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The Power to Name: Representation in Library Catalogs

A large body of research and recorded experience has documented biases of gender, sexuality, race, age, ability, ethnicity, language, and religion as limits to the expression of diversity in naming information for retrieval. These limits, of course, have direct, practical consequences for users of libraries who, in their searches for information, can be aided or impeded by the arrangement of the catalog and the physical locations of books. Library users seeking material on topics outside of a traditional mainstream will meet with frustration in finding nothing, or they will find something but miss important relevant materials. Effective searching for marginalized topics will require greater ingenuity and serendipity than searching for mainstream topics. Certainly libraries, like other institutions, reflect the marginalizations and exclusions of the society they serve. After twenty-five years of studying, doing, managing, and teaching cataloging and classification, I find the problem both acute and systemic but also amenable to change. In this article I will examine the presumption that universal languages are necessary and desirable in naming information for its retrieval, explain how that presumption constructs information, and suggest local, dynamic, and partial *techniques* for ameliorative change. My approach, adapted from Drucilla Cornell's philosophy of the limit (1992), identifies the constructed limits of systems for naming information and tries to make these limits permeable.

I use the term *naming information* for the creation of document representations. In this process, terms or notations assigned to reflect the document's subject are organized into a database such as a library catalog. Evelyn Fox Keller states that "naming nature is the special business of science. Theories, models, and descriptions are elaborated names. In these acts of naming, the scientist simultaneously constructs and contains nature"

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(1985, 193). Naming information is the special business of librarians and information professionals. Applied in our role as "neutral" intermediaries between users and information, our theories, models, and descriptions are as presumptuous and controlling as scientists' construction and containment of nature.

In earlier research (Olson 1994) I documented a pervasive belief among information scientists that in order to create an overriding unity in language the diversity and the subjectivity of language need to be standardized. Librarians call such a constructed universal language a *controlled vocabulary.* To achieve subject access, representations of documents having the same or a similar subject are gathered within the context of a catalog or index. Gathering the items depends upon always naming a topic in the same way—hence the justification of controlled vocabulary: it allows for one-stop shopping. Additionally, using the same system across libraries is economical. For example, the Library of Congress (LC) has sold standardized catalog records since 1901, saving cataloging labor in thousands of individual libraries. Yet in imposing controlled vocabulary we construct both a limited system for the representation of information and a universality/diversity binary opposition. Our systems seem *transparent* in Henri Lefvebre's use of the term (1991, 28)—they appear unbiased and universally applicable—but they actually hide their exclusions under the guise of neutrality. Not surprisingly, this fundamental presumption on which our practice rests disproportionately affects access to information outside of the cultural mainstream and about groups marginalized in our society.

I will trace the presumption of universality from its formal adoption into library practice in the nineteenth century to its manifestation in today's libraries by examining three texts in each of two modes of practice: subject headings, the verbal representation of topics in library catalogs; and classification, the notational representation of topics used for the physical and electronic organization of library collections for browsing. For each mode I will read and reread texts in the foundational literature, the current standards, and canonical applications of those standards, as shown in table 1.

Charles Cutter's *Rules for a Printed Dictionary Catalog* (1876) is generally regarded as the first codification of library cataloging rules to state principles (I will use the most cited fourth ed. [1904]). The *Library of Congress Subject Headings* (LCSH) is the modern manifestation of Cutter's principles for subject access and the major standard in North America, with considerable influence worldwide. Melvil Dewey's introductions to the *Dewey Decimal Classification* (DDC), also first published in 1876, explain

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Table 1. Research Design

	Verbal Representation: Subject Headings	**Notational Representation: Classification**
Foundational texts	Cutter's *Rules for a Dictionary Catalog*	Dewey's introduction to the *Dewey Decimal Classification* (1876, 1932)
Current standards	*Library of Congress Subject Headings* (1998)	*Dewey Decimal Classification*
Canonical applications	Individual catalog records from the Library of Congress	

his philosophy of classification. I will examine the introduction to the thirteenth edition (DDC13, 1932)—the last edition with which Dewey was involved, published posthumously in 1932. The current DDC (1996), which grew out of Dewey's principles, is the most widely used classification scheme in the world today. While DDC is used in few academic libraries in North America, it is well worth examining given its use in public and school libraries, in academic libraries elsewhere, in national bibliographies around the world, and in many small collections that support community services. Furthermore, DDC is used increasingly to organize Web pages indexing collections of Universal Resource Locators (URLs).

The catalog records that apply LCSH headings and DDC numbers are from the Library of Congress. I have chosen LC as a source because of the widespread use of its records and its practice. It is a de facto standard for libraries in the United States and elsewhere because of the economics of copying LC's standardized catalog records.

Charles Cutter and the presumption of universality

Cutter's logic for creating a controlled vocabulary begins with an apparently democratic injunction that the catalog should be constructed for the convenience of the public it serves. That is, the public should be the arbiter of the language used in the catalog:

> *The convenience of the public* is always to be set before the ease of the cataloger. In most cases they coincide. A *plain rule without exceptions* is not only easy for us to carry out, but *easy for the public* to understand and work by. But strict consistency in a rule and uniformity in its application sometimes lead to practices which clash with *the public's habitual way of looking at things.* When these habits are general and

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> deeply rooted, it is unwise for the cataloger to ignore them, even if they demand a sacrifice of system and simplicity. (Cutter 1904, 6; emphasis added)

In Cutter's view, the public usually benefits from a lack of exceptions, but inconsistency in practice may be introduced if it conforms to "the public's habitual way of looking at things." The idea of allowing exceptions and inconsistency does not seem to endorse the rule of universality or to reject diversity, at least at first glance. However, the use of the singular in the phrases "the convenience of the public" and "the public's habitual way of looking at things," especially of the definite article "the," indicates that Cutter envisions a community of library users with a unified perspective and a single way of seeking information. Therefore, a universality is present in Cutter's view, but it is the singular public who defines it. As an "ideal of community [the singular public] is a nostalgia for an integrated 'organic wholeness' that inevitably excludes those who do not seem to fit into the community. . . . The appeal to community ineluctably slides into an appeal to totality, closure, and exclusion" (Cornell 1992, 39). A community in the singular excludes those who are somehow different and results in what Alexis de Tocqueville (1835) described as the tyranny of the majority: the majority opinion is imposed on everyone, including all of the minorities. The controlled vocabulary dictated by Cutter is, then, representation in the terms of the majority.

Cutter's initial premise that the voice of a singular public is dominant invokes the binary opposition of public/private. As Gayatri Spivak notes, the public sphere is woven of the elements of the private sphere and, therefore, the public is a construct of the private—"it *is* the weave, or texture, of public activity" (1979, 103). By rereading Cutter through definitions of key terms from the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED),[1] it is possible to find the private in this situation:

> *public* . . . the opposite of PRIVATE. . . . Of or pertaining to the people as a *whole;* . . . That is open to, may be used by, or may or must be shared by, *all members of the community;* . . . provided or supported at the public expense, and under public control: as in . . . public library . . . public woman, commoner: a prostitute; = common woman. . . . A *particular* section, group, or portion of a community,

[1] Here I use what Marta Calás and Linda Smircich 1991 call *iteration,* the reinterpretation of a text through standardized definitions—the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) in their case and mine.

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> or of mankind. . . . Sociol. A collective group regarded as *sharing some cultural, social, or political interest* . . . *private* . . . in general, the opposite of public. . . . *Kept or removed from public view* or knowledge; . . . restricted or intended only for the use or enjoyment of *particular* and *privileged* persons. . . . The property of a *particular* individual; belonging to *one*self, *one's* own . . . individual, personal . . . private language: a language which can be understood by the speaker only, . . . a language shared by a privileged few. (OED; emphasis added)

Cutter sets up the public as having different interests than catalogers. Cutter admits the individual cataloger as an actor in the catalog, but only to do the bidding of the public. The catalog is available for the whole public, for all of "mankind," like a common woman. It serves the public's singular interest. However, Cutter's singular public is not "all members of the community." It is a particular part of humanity that shares cultural, social, or political interests. That idealized community excludes individuals and groups who do not share its interests.

The cataloger's role, however, is a private one. She[2] works in the back room, out of sight of the public, not a part of the public, applying a private language understood only by a privileged few. However, at the same time that Cutter dictates a restricted, uniform, unvarying, private language for use by the cataloger, he also enjoins her to make it a public language. The cataloger's task is to deconstruct this binary opposition of public/private, interweaving her private work with the public. In this way she is defined "by a public potential" (Spivak 1979, 103) – she is the private, weaving or constructing the public language, but this language is limited by Cutter's version of the presumption of universality.

Through the catalog, which gathers like material and thus excludes unlike, the proposed universal language marginalizes or excludes the other from the singular public's norm. Cutter sets out the gathering function in the following statement and its footnote:

> Books are classified by bringing *together* those which have the *same characteristics*.*
>
> *This note has little direct bearing on practice, but by its insertion here some one interested in the theory of cataloging may be saved the trouble of going over the same ground. (1904, 15; emphasis added)

[2] Cataloging is a female-intensive specialization even in the context of the female-intensive profession of librarianship. This gender division has been the case since the first class of the first library school founded by Melvil Dewey in 1887.

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> *together* . . . into *one gathering,* company, mass, or body. . . . Composed, self-assured; *free of emotional difficulties* or inhibition. (OED; emphasis added)

Rereading Cutter through the OED indicates that bringing books together makes them one excluding whatever is other. This gathering is a product of reason, "free of emotional difficulties," and so the universal language is a rational language. Others need not cover the "same" ground because Cutter found the single, universal answer.

For Cutter, then, the public dictates the vocabulary of a universal language for representation of information. However, he recognizes that a language is not just vocabulary, that it has structural aspects as well. Cutter believes that the alphabet is not a sufficient structure for a library catalog:

> Its subject-entries, individual, general, *limited,* extensive, *thrown together without any logical arrangement, in most absurd proximity—Abscess* followed by *Absenteeism* and that by *Absolution, Club-foot* next to *Clubs,* and *Communion* to *Communism,* while *Bibliography* and *Literary history, Christianity* and *Theology,* are separated by half the length of the catalogue—are *a mass of utterly disconnected particles* without any relation to one another, each useful in itself but only by itself. But by a *well-devised network of cross-references the mob becomes an army,* of which each part is capable of assisting many other parts. The effective force of the catalog is immensely increased. (1904, 79; emphasis added)

> *logical* . . . *conformable to the laws of correct reasoning.* That follows as a reasonable inference or *natural* consequence.
> *absurd* . . . *Out of harmony with reason* or propriety; incongruous, unreasonable, illogical. In modern use, esp. plainly *opposed to reason, and hence, ridiculous, silly.* (OED; emphasis added)

Cutter identifies two options for a structure: the logical and the absurd. The absurd juxtapositions of arrangement by alphabetization, like a mob, are "utterly disconnected," "out of harmony with reason." A logical structure, conforming to "correct reasoning," creates an order as efficient as an army. The constructed vocabulary transforms the public from a mob into an army, a manifestation of logical reason.

Cutter presumes there are only two options—logic or absurdity, the army or the mob—and his acceptance of this dualism leads him to adopt a hierarchical structure, like a military chain of command, for his universal language. The structure, created out of references from broader terms to narrower terms (e.g., Animals see also Carnivores; Carnivores see also

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Dogs; Dogs see also Poodles), privileges hierarchical relationships between terms (other types of relationships are allowed but not specified). In this way, Cutter's legacy is a concept of controlled vocabulary that limits terms for naming information and, further, limits the interpretation of these terms by defining their relations to each other, creating a structured context for the representations of individual documents—all in the name of a singular public.

LCSH and the presumption of universality

Today's LCSH implements Cutter's principles of controlled vocabulary and hierarchical structure. Each subject heading in LCSH may have references like the two kinds specified by Cutter in his *Rules:* equivalence and relational. Equivalence references direct users from terms not chosen (synonyms, near synonyms, opposites) to the authoritative term, the one that was chosen. Relational references link authoritative terms. For example, in the LCSH entry for "Women" (see the appendix), "Women" is the authoritative heading. It has been chosen instead of the synonyms and near synonyms "Human females," "Wimmin," "Woman," and so on, which are not authoritative headings. If library users search for "Human females," "Wimmin," or "Woman," they will be instructed to "USE Women." This choice of one term over all others privileges that term.

The several types of relational references mainly establish hierarchical relationships. Broader terms (BT) are higher in the hierarchy and establish context. In the case of "Women," the broader term "Females" puts this heading into a biological context that divides all species by sex. Narrower terms (NT) are lower in the hierarchy. In the case of "Women," "Abused women," "Abusive women," "Aged women," and so on are lower in the hierarchy; users are invited to "see also the narrower topics: Abused women, Abusive women, Aged women," or some similar phrase. The general see also references (SA) are usually hierarchical; they typically refer to groups of more specific headings, or they allow subdivision of other headings to make the headings more specific. For "Women" so many other headings begin with the word "Women" that a general reference points catalogers and users in that direction, rather than supplying a specific reference. The SA also instructs the cataloger to add the subdivision "Women" to the names of wars—for example, "Falkland Islands War—Women"—and "Relations with women" to the names of people—for example, "Sartre, Jean Paul, 1905–1980—Relations with women." These references create a structure that puts the heading "Women" in the center of a hierarchy:

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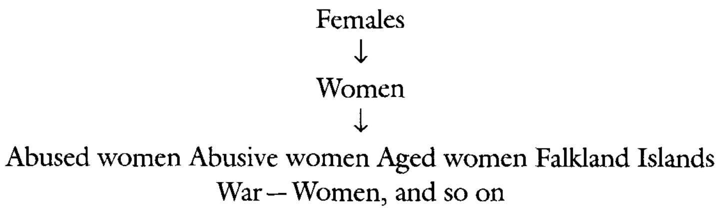

The relational reference that does not represent a hierarchical relationship is the related term (RT). It is a catchall category for any paradigmatic relationships other than hierarchical ones, such as cause-effect, process-product, subject-object, or actor-action. "Women" has one related term, "Femininity." "Misogyny" was previously a related term to "Women," but that reference has been deleted in favor of the more specific and appropriate "Women-hating USE Misogyny." This change was probably made in 1993 as part of the ongoing revision of LCSH performed continuously by LC, the body responsible for maintaining this standard.

While all these references help to establish a context for the heading, two additional parts of the entry give catalogers further contextual information. The scope note defines the heading in prose ("Here are entered . . . "). It is preceded by suggested classification number(s) in the *Library of Congress Classification* (LCC). In this example the suggested LCC numbers are "GT2520–GT2540 (Customs)" and "HQ1101–HQ2030.9 (Sociology)"; these certainly imply a different context than the biological implications of the broader term "Females."

Comparing the entries for "Women" and "Men" and their accompanying syndetic structures (see the appendix), one notes far more references to narrower terms under "Women" than under "Men."[3] Many of these terms draw attention to women as exceptions to a male norm. For example, "gifted women" are exceptions to the masculine norm of the gifted, for there is no heading for "gifted men." The LCSH does not draw from public discourse as suggested by Cutter but is constructed from the public language of published authors. That is, terminology in LCSH is established on the basis of literary warrant, the presence in LC of a published work on a given topic. Historically, authors writing about gifted people have focused solely on men without acknowledging this focus, while authors writing about gifted women have had to foreground the issue of gender in relation to their topic. Thus the language of LCSH perceives books about gifted men as the norm. Virginia Woolf wrote of her search in the British Museum library catalog: "Have you any notion of how many books are

[3] There are even more references to "Women" than appear here. "Women" has more subdivisions listed under it than "Men," and many of those subdivisions also have references.

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written about women in the course of one year? Have you any notion how many are written by men? . . . Women do not write books about men" (1929, 27–28). Authors, historically male authors, are the knowing subjects, and women are the known objects. Men, as the normative subjects, do not specify their situation. "Having always assumed the right to speak for the other, men obviously didn't think about expressing the male condition in their works" (Trinh 1991, 123). The same applies to other headings such as "Computers and women," "Self-employed women," the headings representing women of certain religions such as "Bahai women," and headings generated by the SA "—Women" added to names of wars.

The heading "Male prostitute," on the other hand, specifies that it refers to men, because prostitutes are conventionally construed to be female objects. Confirming this perspective, the general heading "Prostitutes" is a narrower term under the heading "Women." The subdivision "—Relations with women" subtly reinforces the subject/object roles of men and women. There is no parallel under "Men" (one cannot express Simone de Beauvoir's relations with men as one can express Jean-Paul Sartre's relations with women). This anomaly reflects mainstream culture's positioning of men as knowing subjects in our society and women as objects to be known, the objects of men's relationships. The traditional placement of women in the private sphere makes women defined by relationships. Hence, Sartre comes first, then "—Relations with women." Even in the case of "common" or "public" women, such as prostitutes, relationships are defining characteristics. So again, LCSH expresses gender explicitly when it is outside of the norm, especially in terms of subject/object relations. The LCSH is complicit in applying as universal what is simply a patriarchal view—the view of a specific and singular public.

Melvil Dewey and the presumption of universality

The concept of a universal language advocated by Melvil Dewey in the introductions to his classification is justified not by a misguided democratic ideal like Cutter's but by the need to avoid confusion for efficient communication. Dewey became more and more convinced of the dangers of confusion as his ideas matured. The introduction to the first edition of DDC (1876) uses the word "confusion" twice, but the introduction to DDC13 (1932) uses "confuzion"[4] twenty-one times. Dewey sees diversity of language introduced by "different librarians" at "different times"

[4] Dewey's quest for a universal language went further than his classification. He also invented a system of "simpler spelings" for English.

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with "different viewpoints" "cauzing confuzion" (1932, 13), and thus he requires a universal standard to avoid this confusion.

The OED states that "universality" is "extension, occurrence, prevalence, or diffusion throughout the whole world, everywhere, in all things." Dewey posits that to achieve this total inclusion classification is necessary:

> Clasification is a necesity if *all* material on any givn subject is to be redily found. The labor of making one's own clasification is uzualy prohibitiv, if wel dun. By adopting the skeme in jeneral use by libraries this labor is saved and numbers ar in harmony with those of thousands of other catalogs and indexes in which the *same number has the same meaning;* for, as pointed out at a recent international congress, these numbers ar *the only international languaj of perfectly definit meaning amung all civilized nations;* and also cheapest and quickest in application. (1932, 43; emphasis added)

For Dewey, some type of universal language will bring order to documents by supplying a standard of sameness, by creating a one-to-one relationship between the concept represented by a number and the concepts represented in documents classified there. Dewey accomplishes this one-to-one relationship simply by having a place for each subject. This primary criterion of a universal language is the same as Cutter's gathering function of the catalog, or as Dewey states: "Thus all books on any givn subject stand together, and no aditions or chanjes ever separate them" (1932, 22). Classification provides order as well as consistency. For Dewey, it is order that creates meaning out of chaos.

> A successful man is uzualy a clasifyer and chartmaker. (1932, 43)

> A larj business or work unclasifyd or uncharted is not a worthy organization but *mere material* from which a *clever brain* may construct one. It differs in efficiency from the ideal as a mob of men differs from a wel disciplind army. Piles of brik and mortar ar not a templ any more than heaps of typ ar Shakspere's works, tho if "clasifyd" and set, each in ryt relation to the rest, the transformation is bro't about. (1932, 44; emphasis added)

Dewey's army/mob opposition parallels Cutter's earlier use. Taking the raw material of any given enterprise, a "clever brain" can create and impose a classification and thereby create meaning. This conception of classification creates a hierarchy of mind over matter—reason triumphant. In Dewey's schematic, the mind and reason dominate over the material and physical and by implication over the natural—the body. Further, like Cutter's logi-

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cal/absurd binary, Dewey's army/mob implies that reason is dominant over emotion.

Dewey models his concept of classification on "a successful man," whom he contrasts with the undisciplined mob of men. Dewey's "successful man" uses reason to adapt his "thought or action to some end," in this case to organization. This use of the brain or reason overcomes the "mere material" body. Emotions are like the "mob of men":

> *emotion*. . . . A moving, stirring, agitation, *perturbation* (in *physical* sense). Obs. . . . A political or social *agitation;* a tumult, popular *disturbance*. . . . Any *agitation or disturbance of mind,* feeling, passion; any vehement or excited mental state. (OED; emphasis added)

The mob is unpredictable, causing confusion. However, the "wel disciplind army" also causes perturbation, agitation, and disturbance (which Dewey and Cutter do not acknowledge) to those outside of its imposed order: the victims of its violence. The organization of the mob into an army, of bricks into a temple, of type into a text always causes violence by imposing a marginalizing and exclusionary order. This order may not hinder the prosperity of the successful man, but its imposition can do violence to those it excludes. Trinh T. Minh-ha, recognizing this situation, feels "captured, solidified, and pinned to a butterfly board. Like any common living thing, I fear and reprove classification and the death it entails, and I will not allow its clutches to lock me down, although I realize I can never lure myself into simply escaping it" (1989, 48).

Dewey's version of the butterfly board is a procrustean order with a rigid base ten or decimal structure:

> Arabic numerals can be writn and found quicker and with *les danjer of confuzion* or mistake than any other simbols. Therefore roman numerals, capitals and small letters, and similar simbols found in most clasification sistems ar entirely discarded, and by *exclusiv* use of arabic numerals thruout shelvs, and indexes, catalogs and other records, there is secured the *greatest accuracy, economy and convenience.* (1932, 26; emphasis added)

> *confusion* . . . mental *perturbation* or *agitation* such as prevents the full command of the faculties; . . . the action of confounding, confusing, or throwing into *disorder.*
> *exclusive* . . . excluding (some *other*) from participation. . . . Not admitting of the existence or presence of (something). (OED; emphasis added)

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Dewey once again endeavors to avoid confusion, this time by choosing Arabic numbers as the simplest possible notation. In his oft-quoted epiphanic experience during a sermon in Amherst College chapel, Dewey went further than "as simple as a-b-c" to the ultimate simplicity of Arabic numerals (1920). While rejecting Roman numerals, Dewey adopted the same simplicity as the Roman legions who were organized in tens and hundreds. By "exclusive" use of Arabic numerals, Dewey creates a limit of ten divisions of the universe of knowledge. Dewey was criticized[5] for this arbitrary subdivision of knowledge:

> There has been perverse misapprehension of this feature, and critics oftenest stumbl over "*procrustean*." In fact, this is an element of usefulness. A *railroad* also has the fault that it is *procrustean* in its path and in its times. It can not cum to yur door nor wait yur convenience, as does the automobile; it can not go to the fields for its loads of produce; it can not turn out for obstacls; but *becauz it is procrustean* it can do its larj-scale work much *better and quicker and cheaper.* The parallel cud be fairly extended to many other cases, but *any tho'tful mind wil recognize* that the *economy* and eaz of working the Decimal sistem ar larjly dependent on its being *procrustean.* (1932, 21; emphasis added)

> *Procrustean* . . . aiming or tending to produce *uniformity* by *violent* and *arbitrary* methods. (OED; emphasis added)

Dewey valorizes his system by turning "procrustean" into a positive attribute, ignoring the link between production of uniformity and violence and arbitrariness, and by presuming that reason in the form of "any tho'tful mind" will recognize the value of economy and efficiency.

The railroad, which values economy and efficiency over flexibility, is a determinant of spatial positioning, just as DDC determines shelf placement of library materials and thus controls browsing.[6] Railroads map space differently than automobiles do by creating stricter limits to representation. An economic discourse of volume determines possible destinations. Railroads flatten the landscape by cutting through hills, tunneling through mountains, bridging valleys, and avoiding curves. The violent imposition of a structure, like the laying of the railroad across the West, brings

[5] Dewey refers to this criticism but does not cite the source. It was probably made in Larned 1882.

[6] Many of the following references to DDC do not specify a specific edition. In these cases, my comments apply to any edition. Also, applications of several editions will typically coexist in a particular library catalog.

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prosperity to those included but not to those excluded. It is a boon to that "successful man," but bypasses others who are then stranded without access to the main line. It brings force to the canonical division of subjects.

A canon developed by specialists makes up Dewey's tens. Their opinions decide what direction this railroad will take: "Botanists can assyn all botanic subjects to *the ryt number,* mathematicians all mathematical topics" (1932, 14; emphasis added). When the numbers start to run short, leftover topics, minor ones, "ar groupt together as *Other,* uzualy numberd 9" (1932, 19; emphasis added).

> The skeme givs us for each topic, as it wer, a case of 9 *pijeonholes,* with a larj space at the top; and we uze them as *every practical business man* uzes such *pijeonholes* about his desk. (1932, 21; emphasis added)

> *pigeon-hole* . . . one of a series of ideal "compartments" for the classification of facts or objects of thought, or of persons. (OED; emphasis added)

The "larj space" at the top is for generalities, while the other nine compartments hold specifics that are stretched or squeezed to fit this predetermined number. For example, in the 800 class of literature, general collections and works on composition and criticism are classed in 800–809. Specific literatures are classed in 810–899 as follows:

810	American literature in English
820	English & Old English literatures
830	Literatures of Germanic languages
840	Literatures of Romance languages
850	Italian, Romanian, Rhaeto-Romanic
860	Spanish & Portuguese literatures
870	Italic literatures Latin
880	Hellenic literatures Classical Greek
890	Literatures of other languages

As there are more than nine families of languages to be accommodated, the others, including all Slavic, Celtic, Asian, African, American Aboriginal, and many others, are classed in the 890s. Thus the external organizing force, rather than the contents, determines the correct shape. The ten predetermined pigeonholes are "ideal compartments" for classification. Dewey's focus is on the compartments, not on their content.

> If he insisted on having a *different* case *made to order* for each use, it wud cost over twice as much; he cud not group them *together* or

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> *interchanje* them, and they wud not *fit* offis shelvs. (1932, 21; emphasis added)

Mass production is preferred to made-to-order. Consistency of size and shape promotes efficiency. The content is adjusted even if it means fitting round pegs into square holes because, for Dewey's efficiency, the shape of the pigeonhole is more important than the shape of the subject. Information scientist Brian C. Vickery argues that "the specific subject of an article is not a simple concept which can be neatly tucked away in a single pigeonhole in the vast cabinet of knowledge, a single leaf on a hierarchical tree. It is a compound, more or less complex, of simpler concepts" (1975, 8). Dewey tries to accommodate in only ten pigeonholes (hardly a vast cabinet) all of the subjects in books.

DDC and the presumption of universality

What does today's railroad look like? How does DDC map the physical landscapes of library stacks and the electronic landscapes of library catalogs? Is the universality/diversity binary present in DDC? How does it limit representation in its practice of toponomy?

Images of location are particularly useful in understanding the problems of classification because library classifications are primarily used to determine shelf placement—at least in a North American context. Even as the promise/threat of the virtual library forecasts that people will obtain library materials dispersed among various physical and electronic locations, the desire for shelf lists (lists of library holdings in classification number order) in library catalogs increases because of a desire to mimic shelf browsing electronically. Browsing as we know it, whether at the shelf or electronically, requires some kind of arrangement that will make sense to library users. To date this arrangement has usually used subject classification as a sort of epistemic cartography—mapping knowledge.

In locating knowledge, DDC typically follows the liberal approach of instituting equality or sameness more often than it represents diversity. The problem of equality is its homogenizing presumption that the same model will apply universally. The parallel structures that make DDC efficient obscure differences, while they depend on these differences for differentiating pigeonholes. Joan Scott's deconstruction of the binary opposition of equality/difference illuminates the failure of equality to include diversity: "The political notion of equality thus includes, indeed, depends on, an acknowledgement of the existence of difference. Demands for equality have rested on implicit and usually unrecognized arguments from

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difference; if individuals or groups were identical or the same there would be no need to ask for equality. Equality might well be defined as deliberate indifference to specific differences" (1988, 44). Classification must decide which differences to use as dividing lines between topics. Inevitably, some differences are privileged over others. "The sameness constructed on each side of the binary opposition hides the multiple play of differences and maintains their irrelevance and invisibility" (1988, 46).

Library classifications are linear in that they line books up in order on shelves or in a database so that library users can browse. As a result, it is not possible for a classification system to gather simultaneously all aspects or facets of a work, to represent equally the multiple play of differences, the complexities described by Vickery as not fitting into pigeonholes. Works are gathered by one privileged facet, then subdivided by another, and so on, creating a hierarchy. As a result, one facet is the primary point of gathering, and other facets are not gathered in one place. Elizabeth Spelman, in *Inessential Woman,* describes what amounts to such a classification: "Imagine a huge customs hall with numerous doors, marked 'women,' 'men,' 'Afro-American,' 'Asian-American,' 'Euro-American,' 'Hispanic-American,' 'working class,' 'middle class,' 'upper class,' 'lesbian,' 'gay,' 'heterosexual,' and so forth. . . . The doors are arranged in banks, so that each person faces a first bank of doors that sort according to gender, then a bank that sort according to race, or alternatively sort first according to race, then according to class, then according to gender, and so on" (1988, 144). Different orders of sorting produce different results. If gender is the first sorting category and then racial or ethnic background, all of the women are together and all of the men are together, but African Americans, Euro-Americans, Asian Americans, and Hispanic Americans are each in two different places. However, if racial or ethnic background is the first characteristic in sorting, then African, European, Asian, and Hispanic Americans are each together, but women are in four different places and men are in four different places. "We get different pictures of people's identities, and of the extent to which one person shares some aspect of identity with another, depending on what the doors are, how they are ordered, and how people are supposed to proceed through them" (Spelman 1988, 146).

This ordering of doors in DDC (1996) occurs in the instructions for the section "305 Social groups." The table of precedence determines under which characteristic or facet a complex topic is entered:

> Unless other instructions are given, observe the following table of precedence, e.g., black Roman Catholic middle-class male youths 305.235 (not 305.31, 305.55, 305.62, or 305.896)

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> Persons by physical and mental characteristics 305.908
> Age groups 305.2
> Groups by sex 305.3–305.4
> Social classes 305.5
> Religious groups 305.6
> Language groups 305.7
> Racial, ethnic, national groups 305.8
> Occupational and miscellaneous groups 305.9 (except 305.908)
>
> (Dewey for Windows 1998)

Theoretically, this system constructs a hierarchy that accommodates all of these options. However, how many facets can be expressed varies from one instance to another. Additional facets may be added only through two mechanisms. The first mechanism is that the classification schedule (the list of numbers) may allow one section to be divided like another. So "women" (305.4) may be divided like the section on religious, language, racial, ethnic, national groups (305.6–305.8) as follows:

> 305.486–305.488 Women belonging to specific religious, language, racial, ethnic, national groups
> Add to base number 305.48 the numbers following 305 in 305.6–305.8, e.g., English-speaking women of South Africa 305.48721068
> (Dewey for Windows 1998)

The second mechanism is to apply a subdivision from the list of standard subdivisions applicable throughout the classification (table 1). The example given with the table of precedence shows 305.235 representing young adults as a group. To this number can be appended—0896 for people of African descent, a standard subdivision from table 1. This table has its own precedence, which is roughly the reverse of that under 305. Therefore, it is possible to use 305.2350896 to mean black youth. However, no other additions can be made—no indication of Roman Catholic, middle-class, or male. In most cases only one facet after the first is permitted as both mechanisms are governed by strict rules of application (e.g., table 1 may be used only once in the construction of a DDC number). This arrangement results in a hierarchy of differences and excludes many facets of identity. So while DDC may treat each element in a set of differences equally, what amounts to a hierarchy of oppressions is created instead of interlocking oppressions or, more positively, interlocking identities (Houston 1992, 49).

The result of hierarchical classification is that groups at the top of the hierarchy will always be gathered together, but groups lower down the

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hierarchy will be dispersed. For example, since age is first in the table of precedence, all materials on young adults are classified in 305.235 regardless of other factors. One additional facet may be added, as in the example of black youth described above. However, material focusing on black youth cannot, according to DDC, be classified with material on black people in general in 305.896. People of African descent are diasporized throughout DDC by more than just geographical factors.

This same sort of arrangement is found in any section of DDC (1996) subdivided by "classes of persons," for example: "155.3 Sex psychology and psychology of the sexes"; "155.6 Psychology of adults"; "248.8 Guides to Christian life for specific classes of persons"; "331.3–331.6 Labor force by personal characteristics"; "613.04 Promotion of health of specific sex and age groups"; and "790.19 [Recreational] Activities and programs for specific classes of persons." Either an instruction or table of precedence governs each of these examples. There is, as the classification reads, no flexibility in priorities. The result of hierarchies of difference and other procrustean practices (see Olson 1996b) is too often marginalization or exclusion of others because the universal language of DDC (1996) lacks flexibility.

Implication for catalog records

Librarians catalog in the context of the authority of standards. To examine the application of the two standards, LCSH and DDC, I have chosen as texts the LC catalog records[7] for bell hooks's *Talking Back* and Trinh's *When the Moon Waxes Red* because they combine several themes common in feminist literatures and they demonstrate a variety of problems in subject representation.

Hooks's title *Talking Back: Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black* accurately names her topics. While about African-American women and feminism, about feminism and women of color, and about talking, *Talking Back* is particularly about African-American women claiming the right to speak for themselves about their concerns—claiming voice. In the title essay, hooks recalls her childhood, when "'talking back' meant speaking as an equal to an authority figure" (1989, 6). In adulthood, talking back has liberatory meanings. "Moving from silence into speech is for the oppressed, the colonized, the exploited, and those who stand and struggle side by side a

[7] The LC catalog records are as they appeared on the Library of Congress Cataloging Distribution Service's World Wide Web connection, Z39.50 Gateway, in October 1998 <http://lcweb.loc.gov/z3950/gateway.html>.

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gesture of defiance that heals, that makes new life and new growth possible. It is that act of speech, of 'talking back,' that is no mere gesture of empty words, that is the expression of our movement from object to subject—the liberated voice" (1989, 9). To represent hooks's book, an LC cataloger has assigned it these LCSH headings:

Afro-American women.
Feminism—United States.
Hooks, Bell.

These headings represent reasonably well the two topics in hooks's subtitle, but they do not represent voice. There is no LCSH heading for voice in the sense that hooks describes it: the heading "Voice" refers to the physical act of speech; the heading "Speech" refers to the production of meaning through language; and the heading "Expression" has broader terms such as "Eloquence" and "Oratory." There is no heading for self-expression or anything similar. Yet voice, as hooks uses it, is not a new topic. The LCSH cannot represent "voice" because of its association with silenced groups, because those who give it its meaning are excluded from the process of subject representation and definition. Like other language, LCSH is socially constructed and reflects such biases, usually unintentionally. Problems such as lack of voice remain problems without a name.

Access to hooks's discussion of the feminist voices of African-American women would also be aided by a subject heading for African-American feminism or Black feminism or Womanism. There is already a heading in LCSH: "Womanist theology: Here are entered works on Afro-American or Black feminist theology as distinct from white feminist theological perspectives and values." The LCSH could easily follow its own lead to establish "Womanism" or some variant as an authoritative heading, but it has not chosen to do so. The LC catalogers are charged with proposing new headings on the basis of literary warrant—that is, when they catalog a work on a new topic they are responsible for proposing a subject heading to represent it. Other libraries are also invited to submit proposals for new headings to LC, and many are added to LCSH. With as many as nine thousand new headings added to LCSH each year one may well wonder why there is still no appropriate heading even after hooks's and others' books have been in print for over a decade.

Finally, there is the subject heading for bell hooks. To represent personal names LCSH adopts the practice of another standard, the *Anglo-American Cataloguing Rules* (2d ed., 1988 revision) (AACR2R), which instructs catalogers to capitalize "the first word of each heading and subheading"

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(1988, 565). As a result, an LC cataloger has constructed the heading "Hooks, Bell" for bell hooks, disregarding her consistent use of lower case letters to begin both names—choosing to take the authority to name Hooks, Bell rather than allowing bell hooks the authority to name herself. This subject heading takes away the voice that LCSH cannot represent.

The book's classification according to DDC also stresses the subtitle and ignores the meanings of *Talking Back*. The LC assigns the DDC number:

305.48896073
  305.4 Women
    —8 Specific kinds of women
      —8 Racial, ethnic, national groups
        —96 Africans and people of African descent
          —073 United States

As with LCSH, the classification system contains no way of expressing voice as self-expression, liberatory or otherwise, so *Talking Back* exists in the connecting space of African Americans and women. As discussed above, this section of DDC privileges gender differences over race differences, so this book will be shelved with books about African-American women in the section on women and separated from the section on African Americans.

The LC catalog record for Trinh's *When the Moon Waxes Red: Representation, Gender, and Cultural Politics* reveals the failure of the standards to represent yet another common topic of feminist discourse and other marginalized discourses: representation. I interpret Trinh's approach to be poststructural, postcolonial, and feminist; the publisher has put the book in the category "cultural studies." While her general topic is representation, her specific topic is film, particularly documentary film, and she uses film to illustrate the interaction of the three concepts in her subtitle, "Representation, Gender, and Cultural Politics." An LC cataloger has given this book the LCSH headings:

Motion pictures—Philosophy
Feminism and motion pictures.

The LCSH has no heading for representation as a general concept. It also has no way of representing various theoretical approaches—here poststructuralism and postcolonialism as well as feminism. Presumably, the subdivision "—Philosophy" after "Motion pictures" broadly represents Trinh's poststructural perspective, but the critical perspectives of feminism and postcolonialism are completely omitted. Catalogers and library users

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who search for "cultural studies" will be commanded, even though "cultural studies" is a widely accepted phrase, to

USE Culture—Study and teaching
Popular culture—Study and teaching.

Therefore, of the several ways of interpreting Trinh's perspective, none is representable in LCSH.

The DDC number assigned to *When the Moon Waxes Red* accurately reflects the first (in LC practice the primary) subject heading:

791.4301
791 Public performances
.43 Motion pictures
—01 Philosophy, theory, aesthetics

Numbers indicating film about developing countries or about women could also be constructed. However, none of these options reflects the book any better than the number given. It is not specifically about film, specifically about women, or specifically about developing countries. These topics are the cases that Trinh uses to explore issues of representation, but DDC cannot represent representation any better than LCSH can.

The application of LCSH and DDC constructs a limit between universality and diversity. Problems marking this limit in the canonical LC catalog records—the North American norm of application—fall into two broad categories. The first is the acute lack of vocabulary (whether words in subject headings or notation in classification) to express concepts such as voice and representation. The second is the systemic construction of limits such as exclusion of perspective (feminist or postcolonial) and representation of concrete topics (African-American women or motion pictures) rather than intangible concepts (voice or representation). However, both systems have the potential to represent diversity. The *Subject Cataloging Manual: Subject Headings* for LCSH not only allows but instructs LC catalogers to establish headings for topics not already represented. The DDC offers the possibility of building numbers to represent complex topics and increasingly offers options for local use (such as the options for giving priority to Canadian literature in Canadian libraries discussed below). In both instances the universal language is not a static language, although it is tightly controlled. Unlike Dewey's dictum that a topic once located shall be located in the same place forever, LCSH and DDC offer possibilities for change.

The inappropriate, inadequate classification of these two books stems from the lack of importance placed on the concerns of other women in our culture and society in general. Books embodying multiple marginalizations

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are either ghettoized in an obscure corner of the catalog (all women or all African Americans lumped together) or dispersed in a diaspora of little ghettos. Separated from mainstream subject classifications, where they are pushed to the margins, they will not disturb library users looking for books on "real" topics. Yet the failure of vocabularies such as LCSH and DDC to achieve uniformity of application is the result of the undeniable presence of diversity that defines universality by being what universality is not.

Techniques for ameliorative change

Rather than create a new standard for managing information, I prefer to follow Cornell's injunction to develop an ethical relationship with the other through techniques for making the limits of our existing information systems permeable. While acknowledging that the limit is constructed, we must also recognize its material nature. It is through the limit that we confront "the beyond," the other (Cornell 1992, 69–70). Cornell proposes that we need to let the other speak for it/him/herself—we need to develop an ethical relation with the other.

Techniques to make our systems permeable seem risky to us as library and information professionals long steeped, like a jar of sun tea on the front porch, in the tradition of the presumption of universality in naming. The reason for this dis-ease is that making space for the voice of the other means that we must relinquish some of our power to the other—power of voice, construction, and definition. Instead of possessing this power exclusively, we who are on the inside of the information structures must create holes in our structures through which the power can leak out.

Three ways to make our systems permeable are to apply technology in innovative and subversive ways, to stretch standards such as LCSH and DDC, and to adopt an active stance by creating spaces in our boundaries for the voices of those who have been excluded.

Martha West says that "[w]hile the information scientists were exploring the use of the computer for retrieval, librarians were experimenting with the computer as a means of dealing with their housekeeping chores (technical services, circulation)" (1983, 11).[8] Referring to these functions as "housekeeping chores," West may have been demeaning them, but she also may have been recognizing the importance of the mundane to make things work. "Housekeeping chores" are a part of our vernacular reality, "that nitty-gritty stuff, the direct action and immediate experience," the

[8] According to Michael Gorman, information science is librarianship practiced by men (1990, 463).

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"bread and butter, soup, work, clothing and shelter, the reality of everyday life" (Franklin 1990, 36). I suggest that we should continue to use technology in mundane ways to make things work—specifically, to renovate the master's house to make space for the voices of excluded others. We can use the master's technological tools to create redemptive technologies. Ursula Franklin suggests that just as anyone who weaves or knits knows that there are many possible patterns in applying those technologies, so we can turn technological devices and practices to different patterns—we can adapt them into being "redemptive technologies" (1990, 58). Redemptive technologies "use existing technical knowledge in a changed structure and for a changed task," growing out of the study of what does work and of "the needs and the experiences of those at the receiving end of the technology" (1990, 128–29).

We have already used technology to allow access to the free text of bibliographic records comprised of authors' language and catalogers' and indexers' language. Free text searching, which makes each word in a database of equal value, is useful for retrieving topics not representable in a controlled vocabulary—topics such as *voice.* However, by making each word of equal value and, in addition, by treating each instance of a word as though it meant the same thing, free text searching will retrieve material that merely mentions the topic along with material that uses the same word in another sense. So searching for *voice* will retrieve some material on self-expression but also material on voice lessons, voice-overs, the voice box, Voice of America, passive voice, and so on. Common words such as *voice* retrieve hundreds or even thousands of titles when searched in a library catalog, few of which would be relevant to a search for *voice* as self-expression. Furthermore, such a search will not retrieve bell hooks's book because the word *voice* is not included in the title, table of contents, or any other part of the book likely to appear in a bibliographic record. Search techniques that would address at least some of these shortcomings to some degree are difficult for many searchers to learn and apply effectively. Free text searching alone is frustrating because of the quantity of irrelevant documents typically retrieved, as users of the Web are discovering. The ability to search the full text of works adds even more "equal" terms to the mix and offers the possibility of more irrelevant retrievals. Library and information studies researchers have typically concluded that a combination of free text and controlled vocabulary is ideal because one provides freedom while the other provides control. Sophisticated and ingenious solutions are obviously required. The scale of change would be massive if systems were totally replaced. Using mundane, but redemptive, technologies will be more workable.

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Examples of applying a redemptive technology to LCSH might include using systems designed for multilingual catalogs to allow more than one authoritative heading for a topic (*women, wimmin, womyn, femmes, Frauen,* and so on would all retrieve the same collection of documents without an intervening instruction to "USE Women"). An easily adapted interface can mediate between standard records, such as LC's, and users' needs—gathering topics of current interest at a particular time or in a particular context. Or users could be encouraged to create their own links between documents to gather in ways they find useful and leave a trail for future users. The technologies for all three of these techniques already exist, the first two in marketed systems and the third in an experimental system (for further explanation of these options see Olson 1996a). Another option worth exploring is analyzing transaction logs from on-line catalogs to identify the terminology that users actually use. Transaction log studies have been used to examine users' search strategies, but they also hold potential for analyzing users' vocabulary choices.

Using technology for breaching the limits may be risky; for many feminists technology is the master's tool that cannot dismantle the master's house. Whether or not our technologies are innately masculine, they usually wear a masculine face in our society. However, using technology in our everyday/every night lives is something women do regularly and well and often in innovative ways that subvert the original intent of a given tool. By using existing technologies we also produce more economical changes. Libraries are chronically underbudgeted, and cataloging is a popular site for cost cutting. Saving capital investment by using technological remedies may help convince administrators to invest in other areas where individuals' intellectual labor is required.

Technologies can be used to make systems permeable, but the contents of information systems are still governed by standards such as LCSH and DDC that also need to be made permeable. Changes can be made and tools developed to stretch the standards. Changing the shape of the limits, making them more inclusive, is useful to a point. The recent change of *Man* to *Humankind* in LCSH is unquestionably positive. However, making the standards permeable to meet diverse information needs also requires local, partial, and dynamic changes. My current project maps the feminist vocabulary, *A Women's Thesaurus* (1987), to DDC (1996) using an electronic interface designed by Dennis Ward.[9] It makes DDC searchable from a feminist perspective and identifies the marginalizations and

[9] For further description, see Olson and Ward 1997; Olson 1998; Ward and Olson 1998; and the project Web page available at <http://www.ualberta.ca/~holson/femddc>.

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exclusions present in DDC. The areas identified as most problematic have been rewritten to better accommodate feminist topics. Several techniques have been used in rewriting, nearly all of which follow the pattern of revision employed on a regular basis in DDC. One such technique is the use of options. The current DDC (1996) allows libraries to choose different ways of classifying a few topics for differences in emphasis. An example mentioned above, the classification of Canadian literature, is helpful in understanding such options. The 800s organize literature by language, except for American literature in English. Using the standard interpretation of DDC (1996), Canadian literature is classified by what language it is written in—English Canadian literature in 810 (American literature in English), French Canadian literature with other French literature in the 840s, Canadian literature written in Aboriginal languages in the 890s, and so on. Options are given in DDC (1996) to foreground Canadian literature by using the 810s exclusively for Canadian literature and classifying other American literature in English elsewhere, or by prefixing Canadian literature with a "C" and shelving it before other literatures. Similar techniques can be used to give emphasis to topics important to a group of people, such as women, rather than to a nationality. A second technique is to add more numbers to an area of the classification to make it more specific and thus to add topics neglected in the current DDC (1996). A third technique is to change the order of precedence as with the table of precedence for "305 Social groups." In essence, local libraries can shift emphasis by changing the order of the customs hall's doors to meet their local needs: a women's studies library might want to privilege sexuality so that material about lesbians now scattered in DDC would be gathered. While all three of these techniques can be used compatibly with the existing DDC, desired modifications may present a conflict with the classification. The decision to introduce this conflict is made in only the most egregious cases, as it makes the resulting adaptation of DDC more labor intensive. The original mapping of *A Women's Thesaurus* has been adapted to index the new adaptation along with the existing DDC (1996). It can be used via the Web to search existing library catalogs from a feminist perspective by going from a thesaurus term to a DDC number to the entries under that number in the catalog. This project uses no cutting edge technologies, and it is largely compatible with the present version of DDC. Instead of employing radical change, it tinkers with current standards in a subversive and accessible way.

To implement these changes requires an active stance on the part of librarians and library users. Because each of these options requires libraries to reclassify existing collections and to edit catalog records for incoming materials, we must use a combination of ingenuity and cooperation to en-

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able changes. Librarianship has a long history of cooperation in the area of cataloging, dating back to at least the medieval catalog of over eighty British monastic libraries. Established Canadian history and literature variations of LCC are examples of successful adaptations for which libraries share cataloging, making application more economical. While changes are expensive and labor intensive, if libraries have a serious commitment to serving their users the workload imposed by such changes will be cost effective in terms of improved access. Individual libraries, as well as the institutions that govern our standards, must be held accountable for poor and biased access to information. Passivity in the face of budget restraints is an inappropriate response. Dewey's invocation to accept the procrustean tens—his railroad that bypasses what is not marketable—should remind us that "better and quicker and cheaper" is always at a price, and the price is the violent reshaping of objects to fit the preconceptions of the knowing subject.

Appendix

Sample LCSH Headings

UF = Used For (the words that follow are not authorized subjects)

BT = Broader Topic (more comprehensive subjects that may be of interest)

RT = Related Topic (related subjects that may be of interest)

SA = See Also (used to introduce general see also references)

NT = Narrower Topic (more specific subjects that may be of interest)

Women[10] (May Subd Geog)

[GT2520-GT2540 (Customs)]
[HQ1101-HQ2030.9 (Sociology)]

Here are entered works on the human female. Works on female organisms in general are entered under Females.

UF Human females
Wimmin
Woman
Womon
Womyn
BT Females
Human beings

[10] **Bold** = no parallel reference under the heading "Men."

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SA **subdivision Women under individual wars, e.g., World War, 1939–1945—Women; also subdivision Relations with women under names of individual persons; and headings beginning with the word Women**

NT Abused women
Abusive women
Aged women
Architecture and women
Aunts
Bahai women
Beauty contestants
Bisexual women
Buddhist women
Christian women
Church work with women
Computers and women
Crones
Daughters
Fascism and women
Femmes fatales
Gifted women
Handicapped women
Heterosexual women
Hindu women
HIV-positive women
Homeless women
Housewives
Indian women
Jaina women
Jewish women
Lesbians
Libraries and women
Married women
Mass media and women
Matriarchy
Mentally ill women
Middle aged women
Middle class women
Minority women
Mothers
Motion pictures and women
Motion pictures for women
Museums and women
Muslim women
National socialism and women

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Nieces
Overweight women
Photography of women
Poor women
Pregnant women
Prostitutes
Radio and women
Rural women
Scolds
Self-defense for women
Self-employed women
Sex instruction for women
Sexual ethics for women
Sexual harassment of women
Sikh women
Single women
Sisters
Tall women
Taoist women
Television and women
United States. Navy—Women
Urban women
White women
Widows
Wild women
Wives
Women's mass media
Working class women
Young women
RT Femininity

Men[11] (May Subd Geog)
Here are entered works on the human male. Works on male organisms in general are entered under Males.
UF Human males
BT Human beings
Males
NT Abused men
Abusive men
Aged men
Antique collecting for men
Bisexual men

[11] **Bold** = no parallel reference under the heading "Women."

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Brotherhoods
Brothers
Christian men
Church work with men
Cosmetics for men
Dandies
Eunuchs
Fathers
Gay men
Grooming for men
Handicapped men
Heterosexual men
HIV-positive men
Househusbands
Husbands
Jewish men
Latin lovers
Male prostitutes
Men in black (UFO phenomenon)
Middle aged men
Middle class men
Motion pictures for men
Nephews
Overweight men
Photography of men
Poor men
Rural men
Sex instruction for men
Sexual harassment of men
Short men
Single men
Social work with men
Sons
Strong men
Uncles
White men
Widowers
Wild men
Young men
RT Masculinity

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