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Some socio-cultural correlates of recruitment to the teaching profession

Davies, Edward Huw

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society.

The members of a society are recruited by and large by means of sexual reproduction within the group. While this statement would seem at first glance to admit any number of social groupings - such as specific clans or dynasties - to the status of a 'society', it should be remembered that such groupings would be disqualified on the basis of other characteristics which they exhibit or fail to exhibit. Immigration or conquest, or other means, could serve as a way of gaining additional members for a society, but a society is entirely dependent on sexual reproduction by its members for the admission of new recruits to a significant degree.

A society is generally considered to have a comprehensive culture. The term 'culture' has been considered in the previous section, and it is not proposed to reiterate here the statements made about culture. It is important to note, however, that the culture of a society must be comprehensive, not in the sense that it embraces the totality of human culture, but rather that it provides for a sufficient diversity of culture patterns to enable the group to fulfil all the requirements of social life. In addition, a society may be considered to exist where, other factors being equal, there is cultural self-sufficiency. Patterns of trade, for example, may be discerned between varying groups. But what is important is that those patterns be characteristics first of the specific group within which they take place, and only secondarily of the relationship which exists between the groups. It is clear that there are many borderline cases.

The Bantu in South Africa, for example, have a distinctive culture of their own. But it is not clear to what extent such patterns would survive at the tribal level, were it not for some of the patterns which have been superimposed by the ruling White government of the country (79). The point has been made (80) that while cultural norms may vary widely from society to society, it is important that there be norms of a particular *kind* in the given society.

A final characteristic of a society is independence. A society cannot be a sub-group of any other group. In the South African situation, therefore, the Bantu constitute an independent society in the sense that, while they are politically dominated by another group, they are not being absorbed by that group, or integrated with it.

The statements made above have been summed up in a rather different way by Ottaway (81), who has insisted on a distinction between a society and a community. For Ottaway, a society is

> "a kind of community (or a part of a community) whose members have become socially conscious of their mode of life, are united by a common set of aims and values" (82).

The term 'community' is then taken to be a general word, which describes a group of people living together, implying that they have a sense of something in common - possibly living in the same geographical area, or belonging to the same kind of group.

For Ottaway, the difference between a society a and a community is one not so much of type as of

degree. The difference between a society and a community depends on differences in the type and degree of organisation in the group, and the extent to which people are conscious of their social mode of life.

A community (83) might be considered to be a group of persons living in a territory where all share a mode of life, but not all are conscious of its organisation or purpose. A society consists of members who are socially conscious of their mode of life, and are united by a set of aims and values which is more or less common (84).

2.3.5 Summary of points emerging from the above

From the foregoing points it is clear that distinctions can be drawn between the terms 'culture', 'society' and 'community'. A society may be characterised in the following terms:

2.3.5.1 A society is a group of people

2.3.5.2 A society is a territorial group, recruiting its members principally by means of reproduction within itself, characterised by a comprehensive culture, and having an independent existence.

2.3.5.3 The persons who are members of a specific society share to a certain extent common aims and values (85)

2.3.5.4 The persons who are the members of a society may form part of a larger generic group, the community.

The term 'society' as employed here, therefore, bears reference only to a specific group of people living somewhere. It is not used in the

same sense as the word 'association', which might refer to members of a club who share a common interest. It is used to refer to the collective of persons in the wider sphere wh, satisfy the criteria outlined above.

2.4 Some comments on the concept 'Socio-Cultural'

2.4.1 Introduction

It is clear from the definitions which have been given that there is a definite point at which the concepts 'culture' and 'society' meet (86), and it has already been argued that the one is unlikely to exist without the other (87). The way in which the two concepts might be combined depends on the person or persons using them, and it is clear that for purposes of this study some attention will need to be given to the way in which the term is to be used here. It is clear, for example, that the highly pluralistic nature of South African society renders difficult a definition in terms of 'common aims and values', as outlined above. Kinloch (88) has explored various analyses of South African society in terms of conflict theory (89), the consensus view (90), the conflict-consensus app'oach (91) and the structural boundaries of pluralism (92). All these views, however, have two aspects in common: those of social pluralism and cultural pluralism as reflecting the nature of the social order. If an analysis is to be made of 'socio-cultural factors' with reference to South Africa, therefore, it may be expedient to take cognisance of the great number of different groupings which exist.

2.4.2 Social Pluralism in South Africa

The boundaries of social pluralism in South Africa may be considered on a number of fronts, and it is proposed here to followed the scheme outlined by Kinloch (93). Racial pluralism is to be discerned in an examination of the demographic characteristics of South Africa. The largest group is the Bantu, followed by the Whites, Coloured and Indian groups in that order (94). The Bantu constitute an enormous majority, while both the Indians and the Coloureds constitute very small minority groups. A comparison of the racial groups in terms of degree of urbanisation, birth and death rates (95) reveals that the Whites, Indians and Coloureds are the most highly urbanised group, while the Bantu are markedly rural. In addition, death rates for non-Whites are significantly higher than for Whites. All these factors indicate a substantial degree of diversity amongst the total population of the country.

There are also marked differences when social and linguistic characteristics are compared (96) and of interest for this survey is the fact that while English dominates as a language for most race groups in urban areas, Afrikaans is predominant as a rural language, except among the Coloureds. There are at least 24 major language groupings in South Africa and almost as many dialects. Racial differences in terms of criminal offences, level of higher education, level of income and occupational class structure are also to be discerned (97). From available demographic data it is very clear that there is a very marked

level of pluralism in South Africa on the structural side.

2.4.3 Cultural Pluralism in South Africa

If there is as much structural pluralism within the structure of South African society as has been suggested above, it is to be expected that there will be a good deal of cultural diversity within South Africa as well.

A number of studies have revealed that there are important differences in political and social values when English and Afrikaans speakers are compared (98), and there is evidence that amongst Indians there is also a wide range of differences (99) when cultural groupings are compared. While it has been argued that the Coloureds may be the least culturally plural group (100), the contention has been made that the culture of the Bantu is differentiated by a number of characteristics: tribalism, social class, Westernism and kinship, all of which operate in an urban setting, but should be seen against a background of rural connections (101).

Because of the great diversity, therefore, of the possible meanings of the term 'socio-cultural', which could theoretically be applied to any one of the groups to be discerned in South Africa, and to any of the cultural systems within it, some further delimitation of the term seems to be required.

2.4.4 The term 'Socio-Cultural' in the context of this research

For purposes of this research, the White group has been selected. From a sociological point of view, therefore, the following information will

be considered:

2.4.4.1 Demographic factors related to urban/rural dwelling; size of family; home language by residence; religion; marital status; level of education; occupational structure; factors related to occupational mobility.

From a cultural point of view, the following information will be considered:

2.4.4.2 Statements of values relating to perceptions of the teaching profession; statements of values relating to orientations and expectations with regard to teaching; examination of possible cultural differences with regard to involvement in external organisations.

It is clear, therefore, that the term 'socio-cultural' is here used in a limited sense, bearing in mind the strains that are placed upon the definition of the term within the context of the South African society.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1. Waller, W. — The Sociology of Teaching. John Wiley & Sons, New York 1932

2. Waller, W. — Op. cit., p. 64

3. Etzioni, A. (ed). — The Semi-Professions and their Organisation. The Free Press, New York; 1969: Introduction

4. Musgrave, P.W. — The Sociology of Education. Methuen & Co., London; 1972: Second ed., p. 140

5. Banks, O. — The Sociology of Education. T.B. Batsford, London; 1971. See pp. 128 ff.

6. Musgrave, P.W. — Op. cit., p. 140

7. See, for example, the following references:

Du Toit, G.J. — "Onderwys 'n Professie?" In Mondstuk, Vol. 1, No. 8, Feb. 1973; p.1

Spies, P.G. van Z. — The Selection of Prospective Teachers in the Republic of South Africa and in South West Africa. Department of Education, Arts and Science: National Bureau of Educational and Social Research: Research Series No. 30, 1965: Chapter 6

Venter, A.J. — The Recruitment of Secondary School Pupils for the Teaching Profession in the Republic of South Africa and in South West Africa. Department of Education, Arts and Science: National Bureau of Educational Research: Research Series No. 29, 1968

Para. 7.2

8. Etzioni, A. (ed). Op. cit., p. xi - xii

9. Musgrave, P.W. Op. cit., p. 141

10. There are a number of cited cases in this connection. Probably the most prominent concerns the American Medical Association, in which connection see relevant sections of:

American Medical Association: Proceedings, 1968. Harper and Row, New York, 1969: Paras. lxvii - cii

11. Du Toit, G.J. Op. cit., p. 1

12. Musgrave, P.W. Op. cit., p. 141

13. Etzioni, A. (ed). Op. cit., p. ix

14. Etzioni, A. (ed). Op. cit., p. x

15. Musgrave, P.W. Op. cit., p. 142

16. Goode, W.J. 'The Theoretical Limits of Professionalisation' IN Etzioni, A. (ed): Op. cit., p. 268

17. Wilensky, H. 'The Professionalisation of Everyone? IN American Journal of Sociology, 70 (September, 1964) 142 - 46

18. Du Toit, G.J. Op. cit., p. 2

19. A number of references are relevant here, a list of some of which follows. It should be pointed out that the group mentioned in this very sketchy summary covers only those who teach in State schools; no attempt has been made to include those who teach in private schools. The reasons for this are varied: the most cogent of them is that the majority of private schools for Whites are run by churches, and are often staffed by clergy, or persons

with some sort of religious calling. For this reason, their training is often different from that of the normal teacher, and they constitute an essentially different category.

See the following references:
Transvaal Education Department

Statistical Annexure to Education Report for the following years:
1963 - 1969 inclusive

Department of National Education

Significant Educational Statistics for the following years:
1970 - 1973 inclusive

Transvaal Education Department

Opsommings van Skole/Kolleges, Personeel/Dosente en Leerlinge/Studente for the following years:
1970: Terms 1,2,3,4
1971: Terms 1,2,3,4
1972: Terms 1,2,3,4
1973: Terms 1,2,3,4
1974: Terms 1,2,3,4

All the references cited are issued by the Department concerned in the year mentioned. No mention has been made of teachers who work in Technical Schools, as their training tends not to be as easily classifiable as is that of teachers in academic schools.

20. Comparative tables in this connection are furnished in Chapter 5.

21. Goode, W.J. Op. cit., p. 286

22. An examination of these elements has been attempted by

Webb, J.: "Black School", British Journal of Sociology, 34, 1967. More detailed analysis of his arguments will be given in the ensuing chapter.

23. The comparatively recent introduction into the Primary School of what is known as 'subject teaching' has been made on the grounds that increasing specialisation in certain subjects makes it imperative that teachers in the primary school specialise in certain subjects, such as the languages and the 'scarce' subjects, Science and Mathematics. The extent to which this situation will over the years make the knowledge of the teacher more specialist is not clear. It does not seem likely that this knowledge will be any more specialist than that of the subject teacher in the Secondary school who, according to the statistical reports cited under 19, normally has a first degree to his credit, if he has a degree at all.

24. A decision of the Committee of Interdepartmental Heads has agreed that for purposes of certification, and for purposes of transfer between institutions training teachers, two years of College training in an academic subject will be considered equivalent to one year's training in the same subject at University level. Four years' training at Colleges of Education will be considered equivalent to two years' training at University. See Criteria for the Validation of Qualifications, Department of National Education, 1972, in this connection.

25. Goode, W.J. Op. cit., p. 287

26. Du Toit, G.J. Op. cit., p. 1

27. Transvaal Educational News Editorial
'Do we think differently?' in
Transvaal Educational News
Vol. LXXI No. 2, Feb. 1974, p. 14

28. See 'Handbook of Instructions for Principals of Schools', issued by the Transvaal Education Department, in this connection, and also the Transvaal Education Ordinance of 1953, as amended.

29. Venter, A.J. — Op. cit., p. 28 ff.

30. Etzioni, A. (ed). — Op. cit., p. xvi

31. Perusal of sequential editions of the following publications reveals a plethora of articles dealing with this theme:

The Transvaal Educational News	Official organ of the Transvaal Teachers' Association; Years 1972 onwards
Mondstuk	Official organ of the Transvaalse Onderwysersvereniging; Years 1972 onwards
T.O.-Nuus	Journal of the Transvaalse Onderwysersvereniging; Years 1972 onwards
SYMPOSIUM	A Journal of Education for Southern Africa, Johannesburg, 1972-73. See relevant article by Gemmell, J.

32. An examination of the Annual Journal and Conference Report of the T.H.S.T.A., for example, gives useful information about the way in which the teaching body is represented on a number of important decision-making bodies within the Transvaal Education Department.

33. Haasbroek, J.B. — The Interest of Std. X Pupils in Teaching as a Profession in the Republic of South Africa and in South West Africa.

Department of Education, Arts and Science; National Bureau of Educational and Social Research, Research Series No. 28, 1966; p. 111

34. Haasbroek, J.B. Op. cit., pp. 109 ff.

35. Venter, A.J. Op. cit., p.78

36. The perusal of any of the official documents which are issued as career guides to school pupils may be seen to refer throughout to teaching as a profession. Instances of this may be found, for example, in the official document of the Transvaal Education Department entitled 'Handleiding vir Voornemende Onderwysstudente'.

37. The research series of the Department of Education, Arts and Science assumes throughout that teaching is a profession. Venter bases his argument on work by Tyler, L. 'Is teaching a profession?' The Educational Forum, May 1964, who argues that a profession is characterised by the following:

    Intellectualism; learnedness; a practical object; communicability; organisation and motivation.

    Arguments related to this position are to be found in Venter, A.J. Op. cit., pp. 96-97.

38. Market Research Africa have conducted a series of polls on behalf of "The Star", Johannesburg's daily evening newspaper. The findings of their researches are to be seen in that newspaper in items dated July 10 - July 24, 1975. Data were obtained from a nation-wide sample, but MRA do not reveal the actual numbers of persons polled. An article by S.H. Friis in Voorligter, October 1974, seems to imply a degree of religious involvement on the part of the Afrikaans-speaking South African. The article by Friis adopts a view of teaching as a high-status

profession: the data obtained by MRA seem to suggest the opposite.

39. Musgrave, P.W. — Op. cit., p. 158

40. Etzioni, A. (ed). — Op. cit., p. 14
Goode, W.J. — Op. cit., p. 287

41. Hodgkinson, H.L. — Education in Social and Cultural Perspective. Prentice-Hall Inc., N.J., 1962: p. 208

42. Du Toit, G.J. — Op. cit., p.2

43. Lieberman, M. — 'Education as a Profession'. Englewood Cliffs, N.J. Prentice-Hall 1956, p. 480

44. Etzioni, A. (ed). — Op. cit., p. xiv

45. Musgrave, P.W. — Op. cit., p. 158

46. Tropp, A. — The School Teachers. Heinemann, London, 1957: pp.266-267

47. Spies, P.G. van Z. — Op. cit., pp. 98 ff.

48. Winick, C. — Dictionary of Anthropology. Philosophical Library Inc., New York: 1956; p. 144

49. Linton, R. — The Cultural Background of Personality. Routledge and Kegan Paul, New York: 1947

50. Tylor, E.B. — Primitive Culture. Brentano, 7th edition, 1924; Quoted in Johnson, H.M.: Sociology: a Systematic Introduction. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London: 1961; p. 10

51. Kroeber, A.L. — Anthropology: Culture Patterns and Processes.

Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., New York: 1963

52. Kroeber, A.L. — Op. cit., p. 60

53. Kroeber, A.L. — Op. cit., p. 60

54. Kroeber, A.L. — Ibid.

55. Johnson, H.M. — Sociology: A Systematic Introduction. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London: 1961

56. Johnson, H.M. — Op. cit., p. 82

57. Benedict, R. — Patterns of Culture. Routledge and Kegan Paul, New York: 1935

58. Ottaway, A.K.C. — Education and Society: An Introduction to the Sociology of Education. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London: 1962

59. Ottaway, A.K.C. — Op. cit., pp. 21-22

60. In South Africa, for example, an interesting theoretical point arises as to what extent splinter groups - e.g. immigrants - constitute sub-cultures. In this connection, see

Adams, H. (ed). — South Africa: Sociological Perspectives. Oxford University Press, London: 1971.

Kinloch, J.C. — The Sociology of South Africa. MacMillan, Cape Town: 1971

61. Johnson, H.M. — Op. cit., p. 82

62. Johnson, H.M. — Op. cit., p. 83

63. Johnson, H.M. — Ibid.

63a The point of view adopted by Johnson introduces a highly subjective element - it might be argued that

physical separation of a cultural object from a culture does not necessarily render it an artifact as long as the values and attitudes which render it a cultural object continue to prevail in that culture.

64. Ottaway, A.K.C. Op. cit., p. 22
Kroeber, A.L. Op. cit., p. 62

65. In this connection, see, inter alia

Dickie-Clark, H.F. Ibid.

66. Kroeber, A.L. Op. cit., p. 64

67. Johnson, H.M. Op. cit., p. 85

68. Johnson, H.M. Ibid.

69. In this regard, see the relevant sections in Kroeber, Ottaway and Johnson. See also

Kluckhohn, C. Mirror for Man.
Harrap, New York: 1950

70. Johnson, H.M. Op. cit., p. 86

71. The most interesting of these is the one recorded by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck. See

Kluckhohn, F.R. & Strodtbeck, F.L. Variations in Value Orientations. Row, Peterson & Co., New York: 1961

This volume describes an attempt made to classify values in terms of five basic questions common to man in any society. These deal with the following 'value orientations':

1. Human nature orientation
2. Man-nature orientation
3. Time orientation
4. Activity orientation
5. Relational orientation.

These terms are defined and the conceptualisation out-

lined in pp. 10 ff. of the volume in question.

72. Langer, S.K. — Philosophy in a New Key: A Study in the Symbolism of Reason, Rite and Art. Harvard University Press, 1942: pp. 45-46

73. Johnson, H.M. — Op. cit., p. 87

74. Langer, K.S. — Op. cit. p. 47

74a Wallis, E.E. & Bennett, M.A. — Two Thousand Tongues To Go. Hodder and Stoughton, London: 1961

75. See, for example

Whorf, B.L. — 'The Relation of Habitual Thought and Language to Behaviour', Language, Culture and Personality. Spier, L. et al. (Eds): Sapir Memorial Fund, 1941

Whatmough, J. — Language: A Modern Synthesis Mentor Books, New York: 1957

Halliday, M.A.K. et al — The Linguistic Sciences and Language Teaching. Longmans, London: 1966

76. The debate here is one concerning the extent to which a society can tolerate diversity of aims within its structure. Comprehensive treatment of the subject is to be found in the work of, inter alia, Parsons, Merton and Weber.

77. The reference by Kroeber (q.v.) gives an admirable summary of some of the difficulties in this area.

78. Johnson, H.M. — Op. cit., p. 10

79. See, for example

Levy, M.J. — The Structure of Modern Society. Princeton University Press, 1952

with specific reference to Chapter Three, which deals with the development of substitute cultural patterns among North American Indians.

80. Johnson, H.M. — Op. cit., pp. 12-13

81. Ottaway, A.K.C. — Op. cit., Chapter 1

82. Ottaway, A.K.C. — Op. cit., p. 2

83. Ottaway, A.K.C. — Op. cit., p. 3

84. Ottaway, A.K.C. — Ibid.

85. The comment made at 76 must be borne in mind, however.

86. See, for example
Hodgkinson, H.L. — Op. cit., Chapter 7

87. Kroeber, A.L. — Op. cit., para. 112

88. Kinloch, G.C. — The Sociological Study of South Africa. MacMillan, Johannesburg: 1972

89. Kuper, L. — 'Structural Discontinuities in African Towns: some aspects of racial pluralism', The City in Modern Africa. H. Milner (Ed). Heinemann, London: 1967; pp. 127-151

90. Solepe, S. — 'The Attitude of the Bantu towards Separate Development', Journal of Racial Affairs, 19, 1968: pp. 20-21

91. Gluckman, M. — Custom and Conflict in Africa. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London: 1955

92. Haug, M.R. 'Social and Cultural Pluralism as a Concept in Social System Analysis', American Journal of Sociology, 73, 1967; pp. 294-304

93. Kinloch, G.C. Op. cit., Chapter 8

94. Data based on The State of South Africa, 1970 (Johannesburg, 1970)

95. Ibid.

96. Department of Statistics South African Statistics. Government Printer, Pretoria: 1968

97. See The State of South Africa, 1970

98. Most of these studies have been carried out by newspapers, and so their results may need to be treated with some caution.

99. Meer, F. Portrait of Indian South Africans. University of Natal, Durban: 1969

100. Dickie-Clark, H.F. The Marginal Situation: a Sociological Study of a Coloured Group. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London: 1966

101. Mitchell, J.C. Tribalism and the Plural Society. London: 1968

CHAPTER THREE

3. A SURVEY OF LITERATURE RELATING TO SOME SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF TEACHING

3.1 Introduction

A considerable amount of research has been done in the educational field, and no small proportion of this research has been devoted to the examination of teachers themselves. It is clear that in any society the teachers must constitute some sort of social force (1), and as the concept of 'accountability' becomes more popular, it is to be expected that the teaching force in many countries of the world will be subjected to increasingly thorough scrutiny. (2)

It is proposed in the sections which follow to report some of the significant research which has been carried out both in South Africa and abroad, and to try to establish to what extent common patterns - if any - can be discerned. It is then proposed to state some of the questions which seem to arise from the literature - questions whose answers have yet to be found, if, indeed, there are any 'answers' at all.

3.2 A Survey of the Literature in the United Kingdom

A good deal of work has been carried on in the United Kingdom, and many aspects of the educational system there have been very thoroughly documented. Some of the research which has been carried on has led to the documentation of the historical development of certain aspects of British education (3). Yet other re-

search has been more concerned with forces which are currently at work in the British educational system, and of particular interest in this dissertation is that work which is sociological in character.

Of particular interest is the study reported by Floud and Scott (4), who report as follows:

"The history of the modern teaching profession in England and Wales is dominated by its growth rapidity; in particular, its principal social characteristics - the social origins and academic quality of its members and its changing social status - are to a large extent the outcome of the remarkable rate at which it has expanded and of the political and economic conditions under which this expansion has taken place. The three great periods of growth have each been initiated by the passing of education acts - in 1870, 1902 and 1944. How was the increase in each period met? Where did the new teachers come from?" (5)

Floud and Scott establish first of all that of teachers in their sample who are drawn from working class families, sixty four per cent are moving out of families who are working class by tradition; i.e., their families have been working class for at least two generations (6). The same factor seems to apply in the case of women, which seems to mean, at least tentatively, that teaching may be an avenue of social mobility for the bright working class child. After a fairly exhaustive examination of their data, and after comparison with national figures, Floud and Scott are enabled to conclude that teachers' families

"were already, two generations ago, in process of

social mobility to a greater extent than the rest of the population affected only by general changes in the occupational structure" (7).

It would seem that at the time of this research, almost half of the teachers then in service in England and Wales were descended from working class grandfathers whose sons showed a far more marked propensity to move upward in the social scale than the rest of their class.

Having established mobility, to a certain extent, Floud and Scott then proceed to examine the social origins of recruits to teaching at various periods. They conclude that

"the proportion of working class men in the entry through normal channels has been 40 per cent or just under, for all periods except 1930-9, when it was 45 per cent. Since 1945 the entry through these channels from families in the intermediate group has risen markedly - from 47,6 pre-war to 51,8 per cent post-war" (8).

It would seem, however, that the case of women is different from that of men. While there have been periods where there has been a high intake of working class girls, it would seem that since 1945 the proportions of working class and middle class recruits have increased in relation to the lower working class intake.

Thus far, we are entitled to conclude that two points have been established: first, that teaching has served as an avenue of social mobility for some; second, that there is a large proportion of teachers who have working class origins.

Author Davies E H
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