelman	Ojeda	Ponnuru	Sanger	Schiff	Schooler	Shrage	Sloan	Watkins	Total
A. K. Smiley Public Library (Redlands)															x						**1**
Alameda County Library																					**0**
Alameda Free Library																					**0**
Alhambra Public Library																					**0**
Alpine County Library/Archives																					**0**
Altadena Library District												x								x	**2**
Amador County Library																					**0**
Anaheim Public Library																					**0**
Arcadia Public Library																				x	**1**
Azusa City Library																					**0**
Banning Unified School District Library District												x									**1**
Beaumont Library District														x							**1**
Belvedere-Tiburon Library												x									**1**
Benicia Public Library																					**0**
Berkeley Public Library	x											x								x	**3**
Beverly Hills Public Library												x									**1**
Blanchard/Santa Paula Public Library District																					**0**
Brawley Public Library																					**0**
Buena Park Library District																					**0**
Burbank Public Library						x						x									**2**
Burlingame Public Library																					**0**
Butte County Library																					**0**
Calaveras County Library																					**0**
Camarena Memorial Public Library																					**0**
Carlsbad City Library												x	x	x							**3**

Library Name	Brockopp	Burke	Burns	Dellapenna	Dudley	Feldt	Francome	Hui	Knudsen	Kreeft	Lee	Michelman	Ojeda	Ponnuru	Sanger	Schiff	Schooler	Shrage	Sloan	Watkins	Total
Cerritos Public Library															x						1
Chula Vista Public Library												x									1
City of Calabasas Library																					0
Coalinga-Huron Unified School District Library District																					0
Colton Public Library																					0
Colusa County Library																					0
Commerce Public Library																					0
Contra Costa County Library			x									x	x	x							4
Corona Public Library																					0
Coronado Public Library					x							x									2
County of Los Angeles Public Library												x									1
Covina Public Library																					0
Daly City Public Library					x							x									2
Del Norte County Library District																					0
Dixon Public Library District																					0
Downey City Library													x								1
El Centro Public Library																					0
El Dorado County Library																					0
El Segundo Public Library																					0
Escondido Public Library																					0
Folsom Public Library																					0
Fresno County Free Library													x								1
Fullerton Public Library																					0
Glendale Public Library					x									x							2
Glendora Library & Cultural Center					x																1
Harrison Memorial Library (Carmel)																					0
Hayward Public Library																					0
Hemet Public Library																					0
Humboldt County Library					x							x									2

	Brockopp	Burke	Burns	Dellapenna	Dudley	Feldt	Francome	Hui	Knudsen	Kreeft	Lee	Michelman	Ojeda	Ponnuru	Sanger	Schiff	Schooler	Shrage	Sloan	Watkins	Total
Library Name														x							
Huntington Beach Library														x				x			2
Imperial County Library																					0
Imperial Public Library																					0
Inglewood Public Library																					0
Inyo County Free Library																					0
Kern County Library System					x	x						x								x	4
Kings County Library																					0
Lake County Library																					0
Larkspur Public Library																					0
Lincoln Public Library																					0
Livermore Public Library																					0
Lodi Public Library																					0
Lompoc Public Library																					0
Long Beach Public Library		x										x									2
Los Angeles Public Library	x	x			x							x	x	x	x			x		x	9
Los Gatos Public Library																					0
Madera County Library																					0
Marin County Free Library												x			x						2
Mariposa County Library																					0
Mendocino County Library		x																			1
Menlo Park Public Library																					0
Merced County Library																					0
Mill Valley Public Library					x							x									2
Mission Viejo Library																					0
Modoc County Free Library																					0
Mono County Free Library																					0
Monrovia Public Library													x								1
Monterey County Free Libraries													x		x						2
Monterey Park Bruggemeyer Library												x									1

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Library Name	Brockopp	Burke	Burns	Dellapenna	Dudley	Feldt	Francome	Hui	Knudsen	Kreeft	Lee	Michelman	Ojeda	Ponnuru	Sanger	Schiff	Schooler	Shrage	Sloan	Watkins	Total
Monterey Public Library																					0
Moreno Valley Public Library																					0
Mountain View Public Library																					0
Murrieta Public Library																					0
Napa City-County Library						x							x		x						3
National City Public Library																					0
Nevada County Library						x						x	x								3
Newport Beach Public Library																					0
Oakland Public Library		x										x	x		x					x	5
Oceanside Public Library												x					x				2
Ontario City Library																					0
Orange County Public Library		x			x							x	x	x							5
Orange Public Library												x									1
Orland Free Library																					0
Oxnard Public Library	x											x	x		x						4
Pacific Grove Public Library																					0
Palm Springs Public Library															x						1
Palmdale City Library												x									1
Palo Alto City Library					x							x		x						x	4
Palo Verde Valley Library District																					0
Palos Verdes Library District														x							1
Pasadena Public Library		x			x							x	x	x	x						6
Paso Robles Public Library																					0
Placentia Library District																					0
Placer County Library					x																1
Pleasanton Public Library																					0
Plumas County Library																					0
Pomona Public Library													x								1
Porterville Public library																					0

Library Name	Brockopp	Burke	Burns	Dellapenna	Dudley	Feldt	Francome	Hui	Knudsen	Kreeft	Lee	Michelman	Ojeda	Ponnuru	Sanger	Schiff	Schooler	Shrage	Sloan	Watkins	Total
Rancho Cucamonga Public Library																					0
Rancho Mirage Public Library																					0
Redondo Beach Public Library												x									1
Redwood City Public Library																	x				1
Richmond Public Library																					0
Riverside County Library System																					0
Riverside Public Library													x								1
Roseville Public Library																					0
Sacramento Public Library		x										x	x		x			x			5
Salinas Public Library																					0
San Anselmo Public Library												x									1
San Benito County Free Library																					0
San Bernardino County Library												x	x		x						3
San Bernardino Public Library																					0
San Bruno Public Library															x						1
San Diego County Library														x							1
San Diego Public Library																					0
San Francisco Public Library						x			x												2
San Jose Public Library																				x	1
San Juan Bautista City Library																					0
San Leandro Community Library																					0
San Luis Obispo City-County Library																					0
San Marino Public Library																					0
San Mateo County Library		x				x								x	x						4
San Mateo Public Library														x							1
San Rafael Public Library															x						1
Santa Ana Public Library																					0
Santa Barbara Public Library						x															1
Santa Clara City Library						x							x		x						3

Library Name	Brockopp	Burke	Burns	Dellapenna	Dudley	Feldt	Francome	Hui	Knudsen	Kreeft	Lee	Michelman	Ojeda	Ponnuru	Sanger	Schiff	Schooler	Shrage	Sloan	Watkins	Total
Santa Clara County Free Library												x			x						2
Santa Cruz Public Libraries													x								1
Santa Fe Springs City Library																					0
Santa Maria Public Library					x								x		x						3
Santa Monica Public Library												x			x						2
Sausalito Public Library																					0
Shasta County Library																					0
Sierra Madre Public Library																					0
Signal Hill Public Library																					0
Siskiyou County Free Library																					0
Solano County Library														x			x				2
Sonoma County Library					x							x	x								3
South Pasadena Public Library					x																1
South San Francisco Public Library																					0
St. Helena Public Library																					0
Stanislaus County Free Library										x							x				2
Stockton-San Joaquin County Public Library			x	x	x							x			x						5
Sunnyvale Public Library												x			x						2
Susanville District Library																					0
Sutter County Library					x								x								2
Tehama County Library																					0
Thousand Oaks Library																					0
Torrance Public Library																					0
Trinity County Free Library																					0
Tulare County Free Library																					0
Tulare Public Library																					0
Tuolumne County Library																					0
Upland Public Library		x											x								2
Ventura County Library												x	x					x			3

Library Name	Brockopp	Burke	Burns	Dellapenna	Dudley	Feldt	Francome	Hui	Knudsen	Kreeft	Lee	Michelman	Ojeda	Ponnuru	Sanger	Schiff	Schooler	Shrage	Sloan	Watkins	Total
Watsonville Public Library																					0
Whittier Public Library													x								1
Willows Public Library																					0
Woodland Public Library																					0
Yolo County Library						x						x									2
Yuba County Library																					0
Total California Public Library Holdings	**3**	**9**	**2**	**0**	**11**	**16**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**40**	**21**	**12**	**26**	**0**	**4**	**4**	**0**	**8**	**158**

Appendix D: Same-Sex Marriage Checklist Survey Results

Checklist Same-Sex Marriage Titles Held at California Public Libraries

Library Name	Auger	Burns	Cahill	Ellison	Freeman	Friedman	Jordan	Kaldera	Lahey	Moats	Mohr	Pinello	Pories	Rennert	Savage	Snyder	Sprigg	Sullivan	Temple	Wardle	Total
A. K. Smiley Public Library (Redlands)										x						x					2
Alameda County Library			x					x							x						3
Alameda Free Library																					0
Alhambra Public Library		x											x								2
Alpine County Library/Archives																					0
Altadena Library District		x					x			x					x						4
Amador County Library																					0
Anaheim Public Library																					0
Arcadia Public Library																					0
Azusa City Library																					0
Banning Unified School District Library District																					0
Beaumont Library District																					0
Belvedere-Tiburon Library															x						1
Benicia Public Library																					0
Berkeley Public Library		x					x	x		x			x		x	x					7
Beverly Hills Public Library										x										x	2
Blanchard/Santa Paula Public Library District																					0
Brawley Public Library																					0
Buena Park Library District																					0
Burbank Public Library										x								x			2
Burlingame Public Library							x			x					x						3
Butte County Library																					0
Calaveras County Library																					0
Camarena Memorial Public Library																					0

Library Name	Auger	Burns	Cahill	Ellison	Freeman	Friedman	Jordan	Kaldera	Lahey	Moats	Mohr	Pinello	Pories	Rennert	Savage	Snyder	Sprigg	Sullivan	Temple	Wardle	Total
Carlsbad City Library										x			x		x	x					4
Cerritos Public Library		x				x				x					x						4
Chula Vista Public Library						x	x			x			x	x	x		x	x		x	9
City of Calabasas Library										x											1
Coalinga-Huron Unified School District Library District																					0
Colton Public Library																					0
Colusa County Library																					0
Commerce Public Library										x											1
Contra Costa County Library			x				x			x			x	x	x			x			7
Corona Public Library										x											1
Coronado Public Library																					0
County of Los Angeles Public Library															x						1
Covina Public Library																					0
Daly City Public Library							x														1
Del Norte County Library District																					0
Dixon Public Library District																					0
Downey City Library			x							x			x					x			4
El Centro Public Library																					0
El Dorado County Library										x											1
El Segundo Public Library																					0
Escondido Public Library																					0
Folsom Public Library																					0
Fresno County Free Library										x					x						2
Fullerton Public Library																					0
Glendale Public Library		x								x					x						3
Glendora Library & Cultural Center	x	x				x															3
Harrison Memorial Library (Carmel)		x						x										x			3
Hayward Public Library																					0
Hemet Public Library																					0

Library Name	Auger	Burns	Cahill	Ellison	Freeman	Friedman	Jordan	Kaldera	Lahey	Moats	Mohr	Pinello	Pories	Rennert	Savage	Snyder	Sprigg	Sullivan	Temple	Wardle	Total
Humboldt County Library										x						x		x			3
Huntington Beach Library			x							x								x		x	4
Imperial County Library																					0
Imperial Public Library																					0
Inglewood Public Library																					0
Inyo County Free Library										x											1
Kern County Library System		x								x			x								3
Kings County Library																					0
Lake County Library																					0
Larkspur Public Library														x	x						2
Lincoln Public Library																					0
Livermore Public Library										x					x						2
Lodi Public Library								x		x											2
Lompoc Public Library																					0
Long Beach Public Library			x					x		x		x			x	x		x		x	8
Los Angeles Public Library			x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x			13
Los Gatos Public Library																					0
Madera County Library																					0
Marin County Free Library							x	x		x				x	x						5
Mariposa County Library																					0
Mendocino County Library																					0
Menlo Park Public Library																					0
Merced County Library						x															1
Mill Valley Public Library										x						x					2
Mission Viejo Library			x																		1
Modoc County Free Library																					0
Mono County Free Library																					0
Monrovia Public Library																					0
Monterey County Free Libraries							x			x		x		x	x					x	6
Monterey Park Bruggemeyer Library																					0

Library Name	Auger	Burns	Cahill	Ellison	Freeman	Friedman	Jordan	Kaldera	Lahey	Moats	Mohr	Pinello	Pories	Rennert	Savage	Snyder	Sprigg	Sullivan	Temple	Wardle	Total
Monterey Public Library										x					x						2
Moreno Valley Public Library																					0
Mountain View Public Library										x											1
Murrieta Public Library																					0
Napa City-County Library										x											1
National City Public Library																					0
Nevada County Library																					0
Newport Beach Public Library															x						1
Oakland Public Library			x	x			x			x	x		x	x	x	x					9
Oceanside Public Library																x					1
Ontario City Library								x													1
Orange County Public Library			x					x		x					x	x	x			x	7
Orange Public Library										x								x			2
Orland Free Library																					0
Oxnard Public Library			x							x		x			x					x	5
Pacific Grove Public Library																					0
Palm Springs Public Library									x	x											2
Palmdale City Library			x		x					x											3
Palo Alto City Library										x						x	x				3
Palo Verde Valley Library District																					0
Palos Verdes Library District			x							x											2
Pasadena Public Library								x	x	x					x	x					5
Paso Robles Public Library															x						1
Placentia Library District																					0
Placer County Library										x											1
Pleasanton Public Library																					0
Plumas County Library		x																			1
Pomona Public Library			x					x													2
Porterville Public library																					0
Rancho Cucamonga Public Library																					0

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Library Name	Auger	Burns	Cahill	Ellison	Freeman	Friedman	Jordan	Kaldera	Lahey	Moats	Mohr	Pinello	Pories	Rennert	Savage	Snyder	Sprigg	Sullivan	Temple	Wardle	Total
Rancho Mirage Public Library																					0
Redondo Beach Public Library										x											1
Redwood City Public Library								x		x										x	3
Richmond Public Library																					0
Riverside County Library System																					0
Riverside Public Library		x	x				x								x	x		x			6
Roseville Public Library			x					x		x											3
Sacramento Public Library		x	x	x			x			x		x	x	x	x	x				x	11
Salinas Public Library																					0
San Anselmo Public Library										x					x						2
San Benito County Free Library										x											1
San Bernardino County Library								x							x						2
San Bernardino Public Library																					0
San Bruno Public Library										x						x		x			3
San Diego County Library															x					x	2
San Diego Public Library															x						1
San Francisco Public Library			x				x	x		x	x				x						6
San Jose Public Library		x					x			x											3
San Juan Bautista City Library																					0
San Leandro Community Library										x											1
San Luis Obispo City-County Library								x													1
San Marino Public Library			x							x										x	3
San Mateo County Library							x			x					x			x			4
San Mateo Public Library										x					x						2
San Rafael Public Library										x					x						2
Santa Ana Public Library																					0
Santa Barbara Public Library															x	x					2
Santa Clara City Library										x					x	x					3
Santa Clara County Free Library	x						x	x		x					x	x					6
Santa Cruz Public Libraries	x									x					x	x					4

Library Name	Auger	Burns	Cahill	Ellison	Freeman	Friedman	Jordan	Kaldera	Lahey	Moats	Mohr	Pinello	Pories	Rennert	Savage	Snyder	Sprigg	Sullivan	Temple	Wardle	Total
Santa Fe Springs City Library		x																			1
Santa Maria Public Library										x											1
Santa Monica Public Library										x					x	x					3
Sausalito Public Library										x					x						2
Shasta County Library																					0
Sierra Madre Public Library																					0
Signal Hill Public Library																					0
Siskiyou County Free Library																					0
Solano County Library		x				x		x						x	x						5
Sonoma County Library			x			x				x				x	x	x					6
South Pasadena Public Library			x							x							x				3
South San Francisco Public Library																					0
St. Helena Public Library																					0
Stanislaus County Free Library						x									x						2
Stockton-San Joaquin County Public Library				x						x	x				x		x	x			6
Sunnyvale Public Library			x			x				x	x		x				x				6
Susanville District Library																					0
Sutter County Library																					0
Tehama County Library																					0
Thousand Oaks Library																					0
Torrance Public Library															x						1
Trinity County Free Library																					0
Tulare County Free Library																					0
Tulare Public Library																					0
Tuolumne County Library																					0
Upland Public Library										x			x								2
Ventura County Library		x				x		x		x					x					x	6
Watsonville Public Library																					0
Whittier Public Library																					0

Library Name	Auger	Burns	Cahill	Ellison	Freeman	Friedman	Jordan	Kaldera	Lahey	Moats	Mohr	Pinello	Pories	Rennert	Savage	Snyder	Sprigg	Sullivan	Temple	Wardle	Total
Willows Public Library																					0
Woodland Public Library															x						1
Yolo County Library						x		x		x					x						4
Yuba County Library		x																			1
Total California Public Library Holdings	**0**	**16**	**21**	**4**	**2**	**12**	**14**	**22**	**3**	**68**	**5**	**1**	**16**	**9**	**51**	**18**	**7**	**15**	**0**	**12**	**296**

Same-sex marriage emerged in 2004 as one of the hottest issues of the campaign season. But in a severe blow to gay rights advocates, all eleven states that had the issue on the ballot passed amendments banning the practice, and the subject soon dropped off the media's radar. This pattern of waxing and waning in the public eye has characterized the debate over same-sex marriage since 1996 and the passing of the Defense of Marriage Act. Since then, court rulings and local legislatures have kept the issue alive in the political sphere, and conservatives and gay rights advocates have made the... But they frequently find the politics of same-sex marriage confusing. This is not surprising, for the issue is quite complex. Abortion is about me on many levels, not least of all physically. As a woman, a capacity to become pregnant is part of who I am. Society's attitude toward pregnancy is about me as a woman and it is about my body, as it is about all women and all women's bodies. Mutual understanding is not the same thing as mutual agreement. Agreement is an unlikely outcome of the conference, but let us at least seek to understand each other. Only on a foundation of understanding can we seek a way to move forward, learning to live peacefully and respectfully with our differences. Trying to silence others because one fears what they might say is no way to learn. And it is no way for a university to be a university. Public profile. Account details. Emails & marketing. MPs liberalise abortion and same-sex marriage law in Northern Ireland - live news. Read more. The changes came via amendments to an otherwise technical government bill connected to budgets and elections for the devolved assembly. Before the equal marriage and abortion votes, Penrose said the government would honour the results, despite ministerial doubts. "Should this pass it will go into law," he said. "It will become part of primary legislation. And so ministers will be bound by it and the government will proceed." In Northern Ireland, the votes were welcomed by the centrist Alliance party and the moderate nationalist SDLP, but Unionist leaders reacted angrily.