

# **MARCIA BATES ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW**

(Text in final preferred order, with redactions)

**INTERVIEWED BY MICHAEL BUCKLAND**

**Interviews February-August 2012**  
**Final revised text submitted March 2014**

CONTENTS (Revised from original interview sequence—See Marcia Bates Oral History Interview—Text in full original order)

Life and Career Discussion, p. 1-47

- (Containing p. 1-32, 55-115, and 132-135 of text in original order, minus redactions)

Publication Discussion, p. 47-78

- (Containing p. 32-54 and 115-132 of text in original order, minus redactions)

Life and Career Discussion:

[Bates: First, some preliminary written notes from me, after having edited the transcript:

- In the several interviews we had, I alternated between discussing the history of my career, on the one hand, and reviewing my vita and discussing individual publications on the other. In reviewing the results, I have found that the story reads much better if the career and publication sections are separated and presented sequentially. So page numbers for the original text precede each section, so that it is possible to return to the original sequence of the discussion, if desired, but my preferred ordering of the text is as presented here.
- “Redactions” are in a separate file, Word document, “Bates oral rev redactions 140303,” which may be accessed starting in 2035.
- I have tried to remain faithful to the “feel” of the original text, and mostly I have just removed redundancies, typos, and the like. If there is to be any point to having an oral, rather than a written interview, it seems to me appropriate to retain the conversational feel of the original. However, conversation may not always read very well, as we certainly speak differently from the way we write. Here, one is reading rather than speaking, and some respect for the forms and patterns of the written word is needed as well. Sometimes I wince at the stops and starts of the conversation, and I have attempted to smooth out the text and eliminate things that get in the way of understanding, but, mostly, I’ve respected

the original rhythms. In other words, this is essentially a conversational text—not a properly composed one.]

Buckland: It is February the 7<sup>th</sup>, 2012 and it is 1:27p.m., and I am with Marcia Bates and she is going to start her oral history.

Bates: Well, let us indeed begin. I thought it might be of interest to say something about my childhood because it was an unusual one. I was an only child, and I was born in Terre Haute, Indiana, but shortly after I was born, my father started doing work that took us all over the United States, including Alaska and Hawaii, as well as Canada. By the time I was thirteen and a freshman in high school, I had lived at 25 different addresses, and I had been to 14 different schools. I went to three different schools each year in the fourth and the sixth grades. I skipped from the seventh into the eighth grade. My dad (Robert) would work as a personnel manager or recruiter for large construction companies, and the way the system worked then, and probably still does, is that a company would hire a bunch of people for a job that might last six months to two years, and then when it was over, they would let everybody go. So there would be a floating pool of people who would be hired on and off at these different jobs. You might meet someone you knew from two jobs ago. During those years, my dad worked for virtually every major construction company around then: Metcalf-Hamilton; Smith, Brown and Root; Mannix; Kaiser Engineers, and a number of others. So that took us all over.

If the job ended at the beginning of a recession, however, then it was a different matter. Then it got tricky. I think the worst time we ever had was during one of those recessions and the only job my dad could get was as a warehouse supervisor for a construction job in a little tiny town called McGregor, Texas. There were 2000 people in the town and about two billion grasshoppers. As you walked across the grass, they would hop up in a cloud around your feet, up to about a foot from the ground. I have never seen so many grasshoppers in my life. Because it was such a small town, there was no housing, so they put us up—all the people working on the job—in left-over World War II barracks. That was about ten years after the barracks had last been used, and I remember there was a hole in the wall next to my bed where I could look out and see what was going on outdoors. Watch the grasshoppers, I guess.

Probably the nicest location that we lived in during those years was in Honolulu. We lived there for four years from 1946 to 1950. Since we went over there right after the war, there was *no* housing to be had. During the entire four years, we lived in a succession of homes, each better and larger than the last, as the housing market loosened. At the beginning, we lived in a U.S. Navy hotel (my dad was a civilian working for the military), a two-and-a-half-story Quonset Hut hotel, for over a year. But the last place we lived in before we left Hawaii in 1950 was a house about a half a block from Waikiki Beach in the present site of

one of the major hotels, Hawaiian Village or one of those. We actually had an ordinary house right where the Hawaiian Village is today.

So, moving around in the construction industry was a varied experience. I once figured that I lost about a semester of school between all the different moves. The bad thing about that peripatetic existence was that it gave me the feeling that if I had a problem, well, we would be moving pretty soon anyway, so I wouldn't have to work it out with whoever I was having a fight with. So, I always had this sense of moving on soon, just because that was my experience. The good side was that it gave me a lot more flexibility about meeting different kinds of people, living in different kinds of places, and it made me much more comfortable with the idea that if you need a new job, you move. You don't just sit and burn through all your resources. So, what would usually happen is that my parents would have bought used furniture when we arrived, then when we left the place, they'd sell off the furniture, pack everything we had left into our little car, and we would drive to the next job.

So, it was a very different kind of an experience, but in retrospect, I am glad I had it. My dad worked on the Alcan Highway that goes from Anchorage to Edmonton, Alberta; he worked at Oak Ridge where the atom bomb plant was built, and a number of other things in all these different locations. We lived in Edmonton twice, as well as in Montreal, Ohio, New Mexico, Tennessee, California multiple times, and six months in Anchorage, Alaska. We drove down from Anchorage to San Francisco via Edmonton on the Alcan Highway in the early 1950's, when the road was still gravel. We left in early November. It was ice and snow much of the way, and we took two weeks to get to San Francisco. One day we got up at 4 o'clock in the morning, aiming to reach Fort St. John that day, a distance of 365 miles. The roads were so dangerous that we got there at midnight. I can still remember the day we reached the Golden Gate Bridge and drove across the bridge as the sun was setting. From that moment on, I was a confirmed Californian. I just loved it, so I have often ended up coming back here one way or the other.

Buckland: Do you want to comment a little on your parents? Character and attitudes.

Bates: Sure. My parent's background was interesting too. My mother Martha's family goes all the way back to before the revolution and, to my great embarrassment, my mother was very proud that she qualified for the Daughters of the American Revolution. She even qualified for the Daughters of the American Colonists, an organization I had never heard of, but which is even more hoity-toity than the DAR because it is for people whose family goes back even before the revolution. My mother wasn't really a snob, but she liked the selectivity of it. There was a pastor who came over from Germany in 1707, and I think that was the beginning of the family on that side. Most of the family had German and Scottish names through that period, and my mother's maiden name was McNaught. So, she came from this Protestant background. Her grandfather, James Hinkle, went up to the Klondike Gold Rush in 1898, and was drowned while up there.

Mother made a manuscript out of the letters he sent and journal he wrote, but she couldn't get it published during her lifetime. I did so, by self-publishing it under the logo Ketchikan Press, in 2008. So I am happy to say that that particular bit of family history, that meant so much to my mother, was completed.

As for my dad, the name Bates, improbable as that seems, was Irish. I'm told that one doesn't see that name in Ireland; it is an English name, but it was my Catholic grandfather's name all the same (William Bates). My grandfather's family emigrated from Ireland to French Canada, where my grandfather was born, and then they moved down to Ohio, making a life in Canton, Ohio. I once went to Ireland for a conference. At the end of the day, I went back to the hotel to have dinner. I looked over at the next table, and the man sitting there was just the spitting image of my grandfather. It positively startled me. So I believe there is Irish blood there.

The sad side of the story is that my grandfather's family, my father's father's family, had nine or ten children in it when they came down, but tuberculosis got them. It went from one person to another in the family, until it killed the entire family, except for my grandfather and one of his brothers, who left home when they were about 15. It was that time when poor people had no possibility of going to a sanitarium.

My father's mother was German-Swiss and her maiden name was Emma Schneider. She and my grandfather married and would speak German in front of the kids. It was the typical immigrant pattern, where they did not teach the language to their children, so they could converse in front of them as needed. My dad was Catholic, of course, so when my parents got together, that made, in the old days, what was called a "mixed marriage," namely, when a Protestant married a Catholic. That was a shocking thing! Initially, mother agreed to go through the education to become Catholic, but my dad was a rather impatient person and he just got tired of that and said, "Oh, to heck with it. Let's get married." They got married in the Protestant church, for which I've always been thankful.

With the variety of other issues and problems in my life, if I had added Catholic guilt to it, (Laughing) I don't know if I could have survived. I don't mean offense. As I view it, Catholics and Jews do guilt. They each do very different kinds of guilt, but they do guilt. Protestants, on the other hand, do propriety, proper behavior. They say that it is the same-sex parent who most influences you, and my mother was very Protestant in that sense, from the Midwest, and there were just certain things you did and certain things you didn't do. I do think I have inherited an excessive concern with being proper, even as I love to rebel. I didn't like the Midwestern culture I was exposed to when visiting relatives in Indiana and Ohio, and as soon as I had a chance to, I was very happy to throw that over and live more independently in terms of social strictures and expectations. I loved the freedom of the 1960's in Berkeley, California.

My dad was five years older than my mother. He was a bright man, but he had gone off to college at Ohio University in Athens and, basically, flunked out. I think it was one of those cases where he was trying to find himself. His family was living in Terre Haute then, and he met my mother, who was attending high school.

When he was six, he had something that, in those days, they called scarlet fever, but which was probably actually polio. It left him with 20 percent vision in one eye and one leg shorter than the other. So, he was 4F during the war, which is part of why I guess I am here. I think he, I rather suspect, he had some trouble dealing with that. He wasn't really athletic for those reasons and had to wear glasses in days when people didn't wear glasses much. I guess you could say he had a limp, but he had a way of walking where he compensated for it almost completely. You really didn't see it. You knew something was there, but it wasn't like the usual limp.

In my mother's case, she wanted very much to go to college. She had three older brothers and sisters, who all went to college, but it was one of those things where when it came to her, the parents were so far behind in when they would be able to afford to send her to college, that she basically decided to get married instead. This loss remained with her her whole life, and she worked hard and sacrificed to enable me to go to a good college, even when my dad thought we could not afford it.

The Depression affected my mother a lot. My grandfather, Harry McNaught, was a machinist and very skilled with all kinds of machinery. Ironically, they were a little better off during the Depression than in the 1920's, because he got a job as the only mechanic in a closed factory, maintaining the machines until the factory could be opened again. However, times were frequently hard for them, and Mother would tell of having only beans and cornmeal to eat, and being so cold that she went to her friends' houses after school to get warm.

Daddy's family was comparatively well off, because his dad worked as a supervisor in a plant that made porcelain pots and pans. I'm embarrassed to say that when my parents got together, both of them worked in the factory after the workers went on strike. The management blocked the strike by hiring "scabs," including my dad and mother. There were horrible, hot conditions in the factory, but it got Mother more money than she had seen most of her life. My parents were both always firm Republicans, and I took on those ideas while I was young, but once I got a little bit older, it was just a very bad match to my constitution, and I rejected those views, and have been a staunch liberal ever since.

My grandfather...I think such creativity as I might have has come from him.

Buckland: Your maternal grandfather.

Bates: Yes. He was always tinkering with stuff. He actually had a patent for a dead man's break, which would stop a train automatically if the engineer driving the train died or went unconscious. I gather a lot of people developed such brakes. Unfortunately, one time when he was poor, he sold the patent for very little. I was very fond of my maternal grandmother, Myrtle, who had passed on the Klondike letters to my mother.

Buckland: You presumably got through high school? Was there anything about your high school experience that was significant? Then you can take us to college.

Bates: Okay. Fortunately, my dad got a job with Kaiser Engineers in Oakland at the beginning of my sophomore year in high school and so I spent the last three years of high school in one place and that was a blessing. It's alright to move around when you are younger, but I think it is such an emotionally difficult time going through high school. This was the 50s, moreover. The 50s had a big impact on me because everything was so constrained and so conformist. I think this is the beginning of the difference between male experience and female experience from those years. I didn't know any better. I thought this is what life was like. Everything was so constricted.

I was terrified of guys because you were supposed to do certain things on the first date, and certain things on the second date, and certain things on the third date. (Laughing.) I couldn't keep it all straight; you know, what all these different things were that you could and couldn't do. If you did something ahead of time, one date sooner than you should, then you were a slut! For a girl, that was a terrible, terrible thing. There is this line that has been said about the 50s, "The fox is running for its dinner, and the rabbit is running for its life." When guys did something that they weren't supposed to do, it was no biggie, but if a girl did, she was doomed, and I mean doomed. So, the fact that I had three years in one place in high school was really crucial. There were about a dozen of us girls who were all fatally bright, because the guys who were interested in girls in high school, there, at any rate, were mostly B and C students. We were A students. Well, you can't have an A student girl going out with a B student. He just would never ask any of them. And it didn't happen.

Buckland: (Inaudible.) interested in the girl's brains.

Bates: Right. That's true. That's true. So, probably the dozen of us had about ten dates total the whole time we were in high school. Somebody would come back from a date and we'd talk about it because at least we could hear about somebody else's date. We used to joke that we took trigonometry and physics, so we could at least look at the guys, because the bright guys who were A students didn't know girls existed.

We had this little world, at least, where we could support each other. It really was important because being an A student was not a popular thing, particularly in those days. Most of my social life in high school was hanging out with these girls and having parties, but, like I say, that was crucial to getting through. This was at Acalanes High School in Lafayette, which is just over the hill from us in Berkeley. I think this is a more liberal area than most of the country and yet, even still there was terrible conformism in those days. Girls could not wear pants of any type to school. The rules were so strict and limiting, and it wasn't until I was in the 60s and a grad student when that all started loosening up. It's like, "Oh, it's possible to live a different way." I really, really liked that and liked not being subject to these Victorian constraints.

The 50s, at least for girls' experience, were really constraining and frightening. I remember there was a girl in my high school who got pregnant when she was sixteen and *of course* (with emphasis) she could not continue in the school because a girl who had known sex could not be associating with other innocent souls. People's lives were ruined with this kind of thing. I actually met this woman again at my 50<sup>th</sup> high school reunion a couple of years ago, and I'm happy to say that she made a good life, despite being shamed in this public way that was so typical of the 50's. In an age before legal abortion or the pill, getting pregnant was the terror that wakes you in the night.

Buckland: Were there any particular subjects or teachers that stood out or that you were interested in?

Bates: In high school, not so much. I would say that my high school experience, educationally, was very good. I mean, even though it was a public high school, I think the quality of education was better than a lot of the stuff I hear floating about these days. There was no such thing in those days as advanced placement courses. You had high school courses that were substantial. And you took high school courses, and then when you got to college, you took college courses. I remember we had one teacher who had been in the war, and he was very impatient with the 50s constraints on things, but a very good teacher. There were a lot of good teachers in my high school, and I learned a lot. I had, in those days, what was called a college prep program and I had all 'solids,' as they were called. I think the most influential teacher when I was younger came in college, when I went to Pomona College. When I applied for school, I applied to go to Pomona and Occidental,

Buckland: (Interrupts) I'm sorry. What was the second one?

Bates: Which were thought to be the best liberal arts colleges in California.

Buckland: The second one?

Bates: Occidental.

Buckland: (Inaudible) Okay.

Bates: Which is in southern California. It is one of Obama's alma maters. The story was...in those days, you went to Cal if you didn't get in where you wanted to go. You'd wait and see if you could get in where you wanted to go and only then would you apply to Cal. Now, when I see the ferocious competition to get into the state colleges, it just breaks my heart because they should be more open and available to people than they are now. It's become such a distorted process. But the state, California, and our whole country has gone really cheap when it comes to supporting public education. I got into Pomona, and I wanted to go there, and so I went to Pomona.

The professor there who influenced me the most was a man named Carl Baumann, who was a short, pot-bellied German-Swiss professor. He had started at Pomona many years earlier, and had a very wide background. He, I think, was formally trained in economics, but he knew a tremendous amount about art history, about literature. At one time or another, he taught a lot of different subjects, and he had a very anthropological worldview, if you will. In fact, he had insights in whatever he talked about that were not like the typical academic ideas about something. He was a little short man with balding hair and a big round face, and a lot of people who had him in their classes really liked him and valued him. He taught German, among other things, so he was my advisor. I took everything he taught. Majored, really majored in Baumann more than anything. He just had the most amazing insights, I think.

The most important thing about my exposure to him was that he taught—and showed through his ideas—that there is always a different way of understanding something than the standard way. The crucial learning there, of course, is if there is both a standard way and a second way to think about something, then there are indefinitely many other ways to think about something. It helped me stand outside the standard spiel in whatever field you are studying. From then on, it always enabled me to look beyond what the particular most popular theories were, and not be bound by them. I also think many of his ideas were kind of anthropological, and when you are talking academic disciplines, especially in the 50s and 60s when it was still more conventional than today, there was the way literary people thought, and the way political scientists thought, and the way economists thought, and to bring an anthropological and geographical insight to all those other fields, there was not a lot of that then. He was enormously influential and valuable to my later thinking. He had lengthy, carefully written lectures for all the subjects he taught, but he never published them.

I studied German and Spanish in college, and used to sit at the language tables at lunch in the dining halls, where you were supposed to speak only that language. I remember one day I bit down on a cherry tomato

and it squirted right onto Professor Baumann's face. It was so embarrassing! (Laughs.) I need to take a break.

Buckland: We're continuing on February the 7<sup>th</sup>, 2012, after a short pause. It is now 2:07p.m.

Bates: I think it is important to stop here and talk about my personal life, not only my educational life, although I want to emphasize the latter. I do so because it was such a moment of huge transition. I started college in the fall of 1959, and there was one dorm that was the freshman women's dorm. To get into the dorm on the first day, you had to pass through sophomore boys who stood there and literally took all your measurements with a measuring tape, then wrote them down in a big book that the boys kept back at the dorm, and you couldn't get into the dorm unless you did that. That was 1959. That was the age it was then. We had to be in by 10:30 every night. We had formal teas with the dorm mother, who taught us to be polite young ladies and take tea.

Buckland: Deportment.

Bates: Deportment, yes. And of course, the dorms were girls only, and guys weren't allowed into there. The men's dorms were at the other end of campus, and it was just a 50s neo-Victorian world that we were living in. By the time I graduated, there were virtually no constraints on freshman girls coming in. They were starting to integrate the sexes in the dorms. It was a really pivotal moment, and I happened to be in that moment where things really, really changed.

Buckland: That's a big change in a short time.

Bates: It's a big change in a short time, and I think it is still rippling through our society even today. The other thing, of course, for me, as a young woman—this didn't really hit until graduate school—was feminism. The whole opening of coming to be valued, coming to have your autonomy, coming to pursue your own career and so on, which had been pretty much off limits in the 50s. We had virtually no preparation for that. I guess maybe I think about this more now that I am retired and looking back on my life and understanding better what affected me and what things held me back and what things made it more possible to change. Maybe I'm focusing on that a little more than I would at another time in my life. One of the consequences of the guys' dorms at the other end of campus was that I didn't very feel comfortable with guys. Remember, the bright guys didn't know girls existed in high school, and now in college they were blocks away in segregated men's dorms. I had few opportunities to just hang out or get to know them. Everything was still pretty formal. It took me until I was in graduate school until I felt I was comfortable and had enough interaction with guys.

I was thinking about this in just in the last couple of days in terms of doing this session. In German literature, there are all these bildungsromans, novels of the development and education of the young man as he puts his life together. Well, so what kind of bildungsroman was possible for a girl in college in the 50's? The 1950s lasted until November 22, 1963, I think, and the 1960s ended about May 1970, with the invasion of Cambodia. I graduated college in June 1963. In college, I was still really living in the 50s. Then I went off for two years to teach English in the Peace Corps in Thailand and when I came back in June 1965, the world had totally changed. The world that I was prepared for, the world that was the only real option when I was growing up, was getting your MRS or doing some minor job, but certainly not a job that you would get a serious education for or that you'd be taken seriously at. The jobs women did were, by definition, not important. I didn't really relish those jobs. They didn't look promising to me. I saw my mother's life, which I didn't want to share. I didn't want to have a life like that where the main thing I did was housecleaning and taking care of a family.

Buckland: Following hubby around.

Bates: Yes, one time my mother calculated that since she married, she and the family had lived at 46 different addresses by the time she reached her senior years. Daddy would go ahead to the next job, and mother would pack up the house, then set it up again anew in the next place. Imagine doing that 46 times. I liked the travel part, but I didn't like the idea that your only identity was as somebody's wife and somebody's mother, and what you spent your days doing was housework. I just thought that seemed so boring. I just didn't want to do it.

One time I brought home my logic book from college, and it had a question in there that neither my dad nor I could figure out the answer to. My mother looked at it, and had the answer within a couple of minutes. That's when I realized how masked her real intelligence was. Her options had been far more constrained.

There still weren't many options when I went to college. You just kind of drifted, trying to figure out what to do with your life. When I was in college, I just assumed that I'd probably teach high school because I was interested in language, and I had majored in German, so I figured I'd probably teach German in high school. That didn't exactly excite me, but it was the only thing I could imagine. That's the thing. There weren't even... Women didn't have real jobs in so many environments. I remember when I was at Berkeley in grad school, the requirement, in those days, for women who took secretarial jobs at the university was to have a bachelor's degree. That's how the bachelor's degree that a young woman got would be used. A bachelor's degree that a young man would get would be used very differently. He would get a serious job as a manager or something. Instead, women were pushed down to be secretaries, just other people's typists—smart servants, in other words.

This is what I was growing up into. Later there were more opportunities but they were still highly restricted, even when I was in graduate school. At one point, when I was at Berkeley, I was very interested into going into experimental psychology. I got particularly excited about psycholinguistics. I took a course with Dan Slobin, and it was just absolutely fascinating. I think I was in the early stages of my doctoral work at that point, and I considered seriously switching into experimental psych. I had a boyfriend at that time whom I could run rings around in our debates, and he was in the psych program, so I figured I should be able to get into the psych program. I went over to talk to a couple of the professors, and they were soooo patronizing. One man did everything but pat me on my head. The idea that I, as a woman student, would be admitted, forget it. In fact, what Slobin said to me was, “If you want to get into psych grad school as a woman, you have to be twice as smart as any man.” Those were his exact words. So, I thought well I’m not *twice* as smart, so that started to worry me.

Then I learned that the psych department had something like 40 faculty members, and they hadn’t hired a woman since 1928. This was at Berkeley. This was where I was in school. This was this top university. I was taking a reading class with a psych professor. I asked him how come they hadn’t hired women in all this time. He was sympathetic. He said the guys wanted to use swear words in the faculty meetings, and they felt they couldn’t do so if they had just one woman. (Quietly.) This is a psych professor.... What I want to emphasize here is how trivial and unimportant it was to men in those days to lose what women could contribute. That was the tradeoff. (In mocking tone.) Let’s see, swear words, talented women professors, swear words, we’ll go with the swear words....

There is a woman, a very talented woman psychologist who they did want and so, they contrived to get her hired in the rhetoric department. (Quickly.) Susan Ervin-Tripp. That’s who it was. They got her hired in the rhetoric department because they did want her, they recognized her ability, but they as sure as heck didn’t want any women actually polluting the hallways of the psychology department. So they got her in someplace else and in that way, they managed to bring her in to the university. That was the exception, of course. Mostly they just wanted nothing to do with women. Period.

At about that time, there was a statistics professor by the name of Elizabeth Scott, who produced a report—I think I may still have it somewhere—in which she reviewed all of the different departments around the Berkeley campus and looked at how they dealt with grad students and faculty. You got the same kind of pretty dismal picture everywhere you looked. I thought about all of that and thought I’m going to stay where I am because I just felt that my chances were too slim. Even if I did get in, did get the doctorate, I wouldn’t be hired at any good university, I’d be hired where it would be almost entirely teaching, and, by that time, I really wanted to do research. I decided to stay in a field that had less prestige, and therefore allowed, was more open to women than psychology was.

In the end, I'm glad that's what I did because not only have I had so many wonderful, fascinating things that I've worked on in information science, but also because I think the psych field has rather hardened into a very rigid, methodologically rigid place. They are so determined to prove that they're a hard science that they have, I think, lost some of the freedom and the flexibility that they need to be able to look at questions and explore new ideas in an area. I always felt that I had the freedom to do that, that sort of exploration, in this field that I probably wouldn't have had there. It's starting to break up a little bit, but when I was starting out, it was still very uncertain whether women would ever be seriously considered for good positions.

Buckland: You're talking about your graduate student period at Berkeley, but you haven't explained what happened after you graduated from Pomona, and how a German major in Pomona wound up as a graduate student, not in German, at the Berkeley campus.

Bates: Okay. Well, first, you should know that when I was a German major, in addition to liking to take classes from Dr. Baumann, I was a German major because I was actually interested in linguistics, I wanted to study linguistics. Pomona provided a wonderful, fabulous liberal arts education, but they didn't happen to have a specialty in linguistics. So, I thought, well, I'll major in a language—and as an indication about how much I knew about studying languages in American universities, I thought it meant studying a language. Instead, it means studying the literature, but I didn't know that. I had studied Spanish in high school, and I had also studied some French when we had lived in Montreal, so I wanted something as different as possible. Well, my first thought was, I'll study Russian, but while they offered a couple of Russian classes at Pomona, they didn't offer a major. So, the next most different one was German. That's how I became a German major—because I was interested in linguistics and thought having some knowledge of a particular language would be good.

Well, of course, that turned out to mean that you studied the literature. Baumann was Baumann. He taught Baumann, basically. That was fine because it was always interesting. It wasn't until I was a senior in college that they got a new German professor, who had graduated from Berkeley, in fact. Most of the other German classes were taught by adjuncts. It wasn't until I was a senior that the new professor came and started teaching classical literary analysis. We had read the literature in the earlier classes, but not done literary analysis in the traditional sense. "On page 28, the Jesus symbol appears," that sort of thing. That's when I realized, no way would I be a literature major any farther. It just wasn't my thing. I used to say that if I had gone on to graduate school in German, I would have done a master's thesis on the color of Goethe's third mistress' eyes. Booooring! It just doesn't ring my chimes. People with a talent for it, see lots of more interesting things to research, just as I see endless cool things to study in information science, but for me, literature didn't do it.

Buckland: Do you remember, do you remember the name of that professor who came?

Bates: No, I don't. (Later: It was Hans-Dieter Brueckner.)

Buckland: Okay.

Bates: Sorry, I don't. There was another professor who, I won't say his name, who taught some of the classes, and we used to find him to be really creepy because he would give us sentences to transcribe that went like this: "The old man followed the little girl into the park and asked her to play." And he would come up with these elaborate sentences with creepy themes that we were supposed to translate. Sort of put me off of translating! I still mostly ended back at the idea of teaching, teaching German. So, I finished the German major, but by the time I was a senior, I finally understood that further literature was not going to be my thing.

I had really studied hard in college at Pomona. To this day, I feel like three quarters of everything I know, I learned at Pomona. I mean, it was a wonderful, rich, rigorous education. Because the teachers had the time to focus on teaching, they were more teachers than publishers. The courses were just superb. I felt that in my one-semester anthropology course, I learned as much as some anthro majors learn in some schools during their whole major. We read seven books in one semester in the anthro course, plus papers and exams. That was just one of five classes, and all the classes were equally as demanding as that. It was a very demanding, but rewarding education.

By the time I was a senior, I was sick of studying. I couldn't imagine studying anymore. When the Peace Corps was launched, late in my years at Pomona, I decided I wanted to go into the Peace Corps. I applied and got through the training program at Indiana University in Bloomington for teaching English as a Foreign Language in Thailand. I taught first at a girl's high school in Saraburi, then at a boy's high school in Nongkhai. I thought I was open to new experiences from my moving around as a kid. I had also gone on a semester abroad in college to Germany. But Asia was so very different, and living and working in provincial towns upcountry—before even (landline) telephones came to the towns—well, that's when I realized how arbitrary culture can be. A lot of the aspects of my culture that I had thought were characteristic of all human beings—well, I learned that they were just my culture, and almost any human behavior can come to seem natural and inborn, can be shaped. It really shoe-horned open my mind and my experience.

In fact, I think I was overly conscious about respecting the culture. I took that concern too far. Didn't want to be the ugly American. But people can handle strangers with strange practices; what matters is to care and connect with people. Then they can overcome whatever is strange about you. Thailand was never

colonized so, in most places where members of our Peace Corps group (Thailand VI) went, where individual volunteers went, they were the first white person that people had seen regularly, and they would get asked, “With blue eyes, can you see as well as somebody who’s got brown eyes?”

It is very different now, you know. Thailand is so modernized and commercialized. Anyway, I taught English as a foreign language there, and I concluded that I didn’t want to teach. Here, I thought I was going to teach high school, and the kids in the schools there were much politer and more respectful than the ones in American high schools, and I still didn’t like having to do the, not punishments, but discipline in class. I really didn’t want to teach and didn’t know what to do. I think I wrote about this in the article about my education in grad school. I came back from the Peace Corps, and took some vocational tests, to see what to do with my life. I came down the middle on everything. I was in the classic librarian mode of liking everything and nothing. But I didn’t know that. So, the tests didn’t help at all. Even though I had been away from school for two years, I still didn’t like launching into another education.

But the counselor said, and this is the first time anybody had said this to me, (Sarcastically.) “As a woman, you can type or teach with your bachelor’s degree from a top liberal arts college.” That was pretty much it in 1965, when I came back. She said, “If you want to do anything else, you should get some advanced education.” I still didn’t feel like studying, so I went over to the vocational center where they had the flyers for all the different programs, looked through these, and looked for the one that was the shortest. (Laughs.) Which was the library program, which was one calendar year at that time. Went over and talked to a couple of the students and staff and said, “Okay, I’ll do this. Then I’ll have something to do.” That’s how I got into the field. But needless to say, once I got into it, I really got caught up in it and liked it. (Sighs.) Should we take another break?

Buckland: Yes, of course. Alright.

Buckland: It is February the 14th, 2012, and it is 1:39p.m. and Marcia Bates is going to resume her oral narrative, having contributed a section in writing in between.

\* \* \*

Bates note: Following is the section I wrote to contribute to this oral history. The matters discussed in the prior meeting brought out strong feelings, and I felt it was better to write down the material and then contribute it at the next interview. The written section will end with three asterisks, then the interview with Buckland continues.

Notes for Tuesday, Feb. 14, 2012

Discussion yielded more thoughts, additions.

My mother was instrumental in my continuing at Pomona. The school dropped my scholarship amounts for the second year; my Dad said it wasn't possible for me to continue, but Mother pushed to keep me there.

Baumann: Was known for his wide-ranging lectures, especially in comparative literature. Would pick just a few novels for the year—usually big ones, like *War and Peace*, and lecture in depth on them, with discussion.

Sometime after I moved to LA to teach, one of my Pomona classmates, Rosemary Choate, connected us up again, and I went out to visit him in Claremont. He was living comfortably there in retirement. A while later he asked me if I would look into putting his lectures into electronic form, and to consider the possibility of publication. I typed out a single whole lecture that he loaned me on my early Mac computer, but much as I wanted this to work, they were really not in a form to publish. The notes needed to be developed into proper written form. Today, they could just be scanned in as is, and perhaps they still could be, but the full color and context that he gave in the lectures would still not be there.

I realize that I have not talked much yet about the interest in and excitement I've felt about the ideas and approaches I've studied and developed in LIS, and I hope still to say much more about that.

But at this point, we are still in the Bildungsroman phase of our discussion of what it was like to be a student and a young person growing up in the 50's and 60's. In this phase, what is most important is the process of formation of me as a person and as a scholar, how I became who I am. I want to say a good deal more about this, because my formation as an adult happened at a unique pivot point historically, and that particular timing shaped my experience fundamentally.

I've been thinking about this all week, but coincidentally an article appeared in Sunday's New York Times (2/12/12) that was exactly apropos. "The M.R.S. or The Ph.D.? Women Don't Have to Choose." The point of the article was that things have now changed, and it is no longer true that women have to make that choice. Well, I didn't think that women had to make that choice either when I was a student, because now that the women's movement had come along, and all sorts of things were changing, it should now be possible to have both a career and a husband and family.

What it took me a loooooong time to understand was that women had incentive to change, because so many opportunities were opening up for us in the 1960's and 1970's, but men of our generation had no incentive to change, for the most part, and most did not change. In fact, they deliberately blinded themselves to these changes, ignoring what women said, and, for the most part, maintaining the position that they were wonderfully fair-minded people who would never dream of discriminating, and everything was just hunky-

dory as is. Had they been genuinely open—and a few were, but very few—they would have had to deal with the possible embarrassment of seeing the many ways that women were put down, their accomplishments diminished, and their efforts to participate brushed off. They might have had to recognize that white men got a cushy deal, while everyone else, women and people of color, were cut out of the game and could not compete. Had the other 60-70% of the population been able to compete, not a few of those white men would have found themselves knocked off the playing field by superior competitors. I think that somewhere deep down they knew that, and defended themselves against the knowledge by sustaining a bubble of mutual support among the white guys that has perpetuated the 1950's up to the present to a greater degree than I would have thought possible when I was younger. Certainly, my career has been characterized by having to smash through a glass ceiling at every single step along the way. It didn't all break open in the 60's and from then on it was all OK, as I had expected that it would be. Instead, it has been a matter of fighting against that male holding action every single step of the way. Needless to say, you run out of energy after a while, and you lose a lot of the time—as I did.

I'll have more to say about those career steps, but now I want to return to the Mrs. or Ph.D. business, which was also massively affected by the culture of the particular moment in time that I and my possible male partners were living in. Over the years, I've come gradually to understand these things, but even now in my retirement, I am still seeing more and more that I didn't see when I was younger.

Here's what the New York Times article said: "For more than a century, women often were forced to choose between an education and a husband. Of women who graduated from college before 1900, more than three-quarters remained single. As late as 1950, one-third of white female college graduates ages 55 to 59 had never married, compared with only 7 percent of their counterparts without college degrees."

That was still operating when I was younger. As the New York Times article noted: "Postwar dating manuals advised women to 'play dumb' to catch a man—and 40 percent of college women in one survey said they actually did so." That was the exact advice my mother gave me. She said if you want to get a man, act dumb, bat your eyelashes and say "Oh really?" to everything they said. I just couldn't bear to do that. I couldn't bear to hide my light under a bushel. And how could I respect a man who insisted on that anyway?

But men and women both go for the best mate they can find. And another thing I didn't realize till recently is that I had the bad luck to be hit by not one but two demographic bombshells, bombshells that were exactly wrong for a women born when I was. It is universally the case that women tend to marry older men and men marry younger women. Well, the decade before I was born—when my likely partners would have been born—was the Depression, and births were way down for over a decade. Then, just three years after I was born came the Baby Boom, when there was an explosion of births from all the people having children

after World War II. So those unusually small numbers of men born in the 1930's, got to pick from an unusually large number of attractive young women born in the late 40's and 50's. And by the way, the older men got rid of their younger male competitors by sending them off to Vietnam. Vietnam and the current wars were very different. In Vietnam there were 47,000 American deaths and 153,000 wounded, according to Wikipedia. That is 210,000 casualties. It dwarfs the current wars' casualties. That can change the musical chairs ratio substantially. Furthermore, that was the age of the universal draft, which affected all 19-year old men. Many of those men were college candidates, not poorer men who went into the military because it was their best opportunity.

So here's the picture: men my age or a bit older are few in number demographically. The ones who do exist have been raised to expect women to hide their intelligence and competence. To put it differently—and this is very important—these men expect any woman they marry to completely submerge any career aspirations she may have and *make her husband her career*. I repeat: make her husband her career. I remember reading a book on identity when I was a grad student. At one point it quoted a woman saying, “But how can I know what my identity is until I know who I'm going to marry?” That was a perfect expression of the times.

With the wonderful demographic abundance of women that men of my generation had, they had plenty of women to select from who were high-quality, intelligent, educated women who would do just that, submerge their lives to that of their husbands. These men certainly didn't need the trouble of marrying a woman whose career might equal or even outshine theirs.

I understood some but not all of this when I was younger. In my freshman year of college I found my Mr. Right. I had a real crush on one of my classmates. He was a very bright and serious guy. Went out on a couple of dates, but, basically, he rejected me. At the time, I thought that was just breaks, someone I liked didn't like me back. And of course that may be true. But looking back—we had some classes together. I did as well as he did—and enjoyed doing well. I didn't cover it up. He didn't need to have any truck with someone like that. He could find a woman who WOULD cover it up. And remember the New York Times article—it was exactly that expectation that men raised in the 40's and 50's had. Women were *supposed* to defer to men in all things. I think younger men and women today just can't imagine how strong those assumptions were. I was turning my back on that role, because I couldn't bear to carry it out, and I did have promising alternatives, but the men had no reason to turn their backs on it. Why not get in a woman exactly the sort of person they had been raised to expect? How nice to have a bright, educated wife who nonetheless does not intrude on your importance as the family's brightest and most accomplished member. If I were in their shoes, I'd have probably done the same.

But for me coming into my own as an adult—this was the fundamental, and ultimately insurmountable, challenge that I faced. I wanted three things in life—a career, a husband, children. Two of those three things were basically made impossible for me by the fact that I was fatally bright, and wanted to use that ability rather than submerge it and let it mold and rot unused. In my more cynical moments, I feel that, given the male propensity to marry down and the female propensity to marry up, there are two sets of losers in life: poor, uneducated men—many of whom are filed away in prison these days—and bright, educated women.

Speaking of those three things I wanted—career, husband, children—one can of course have a child outside of marriage, and many do nowadays. But again, this was an earlier time. I did consider having a child without marrying at one point. I was wary of this, because an older cousin of mine had had a child out of wedlock, and had been treated abominably by my mother's family. Remember, I said Protestants' weak point is propriety, and my family's Midwestern Protestants saw this as a scandal and a shame beyond imagining. My cousin never got over that treatment, and is bitter and emotionally scarred to this day. To her credit, she insisted on keeping the child, not giving it away, but that landed even more opprobrium on her and her daughter. And of course, being a “bastard,” a child out of wedlock, led in those days to mistreatment of the child as well. So it was not a kindness to bring a child into the world under those circumstances.

So, I was wary about the idea, but it was the 60's and 70's, things were changing. Maybe it would now be possible to have a child out of wedlock, without the traditional attendant shame. Just at the time I was considering this, one of those “My Turn” articles appeared in *Newsweek*. These were articles written by ordinary people discussing something they felt was important. This article was by a woman who had gotten unexpectedly pregnant and kept the child. This was current, happening right now, when I read it. In the article she describes how she attempted to hire a diaper service (this was before disposable diapers, I guess), but the service turned down her business *because she was unmarried*. Imagine! They wouldn't even take her money because the child whose diapers were being serviced did not have an official father! That did it for me. I couldn't do that to a child—bring it into a world that still, in the 1970's, treated it like a shameful bastard.

So here we have it: I wanted the usual three things that adults want—career, spouse, and children, and two of the three, husband and children, were essentially off limits to me if I wanted the other one, namely, a career. And vice-versa. You know, the usual Bildungsroman has the protagonist finding himself, discovering his talents, learning how to woo a woman, and finally finding satisfaction in the fulfillments of his career and family life.

We say these things so blithely—“Oh yes, women used to have to pick between having a career and having a family”—like you were picking between buying red drapes and blue drapes—but this was much, much

more fundamental. Instead, it was like picking between being half a person this way or half a person that way. I once heard a statistic: 98% of all male professors are married, and 50% of female professors are. Duhh! Half of them picked half a life this way and half of them picked half a life that way. Either option was painfully incomplete and unsatisfactory—a real 50-50 proposition: win-and-lose this way or win-and-lose that way, rarely win and win.

Some of those married women professors are no doubt happy, but given the cultural assumptions operating at the time, I suspect most of the marriages were quite difficult. I recall hearing about a famous academic couple, working in two closely related social science disciplines. They were both well-known and successful, but she was probably a little more successful in her field. Someone who had visited them said that she always deferred to him, and rarely mentioned her own work when the two were together. This is why one of the slogans of the women's movement in the 1960s and 1970s was, "The personal is political." Liberating women from prior constraints on work life inevitably had massive impacts on their personal life. Unless that personal life was liberated, too, there could be no complete liberation out in the world either.

As I think back on the various men I was involved with—and thank God I did have a sexual existence at least, while single women a hundred years ago would not have dared have, because of the fear of pregnancy—I can see each relationship as a partial but incomplete solution to my fundamental dilemma. With most men, of course, I would have had to submerge much of my unique identity—his work would have to come first. One boyfriend I had, however, was a professor in another department at Berkeley—and still is, long since married to someone else. Because of his childhood experiences, he genuinely did not want to impose on a woman, indeed, on any other person; personal autonomy and personal fulfillment really mattered to him. That was great, and unusual. But we just weren't quite right for each other. A lot of things were good between us, but not enough to marry. Now, looking back on it, I feel, in a way, like he was my one opportunity, my one shot, because that respect for the other's autonomy was so rare from a man. Kind of like living in a small village and there is only one other possible marriage partner, and heaven help you if you're not a good match.

Another boyfriend I had for a long time on and off I met when I was teaching in Seattle. He was about 20 years older than I, had worked as a logger, a barber, and, at the time I met him on a hike, as a janitor in an elementary school. He complemented me in one important respect, in that he was much better in touch with feelings and understood relationships better than my thinking-dominant personality does, and we got along in many other ways as well. He was a great story-teller and could turn even the most trivial little event into an epic yarn. At the same time, he had only a high school education, and had little sense of the intellectual gulf between us. After a few days with him, I'd get bored, because I couldn't discuss meaningfully with him any of the issues and ideas that animated my existence the rest of the time.

I won't go on about this matter, except to say that the usual story of completion and fulfillment that should be the end of the Bildungsroman didn't work that way for me, nor for many other women of my generation. When I think back on the women who were students at the time I was, well, they faced that impossible choice too. Most of them, as it happened, opted for the marriage over the career. They did work, but not as professors, because it conflicted in one way or the other with their marriages.

Well, come to think of it, there is one more really big point I haven't made here. Going back to the three big things I wanted from life. We've already seen how I didn't manage to get two of the three things. But when we turn to the third thing, the career, the one thing that did work—that hardly came easily either. As a woman of my generation, you were never given the benefit of the doubt, you always had to prove yourself twice over, and then still hope that a little luck might come your way, because otherwise you would fail. There were all those glass ceilings. As I said in my ASIST Award of Merit speech,<sup>1</sup> there's a big difference between spending your life with the wind at your back and spending it leaning into the wind. Almost every little thing we got was given grudgingly, no matter how well deserved. And here's my big point: You often hear people say that deep down they feel like fakes, and they are always fearing that some day they will be found out. That they feel that the good things that come their way aren't deserved, and at some point the world will see that. I have the opposite feeling. That deep down I am very genuine, the real thing, and it has been awfully hard—most of the time impossible—for the real me to be seen. I couldn't do it as a wife, or as a mother, and only in fragmented, incomplete ways as a scholar.

By the way, I did finally find the man I wanted to marry in my late twenties—an extremely bright, verbal, and interesting man. He was interested in me, too. But then I encountered another problem that is common for women like me, who mature late: he was older and came with lots of baggage. His first wife had died tragically young, and he had had a bad divorce from his second wife. After a time, I realized that with all these ghosts, I would not be the most important woman in his life, and I didn't want that in a marriage.

Years later, when I moved to LA to teach, he called me up and suggested we meet for lunch. At the end of lunch, he said, in just about these very words: "I think I made the right choice in marrying who I did." Doesn't that make you feel good? (Bit of sarcasm there.) But, in fact, he was right. The woman he met after me had the instincts of a psychologist. She helped him work through his emotional pain, until he was genuinely ready to connect with a woman again. I know I couldn't have done that.

I tell this painful personal story because it points up another important factor in this whole matter of becoming myself. The near-universal assumption is that women are good with feelings, and women are intuitive. As such, they are seen to provide much of the emotional wisdom needed in the husband-wife relationship. Well, it took me a while to understand this, too, but I am, in Jungian personality-type terms,

---

<sup>1</sup> Bates, Marcia J. [Acceptance Speech for ASIST Award of Merit](#), Nov. 1, 2005.

Sensation and Thinking. In other words, I have little gift with either feeling or intuition. I am a bad match for that traditional set of assumptions about women. I could not have helped my boyfriend in the way his subsequent wife did, if my life had depended upon it. Put all of this together, and I'm more unusual than I understood when I started out in life. Sort of an odd duck—much better at so-called men's work than women's.

Over the long haul, that is probably why, in the end, I put the emphasis in my life on my work. It felt good to do something I was instinctively good at, rather than what I was pretty poor at, namely, focusing on relationships.

\* \* \*

Buckland: When she was recording before, she said that she did research on the options for graduate school and lit upon the possibility of an MLS degree.

Bates: As I mentioned, I still wasn't in the mood to study and so I thought, well, I'll take the shortest degree program I can take. But I also think, deep down, there was some real appeal of the subject matter. Certainly, as I got into the program, I enjoyed it and got caught up in a lot of the different elements of it that appealed to me. As I mentioned in the paper I wrote for *Library Trends*, when I was a master's student at Berkeley, I worked as a research assistant at the Institute for Library Research and there ran into Ralph Shoffner, who was the local operating head, although the institute was officially under Bill Maron. Shoffner came from M.I.T. and was very much a systems analyst, while I had I had a completely literature-oriented undergraduate education with some social science. This was a totally different way of thinking from what I was used to, the whole systems analysis approach, but I soon found that I liked it and that I had a knack for it.

I think it is fair to say it even revolutionized how I thought, as over against the more humanistic approaches I had learned earlier. I formed the plan of becoming a library systems analyst. I know, today, 'systems analyst' is used in a purely computer science kind of way. In those days, and I think for some people still, it means a broader analysis of systems and making them efficient or designing them to meet stated objectives. That, of course, is what I have been interested in ever since in terms of designing information systems to work well. The particulars of my education there I laid out in the *Library Trends* article for the most part.

After a while, I got interested in going on beyond the master's degree and applied for the fellowships that were available, the Title IIB fellowships. It was really nice, I should add, because these were generous by the standards of the time and it meant I could work as a research assistant, but I didn't have to work 40 hours a week as some of our students do nowadays. I could actually pay attention to my studies and have the sort of psychic energy you need to become involved in and excited about things.

Once I was in the doctoral program, there was very much a sense of the field still being in formation. While courses were given in the school, it was also assumed—and I did this—that I would need to take classes all over campus in order to assemble a doctoral program in this new field that was developing. So I took, I think I mentioned earlier, a class in psycholinguistics. I took a reading course in communication. I took various statistics and math classes. I took a systems analysis class because Wes Churchman, one of the famous founders of that area was at Berkeley, and I took a course on early efforts to design computerized game-playing systems, kind of like chess, but a different game called Pegity. I took this very heterogeneous collection of courses, but it did, I think, provide a grounding for an understanding of information in a more modern, scientific sense.

In fact, the point of the article I wrote for *Library Trends* was that there was this very much scientifically-oriented view because we had logicians and physicists in the department, but also a social-scientific point of view that was being brought to information science and to library science. I wrote the article in response to Boyd Rayward's various speeches and articles on the mid-twentieth century discipline of documentation as the foundation for information science. Arguably, it was, in one respect or another, but, for me, the experience of information science was very much what Maron brought and what Bill Cooper and Patrick Wilson and William Paisley brought to the program. My point in the article was to fill in that body of scientific background that, in my case, and I think for the Berkeley program at that time, formed our idea of information science.

I was surprised when I wrote the article to realize that most of the graduates stayed in the west and that a lot of that Berkeley perspective didn't penetrate back east very well. The information retrieval paradigm, which got its greatest boost by Gerard Salton at Cornell—that has developed into a worldwide group of researchers. The broader perspective, the broader scientific and social-scientific perspective on information science, that I was trained in at Berkeley, I think hasn't penetrated as much. The most conspicuous example of that is the work on information-seeking behavior. I also talk about, in that article, the surprise I felt in the 80s when people started taking off from Brenda Dervin's review article, as if there had not been a social-scientific and a human orientation to information-seeking behavior until the late 70s and early 80s. To me, that was just absurd because there were wonderful people like Menzel, Paisley, and Parker, and many others who had a sophisticated, human-oriented, quote qualitative approach to these things long before then. I reviewed some of those points in there. There's no point in duplicating what I say in there. I'm trying to think what would be useful to add to any of that. I went on directly from the master's program into the doctoral program.

Buckland: Did you have much interaction with Ray Swank because I think his idea of a system, on a whole, and viewed libraries and librarianship very much in a sort of holistic systems sort of way, which I think is not typical of most people.

Bates: Hmmm. Yes, somewhere I certainly picked that up. Swank was ultimately my final dissertation adviser because of earlier turnover in the department, and the thrust of the first major article I wrote on rigorous systematic bibliography drew on Pat Wilson. I think it drew on that same sense, the Jesse Shera idea that we are creating a world of bibliographic control that could be much more unified and self-conscious.

Buckland: Do you recall what you were paid to work on when you worked for ILR?

Bates: Yes, one thing I did was, in fact, a good breaking-in for a young researcher, just beginning to generate research data. I developed a hypothesis about the distribution of subject headings in this body of entries, library entries, that were in the database that was a part of one of the earliest efforts to put bibliographic information into electronic form, the catalog entries for the library. So I wrote my own little program, in the FORTRAN language, to do the statistical analysis on the body of data—the sort of thing you would now use a standard stats package for.

So, I wrote the program and came out with a result that was a beautifully perfect scatter distribution. In other words, no meaningful tendencies whatsoever in the data. I think a beginning researcher needs to go through that, to discover that you can still survive even if your hypothesis is a complete bust! It reminds me of a saying that Bob Hayes had up on the wall in his office...something like: "It's always terrible when a beautiful theory is destroyed by a gang of brutal facts." At least I had my inaugural experience of not finding what you expect when you do research.

There were various other projects. There was a project of speeding up interlibrary loan among the campuses of the University of California through using fax machines, this fancy new device, and it certainly showed that you could speed it up from weeks to days by doing that. In fact, I think that is what Ralph Shoffner got his doctorate out of, the project as a whole. I also did sampling for the conversion of the California state library catalog in Sacramento. A couple of us went up one day to sample the card catalog and see what the size of records would be and how many entries under typical subject heading we were looking at. It was good practice seeing some real-world practical studies being done, learning to work on those.

Buckland: I think it was an interesting time, when a lot of work could be done that was sort of shaping the field and putting pieces into place. Some of it lower-hanging fruit than you'd find now.

Bates: Yeah. I think that's probably true.

Buckland: So, how did you latch onto your dissertation topic?

Bates: That was an interesting process too. I debated quite a bit about what topic to select. I was originally interested in indexer consistency, but after a while, I felt, it's not that it had been done, but...I guess I felt I couldn't add anything really valuable to it. That there was enough research on it showing that there was lot of inconsistency in the indexing, but what I ended up doing—I'm not quite sure how I got around to this—what I ended up doing was looking at the actual match between the headings given to works and the terms that students would come up with for searching. They'd be given an abstract of the book and asked to write what search term they would look up. So they had an understanding of the book, or their teacher had told them about the item, and they went to look it up in the catalog. What search term would they use? Then I compared their search terms with the actual terms applied by library catalogers. It turned out that the match rate was very low, partly because of the variety of terms there were for the subject matter (economics and psychology) and partly because of word variants. This result went against our conventional assumption that we look up a topic and the word matches with the description of the topic and we find relevant literature. I addressed this issue in a lot of ways later in my career.

Buckland: It is now February the 14<sup>th</sup>, 2012, and we are resuming recording at 2:23p.m.

Bates: Okay. I should mention something that happened before I left Berkeley because it was very influential for me. I had picked up on Pat Wilson's ideas about bibliography and, as mentioned in the *Library Trends* article, I had written an extensive literature review of the literature of information-seeking behavior because there wasn't something like this in the field. I was, in effect, educating the committee readers, in addition to Paisley. I mean, Paisley knew this stuff, but the others might not know so much of it. What I had done was implement and practice some of Wilson's ideas of describing the characteristics of a bibliography. In other words, making clear to the reader what the principles were that you used to create a particular bibliography. I tried to translate that into the practice of bibliography. I used those principles in this bibliography I wrote, which is about 120 pages. About the first half of it is talking about the principles, and the second half, the actual review. I wanted to see if it could be published someplace. The only place that might take something that long, I thought, was *Library Quarterly*. I knew that Danton went way back with the editor at *Library Quarterly* and so, I talked with him about it, and he kind of supported it, but was also kind of hands-off. (This was the first of several experiences I had where men were much less willing to put anything on the line for a woman than they would be for a man.) You know, I was hoping he would

put in a word, that kind of thing. I think in my cover letter I did say something about him, and I submitted the paper to *Library Quarterly*. When I got it back, it was not only turned down, but the editor said, “This article cannot be revised so as to be suitable for the *Library Quarterly*.” In other words, this is so crappy there’s no way it could ever be good enough for them. I was just devastated because I had done all this innovative stuff about the nature of bibliography and applied the ideas. And I was reviewing this area that was new and important to the field. None of that cut any ice. I really was sort of knocked back by it. I asked Danton about it, and he couldn’t offer anything in particular, as I recall. (In other words, he wasn’t going to go to bat for me.)

It wasn’t until many years later that I learned that anything like a literature review was not accepted by *Library Quarterly*. They had looked at this and said this is a literature review. They had not, apparently, noticed that I was attempting to contribute something in the world of bibliography, which probably had something to do with my unknown name. It was probably in that sense that it couldn’t be revised so as to be suitable for the journal, but I didn’t know that. There was no explanation. There was just this one-line dismissal of it, and I was really devastated by that. It knocked me back enough that it was several years before I dared try to publish something. I think, shame on him as an editor. You don’t do that to people. I want to show you something, so if you could stop that, and I’ll go get it.

Buckland: Resuming 2:29 after a brief break.

Bates: I didn’t mention that on the doctoral exams, we had two areas that we had to be examined in. I chose what was called intellectual access, which nowadays would be called information retrieval, and information-seeking or user studies, as it was called. I was the first to suggest and be examined in the latter one. (Shows a three-inch high binder full of single-spaced, typewritten notes on materials in information seeking and use studies, and a second binder of notes on intellectual access.) These are the notes that I typed in each of these areas for all of the articles that I studied and read in preparing for each of these exams. You see how much detail I wrote about all these studies that I studied. That’s the information-seeking one, and this is the IR one.

Buckland: Huge amount of work.

Bates: Yeah, it was an enormous amount of preparation. The pivotal consequence of all this was that... the part that I was most interested in was the information-seeking material. I easily had enough to write a state-of-the-art book about what’s known on information seeking at that time. I was a little afraid of writing a book because that can take a long time, and it can really screw you on tenure, if you don’t get your timing right. I was also afraid because I got knocked back on this submission to *Library Quarterly* on the information-seeking topic. My not writing up the study notes into a book turned out to be very important

ultimately, because, as I mentioned in the *Library Trends* article, I always assumed all of this material, it was always in the back of my mind when I was teaching classes on information-seeking, and I always started with research in the 50s and moved forward, but most of the people in the field today think that the founding article was the Brenda Dervin and Michael Nilan review that came out in the 80s. I think there is this huge body of still valuable research because it talks about how people act. Even though the technology has changed, the behavior is still very much similar. I wrote about that in the *Library Trends* article and then a couple of younger scholars, Sanna Talja and Jenna Hartel, got interested in this question of the origins of the field of information behavior in LIS. So I made a lot of copies of the notes I had on information-seeking and sent it to Sanna, who was the main one writing on this. They incorporated it in an article where they talked about how there was all this earlier literature. Now it's the biggest regret of my academic life that I didn't make a book out of that.

There's a recent article by Sugimoto and Cronin [*JASIST* 63(3)] where they look at the arc of six information scientists' careers, including mine. They note that work early in the career often goes into landing the person on center stage, so to speak, in a certain specialty, and launches them by garnering lots of references. In my case, that unwritten book was the launch that didn't happen. That could have been that good start for me, but was not. In retrospect, I thought of those notes too much as my own student notes; I didn't realize how valuable they were, and how much pre-processing I had done to create the notes from my reading. That's where mentoring could have really helped. However, neither Swank or Paisley was in a position to do that—Swank because it was a new field, and Paisley because he did not understand the nature of LIS. I was uncomfortable about working on a book as an assistant professor and also when I got to Maryland, I got caught up in administrative things, so did not pursue it. When I thought of pursuing it, the material was getting enough out-of-date that I would have had to revise everything, so I did not do it. That was a “road not taken,” if you will.

Buckland: What were you recruited to Maryland to do?

Bates: Well, that was another interesting thing because I thought was recruited there to go and talk about things like information-seeking behavior and information science, but my two areas of intellectual access and user studies were simply immediately interpreted as cataloging and reference. So, when I went to Maryland, I was assigned all required courses. I was teaching five required courses a year for the four and a half years that I was there. Only in the last year, I got to teach a couple of seminars. Nowadays, they give new assistant professors their first semester off, so they can develop their teaching. Awww, forget it! I taught the minute I got there. Taught all this heavy stuff with 35 to 40 students in each class. It was really a case of a lack of mentoring at a crucial point because Margaret Chisholm, the Dean at Maryland, just did to me what had been done to her, which is to say that if you are a woman working where there are few women, you do most of the work. That was kind of her general philosophy. She had me do all of this

teaching and also administrative work, because I enjoyed the power of having administrative duties for the first time in my life. I had felt frustrated and constrained at Berkeley as a doctoral student. (A lot of us were frustrated in those years. About five years after I got out, I ran into David Blair, who was then a doctoral student at Berkeley, and he unloaded his frustration with the program over a drink at a conference. I had to smile, because the *quality*, the *feel*, of his complaints was so similar to what I had experienced. The faculty at Berkeley were very good scholars, but not as good educational program managers.) I did so many different administrative things. It was just...It was ridiculous. The College of Library and Information Services had a democratic Collegium to manage it—not only faculty but staff and student reps as well. It was intended to be more democratic, so it wasn't necessarily run by the Dean. Various people were voted for to lead it. Well, at one time, I had been elected to lead that meeting for the year, and I was also heading the curriculum committee AND the Ph.D program committee at the same time, as well as various other duties.

Buckland: That's absurd for an assistant professor.

Bates: Oh, it's absolutely outrageous. I was knocked back from the turndown by *Library Quarterly*. It's not that it shaped my whole life, but I always assumed I would get into writing, and it hurt to have my first effort so dismissively rejected. It sure was a relief to do something where I had the power, and I wasn't getting that kind of hostile message. There's no question that it was entirely inappropriate to do this. The general pattern there was that the senior professors got to teach the yummy seminars and the junior people did the scut work. Then, when I got older, at other schools, people would say, "Well, we have to protect the junior faculty and the senior people, who already have tenure, should take on all this administrative stuff." And I was like, "Hey, wait a minute, guys, I never had my turn." What's really heartbreaking about it too is that your mind is at its best at that point. I wasn't using it for the things I could have used it for, like writing that book or doing original research. It struck me particularly.... I never had that burst of publication shortly after being hired that Sugimoto and Cronin write about. I never had that because my first five years were really wasted in the sense that they were just poured into all this administrative stuff and outrageous teaching loads. I liked Margaret a lot, and she liked me. I think she just thought she was doing me a favor or something or I was willing to do it, so she would...I don't know what. There was just no sense that I.... This was true also for Irene Travis, who went there subsequently and for Don Kraft. I left after four and a half years and Travis and Kraft were both turned down for tenure and promotion. So, basically, Maryland lost three really good people because of improper management of these junior people when they came into the school.

Buckland: It's hard to explain.... Her role in this.

Bates: Yeah, I think it's just she was probably 25, 30 years older than I was, and so, she had really come out of the hard times for women. I never felt that she did this with any ill will, but it certainly wasn't appropriate to a high quality university department.

Buckland: It may have been inconvenient for her.

Bates: Oh, I think that was true. She later went to the University of Washington, and I think she used Raya Fidel the same way. Raya came and took my position when I left Washington. I don't have any ill will toward her (Margaret Chisholm) because I never felt it was ill will toward me, but nonetheless, it wasn't right. It was more that she had a sort of parochial idea of library programs. It was not a world of research programs. It was not a group of professors who are researchers. It was a group of people who taught and oh, yeah, they did some research, but it was mainly about the program teaching. She hadn't had the right mentoring, if you want to put it that way. Looking back on it, now in my old age and my frowzy brain forgetting things, I really feel the loss of that period of my life. There was....I hadn't thought to say this, but it does connect with this. I went to Maryland in January of '72 and then finished my dissertation in December 1972. I turned 30 that summer and so, there I was there roughly the first five years of my 30s, and that probably is a time when your brain is the best and most productive. You have all the education, and you have the skill, and now you can tackle the things that you are interested in.

At that point, I had fruitful dreams, which is another thing I haven't mentioned. All my life, dreams have been very helpful to me in figuring out and understanding things. When I was at Maryland, I had an idea that I was interested in that was just off on the horizon that I couldn't quite put my hands on. I thought of it as a kind of calculus of language. It was a way of thinking about language and the things you want to say in language. A series of linguistic devices that concentrate common thoughts or language tropes into more compact forms. One would have to learn to use these forms, but once one had, it would enable more powerful forms of thinking, speaking, and writing. Well, I am not articulating it very well and indeed, I did not come up with the actual idea itself. I remember thinking about it, and ultimately making the decision not to try to push to come up with it because if I did come up with it, it would really be an important breakthrough and not just in information science. It would be huge. By then, I had read the story of Rosalind Franklin. I read the original book by Watson and Crick, or, rather, by Watson alone (*The Double Helix*). In later editions, he takes this out, but in the original edition, the way they talked about Franklin was just awful. She was completely cut out of the game, and they took her data, and didn't feel any obligation to bring her in on further discussion. Her boss got the Nobel Prize with Watson and Crick, even though it was her data. She ultimately died of cancer. I always felt she died of heartbreak.

I had a real feeling of just how far I could and couldn't go. If I had come up with something that was that big a breakthrough as a woman, it would kill me. The idea would be taken—even if published—and

claimed by someone else. Somebody else would use it and get the credit for it. Someone would claim it. I would be forgotten. I just had that feeling about it. I debated whether to pursue it, and decided not to. I felt that discretion is the better part of valor. I wouldn't pour my energies into it, because even if I came up with it, I wouldn't really succeed in making it mine. It would be a "bridge too far" for a woman to come up with something that important. Look at what happened to Rosalind Franklin. When the power differential is too great, you will be the one to be broken, not those in power, and men still held all the power.

This may seem paranoid, but I know I am right on this. Just a few years ago—in 2000—a book was written about a Canadian woman, Florence Deeks (A.B. McKillop, *The Spinster and the Prophet*). H.G. Wells stole, plagiarized, the entire text of a book written by her that she had submitted to a publisher for publication, and he had happened to be the reviewer. This was Wells' biggest seller ever (*The Outline of History*.) The evidence was overwhelming that he had stolen it, lock stock, and barrel, just deleting the feminist ideas the original author had tucked into the text! She sued. But no matter. She lost. Wells was a hero in England, and even the famously fair-minded English would not give her justice. This is what I mean when I say, "if the power differential is too great...". I knew that if something that grotesquely unfair happened to me, it would kill me. Fairness has always been really important to me. It might not bother other people, but it would me.

I made the decision not to pour my energies into that, not to try to come up with the full realization of the idea, because to do so might kill me. A decision like this is where the rubber hits the road in a discriminatory culture. You see the limits of how far you can push. You remember, a few years ago there was a competition between Mark McGwire and Sammy Sosa to beat Roger Maris' home run record in a season. I remember thinking at the time—Sosa doesn't dare actually beat the white American at this contest—and he didn't. Smart man. A survivor. The white guys wouldn't have put up with it; they'd have found a way to make Sosa wrong. Just like they try to make Obama a non-citizen.

I felt there were many other things I could do that would be valuable contributions, and that I should not try to push it to that kind of limit. The only thing I've seen that ever gave me the feeling that someone might be getting near to the idea was the work of Gilles Fauconnier in his book *Mental Spaces*. (In his later book, *Mappings in Thought and Language*, he gets reabsorbed into mainstream linguistics and logic, and is not as interesting.) But Fauconnier didn't discover the idea either. All of this reminds of another thing. I don't know. Maybe we're getting too late to continue.

Buckland: It's up to you. You seem like you're going full (inaudible).

Bates: I know. Cranked up here.

Buckland: (Inaudible.)

Bates: Well, then, let me talk about this other thing. Dreams have always been important to me. They are often vivid and charged with symbols. I think they often tell me what I do not see with my conscious mind because I am not a particularly intuitive person. My dreams often provide the intuition for me. I did go through a period where I had to figure out, had to get started actually doing and thinking like a researcher. ...Well, I can go back even before then. One of the things you do as a doctoral student psychologically is that you kill the father. I think both men and women go through this because the degree you get is the top degree. You become, unlike all the other stages in your education, you become, in some sense, the equal of your teachers. That's a very daring thing to do because you are, in effect, claiming equality with them; they no longer lead you.

Another boyfriend I had—that was his big challenge, that he was never able to kill the father and complete the doctorate because his real-life father had treated him in some ways that there were very painful at a very tender point in his life. He was never able to finish it because he had experienced his father as so powerful that he just could not make that breakthrough and claim his own life. Psychologically, you are doing something that is very hard to do. Every stage you go through as a doctoral student is a step in that process. I remember being scared to start my dissertation. I had gotten the approval and said something to Paisley about “Do I need to get this statistics class to deal adequately with the topic?” He said, “No, you just need to start it,” which was very wise, and I very much appreciated that. And so, I did “just start it” and then I was okay. (Coughs.)

So there I was; I had finished the dissertation, and I had taken this job, and I still had the challenge of writing. Somewhere along in there, after I went to Maryland, I had these dreams. I'm trying to remember what all...In the most significant dream of all, I was in a school at night that was deserted. It was a high school. All of the classrooms are shut down, and I'm walking along the darkened hallway, and then at the very end of the hallway, there is one room lighted. I go into this room, and there are two or three people standing around the bed, and there's this old, old woman lying in the bed. She's lying there like this (shows Buckland) with her arms on top of the covers by the side of her body. I walk up to the side of the bed, and she (spoken quickly) suddenly raises her hands up like this and reveals her stomach, which is covered in furry hair—wavy tresses, several inches long, and completely covering her skin. That's the dream. It was about creativity, I think and the fertility of ideas in this school place that I worked in. Another time around, I had a dream about an intersection that had five streets coming in together and there was a restaurant or something—like in Washington, DC near Dupont Circle. There were a lot of businesses run by East Indians around in this area. It was only afterward that I learned that Jung says five is a symbol of creativity. I think it was in this case, and the Indian culture is so rich with so many different religions and languages and cultures. I had spent two and a half weeks in India coming back from the Peace Corps in Thailand, and I

had been overwhelmed by the multiplicity of religions and symbols. I think this dream also was a symbol of creativity for me and fecundity. Shortly after that I bought a leather key chain at a fair that had a five-way symbol on it, and have kept it ever since.

After that I never had trouble coming up with an idea. It was as if I had been opened up to creative thought. After that, I could always come up with research ideas. I never worried about it. I could see so many substantive possibilities everywhere I looked in the field. I didn't have to worry about it. I could always see through things and see another thing that I could do. It was certainly very important to develop that at that time of my life. I think, in terms of my block about publication, after that paper was turned down, I thought "I've got to publish my dissertation for heaven's sake." So, I wrote two articles out of it. The one I submitted to *JASIST* was turned down. (Coughs.) Art Elias was the editor at that time. And in reading the reviewer comments, it was clear to me that the reviewer had just read the abstract. I mean they were responding entirely to the abstract. At first, I was knocked back about this, and then I thought, "Now, wait a minute, I know this dissertation is good. I had good people with me, and this is crazy to say this is not good." It was a very kind of back-of-the-hand sort of review. Brief and just totally dismissing it. So, I went back to Art, and I argued for it, and he accepted it. Then it went in. Then I got the other article into *Information Storage and Retrieval*. I got through that barrier finally. So, that was my dissertation.

But I still had the challenge of moving beyond that. I remember I had some friends who lived in Massachusetts. They were renting this large two-story cottage, and they were going to be away traveling, and they said "Well, why don't you come up here and just stay here for a few days?" So, I did, and I started writing an article about the differences between the fields of information and communication. I never published that article, although it has infused a lot of my thinking subsequently. It was that important breakthrough. It was the point where I finally felt I was doing what I could do. It was alright. These things are really important. I've watched in years subsequently many students and junior people in the field having trouble with those stages, and I can appreciate them. They really are breakthroughs. They're ones that you've got to go through if you're going to become a scholar, become a researcher.

So, that was going on in parallel to all this crazy business of doing so much administrative work at Maryland. The other thing I didn't mention was that before I got there, Maryland, I don't know if you ever heard of any of this stuff, but Maryland had had an absolutely brutal, bruising bunch of internal fights. People were just sort of shaking afterwards, and I, little naïve Ms. Red Riding Hood, goes walking into this world as an assistant professor. Paul Wasserman and Mike Reynolds, in particular, were just mortal enemies, frankly. I mean they just detested each other. I think it bothered Mike more. There had been a lot of debates about.... In the 60s, they were much into the 60s culture. They had a program where they wanted to bring in minorities to learn to do information-type jobs of various kinds. I don't recall the name of the program now. It was one of those things where it became horribly politicized, and what I heard was

that the participants in the program were often deeply cynical, and considered the people running it still racist in an unconscious way.

Buckland: Mary Lee Bundy was involved with it.

Bates: Mary Lee Bundy was also involved in that. As I understand it, she became schizophrenic. I remember one day, a year or so after I got there, this strange woman with stringy hair walked into one of the faculty meetings and started commenting like she belonged there. I had no idea who she was. That turned out to be Mary Lee Bundy. There were just these horrible wars and fights among people within the department. Shortly after I got there, they were in the process of culminating a curriculum revision and had a general meeting for the school and interested parties about this and asked for comments. Jerry Kidd was running the project. I got intrigued by it, eager beaver here, so I start making comments and submitted my ideas to the group. A couple days later, I was called into the dean's office and there's Margaret and Jerry, and Jerry leans over threateningly to me and says, "If you think you can come in here and run an end run around this process that has been going on for a year...." He's a nice guy, but it just shows you the incredible paranoid, negative world that these folks were operating out of. I had just made these little innocent comments that I thought were a contribution, but, apparently, this was seen, in practice, as a hostile political move. This was the last act of this political process, and I had just screwed it up by suggesting things. That gives you an idea of what kind of world I was coming into. Don Kraft had been there a year or two before I got there, and he was there for some of this. Used to talk about how everyone was still twitching from the harshness of the clashes. It was a very strange mix of things, I guess you could say.

Buckland: Not at all a healthy environment.

Bates: Yeah, yeah. Well, maybe I'll stop there and then.

Buckland: Very good.

So anyway, let's see... What were the other things I had written down here... One of the issues that I haven't talked about, but which crops up periodically during my career, is relationships between faculty in library schools and librarians. And this is, unfortunately, in my experience, a rather vexed relationship. I think the librarians feel that we're not on the front lines and we're these foggy-headed professors, and we're out of touch with what's going on now, and we're teaching out-of-date stuff, and who are we to actually claim that we know anything that they, on the front lines, do not. On the other hand, I think there's a tendency to completely ignore the PhDs that we faculty got beyond the Master's degree, and all the learning that was involved in that, and often they don't recognize that we could actually help them with

research, for example. Also, we have teaching experience that they often do not have, and we do come up with ideas and research results that are very valuable. So, for whatever reason, there's this long history of friction, and it started when I was a student at Berkeley with the librarians not permitting the library school students to work in the library because we were supposed to be concentrating on our studies.

Buckland: That's new to me.

Bates: Really? You didn't know that? And so of course we had to find jobs elsewhere because most of us needed work in order to get through. So that always has symbolized to me the negative twist of this strange relationship. But there have been a number of other experiences like that. I used to go, at least some years, to the American Library Association conference, and it's clearly extremely professionally oriented, and not interested in research for the most part. But a couple of years in a row, I went to sessions that were advertised to be about library education, and what they both turned into were gripe sessions where people would stand up and talk about how awful their education had been in library school. And the tone was so negative that I, who am usually not afraid to speak up, and not shy, I didn't say anything because I could see it would just be offering myself up as a sacrificial lamb to say anything.

I do think there is a valid criticism that can be made of library programs, that while we teach the intellectual content, we often don't teach professionalization, we don't teach people to think like professionals, to take a broad perspective on the profession as a whole and its role in society, and to plan their careers accordingly. And for several years before I retired at UCLA, Virginia Walter and Mary Maack developed a portfolio project that the students were required to do, which I thought was immensely valuable along that line. The whole purpose of it was to, even when they first came in, to begin thinking about what they were going to do for their career. To get them oriented away from that passive student mode to taking control of their professional lives, and planning and aiming to get something, in a much more conscious and self-conscious way, which I thought was great, and shortly after I retired they changed it and killed it, basically. They're still doing something kind of like that, but it's...

Buckland: The portfolio project still lives large. It may have changed its nature...

Bates: It's changed its nature in that I think the students are supposed to come up with an original idea that they want to pursue in the field, or something, but it's no longer focused on that professionalization goal that was the original germ at the heart of that project. And, there's politics involved and so on, but still it... So I do agree with the librarians in that regard, that we need to do more of that than we have traditionally done.

Buckland: I think there's a complementary problem, and that is, if the faculty member in the classroom is teaching the newest and latest techniques, there's no way that the neighborhood library can keep up with it, because they're so dominated by legacy systems.

Bates: Umm Hmm. Umm Hmm.

Buckland: And so therefore, it's really difficult to say, 'This is the best, cutting-edge way to do it' without implicitly criticizing what's going on in the library on campus.

Bates: I agree. I think that's the usual statement in the reverse. The statement is that the faculty is out of touch. I think another issue which is closely related to this has to do with the relationship between library schools and the profession.

Buckland: Yes.

Bates: When I was at Berkeley, it was very much an academic school, and not overwhelmingly oriented to the library community.

Buckland: Right.

Bates: When I taught at the University of Washington, it was a hundred percent a library-community-oriented program; they existed in this little pod off to the side in the University, with embarrassing ignorance of the University's procedures and so on. I mean they were just completely disconnected from it.

Buckland: And that's dangerous, too.

Bates: That's very dangerous, and they were almost closed as a result of it. So, this is a very difficult thing, I think, where you have educational programs and a profession, because you need to be oriented to both the profession and the university, and it's hard to maintain that balance. Traditions build up, and there's a pattern going in one direction or another.

Buckland: I think it's actually fairly common amongst professional schools not only library schools.

Bates: I can certainly believe it. It crops up again on the issue of how you can translate new theoretical developments or new research into practice. It's immensely difficult because the cultures are so different. The way people think as researchers is different from the way they think as applications people, and it's very hard to bridge that. So, I agree; I don't think this is anything unique to librarians, although I suppose

the relationship in each profession is probably slightly different depending on the specifics of the profession. But, this has come up again and again in the course of my career.

At one point, in fact it concerned the dissertation of my first doctoral student, [Judith Lechner]. I was working with a professor named James Trent in the education school (this was years before the merger at UCLA) and we were trying to do a combined project. The Ed professor was teaching a course to undergraduate students that was about the college experience, and it was a sociology of education type of course, but because it was about the very experience that the students themselves were going through right then, what usually happened was that it was just immensely revealing to them and they came to understand themselves and the current stage in their lives so much better. It was really helpful to the students. My doctoral student's idea was to incorporate in this class a unit on using the library so that part of this discovering-themselves process would include a mastery of research processes that they needed to engage in as students.

So it was an exciting project, and it was thwarted to every degree possible by the then-Education Librarian at UCLA. It turned out, when I was finally able to penetrate through to what was going on, that the librarian—there at least, I don't know if it was true at the other libraries at UCLA—but that librarian had the same sort of status orientation that universities and faculty tend to, which is that graduate students were more important than undergraduate students. Therefore, she didn't want to encourage undergraduate students to use the education library! No one would stop them if they came in to the library, but undergraduates were definitely not to be encouraged otherwise.

Buckland: It's known as outreach.

Bates: Yes. Outreach inverted. And she encouraged her other librarians to be kind of not very welcoming to us, and even complained to the university librarian about this. Not too long after that a memo from Russell Shank—who recently died—the university librarian, came to me saying that the libraries of this campus are not to be laboratory sites for work in the library school. I was stunned by this. And embarrassed for my field. I thought, 'This is just a dissertation, people!' I asked Bob Hayes about it, and he said he felt that it was an issue between Shank and Hayes, because Bob had gotten some grant money to work with faculty around campus to try innovative approaches to different things around library use, and Shank didn't like that. Perhaps he thought our little project was piggy-backed on that larger project, which it was not, but, whatever the reason, he opposed it. I was just astonished. I mean, when would a university medical school hospital say that you can't run any experiments out of the medical school with our patients? It was just inconceivable to me, and it was such a great project and I was so mortified and frustrated by the effort to block this thing. Finally, we were able to kind of salvage it in some respects, but were not able fully to do what we originally hoped to do with this project.

Buckland: It surprises me. I knew Russell Shank. I hadn't heard he died. But from what you say, I think it must have been a sort of status and political issue. Either him keeping librarians happy, or maybe in relation to [politics?]. Because I would've thought that otherwise he might have been sympathetic.

Bates: You would in general think that. But apparently he felt that this was... I got the impression from Bob that Shank felt that it was kind of showing him up as the university librarian; he should've gotten the money rather than Bob.

Buckland: Yes. That wouldn't go over well with Russ Shank. I did that once unintentionally, and I learned about it.

Bates: Oh.

Buckland: Moving right along.

Bates: Yes. So that was really stressful. It was difficult getting all this... And in fact, afterwards, I went to see the—before I knew about any of this between Shank and Hayes and before this memo came out—I went to see the associate university librarian (it was a woman I don't recall her full name... Ruth something, I think it was) about this, and told her how I was upset about this, it seemed inappropriate and so on, and through the whole interview she just blew me off, blew me off, she just wasn't taking any of it seriously. Finally, I said, 'Well, I want you to know that after this experience I don't ever want to do a project with a librarian at UCLA again.' And for the first time in the interaction, that seemed to catch her attention. So there was a strange attitude from the librarians.

A few years later, we saw yet another manifestation of this under the subsequent librarian, Gloria Werner, when the library got a new online catalog. They had a catalog called Orion, and then they came out with Orion II. There were so many problems with Orion II that it became a campus-wide issue, drawing attention well beyond the library, and it was a tremendous embarrassment to the library. The brouhaha may even have had something to do with her retiring. Well, when they were developing this interface for this subsequently disastrous catalog, they had in the school at UCLA, two of the top experts in the design of online catalogs in the world, namely Chris Borgman and myself, and it never crossed their minds to ever come and talk to us about this, to ever get our input, until so late in the process that it was more like a 'What's your beta testing idea?'; it was too late to really influence it. To me, that always symbolized the failure of the master's degree librarians to recognize that we actually learn something when we get that Ph.D. We learn some research, and we learn some methods for testing (I used to teach a course on testing interfaces), and it was just tragic, it seemed to me, because a real big public embarrassment for the library

might have been saved if they'd involved the people that they had right under their noses, the experts in their own field, but they didn't. (By the way, when another new interface came out from the library in more recent years, it coincided with Gary Strong's appointment as the next university librarian. After he arrived, I emailed him with suggestions for an important change in the interface that would correct what I considered a defect with it. Coincidentally—and I am sure not in any way connected with my advice—just at the time he recently retired, the library made the suggested corrections. Somebody in the library in a position to make the change finally noticed what I had noticed on day one.)

And there were other things that happened with the librarians at the UCLA campus. Shortly after I got there... The curriculum had developed... I think this is one of those cases where the institution you're next to is the one that most influences you, so that gradually, over the years, even though UCLA formally had training in all kinds of libraries, the program had more and more really become optimized as an academic libraries program. Students basically had to get their first year in becoming an academic librarian and then the second year they could specialize if they wanted to do something else. So we wanted to change this and make it more balanced. I was particularly concerned because I taught science and technical library work, and people essentially had to qualify in academic libraries before they could take the things that they really needed for their desired specialization. Students interested in academic libraries could follow their personal interests in the second year, while other students never got that chance. And, of course, curriculums need to change and be updated periodically anyway. The irony was that many of the librarians at UCLA were graduates of the UCLA program, and very proud of the fact that they had graduated after Bob Hayes came. He and others had developed a state-of-the-art program, well ahead of many other programs in the country at the time. But, despite the fact that they had had a cutting-edge education, the librarians opposed almost every change we were making to keep the program cutting-edge! Almost every change we set out to make, they would squeal to high heaven. We made the argument, 'You were cutting-edge, now we want to continue being cutting-edge.' 'No, no, what you teach should be exactly what we had in 1962.'

Buckland: Served me well.

Bates: Served me well, that's right. It was so irrational. To this day I don't understand why, but it certainly didn't help relations between the departments and the library. Elaine Svenonius largely sided with the librarians on this issue, and that did not help us in the school either. So there were situations where we would have librarians from the library teach as adjunct faculty, and they would... let's say they were supposed to teach a course in advanced reference, and on the first day, the librarian would go in there and say, 'Well, now we're going to teach you all the things you should've been taught and weren't under this dreadful new curriculum,' or words to that effect. I'm exaggerating a bit, but not much. They made it clear that if we weren't going to teach these things, well then they'd have to come in and do the job right.

Buckland: Had a duty to.

Bates: Had a duty to, yes. So, I don't know what the whole history was behind the library's attitudes this way. Historically, as far as I know, there were good relations; you know, Bob Hayes and Bob Vosper, the earlier university librarian, were very close, and Russell Shank sat in on the faculty meetings, and was involved... I just don't see why there was such intensity around this, but there was.

Buckland: Lawrence Clark Powell was involved in running both, way back when?

Bates: Way back when, yes. And he came and visited, and spoke, and things like that, but I never felt that he was trying to engage in this whole issue, I think he'd long since moved on. So, anyway, it's unfortunate that this sort of thing happens. It seems like something that shouldn't be, but is. And certainly has played a role at various times. When there was talk about shutting down our school, as best I could tell at that point, what the library wanted was... They were sort of limply supporting us, I guess that was my impression, and what they wanted was to cut the program way down so that it was this little boutique program preparing people basically to work in their library, which I didn't think was a very broad-minded perspective!

Buckland: Who was the university librarian, at that time?

Bates: I think it was Gloria Werner.

Buckland: Okay. I knew her.

Bates: Yeah. That touches on another issue, which I think librarians don't recognize adequately, and that is that such prestige as they have in universities is due in some part to the fact that they have graduate degrees that are produced and developed by those pesky faculty over there in library schools.

Buckland: If they didn't they wouldn't get much status.

Bates: Exactly. And they don't seem to recognize the status that derives from having a formal graduate education. You would think that therefore the library staff would be eager, and would speak up for, and I'm not saying they didn't speak up for us, but again, I don't think they recognize the sense in which the status they have derives from theirs being a professional education with a graduate degree, and you should therefore be anxious to keep it in your own university. I think sometimes there hasn't been that much smart

management of relations from the librarian side in these various controversies, when there is talk about shutting down or changing a school on campus.

So I think I've mentioned everything on my list. The one other thing I've got down here, which is a general point and which you may have noticed in my comments so far, is that I have a thing about fairness. I have had my whole life... I was thinking about this, that when I was a nine-year-old kid in Canada, one day one of my girlfriends picked a fight with me, hit me, and I hit her back, and the principal was walking by, and he saw me hit her back; he didn't see her hit me. She started it, mind you! In Canada, strapping was allowed in those days, so he took us into the principal's office and he gave us each strappings on our hands. He gave me more strappings than he gave her, and she was the one who started it! I was so upset, I went crying all the way home, 'It's not fair.' I didn't mind getting the strappings so much as I minded that I got too many; she should've gotten those. So, it's particularly unfortunate that somebody with that orientation goes into the world being a professor in the 1970's when women weren't exactly welcome. So that theme has come up in our discussion, and I'm sure will come up again. That's just a dimension that I tune in on more than maybe other people do. So I just wanted to say that.

Bates: One other thing I wanted to say that I've been realizing: Kathryn La Barre is doing a history of the special interest group on classification research. She mentioned something online about it, and I said, 'Well, if there's anything that might be useful in my records that I had from when I was on the Board'... (I've got about six inches of records from when I was the SIG Councilor for ASIS&T in the early seventies). And 'Oh, yes,' she'd love to see anything. So I went through and pulled out anything remotely connected to SIG CR, photocopied them, and sent her the copies. While I was doing this, what struck me on these different correspondences—because of course it was paper in those days—was this small, kind of beaten-down signature that I had. My signature just looked so...

Buckland: Wimpy?

Bates: Yeah. Beaten down, I think, would be a better term, because I was dealing with a lot of difficult things then, and arrived at Maryland (this was in the early seventies when I was at Maryland) and I wasn't particularly welcome at Maryland, and I didn't like the east, and I didn't like the Maryland culture. And just, when I look at this signature I can just see this person who's suffering a bit, you know, who's not confident, and not pushing back against the world. So, I just wanted to say that because I think it took me a lot longer to reach a point where I could have a more confident signature. Well maybe we should take a little break.

**Bates Oral History File 31**

Michael Buckland: It is July seventeenth, and it's now 2:30, and we're about to resume with Marcia Bates about her career. So far she's got as far as the University of Maryland, and now she's going to continue.

Marcia Bates: Okay, well I started at Maryland in January of 1972 and stayed there through the spring of 1976. And, since we talked about doing this, I was thinking of things I had forgotten about yesterday in this regard. For Maryland itself, it was kind of a mixture for me, and I forget whether I said this earlier or not, but I loved Berkeley, and I hated to leave Berkeley, but I figured I couldn't get hired... you have to go someplace else to be hired, and so on. So, I had persuaded myself that even though they had more extremes of temperatures in the east, that, at least in the spring and the fall, the temperatures would be nice. But, as it turned out, when I got there it was so humid, and it would stay humid at night, so the range of pleasant temperatures was only between about 63 and 65 degrees. Above that it was unbearably hot and below that it was too cold. So there were only about a dozen really nice days a year.

One of the first things that struck me when I got there was that people... nature was much more their enemy than it is in California, and I suppose for good reasons. But what it meant was that, even where they could be open to nature, they weren't. The first apartment that I got when I moved there happened to be within this tiny little national park in the Maryland suburbs, that was just a few miles long. One farmer had held out and refused to sell for the park, and his land was converted into this apartment complex where I had gotten the apartment. So three quarters of the apartment complex was surrounded by an actual national park, even though it was a little teeny one. There had been no thought whatever to positioning the buildings or designing the architecture so that it faced on the park! All the buildings were surrounded by parking lots, so the natural beauty was as remote as possible, and I could only see the park from my kitchen. It was just this East Coast alienation from nature that I felt very strongly when I went there, and at that time, the apartments available were all identical, and they were so unimaginative and uninteresting. I remember one day, driving around, I got off onto this little road that was—you just wouldn't normally notice—drove back in there, and there was this little complex of apartments, and they were so cute, they were so interesting. I thought, 'Oh, wow, I'm going to go in and see if there's one I can rent.' The manager said, 'Oh no, our list has two hundred names on it, of people who want to move in here.' It was symptomatic of... it may have changed now, that was in the seventies, but in the seventies, the housing in the Maryland area was so ugly and unimaginative. And I obviously wasn't the only person who thought that, because, even though you wouldn't normally see this little complex of apartments, there they were, and all of those people had put their names on the list because they wanted something better. So, living in Berkeley and then moving to that was a shock, I guess, bottom line.

There were many cultural things that I loved about Washington; the wonderful museums, and the prices at the Kennedy Center could be afforded by an assistant professor on not very much salary, and so on. So I liked that, and I loved the trees in the springtime; the pink dogwoods were my especial favorite. But, I

hated the climate, and I found myself disliking the culture quickly, as well. There's this old line about how Washington, DC has northern hospitality and southern efficiency, and that was kind of true. Maryland had this border-state history of being kind of connected, I guess, to slavery but not in the same way as the more southerly states. People seemed to... there was much more of a firm hierarchy, and people on top would kick people below. I soon discovered that if I stood up for the kickee, that both the kicker and the kickee would turn on me. I guess the way they saw it, they had this thing that they were carrying out, it was the kickee's job to be kicked, and I shouldn't interfere. It was so counter to what I had experienced at Berkeley; I now know that Berkeley, too, is more unusual than I realized. There was just a lot I didn't like about the culture; I found it very hard to meet people and develop friendships. Californians may be superficial, but at least they are friendly! I did, however, for a year until it broke up, participate in a commune there, which was an interesting experience. A group of us bought a fraternity house and turned it into a commune of ten adults and seven children, and that's a whole story unto itself, which I won't go into. It was out of a church; it wasn't a commune in the wilder sense of the term. It, still, was quite an interesting experience, but it ultimately failed, as many of these do.

So, then there was the issue of my career and my publishing. I had been so knocked back by... When I got to Maryland I had thought that I was going there to teach information science, and of course I was immediately—I think I did say something about that; that I was plugged into teaching large sections of reference and cataloging. So, where was I... It was difficult... I concentrated so much on the administrative stuff because at least there I felt that I had a little power, something that I hadn't experienced at Berkeley. We doctoral students had gotten frustrated in our efforts to make changes in the Berkeley program. So, now, what I did mattered in some way, and I enjoyed that. But, it meant that I wasn't getting published. The thing that I was thinking about yesterday was—I remember Don Kraft was turned down for tenure. The story was—at the time, that Hans Wellisch just went into high dudgeon because Don hadn't known what the National Union Catalog was. That seemed very unfair to me, because even though Hans specialized in cataloging, that wasn't Don's specialty, and Don brought a lot of other valuable things to the school that Hans wouldn't know about. But, of course, I was an assistant professor; I certainly wasn't involved in the discussion about his tenure. Don had come there a year or two before I did. In fact, the first semester I was there, he and I shared an office in the library, and that was kind of fun; I always think back to when he and I were both green.

So he got turned down for tenure, and I realized that I wasn't getting much publishing out, and I was either going to have to really buckle down and publish like crazy for a year or two in order to try to get tenure, or I needed to leave. And, since I... the way I kept thinking, if I get tenure here, I'll be here the rest of my life. It's not that easy to get a job someplace else when you have tenure. I wasn't that happy living there, so I thought, 'I want to get back to the west.' So that was basically the main driver for leaving at that point. Then Hans Wellisch himself went up for tenure. Now Hans was an older man, but he was only just

finishing his doctorate while he was at Maryland. So, after he finished the doctorate he formally became an assistant professor instead of a ... I don't know what, lecturer or something. Six months after he became an assistant professor, he went up for tenure and promotion, and I went through the roof. I went to Jerry Kidd and said, 'I'm not going to be 'nice lady' about this; I've been here four years doing huge loads of labor of all kinds, and how come this man can do this six months after he is appointed?' And Jerry said, 'He can go up any time. You can go up for promotion any time you want.' Well thanks, that was news to me. In fact, in most universities you can't really do it six months after you're appointed in a position,

Buckland: No, no.

Bates: but at Maryland, evidently, you could.

Buckland: Or you could in theory.

Bates: Yeah. Whatever. Well, he did. He succeeded in getting his tenure. I was thinking about this yesterday.... Shortly after I left Maryland, Irene Travis went up for tenure and was turned down. It really was... so much of that was wrong, because before Irene left, she actually was asked, I think it was with regard to David Batty, but I'm not a hundred percent certain, but anyway, someone else on the faculty, male, who was older, who didn't have his doctorate and was sort of stalled. She was an assistant professor and she was asked to help him finish his doctorate so that once he finished, he could be appointed as a tenured professor. Now that's just obscene. That's obscene. She's asked to help him so he can go over her head in rank and security. This was after Margaret Chisholm had stepped down as Dean. She had moved on, I think, by this time. I know Henry Dubester was Dean for a while. So here's all of this wreckage, these guys favoring other men, older men, and ensuring that they get tenure while they jettison Irene, Don and essentially me. Even though I hadn't gone up for tenure, I had no confidence that I would get it unless I was extremely productive. It just seemed a shame to lose these people. It was just all... Maryland was such a wreckage in those days. They had all these horrible years of conflict before I arrived, but as I had mentioned, they were still quivering from the hostilities at the time I did arrive. I think it was a very difficult place to survive in, really.

I thought, 'Well I want to get back to the west anyway.' So one day, I remember, I had four letters in the car, one each to UCLA, Berkeley, Oregon, and Washington, because Oregon had a program at that time, briefly under Leroy Merritt. I didn't send the one to UCLA, because I had the usual northern California bias against southern California, and I thought, 'Oh that'd be awful, I won't like it.' So I didn't send the application to them, but I sent it to the other three. Berkeley wasn't hiring, Oregon was, and Washington was. So Oregon and Washington invited me for visits, and, though nobody said anything explicit to me, a couple of the faculty were kind enough at Oregon to hint that they were on the verge of closing, which they

did shortly thereafter. So, I didn't follow up on that, and that left Washington. Ed Mignon, who was a doctoral student with me at Berkeley at the same time, but who was older and had taught at Washington earlier, and then, when he got his doctorate he went back to Washington, he warned me to not come to Washington because, he said, this is a sort of hide-bound, traditional place, and I'm not so sure they're going to like you. But I applied anyway and was accepted, offered the job, and I took it, as a way to get back to the west and get away from Maryland. Then when I got there, they had hired a man at the same time, who was a little older—he was maybe ten years older than I was—who had worked in school systems. He had only just finished his doctorate, and they hired him as a tenured associate professor and hired me as beginning assistant professor. It was explained to me, before I knew about him, that there was no other possible way I could be hired except as a beginning *assistant* professor—you know, the usual stuff. So, now of course at Washington, you couldn't go up for tenure six months after you arrived, like Hans had done at Maryland. You had to wait at least three years; that was their rule. So that's what I did; at the end of the three years, I went up for tenure.

In the meantime, there was a lot of truth to what Ed said about the school. It had been run for many years by Irving Lieberman. He was a librarian, had a doctorate, I believe, as well, but was very oriented to the library community and not particularly to the university. At the time I went there, Peter Hiatt was the director of the program. It wasn't an autonomous school; it was a program... apparently there at one time had been a number of schools or departments that had been directly under the graduate school.

Buckland: It was the last one to do that.

Bates: And it was the last one, yes. Did you go up there, did you have reason to know that?

Buckland: Oh, I knew about that.

Bates: So it was the last one that still was under the graduate school directly. Thank god, as it turned out, as far as I'm concerned, because they were so cut off from the rest of the campus, I mean they were just not a part of the university community. They were very isolated, and were this little program, and basically they reported to the Dean of the Graduate School, and that was... that's putting it a little strongly, but almost the end of their connection with the University. So it was a very library-community-oriented school, which is important; that needs to be one of the things about a program. But, as I mentioned earlier, it wasn't also adequately connected to the university. So, Peter Hiatt was the Director when I went there.

<Redaction #1>

**Bates Oral History File 33**

Buckland: Resuming after a brief break, at 1:52pm.

Bates: I think what I've been mulling on lately in my retired years is a developing realization that the particular quality of my generation's emergence from a more sexist time is different, probably, from the quality of it in other times and generations. One of the things that particularly characterizes my generation's experience is that after the experiences of World War II, Rosie the Riveter and all, women had had real, out-in-the-world experiences; then the men, and soon, at least some of the women, too, wanted to leave all that behind, and retreat into the suburban dream after the war. Because women had had more power during the war, at least in their everyday lives, the job in the late 40's and 50's was to push women back into the home, to ensure that their experiences all became trivial and marginal to the larger society. I remember a movie where a businesswoman is persuaded to give up all that autonomy nonsense and become the happy homemaker. Women weren't encouraged to go back into the home, they were *pushed* back into the home. Society aggressively sidelined women, aggressively made them trivial. I can understand that they were exhausted, first, with the Depression, and then, second, the war, but the end result was to try to tamp down that fling women had had with a bit of power over their families and out in the world, while hubby was in the war. There were all of these factors, but the bottom line was that women in 'substantial areas' like out in the world in business and academia and so on, were virtually made to disappear. You know, there just were very few to be seen. Indeed, there were more women professors, for example, in the thirties, proportionately, than there were in the fifties and sixties. So, growing up in my generation, for both men and women, and men looking on women, the women that they knew, they experienced as mothers and sisters who were not in the game. Whatever the game was, they were not in it; they were over in this housewife's place over here at the side. Often, emotionally, people were very dependent on women, and women were very important in their lives, as they always have been, but there was a huge area that was women-free, and we women didn't have a very good understanding of what that larger world was, and the people in that world who were overwhelmingly male, simply... It never crossed their minds that women could or should be in that world with them.

What I think happened when the women's movement came along, when women wanted to get into the business world, and so forth, the instinctive response of men was to trivialize them, was to see women as so marginal, because women aren't in the game, right? They were raised with that, they never even thought consciously about it; it was just a fact of life. And, 'Who the hell are these darn women who want to intrude on our game? We've got this thing going that works great for us, you know, I go home at night and my wife does all of this stuff for me, and I make enough money that I can have my wife at home doing all of this.' It was a very different time, and so, 'Why do these women want to get in over here, in with the men?' So men's response tended to alternate between totally ignoring us and being irritated that we

persisted in this goofy idea that we could do what the men did and were as good as they were. It took me a long time to understand this because I kept thinking that men would be embarrassed when they noticed that they had been cutting women out in these ways. And instead of being embarrassed, they didn't want to deal with it and were mad that somebody would even talk to them about dealing with it.

I remember one time when I was at the University of Washington, I represented my department in the Academic Senate at Washington, and one day a man stood up and said that he wanted the Academic Senate to vote for a motion opposing all of these minority and women documentation requirements that they were supposed to be fulfilling, where they would say how many women applicants they had considered, and how many minority applicants they had considered, and things like that. 'This was a lot of wasteful, bureaucratic stuff that was taking everybody's time up,' and he wanted the group to oppose it. And I put my hand up and said, 'well...' I don't remember how I put it, but it was... 'Were we in fact bringing in so many women and minorities now that this had become an unnecessary thing to do?,' or something like that. It's like ... for the first time, this man noticed that about a third of the people in this room were women and minorities! I remember one of the women, it was one of those stadium-type rooms, a woman sitting below me looked up at me and smiled—it was such an obvious thing. He was so unconscious.... This was so typical.

I've run into this so many times and in so many different ways. When I was at UCLA I was on the Committee on Committees at one time, which nominated people to be on committees, and I remember one of the men there—and I liked the guy—he was a senior faculty member, and you could tell he was one of those influential people who'd been around a long time, and he was a good guy, but he got started one day on this same sort of thing. He seemed to relate to me and the other women on the committee, truly like equals, I didn't feel any discrimination, but at the same time he had this separate category in his mind, where he would grumble about this stuff being done for women and minorities. The men could experience you as a person, individually, but as a group, the whole idea that 'these people' should be wanting to get jobs and that they should be taken seriously was offensive to them.

I've always been baffled by that, but I've also been hurt by it many times in many ways, because I think there's just an instinctive reaction against women in ways that both excludes us and trivializes us. The trivialization aspect comes from the whole fifties culture where women dealt with the home and the family and no place else. In the business world, the stuff that men take seriously, women were excluded from that, and therefore they could never really be taken seriously.

It reminds me of that part in MASH, the original movie MASH, where, I think it was Hot Lips, the woman who was a nurse, who was a major. She just loved the military, and she liked being an officer. The men, the Alan Alda-type heroes, pull a mean sexual joke on her, so she makes a complaint. Well, the general

and his sidekick come to the base to address the complaint, but soon forget all about it, because they get caught up in playing a football game with the other men. When her complaint is brought up, the General says, “Oh, screw her,” and that’s the end of her complaint. Women are so marginal, they’re so unimportant, you know. It is the particular qualitative mix of the way men deal with us—to reject, ignore, trivialize—that is different from what women experienced in other generations. If you were imprisoning women for demonstrating for the right to vote, and then force-feeding them in jail, you *were* taking them seriously! Of course, that was worse, but it had a different quality to it from the relentless trivialization of our generation.

One more thing I want to say about this, which is another independent but influential factor, is that there is lots and lots of research that shows that tall men make more money than short and medium sized men. There have been many studies; there’s no doubt, this really is true. In a very real sense, because women tend to be physically smaller than men, I think we get that same treatment, only more so. It’s completely unconscious, it’s probably back in the lizard brain, in making these decisions about women, just as the lizard brain decides that this tall man should get more pay than this short man doing the exact same work. I think it’s been done for women, as well, but even more so. It’s not an accident that women get sixty or seventy percent of the money that men get, because women are often sixty to seventy percent the size of men making the decisions. Again, it’s just very hard to counter that instinctive kind of a reaction.

So here we have this class of people who are seen as marginal and unimportant to the game that the men are playing, and on top of that they’re littler, and so of course, ‘They’re not as important, and we’ll deal with them sometimes, but not seriously the way we deal with other men.’ And, it’s that trivialization, that making unimportant, of women, that, as I’ve grown older and seen how little, in some ways, things have changed, that I get more and more angry about. I’m just sick to death of not being taken seriously. Anyway, that is the particular qualitative feel of my generation’s emergence, in coming out of the fifties, with women being pretty and fun, but not in the game.

If we go back to the UCLA story, then that issue came up many times during the time I was there. For instance, one time I was on the promotion and tenure committee .... They have a representative of the faculty sit on the university-wide committee. I assume they do something like that at Berkeley, I don’t know, but there, that’s what they do. They would form a committee and then have one faculty representative from the department on that committee as well. I was on the committee for tenure and promotion for Chris Borgman, and one of the men on the committee said, ‘Now, is her husband a faculty member here, too?’ ‘No, no, he’s not.’ ‘Well, that would be a pretty big package to have both of them that we’d have to tenure.’ Now when you’re talking about a man, you never deal with whether his wife is also on the faculty. I suspect that what he was implying—that the work status of a spouse should be taken into

account when considering the other spouse—was technically illegal. Be that as it may, it certainly was inappropriate.

<Redaction #2>

Publication Discussion:

Buckland: It is the March the 13<sup>th</sup>, Tuesday, and it is almost 1:30 in the afternoon, and Marcia Bates is going to talk about the things she did, and she is going to use her resume as a basis for deciding what to talk about.

Bates: Okay. I thought it would be interesting to get away a little from the straight history and politics and whatnot in my career and just look at things that I've written and why I wrote them and what got me interested. The first thing under Books is the *Proceedings of the Information Service Needs of the Nation* that Carlos Cuadra and I edited.<sup>2</sup> This came out in 1974 and was, I suppose, the primary academic publication that I produced when I was at the University of Maryland. So much other was teaching and administrative. The conference was sponsored by the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science (NCLIS), and Carlos had pushed to get it accepted. I think it was much ahead of its time as well. A lot of the work in the 80s and 90s about information seeking seemed to be unaware, and I'll maybe talk about this at a later point, seemed to be unaware of the work that had gone before. In this case, while I was still finishing as a doctoral student, I did a couple of reviews for this volume. Let me look at the end of the Publications because I think they are probably there. Yes, this one called *Review of Literature Relating to the Identification of User Groups and Their Needs*.<sup>3</sup> This was connected to this under Research Reports on page 10 of my vitae. That was a lengthy review of the available literature at that time. I was mastering all this available information about information-seeking behavior and again, I very much regret that I didn't turn this into a book. Anyway, I did produce out of it, and one of the things that I produced was this publication in large-format, considerable detail about the information needs of a variety of groups. That sort of fed into it.

---

<sup>2</sup> Cuadra, Carlos A., and Marcia J. Bates, eds. *Library and Information Service Needs of the Nation: Proceedings of a Conference on the Needs of Occupational, Ethnic, and other Groups in the United States*. Sponsored by the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science. Washington, D.C.: U.S.G.P.O., 1974, 314 p.

<sup>3</sup> Bates, Marcia J. "Review of Literature Relating to the Identification of User Groups and Their Needs." In: *Preliminary Investigation of Present and Potential Library and Information Service Needs. Final Report*, pp. 36-68. By Charles P. Bourne, Victor Rosenberg, Marcia J. Bates and Gilda R. Perolman. Washington, D.C.: U.S. National Commission on Libraries and Information Science, February 1973. ERIC #ED 073 786.

As for the actual conference, I wrote several chapters in the proceedings and attended the conference, and one of the nice things about it was that it was set up to address the needs of a variety, as it says here, “of occupational, ethnic, and other groups.” During the course of the conference, people agreed to write up their final chapters of the proceedings in a parallel format, so that each author would address certain things in parallel, which I thought was great. We covered a lot of different groups that hadn’t been covered before. As it was being developed, I was asked if I wanted to cover women and parents, and let’s see....

Buckland: (Inaudible) a combination.

Bates: Yes. “Women, homemakers, and parents” was what I was asked to address, and I figured that if the categories were divided up that horribly in the first place, that I had better take it so I could make it very clear that it wasn’t just women who were homemakers. Women did other things besides being homemakers. The chapter that I did for that was...This was in the heyday of the women’s movement. I went down to a place in Washington, D.C. that was a women’s help center of some kind. (I forget the exact name of it.) They had a variety of people working there who could help people with different kinds of problems. Health problems, welfare, getting into school. They had a number of things, and it was intended to be this volunteer agency for women in a variety of circumstances.

In fact, it was interesting when I went down there because I walked in the door, and they had a woman whose job it was to interact with people about what they needed, and then direct them to particular individuals who could help them with their specific problem. So, I explained that I was looking at the information needs of women, and she gave me this blank look like nothing that they were doing had anything to do with that. It made me realize that they just thought of themselves as helping women. The idea that the whole point of this women’s center was really about giving them *information* had completely escaped their thinking. They just weren’t looking at it that way. They kept a little roster of the queries that came in, and they agreed to let me look at it, provided I kept the information anonymous, which I did. So I included a little bit of actual data in that chapter. That was my contribution at the conference to present on that. I think there were a total of 14 different groups being covered. I also wrote an introductory chapter. Can we pause for a moment? I’ll go get it.

Buckland: Sure.

Bates: It’s easier for me to talk from it. I should have thought to bring it down.

Buckland: Short pause.

Buckland: We are resuming after a brief pause at 1:39p.m.

Bates: Okay, here's the *Library and Information Service Needs of the Nation*.<sup>4</sup> The parts of it that I wrote were the Introduction, the Speculations on the Sociocultural Context, (Uses lofty tone.) of Public Information Provision in the 70s and Beyond, the chapter on women and homemakers, and some of the analysis and wrapping up of the conference materials. I'm sort of proud of the speculations article because what I proposed in there was what I called "life information." In subsequent years, Reijo Savolainen has developed what he calls "everyday life information-seeking," and it was a surprise to him that I had written about it in this article way back in 1974. I was making the argument that, just to survive and thrive, people need information in their daily lives, and when we study information seeking, we should also be looking at the kind of information people need under those circumstances.

After the conference, I worked with Carlos to get the manuscript set up and ready to go. I remember when they sent to us the title page, the two pages, and because they, in no way, resembled any ordinary title page, I didn't even realize it was the title page. The only place that Carlos and I appear is in this little note on the back of the title page. It was done in a very classically government document mode, where individuals aren't featured. I didn't realize that. I didn't realize the different culture I was bumping against at the time. I was shocked when it came out and that was actually all there was to the title page! We appear as the editors only on the back of the title page, but we did do all the work, I can tell you. It was frustrating after that because this was popular. I think I looked at it not too long ago, and it was in several hundred libraries. A subsequent head of NCLIS and I can't...Oh, I almost had it. His name starts with a "t".

Buckland: Trezza.

Bates: Yes, Trezza, thank you. The word that came back to me was that he didn't like all this women and minority stuff that was in this thing and basically suppressed it. I mean, it sold out quickly, and he didn't want to have it reprinted. He didn't want to give it any publicity.

Buckland: He had a strong personality.

Bates: Oh, is that the term? Okay. Here we were, trying to specifically bring in groups that weren't ordinarily addressed. We covered the Mexican-American community, the handicapped, institutionalized people, the economically and socially-deprived, the geographically remote, which is something that rarely gets addressed, aging people, young adults and students, children, homemakers and parents, social services personnel and performing artists, biomedical and then some other business and work-related categories. I

---

<sup>4</sup> See note 2.

guess it was precisely because it was breaking the mold or the standard view that it was kind of semi-suppressed subsequently.

Buckland: I have an idea he was state librarian of Illinois, but that may have been afterwards.

Bates: I don't remember where he came from or went to, but he was, for a time after that, the head of NCLIS. What else was there? Was there anything else? I think those were the main matters about that publication. It was kind of unfortunate. Again, had I been a more sophisticated manager of my own publications... This was something that should have gone from a government publication to a regular trade publication and marketed in a different way. I didn't do that and, as I mentioned earlier, I was so knocked back by that turndown from *Library Quarterly* that I didn't.... The two parts of the article that I submitted to the *Library Quarterly*, one of them was talking about the approach to developing a subject bibliography that was based on Pat Wilson's theories. The other part was the discussion of the literature of information-seeking that I had, in fact, produced, so.... Where is it? I think I've got it back here. (Shuffles papers.) (Inaudible) number of pages. It says, *User Studies: A Review for Librarian and Information Scientists*.<sup>5</sup> That was 60 pages. That was the part that was the literature review itself. This is the original full review. It was 115 pages long. That was the thing. (Annoyed.) You know, it was a damn master's thesis! Not that I needed a master's thesis, but I'm just seeing all the work I did on this! It deserved to be published! In a very real sense, Bill Paisley was my mentor. He was wonderful in every respect, except that he didn't know the LIS field. So, he couldn't really advise me about what to do about any of this stuff. I didn't realize, at that point, how important it was. This report, that is an ERIC document, got cited three or four times subsequently. It did, at least, go into ERIC. It's the number ED047738. I submitted it to ERIC in 1971. There was all this rich material.... The item you're looking at that says *User Subtopics and Readings: January 1970* was the one that I did within the school for my faculty, who were my committee, because I was the first person to take user studies or information-seeking as an area for their exams. This item has 114 pages in it. Subsequently, because I tried to publish it as an article in LQ, in *Library Quarterly*, and that was what was turned down. I selected just the literature review part, which was 60 pages, and submitted that to ERIC, which is the one that is listed under Research Reports on my cv, and it is called *User Studies: A Review for Librarians and Information Scientists*.<sup>6</sup>

Buckland: Oh, I see.

---

<sup>5</sup> Bates, Marcia J. *User Studies: A Review for Librarians and Information Scientists*. March 1971, 60 p. ERIC #ED 047 738.

<sup>6</sup> See note 5.

Bates: I took the half or two-thirds of this article, this review, and submitted it to ERIC. Then the other piece of this review, that I didn't submit to ERIC, I later converted into an article titled "Rigorous Systematic Bibliography,"<sup>7</sup> which I did subsequently get published in 1976.

Buckland: I'm sorry. Say that last part again. The article was eventually published...

Bates: As "Rigorous Systematic Bibliography"<sup>8</sup> with massive revisions. This was done for my studies, and I completely reworked it for the published article.

Buckland: Very good.

Bates: The biggest loss here was all the stuff I knew about information-seeking behavior as of 1972 because that would have made a great book.

Buckland: Yes.

Bates: I had all my hundreds of pages of notes. I had this review. I had the review I did preliminarily for the NCLIS conference that produced the ultimate proceedings. I was messing with all of this, but I didn't pull it together in the way that it would have had the impact that it deserved. At the time, I mostly thought of this as what I learned. I hadn't yet moved into completely recognizing when something is good enough that it needs to go out to the larger world.

Buckland: I think that "Rigorous Systematic Bibliography"<sup>9</sup> must have been the one I came across a couple of years ago and cited. 'Cause I read *RQ* page-by-page, cover-to-cover from the beginning. It was part of my quest to prove that people doing research on reference service had cut it along (?). I think I asked you if you had it on your website.

Bates: It was subsequently used a lot. Of course, Diana Thomas was also a graduate of Berkeley, and she was familiar with Wilson's work. At that time, there was a required course for all students in the UCLA program called Bibliography. They were introduced to bibliography in historical and systematic senses. It's the only time I've ever heard of an LIS program require a whole course on it. For years, she regularly assigned this "Rigorous Systematic Bibliography"<sup>10</sup> to students in that course, and I heard of other people using it in teaching. It was really appropriate more to teaching. I've sort of gotten ahead of myself here.

---

<sup>7</sup> Bates, Marcia J. "Rigorous Systematic Bibliography." *RQ* 16 (Fall 1976): 7-26.

<sup>8</sup>See note 7.

<sup>9</sup>See note 7.

<sup>10</sup> See note 7.

Buckland: That was the first option. (?)

Bates: Yes. Am I going at this in too much detail?

Buckland: No, no. You're not. You're not. At this point.

Bates: Well, I've actually picked up on several others that I won't have to review. That's '74. It would actually be appropriate to jump, for a moment, to the articles and get to the whole question of when I first published. The first article I published in our field was this "Campus Information Clearinghouse"<sup>11</sup> article that appeared in *California Librarian*. The journal had a section on the revolt, the revolution at Berkeley during those days. What some of us attempted to do was have a common place where all the handouts and flyers people were distributing, the information documents, could be collected together. So that was the point of that little article. I was thinking this morning...My very first publication ever was a letter to the editor of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, when I was either 13 or 14 years old. Somebody had written in the *Chronicle*, "We should just annex Canada. They're basically like us." I wrote in. I had lived in Canada for several years when I was younger, and I said, "The Canadians wouldn't like that. They are very proud of their country. They would not agree to be annexed." But it got published, so that was my first ever publication. Then when I was in graduate school, I got a letter to the editor in the *Atlantic Monthly* about the Peace Corps, because I had come back from the Peace Corps. Over the years, I submitted many letters to the editor of the *Los Angeles Times*. I got maybe eight or ten published over the years, plus one op-ed piece called "Another Information System Fails—Why?"<sup>12</sup>, which, oh, that's another whole story in itself. I sort of jumped ahead. Hold off on that and we'll come back to that op-ed piece later. I had a sort of parallel life because I always liked to write letters to editors. So, that was the first article in 1970.

Then the next things listed there are things I did for ASIST. I was the Special Interest Group Cabinet Councilor for a couple of years there shortly after I got my degree, administering anything associated with the special-interest groups in ASIST, so that made me a member of the board. Because I was living in the Washington, D.C. area, I was also a member on the executive committee, the board that would meet more frequently. I remember Tefko Saracevic was on the board at the same time. Two of these items under the Articles are just news, associated with S.I.G. Cabinet News and S.I.G. Cabinet Report coming out in the early days. I guess it was the beginning of the *Bulletin of ASIST*. Then this other article called "A Modern Integrated Introduction to Library and Information Services."<sup>13</sup> It's just four pages in here, but Dagobert

---

<sup>11</sup> Bates, Marcia J. "A Campus Information Clearinghouse." *California Librarian* 31 (July 1970): 171-172.

<sup>12</sup> Bates, Marcia J. "Another Information System Fails—Why?" [OpEd article] *Los Angeles Times* (July 15, 1999): B9.

<sup>13</sup> Soergel, Dagobert and Bates, Marcia J. "A Modern Integrated Introduction to Library and Information Services." *SIG Newsletter* ED-1 (November 1974): 7-11.

and I also produced about a 30-page description. I wonder if I've got that listed in here or not. What we did then, another one of those many energy-using things I did rather than publish during the first years after I graduated, but it was very interesting, was working with Dagobert Soergel, on what we called a package course, which was 12 semester units. The idea of it was to unify in a single twelve-unit package: the libraries and information society (course), the reference course, the cataloging, and the introduction to computers, which was sort of standard in those days. Our objective was to make that really integrated, as a vision of what one really believed that information science was supposed to be. That these areas should be more integrated, as well as more computer-based and more information science-based. We put a lot of work into that and taught it a couple of times before I left. Then he continued to teach it for a number of years after that. We introduced it at an ASIST conference, and I remember Tony Debons at the ASIST Conference. Dagobert and I each made a little presentation, jointly, on what we had done on it, and then Debons got up and just lit into it. I don't remember why or what about, but he was so negative about it. To my surprise Dagobert seemed a little knocked back, so I jumped up and argued right back for it. It was really strange when it would presumably be what Tony Debons would think is wonderful. Maybe he saw it as competition for his own vision of information science. Unfortunately, I just don't remember the particulars of his argument at this point. That was our effort. It wasn't very well publicized. It should have been in the *Journal of Education in Library and Information Science*.

Buckland: Best paper I ever wrote on the nature of the field was presented as a keynote at a (inaudible) conference and the *Journal of Education in Library and Information Science* sent me a rude note, asking me to send the manuscript to them. I did, and they rejected it.

Bates: (Laughs loudly!) Awww. I hope you published it someplace else.

Buckland: It was in the last ever issue of a Norwegian journal that nobody's ever heard of.

Bates: Awww.

Buckland: Find it(?) on my website.... I was busy with other things.

Bates: Awww. It's certainly true that you've got to put a lot of energy into the packaging and marketing of your work. I've certainly learned that over years. The ones who are smart at the marketing can often market largely content-free things, but because they market it well, it has impact. You've got to have both substantive content and good marketing to have a real impact.

---

That was the project I did with Dagobert, and then the “Rigorous Systematic Bibliography”<sup>14</sup> was publishing the ideas that I had in this user-studies review. Then the “Factors Affecting Subject Catalog Search Success”<sup>15</sup> and the “System Meets User,”<sup>16</sup> those were the two articles that I published out of my dissertation. I think I mentioned last time that the “Factors” was rejected first, then fortunately, was published after all.

When I left Maryland and went to the University of Washington, what I ended up doing was teaching an awful lot of research methods. I remember one year I had three sections of it, totaling about 100 students. I’m dated from the era where junior people did some of the hardest classes that others didn’t want, so I developed an exercise in research evaluation, in which I used our famous ASIST researcher, Llewellyn C. Puppybreath, and wrote up a deliberately badly designed study, and gave this exercise to the students to show what was wrong with it.

“Information Search Tactics” was my first substantial new contribution after my dissertation. This also was published when I was in Seattle. I should go back to the beginning of the time I was a student at Berkeley because when I was taking the master’s program, we had a room that was the reference/research practice room. It contained a lot of reference books, and there was a doctoral student who delighted in devising devilish questions for us to research, as if they had come in at the reference desk, questions whose answers were never in the “obvious” places. We would have an hour lab, where we would go in and answer as many questions as we could that were on these little three-by-five cards. I remember one day, a girlfriend of mine....I just remember she was the daughter of Lawrence Wroth, but I can’t remember her first name. She found answers to 22 questions, and I found answers to two in our hour of biblio-reference. I was embarrassed! I had always done well in school, and here, I clearly did not have the instincts of a reference librarian. I was shocked and dismayed. A lot of the questions were really tricky ones, and you had to kind of intuit where it would be instead of the obvious place where you would actually reasonably expect it to be. I think that got me interested in search early on because, in effect, what I was doing with information search tactics was writing up reference searching for the rest of us. Those of us who didn’t intuitively do well at it. I interviewed a couple of people. I surveyed the literature of searching, the research on creativity and ideas, pulled all of these things together that I could find, and came up with an article on information search tactics.

The approach of taking tactics was an important one, in the sense that instead of it being a general essay on “this is how you find stuff,” I wanted to find the heuristics. I wanted to find the techniques one could apply

---

<sup>14</sup> See note 7.

<sup>15</sup> Bates, Marcia J. "Factors Affecting Subject Catalog Search Success." *Journal of the American Society for Information Science* 28 (May 1977): 161-169.

<sup>16</sup> Bates, Marcia J. "System Meets User: Problems in Matching Subject Search Terms." *Information Processing and Management* 13 (1977): 367-375.

as needed. I was long interested, I'm not sure why, but long interested in military history. I used to love military movies. War movies. The whole idea of strategy and tactics was in my mind from that as well. I wrote this up and submitted it to *JASIS*. It was both information search tactics and idea tactics together in one article.... It almost got turned down, I heard later. This was when Charlie Meadow was Editor, and his then-research assistant was Carole Fenichel, who did important work on online searching. She said, "No, this is good stuff. Publish it." So, he did, but required it be in two articles because it was too long. I won the Best Paper award for it. I remember going to the ASIST conference that year that was in Anaheim, and somebody came up to me and congratulated me, and I said, "For what?" I didn't know, and it wasn't till I got there that I learned I had won it.

That reminds me of something. You know how in literature, there are people who write good short stories and there are people who write good novels? There are also people who write novellas, but novellas aren't as popular. What do you do if you are a novella person, if your natural thing is novellas? I think that's really my natural length. First, my literature review, then I could have written up my dissertation in one long article. I certainly wrote the "Tactics" in one long article. I wrote the paper on information in one long article, which I then had to split into two. I think this was a tendency of mine to write longer articles that make it difficult sometimes to get papers accepted....So, I split the "Tactics" article into two.

There was a lot of interest in it, which brings me to another point: That was in the early days of online searching. There was a lot of interesting, fun stuff to do in connection with online searching. The information search tactics could be applied. These were about mental tactics more than anything, so they could be applied in either a paper or online environment. A number of these articles I published in the 80s, I published almost because I could not resist doing so. You think about "Should you be doing deep, fundamental things?"

Buckland: (Quietly.) No.

Bates: The thing about these was that I could see that they were needed because they were often techniques that I had developed in teaching, things that I had figured out from doing my own searching. They seemed to need to be said. I think they had a considerable impact on people doing online searching. You can see on this page that a number of them were reprinted in one place or another. The "Information Search Tactics,"<sup>17</sup> the "Fallacy of the Perfect 30-Item Online Search,"<sup>18</sup> the "How to Use Information Search Tactics Online,"<sup>19</sup> the "How to Use Controlled Vocabularies More Effectively in Online Searching."<sup>20</sup> I

---

<sup>17</sup>Bates, Marcia J. "Information Search Tactics." *Journal of the American Society for Information Science* 30 (July 1979): 205-214.

<sup>18</sup> Bates, Marcia J. "The Fallacy of the Perfect 30 Item Online Search." *RQ* 24 (Fall 1984): 43-50.

<sup>19</sup> Bates, Marcia J. "How to Use Information Search Tactics Online." *Online* 11 (May 1987): 47-54.

think a lot of people doing online searching didn't understand the full power of the different search vocabularies that were available. You had to really understand these vocabularies, but once you did, you could often put together a query that was really powerful. It could pull exactly and only what you wanted or close to that. I wrote this string of articles on these ideas and techniques. One of them, the "Locating Elusive Science Information,"<sup>21</sup> I submitted to *Special Libraries*. I drew from the literature that was being written by Garvey and other people in those days about the scientific publication cycle and the different stages. I had the scientific publication cycle across the top of the page, and then had the kinds of reference resources that could be used in each stage. I don't think that had been put together particularly. That was, I think, a useful paper. Gene Garfield really liked it because some of the categories include some of the indexes produced by his company, ISI. I know he invited me to a conference that they had at ISI, where this was featured. He gave copies out to everybody there. It was reprinted as well. During those years when we were dealing with online searching, we dealt with a lot of these search issues through these different articles. (Sighs.) Maybe we should take a break.

Buckland: Sure.

Buckland: We are resuming after another short break. It is now 2:24p.m. on March the 13<sup>th</sup>.

Bates: Let's see. What we've gotten up to on my publications list is "Search Techniques,"<sup>22</sup> the article I wrote for the *Annual Review of Information Science and Technology*. While there had been a few reviews of military search, you know, where people were trying to find a downed pilot and trying to figure the most efficient way to fly over the ocean to find the pilot, as far as I know, this was the first article on search techniques that related to our field that pulled these different things together. I was really scrupulous in trying to find any and everything I could that related to the topic. I think I may have worried a bit too much about that, instead of maybe putting forth a model or my own ideas about it. I really took it very seriously; it was a review of what had been done up to that point. I'm reminded of a grant proposal that I submitted sometime in the mid 80s, after this first review on search techniques appeared in 1981, and one referee comes back with, "Search strategy's been done." That's another story, but that's one of the reasons I didn't pursue getting grants after that because I couldn't anticipate such bizarre, ignorant reactions. I submitted one to NSF and one to the Department of Education. You can't spend 6 weeks writing one of these complex government grants, only to get somebody rejecting it because "search strategy's been done"! I realized that getting grants is more about who you know in the government structure, and picking up on the latest buzz words, than it is about the actual substance. I just couldn't afford the time trade-off with such

---

<sup>20</sup> Bates, Marcia J. "How to Use Controlled Vocabularies More Effectively in Online Searching." *Online*, 12 (November 1988): 45-56.

<sup>21</sup> Bates, Marcia J. "Locating Elusive Science Information: Some Search Techniques." *Special Libraries* 75 (April 1984): 114-120.

<sup>22</sup> Bates, Marcia J. "Search Techniques." *Annual Review of Information Science and Technology* 16 (1981): 139-169.

minuscule odds of success; I had better uses for my precious summer weeks. That reminds me, I had been a reviewer on some NSF grants and approved this one researcher's work—the proposal looked great. Then one time I saw him demonstrate his search system and it was a disaster—200-word long instructions at every little mini-step along the way. No real searcher would put up with that. I was embarrassed that I had recommended it. I dearly wish we had shorter, simpler grant processes for \$5,000-\$50,000 grants.

I wrote this article on the doctorate in library and information science. It very much says what I felt, that there was the lot of misunderstanding in the field about what going for a doctorate really means and what was different about a doctorate from a master's degree.<sup>23</sup> So, that was the purpose of that article. (Later, I also gave an invited speech on the doctorate in professional fields.<sup>24</sup> Then the 1986 article, "Subject Access in Online Catalogs—A Design Model."<sup>25</sup> This really arose out of all the things I was doing at that point, looking at how people seek information, issues of how you should design vocabularies. My dissertation was about the match or mismatch of people's search terms with the terms used in catalogs for the same subject. I found that there was a humongous mismatch between them for a lot of reasons, so, in 1985, at a conference, I proposed... Well, let find the conference. (Searches.) It's kind of an obscure one. (Inaudible.) Oh, the conference was '84, but it was published in '86, I guess. Here: Defense Technical Information Center Conference<sup>26</sup>.

So, this was the First Conference on Computer Interfaces and Intermediaries for Information Retrieval in 1984. A second one came out in 1986, *Proceedings of the Second Conference on Computer Interfaces and Intermediaries for Information Retrieval* in '86, where I developed the ideas some more.<sup>27</sup> In the meantime, I also went to the IRFIS Conference.

---

<sup>23</sup> Bates, Marcia J. "A Doctorate in Library/Information Science: Advice for Librarians Considering Ph.D. Studies." *Library Journal* 111 (1 September 1986): 157-159.

<sup>24</sup> [The Role of the Ph.D. in a Professional Field](#), Srygley Lecture, Florida State University, Oct. 16, 1999.

<sup>25</sup> Bates, Marcia J. "Subject Access in Online Catalogs: A Design Model." *Journal of the American Society for Information Science* 37 (November 1986): 357-376.

<sup>26</sup> Bates, Marcia J. "Some Design Ideas for Subject Access in Online Systems." In: *First Conference on Computer Interfaces and Intermediaries for Information Retrieval*. Williamsburg, VA, October 3-6, 1984, pp. 1-10. Edited by Marjorie E. Powell. Alexandria, VA: Defense Technical Information Center, Office of Information Systems and Technology, 1986. NTIS #AD A167 700.

<sup>27</sup> Bates, Marcia J. "Terminological Assistance for the Online Subject Searcher." In: *Defense Technical Information Center and M.I.T. Proceedings of the Second Conference on Computer Interfaces and Intermediaries for Information Retrieval*, Boston, MA, May 28-31, 1986, pp. 285-293. Alexandria, VA: Defense Technical Information Center, Office of Information Systems and Technology, 1986. Report No. NTIS/TR-86/5.

In between the two DTIC presentations, I went to Frascati, Italy, for the Sixth International Research Forum in Information Science (IRFIS), which I think was the last one of the series. That had been a series where they addressed a lot of interesting information retrieval issues, and I very much enjoyed going to this one. I remember Bertie Brooks was a keynoter. I met Peter Ingwersen there. Nick Belkin was also there, and I presented these developing ideas,<sup>28</sup> that I subsequently further developed in the article for *JASIS* called "Subject Access in Online Catalogs: A Design Model."<sup>29</sup> I brought together all those ideas I had been developing in those three earlier publications. This was where I was trying to deal with the question of the mismatch between the terms that the user uses and the system uses, and coming up with ways of assisting the searcher in responding to the failure to match.

Buckland: It's still an underestimated problem.

Bates: I agree completely. I just, coincidentally, this morning, looked over the book that Ali Shiri wrote. He's at Alberta; I had noticed he had cited some of my work, and he's written a wonderful book. I'm really looking forward to seeing it. It's called *Powering Search*. He deals with all of these questions of thesauri to assist and support online searching in all sorts of contexts. I'm very pleased with it. He seemed to be one of the few people who picked up the ideas I had been putting out in these articles. He really brings it all together from a variety of fields. It's exciting to see it.

Okay, so that was the "Subject Access." In the meantime, the next one, the "What is a Reference Book?"<sup>30</sup> ...I had been teaching reference for many years, and I started with the simple problem of how to define reference books in my reference classes. I was dismayed at the un-rigorous definitions that were out there. I started working on defining the concept and then decided to do a little sample. I randomly selected 300 books from reference stacks and non-reference stacks and compared them. Made an argument in there for my definition of reference books. I see the article as a kind of twin with the article on systematic bibliography, so they are my two little contributions to reference and bibliography.

On the next page, the "Rethinking Subject Cataloging in the Online Environment"<sup>31</sup> was one case where I was taking the ideas that I had in the "Subject Access,"<sup>32</sup> the 1986 *JASIS* article, and trying to apply them

---

<sup>28</sup> Bates, Marcia J. "An Exploratory Paradigm for Online Information Retrieval." In: *Intelligent Information Systems for the Information Society*. Proceedings of the Sixth International Research Forum in Information Science (IRFIS 6), Frascati, Italy, September 16-18, 1985, pp. 91-99. Edited by B. C. Brookes. Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1986.

<sup>29</sup> See note 25.

<sup>30</sup> Bates, Marcia J. "What Is a Reference Book? A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis." *RQ* 26 (Fall 1986): 37-57.

<sup>31</sup> Bates, Marcia J. "Rethinking Subject Cataloging in the Online Environment." *Library Resources & Technical Services*, 33 (October 1989): 400-412.

more specifically to library cataloging. I reinterpreted it in the terms that I thought would make the most sense in the library world. "The Design of Browsing and Berrypicking Techniques"<sup>33</sup> was just a little paper I dashed off quickly, and I'm still mystified that it seems to be the one that's most cited. I'm glad it is, but I don't really understand why.

Buckland: Some papers just catch and others don't.

Bates: I know. I think that's true. I think that's true. Clearly, the berrypicking idea seemed to catch people's imagination. I think it's important to remember that, at that time, the standard paradigm for information retrieval was of a person sitting at a computer terminal, accessing a single database, using a single retrieval system that had a certain set of features. It wasn't at all common in those days to think about being able to search many different information systems and databases from the same terminal. It just wasn't in the mental frame to think about an information system that would be so comprehensive that you could search a lot of different databases right after each other, including ones that used different design principles, and that were for different kinds of information. That was a really novel idea. I think that was one of the things that made it catch on. It was like, "Hey, wait! We can envision this larger system where you would have all these different search techniques, all these different kinds of information," and design the system so you could apply all of those techniques. The berrypicking, of course, embodies that in the sense of needing to move from one resource to another, the way people really do in searching. There was some recent research that had come out then, particularly by David Ellis, on how people search for information in practical terms. It just seemed to all come together nicely, and I wrote this up pretty quickly and sent it off to *Online Review*, which was edited at that time by Martha Williams. This, of course, was just prior to the Internet becoming general. So, I mailed it off to her, and I didn't hear from her, and I pretty much forgot about it, and a couple months later, I thought, "Well, I'm going to have to call her." Because I hadn't even gotten a "We got your manuscript" kind of response, and I thought I'd better check. I walked in to get the mail one day, and I had received an envelope full of off-prints of the article! It was already out before I had even been notified of its acceptance. I guess it was recognized then too that it would be popular. There were a few problems with the formatting of it, but fortunately, there weren't serious mistakes with the contents, since I hadn't ever received galleys.

Then, around the same time, I wrote "Where Should the Person Stop and the Information Search Interface Start?"<sup>34</sup> It was a more serious and thoroughgoing development of ideas around designing systems for effective search by the user. In this one, I particularly examined what kinds of capabilities the system might

---

<sup>32</sup> See note 25.

<sup>33</sup> Bates, Marcia J. "The Design of Browsing and Berrypicking Techniques for the Online Search Interface." *Online Review*, 13 (October 1989): 407-424.

<sup>34</sup> Bates, Marcia J. "Where Should the Person Stop and the Information Search Interface Start?" *Information Processing & Management* 26 (1990): 575-591.

be able to do for you, what ones you might prefer to carry out, as well as what mixtures of user and system capabilities might be desirable. I developed a little model of what the different combinations might be and recommended a certain region on this table that I thought might be the smart place to start doing research. It's been cited quite a bit, so I was pleased with that one.

Then, let's see, we're just to '93; before I go on to those others, I should go back to the Howard White book.<sup>35</sup> Howard White organized this book, *For Information Specialists*, and he enlisted me and Pat Wilson to bring together various things that we had already published. I think I have a copy of it here..... It was published in both hardback and paperback. He and I used it quite a bit in our classes, but I don't think practically anybody else in the universe did. I always felt it was a shame. I think it was a good book and a more sophisticated interpretation of reference and bibliographic work than you usually find in books about reference. It raised for me the question that I mentioned in the *Library Trends* article about being a student at that time. The work on information retrieval was picked up on in computer science, but it was also driven by Gerry Salton at Cornell. There was that whole East Coast dominance, and I think when you look at the three authors here, we were all associated with the West Coast originally. White did teach at Drexel during most of his career, but his emphasis there was on bibliometrics. Perhaps because it was a West Coast thing, I don't know, it just didn't get the attention it deserved.

So, there was that book that we produced jointly. The other thing listed here, the *LADWP Department Vocabulary ("Thesaurus")*<sup>36</sup>, I didn't bring it out from the other room, but it's a fat book, about 4 inches thick, 800 pages. This is the third thing listed under "Book". Linda Rudell-Betts worked with me on this project with the Department of Water and Power. I think I talked about this some the last time, where we worked for several years on this project developing an online records management system for the Department, a \$30,000,000 project overall. My piece of it concerned the vocabulary and the design of a search interface for tackling the database. My particular interest was that it was a way to manifest the approach that I was recommending in the 1986 *JASIS* article<sup>37</sup> and the other things that I had been publishing at that time. The system was designed and implemented as an automated system that depended on the development of these vocabulary clusters that I had been arguing for. Linda did the vocabulary work, under my direction; that's what the 800-page thesaurus is. Ultimately, the system was finished and one could search in a neat way in the database, pretty much as described in my conference paper.<sup>38</sup>

---

<sup>35</sup> White, Howard D., Marcia J. Bates, and Patrick Wilson. *For Information Specialists: Interpretations of Reference and Bibliographic Work*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex 1992.

<sup>36</sup> Rudell-Betts, Linda, and Marcia J. Bates. *LADWP Department Vocabulary ("Thesaurus"), Print Version*. 2nd ed. Los Angeles, CA: Los Angeles Department of Water and Power, November, 1992, 450 + 424 pp.

<sup>37</sup> See note 25.

<sup>38</sup> Bates, Marcia J. "Design for a Subject Search Interface and Online Thesaurus for a Very Large Records Management Database." *Proceedings of the 53rd ASIS Annual Meeting 27* (1990): 20-28.

Shortly after we finished developing the system, the California depression of the early 90's hit, and the DWP staff and budget were cut back drastically, I mean drastically. I had hoped to do operational tests on the interface to see how the cluster vocabulary approach worked in practice, and possibly publish on that, but there were problems at UCLA and the window of opportunity at the DWP passed very quickly. Soon, there was literally hardly anyone still at the DWP who knew of the system, and I doubt that many people were using it. (Struggles for words.) I'm just so struck how by much work we do that doesn't go anywhere.

Buckland: You're not alone in that.

Bates: I'm sure. I'm sure. When you think of all the work that is published and how few ideas actually percolate and actually impact things, it really makes you wonder sometimes. Anyway, that was the end result of that long effort. [Later: I also discussed at this or some other time in the interviews, why the single thing that I had pushed the most, the cluster vocabulary approach, just didn't take off, though there was considerable interest in it. I think people, especially computer scientists working on this question, are laser-focused on the idea that you input the single or exact term or phrase describing your interest, and see what it gets you. The idea that there may be closely related terms with similar or related meanings, that could in fact represent what a searcher is really interested in—that idea just doesn't seem real to people. But I trust the expert online searchers of the 80s and 90s, who did countless searches in ways that required them to really think through their queries in the earlier, less easy-to-use systems, and led them to notice what did and did not work for them. Sally Knapp and Anne Piternick promoted the approach I later developed in theoretical detail, and in the operational system I designed at the DWP. I still think it needs to be tried. It hasn't even occurred to Google, with their vast staff! But then who reads the literature from the people who really understand searching...?]

I think we've covered all the books, all the book chapters but one, and we're moving on through. Well, now I guess we get to the Getty papers. The Getty work started as consulting. About this time, I started doing a lot of consulting. One thing that I should mention here when we go back to the politics and career, is that I went 10 years at UCLA without a single merit raise. That was because UCLA, unlike all the rest of the UC campuses, had a rule that they would not give associate professors steps four and five. They would only go up through step three. The reasoning being that if you weren't good enough to make it to full professor by the time you were an Associate Professor III, you didn't deserve to get fours and fives. They wanted to get rid of people who couldn't get promoted. Well, I didn't get promoted when I first went up, when I went to UCLA. So, there was a long period where I was trying to collect enough work to try once again, but it meant, when all was said and done, it was 10 years before I got my next promotion. The two of us, Elaine Svenonius and I, were offered full professor step one and the committee said, (Quickly.) "No, no, no, no. Appoint them as associate professor step three." So, we, unwisely perhaps, accepted that. Then it turned out that getting to full professor was enormously difficult. Like I say, I went those 10 years. Well, I went to

UCLA in 1981, so this was at a time of tremendous inflation. In no time at all, I was really noticing because my pay wasn't going up at all except for the usual adjustments...

Buckland: Range adjustments.

Bates: Range adjustment. Which is never even equal to the amount of the rise in inflation anyway. It started to really hurt after a while because my school had never had money to go to conferences and the like. So, you were paying your own money to go to conferences. You were paying your own money to buy computers. And then I wasn't getting promoted. I was reaching the point where I couldn't afford to go to conferences and I knew that if you don't go to conferences, then you're not visible in the field. You just disappear. I had to be able to do that (go to conferences). So, I started consulting, and in a funny way, it left me exhausted, but it turned out to be a good thing in the sense that it exposed me to a lot of real-world questions with real-world-size databases, instead of these little toy 20,000-item databases that some people were writing articles out of. I worked with companies that had million-item databases. That was big in those days! For instance, IAC (Information Access Corporation); they produced InfoTrac. I worked with them for some time. It was a very enriching experience, I think, to see a lot of the things that I did end up seeing. I worked extensively with the Department of Water and Power with a couple of different companies that were working as subcontractors there. That was very interesting. I learned a lot.

Buckland: IAC's an interesting company.

Bates: Yeah. InfoTrac was very popular for a few years at any rate. I worked with a very nice man there by the name of Dick Carney. I did various projects. In fact, you can see somewhere on here: Page two, I list the consulting experience. I think the ones that I mentioned are the ones I worked most intensively with—plus the Getty, which I did several major projects with. That, too, was useful because they carried out some projects where they had the money to support the research, and I came in as a consultant to give input on that. So, as I say, it was exhausting. I can remember sometimes where I was working seven days a week for weeks on end, and finally, I realized I just couldn't do that. I had to take a break. It was sort of emotionally restorative too in the sense that, after all of the flack at UCLA, I felt that not only was my contribution wanted, it was actually paid for handsomely, which was a very nice change. I could afford to go to conferences. I could pay off my car. I could do various things that I hadn't been able to do until then. And I could start putting money into retirement accounts.

In terms of my publications, these, of course, had some influence, and when we get here on page eight, where you see the beginning of the articles that I did with the Getty, I actually did two or three major projects with them, not all of which led to publications. This one major project that they did; unfortunately, they brought me in too late. It was run by Susan Siegfried and Deborah Wilde, who both had Ph.Ds in the

humanities. Finally, they realized that while they were the experts in the humanities, they needed somebody who knew about social science research methods because they were doing a social science and information science project. They gathered all the data. If I had been brought in at the beginning, I could have suggested ways they could have made it even better integrated together in terms of linking the search behavior with the interviews. They could have been a little more integrated, but, be that as it may, we still got a lot of great material out of this.

I realized, as I was looking at the data, that there were these half dozen different major articles that I could get out of the results of the study because the project covered two years in a row, with visiting scholars to the Getty numbering in the high 20s both years. The scholars were given one day of training in the DIALOG vendor search system, and then in exchange for being interviewed and having their searches tracked, they could do all the searching they wanted on DIALOG for free. And that, of course, was in the days when these things cost \$100 an hour. They could still search all they wanted.

So, they had all of this data. I was able to look at the search terminology used by the humanities scholars, which is the first article I've got here.<sup>39</sup> That was really revealing because I realized that most of the theory to that date about thesaurus design was based on the science model, and science queries and science vocabulary, in their nature, are so inherently different from humanities queries and humanities vocabulary, and you needed to design something completely different. At that time, they had already figured out that out, and they were developing the art and architecture thesaurus on faceted principles, because that makes so much more sense in the humanities than it does in the sciences. By describing the actual search terms and what they used and what they were trying to get, we were able to show, very vividly, the stark difference between the science model and the humanities model, and that was what this first article was about.

The pattern on this was that Deborah and Susan had designed the study, overseeing the gathering of all this data, and then they brought me in to analyze it. I first analyzed it as reports to the Getty, and then I reworked it to write articles out of it. I wrote all the six articles, and the arrangement we had was that our names would be in the order that they appear in these articles. The fourth, fifth, and sixth ones were basically my own ideas and analyses. They weren't part of the original design, so they have only my name on them. In the fourth one I addressed ways that you could work with humanities, the design of information systems specific to the needs of humanities scholars. Went into some detail about what was

---

<sup>39</sup> Bates, Marcia J., Deborah N. Wilde, and Susan Siegfried. "An Analysis of Search Terminology Used by Humanities Scholars: The Getty Online Searching Project Report No. 1." *Library Quarterly* 63 (January 1993): 1-39.

distinctive about humanities scholarship, as opposed to science scholarship.<sup>40</sup> The fifth one was “Document Familiarity in Relation to Relevance,”<sup>41</sup> that reflected another huge difference between the sciences and the humanities. The fundamental assumption running through most of the research on information retrieval is that the searcher is not familiar with virtually any of the references in the database being searched. They may have run across a few of them, but the assumption is that most of the ones that are coming up that you are reviewing, you don’t know. But, in fact, it was just the opposite in the humanities. There the assumption is that someone who works in a particular area for a long time knows everything in the area. They have read it all. And the reason they get excited about an online search is (Loudly!) that they have found one thing in it that they have never seen before! One or two things that were novel! Well, how are you going to design traditional IR theory in a situation like that?! That was the thrust of Report Number Five.

Buckland: The more different the title and the wording, the better.

Bates: Yeah. Six was summarizing all of them.<sup>42</sup> The first one was on search terminology. The second one looked in great detail at the actual queries that they submitted.<sup>43</sup> Boolean logic is very unnatural to most humanities scholars and when they combined their concepts for a search, they failed fairly frequently. The third one was based on the interviews that were done with them, and I pulled out the different patterns in their information seeking across all these different research projects that they were carrying out.<sup>44</sup> The sixth article was a summary of the other five, sort of pulling them together, and I submitted it to *College and Research Libraries*, so academic librarians could see the results.

In the meantime, during the 90s, we had had this shotgun marriage between education and information studies. Yasmin Kafai was a junior faculty member in education, who was interested in design. This was, as far I am concerned, the great failure of the merger between the two departments: we could have had, and I thought we might have, a bringing together of design of educational materials and systems with design of information retrieval systems. Where educational principles were brought to bear on information retrieval,

---

<sup>40</sup> Bates, Marcia J. "The Design of Databases and Other Information Resources for Humanities Scholars: The Getty Online Searching Project Report No. 4." *Online and CD-ROM Review* 18 (December 1994): 331-340.

<sup>41</sup> Bates, Marcia J. "Document Familiarity in Relation to Relevance, Information Retrieval Theory, and Bradford’s Law: The Getty Online Searching Project Report No. 5." *Information Processing & Management* 32 (1996): 697-707.

<sup>42</sup> Bates, Marcia J. "[The Getty End-User Online Searching Project in the Humanities: Report No. 6: Overview and Conclusions.](#)" *College & Research Libraries* 57 (November 1996): 514-523.

<sup>43</sup> Siegfried, Susan, Marcia J. Bates, and Deborah N. Wilde. "A Profile of End-User Searching Behavior by Humanities Scholars: The Getty Online Searching Project Report No. 2." *Journal of the American Society for Information Science* 44 (June 1993): 273-291.

<sup>44</sup> Bates, Marcia J., Deborah N. Wilde, and Susan Siegfried. "Research Practices of Humanities Scholars in an Online Environment: The Getty Online Searching Project Report No. 3." *Library and Information Science Research* 17 (Winter 1995): 5-40.

and where information retrieval principles were brought to bear on the design of educational software, so these two could come together.

Yasmin came from the Media Lab at MIT. She got her degree there and came to UCLA. We gave a joint course between education and information studies, and she and another faculty member in education worked on designing this instruction project that would be done at the university lab school on campus. After the project was done, I thought, 'This makes a great article for the library press,' so I wrote up this article, and since Kafai had done most of the design and research on it, we agreed that her name would come first, and it was listed as one of the best articles of the year in the school library media world. We produced this "Internet Web-Searching Instruction in the Elementary Classroom."<sup>45</sup> Unfortunately, design was not an interest of the education management, and ultimately, she left. The rich potential—and even possible money-making outcomes to the benefit of the School—were frittered away by the education leadership who were not interested in design. There were one or two other people who had come as design people, but it never really was fulfilled. That was unfortunate. We did have that one project together. Now, are you running out of time? Should we end?

Buckland: No, go on. Have to be out of here by 7:30, that's all.

Bates: (Laughs.) I will surely collapse long before that. That was in the initial days of bringing the two schools together and an effort to do something jointly. In the meantime, the Web was exploding, and my doctoral student, Shaojun Lu, was interested in looking at homepages. He wanted to do a study of homepages. He went ahead and sampled 110 of them. He was having some trouble pulling together a way of talking about these, so I sat down with him and ended up working with him, but in the end, writing the paper, taking the approach that the paper took. Did this exploratory profile of personal homepages.<sup>46</sup> I'm kind of proud of it in the sense that there was very little research like this at that time. Even though the Web had been out a couple of years, there was very little research on it, of looking at things like the genre of personal homepages and what characterized them. People weren't looking yet at what the new forms were on the Web, not as much you'd expect. I kept asking Shaojun to search again to be sure, and again, there was nothing out there.

The next one was a little bibliometric thing I did. At some point, we were being evaluated or reviewed, and I ended up comparing our program's output to the work at several major schools. I wrote it up in this

---

<sup>45</sup> Kafai, Yasmin, and Bates, Marcia J. "Internet Web-Searching Instruction in the Elementary Classroom: Building a Foundation for Information Literacy." *School Library Media Quarterly* 25 (Winter 1997): 103-111.

<sup>46</sup> Bates, Marcia J. and Shaojun Lu. "An Exploratory Profile of Personal Home Pages: Content, Design, Metaphors." *Online and CDROM Review*. 21 December 1997): 331-340.

article.<sup>47</sup> Then, the “Response to the Academic Elite in Library Science.”<sup>48</sup> There was an article that appeared, sort of a snarky article that was saying that the academic elite in library science...didn’t hire Ph.D.’s except from each other. It was just really badly done. You know, as far as I’m concerned, if you’re going to complain, you’ve got to complain on a good basis! So, I wrote up this response that evaluated their evaluation, and argued that I felt they really didn’t have the data for their claims. They made another reply, but I didn’t follow up further on it.

Now this next one—there was so much fervor around the Internet and so many things we knew about information retrieval didn’t seem to be being picked up on in all the new excitement. There were some important and interesting things that I felt were really being missed. So, I wrote this article, *Indexing and Access for Digital Libraries and the Internet*<sup>49</sup>, in which I reviewed an array of factors that I felt were being ignored. Some of these were rather obscure factors, but still high-impact potentially. Afterwards, what I felt I really needed to do was write a book expounding all the things that need to be paid attention to. But, I wouldn’t have had the time at that point anyway. At any rate, at least I got this out, where I talked about these different things that were being ignored in all of the enthusiasm about the potentialities of the Internet. The next one is the op-ed piece I did for the *LA Times*.<sup>50</sup> There had been an article in the *Times* about yet another \$18 million automation project that the state had that they had to abandon, because it wasn’t going anywhere. This was following the \$30 million project that had been likewise abandoned. I tried (in the article) to encapsulate, in very few words, what we know about information systems, and why they fail, when the developers are not taking into account the human components.....

Here, I guess I tried out my editor skills, agreeing to be the guest editor for the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the *Journal of ASIST*.<sup>51</sup> I solicited articles, and was able to publish them in two issues. One fun project I did with this was one called “A Tour of Information Science....”<sup>52</sup> I went through all the volumes, and identified articles that seemed to me high-impact ones or typical ones. I used the principles in my article on “Rigorous Systematic Bibliography.”<sup>53</sup> Pulled the references together to have something that you could page through and see what the major areas are that had been represented in the journal over the years. I remember in my home office—it was 10’ by 10’—I had stacks of papers all over the room, each

---

<sup>47</sup> Bates, Marcia J. "The Role of Publication Type in the Evaluation of LIS Programs." *Library & Information Science Research*, 20(2)(1998): 187-198.

<sup>48</sup> Bates, Marcia J. “Response to ‘The Academic Elite in Library Science...’.” *College & Research Libraries* 59 (May 1998): 275-280.

<sup>49</sup> Bates, Marcia J. “Indexing and Access for Digital Libraries and the Internet: Human, Database, and Domain Factors.” *Journal of the American Society for Information Science* 49 (1998): 1185-1205.

<sup>50</sup> See note 12.

<sup>51</sup> Bates, Marcia J. "The 50th Anniversary of the Journal of the American Society for Information Science: Guest Editor Introduction." *Journal of the American Society for Information Science* 50(11) (1999): 958-964.

<sup>52</sup> Bates, Marcia J. “A Tour of Information Science through the Pages of *JASIS*.” *Journal of the American Society for Information Science* 50 (1999): 975-993.

<sup>53</sup> See note 7.

representing one of the areas that I was selecting from. I would jump over here and pick up a piece of paper, and jump over there to pick up one from a different stack, to put it all in these 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary issues. I put it together in a very physical way, very direct way.

In the meantime, I suppose, because of the changes due to the Web and the changes we dealt with in the program, of being merged with education, it seemed that, even within the field, people were not recognizing what was unique to our field. I wrote “The Invisible Substrate of Information Science”<sup>54</sup> for that issue, the anniversary issue. It also received the *JASIS* best paper award.

As for “The Cascade of Interactions...”,<sup>55</sup> Joe Busch, who was then at the Getty, had a sort of mini-conference, an invited conference of about 15 to 18 people. They each presented at the conference “Dealing with Information Resources and Databases in the Humanities.” It was very revealing for me because I realized, in the course of the day-long conference... We went around the room, and each person made their presentation, and I realized how many different areas of expertise had to be brought together to create an effective information system. I think that conference was about in '98. There were a lot of delays in getting this published. I wrote it up as “The Cascade of Interactions...”, making the argument that all of these expertises were going to affect layers in the system that had to dovetail well, if the system is going to work. If even one of them is off, then it throws the quality of the whole system off. I provided several examples, including the “aka” system that the Getty had devised and I had evaluated. It was so unwittingly badly designed because the tech people didn't understand the vocabulary people and vice versa. It was an example of one of those layers in the cascade being so badly designed that it blocked the other layers. That was published in *Information Processing and Management*.

Here's another thing I did for the Getty, this is a study that we did on multimedia research support for visiting scholars in museums, libraries, and universities. Got a very snippy turndown from reviewers for *Library Quarterly*, (In a serious voice.) with my colleague, John Richardson, being the editor, and so it was published in *Information Technology and Libraries*.<sup>56</sup> The “After the Dot-Bomb...”<sup>57</sup> represented one of those moments of real frustration, where people kept doing so many things wrong. Huge amounts of Silicon Valley money were going to things that we knew from information science wouldn't work. Nobody paid any attention to what we had to say. The frustration spilled over in that article, and I wrote about a

---

<sup>54</sup> Bates, Marcia J. “The Invisible Substrate of Information Science.” *Journal of the American Society for Information Science* 50(12) (1999): 1043-1050.

<sup>55</sup> Bates, Marcia J. “The Cascade of Interactions in the Digital Library Interface.” *Information Processing and Management* 38, (2002): 381-400.

<sup>56</sup> Bates, Marcia J.; Hulsy, Catharine; and Jost, Geoffrey. “Multimedia Research Support for Visiting Scholars in Museums, Libraries, and Universities.” *Information Technology and Libraries* 21 (June 2002): 73-81.

<sup>57</sup> Bates, Marcia J. “After the Dot-Bomb: Getting Web Information Retrieval Right This Time.” *First Monday*\_7 (July 2002) at <http://firstmonday.dk>, issues/issue 7/bates/, accessed 23 June 2002.

string of things they were not getting right. When you say things like that, though, you're just seen as a retro person, so I haven't pushed it. When you have the kind of money and staffing that these companies have, there's no way our little field can compete anyway. They reinvent something six times over, and they don't care.

Buckland: There's a couple out there now.

Bates: Yeah. In the meantime, there was another parallel thing happening with the Information Seeking in Context Conference, which had been presented maybe a fifth time. It was held every other year. I had attended some of them. I was invited that year to be a keynote speaker, and I came up with this "Integrated Model of Information Seeking and Searching."<sup>58</sup> It's been cited a fair number of times, particularly by European publications. I am pleased that that got picked up on. (Sighs.) Well, I think I am done.

**Below: Bates Oral History transcription; (Files 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35)**

Michael Buckland: It is July the 17th, Tuesday, and it's 1:50pm, and Marcia Bates is going to continue the story of her life and times, and she's going to start with a few items that enrich what she has said before, and then perhaps later, continue the stages of her career.

Marcia Bates: Okay, thanks. I've been feeling better this summer, so I feel like I can perhaps have a somewhat better mood when talking, than I had earlier. Of the things that I wrote down here, I mentioned that I have always liked to write letters to the editor. But I forgot to mention my most famous, so to speak, letter to the editor, which was published in the *New Yorker*.<sup>59</sup> This was in response to an article by Jeffrey Toobin, who had talked to someone at Google who said that books are not part of a network, and I wrote in and said, 'yes they are, and you can find the linkages right in the ISI Web of Science database,' and some other points, as well. With a national magazine like that, I thought there would be some repercussion, but there was absolute silence; there was no... nothing happened. Google totally ignored it. But it was a kind of funny experience, because you expect that somebody would comment on it. But anyway, I now have my letter in the *New Yorker*. [Inserted later: I have also gotten letters into the *Atlantic Monthly*, *Harper's*, and the *New York Times Book Review*, as well as a number in the *Los Angeles Times*.]

I believe I also mentioned that I had written this op-ed piece for the *Los Angeles Times*, but I didn't describe what came of that one. After it appeared, I got a call from the secretary of the person who was responsible for information technology for the state of California under Gray Davis, 'Would I like to have lunch?' 'Oh, yes, I would.' So we met in downtown LA at a restaurant, along with one of his assistants. He apparently sized me up and concluded that I wasn't an important person politically, therefore he bought

---

<sup>58</sup> Bates, Marcia J. "Toward an Integrated Model of Information Seeking and Searching." *New Review of Information Behaviour Research* 3 (2002): 1-15.

<sup>59</sup> Bates, Marcia J. "Off-line networks." *New Yorker*, March 19, 2007, p. 24.

me only a 7-Up. And no lunch. I couldn't believe it. What I became aware of almost immediately, was that this guy was somebody who had a little, minimal, background in computers, but had no vision for them whatsoever, no concept of the computer and information infrastructure of the state, and appeared to be one hundred percent a political appointee. I think he concluded that the ideas I had expressed in the op-ed offered no risk of affecting anything politically in the state, in other words, would have no chance of actually affecting state policy, and thereupon considered the rest of the time with me to be wasted. It shocked me, because with a state the size of California, with Silicon Valley and all of that, and the governor sees this position only as one of those where you can plug in somebody who is totally a political payoff and not somebody serious. So it was quite a bizarre experience.

Buckland: I read that the San Francisco Police Department got e-mail a few months ago for the first time.

Bates: [laughs] Talk about disconnect. I didn't realize it would still be that bad. I didn't think they would be that way this long. So anyway, finally, at the end of this bizarre little interview, I went off to try to find some lunch at 2:30 or something, after the meeting. But it was clear that he concluded immediately that I wasn't anybody important politically and therefore he could safely ignore me.

Michael Buckland: It is still August the 28th, but now it's almost three o'clock and Marcia Bates is going to talk about her work with the *Encyclopedia [of Library and Information Sciences]*.<sup>60</sup>

Marcia Bates: What insanity led me to ever start this project I don't know [laughs]. Just as I was reaching the point in my career when I was going to retire, and could've had essentially a full time sabbatical for the rest of my life, I took this on. I think I did it at the time because after so many years of working so hard and having so many activities in my day, the thought of being retired just seemed like this big blank space. And I thought, how can I just go from doing everything to nothing? So, when this opportunity came along, I thought...and of course they say 'oh, you can do this part time,' blah, blah, blah... so when this opportunity came along I thought, 'Well I will do this part time, then the rest of the time attend to other things.' So that's what.... The other thing that lured me into it, if you will, was that Mary Maack and I had taught a course on disciplines and differences between them to try to give an understanding to our library students about...the richness of the cultures of different fields and so on and that included looking at the kinds of resources that different fields had, including types of reference materials. And, of course, I had taught reference, and how to evaluate a reference source my whole career. I had also been on the editorial advisory board of the second edition and when the then-editor sent out the list of topics, I was not at all

---

<sup>60</sup> Bates, Marcia J.; Maack, Mary Niles, Eds. (2010). *Encyclopedia of Library and Information Sciences*, 3rd Ed. New York: CRC Press, 2010. 7 volumes, 5742 pages.

happy with it. I thought they were not a good mix. The idea that we in the LIS field, of all people, who consider ourselves experts in reference resources would have an encyclopedia with this kind of a set of topics, so limited, not addressing the wider range of the field and so on...I was just embarrassed. So that was kind of a lure ... maybe I could improve the quality of the categories and the topics covered in it.

But I felt I couldn't do it by myself and I asked Mary Maack to be associate editor with me and to focus on the library-related material and I would deal with more of the information science aspects. So, she agreed to do it. She later one time said that well, she agreed because she knew I wouldn't do it unless she agreed and so she agreed to get me to do it. I think there's some truth to that. Because we clearly had very different circumstances. I was retired and she was still working and obviously had a heavy load and wouldn't be able to do as much. That was built into our contract, with 2/3 royalties for me and 1/3 for her. We gathered an advisory board of about 50 people because I wanted to cover the information disciplines...My preferred title would have been the *Encyclopedia of the Information Disciplines*. That wasn't realistic as far as the publisher was concerned. So we had a large board to address a wider range of fields than historically had been addressed in the encyclopedia. I also went through all of the volumes of the prior two editions, and categorized the different types of topics that were being covered to try to get a sense of what all one would need to cover. There are a lot of important issues that arise in that because, for one thing, I think there's a sense in which professions by their nature are more heterogeneous in the kinds of things...I mean you cover things like professional organizations—well if you're doing an encyclopedia of philosophy you probably don't have the American Philosophical Association as one of your entries in an encyclopedia of philosophy.

Buckland: Hm.

Bates: So there are many issues like that: there's do you cover individual libraries, do you cover education programs, do you cover classes of reference books, what kinds of topics do you cover, how broad do you make them, do you have little entries or big, long, sweeping entries. There are a lot more questions to it than you might initially think. So I went through and identified... I liked much better the array of topics that were in the first edition. Oh, can't think of his name...

Buckland: Allen Kent?

Bates: Kent, thank you. That Allen Kent had edited. Because that was much more of a broad vision than the second edition, which was very strongly oriented to academic libraries and not much else. Academic libraries and library associations.

So I went through the project; I became very acquainted with the Excel program. If I hadn't been able to use Excel, I don't think I would have been able to do something like this. What I think is really remarkable about it is that except for occasional visits to UCLA, mostly to look at earlier volumes from the encyclopedia itself, I sat in Paso Robles, California, in central California, and did this encyclopedia by email and by online consultation of research resources. It's really remarkable. You couldn't do that ten years, twenty years earlier. To cover the amount of material that we covered, well, there is a way that you can count emails easily in the Eudora program, and I counted about 13,000 emails during the course of my work on *ELIS*, the *Encyclopedia of Library and Information Sciences*. 13,000 emails devoted to *ELIS* that I sent out or received in the course of the four years or so that I worked on this. And in the old days that would have been done as paper letters, too. I didn't do a paper letter the whole time. So I think to manage to produce a five thousand page, seven-volume encyclopedia with two of us would have been inconceivable if we hadn't had that kind of support. During this time I read that book about the crazy guy who worked with the editor of the Oxford English Dictionary.

Buckland: Yes, Simon Winchester.

Bates: Yes.

Buckland: *The Madman and the Professor*.

Bates: Yes, yes. There were days when I felt like both elements of that story, I'll tell you. But, for the dictionary, they did it with rooms full of boxes with paper slips where they recorded the information about the different words. That we could do this online and sitting at a computer, sitting at an Apple computer, I might add, with a beautiful wide screen. It seems like I'm emphasizing this too much, but I think it was absolutely critical to have a computer where I could have several programs open at the same time. I could have Excel, Safari for Web searching, and Eudora for emails. Sometimes when I was researching possible writers, I might also have several screens open comparing things and so on. So having a large format computer really helped. Having the powers of Excel were critical and being able to have a good quality email program was also vital. This is something that concerns me because an awful lot of email programs assume that email consists of just trivial little messages back and forth, and that you're happy to eliminate them as soon as you're done.

Buckland: Hm.

Bates: The ironies of...from day one they were talking about the computer surface as being like a desktop and yet here... I have for a long time actually used it in that way, in the sense that I don't routinely print off emails. I use the computer to store them. I expect them to stay stored in the computer and to be able to

access them by searching. Many of these programs are just not built that way. They assume you're going to kill it immediately.

Buckland: Hm.

Bates: Most current email programs only allow one email to be opened at a time. It's like allowing only one letter to be on your entire desktop. If you want to look at another letter, you have to take the first one off the desk. It's ridiculous! Eudora lets you have as many email messages open on the desktop as you want. You can compare, check, look up, etc. on any number of emails at a time. With the encyclopedia, I drew on emails with notes from the editorial assistants, from the author, from my prior communications with the author, etc., all at one time. Just like you would with a physical desk!

Another thing that's great about Eudora is that it has flags and colors that you can use for email messages and you can even sort by messages that have double flags and single flags and so on. I used that all the time because I would get dozens of emails and some of them I could respond to right away and others took more thought and research or whatever. So I would flag the ones that I hadn't done and for the parts of my email list that I had completed fully, I would color the last email line blue and that would tell me that I was up to that point. Then there would be ones flagged below that on the list, so I would know exactly where I was in the process, while never eliminating the emails. Not eliminating the emails was important, because I needed to be able to consult past interactions with that person. To enable that, I put the author's name in brackets, the person that I was communicating with. Usually, when they replied, they left the name in brackets there, so, later, when needed I could search for them.

Buckland: In the subject line.

Bates: In the subject line, yeah.

Buckland: Yes, very useful.

Bates: And if they didn't keep their name in, I would add it upon receipt. I had filters on the email; that meant that 90% of my ELIS emails would go into the ELIS pot and the few that wouldn't because they lacked "ELIS" in the line, those I would transfer in, so that I kept the ELIS things completely separate in their own place. If there was a confusion or a problem, all I had to do was just run a big monster search on the author's name and it would pull up for me immediately all the communications I had had with that person over years. There were two or three important cases where that was exactly what was needed. Where I had to be able to say to them, look this is what you said then and what I said and here it all is.

Because when you're dealing with that many people...there were 700 authors ultimately, there are bound to be confusions and problems and whatnot.

Then likewise using Excel...I had...well I actually started an article but I've never finished it, that was going to be called "10,000 Emails, One Hundred Spreadsheets, and One Encyclopedia," describing the process. I could use Excel for so many different forms of sorting and organizing. I had Excel sheets containing all the people that I had invited to write. Because sometimes you wouldn't remember whether you'd, you know, two years ago invited—'Did I ask them?' So you could get that sorted out. Then all the people who said yes... There were really two big stages: there was the inviting stage and there was the processing the manuscript stage. Those were pretty discontinuous. There wasn't a whole lot of overlap between them. So when I went from the first to the second stage I developed a whole new set of Excel sheets. Then...when the manuscripts would come in there would be different stages and different things that had been completed, so that would be marked or put in a separate Excel file or, whatever. You could just do so much with Excel to sort and mark with codes for each step, and then easily search for it and find what you wanted for whatever the purpose was that day. So between the Excel for the processing and the Eudora for the communicating, it was really, I think, remarkable what we were able to do compared to what it would have taken in earlier times.

I'm also proud that we actually pulled this out, and completed it. I believe another factor is that I am (introverted) sensation-dominant and thinking sub-dominant, in Jungian personality-type terms. Sensation types are good at finding a good, actual operational way to carry something out. Intuitive types dismiss it as 'making the trains run on time,' but this was a supreme example of that talent applied to a real project that could have totally failed, or had a lousy outcome, in so many ways.

<Redaction #3>

#### **BEGIN File 40**

Buckland: It is September the 4<sup>th</sup> 2012 and it is 1:35 PM and Marcia Bates is going to continue her chronicle. And she is going to go back to around 2000, and then come up towards the present time.

Bates: Well, in terms of looking back over publications and activities and whatnot that I was engaged in, I think it would be good to say something about the sabbatical that I took in Tampere, Finland. That was in the fall of 2003. It was really useful for me because I met a lot of people all over Scandinavia, made many friends, gave talks, and really enjoyed getting the different perspective there. I also studied a couple of quarters of Finnish before I left. Finnish is an impossibly difficult language, but I absolutely love it.

Actually, I'm still taking lessons in it. But at that time I had to stop studying the Finnish because I wasn't getting my sabbatical material prepared. At that time, I was working on developing the early ideas that

would become the two major papers on information, so I gave early talks on the beginnings of that work, as well, when I went around to speak at different places.

Buckland: the two major papers?

Bates: "Fundamental Forms of Information"<sup>61</sup> and [aside, to self] what's the exact title of it..., "Information and Knowledge: An Evolutionary Framework for Information Science."<sup>62</sup>

Buckland: Good.

Bates: Another thing that happened during that time was that Boyd Rayward visited UCLA, and he was talking a lot about the role of documentation as the precursor to information science. I remember going to a dinner in Westwood with him and several other people. We got very intensely into a discussion about the history of information science, and I realized that his whole worldview—and he's writing a lot of history of the field—was from this documentation perspective. While I had gone to Berkeley and had learned essentially zero from my professors about the documentation world, and had had this whole other world of sources for the ideas in information science, so that motivated me. That was one of the things I worked on in Finland as well, to write this article about the time when I was a student at Berkeley and what the different courses were and the contents and approaches and whatnot that were operating in the program then.<sup>63</sup> I'm really glad I did, because one of the things I realized in writing that paper was how being in the West had hurt us, because the concentration of programs in the Eastern part of the country, and the ease with which people could go between schools and conferences meant that some of the work that was done here on the West Coast didn't get as much recognition as it deserved.

Buckland: Agreed.

Bates: So, talking about that aspect of it, as well as just this whole different perspective on the origins of information science, there was a worldview as to what information science was that I absorbed and interpreted while being a doctoral student at Berkeley, and I'm glad I was able to describe and publish that history. I think, in a lot of ways that, that *vision* is still not... how can I put it, fully realized. It has not carried over into the thinking as a whole in the field. That's unfortunate. I hope that, at some point, there will be more of a unified understanding of and ways of thinking about information.

---

<sup>61</sup> Bates, Marcia J. "[Fundamental Forms of Information](#)," *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology*, 57(8) (2006): 1033-1045.

<sup>62</sup> Bates, Marcia J. "[Information and Knowledge: An Evolutionary Framework for Information Science.](#)" *Information Research*, 10 (4) paper 239, 2005 [available at <http://InformationR.net/ir/10-4/paper239.html> ]

<sup>63</sup> Bates, Marcia J. "[Information science at the University of California at Berkeley in the 1960s: a memoir of student days.](#)" *Library Trends*, 52(4) (Spring 2004): 683-701.

So anyway, I wrote that paper in 2004, and in the meantime, kept working on the information papers, which went through many, many, many revisions. In retrospect, one of the reasons for the revisions was that the two papers, the *Fundamental Forms*, and the *Information and Knowledge*, they were originally a single paper. They contained some ideas that I had been thinking about since I was a doctoral student. The basic definition that I used for Information in there, the pattern of organization of matter and energy, I heard in about 1970, I'd say. And the instant I heard it, I thought [tongue click] 'That's it,' and it was sort of perking along in my, in the back of my mind. At various times in my career, I have worked on this question, and have wanted to write about information and its transformations ever since I was a student.

I regret that, on the one hand, I wasn't able to do that earlier, but earlier in my career, I don't think that the rest of the intellectual infrastructure, that is, the thinking in biology, anthropology, and psychology that was needed was then available—it still hasn't been completely developed. I also regret that I wasn't able to develop it to the length of a book, because I remember at one of the talks I gave on it at UCLA, people would challenge me and ask questions, and I would have my answers completely developed and thought through. Afterwards, one of my colleagues, Virginia Walters, said 'You know, you've really got a book in you. You've got this whole thing so worked out.' But... But I never really fully worked it out to my satisfaction, and I think one reason is that, the ideas in the field and in our society generally, haven't quite progressed to the point where what I would call a full theory of information can be developed. I think we're very close to that. After I moved here to Berkeley and discovered the most recent book by John Searle, I just thought, 'My god, this is... this can be a major part of that.' (John Searle, *Making the Social World: The Structure of Human Civilization*, Oxford, 2010) I could see how it could be a sort of scaffolding or something to build on.

But the problem was that I ran out of brain power and of life, I think, because I just... by the time I got here, I was so used up working on the encyclopedia, that I felt, I can't do that kind of work anymore; it requires a young mind, and I just can't do it.

So that hurts, that I...but you know, you're born when you're born. And I do think that, probably, I could not have come up with the full realization of that model of information, because all the ideas aren't in place in the larger society and in the larger world of research and thinking; but I think it will come.

I at least hope I made my down payment on it, in those two papers. It was hard enough getting those, the papers, published. My... One of the things that I think is involved here, is, with all that I've talked about, in terms of sex discrimination and the trivializing of women that was so common at the beginning of my career, and I still run into... By the time I reached the point where I was writing those papers, I certainly had widespread acceptance in the field, widespread recognition—was accepted as one of the research figures in the field. But when I tackled these fundamental questions, I started getting reactions that made

me feel that, at least some men, felt that it was fine to have women publishing little touchy-feely articles about information-seeking and the like, but when it came to the deep philosophical issues, ‘*This was Men’s* turf. I felt like I was having to break through another whole glass ceiling on this, in order to be accepted as someone who was writing in that kind of a vein. And by this time in my life, I was getting really sick of it. When I submitted the paper – it was a single long paper initially– to the *Journal of ASIST*, which was edited by my good friend, Don Kraft—we shared offices at the University of Maryland the first semester I ever taught – I like him tremendously, but for the life of me, I don’t know who he got to referee these papers, and I would get reactions back like ‘This is just about *terminology*. What does it need to be in the Journal for?’ Terminology. That is what I was doing in developing a fundamental theory of information. I was talking about Terminology. So I don’t know where these things came from.

All my life, I had dreamt of having my paper on information in *JASIST*, you know, that was *the* thing... and I still wanted that. But it was becoming clear that the paper wasn’t going to be accepted. Around the same time, I had submitted a couple of other papers to *JASIST*; one was rejected outright, and the other one, the reactions were so limp, that I just didn’t follow up on it. I’m thinking, “Here I am, at the end of my career, and I can’t even get my papers published!” So finally I wrote an email jointly to Tom Wilson, who is the editor of *Information Research*, the online journal, and to Don Kraft, and I said, “How about this; What if I split the article in two, and I submit the part to *JASIST* that is more acceptable to the *JASIST* referees, and I submit this other part that is more about the evolutionary material to *Information Research*?” and they agreed, so that’s how I finally got my papers published.

Now in the meantime, another thing that I thought of this morning that I hadn’t talked about before, but, had gotten involved with, was that Jonathan Furner and I worked for some time to develop a journal of Metadata. In fact, it was going to just be called *Metadata*. We identified editorial advisory board people, and we did a lot of background research to show the value and need for this publication. We were working with Kluwer. We just kept not hearing and we pushed and we wouldn’t get any reaction. Finally, what we learned after a while, was that it had been pretty much scotched by people associated with *DLib Magazine*...

Buckland (interrupting): what is it?

Bates: *D-Lib*...

Buckland: Oh, Okay.

Bates: You know the online journal?

Buckland: oh yeah.

Bates: ...who saw it as competition. The folks at Kluwer, chose to go with that viewpoint, rather than with ours and all the research we had done on the topic. So we were both upset about that.

Buckland: One would [inaudible] assume there would have been more than enough elbow room.

Bates: Yes, one would, wouldn't one? In fact, it surprised me, because we had done research on all sorts of other journals that might be more directly related to cataloging or metadata, and it didn't even occur to me that *DLib* might see it as competition, because that journal covers a lot of other things as well. So, finally, we were turned down and we were both very disappointed. Then, inevitably, two, three, four years later, somebody else comes out with a journal of metadata, and I sent the notice about it on to the guy at Kluwer, but obviously it was irrelevant at that point.

Another thing that happened at about that same time was that the University of California was putting out a call for people to propose institutes. There would be several institutes that would be funded at whatever campuses made the successful proposal. I knew this was a Hail Mary Pass, but since we had done all this research on metadata, I proposed and submitted a proposal on an Institute of Metadata. But of course, you know, nothing was ever heard from that, but... so anyway... that was another thing that went on during this sort of interim period in the 2000s.

<Redaction #4>